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TE HOKINGA KI TE ŪKAIPŌ

**A socio-cultural construction of Māori language
development: Kōhanganga Reo and home**

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*A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, University of Auckland.*

2012

ABSTRACT

There is a body of international research evidence that argues that as children learn and develop their language they are learning about and developing their perception of their socio-cultural environment. In turn as they interact within a specific context the nature of that context stimulates language. However there has been little comprehensive research carried out on the language learning practices of the children in Kōhanga Reo and in their home since the movement first began. This research explores the role that the whānau (family) plays in the construction of language development with the Kōhanga Reo child in their socio-cultural context. It critically examines the processes of language socialisation within the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo and in the child's home.

The study's theoretical framework adopts a socio-cultural approach (Rogoff, 1995, 2003) couched within a bioecological model of whānau development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 2005). This framework assisted the researcher in unfolding the multi layers of social, cultural, political and spiritual influences on whānau development during the child's co-construction of Māori language within his/her two main settings Te Kōhanga Reo and home.

From this premise a hypothesis was proposed, *that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori.*

The study examines the kaupapa (philosophy) of the Kōhanga Reo movement, its cultural base, the socio-cultural interactions that take place namely whanaungatanga, and the child's construction of te reo Māori (the Māori language). However discussions with whānau, recordings of the children's Māori language development, the cultural interactions between children and whānau soon highlighted the dynamic and passionate contribution that whānau, both home and kōhanga, make to their children's learning.

HE MIHI

Tērā te pū o te wānanga kia tipu te more te weu ki te aka matua o ngā tīpuna ka rea mai he manako, he koringo kia kaua te korihi ata e ngū, kia rangona tonutia te koekoe o tūī, te ketekete o kākā, te kūkū o kereru! Nā rātou tonu, nā ngā mātāpuna mōhio, te mauri i ū ai kia āta whatua ai he kōhangā mō ngā kūao manu. Kia kainga ai katamu mahana, hei kai māngā ko te reo o te waonui, ko te reo o te takutai ko te reo o te mahara, ā, ko te reo o te tākarō hoki. Kia rūmakina. Kia Māori mai te tipu o te kūao manu tangata. Nei rā te kitenga i ngā manu e marewa ana te rere maiangī ana i o ngā iti kahurangi. He maioha nōna, ā, he maioha nōku ki a koutou e ngā huru mā, e ngā huru kura, e ngā huru pango i āta whatu mai i tēnei pūeru kaitaka mōku, mō aku reanga iho. Hei kura huia koutou mō tō pūtiki wharanui, hei tānga manawa, ā, hei kōhaki tē taka i te tihi tiketike o pae mahara.

Kia mau te rongo ki a koutou e hika mā! Tātou mā ngā waewae, ngā ringaringa o te kaupapa e totoro atu nei, tōku reo maioha ki a koutou hoki. Kia ū, kia ita, kia ea ai te maengā o rātou i hinga i roto i tēnei kaupapa e pīkauhia ai tātou. Me mate ohorere ka tika! Tihewa te ora o te mauri kaupapa e hika mā!

(Hemi Tai Tin)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis would not have been possible without the love, support and tolerance of many people. Firstly I need to acknowledge Dame Dr Iritana Tawhiwhirangi who cajoled, threatened and yet never gave up on me. Thank you for your belief in me, the support you gave when I almost didn't believe and the shared information on the true story of the Kōhanga Reo movement which gave this thesis passion.

To Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust for allowing space for me to complete. My appreciation to the Chief Executive of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, Titoki Black and fellow colleagues. To the staff throughout the country who, are at the heart of the kaupapa, our efforts are not in vain. To the Kōhanga Reo whānau and our mokopuna, the answers lie within us. And of cause the four children who took part in this study it was a humbling experience to be alongside you and to learn from you. A special mihi to you, your whānau your kōhanga. Ngā rangatira mō āpōpō.

To my friends at the University of Auckland, thank you for your aroha, patience and guidance. Dr Graham and Dr Linda Smith for encouraging me to join the scholarship of students. Dr Rawinia Higgins and Kylie Brown I am indebted to you both for the offer of help. To my many friends who assisted me thank you. Now especially to Dr Margie Hohepa, sorry for being a pain. Dr Stuart McNaughton, a good friend and advisor, such a wealth of knowledge and experience. Finally to Dr Colleen McMurchy-Pilkington, what can I say. There are no words that can describe the range of emotions that I went through to complete this thesis. Thank you for your challenging views and constructive comments for they have made the thesis take shape. You are perfection itself and your persistence was worth it.

Finally to my whānau: my parents, this is your dream. I know that you are with me and I miss you both so much. My children and grandchildren I am so proud that you too believe in and live this kaupapa. That is my greatest reward. My husband Ben, I can't believe we are still together after all the moaning and tears but we got there. I love you all.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Contemplating a doctoral study is a commitment that requires dedication, academic rigour, and less social life. As a Māori woman, who is representing her whānau and her people, enrolling in a doctorate means not only dedication, and academic rigour of university, but also the cultural rigour of Māori customs and values, particularly when the chosen area of study has a kaupapa Māori framework (Māori philosophical framework).

Māori custom will expect the student to respect the spirituality of the knowledge acquired from this academic journey, to share the knowledge with humility, to be accountable always to the wellbeing of the people, past, present and future and to give the highest quality work. Māori knowledge weaves in and out of the realms of the physical (kawae raro) and metaphysical (kawae runga). The world of wairua Māori (Māori spiritual world) has an active presence in the research although it may not be visible in the written outcome. All the above are components of a kaupapa Māori pathway to a doctorate. With both academic worlds in mind I wondered - why a PhD?

PERSONAL TO THE THESIS

Why a PhD?

A doctorate with a kaupapa Māori framework empowers what it is to be Māori and showcases Māori knowledge, traditions, values and language in the New Zealand and international academic world. A doctoral study opens a mind to the possibilities of exploring further, of questioning and seeking answers not only on a personal and for me a Māori level but also on an academic level. This doctoral study creates the space where understanding can be formed between cultures. I am undertaking a doctorate for my mokopuna (grandchildren), for the revitalisation of te reo Māori (the Māori language), for Te Kōhanga Reo (the language nest), my people, the indigenous people of New Zealand and so that non Māori may gain a better understanding of our Māori way of thinking. That is ‘why a PhD?’ for me.

When contemplating the undertaking of a PhD there were many issues and challenges which plagued me. Finding the time to do this was one. Another challenge was to balance the responsibilities as a researcher, a Māori woman, a worker, a mother and a grandmother. This doctorate is a narrative presentation using a personal Māori voice (in italics) which at times will inter weave between those roles mentioned and the academic voice. The narrative framework is an attempt to represent two of my worlds and do justice to both university academia and kaupapa mātauranga Māori (Māori academia).

The PhD journey

My PhD journey began with my Master of Arts programme. I enrolled at the University of Auckland in 1989. At that time two Māori lecturers in the Department of Education were recruiting Māori students into Masters programmes. Their vision was for the Māori students to use their Master's study as a platform for their doctorates. At the time a Masters qualification seemed a logical pathway to gaining a PhD. The two Māori lecturers were keen and they made the vision seem achievable. The lecturers provided support, guidance and encouragement to a small group of Māori MA and MEd prospective students who studied collaboratively in the late afternoons. The majority of the students had full time employment.

I graduated in 1992 with a Master of Arts, First Class Honours in Education. My Thesis was entitled *Language transference from Te Kōhanga Reo to home: The roles of the child and the family.*¹ My Master's thesis was an ethnographic study of my young four year old child's acquisition and transference of Māori language from her kōhanga to home and the roles that she and our family took in learning te reo Māori (the Māori language). Te Kōhanga Reo² or 'the language nest' is a movement that started in 1982 with the sole purpose of saving the Māori language from dying. Children from birth to five or six years of age attend a Kōhanga and are totally immersed in the Māori language. whānau (family) members especially the parents are encouraged to attend and learn te reo Māori (the Māori language) alongside their children. The movement began as a Māori whānau development initiative. It was led by the kaumātua (elders) and quickly grew from 50

¹ Royal Tangaere, A. (1992). *Te puawaitanga o te reo: Ka hua te hā o te pōtiki i roto i te whānau: ko tēnei te tāhuhu o te kōhanga reo/Language transference from te kōhanga reo to home: The roles of the child and the family.* Unpublished M Ed Thesis, Auckland: University of Auckland.

² Throughout this study Kōhanga Reo (Language Nest) or Te Kōhanga Reo (The Language Nest) as the name of the movement will have each word begin with a capital letter. The word kōhanga (nest) on its own is equivalent to saying centre and will be written in the lower case.

(December 1982) to 819 (July 1993) Kōhanga Reo within ten years (Government Review Team, 1988. Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Chapter Three will describe a more detailed account of the historical and political history of Te Kōhanga Reo.

At the time of my Master's study my two youngest girls aged four and two years were attending one of the local kōhanga. I was extremely interested in how the four year old was not only learning to speak te reo Māori but was also transforming her predominantly English speaking home into a bilingual one. As an educationalist I was fascinated with the strategies she used to acquire, speak and even teach the Māori language, when her father was the only competent speaker in a household of two adults and four children.

My intentions in 1995 was to apply to enrol in a doctoral programme however that year I was awarded a fellowship by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) to publish my Master's thesis. The publication, *Learning Māori together: Kōhanga Reo and home*³ was launched in 1997. Also that year the General Manager of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust (The Trust)⁴ approached our family and asked if I could work at The Trust, for a couple of years to assist with their new training course. My study was placed on hold.

The request from the General Manager, Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, and a well known kaumātua (elder) became a priority. How could I refuse when this movement had started me and our children on our journey to reclaim our identity as Māori, our Tino Rangatiratanga (self determination)? Te Kōhanga Reo is more than a service, which teaches our children our Māori language. It is a wānanga, a place of learning, which is founded on the recognition of whānau (family) as the driving force in our revitalisation of ourselves. The key to unlock the prison of Māori colonisation was the reclaiming of our language.

It became impossible to concentrate on starting a PhD during the next eight years (1995 to 2003) mainly due to work demands caused by the fast pace at which government policies were legislated

³ Royal Tangaere, A. (1997). *Learning Māori together: Kōhanga Reo and home*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER).

⁴ Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust - The Trust is a registered charitable trust (1984) and is the parent body to all Kōhanga Reo services. The Trustees' role is to oversee, monitor and support all kōhanga across the country, advocate on their behalf and negotiate with government for culturally specific policies and for funding.

and the impact these policies had on the Kōhanga Reo movement. The socio-political story of the movement and the implications of those policies will be discussed in Chapter Three.

When my father passed away in December 2001 the dream of a PhD was further put on hold. Family responsibilities made it seem impossible for me to consider university study at that time. However The Trust wished to support me to complete a doctorate so in 2003 they offered me a year's paid study leave to prepare my PhD proposal for consideration by the University of Auckland. A PhD about Te Kōhanga Reo movement with a focus on the language and the whānau was an important way of informing the people nationally and internationally about our kaupapa.

I have not regretted delaying my start on my PhD since 1995. Those eight years with The Trust and with the kōhanga whānau have been rewarding and I have had many rich experiences. In fact the time between has assisted me in deconstructing and reconstructing many of my views on research, on knowledge, and on how government policies are constructed with the intention of benefiting or not benefiting Māori.

I felt honoured to have been able to associate with kaumātua (elders) who began the Te Kōhanga Reo movement. I will always remember their stories and their unconditional love for the vision, the revitalisation of te reo Māori (the Māori language). But most of all I will treasure the moments when I have watched children and their families grow in strength and confidence knowing who they are, conversing in te reo (the language) and proud of being a Māori.

The only regret I have is that both my parents had passed away before I could fulfil their wish to see me complete this work. My mother followed my father's death in 2006. Her loneliness was finally too unbearable for her.

Moe mai rā ōku mātua. Ngā mihi aroha ki a korua mō tā kōrua moemoeā.

Haere atu rā ki a rātou kua whetūrangitia. Haere atu rā, haere atu rā, haere atu rā.

Sleep my parents. Salutations of love to you both for your dream.

Travel on to the stars (in the heavens). Travel on, travel on, travel on.

Our Stories

The narrative approach used in this research is an accumulation of memories or stories either told in written form or orally. A collection of stories gathered from different participants past and present at different times, spaces, countries and cultures will be woven into this study to tell a story of an indigenous people and the passion to maintain the language.

There are many Te Kōhanga Reo stories, each one is special and unique to almost 100,000 children who have been nurtured in te reo and tikanga Māori from 1982 to 2011. My story is but one of these and yet each one of these stories has a common genesis. Each one has a desire and is a part of the greater vision, the vision that involves a commitment from the whānau and it is this very commitment that enriches the movement.

The following are excerpts from a keynote speech that I presented at the Aboriginal Languages Conference: First Nations Educational Council, Quebec, Canada in October 2004.⁵ Te Kōhanga Reo was invited to attend the inaugural conference to talk about the movement and the state of te reo Māori in Kōhanga Reo. When we arrived at the conference we were shocked to feel the sense of hopelessness and frustration expressed by the different tribes of the First Nations' people. According to the conference the languages of the First Nations' people were in a critical state. That night I changed my presentation and told my/our story of when kaumātua (elders) were faced with the same sense of hopelessness as they realised te reo Māori was dying.

I want to tell you a story

I want to tell you a story, a story about a people who love their land, their elders, their children, their language and their culture. This is a story of my; our people, the Māori people of Aotearoa, the Land of the Long White Cloud, New Zealand.

My story will not begin when we travelled the Pacific Ocean and found the great fish (the north island of New Zealand), that our ancestor Māui pulled out of the Pacific Ocean. Our traditional chants hold those stories.

⁵ Royal Tangaere, A. (2004, October). *I want to tell you a story*. Keynote speech presented at the Inaugural Aboriginal Languages Conference: First Nations Educational Council, Quebec, Canada, October 2004

*It will not begin when the white man came to our land and gave Aotearoa their name, New Zealand.
The libraries hold those stories.*

It will not begin when a Treaty was signed in 1840 between the British Crown and our people. The frustrations of our Māori people hold those stories.

It will not begin with our land was being taken from under our feet. The anger of our Māori people holds those stories.

It will not begin when our language was forbidden in our schools and my mother was punished for speaking her mother tongue. My mother holds those stories.

NO

It will begin when our elders came from the four winds of Aotearoa, New Zealand and met in Wellington⁶ in 1979. They came to discuss the many issues that troubled our people, our unemployment; our poor health; our crime rate; our loss of land; our dying language.

Of all these the survival of our language was the most important issue we had to face. Only we, as a people, could do this. Not the schools, not other New Zealanders, not the government.

Because as Sir James Henare one of the founders of this movement (Te Kōhanga Reo) said

“Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori”

‘The Māori language is the life force of Māori mana/prestige’

Our language is the thought of our people; our language is the heartbeat of our people; and as I have read on one of the First Nations’ peoples posters, our language is ‘the “soul” of our nation’.

The elders decided that the Māori language would be taught to our very young as soon as they were born. Our babies would be placed in their care. This is our traditional way of learning.

FOR

⁶ Wellington is the capital city of New Zealand

Our elders are the keepers of our values;

Our elders are the holders of the language;

Our elders are our living libraries.

And together with our children they are the key to the survival of our language.

As a young parent I could not speak our language and I would never have thought it possible that my children would learn Māori as their first language. I would never have thought that I would learn my language alongside my children safe under the mantle of the elders. That I would revalidate our knowledge base, our view of the world.

When I became involved with the movement in 1982, my daughter, Rangi was not born. We were a small group of young mothers. We had no land, no building, no money, no elders, but we were determined to set up a Kōhanga Reo in a field if that was the final resort. After all our elders said, that Earth Mother and Sky Father were our classrooms.

Why did we want Te Kōhanga Reo for our children? Why?

Because we didn't have the language;

Because we had this burning ache in our hearts;

Because we were hungry for the language;

Because it was ours; and

Because if it died we died as a people.

Who could imagine an existence with no Māori language?

Who would care for my ancestral meeting house?

Who would care for our land, our seas, our mountains, our rivers?

Who would call my ancestors to come for me when I lie in state?

WHO? WHO?

This was the foundation of Te Kōhanga Reo, the call of the elders, the future of our children, and the aspirations of the parents. Te Kōhanga Reo was born from the people. We are the Kōhanga Reo whānau or family. We are the managers, the employers, the users, the workers, the teachers and the learners. Not the government.

And the owners of this movement are our children, our mokopuna. The imprint of our ancestors. We call ourselves kaupapa kaimahi which means workers for the cause. We have 10,600 bosses and they are all under 5 years old. We, the parents, were committed to ensuring the survival of the language. We were prepared to entrust our children to this call from our elders

So now I turn to our elders. To our elders of the past, I greet you most humbly for your wisdom and vision. To our elders of the present, I greet you most humbly for your patience and guidance. To our elders of the future, do not forgot our stories and hold fast to our beliefs (Royal Tangaere; 2004).

Te reo Māori, its demise and regeneration and the Te Kōhanga Reo whānau role in that regeneration is the focus of this research. This study explores the passion of a young movement, Te Kōhanga Reo, (the language nest) as a non violent resistance to the degradation and loss of that language. This study highlights links between te reo Māori, the purpose of the Kōhanga Reo movement, its philosophical stance impregnated with the traditional customs of the Māori world and the important role of the whānau. At the centre of the whānau are the mokopuna, the grandchildren, the future hope and carriers of the Māori language, ‘*ngā rangatira mō āpōpō*’.⁷

One of the main change agents for the revitalisation of te reo Māori has been the ‘Te Kōhanga Reo’ (language nest) movement led by the mokopuna, their hands securely held by their kaumātua. The movement has forced Māori people to reflect on the last two hundred years of colonisation and has reconnected them with their traditions and values. More importantly Te Kōhanga Reo movement has achieved this resurgence of energy within a Māori framework (tikanga Māori).

Since the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (The Treaty of Waitangi) in 1840, between the British Crown and the Māori tribes of New Zealand, Māori have protested and struggled to maintain sovereignty over our lands, our economy and our language. Māori customs were the rights of a people which were supposed to have been secured as set by the highest order, the British Crown (as written in the Treaty of Waitangi: Article Two). However the new settlers to the country had an ‘insatiable demand for land’ (Simon.1990:1). That hunger for land was the beginning of the erosion of the Māori traditions and values. The newly formed government’s legislation to procure or

⁷ *Ngā Rangatira mō āpōpō* translated means ‘the leaders of tomorrow’. When referring to Māori children as the leaders of tomorrow whānau are reminded of their obligations to nurture guide and empower children in preparation for the future.

confiscate as much land as possible for the immigrant settlers gave rise to the 1860s Land Wars. The control of power gradually shifted from Māori to the new settlers' government and consequently to the new settlers.

The government took charge of education for Māori and designated te reo Māori as an unimportant, inferior language not necessary for Māori children to learn or speak, under the schools' assimilation policy if they wished to advance in the western world (Simon, 1990). This was the beginning of the demise of te reo Māori in Aotearoa /New Zealand. The confiscation of the land and the undermining of the value of the Māori language impacted on the loss of mana (dignity), of Māori as a people.

Almost 140 years after the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* between the British Crown and the Māori tribes the government policy of assimilation had changed the dominant language in Māori households, from Māori to English (Benton, 1978). Concern for the language loss led to the rise of the Kōhanga Reo movement.

I found in my Master's Thesis that my daughter who was my research subject was immersed in te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and āhuatanga Māori at Kōhanga. As she acquired the language she transferred the language and cultural values into our home. Her acquisition of the language inspired our whānau and especially my husband to support all our children's Māori language development and transformed our home lifestyle.

Having been involved with the movement since 1982, having visited almost 50% of the Kōhanga Reo in the country, attended Te Kōhanga Reo with my two youngest children and having experienced their development as competent speakers of te reo I posed the hypothesis - *that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori.*

The hypothesis raised three over arching questions.

1. What is the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo as defined by tikanga Māori (customs and values)?

2. What is the inter relationship between socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) and the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori? and
3. What mechanisms are being used to construct language development in these socio-cultural interactions?

To address these questions the research firstly needs to define the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo. Then the thesis will discuss the second question by exploring language socialisation and language development. The third question is addressed when language mechanisms that construct language within the whānau and particularly for children are analysed. The next section of this chapter briefly outlines the thesis and the focus of each chapter.

OUTLINE TO THE THESIS

Kaupapa Māori principles were used to guide the study. A discussion on Kaupapa Māori theory and its influence on the research methodology as well as the Kōhanga Reo movement is elaborated on in the next chapter. Kaupapa Māori theory enabled the writer to site the story of Te Kōhanga Reo within its Aotearoa /New Zealand settings, Māori and non-Māori. This theory validates Māori epistemology while tracking Te Kōhanga Reo movement's self determination for the survival of te reo Māori. The principles of Kaupapa Māori theory also played an important role in the methodological process applied in this research. Kaupapa Māori guided the researcher in the methods employed when selecting participants such as kaumātua, kōhanga, whānau and children.

The socio-political story of te reo Māori is traced from early colonisation of Aotearoa /New Zealand through to the birth of the Kōhanga Reo movement (Walker, 2004). The story of the struggle of te reo Māori is aligned to resistance theories such as cultural hegemony (Gramsci 1971; Giroux, 2011). Both Smith (2002) and Pihama (1993) described Te Kōhanga Reo as a movement that counter acts oppression and that this very stance defines Kōhanga Reo as Kaupapa Māori theory in action. From these descriptions of struggle the reader is able to gain an understanding of the purpose of Te Kōhanga Reo and the socio-political stance that Māori make for the survival of their language and culture.

With these Kaupapa Māori principles in mind and having established Te Kōhanga Reo as an example of Kaupapa Māori theory in action the research required a theoretical framework that would encapsulate not only the holistic nature of the story of te reo Māori but also address language socialisation and language acquisition. For Māori the concept of time, past, present and future is also an important factor in these stories as I alluded to in my keynote speech previously. Therefore the theoretical framework needed to address socio-cultural political stories over time at a *big picture* or macro level as well as at the micro level of the whānau to appreciate the inter-relationships and the influence that each level had on the other. For example as the researcher is gathering and analysing data on the construction of Māori language development within the whānau settings, the researcher is mindful of the socio-cultural politics of government and iwi Māori (Māori tribes) that impact on the kōhanga.

In considering an appropriate theoretical framework I adapted a model based on two of Bronfenbrenner's ecology models. These two models were his 1979 *Ecology of Human Development* and his 2005 bio-ecology model, an update of his 1979 version. The factor of time was also a concept that Bronfenbrenner included in his two ecology models. My adaptation of his models looked at the socio-cultural ecology of whānau development in relation to the story of te reo Māori, language socialisation and the language acquisition of children in the kōhanga and home settings. The whānau became my unit of analysis with the central theme being te reo Māori particularly in relation to the child's language learning and development. The model is entitled the *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* and this theoretical framework is described in Chapter Four alongside a review of socio-cultural theories and models of language development considered for this research.

The *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* model with Kaupapa Māori theory principles as its foundation sets the theoretical position for this research. The model introduces and positions various theories and models such as the theory of language socialisation, which focuses on Schieffelin and Ochs' work (1986, 2008). A critical review of language acquisition and language mechanisms is also presented. The language acquisition theory critiques Bruner's (1983) 'Language Acquisition Support Systems' (LASS), and Vygotsky's (1978) 'scaffolding' alongside Rogoff's (1990, 1995, 2003) three planes of foci and analysis and finally includes Fivush, Haden and Reese (2006) 'elaboration' as an extension of scaffolding. Finally a Māori model of development as orated through the Māori story of the 'Poutama' is placed alongside the critical review of the

language socialisation and language acquisition theories and models. The ‘Poutama’ a Māori model of development is generally represented visually by most iwi as nested stairways where development is seen as progressive steps up towards enlightenment and then down the stairways to share that knowledge with the iwi (tribe).

As mentioned previously the first question arising out of the hypothesis is concerned with defining the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo. A description of traditional Māori knowledge provides the reader with the cultural base and spiritual dimension of Te Kōhanga Reo. Three traditional Māori concepts pertaining to the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo are focused on. These are whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga Māori (Māori customs and values) and whanaungatanga (relationships).

According to Buck (1966), Mead (2003) and Pere (1994) whakapapa (genealogy) conceptualises the structure of the Māori whānau (family) and the members’ physical, emotional and spiritual blood ties to one another and to Papatūānuku or Earth Mother. Tikanga are traditional customs, beliefs and values which establish guidelines for behaviour within the whānau (family), hapū (sub tribe) and iwi (tribe) (Buck, 1966; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1994). The cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo is derived from traditional customs, beliefs and values. Therefore tikanga Māori is an integral part of the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo.

The third cultural concept is whanaungatanga which means relationships (Mead, 2003). Whanaungatanga contains two other words within it. These are ‘whānau’ (family) and ‘whanaunga’ (kin relation) and are important elements integral to the process of whanaungatanga. These relationships are also guided by tikanga as whānau are expected to live the rules set by tikanga. The three concepts are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, *Whānau Māori*.

The second overarching question, *what is the inter relationship between socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) and the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori* investigates the cultural interactions in relation to the concept of whanaungatanga (relationships) and explores the language used with and by the four children as they communicate with others. These interactions are examined for the presence of cultural patterns or routine activities which enable the children to socialise through constructing language as well as socialise into language. The routine activities that were identified in the children’s social interactions were termed Cultural Learning Experiences (CLE) for the purpose of this study.

The third overarching question *what mechanisms are being used to construct language development in these socio-cultural interactions* addresses the construction of language development and examines the language mechanisms employed during the children's social interactions. The language mechanisms are identified and analysed according to the inter-relationship between the construction of language development and the socialisation aspect of language. In this study the children's language is recorded in their kōhanga and home settings and the types of mechanisms or strategies they employed are identified and analysed in relation to socio-cultural and language development.

Four families in two Kōhanga Reo were selected in 2004 as case studies for the research. The two kōhanga were chosen by the District Manager as they were considered to be kōhanga with strong cultural support, very good whānau participation and more than one kaiako who were qualified with the Tohu Whakapakari.⁸ Unfortunately one of these Kōhanga Reo had to withdraw from the study (2005). They were relocated to another site and had to wait for their building to be renovated. Due to time constraints I approached a third Kōhanga Reo in another large urban area. This Kōhanga Reo was close to my home, was new, had a strong cultural base, and had active whānau support and staff with the Tohu Whakapakari. It was also a Kōhanga Reo that I was a whānau member of as my mokopuna (grandchild) attended that kōhanga. Both parents in that kōhanga had volunteered to participate. Four children, two from each kōhanga were chosen by the kōhanga whānau as my case studies.

In the four case studies the parents and kōhanga kaimahi (staff) interviews, the diary recordings of the children's language and internal documentation pertaining to the kōhanga as well as personal communication with kaumātua, formed the basis of the data. The research methodology presents the design of the study and the importance of acknowledging the Kaupapa Maori principles during the research.

This thesis uses an ecological approach to whānau development as the theoretical framework by adapting Bronfenbrenner's Ecology of Human Development model (1979, 2005). The principles of

⁸ Tohu Whakapakari is the three year training programme for kaiako working in Kōhanga Reo. It is New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) approved and is considered as being at Level 7 of the New Zealand Qualifications Framework along with Diplomas and a Bachelors degree.

kaupapa Māori theory sit alongside this whānau development model and permeate through each of the chapters. This chapter concludes the introduction to this research by summarising the overview and giving a brief outline of the study in each chapter.

CHAPTER OUTLINES

This first chapter has introduced the reader to the researcher, outlined the reasons why I have undertaken a PhD study and the influence that Te Kōhanga Reo has made on my life. From my interest in Te Kōhanga Reo and particularly the language acquisition of children I posed a hypothesis for consideration. Three overarching questions rise out of the hypothesis and set the context for the study to address.

The research design and methodology forms the basis for Chapter Two. Kaupapa Māori theory is an integral part of the methodology when working with the four case studies in the two kōhanga. The research methodology demonstrates how the three overarching questions are addressed through the use of various research instruments.

The socio-cultural political and historical accounts of te reo Māori (Māori language) and the Kōhanga Reo movement are the focus for Chapter Three. This chapter gives examples of resistance and the struggle for language revitalisation. Here a background context at a macro level is provided over time for the research.

In Chapter Four a theoretical framework to better explore the construction of language development within the whānau is posed. My adaptation to Bronfenbrenner's *Ecology of Human Development* (1979, 2005) which I have called '*Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development*' is mapped out as this research framework. The investigation of the three questions draws on and highlights other theoretical models mentioned previously in this chapter which assist with explaining language socialisation and language acquisition.

Chapter Five focuses on a socio-cultural view of the whānau Māori (Māori family) and defines the cultural base that guides the Kōhanga Reo. Past writers of Māori culture such as Best (1975, 1976b), Buck (1966), Makereti (1986) provide a rich description of traditional Māori customs and

values and complement current writers of Māoridom (Barlow, 2005; Mead, 2003; Royal, 2003; Walker, 2004). Māori perspectives on whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (customs and values) and whanaungatanga (relationships) are defined and established as the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo.

The parents and kaiako are the voices of the kōhanga. They are the people who have had the courage, passion and perseverance to hold fast to the vision. Chapter Six contains their voice.

The voices of the children are the main focus of Chapter Seven. Recordings of the four children's language are discussed as Cultural Learning Experiences (CLE) and analysed in accordance with the cultural base set Chapter Five. The first section of this chapter explores language socialisation and whanaungatanga within these Cultural Learning Experiences and addresses the second question, *what is the inter-relationship between socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) and the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori?* The second section identifies language mechanisms the children and whānau employ in their socio-cultural interactions. An analysis of these language mechanisms highlights how children are actively acquiring language. Models, Māori and non Māori, are explored to determine how children might acquire language and therefore addressing the third question, *what mechanisms are being used to construct language development in these socio-cultural interactions?*

The hypothesis is discussed in Chapter Eight and revisits the *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* model highlighting a kaupapa Māori theoretical approach on the interconnectedness within and between the socio-cultural political level and the daily lives of the children and whānau in the kōhanga. The chapter continues by critiquing the impact that socio-cultural policies have on the Kōhanga Reo movement as kōhanga and home whānau construct language and culture. The chapter concludes by posing cautionary statements to the kōhanga whānau, the movement and to government about the future survival of te reo Māori.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

MY RESEARCH STORY

When preparing for this doctorate it was necessary for me to understand the two cultural perspectives of firstly what research means in both the Pākehā and Māori world and secondly what is meant by Kaupapa Māori research.

Since completing my Masters in 1992 I have gone through a rather challenging learning curve. My definition of research has grown to include my Māori world view. I have been challenged to think outside the square and to “see” other frameworks and models, which are uniquely Māori. I have re interpreted these frameworks and models. Many of these I learned as stories during my childhood and only recently have I been able to feel the depth of wisdom and the subtle messages that have been left for us. And so I have begun my journey to seek the three baskets of knowledge as did our atua (spiritual guardian), Tāne nui a Rangi to gain insight into the universe, to gain omnipresent knowledge.

To me, the story is about the three baskets of knowledge, the heart of research from a Māori perspective. With this journey comes a set of values, which I am required to observe and act upon. Māori models and theories of the world are available to me through our ancient karakia (prayers) and moteatea or chants. These are our libraries with our kaumātua as the keepers. And the key to unlock these models is our language.

INTRODUCTION

I am clear about the academic requirements for research and the rigour needed to ensure valid data is gathered. I am also clear as a Māori woman about the cultural requirement for seeking or

researching new information under a framework that is Māori. The challenge as a Māori academic was the constant awareness of academia versus culture.

The theoretical framework for this research created several challenges particularly as I felt that tikanga Māori principles needed to guide the study, especially the fieldwork. Conversely my MA thesis was grounded in Bruner, Bronfenbrenner's and Vygotsky's models to investigate the language transference of a young Māori child from her Kōhangā Reo to her home. These were models from western thought. After the completion of my Masters these western theories and models lead me to explore Māori theories of resistance such as Kaupapa Māori theory, discussed later in this chapter and Māori theories of development such as the *Poutama*⁹ which I describe in detail in the Chapter Four *Whānau Development and the Construction of Language: A Theoretical Framework*.

This study draws on the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory as this theory was the most appropriate as a basis for the methodology design. According to Smith (1997) and Pihamā (1993) Kaupapa Māori theory validates te reo and tikanga Māori (Māori language and customs) particularly in relation to the involvement of the research participants and the Kōhangā Reo movement. Therefore in exploring the genesis of Kaupapa Māori theory as a theory of resistance this chapter looks briefly at resistance theories such as Critical Theory. Critical Theory is discussed as the platform from which Kaupapa Māori theory developed and examples of Kaupapa Māori theory in practice are described with a particular focus on Te Kōhangā Reo. Kaupapa Māori theory places the principles of Kaupapa Māori as important threads in all aspects of this study. The discussion raises issues that Māori researchers and Māori participants are confronted with during the research (Bishop, 1994; Irwin, 1994; McMurchy- Pilkington, 2004; Pihamā, 1993). Chapter Three *Te Reo Māori: A story of struggle* is an example of Kaupapa Māori theory in action.

Firstly this chapter presents a definition and historical position of Kaupapa Māori theory evolving out of resistance theory and critical theory. An overview of the methodology underpinning the study and the research instruments follows this and continuously refers to Kaupapa Māori theory. Finally the approach to the fieldwork covering the methods of contact, engagement, negotiation of participation and the strategies that were used to analyse data on the four whānau complete this chapter.

⁹ Poutama is a lattice woven traditional Māori design which looks like a series of stairways. The design depicts the story of Tane nui a Rangi ascending to the uppermost spiritual regions to seek the three baskets of knowledge.

RESISTANCE THEORIES

Kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophical) theory has emerged out of resistance and struggle (Pihama, 1993, Smith 1997). To appreciate the essence of Kaupapa Māori theory I will begin with briefly tracking the history of resistance theory. I focus on three resistance theorists beginning with Gramsci's (1971) concept of cultural hegemony,¹⁰ Freire's (1972) pedagogy of the oppressed and Giroux's (1983, 2011) critical pedagogy. These three theorists established a platform for the concept of Kaupapa Māori theory which is utilised in this research particularly with reference to Te Kōhanga Reo movement.

Before starting this PhD study I knew about but felt that I did not have an in depth understanding of critical theory. I considered my discipline to be developmental psychology as I have a curiosity for language development within socio-cultural contexts. I certainly felt that I knew what Kaupapa Māori was as I worked in the national office of a movement which saw itself as a Kaupapa Māori movement, namely Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. One of my roles at the Trust was in policy and development where we experienced situations of struggle and resistance as we worked to formulate solutions to government policies while maintaining the autonomy of the movement. Examples of Kaupapa Māori theory in action will be presented later in this section.

Cultural Hegemony

While serving a 20 year term in an Italian prison in the 1930s Gramsci wrote profusely on counteracting fascism and in his effort to understand power his concept of hegemony emerged. Hegemony was a term used by Marxist theorists however Gramsci refined the term and coined cultural hegemony. He explained that cultural hegemony was when one social class or culture (bourgeois, upper middle class) had political and economic control over another social class or culture (proletariat, working class or minority culture) to the degree that the values of the bourgeois social class are accepted as 'common sense' values for the benefit of everyone.

The dominant social class or culture is able to project its way of seeing the world in such a way that the working class willingly accept these bourgeois values or ideologies and in doing so perpetuate

¹⁰ The reference used for Gramsci's work is Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks*. (Edited and translated). Hoare, Q & Nowell Smith, G. New York: International Publishers.

the continuation of that social /cultural order. Gramsci argued that the dominant social class or culture not only had political and economic power but also needed to control the culture of the subordinate social class. This control was achieved by means of winning their consent. Gramsci posited that a ‘common sense’ position is continually transforming as the working class, who are mindful of their material disadvantage become restless and dissatisfied. They are needed to be ‘won over’ again by the dominant social class to avoid a threat to the social order.

Gramsci highlighted the word *struggle* particularly of the subordinate social class and introduced the term *organic intellectuals* as individuals who resist hegemony and bring about change. Giroux (2011) supported Gramsci’s emphasis on *struggle* and stated that critical pedagogy is the ‘outcome of particular struggles’. Gramsci had made an important contribution towards the evolution of critical theory and critical pedagogy.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Similarly Freire (1972) posed his theory *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, whereby he discussed the power relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. Freire described the state of oppression using a ‘banking’ concept of education where the oppressors deposit their world realities into the consciousness of the oppressed. The oppressed as passive learners accept these realities as common sense. By ‘fitting’ into the world of the oppressors and seeing no need to question that reality they perpetuate their state of oppression.

Freire referred to the oppressed needing to be ‘conscientised’ or critically aware of their oppressed state to be able to affect change. This conscientisation emerges out of the oppressed group’s heightened awareness of contradictions in experiences and through this new awareness being motivated to change their situation. To break the banking concept of education Freire stated that there needed to be a reciprocal relationship between the roles of the teacher and student through the action of dialogue.

Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in their turn, while being taught also teach (p. 53).

One of Freire's contributions to critical theory was his concept of action for change or critical pedagogy. The method to achieve this transformation he termed as problem-posing education where students-teachers were actively involved in cognitive exchange or dialogue rather than the transference of knowledge from the teacher to the student as described in the banking concept. He considered the concept of dialogical teaching as revolutionary. Critical pedagogy is an extension of dialogical teaching.

Critical Theory and Critical Pedagogy

Gibson (1986) declared that "Critical theory acknowledges the sense of frustration and powerlessness that many feel as they see their personal destinies out of their own control and in the hands of others". He raised a fundamental question "whose interests are being served". Gibson based critical theory on Giroux's (1983) resistance theory. In Giroux's terms resistance theory undermines the continuous reproduction of inequalities in the following ways,

- Reproduction is never achieved due to groups actively resisting the dominant culture's ideology.
- To sustain their resistance the group will draw on their cultural knowledge and processes.
- Being better informed can lead to values of emancipation manifesting in the opposing group.

The key concept in resistance theory is emancipation. Its value lies in its critical function (Giroux, 1983) and the conscientisation of the individual to take action for change (Freire, 1972). Critical theory enables a deconstruction of social discontent and a feeling of dis-ease as a result of inequalities. Initiating change towards a more equitable society through self reflection on policies, practices, attitudes and assumptions can reveal causes and enable strategies to be put into place giving rise to critical pedagogy.

According to Kincheloe (2007)¹¹ critical pedagogy is the study of oppression in education and how 'issues of race, class, gender, social and colonialism will shape the nature of education and what goes on in education'. Giroux (2011:3) argues that critical pedagogy also provides tools to 'unsettle common sense assumptions' and continues to say that 'critical pedagogy takes as one of its central projects an attempt to be discerning and attentive to those places and practices in which social

¹¹ Kincheloe, J. (2007) video clip <http://www.freireproject.org> accessed 19 January 2012.

agency has been denied and produced (*Ibid*). Critical pedagogy is the ongoing struggle of the individual and the collective.

Resistance, struggle and emancipation are noted as three important elements of critical theory. Kaupapa Māori theory is located in critical theory where these three elements are pivotal to affecting transformation by Māori for Māori.

Kaupapa Māori theory

Kaupapa Māori theory is a relatively new theory of resistance although the action of resistance is not so new for Māori as Hone Heke, a Māori chief from Northland demonstrated when he cut down the British flagpole a few years after he had signed the Treaty of Waitangi.¹² The Land Wars which began in the late 1860s is another example of Māori resistance to the newly formed New Zealand government's confiscation of Māori land. The Māori resistance to the devalued status of te reo Māori by a variety of Māori groups such as the Māori Women's Welfare League,¹³ the New Zealand Māori Council,¹⁴ The Māori Education Foundation,¹⁵ and Ngā Tama Toa¹⁶ has activated an indigenous people to take responsibility for their own destiny. This act of tino rangatiratanga (self determination) to ensure the survival of te reo Māori resulted in Te Kōhanga Reo movement¹⁷, Kura Kaupapa Māori movement¹⁸ and Ngā Whare Wānanga.¹⁹ The resistance and struggles of Māori to the imposed colonial power is introduced and examined in Chapter Three, *Te Reo Māori: A Story of Struggle*.

Struggle is an important component of Kaupapa Māori theory for it is this idea of struggle that has helped to shape and reshape the political conscientisation of Māori people where critical reflection, resistance and transformation occurs (Smith, G. 2003). Both Pihama (1993) and Smith (1997) state

¹² Treaty of Waitangi or Te Tiriti o Waitangi was an agreement signed on 6 February 1840 between the British Crown and the Māori chiefs of Aotearoa /New Zealand.

¹³ Māori Women's Welfare League – a group established in 1951 to support, care for and advocate to government for the wellbeing of Māori families.

¹⁴ New Zealand Māori Council – a group of Māori men who monitor issues and advocate on behalf of Māori people to government.

¹⁵ Māori Education Foundation – an organisation established to support Māori initiatives in Education.

¹⁶ Ngā Tama Toa – young Māori group of university students who actively challenged government and institutions particularly with regard to the status and state of te reo Māori

¹⁷ Te Kōhanga Reo movement – Māori language nests or centres for preschool children who are totally immersed in the Māori language, Māori customs and values and a Māori way of interacting.

¹⁸ Kura kaupapa Māori movement – Māori medium schools where the philosophy, curriculum and operation are designed around a Māori world view and taught in the Māori language.

¹⁹ Ngā Whare Wānanga – Māori universities.

that Kaupapa Māori theory has a common element and that is the validation of te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and āhuatanga Māori.

Smith (1990, 1992, 1997, 2003) states that te reo Māori and tikanga Māori are not seen in a marginalised position in Kaupapa Māori theory. It is viewed as a given. He continues to say that Kaupapa Māori theory necessitates a stance, a position of resistance in relation to Māori language and culture.

Smith (2002:8) put forward six principles of Kaupapa Māori theory

- Self determination or relative autonomy.
- Validating and legitimizing cultural aspirations and identity
- Incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy
- Mediating socio-economic and home difficulties
- Incorporating cultural structures which emphasise the ‘collective’ rather than the ‘individual’ as a notion of the extended family
- Shared and collective vision or philosophy

Pihama (1993) supports Smith’s statement of resistance and affirmed that Kaupapa Māori theory movements such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori may be viewed as ‘kaupapa Māori theory in action’. Pihama states that Kaupapa Māori theorists reject dominant groups’ constructions of Māori and validates Māori indigenous people as tangata whenua (people of the land). Te reo Māori (the language) and tikanga Māori (Māori customs and values) is essential to the development of Kaupapa Māori theory as it is through these that an understanding of the Māori culture is gained. She also argues that the oppression of Māori people was not through ideologies alone but also at an economic level. This level of economic exploitation is linked to the confiscation of Māori land and the politics and policies of central government.

In fact Māori have now adopted a counter hegemonic approach as an act of resistance and this struggle has moved a people into action with regards to language, culture, land, health and economics. Māori people have been “mobilised in culturally appropriate ways to participate in social change” (Irwin, 1990:120).

Kaupapa Māori theory therefore aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of ‘common sense’ and ‘facts’ to provide ad hoc justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori people (Pihama, 1993:56).

Kaupapa Māori is seen by Māori as an intervention strategy. Smith (2002) argues that new formations of Māori intervention have redefined ‘Western dominant’ resistance notions of *conscientisation*, to *resistance to transformative action or praxis* as a linear progression to a cyclic form. In the cyclic model all three components are seen as being of equal importance, can be engaged simultaneously and

individuals can enter the cycle from any position and do not necessarily (in reflecting on Māori experience within kaupapa Māori interventions) have to start at the point of ‘conscientisation’(Smith, 2002:10)

Smith continues to say that Māori need to move beyond critical analysis to transformative praxis. He argues that Māori need to more fully understand how change is developed and actually achieved. ‘There is a need to move beyond description of problems and issues to making sure that change does in fact occur’ (Smith, 2002:12).

Kaupapa Māori theory and Te Kōhanga Reo

Te Kōhanga Reo movement is Kaupapa Māori theory in action. The movement epitomises tino rangatiratanga or self determination and autonomy (Smith, 2002). The Kōhanga Reo kaupapa (philosophical) statements espouse and validate te reo Māori (Māori language), tikanga Māori (Māori customs and values) and āhuatanga Māori (Māori methods of ‘doing’). These kaupapa statements are a ‘given’ within the movement (Smith, 1990, 1992, 1997, 2003). Whānau learning as a collective rather than as individuals is promoted as the preferred pedagogical style of learning (Freire, 1972; Giroux, 2011). The kōhanga whānau support one another as extended whānau and the entire Kōhanga Reo movement has a shared collective kaupapa (philosophy). The process of taking control of one’s own destiny and reverse power shifts is emancipatory (Giroux, 1983). Whānau become conscientised to the struggle (Freire, 1972, McMurchy-Pilkington, 2004). They become aware of their reality, their minimal power and the inequity.

According to Smith (2002) whānau have been caught up in transformative praxis when taking their children to Te Kōhanga Reo and this has lead to ‘conscientisation and participation in resistance’.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Māori are tired of being researched when the outcomes of research point to the inadequacies of Māori achievement, which are measured according to non-Māori standards and values. In an article on Māori people's concerns about research into their lives Bishop (1996a) discussed how majority culture researchers have developed and maintained their hegemony over the research process in Aotearoa/New Zealand. He stated that research had contributed to continual attacks on the values, mores, and cultural interactions of Māori as a people.

Despite Māori people being the most researched people in the world, there is a great deal of evidence that much research into Māori people's lives and experiences conducted by educational and other researchers has been of more benefit to the researchers than to those who have been the object of study Bishop (1996 a:25).

One hundred years of research on Māori has not validated the Māori world. That research has served to support western theories and knowledge. Dr Linda Smith, a noted Māori researcher stated that

Research is implicated in the production of western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories which have dehumanised Māori and in the practices which have continued to privilege western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture (Smith, L. 1996:196).

Māori perspective on research demands a cultural agenda which has its roots firmly planted in a foundation of accountability to the whānau, hapū and iwi. The first lesson learned when embarking on a research project is that although the research may be focused on one small aspect of a wider topic it is interwoven into a matrix of Māori life, values and culture. Therefore the approval of the whānau, extended whānau and hapū is sought. The process to gain approval can be lengthy and challenging as members of the whānau ask for clarification on the purpose of the project, how it will benefit the people and what form of reciprocity is given back to the people.

In a discussion paper written by Evelyn Stokes (1985) for the National Research Advisory Council she argued for the validation of Māori knowledge and values, that there should be more Māori research and there is a need to train more Māori as researchers (cited in Smith, 1996:102). According to Smith (1996) this was not the first time that Māori researchers had questioned these same points, the difference this time was that Stokes was being heard at the top policy level.

Māori researchers are questioning the purpose of research, the western theories that research may be based on, the research tools employed and the research methodology used. (Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999). Questioning and resisting is becoming more common as Māori researchers ‘go back home’ and on the one hand seek the blessing of their whānau while on the other are required by their academic institute to research their whānau against a non-Māori framework.

The process posed by Smith (2002, 2003) has similarities to and therefore supports the research process established by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, which is based on the movement’s four kaupapa statements. The Kōhanga Reo Code of Research was used in this doctoral study along with the University’s Code of Ethical requirements. A discussion on Ethics approval is in the section titled Fieldwork. The four kaupapa statements of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust required researchers to strongly consider

- Te reo and tikanga Māori when working with Kōhanga whānau including preferred pedagogical practices such as whanaungatanga
- The mana of the whānau through recognising the autonomy of the Kōhanga and its vision. The entire whānau are kept informed at all times. The researcher is answerable to the Kōhanga whānau and works around the needs of the whānau
- Accountability. The researchers must report back to the whānau. Present their findings to the whānau and state who the research will benefit.
- Wellbeing of the mokopuna and whānau. The research participants’ names are confidential and the information gathered will not harm the integrity of individual children and adults in the Kōhanga.

Māori researchers are confronted with the task of interacting with credibility between the interface of the two cultures, demonstrating to both cultures the rigour of research and to sharing the findings with others keeping uppermost in their mind the cultural sensitivity and care of information entrusted to them by the whānau. Most important is balancing the accountability to the participant whānau, which in turn also means the hapū and iwi, and the academic institution. The challenge is for the academic institution to enable and empower future Māori researchers in the pathway of Kaupapa Māori Research (Bishop, 1994, 1996a). This means sharing the power equally with the Māori community and pushing the bounds of academia so that that Māori community has a sense of

ownership, empowerment and benefit from any academic study undertaken by researchers. This is research guided by Kaupapa Māori theory (Smith, 2003).

Kaupapa Māori research is based on a Māori knowledge base, values and concepts (refer to Chapter Five). It employs Māori preferred styles of working with the Māori people. These styles or methodology are guided by tikanga Māori where Māori language is the key. Kaupapa Māori research is transparent for all in the whānau and often it is the whānau that might make decisions for the researcher. Kaupapa Māori research is an emancipatory, collective approach to finding solutions that will benefit the whānau and not just the researcher.

Keeping in mind the theories and models that I explore in this chapter I also wanted the research to take into account the language development of the whānau and particularly the four main participants, the children and together their construction of te reo Māori. The principles of Kaupapa Māori permeate the study and the use of an over arching framework was posed. This overarching framework or theoretical model is called the *Socio-Cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* as described in Chapter Four entitled *Whānau Development and the Construction of Language: A Theoretical Framework*. The purpose of this model was to visualise the development of the whānau within a multi-layered socio-cultural environment as they actively participate in the construction of their children's language development. The theoretical model also assisted in guiding the research methodology by identifying areas of focus for gathering information such as at a national level as well as in the Kōhanga Reo and the home settings.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The hypothesis that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and Kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori. This is examined by answering three questions.

- What is the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo as defined by tikanga Māori (customs and values)?
- What is the inter relationship between socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) and the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori? And;

- What mechanisms are children using to construct language development in these socio-cultural interactions?

The history of Te Kōhanga Reo tracks the social and political struggle of te reo Māori, the purpose of Te Kōhanga Reo, the revitalisation of the Māori language and the empowerment of the whānau in Chapter Three. This chapter gives the reader a contextual background to Te Kōhanga Reo as an example of Kaupapa Māori theory in action and lays the foundation for question one. Similarly Chapter Five *Whānau Māori* provides contextual information to address all three questions. Chapter Five describes whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (traditional customs and values) and whanaungatanga (cultural relationships) as components of Māori culture, introduces whānau Māori (Māori family), traditional and contemporary and in particular the kōhanga whānau. These two chapters underpin the Kaupapa Māori theory, which validates te reo (the language), tikanga (values and customs) and āhuatanga Māori (Māori preferred ways of interacting) and lays out the cultural base for Te Kōhanga Reo.

A qualitative research method guided by Kaupapa Māori theory was employed to gather the data at the different ecosystem levels. A qualitative Kaupapa Māori approach allows the researcher to be involved in the research process. Bishop (1998) posed whakawhanaungatanga as a research strategy and outlined three overlapping implications. The word whakawhanaungatanga means ‘to make’ (whaka), ‘relationships’ (whanaungatanga) or developing and maintaining relationships. Therefore the three implications centre on building these relationships such as establishing a “whānau of interest through a process of spiral discourse” (Bishop, 1998:133). The second implication is that the researcher is participating “physically, ethically, morally and spiritually” (*ibid*) and finally in a Māori context Bishop sees the research as being driven by the participant.

A qualitative Kaupapa Māori research approach involves methods that consider the participants and their contextual settings (Berg, 2007). If the researcher employs whanaungatanga as a research process the researcher is obligated to observe the values inherent in the concept of the word. These values are manaakitanga, (being hospitable), aroha (unconditional respect/love) and atawhai (depth of caring).

Selecting research instruments that would address the hypothesis and answer the three questions meant identifying how to obtain the best source of information and evidence. The research instruments are described in the next section.

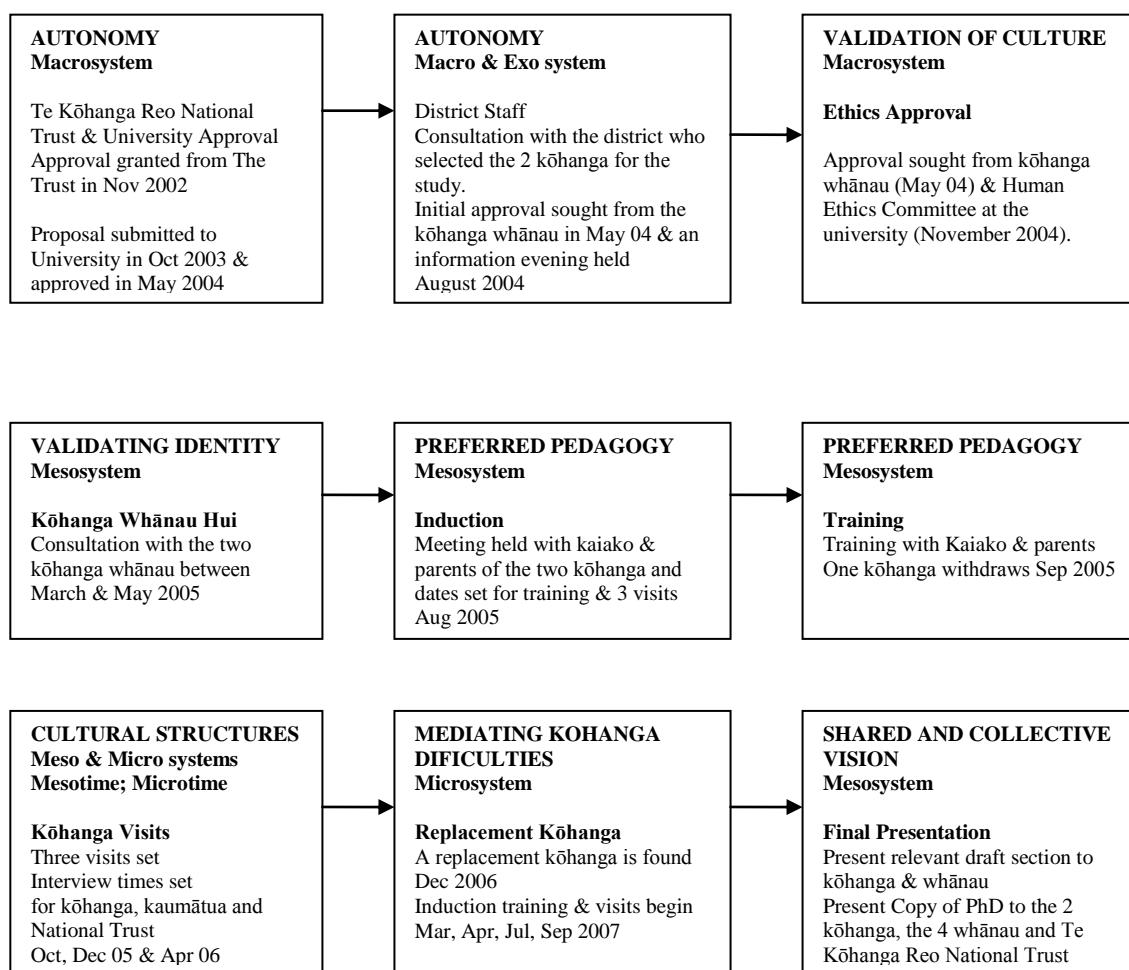
This research study consisted of four case studies where interviews of kaumātua, parents and Kōhanga Reo staff as well as the recording of the four children's language provided data to address the hypothesis and three overarching questions. Although the majority of the interviews were held with whānau members of the two kōhanga, three kaumātua, who did not have an association with these kōhanga were asked questions about the history and development of Kōhanga Reo. Whānau and staff were asked to record their children's language usage in the kōhanga or home context in a diary. Two case studies were followed at each kōhanga. The four children were around 2.6 years of age at the start of the fieldwork. All four families consisted of two parents, siblings of the children that were being observed and members of their extended whānau. With the Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development model in mind tools for analysing the data were investigated.

Figure One provides the reader with a visual analysis of Kaupapa Māori principles permeating the research methodology and is based on Smith's (2002:8) six principles of Kaupapa Māori theory introduced earlier in this chapter. These principles have been allocated to the different processes in the flow diagram as the following:

- Self determination or relative autonomy.
- Validating and legitimizing cultural aspirations and identity
- Incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy
- Mediating socio-economic and home difficulties
- Incorporating cultural structures which emphasise the 'collective' rather than the 'individual' as a notion of the extended family
- Shared and collective vision/philosophy

The processes in the flow diagram (Figure One) have also been aligned to the socio-cultural ecosystems which are explained in detail in Chapter Four.

Figure One: Kaupapa Māori process for establishing contact with the kōhanga whānau



The following section describes the research process, the participants, whānau and Kōhanga Reo that were an integral part of this study.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The instruments used in this study assisted me in gathering evidence to support my hypothesis or otherwise. They needed to be rigorous from a research perspective and satisfy Māori cultural bounds as defined by tikanga Māori and the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo. The challenge was not in identifying the research tools but more the cultural processes which needed to be in place to collect data. These cultural process are a given when researching or indeed visiting any Kōhanga Reo. An example is where the kōhanga whānau require the researcher to meet them at the regular kōhanga meeting and have the study scrutinised by them. That whānau meeting will begin with karakia, a

mihi of welcome and then discuss the purpose of the researcher's visit. The researcher will be expected to reply back in the Māori language preferably.

The research tools employed were kōrerorero (interviews or conversations), tuhituhi (diary keeping) and tirohanga (recordings of language interactions). The cultural processes to utilise these tools were guided by tikanga Māori and the four kaupapa statements of Te Kōhanga Reo. The four kaupapa statements were, speaking Māori language only in the kōhanga; acknowledging the decision making process of the kōhanga whānau; being accountable to the kōhanga whānau, the children, their whānau and to the Kōhanga Reo movement and finally ensuring the wellbeing of the children and whānau during the fieldwork. The following sub sections will outline how these four statements were adhered to during the fieldwork.

Kōrerorero /Interviews:

Interviews were conducted at the national and kōhanga levels of the movement with kaumātua and staff from the two Kōhanga Reo. It was important to develop a relationship with the kaumātua and the two Kōhanga Reo. (Bishop, 1996b, 1998) discussed whakawhanaungatanga as a pedagogical tool for researchers to use in building relationships of trust with the kaumātua, kōhanga staff, the parents of the four children and the children themselves. The researcher was fortunate to have known most of these people before the research. However that did not mean that a relationship of trust and sensitivity was still not required. Two visits were made to the Kōhanga Reo after the approval at the kōhanga whānau hui and before the fieldwork visits were organised.

Bishop (1998) also claimed that in Aotearoa/New Zealand Māori people have often been denied their voice to tell their stories and validate their experiences. With this in mind it was important for the researcher to empower the kaumātua or whānau members to be in a position of control over the interview process. They were able to tell their stories in the Māori or English language stop the interview at any stage and remove any statements that they had said. The interview style was 'kanohi ki te kanohi' or face to face at their Kōhanga Reo. The researcher adhered to cultural etiquette by always starting with a mihi (greeting). The kaumātua and kōhanga whānau were given the questions before the interview. Information was gathered by tape recorder using a set of questions which focused on central themes and allowed the participants to tell their stories. Two sets of questions were used, one set to interview people at the national or macro level of the organisation and the other set to interview the parents and kaiako of the children at the micro level

of the study. Both sets had eight questions that would give a comprehensive overview of that person's involvement in Kōhanga Reo.

Interviews at the National or Macro Level

The Kōhanga Reo National Trust participation focused on interviewing staff and kaumātua (elder) at the national level. Discussions enabled me to explore values, policies and beliefs of the movement.

The central themes of the questions for the interviews were:

1. The story about the birth of Te Kōhanga Reo
2. The story of the four pou – the main policies of Kōhanga Reo
3. The Kōhanga Reo kaupapa
4. What is the role of the national body
5. What are the ingredients that make a quality kōhanga reo
6. What is whanaungatanga?
7. The transfer to the Ministry of Education and the impact
8. The impact of policies on the whānau

Five kaumātua were interviewed. One of the kaumātua did not complete the kōrero (interview) due to ill health. Another of the kaumātua spent several sessions with the researcher. She also provided the researcher with information that she had written about different aspects of the movement. She is a key elder of the movement. The third and fourth kaumātua were actively involved in the two Kōhanga Reo and the fifth kaumātua completed her interview. Much of the data gathered from these elders are used as references in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

Interviews at the micro or whānau level

There were two sets of interviews conducted for each child one with an adult from their home and the other with a kaiako (teacher) from their Kōhanga Reo. At home were the child's immediate and extended whānau such as the parents, siblings, possibly grandparents and kaumātua, aunts, uncles and cousins. The questions were designed to gather information about the parents' participation at the Kōhanga Reo and the type of role they played over time. The Kōhanga Reo consisted of the kōhanga whānau and included the kaiako (teacher), kaimahi (worker paid or voluntary), kaiāwhina

(helper paid or voluntary), kaumātua (elder), mātua (parents) and the mokopuna (children). The researcher was interested in how many staff were fluent or competent in te reo, why they chose Kōhanga Reo and general information about their kōhanga.

The questions had been designed to capture the parents' and kōhanga staffs' stories.

1. What role did te reo Māori play in your life?
2. Why did you choose Te Kōhanga Reo?
3. What is your understanding of the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo?
4. What are the ingredients that make a quality Kōhanga Reo?
5. What are your aspirations for this/your child?
6. Share how you participate in and contribute to your Kōhanga Reo?
7. What is it that you like and would like to improve in your Kōhanga Reo?
8. What is your understanding of Te Whāriki?

The sessions during the second and third visits were with the kaiako who were directly involved with the participating children and with the parents or whānau of those children. Comments were noted on any changes that had occurred during the visits. Much of the kōhanga whānau kōrero (information) was used in the following chapters.

Tirohanga /Language Recordings:

The language of the children was recorded and transcribed and the types of cultural interactions that they were participating in were noted. Adults who were the mother, aunt or kaiako, were given training sessions on the purpose of the research, how to record the children's language as well as the types of cultural interactions, and how to transfer these recordings into diaries. These areas on how to record the children's language are described later in this section. The adults were not given instructions to record specific activities or events that the children participated in but were asked to record the children's language at regular intervals during the week that the researcher was visiting the Kōhanga Reo.

The parents and all staff in the Kōhanga Reo took part in an induction meeting which explained the research. The parents and staff, who were the main recorders of the children's language, received group or individual training by the researcher on how to record the children's language and transfer

this information into the diary. The researcher also observed and recorded the four children's language when visiting the kōhanga.

Post Its

The 'Post Its' were a small pad of coloured 'stickies' which had the advantage of being portable as compared to the A4 diary. The parent could leave them placed in convenient places around the home such as the kitchen, child's bedroom or in the car. The 'Post Its' then became readily accessible for writing down what the child was saying. Once a recording had been made it was suggested that they were put into a plastic bag in the diary or stuck to the fridge and collected at a later time. The 'Post Its' method of recording observations was the same process for the parents and the selected kaiako in the Kōhanga Reo. It was explained to the parents and kaiako that it was important to record the date, time, child's initials, people participating, the setting and the language spoken by the child and others on the 'Post It'. These instructions on how to use the 'Post Its' would make it easier for them to transfer the language recordings to the diary at a later date.

Carr (1997, 2001) used a similar process with early childhood teachers in New Zealand to record observations of a child when assessing that child's development. She named the assessment process 'Learning Stories'. The collection of observations together over time told a story of that child's learning and development. Similarly for this study the 'Post Its' when gathered from the parents, kaiako and the researcher and assembled chronologically would present stories of the children's language development. It was envisaged that over the six month period a positive change in language development would be observed from the data of their language recordings.

Diary

When considering how language recordings were going to be gathered there were two options that came to mind. The researcher could visit the home and record the child's language or the other option was to train the parents and ask them to do the recordings. The second option was the preferred method. Not only did this option empower parents by actively involving them in the research and allowing more effect use of time for the researcher but also the parents retained their privacy and learnt from the feedback on their language recordings. These reasons were conducive with kaupapa Māori theory where the participants feel a sense of control and emancipation from the experience.

According to Corti (1993) self-completion diaries have many advantages over other data collection methods. Although she was referring to the participant using the diary to record his/her own personal experiences the diary recording process was ‘structured’. This research study utilised the diary design and format.

The diary was an A4 sized duplicate booklet with a set of instructions on the inside front cover. The instructions (Appendix 4) explained the purpose of diary keeping as cumulative ‘snap shots’ of the child’s language and how to keep the diary (Tamarua, 2006). The first 5 pages of the diary were ruled up with the appropriate headings ready for the parent to transfer the observations from the ‘Post Its’. The duplicate booklet enabled the researcher to take the top copy at each visit and still leave the diary with the parent. A list of events, activities or behaviours where the child was observed using te reo Māori was provided in the instructions.

This method of recording was then discussed on the second and third visits to address any concerns about reliability in recording concerning trustworthiness, and validity. A method of triangulation was carried out by the researcher on the validity of the language recordings and whether the children’s level of te reo Māori was the same for the kaiako, the parent and the researcher who also made language recordings. The researcher also made movie clips on a digital camera to use as another point of reference when verifying the children’s language ability.

FIELDWORK

Approval for the PhD study

Approval was sought from the Chief Executive Officer, Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board in November 2002. Between 2002 and May 2004 I submitted a preliminary proposal (November 2003) for consideration by the University of Auckland and met with a Te Kōhanga Reo District Manager who approached two Kōhanga Reo for a registration of interest. Early 2004 I was asked to attend a whānau hui for each kōhanga. Approval was given by the two Kōhanga Reo in May and in August 2004 an induction workshop on the research topic, design and fieldwork was held. Approval was sought first from the kōhanga whānau before an application was made to the University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee. Kaupapa Māori theory emphasises that processes must ensure the autonomy of the whānau is maintained. The kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) process of attending their meeting, the development of some of the questions together and the opportunity for

the whānau to make collective decisions particularly about the appropriateness of the research were important principles.

The application for ethics approval was submitted in October 2004 to the University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee for consideration and approved by November that year. The research considered two levels of ethics approval. The first was the approval of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust and the kōhanga whānau who were participating and the second ethics approval was by the University Human Ethics Committee of the University of Auckland. The research had to adhere to the guidelines of the Human Ethics Committee, Auckland University and the research code of ethics of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. The ethics process was conducted under a Kaupapa Māori framework. This meant that with regards to the PhD study the Kōhanga Reo whether at the national, district or kōhanga level understood the purpose of the research, participated in the decision making and the whānau knew that the study was guided by Māori protocol, practices and values particularly when the researcher was in the Kōhanga Reo setting (Bishop & Graham, 1997; Irwin, 1994, Pihama, 1993; Smith L.T, 1999; Smith G.H, 2003). The Kōhanga Reo and the kaiako as well as the parents of the four children confirmed their consent in writing.

The researcher then applied for ethical approval from the university and submitted the signed consent forms from the Kōhanga Reo as evidence of their interest. Normally ethical approval from the university is necessary before approaching participants however it was important that approval was given by the national organisation and the kōhanga whānau early in the process before contemplating researching in a Kōhanga Reo. The opportunity for the kōhanga whānau to exercise their autonomy and approve or reject participation in the research is permissible according to Kaupapa Māori principles.

Induction Session and training

An induction hui was held in Auckland at one of the Kōhanga Reo, August 2005. These sessions were with all the kaiako and parents/whānau who wished to attend. The role of the researcher, the parents' and kaiako role as participants and their feelings about possibly being videoed with the child were discussed. The whānau were shown how to record the language observations and write these into their diaries. Further training sessions on recording children's language were held with individual kaiako before the first visit to their kōhanga and with parents before the first interview for the parents.

The observations process was discussed and video clips of the researcher's previous study (Royal Tangaere, 1992) for her Master of Arts thesis were viewed. Haggerty (1998) who used video recordings in her Master's study emphasised that it was important to respect the dignity of those being recorded. Similarly the researcher was also mindful of the dignity of and respect for all the participants according to tikanga (customs and values). Pere (1994) posited the belief that children are taonga (treasures) as they are an embodiment of their ancestors.

It was agreed that the researcher would visit the kōhanga three times over a six month period. During these visits the researcher would observe the children and interview the kaiako and parents of the children, as well as attend the kōhanga whānau hui to update them on the research.

Kōhanga Whānau Visits

The first visits were conducted in October 2005. The fieldwork period was up to six months and the kōhanga were visited three times, at the beginning, middle and end of the six months. The visits were four to five days spread over a week. During these one-week visits the whānau were interviewed and the children's language was recorded in the kōhanga by the kaiako and the researcher and at home by a whānau member.

The researcher set aside two hours in the morning between 8.30am and 11.00am and one hour at the end of the day between 2.00pm and 3.30pm to observe and record the language usage of the children. These were opportune times as the four children would prepare for lunch followed by a mid day sleep between 11.00am and 2.00pm. Observations were recorded on 'Post Its' and digital camera. Interview times for the kaiako were arranged in consultation with the Lead Kaiako and these were usually held during the day when kaiako could be released from their duties. Parents were seen in the afternoons either at work (one parent), at the kōhanga when they had finished work in the afternoon (two parents) or at their home (one parent).

Parents were asked to participate in the study by recording their child in the home settings at different intervals during the week. They were asked to keep a diary on their child's language usage in particular. As well as recording their children's language they were also asked to record any evidence of tikanga practices that their child may have demonstrated.

A digital camera and ‘Post Its’ were used by the researcher to record the children’s language and a tape recorder used to interview the kaiako and parents. During the second and third visits the researcher checked that the kaiako and parents of the children were managing the language recordings. Any issues or highlights were discussed with a focus on any new language developments the parents may have seen the children demonstrate. The new language developments were gathered from observations during these visits as well as notes from kaiako and the children’s whānau.

At the end of the fieldwork each whānau would receive a copy of the data relevant to their child. They had the right and the opportunity to discuss this data and any observations recorded. In accordance with Kaupapa Māori principles the researcher would reciprocate with a gift in acknowledgement for the privilege of intruding on the private lives of the whānau (Smith, 1999). In this research this reciprocity would be through sharing the knowledge and information of their children’s language development and particularly the learning outcomes of their children. Participants were also able to withdraw from the research at any stage.

Replacement Kōhanga Reo

One of the Kōhanga Reo decided to withdraw just after their first visit. They had been relocated to a nearby marae (Māori cultural meeting place) while they were waiting for the completion of renovations to their kōhanga building. The renovations were taking longer than anticipated and the researcher felt that the whānau were being polite and continuing to accommodate the research requirements. It was suggested that as they had enough to contemplate that they may wish to withdraw from the research. The whānau agreed (December 2005). The data gathered from initial visits to this Kōhanga Reo have not been included in this study.

It was not until December 2006 that a replacement kōhanga was confirmed at a whānau hui. This was due to the researcher having leave from study for a period of time, due to the death of her mother.

Two children and their whānau were nominated and the visits were organised for April, July and September 2007. The induction and training for the parents were conducted in their individual homes and at a hui for the kaiako and kaiāwhina. The first visit was carried out at the beginning of April 2007 however the kaiako was not able to attend that week. In April the kaiako moved to

another town and the research was delayed while the kōhanga whānau appointed new kaiako. Two new kaiako began and were given time to settle into their new positions before the researcher was able to induct and train them in July 2007, a week before the second visit. During this visit the two new kaiako were interviewed.

Strategies for data analysis and final presentation

The strategies for analysing the data were considered from several different points as the data was collected from three different perspectives. The first point of viewing was from the big picture level or the Macro-level as referred to in the theoretical framework entitled *The Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* (Chapter Four). Here data in relation to the historical, philosophical and cultural base of Kōhanga reo was considered from the adult participants' views, comments and personal stories. This perspective was captured through kaumātua interviews, literature reviews and Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust archival information.

The second view point or Meso-level was from that of the whānau both home and kōhanga where interactions and the child's language socialisation between the two contexts were recorded. The interviews with parents and kaiako and the diary recordings of the children's language contributed to the meso perspective. The final view was that of the individual child, the Micro-level, where language acquisition and language mechanisms embedded within the Cultural Learning Experiences (CLE) were sited. Kaiako and parent recordings of the children's language usage as well as interviews of those parents and kaiako provided rich data for analysis.

Qualitative Analysis

To analyse the qualitative data the NVivo computer programme was considered. NVivo is an analytical tool and filters data into areas with similar themes by key word association. It was decided not to use this programme as the Māori words often had more than one meaning depending on the context for example the word kōrero means talk however in one context it was referring to oral information and in another context the translation was the word, interview. The second reason was that the data was manageable and the data was analysed manually using a thematic approach by the researcher.

An analysis based on central themes enabled the researcher to identify, analyse and report patterns of activities, views or themes (Braun & Clarke (2006). The adult participants interviews were sorted into the eight questions and the language recordings of the four children were sorted using colour codes into Cultural Learning Experiences.

Cultural Learning Experience is the name given to the children's language recordings for the purpose of this research study. The Cultural Learning Experiences came from two sources. The first was from the identified traditional activities or cultural events introduced to the reader in Chapter One and described more fully in Chapter Five on Whānau Māori (Māori family). There were three main traditional and cultural areas, whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (customs and values) and whanaungatanga (relationships) that were introduced in Chapter One. Each of these three areas could be subdivided into activities. In whakapapa (genealogy) these were activities such as saying a pepehā (recitation of a genealogy). For tikanga (customs and values) there were activities such as karakia (prayers) (incantations), mihihi (greetings), waiata (songs) and pakiwaitara (stories). The third cultural area whanaungatanga (relationships) consisted of cultural interactions between kaumātua/mokopuna (elder/grandchild), tuakana/teina (older sibling/ younger sibling) and mātua/tamariki (parents/children).

The second source was Te Korowai, an internal document that the Kōhanga Reo movement uses to write their Tūtohinga (Charter with kaupapa, policies and practices). Some of the examples from Te Korowai were activities that the Kōhanga Reo National Trust was suggesting the kōhanga plan into their curriculum. These were karakia (prayer), waiata (songs), mihihi (greetings), pakiwaitara (stories, book reading), pepehā (genealogical recitation), tākaro (play), and whakaari (drama-stories).

The results of the data analysis are discussed in Chapter Six *Whānau Voices* and Chapter Seven *Children's Voices: The Socio-cultural Construction of Language Development*.

A final presentation of the findings was given to the children's whānau and to the kōhanga along with a special profile book of the child's observations, photos and videos. The kōhanga whānau and the participants have also been presented with a copy of the PhD.

SUMMARY

The main purpose of this chapter was to adhere to Kaupapa Maori principles while designing a research methodology. The approach to the fieldwork followed tikanga Māori which was not surprising as Kōhanga Reo expects cultural practices to be obeyed. This is Kaupapa Māori in action. The research process was first and foremost guided by te reo and tikanga Māori practices which in turn was conducive to Kaupapa Māori principles. For example meeting with kōhanga whānau in their kōhanga, following their tikanga practices and allowing them to present who might be the whānau to participate in the research respected their autonomy, validated their identity and cultural practice and empowered the whānau to participate collaboratively and as a collective.

This has resulted in rich detailed information on the language development of the children and their whānau in their home and kōhanga context. The case studies produced rich descriptions or ‘stories’ of the four children, of their whānau and their kaiako. Three of the four mothers were enthusiastic about recording their children’s language. The fourth mother was distracted by her workload and tended to work late nights as well as weekends at the kapa haka practices. Mediating home difficulties meant that I offered to carry out some of the language recordings for her during the weekends at the marae (traditional meeting place).

It is through ‘hearing the voices’ of the parents, kaiako and children that we can learn about their experiences, values and beliefs as described in Chapter Six *Whānau Voices*. These stories were prompted by focus questions in the interviews. Consequently embedded in the whānau /child interactions I also analysed rich examples of the children constructing language development and making meaning of their Māori world. These interactions were captured by the researcher, kaiako and parents, who were trained on how to record language activities. The children’s voice and the construction of language development using different mechanisms are discussed in Chapter Seven *Children’s Voices: The Socio-cultural Construction of Language Development*.

The next chapter is entitled *Te Reo Māori: A Story of Struggle* and describes examples of struggle and overcoming oppression by moving towards practising critical pedagogy or Kaupapa Māori theory in action. This chapter is a story of te reo Māori over time and provides the reader with a Māori cultural context highlighting the importance of the Māori language to te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) resulting in the emergence of the Kōhanga Reo movement.

CHAPTER THREE

TE REO MĀORI: A STORY OF STRUGGLE

Ko te Amorangi ki mua; ko te Hāpai ō ki muri
Look to the past to build the future
Whakatauki (proverb)

DON'T SPEAK TO HER

'Don't speak Māori to her; it won't help her at school'. The words continually resound from my childhood. The words of my nanny whom I loved so dearly were words of love for her mokopuna. She did not want me ridiculed at school. She did not want me strapped for speaking Māori as my mother was. She did not want me failing at school. Did my koro listen? No. He still spoke to me in Māori. 'Moko. Katia te kūaha. Inu māu moko?' I loved my grandparents and I loved the times when we fished for freshwater koura²⁰ in the waters of Lake Rotorua. I loved the security of being carried on my Koro's back wrapped in a blanket as we went to the marae. I loved standing by their wood stove warming my body and smelling the kai cooking. I loved my early childhood years staying with them. And I hated the day I was taken from them to stay with my aunty so that I could go to school.

My language is an important tool which assists in shaping who I am. It is my identity. I have realised that I cannot live my culture without my language. As I develop in my learning I marvel at the reciprocal nature of the language, its simplicity of meaning which enables me to see the depth of the culture that I learnt at my grandparents' and parents' side. The words convey the purpose of tikanga Māori (Māori values) and what it is to be Māori (Royal Tangaere 1997:3)

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the story of colonisation in Aotearoa /New Zealand, particularly the language loss for Māori and the struggles to revive the Māori language through the Kōhangā Reo movement. This chapter is important as this study is set in two Kōhangā

²⁰ Koura – giant prawn in this context.

Reo and will enable the reader to gain a deeper appreciation of why Te Kōhanga Reo was started and the vision set for the movement by the kaumātua (elders) in 1979. Their vision was for the Māori people to take responsibility for the revitalisation of the language and to reverse its decline. This responsibility relied on commitment from the Māori people and especially the Māori whānau (Māori family).

Tracking the reasons for the decline of the Māori language and the establishment of the Kōhanga Reo movement sets a contextual background to the main focus of the study which is the construction of language and culture development of four children in their home and Kōhanga settings. In providing this background however it is inevitable that questions around political, educational and other socio cultural factors will arise. This chapter does not focus on an in depth analysis of government policies or on the New Zealand education system. This analysis has been covered by others and in more detail (Butterworth 1990; Simon & Smith 2001; Walker 2004). However the chapter does consider policies that have had a major impact on te reo Māori which resulted in the language becoming endangered (Waitangi Tribunal,²¹ 1986, 2011). In particular the chapter focuses on government policies and decisions that affected Te Kōhanga Reo and the movement's goal to 'reverse the language shift' (Benton & Benton 2001, Fishman 1991, 2000; May, 2001; Skerrett White 2003; Walker, 2004; Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2011).

There are two main sections to this chapter. The first section traces the history of te reo Māori from the early 1800s through to the birth of Te Kōhanga Reo movement. In particular the story highlights the shifts in power from te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) to the colonisers in the economic, political, land ownership and education areas. This shift in power is discussed in relation to its impact on te reo Māori (Māori language).

Section Two presents Te Kōhanga Reo movement and the kaumātua (elders) vision to revitalise the Māori language. The kaupapa (philosophy) of Te Kōhanga Reo, the role of the entire whānau (family), the years of rapid growth and decline of Te Kōhanga Reo and the strategies the movement puts in place to promote the revitalisation of the language are discussed.

²¹ Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 to redress grievances caused by the Crown to Māori.

SECTION ONE

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STORY OF TE REO

Baker stated that

Social and political factors, and not just ‘evolution’, are at work in language loss. Power, prejudice, discrimination, marginalization and subordination are some of the causes of language decline and death (Baker, 2001:51).

A shift in language loss is directly related to a shift in power (Baker, 2001; Cooper, 1989; Fishman, 1991, 2000; Nettle and Romaine, 2002). This being the case then analysing the social and political factors that resulted in the shift in power will identify how this shift resulted in critical language loss to the point where the language is considered endangered (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 1986, 2011). The social and political factors are the economic, political, land ownership and education status for te iwi Māori (Māori tribes). The study recognises that the story of the decline in te reo Māori (Māori language) is not just about the Māori language but also about a people’s struggle to maintain their mana (status), their identity and their self determination as Māori (Giroux (2011) ; Pihama, 1993; Smith, 1997, 2002;).

Struggle is an important component of Kaupapa Māori theory for it is this idea of struggle that has helped to shape and reshape the political conscientisation of Māori people where critical reflection, resistance and transformation occurs (Smith, G. 2003). Both Pihama (1993) and Smith (1997) state that Kaupapa Māori theory has a common element and that is the validation of te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and āhuatanga Māori. This section describes te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) struggle for the retention of their land, their economic power, their culture and language.

THE PROGRESSIVE DECLINE: 1800s to 1900s

TE IWI MĀORI AND THE ECONOMY

European contact had a profound impact on Māori during the early 1800s culturally, politically, economically and socially. The Māori people were exposed to all the extremes of this new culture. The arrival of the whalers in the 1820s saw an increase in immoral behaviour particularly towards Māori women and the over indulgent consumption of alcohol but the whalers’ arrival also meant the opportunity to trade. During the 1820s to the 1840s the traders brought exciting, new goods to

exchange for food, kauri gum and artefacts. The missionaries, who were intent on saving the souls of these ‘noble savages’, brought education and the written word (Butterworth, 1990; Jenkins, 1991; Walker, 2004).

According to Butterworth (1990) the early to mid 1800s were exciting for Māori as opportunities were created for trade, learning new skills and the introduction of new technology. The Māori people saw advantages in learning new skills as well as speaking and reading the English language. They took advantage of these contacts. Trading thrived and this era saw Māori hapū (sub tribes) and iwi (tribes) develop many commercial enterprises, such as the production of food, flax rope and some iwi had their own shipping enterprise. Jenkins (1991) stated that the main language of communication with the traders was the Māori language even though some Māori people became fluent in English.

On 6 February 1840 at Waitangi a northern settlement in the Bay of Islands a treaty was signed between the English Crown and the Northland chiefs of Aotearoa /New Zealand. At the time the French government was expressing an interest in New Zealand as a potentially new French colony. The British government worried about the French interest as well as unruly settlers and many land transactions developed a treaty that would protect Māori and control their British subjects. The Treaty of Waitangi was then presented to other major iwi (tribes) across the country. Not all iwi signed the treaty (Orange, 1989). The treaty offered the opportunity for two people to live side by side in Aotearoa /New Zealand.

For the first 10 years after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) controlled much of the trade. The Māori language was the community language and the language used for administrative purposes partly because the Māori population was the majority. Te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) had a strong economic base through the ownership of land and the control of trade coupled with a number of Māori people who were both literate in Māori language and in English (Orange, 1989; Simon, 1990). However the control of trade was soon to change from te iwi Māori to the new settlers under a newly formed ‘settlers’ government.

TE IWI MĀORI AND THE POLITICAL STATE

With the establishment of the settlers’ government in 1852 the government was more determined to exterminate Māori cultural values, customs and language (Butterworth, 1990). The underlying

reason was to own land. The Māori custom of communal ownership of land was a barrier to the government purchasing as much land as possible as quickly as possible and for very little. Land owned communally could not be sold unless the consent of the tribe was given. Negotiating for the purchasing of Māori land was time consuming and thwart with difficulties.

During the formation of the government only male (mainly British) freehold land owners were able to vote.

The only land title recognised for voting purposes was Crown grants. Because Grey²² had never set up any system to register Māori land ownership, most Māori were effectively excluded from the right to vote (Butterworth, 1990:27).

The new government's policy on voting rights immediately excluded Māori people who were communal owners of land as well as women who under English law were not able to own land. Māori protested about the fact that they could not participate in provisional and central government as it was obvious to them that this was where the power of the country's governance was. Laws which favoured the now large numbers of British immigrants were marginalising Māori people, claiming more Māori land through government legislation and shifting the political power towards an exclusively British, male, newly formed middle class group. The foundation for cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) was being set in New Zealand within two decades after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the desire for land was the impetus. The settlers' government constituted in 1852 had effectively gained political power and were gradually taking economic control of the country through the acquisition of land either by force or legislation.

TE IWİ MĀORI AND LAND OWNERSHIP

As mentioned previously new immigrants from Britain flooded into New Zealand hopeful of a better life and land prospects. It was not long before there were more white settlers than Māori living in New Zealand and expecting to farm the land that they had brought in England through the Wakefield Company (Butterworth, 1990; King, 2003; Walker, 2004). The problem was that much of the Māori land had not been 'sold'. The Wakefield Company's promise of land to new settlers, the new settlers' pressure on the government for land and as communal owners Te iwi Māori (Māori tribe) beginning to refuse to sell their land was a formula for disaster. New laws such as the 1863

²² Grey was the first Governor General of Aotearoa /New Zealand appointed after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. He oversaw Native Affairs on behalf of Māori people.

New Zealand Settlements Act and the 1865 Native Lands Act were being passed by government the latter act for the sole purpose of apportioning confiscated land taken from iwi Māori (Māori tribes). In a Waitangi Tribunal Report (1996) on the Taranaki Land Claim the report highlighted two other government acts quoted below that incited the government to confiscate Māori owned land.

- (c) The Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 assumed a state of rebellion existed and envisaged the suspension of habeus corpus and the introduction of martial law. This enabled military courts to hold trials and pass death sentences and sentences of penal servitude.
- (d) The New Zealand Loan Act 1863 facilitated a £3 million loan to pay for colonisation costs and the war. The intention that the loan be redeemed from the sale of confiscated land, and the use of the loan for colonisation costs, made it likely, as proved to be the case, that Māori land would be confiscated for financial purposes, not merely to keep the peace (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996)

Tensions and disagreements over the land were rising as Māori and Pākehā (Caucasian) struggled over land ownership. These tensions lead to the Land Wars during the late 1860s (King, 2003). During the Land Wars Māori children virtually discontinued attending the mission schools as their hapū (sub tribes) were engaged in war. According to Butterworth (1990), Central Government seized its chance to disestablish the responsibility of Native Affairs under the Governor General's office and took control of education of Māori children under the government's Department of Education.

Nettle and Romaine (2000) said that there is a direct relationship between the land or biosphere and the language of that environmental habitat. They call the link between the language and the natural environment, *biolinguistic*. The common global action of developed nations who rapidly acquire and/or destroy the environment impacted on the social, cultural and vegetation ecology of usually indigenous peoples. In destroying these natural habitats and replacing them with farmland, the languages which taught the people to conserve these environments were now being lost at an alarming rate. The new languages of the developed nations infiltrated and dominated the habitat bringing with it new technology, customs, and a shift of economic power. Indigenous people were enticed by financial gain. Nettle and Romaine gave numerous examples of biolinguistic genocide over time and cautioned the world that in losing these languages we lose the codes to conserving not only those diverse environments but also the global biosphere.

Nettle and Romaine stated that there is a link between 'language survival and environmental issues'. When writing about endangered languages of the world they described the correlation between the

gradual loss of language and the gradual loss of self determination caused through the decrease in a minority culture's political and economic power. Much of this shift in power was related in most international cases to the loss of land.

The Land Wars of the 1860s resulted in heavy losses of both land and Māori people. The impact of the government's legislation left te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) vulnerable and no longer holding positions of power in their own country. The settlers' greed for land ownership and economic gain was supported by the central government as evident in the legislation of the New Zealand Settlers Act 1863, the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 and the New Zealand Loan Act 1863. Many hectares of natural habitat were converted to farmland (Scott, 1975; Waitangi Tribunal, 1996; Walker, 2004).

Land taken from Māori tribes had only brought wealth to a few white owners. Scott (1975) stated that pākehā occupation of Māori land had increased sixfold since the war yet there were only twice as many farmers. "By the end of the seventies [1870s] 250 men owned 7.5 million acres" (p. 50). After the Land Wars education at the primary school level became compulsory for all children including Māori and schooling eventually lead to the progressive decline in te reo Māori as a language of learning in school. By the 1980s it was almost non-existent as a language of communication in many Māori homes (Benton, 1978).

This section on land loss for the Māori people provided a contextual background to te iwi Māori and education and portrayed the relationship between that loss of land and the gradual loss of te reo Māori. The next section tracks the gradual decline of te reo Māori.

TE IWI MĀORI AND EDUCATION

The establishment of a written form of Māori language by Reverend Williams opened a door of discovery for Māori to the western world of literacy, (Jenkins, 1991). The Māori people welcomed the setting up of mission schools (1816) as this was the way for them to satiate their hunger for knowledge about the western culture (Simon, 1990). On the other hand the missionaries' intention was to convert Māori to Christianity. To do this the missionaries needed to have a command of the Māori language and to provide a system, which would educate these people. One of these ways was to develop a written form of an oral language and to teach them to read and write in Māori (Binney, 1969).

Te reo Māori in its written form provided the missionary with the tools to teach the Bible to te iwi Māori. Māori embraced the new knowledge and began learning to read and write not just the Māori language but English as well. By the 1860s 75 percent of the Māori population could read in Māori and 66 percent could write in Māori (Simon, 1990). There were more Māori literate in their own language than there were immigrants literate in theirs. The different hapū (sub tribes) would place some of their children in the Mission schools to learn to read and write. These children would return to the whānau or family and teach others (Jenkins, 1991). Baker (2001) termed this language situation as an additive bilingual situation, where the English language was added to the community alongside te reo Māori.

The colonial state was concerned with the main task of ‘civilising’ the Māori and to replace their traditions, beliefs and language with those of the European (Simon & Smith, 2001). They saw the opportunity to accomplish this through the schooling system. The Mission schools were already educating and converting Māori to Christianity. The syllabus was based on an English style education delivered in the Māori language. By 1847 the colonial settler state was giving subsidies to mission schools provided the instruction was in English and Māori children learned the European way.

After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Native Affairs was placed under the protection of the Governor General. At that time there was no New Zealand government. The education of Māori children was the Governor General’s responsibility. As mentioned previously the responsibility for the education of Māori children was transferred from the governor’s office to government during the Land Wars. The transference led to the government passing the Native Schools Act (1867). The Native Schools legislation made English rather than Māori, the language of instruction (Pawley 1988, Simon & Smith; 2001).

In 1879 an amendment to the Native Schools Act was proposed by the Māori leaders of the time stating that the Māori language was not be spoken in schools. They did not foresee any impending danger to Māori language. After all Māori was the first language in the home. Gramsci (1971) stated that once the subordinate social class saw the ideologies of the dominant social class as ‘common sense’ then the values of the dominant class are perpetuated. Cultural hegemony had taken affect. The amendment to the Native Schools Act led to the gradual assimilation of the Māori people toward speaking the English language in school.

By 1879, 57 Native Schools had been established under the new Native Department. Māori children were encouraged by their whānau to learn English as the whānau saw this language as access to the power of a wider more advanced technological world. At the time te iwi Māori did not realise that their generous contribution towards their children's education and their eagerness to learn about the Pākehā (Caucasian) through a British education system would be at the cost of their children and grandchildren replacing their mother tongue with English.

The 'Native Schools Code' 1880 provided policies, regulations and curriculum for these native schools (Simon, 1990). Māori language was permitted in the 'primers'²³ but only to assist the children in learning English. Māori families supported their children learning English as they saw benefits in working alongside Pākehā (Caucasian). They were prepared to provide land, half the cost of the buildings and some of the teacher's salary which were the conditions for an English education (Simon & Smith 2001).

English was the dominant medium of instruction. The aim of the teacher was, according to the Native Schools Code (1880), "to dispense with the use of the Māori language as soon as possible". The subjects in the junior classes were reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, and geography. In the senior classes the subjects were expected to be taught in the English language only. The intent of government to assimilate te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) to a 'more civilised' culture was being hastened.

Gramsci (1971) argued that dominant social classes not only had political and economic power but also needed to control culture by winning consent. According to May (2001) language loss is determined by politicians, policy makers and peoples. The Acts determined by the politicians, the assimilation policy implemented by the Department of Education policy makers and then finally the ideological belief created for the Māori people that te reo Māori would not advance te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) in education resulted in a rapid loss of spoken te reo.

Māori leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, both Members of Parliament, began encouraging families to speak Māori at home and leave the schools to teach the English language. In a memo to the Honourable Mr Atmore dated 19 September 1930 Ngata suggested a dual approach to language learning, which was Māori in the home and English in the schools (AJHR, 1880). Both

²³ Primers - classes for school children aged five to six years old.

Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck were native speakers, had university degrees and had learnt Māori at home and English at school.

Cooper (1989) coined the term ‘language shift’. In the case of the Māori language, the shift was directly related to an ‘emphasis on education in the majority education’ and an ‘acceptance of majority language education’ (Conklin & Lourie, 1983). Baker (2001) refers to this ‘language shift’ as the subtractive process where one language gradually replaces another and eventually it permeates the family home leading to the gradual decline in the minority language.

The shocking fact is that it took just over 100 years from the establishment of the settlers’ government in the 1850s for te reo Māori to cease being the first language of the home for many Māori whānau despite Ngata and Buck’s suggestion of a dual approach to learning both languages at the same time (Benton, 1978).

SUMMARY

For the first fifty years of the 19th century the English language existed alongside te reo Māori (Butterworth, 1990). Both languages had different functions in their particular contexts. At that time Māori held the political, economic, land ownership and education power (Butterworth, 1990; Simon & Smith, 2001; Walker, 2004).

Over the next 75 years the Native Schools Act 1867, Amendments 1876 and Code 1880 began changing the status of the Māori language. There were several possible reasons for this ‘language shift’ such as government policies, the economic power shift from Māori to Pākehā (Caucasian), the vigorous policing of not speaking Māori in the school environment, the urban migration moving Māori families away from their tribal community, reduced Māori population as a result of the wars and the influenza epidemic in the early 1900s and Māori Pākehā intermarriages. English had replaced Māori in the home.

Discussing the state of te reo Māori since first colonial contact I argue, like Nettle and Romaine (2000), that there was for Aotearoa /New Zealand a direct correlation re the shift in land ownership or land confiscation from Māori to the decrease in te reo Māori usage as a community, school and finally as a home language. The Māori language shift to predominantly the English language was due to an economic, political, land ownership shift in power away from te iwi Māori (Māori tribes).

The next section discusses the struggles of Māori, as Skerrett-White (2003) stated, to ‘revernaculise’ te reo Māori and discusses the establishment of the Kōhanga Reo movement as a solution to addressing language loss.

REVERNACULISING MĀORI LANGUAGE:

Those who seek to defend a threatened language, - are obliged to wage a total struggle (Pierre Bourdieu, 1991:57).

Revernaculisation of te reo Māori is a term that Skerrett White (2003) employed in her doctoral thesis which looked at reversing language shift in Te Kōhanga Reo. The terminology is about the revitalisation of te reo Māori to the point where the language is spoken freely as a community language across generations and in any space. Revernaculisation is “the enabling of another generation to speak, read and write te reo Māori, so that it is a living language of the Māori community” (Skerrett White, 2003:41).

To reach this level of dialogue in te reo Māori commands a sense of identity and confidence as Māori people and a reversing of language shift. Fishman, (1991) argued that language shift was the direct result of a shift in economic, political, educational and socio-cultural placement. Achieving this stage of Māori language usage affirms Māori tino rangatiratanga (autonomy and self determination) (Skerrett White, 2003).

Previously this section explored the economic, political, land ownership and education shift of power from Māori to the early colonisers and demonstrated that this process has also meant the eroding of the status of Māori language from being freely used in the community, then in the schools and gradually the erosion infiltrating the homes. This section of this chapter looks at the efforts Māori organisations put in place to reverse the language shift and restore it back as a community language.

THE STRUGGLE TO REVERSE LANGUAGE SHIFT

Language Alert

By the early 1950s Māori groups such as the Māori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL), the New Zealand Māori Council (NZMC) and the Māori Education Foundation (MEF) had realised the changed state of te reo Māori. They began to be actively involved in trying to reverse this situation.

The newly formed Māori Women’s Welfare League in their inaugural meeting in September 1951 passed two resolutions recommending that the Māori language be taught in Native Schools

alongside English and the inclusion of suitable books on Māori subjects in the libraries of all schools attended by Māori children (Māori Women's Welfare League, 1951). According to Szaszy (1993) the Senior Inspector of Māori schools replied that in the past, mainly through a lack of teachers who knew the Māori language, the use of the Māori language in Māori schools was prohibited. She said that he went on to say that the English language was still of paramount importance in the education of the Māori people but from the point of view of cultural survival the Māori language also is of importance.

The Hunn Report (1961) prepared for the Minister of Māori Affairs, stated that there was strong evidence that Māori children were failing in the education system. The report urged Māori families to enrol their children in early childhood or pre-school as it was known then. The thought was that if children attended kindergarten or play centre they would be better prepared for school. Then perhaps the concerning statistics for Māori re poor educational achievement, poor health, inadequate living conditions, high unemployment, high prison rates and high representation in the lower socio economic area would be addressed.

The Hunn report continued to say that the Māori language was one of the few surviving relics of ancient Māori life and that vernacular Māori was unlikely to survive more than one generation from the present. The Māori Women's Welfare League, the New Zealand Māori Council and the Māori Education Foundation were three Māori organisations that would not accept this statement. They saw a place for Māori children to develop both languages. The New Zealand Māori Council advocated that Māori language and culture is a source of identity, unity and pride and must not be allowed to perish, that the intergenerational transmission of the language in the home seldom happened and if the language was to survive then it must be taught in the primary schools and spoken in the home, the playground, the community as well as on formal Māori occasions (Walker, 2004).

In the 1960s after the release of the Hunn Report the MWWL and the MEF employed Lex Grey to work with Māori families and encouraged them to send their children to pre-school. Many of these Family Playgroups were conducted in the Māori language. According to Grey (1993) these Māori Family Playgroups were so successful that the MWWL and MEF proposed that government support further growth. The government did not agree to continue financing this development.

Government inactivity saw Māori groups becoming frustrated and angry. They had lost faith in the government's willingness to revive the Māori language (Simon & Smith, 2001). In 1972 an activist group of young Māori university students, Ngā Tamatoa initiated a petition which was signed by over 30,000 people wanting Māori language in all schools (Walker, 2004). This petition and the continuous pressure from influential Māori groups forced government initiatives such as Māori language being accepted as part of the curriculum in most schools, a national Māori language week 18 – 24 September 1977, and in 1978 the first bilingual school was sited at Rūātoki. Much of the policies put in place were piecemeal and children were still not proficient in speaking te reo Māori in schools.

The New Zealand Council for Educational Research released a report on a survey of the use of Māori language in Māori homes. Benton (1978) the principal researcher reinforced the fears that Māori groups had been articulating for the previous 25 years. The survey showed that the Māori language was on a rapid decline. It was a dying language. The English language had replaced te reo Māori in the family home. Only 18 to 20% of Māori were fluent and the majority of these people were over 65 years old (Benton, 1978; Meade, 1988).

In 1979 /1980 Te Ataarangi movement²⁴ was established to provide total immersion te reo Māori sessions to Māori families so that the Māori language might be spoken in the home. Te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) were also planning long term strategies to reverse the language shift. Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira²⁵ were some of the Māori tribes that had developed a 25 year plan, Whakatipuranga Rua Mano²⁶ (Towards the year 2000) to redress the language deficiency. Part of this plan was total immersion Māori language wānanga (workshops) on their tribal marae (ancestral meeting place). Another development was the establishment of a tribal Wānanga (university or tertiary education) facility called Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 1981.

Concurrent with the struggle to reverse the decline in the Māori language was the Māori people's struggle to reclaim their land. The year 1975 saw Māori people organising a Land March lead by a Māori elder called Whina Cooper. The march began in Te Hāpua a small town in the northern tip of

²⁴ Te Ataarangi movement focuses on teaching the Māori language in a total immersion Māori language environment using coloured rods

²⁵ Te Ati Awa, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa Rangatira (ART) are three Māori iwi located in the lower western half of the North Island of New Zealand.

²⁶ <http://www.wananga.com/index.php/who-we-are/history>

the North Island and ended on the steps of parliament in Wellington, the southernmost part of the island. Māori people had determined to make their land grievances public and force government to address Māori people considered the unjust confiscation of land. The Waitangi Tribunal comprising of Māori elders and lawyers was then established in 1975 to redress these grievances. Te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) were presenting claims to the Waitangi Tribunal and up to the present day Māori grievances against the Crown were being redressed with compensation from government.

In 1984 Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo group put a Te Reo Māori claim to the Waitangi Tribunal that under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi the Māori language was a taonga (prized gift). Deliberations of the claim led to the Māori Language Act, passed in 1987. The Māori Language Act 1987 declared Māori language to be an official language of New Zealand. The establishment of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, The Māori Language Commission²⁷ was another outcome of that Act. There are two main functions of the Māori Language Commission. The first is to initiate, develop, co-ordinate, review, advise upon, and assist in the implementation of policies, procedures, measures, and practices designed to give effect to the declaration in section 3 of this Act of the Māori language as an official language of New Zealand. The second function is to promote the Māori language, and, in particular, its use as a living language, developing new vocabulary for contemporary contexts and as an ordinary means of communication. The Act also conferred the right to speak Māori in certain legal proceedings.

The 1980s was an eventful and exuberant time for Māori. It was a period of time for renaissance of culture and language and a time for the return of land to iwi. Te Kōhanga Reo, which is described in the next section of this chapter, joined Te Ataarangi movement in leading the way for Māori people to take control of revitalising the Māori language. The advent of Te Kōhanga Reo led onto the establishment of schools teaching through the medium of Māori (Smith, 2003). Te Kura o Hoani Waititi Marae (Auckland) opened on the 14 September 1985 as the first total immersion Māori language medium primary school to receive Kōhanga Reo graduates. Its opening was followed closely by Te Kura o Ruamata in Rotorua. These and a number of other kura (schools) set up during the late 1980s were recognised in the review of the Education Act 1989 as a specific type of

²⁷ www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz

schooling provision called Kura Kaupapa Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1993; Smith, 2003). By the year 2011 there were a variety of Māori immersion primary and secondary schools operating.²⁸

²⁸ http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/maori_education/schooling/6040

SECTION TWO: TE KŌHANGA REO

INTRODUCTION

According to Dr Dame Iritana Tawhiwhirangi (personal communication, March 31, 2009), the call in 1979-1982 was from the kaumātua for Māoridom to move from expecting the Government to arrest the decline of te reo Māori (Māori language) by focussing on the mokopuna (grandchild), whānau (family), hapū (sub tribe), iwi (tribe) and reclaiming responsibility. In simple terms the kaumātua wanted the mokopuna taken at birth, put to the bosom and the acquisition of language addressed from that point onwards. In their actual words they said,

Whānau ana te tamaiti me rarau atu, whakamau ki te ū, kei reirā ka tīmata i te kōrero Māori.
When the child is born, take it, put it to the breast and begin speaking Māori at that point
(Government Review Team, 1988:18).

From this backdrop Te Kōhanga Reo rapidly emerged based on whānau and mokopuna participating daily in a Māori language environment surrounded by the past highly esteemed and revered ‘giants’ (Higgins. 2008:9). These kaumātua absolutely believed that the cultural grounding of mokopuna, within the bosom of their whānau, hapū and iwi would fortify them to handle the universe.

The vision was the genesis of Te Kōhanga Reo, a total immersion Māori language centre for whānau with children under five years of age. Te Kōhanga Reo translated means ‘the language nest’. The dream of kaumātua was that with the establishment of a strong cultural base the whānau of Te Kōhanga Reo would develop a passionate determination to hold fast to the language and cultural values, to learn from the lessons of the past and the most important goal, to see te reo Māori as the family home vernacular once more (Fleras, 1993, Skerrett White, 2003).

In this section the rationale, kaupapa, structure, whānau participation and socio-political story of Te Kōhanga Reo movement, is described in a way that the reader can appreciate how every facet of the movement has its focus on reviving te reo Māori and empowering the whānau to carry this responsibility. The movement is guided by the cultural ‘rules’ known as tikanga and is supported by the kaitiaki (guardians) namely the kaumātua (elders).

RATIONALE FOR TE KŌHANGA REO

Te Kōhanga Reo movement rose out of the strategies of the *Tū Tangata* programme established by the Department of Māori Affairs in 1977 (Government Review Team, 1988). At the time the Minister of Māori Affairs was the Honourable Ben Couch, (National) with Kara Puketapu as the Secretary of the Department of Māori Affairs. The aim of the *Tū Tangata* programme was ‘to revitalise Māori society based on traditional Māori values’.

Tū Tangata sought to enhance the social, cultural and economic well-being of Māori people in a way which reflected their cultural strengths and aspirations (Ibid: p.17).

Three principles guided the *Tū Tangata* programme. The key was to mobilise whānau into working together in a traditional manner, making decisions and taking responsibility for themselves as a group. These principles are the heart of Te Kōhanga Reo. The Department of Māori Affairs put in place systems that enabled and mobilised the people. Māori as a people were prepared to take responsibility for saving te reo Māori and in doing so recognised the importance of their autonomy. Without consciously knowing the consequences of their commitment Māori whānau were being conscientised into the socio-political arena concerning firstly their language and then their spiritual, physical, intellectual and emotional wellbeing (Douglas & Barrett Douglas, 1983).

At a kaumātua hui (elders’ meeting or conference) 1979, held at Waiwhetū Marae, Lower Hutt (just outside of Wellington) and organised by the Department of Māori Affairs, the elders identified that the decline in te reo Māori was the most important concern of Māori at that time. A series of Wānanga Whakatauira (1980, 1981, 1983, 1984), or conferences involving Māori people of different ages and experiences were held in Wellington following this 1979 hui. These hui enabled Māori people including kaumātua from each district to assemble and discuss policies which the Department of Māori Affairs could then present to government.

It was at the Wānanga Whakatauira (1980) that the Māori people agreed they should take control of ensuring the survival of the Māori language and a resolution was passed that the Department of Māori Affairs place the survival of the language as its top priority for 1981. Kara Puketapu, the General Secretary of the Department of Māori Affairs asked John Rangihau, a noted Māori elder, to be an advisor for the Kōhanga Reo movement. It was Sir James Henare, an elder from the northland tribes Tilly Reedy, a Māori woman from Ngāti Porou (Eastern tribe) along with Rangihau who

shaped and named the movement ‘*Te Kōhanga Reo*’. A national body was established in 1982 and was registered as Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board (The Trust) in 1983. The role of the Trust Board is to oversee the kaupapa (philosophy) of Te Kōhanga Reo, advice, guide and advocate if necessary on behalf of the kōhanga whānau. Sir James Henare and the Māori Queen, Dame Te Atairangi Kaahu became the first patrons of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board (I. Tawhiwhirangi, personal communication. September 11, 2007).

Te Kōhanga Reo focused on enrolling families with young children under 5 years of age. The Trust called on these whānau to participate in a total immersion te reo and tikanga Māori environment “with the aim of passing on the Māori way of life to future generations” (Government Review Team. 1988:19). The responsibility of the revitalisation of the language became the responsibility of the people and their enthusiasm was reflected in the 50 Kōhanga Reo being established in the first year and the rapid growth in subsequent years. The rapid growth of Kōhanga Reo will be described in the ‘Socio-political History’ part of this section.

The Department of Māori Affairs had planned to establish five Te Kōhanga Reo in 1982. Pukeatua in Wainuiomata was the first of these five Kōhanga Reo (opened 13 April 1982). The others were at Waiwhetū marae in May 1982, (Lower Hutt), Kōkiri Seaview in June 1982, (Lower Hutt); Maraeroa marae in June 1982, (Porirua) and Orakei marae in July 1982 (Auckland). A government grant of \$45,000 was shared amongst the five kōhanga to assist with their operations. During 1982 the Māori people were so enthused by their kaumātua (elders) who had attended the previous hui (1981, 1982) at Waiwhetū marae that the people decided to establish their own Kōhanga Reo. Together by December 1982, they had established another 45 Kōhanga Reo. This development was with the help of a \$5,000 grant from the Department of Māori Affairs in conjunction with the Māori Education Foundation, sharing marae facilities, donated food and resources from the extended whānau and the daily support of the whānau, kuia (female elder), koroua (male elder) and iwi (tribe).²⁹

From 1982 until 1985 the Department of Māori Affairs (1983) supported the people in maintaining the operation of their Kōhanga Reo. Some kōhanga received a capitation grant from the Department of Social Welfare, some received assistance through the Labour Department work schemes and all

²⁹ By December 1982 45 more kōhanga reo were recorded as having received \$5,000 seeding grant from the Department of Māori Affairs. Another 50 kōhanga were at different stages of development and were being supported by their whānau, hapū and iwi

relied on the contributions of the extended whānau. “For every dollar that government gave to kōhanga the whānau gave \$4” (Tawhiwhirangi, personal communication, September 11, 2007). The Kōhanga Reo that I was involved in establishing in October 1982 raised \$45,000 in its first year of operation and received a \$5,000 seeding grant as well as another \$5,000 from the Department of Social Welfare Capitation grant. Current funding grants for Kōhanga Reo are discussed later in this section.

THE KAUPAPA AND THE KŌHANGA REO WHĀNAU

Te Kōhanga Reo, the language nest symbolises a warm and secure place where the young are nurtured until they are strong enough to leave. The feathers that line the nest symbolise the kaumātua or elders who provide that warmth, security and knowledge to the children and their whānau (W. Kaua, personal communication, 2007). The children were affectionately called *mokopuna* (young child or grandchild) by kaumātua who formed this movement. All children in Kōhanga Reo were the collective responsibility of all members of the whānau with the kaumātua not only imparting te reo to the mokopuna and their parents but also guiding the entire whānau in tikanga (values, customs and traditions).

As mentioned previously the first Kōhanga Reo was Pukeatua. This Kōhanga Reo was piloted at Wainuiomata, near Wellington city in 1981 and on 13 April 1982 Pukeatua was opened under the responsibility of the Department of Māori Affairs special ‘officials’ group. According to Henrietta Maxwell (nd) one of the first kaiako at Pukeatua, this ‘officials’ group was responsible for the affairs of the movement in its early days. The officials’ group was lead by Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, a senior manager in the Department of Māori Affairs. In 1990 she became the first General Manager (later known as the Chief Executive officer) of the Kōhanga Reo movement when the Department of Māori Affairs was disestablished and all Kōhanga Reo were transferred to the Ministry of Education.

Tawhiwhirangi (personal communication, June 10, 2009) said that the Kōhanga Reo could be likened to the whānau concept where the entire whānau are an integral part of its operation. This whānau concept meant that kaumātua have a prestigious role as the holders of tribal knowledge and language, the parents actively participate in marae activities and up skill their cultural learning and where the children are treasured taonga absorbing te reo and tikanga Māori.

Sir John Bennett, a Māori elder and the chairperson of the Māori Education Foundation became the first chairperson of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board. He said in a keynote speech given at a hui Whakatauira 1984 in parliament that the main focus of Te Kōhanga Reo was to revive the Māori language through whānau development (Bennett, 1985).

During the first year of Kōhanga Reo development the Department of Māori Affairs issued a booklet giving whānau guidelines on establishing a new kōhanga (Department of Māori Affairs, 1983). This was then followed by *Te Peka Matua*, (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1983). *Te Peka Matua* stated five founding principles for the Kōhanga Reo movement. These principles were re-iterated in *Te Korowai*, the Charter Agreement between the Kōhanga Reo National Trust on behalf of the individual kōhanga, and the Ministry of Education (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995).

These principles are

- It is the right of the Māori child to enjoy learning the Māori language within the bosom of the whānau
- It is the right of the whānau to nurture and care for the mokopuna
- It is the obligation of the hapū to ensure that the whānau is strengthened to carry out its responsibilities
- It is the obligation of the iwi to advocate, negotiate and resource the hapū and whānau
- It is the obligation of the Government under Te Tiriti o Waitangi [Treaty of Waitangi]³⁰ to fulfil the aspirations of the Māori people for its future generations (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995)

Te Peka Matua also had four kaupapa (philosophy) statements which were also included in *Te Korowai*. These are known to kōhanga whānau as the ‘four pou’, which are the pillars or cornerstones of the kaupapa. These four ‘pou’ (pillars) are the main kaupapa statements of Kōhanga Reo. The ‘pou’ encapsulate the importance of te reo Māori to the degree that only te reo is spoken in the kōhanga environment in front of the mokopuna (children). The second ‘pou’ recognises the whānau (family) as the most important factor in the management, responsibility and decision making in the kōhanga. Accountability to the Creator, tipuna (ancestors), one another, mokopuna

³⁰ Treaty of Waitangi – a brief historical account can be found in the previous section of this chapter.

and the government is the third ‘pou’ and the final one is the wellbeing³¹ of the children and of the whānau.

The kaupapa or philosophy of the movement has not changed since 1982 to 2011. The principles and four kaupapa statements have set the framework for the kōhangā whānau to the present day. The first two ‘pou’ which stress the revitalisation of te reo Māori and the responsibility of the whānau to uphold the mana (status) of the language are the two areas that this section is highlighting. Consequently everything that the kaupapa (philosophy) asks of the whānau is driven by the one purpose ‘whakamana i te reo’ (uphold the mana of the language).

The task of focusing on te reo Māori (Māori language) however challenges the whānau to relearn and practice the values of their tipuna (ancestors). In upholding the first ‘pou’ the parents are exposed to Māori language, customs and traditions (tikanga). Many kōhangā parents being products of the government’s assimilation policy need to learn their language themselves. When the entire whānau understand and internalise the purpose of Kōhangā Reo then the whānau work together as a unit. They realise that they are a part of the whole movement to revitalise the language and one of their most important contributions is their children. The children or the mokopuna as they are affectionately called by their kaumātua are the hope for the future survival of the language and the lifestyle of ‘being Māori’ (Durie, 2001a, 2001b; Rangihau, 1992).

Te Kōhangā Reo is based on the concept and principles of a marae (traditional Māori meeting place). The whānau care for their kōhangā as they would care for their family marae (traditional meeting place). The care and love for a marae is fostered among the whānau because that marae symbolises the whakapapa of that whānau and acknowledges who they are as a hapū (sub tribe). The whānau have a deep sense of belonging and aroha (unconditional love).

The cultural process of whanaungatanga becomes the norm as the whānau practice the values of manaakitanga (being hospitable), aroha (unconditional love) and atawhai (depth of caring) amongst their own whānau (Mead, 2003). Each member of the whānau from the children to the elders is valued for their contribution to the kaupapa. Issues are discussed in whānau meetings and solutions are found firstly within the whānau or with support and guidance from their elders and from the Kōhangā Reo National Trust (I.Tawhiwhirangi, personal communication. September 11, 2007; Te

³¹ Wellbeing refers to the spiritual, physical, emotional and intellectual wellbeing of children and their whānau

Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995). Chapter Five discusses whānau Māori structures, the Kōhanga Reo whānau and the concept of whanaungatanga within the kōhanga.

However the tension for the kōhanga whānau has increased since the transferring of the movement from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education in 1990. The philosophical sites of struggle namely the kaupapa of Kōhanga Reo and western education have resulted in parents, in particular, viewing their kōhanga not as a marae but as an early childhood centre. The administrative requirements of managing a kōhanga often have more priority than the kaupapa requirements of upholding the future of the language (I.Tawhiwhirangi, personal communication. September 11, 2007).

The Structure of Te Kōhanga Reo

All Kōhanga Reo charter to the Kōhanga Reo National Trust using Te Korowai as the guiding framework and are issued with a Tūtohinga³² (Charter) which indicates the commitment of the whānau to uphold the survival of te reo and tikanga Māori as a collective group.

The chartering process enables whānau to work through the meaning of the kaupapa or four ‘pou’ to them as individuals and as a group. It allows the whānau to take ownership of the kaupapa for their children and design policies and practices according to these ‘pou’. The expectations for the whānau are that their children will learn te reo and tikanga Māori through immersion, that the whānau are committed to lifelong learning and that the answers are within themselves.

Every Kōhanga Reo is a member of a purapura which is a group of up to six kōhanga situated close to one another. The purapura meet regularly to discuss issues, plan events for the children and to hold wānanga or workshops on a variety of topics which will better inform the whānau. Some of these wānanga are organised to support the kaiako and whānau with their kōhanga training courses.

Te Kōhanga Reo Operations

The description of how the kōhanga operates is influenced by the early childhood regulations and other government legislations such as those from the Ministries of Health, Inland Revenue, Social

³² ‘Tūtohinga’ is the kōhanga whānau Charter and consists of the whānau endorsement of the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo, its policies and procedures. Tūtohinga means Tū - to stand and tohi - naming rite loosely meaning to make the name of your kōhanga reo stand tall.

Development, to name a few. The many statutory requirements make the Kōhanga Reo appear more like an early childhood centre than a whānau development initiative (I.Tawhiwhirangi, personal communication. September 11, 2007).

Te Kōhanga Reo cater for children from birth to usually 5 years of age when they begin school. The kōhanga are open a minimum of 6 hours a day, 5 days a week. Many Kōhanga Reo especially in the cities may operate from 7:30am through to 5:30pm. Some Kōhanga Reo are only open during the school term while others may be open up to 52 weeks of the year. The hours of operation are decided by the kōhanga whānau themselves and this allows the kōhanga to meet the needs of their whānau and community.

All Kaiako in Kōhanga Reo are attested by their whānau as to their competency in te reo Māori, as well as their suitability to work with the children. They are also expected to have a first aid certificate. The Kōhanga Reo certificate for attestation is an essential part of the licensing process. Kaiako are also expected to either have the Tohu Whakapakari or be enrolled in the Whakapakari training programme. The Whakapakari Training Programme (Te Tohu Mātauranga Whakapakari Tino Rangatiratanga o Te Kōhanga Reo) is a 3-year course for kaiako focusing on the history of the movement, te reo Māori, tikanga Māori, traditional Māori child rearing practices, Māori pedagogy of learning and teaching, Māori assessment processes, whanaungatanga (inter-relationships), whaioranga (health) and administration.

An important component of the Kōhanga Reo operation is the involvement of the extended whānau. This involvement is mainly voluntary where each person is valued as an important contributor to the kaupapa. It is not uncommon for kōhanga to have kaumātua, kaiako, parents, older siblings, aunties and uncles participating. The suggested Kōhanga Reo adult to child ratio is: under 2 years 1:3; and over 2 years 1:6.

Often these ratios are better in practice, especially when young parents are encouraged to stay with their under two-year-old. In the larger city areas some Kōhanga Reo find that parents are not able to participate in the daily programme because of work commitments but they will become involved through other activities to support their kōhanga.

Each Kōhanga Reo is managed by the kōhanga whānau. The whānau are the employers, owners, users or stakeholders, and they are responsible for ensuring that their kōhanga meets all requirements, both kaupapa and legislative. Monthly whānau meetings are held to discuss the progress and general state of the kōhanga. Each kōhanga whānau elect office bearers on behalf of the whānau and working groups are established to address specific areas of operation such as the curriculum, property, personnel, finances and training. The elected chairperson of the kōhanga whānau is the main point of contact between that whānau and Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. Contrary to this appointment the kōhanga whānau under the early childhood regulations, are required to elect a licensee. The licensee is also appointed on behalf of the whānau and is the first point of contact for the Ministry of Education and other government agencies.

One of the main roles of the whānau is managing their kōhanga as a collective and requires making many decisions according to their policies and practices derived from Te Korowai. For example whānau decide the amount of whānau contribution to their kōhanga as well as the wages of their employees. These decisions are dependent on their budget, where funds are generated from Ministry of Education grants, childcare assistance³³ and whānau contributions³⁴ Ministry of Education grants for Kōhanga Reo is appropriated under Vote Early Childhood. The grants consist of a universal grant as determined under the requirements for the whānau-led category. There are two rates, the standard rate and the quality rate. The second early childhood grant is equity funding, which is based on meeting one or all four criteria to qualify. These criteria are low socio-economic community, special needs and non-English speaking background, language and culture other than English and isolation.³⁵ The third grant is 20 hours subsidy for 3 and 4 year olds. The whānau decisions take into consideration a balance between the sustainability of the kōhanga, both kaupapa and financial and what the whānau can afford to contribute.

The main aim is to ensure that there are no barriers to children participating in the kōhanga as the ultimate outcome is have a critical mass of mokopuna competent in speaking te reo. If there is an issue with children getting to and from the kōhanga then car pooling or purchasing a van may be the solution. If parents are feeling inadequate because they cannot speak te reo then classes are

³³ Child Care Subsidy now known as childcare assistance is income tested and is available to families that where parents are working or training. Nine hours childcare assistance is also available to families who do not work if they meet the income tested criteria. <http://www.msd.govt.nz/>

³⁴ Whānau contributions are determined according to the kōhanga budget and what the kōhanga whānau are able to afford. The weekly contribution can range from \$5 to \$150 per week.

³⁵ <http://www.minedu.govt.nz/>

established or parents are encouraged to enrol on a kōhanga language course such as Te Ara Tuatahi. Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, the past Chief Executive Officer of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust, has often said ‘Te Kōhanga Reo was set up for those who don’t have te reo (Māori)’. If parents cannot afford to pay then other arrangements can be discussed. The first principle of the movement states “It is the right of the Māori child to enjoy learning the Māori language within the bosom of the whānau” (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995:5). Every Māori child has a right to learn te reo Māori and it is the role of the whānau to eliminate any barriers such as affordability and accessibility that might prevent their participation in Kōhanga Reo and therefore prevent them from learning te reo.

Whānau contribute by paying fees on a weekly basis, give koha (donation), work with the children on a regular basis, organise fundraising and manage the Kōhanga Reo. Iwi also contribute, either through kaumātua participation or other resources. Kaumātua share te reo and tikanga Māori with the mokopuna and give support and guidance to the whānau on te reo and tikanga. They are actively involved as assessors in the training programmes. They strengthen whānau learning through attending or facilitating wānanga. Some of the kaumātua are also kaiako in the Kōhanga Reo.

Kōhanga whānau induct new whānau into the kaupapa of Kōhanga Reo and celebrate their involvement as members of the Kōhanga Reo. They ensure that the new whānau understand the collective commitment to the children, to their kōhanga whānau, to the survival of the reo and to the management of their kōhanga. Information and knowledge is passed on from whānau member to whānau member and in some cases the kōhanga have older members supporting the newer members in understanding the complexities of operating a ‘small business’³⁶ within the complexities of a Kaupapa Māori framework.

Te Whāriki: The Kōhanga Reo curriculum

In 1992 the Ministry of Education decided to develop an early childhood curriculum with a unique Aotearoa/New Zealand flavour in consultation with the early childhood sector. Dr Helen May and

³⁶ Kōhanga Reo are similar to a small business as both are required under different government Acts to comply with a variety of regulations such as the furnishing of audited financial reports, employment contracts, health and safety, privacy issues and many others.

Dr Margaret Carr from the University of Waikato were contracted to undertake this task. The New Zealand flavour was the development of a bicultural curriculum (Māori and English).

Dame Dr Iritana Tawhiwhirangi (personal communication September 11, 2007) retold how in 1992 Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust contracted Dr Tamati and Tilly Reedy to consult with the kōhanga whānau across the country about what a curriculum might look like for Te Kōhanga Reo. The Trust worked alongside the early childhood group co-ordinated by Dr Helen May and Dr Margaret Carr.

According to Te One (2003) the curriculum guidelines had to be a joint partnership between the non Māori writers and Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. She shared personal communication that she had had with Dr Helen May (Te One, 2003, pp.28-29) saying that Carr and May, the non Māori writers were ‘clear that the Māori context was separate’. Māori writers, Rita Walker and Maureen Locke worked on the bicultural curriculum for the rest of early childhood and the Kōhanga Reo National Trust developed the curriculum for Te Kōhanga Reo.

Margaret and I often met with Tamati and Tilly to discuss how to weave the Māori and Pākehā concepts together (May, personal communication cited in Te One 2003, p.28-29).

The word Te Whāriki and the weaving concept came from Dr Tamati and Tilly Reedy’s presentation of their consultation with kōhanga whānau and kaumātua.

The title, Te Whāriki, suggested by Tamati Reedy, was a central metaphor. The early childhood curriculum was envisaged as a Whāriki translated as a woven mat for all to stand on (May, 2002 cited in Te One, 2003, p.29).

Tamati and Tilly Reedy presented the project with a Māori curriculum framework based on the principle of empowerment. I can remember Tamati spent a day explaining the concepts and their origins in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). It was a complete framework and included the five “wero” – aims for children. Margaret and I then worked with this framework to position the parallel domains for Pākehā, which later became the goals. These were not translations. (May, personal communication cited in Te One, 2003)

Te One (2003) stated that the curriculum for Te Kōhanga Reo focused on Whakamana (empowerment), Kotahitanga (holistic), Whānau tangata (whānau and the community) and Ngā Hononga (relationships). She continued to say that it also went beyond a focus on the child to include whānau, hapū and iwi.

The principles and aims of the curriculum are expressed in both the Māori and English languages, but neither is an exact translation of the other: an acceptable cross-cultural structure and the equivalence was discussed, debated and transacted early in the curriculum development process (Carr and May, 1999. pp.57-58. Cited in Te One, 2003, p.33)

Te Whāriki has two curricula, Māori and non Māori. The concepts of Ngā Kaupapa Whakahaere (Principles) and Ngā Taumata Whakahirahira (Strands and Goals) have cultural parallels and are not direct translations of each other. They are the same but different. Both enable all cultures, Māori and non Māori, to maintain their tino rangatiratanga (autonomy). Both focus on the four principles (Ngā Kaupapa Whakahaere) as the main outcomes for children and their whānau. Both are curricula that focus on the relationships the child develops within his or her different socio-cultural contexts and the learning that ‘happens’ from these relationships.

Tilly Reedy, one of the writers for the Kōhanga Reo *Te Whāriki* said that Te Whāriki

has a theoretical framework that is appropriate for all; common yet individual; for everyone, yet only for one; a Whāriki woven by loving hands that can cross cultures with respect, that can weave people and nations together (Reedy, 2003:74).

Te Whāriki is the national curriculum for early childhood services in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 1996). Te Whāriki draws on the symbolism of weaving (or constructing) learning and development for and with the child. Te Whāriki ā Te Kōhanga Reo (The Kōhanga Reo curriculum)³⁷ emerges from Te Whāriki the national curriculum and enables the whānau to construct language development and cultural values for the child. Both are active agents in the construction process as the entire whānau (including the child) acquires and uses te reo Māori to make meaning of the Māori world. Therefore the curriculum is about developing relationships (whakawhanaungatanga) with people, animals, the environment, inanimate objects and with the esoteric world. The language is an important tool in this relationship process. The whānau, both home and kōhanga, share and learn *te reo me tikanga Māori* (the Māori language, customs and values) together. This sharing process is known as whānau learning.

³⁷ Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo is the curriculum criterion for Kōhanga Reo as legislated under the licensing requirements Education (early childhood services) Regulations 2008.

Whānau Learning

The Whānau Learning concept involves the entire whānau collaborating in learning together. The principles of whanaungatanga are uppermost. The whānau from the kaumātua (elders) to the staff, parents and even children can participate and contribute ideas and views (Ruawai Hamilton, 1994).

Whānau development has always been an important focus of the Te Kōhanga Reo movement (Bennett, 1985; Hohepa, 1999; Smith G.H, 1995; Smith, L.T. 1989; Tawhiwhirangi I. personal communication. September 11, 2007). Therefore whānau learning was a natural progression for parents who went from establishing a Kōhanga Reo, to managing it, then to learning to speak Māori alongside their children. The whānau and kaumātua needed to bridge the knowledge chasm for parents who had little or no te reo and tikanga Māori.

Whānau learning is the very first up-skilling training programme for Te Kōhanga Reo whānau. It was developed in 1983 to meet the needs of those Kōhanga Reo. Whānau Learning is promoted to improve understanding of Te Kōhanga Reo, affirm the importance /value of all whānau members enable whānau members to identify issues pertinent to their needs, and provide the opportunity to up-skill whānau members (Department of Māori Affairs, 1983). This part of the chapter describes the five Kōhanga Reo courses and wānanga (workshops) which have all been developed as and when requested by the whānau.

In 1990 Te Kōhanga Reo were transferred from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education. One of the results from transferring to the Ministry of Education was that an approved qualification was a requirement by each Kōhanga Reo before they could become a licensed service and access Vote Early Childhood funding. In 1992 a three year training course for kaiako was developed by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, piloted and then approved by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). This training course was named Te Tino Rangatiratanga Whakapakari o Te Kōhanga Reo also known as *Whakapakari*.

In 1996 another two new courses were approved by NZQA. These courses were developed in answer to the whānau continually wanting te reo Māori courses in their Kōhanga Reo. They were named Te Ara Tuatahi Whakapakari o Te Kōhanga Reo (Te Ara Tuatahi /TA1) and Te Ara Tuarua Whakapakari o Te Kōhanga Reo (Te Ara Tuarua /TA2). These one year courses were for whānau

who had no or little te reo (Te Ara Tuatahi) and for whānau who were semi fluent in te reo (Te Ara Tuarua). There are now five NZQA approved courses.

Te Ara Tuatahi: This one-year certificate course has been available since 1996 for the kōhangā whānau who speak very little Māori language or none at all. Components of the course focus on learning te reo while including Te Korowai, Te Whāriki (curriculum) and child development. It is a local course at Level Two of the National Qualifications Framework.

Te Ara Tuarua: This is a one-year introductory course for staff who are semi-fluent, to improve their Māori language skills. Each unit in the course is introduced as preparation for the three-year diploma course. Te Ara Tuarua is a local course registered at Level Five of the National Qualifications Framework.

Te Tohu Mātauranga Whakapakari Tino Rangatiratanga o Te Kōhanga Reo: This three-year course focuses on training kaiako in the Kōhanga to work alongside young children, the parents, other whānau members, and the community. It demands a high level of competency in Māori language and has a strong emphasis on research skills. The Tohu Whakapakari is also a local course approved at Level Seven on the National Qualifications Framework.

Te Taumata o Te Ara Hiko: The Trust also provides a one year computer course for whānau who are primarily working or volunteering for Kōhanga office tasks. The course provides students with computer skills to Level Four of the National Qualifications Framework and the student graduates with a Tohu from Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust as well as a Level Four National Certificate.

Paerangatiratanga: This is a one year Level Four small business course and covers a variety of areas needed for the management of Te Kōhanga Reo. Some of the areas covered in the course range from financial management, human resources management, basic communications and kōhanga related administration. The course is Level Four on the National Qualifications Framework and the student graduates with a Level Four National Certificate. In July 2011 there were over 1,200 ākonga (adult students) enrolled on these programmes. Every ākonga (student) was a whānau member of their local Kōhanga Reo.

Wānanga support learning for the five NZQA approved courses as well as any whānau (or professional) development courses. Wānanga are organised either by the kōhanga whānau, the purapura or the National Trust as an important part of whānau learning. Wānanga and hui are based around the whānau. This is to ensure that wānanga for the whānau are accessible. Whānau may decide to organise a wānanga at their kōhanga, purapura or as a rohe (district). Many of the topics are based on learning new skills to better manage their kōhanga. These can range from learning te reo, Te Whāriki (curriculum), administration, Te Korowai, personnel management, maintenance and many others.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust organises regular wānanga under the Ministry of Education's professional development contracts and the Memorandum of Agreement between the Ministry and the Kōhanga Reo National Trust. An example of a kōhanga wānanga is *kura reo*. Kura Reo are wānanga or workshops designed to improve the Māori language skills and language confidence of the kōhanga whānau. The attendees are divided into three groups according to their language competency – fluent; semi fluent; and beginners. The whānau rotate around the workshops which cover such topics as grammar and structure, new vocabulary, traditional sayings, waiata (traditional songs), curriculum, making resources, etc.

These kura reo are well attended. Up to 200 people can attend at one time. The focus is on strengthening te reo. Since the year 2000 when the kura reo programme started the National Trust has been building the capacity and capability of te reo Māori in the kōhanga whānau, the hapū and the iwi. All Kōhanga Reo are expected to send staff and/or whānau to these wānanga. Whānau learn the history and socio-political issues concerning te reo and the Kōhanga Reo movement. The whānau learning process through wānanga not only shares information about te ao Māori (the Māori world) but also conscientises whānau to understand the socio-political issues affecting the movement.

TE KŌHANGA REO: CULTURAL HEGEMONY AND KAUPAPA MĀORI.

*Ka mate, ka mate; Ka ora, ka ora
Ka mate, ka mate; Ka ora, ka ora
'Tis death, 'tis death; 'tis life, 'tis life
'Tis death, 'tis death; 'tis life, 'tis life
Authorship: Te Rauparaha, Ngāti Toa Rangatira.³⁸*

The excerpt from the famous haka 'Ka mate, ka mate' epitomises the uncertainty of the survival of Te Kōhanga Reo as the movement faces challenges particularly political and struggles to maintain its 'tino rangatiratanga' (autonomy). Will the language survive? Will Te Kōhanga Reo survive? 'Tis death, 'tis death; 'tis life, 'tis life.

This section revisits the concept of cultural hegemony versus kaupapa Māori pedagogy³⁹ through the impact of political, economic and socio-cultural demands on Te Kōhanga Reo. The struggle between these two concepts is analysed as the discussion tracks the growth and decline of Te Kōhanga Reo. The analysis focuses on political, economic and socio-cultural factors which manifest as sites of struggle for the Kōhanga Reo National Trust and for the kōhanga whānau against the Crown.

Firstly the discussion is presented in three time periods namely the 1980s, the 1990s and the first decade of the new millennium. A description and analysis of government policies follow concluding with a summary that highlights Te Kōhanga Reo as kaupapa Māori theory in action, an example of critical pedagogy (Giroux, 2001). The summary also draws attention to the struggles between cultural hegemony and kaupapa Māori pedagogy and questions government intentions.

TE KŌHANGA REO 1982 - 1989

The Government Review of Te Kōhanga Reo (1988) recorded a rapid growth in Kōhanga Reo in the 1980s. The recruitment and retention of Māori children into Kōhanga reo has always been an active policy of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. The Meade Report (1988) stated that the aim of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and the Department of Māori Affairs was to have 75% of all Māori

³⁸ Ka mate, ka mate is a small verse from the famous haka /chant associated with Te Rauparaha, a Māori chief (1820s) who undiscovered by his enemies as he lay hidden in a kumara pit, stepped into the sunlight safe. The chant is also associated more recently with the New Zealand national rugby team called the *All Blacks*, who made the chant famous internationally. The words reverberate death and life; symbolising the circle of life.

³⁹ Kaupapa Māori pedagogy is the active agency of kaupapa Māori theory, a theory of resistance discussed in Chapter Two.

children under five years of age attending Te Kōhanga Reo by 1992. Māori children attendance at Kōhanga Reo is discussed later in this section under *Participation*.

According to Tawhiwhirangi who was a senior manager in the Department of Māori Affairs at that time, the goal for each district was to establish and support 10 new kōhanga each year. The target was 100 Kōhanga Reo per year for the 10 districts. The goal was achieved for six years and by 1989 there were almost 600 Kōhanga Reo.

The extraordinary thing about this rapid increase in Kōhanga Reo was that it was accomplished by the collective and collaborative participation of the whānau, hapū and iwi, the main resource being people. It was the passion, the plea and the commitment of the kaumātua (elders) that mobilised the people. Te Kōhanga Reo was started and guided by the kaumātua outside of the education framework. The mobilisation of the people was evident in the rapid increase of Kōhanga Reo numbers during the 1980s as shown in Table One⁴⁰ and Table Two.

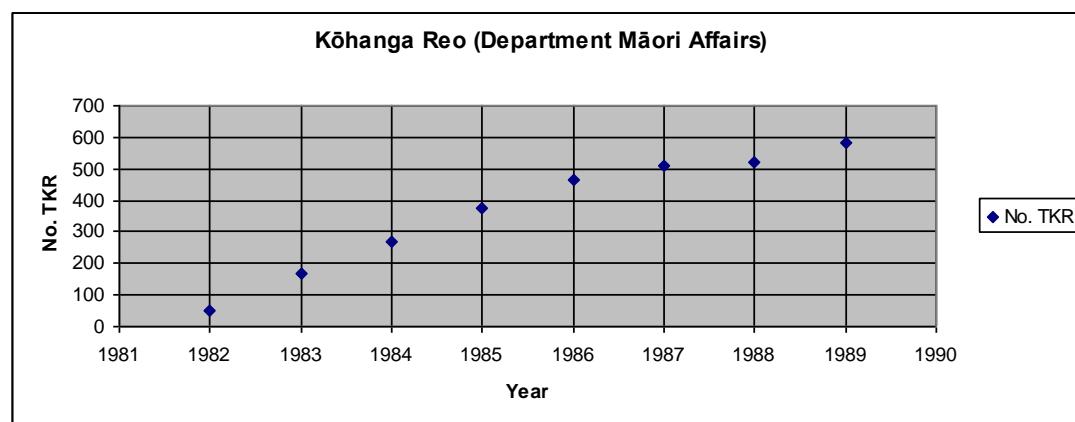
⁴⁰ Table One is sourced from Government Review Team, 1988:19 and therefore the statistics do not include 1989. However Table Two shows Kōhanga Reo and mokopuna numbers from 1982 to 1989

Table One: Numbers of Kōhanga Reo by Māori Affairs' Districts 1982 - 1988

Districts	Dec 1982	Dec 1983	Dec 1984	Dec 1985	Dec 1986	Dec 1987	Mar 1988
Whangarei	9	25	38	51	71	74	75
Te Taitokerau							
Auckland	6	17	24	31	40	45	46
Tamaki Makaurau							
South Auckland	4	12	18	22	26	28	28
Wiri							
Hamilton	5	13	27	41	53	56	57
Tainui							
Rotorua	5	22	34	43	52	59	59
Waiariki							
Gisborne	5	16	26	38	47	56	57
Tairawhiti							
Wanganui	2	18	26	41	51	55	56
Aotea							
Hastings	2	15	20	26	28	34	35
Kahungunu							
Wellington	9	17	25	35	43	48	48
Ikaroa							
Tūrangi							2
Tūwharetoa							
South Island	3	15	31	48	55	57	58
Te Waipounamu							
Total	50	170	269	377	466	512	521

(source: Government Review Team, 1988:19)

Table Two: Kōhanga Reo numbers 1982 - 1989



Year	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
No. TKR	50	170	269	377	466	512	521	584
Mokopuna								
No.s⁴¹	800	2720	4034	6032	7456	8192	8335	9344

Whānau guided by kaumātua had become conscientised into taking control of their future (Freire, 1972; Giroux, 2011) and were responsible for expanding possibilities for Māori people. Te

⁴¹ Ministry of Maori Affairs/Manatū Māori (1991)

Kōhanga Reo has become a movement concerned with the education, economics, political, cultural and spiritual domains of Māori as a people. As mentioned previously in Chapter Two Pihama (1993) had seen Te Kōhanga Reo as ‘Kaupapa Māori theory in action’. Smith (2002) expanded on Kaupapa Māori theory as a cyclic model of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis. Māori whānau did not need to be conscientised first to become a part of a struggle to revitalise te reo Māori. Kōhanga whānau were caught up in the purpose to revitalise te reo Māori. According to Smith the very action of enrolling their children in Te Kōhanga Reo meant that whānau would also reclaim their Māori view of the world. They had become emancipated.

TE KŌHANGA REO 1990 – 1999

As mentioned previously the Department of Māori Affairs was disestablished and all Kōhanga Reo were transferred to the Ministry of Education. This transfer was decided between the Minister of Māori Affairs and the Minister of Education. There was no consultation with Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust or Kōhanga Reo. The decision to transfer to the Ministry of Education in 1990 was not greeted with enthusiasm by the Kōhanga Reo even though it meant more funding.

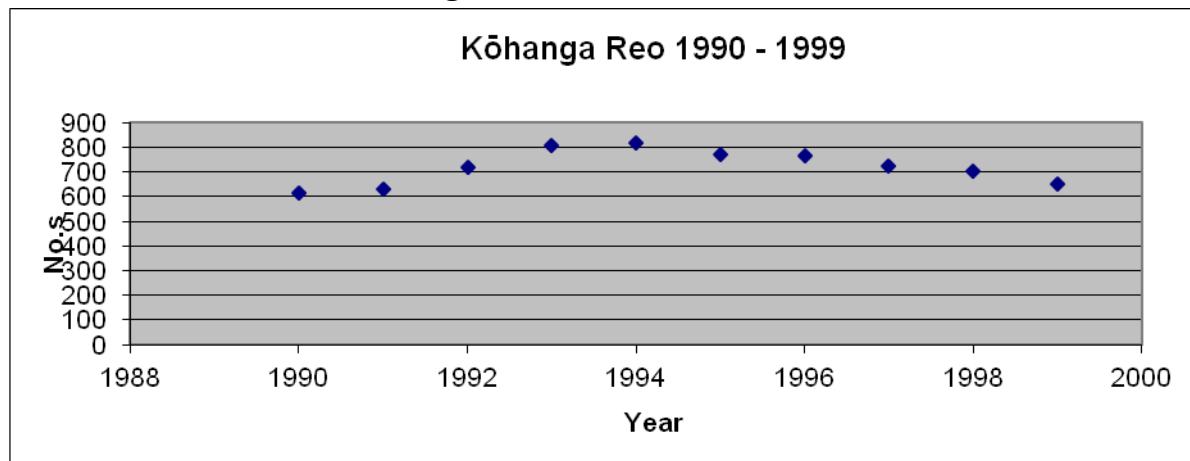
By July 1990 there were 616 Kōhanga Reo and 10,108 mokopuna.⁴² The impact of Crown policies and their influence on Kōhanga Reo are discussed in two time periods, 1990 to 1999 and then the new millennium 2000 to 2010. The first time period focuses on the changes that occurred in Kōhanga Reo as a result of the transition of the movement to the Ministry of Education. The second time period discusses the impact of different Ministry of Education policies on Te Kōhanga Reo and particularly the Ministry of Education’s ‘10 Year Strategic Plan, ECE’ named Pathways to the Future: Ngā Huarahi Arataki.

The numbers of Kōhanga Reo peaked in 1994 (Table Three). Even though 1994 saw a total of 819 Kōhanga Reo there was a drop in numbers by 2,000 children due to policy changes to the Child Care Subsidy. The Child Care Subsidy changes affected beneficiaries who could only claim for 9 hours subsidy per week if they were not enrolled in a recognised course or if they were not working. Consequently in 1994 beneficiaries withdrew their children from kōhanga.

⁴² Ministry of Education, 1990. ECE data

The numbers of children then increased in 1995 due to a concerted effort by the Trustees, who travelled around the country encouraging whānau to enrol in Kōhanga Reo relevant whānau learning courses so that whānau could meet the new Child Care Subsidy requirements. Table Three illustrates the growth and decline in Kōhanga Reo numbers 1990 to 1999.

Table Three: Number of Kōhanga Reo 1990 - 1999



Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
No. TKR	616	630	719	809	819	774	767	724	704	652
Mokopuna	10,108	10,451	12,617	14,514	12,508	14,015	13,279	13,104	11,689	11,859

Government policies 1990 to 1999

According to Tawhiwhirangi (personal communication, September 11, 2007), the transfer to the Ministry of Education and the requirement to licence according to the new Early Childhood Regulations 1990 meant an increased focus on compliance and a decreased focus on the kōhanga kaupapa namely te reo Māori. Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust became concerned with the quality standard of the kaupapa and the Board decided to carry out a kaupapa review of all Kōhanga Reo during the late 1990s.

The invasiveness of early childhood government policies and philosophy had whānau focusing on meeting regulations rather than the kaupapa. Tawhiwhirangi continued to say that the management of some Kōhanga Reo was changing. Small executive management groups were beginning to oversee the operation of their kōhanga rather than the kōhanga being the responsibility of the entire

whānau. She argued that the whānau were being marginalised from the decision making and management role of their kōhanga.

New parents enrolling their children mistakenly thought Kōhanga Reo was a Māori early childhood centre and it made commonsense to parents that like early childhood the staff or a small group of whānau were responsible for the management of kōhanga. This perception was understandable especially when parents knew that the kōhanga was required to be licensed under the Early Childhood Regulations 1990. The Ministry of Education policy on increasing participation encouraged “kids on the mat” and many kōhanga enrolled children without inducting parents on their responsibilities towards maintaining and strengthening te reo Māori. More children enrolled in the kōhanga meant more funding for the kōhanga.

Accountability for government funding meant operating kōhanga and meeting health and safety standards, human relations, financial management, qualifications and many more prescribed by government Acts. One of the consequences of numerous legislative requirements was that according to Tawhiwhirangi, kaumātua felt that they were no longer needed. A new knowledge base namely the law had been introduced to kōhanga and had started to replace Māori lore.

Native speakers in the Kōhanga Reo were still important for the quality of the language. However many had either passed on or were too ill to continue attending Kōhanga Reo as kaiako or kaumātua or as mentioned previously thought they were no longer needed. This was especially the case in the larger city areas. Kōhanga were encouraged to amalgamate to share kaiako and whānau resources. Kaumātua who were kaiako were asked to enrol in the Trust’s 3-year Whakapakari training for kaiako or in Te Ara Tuarua, a one year training programme for kaimahi who were semi fluent. However kaiako were being enticed by higher paid employment outside of the movement where te reo Māori was being sought.

The large decrease in Kōhanga Reo was due to the number of early childhood policies introduced by government and the Ministry of Education. The continual mis-match between the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo and early childhood policies became a point of frustration, namely

- Child Care Subsidy and the changes to eligibility criteria 1994.

- All recipients' income levels had to be means tested and they had to be enrolled in an approved training programme or working to qualify for a subsidy. Whānau not in training or not working could receive 9 hours subsidy per week if they also met the income test. The reason for the 30 hours per week attendance was to ensure that their children were immersed in a te reo Māori environment for a large part of their day. The government's reason for reducing the Child Care Subsidy from 30 hours to 9 hours for this group of the community was that the government should not be required to fully subsidise children where one parent was 'at home' not working or in training. Consequently some whānau, mainly beneficiaries would have their children in kōhanga for 30 hours, claim 9 hours subsidy and the kōhanga would carry the shortfall or just not take their children to kōhanga.
- The Ministry of Education Discretionary Grants and Loans policy was changed to Discretionary Grants only 1996.
 - In 1996 the Ministry of Education changed the Discretionary Grants and Loans funding for new EC buildings to Discretionary grants only. This change in government policy then allowed the Ministry of Education to question the Trust's concept of Property Putea based on a 'koha' system of reciprocity. The Ministry then expected the Trust to cease its property putea (fund) scheme (revolving fund for capital expenses).
- The Ministry of Education Quality Funding 1996 and the need for Te Korowai (1995) as a requirement for Quality funding.
 - The definition of quality was too limiting for Te Kōhanga Reo. It did not enable kōhanga to include kaumātua or whānau participation as indicators of quality. It did not fully acknowledge the importance of quality te reo as the strongest indicator of quality. The Trust was required to establish a Charter Agreement *Te Korowai* with the Ministry of Education to be eligible for Quality funding
 - The Ministry of Education had developed documents⁴³ to assist early childhood centres in the management of their centres and particularly their curriculum. Each one of these

⁴³ Ministry of Education, Quality in Action, <http://www.lead.ece.govt.nz/ManagementInformation/KeiTuaoTePae> <http://www.educate.ece.govt.nz/learning/curriculumAndLearning/>
Te Whatu Pōkeka. Kaupapa Māori assessment for learning: ECE Exemplars.

<http://www.educate.ece.govt.nz/learning/curriculumAndLearning/>
Ministry of Education *Participation in early childhood education* (2011); Ministry of Education *Affordability of early childhood education* (2011); Ministry of Education *Hours of participation in early*

documents clashed with Te Korowai the Trust's Charter Agreement with the Ministry of Education.

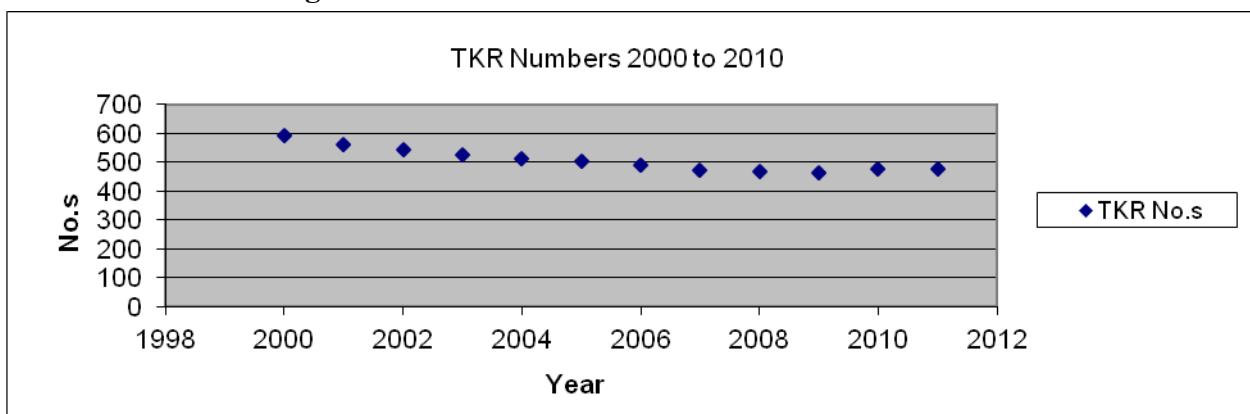
- Launch of Te Whāriki 1996.
 - Te Kōhanga Reo followed the Māori text in Te Whāriki 1996. The Māori and English translations of 'The Strands' were not the same and lead to confusion for kōhanga whānau especially when the curriculum was being reviewed in the 1990s by the Education Review Office (ERO) against the English text of the early childhood version and not the Māori text.

According to Tawhiwhirangi, by 1999, the Trustees, who were extremely frustrated had made a decision to negotiate directly with the Crown rather than the Ministry of Education. As a result of this the Minister approved a Crown Review lead by Sir Rodney Gallen. The Gallen Report was released in 2001 and is discussed in the second time period 2000 to 2010.

Te Kōhanga Reo 2000 - 2010

The year 2000 saw the numbers of Māori children increasing in other early childhood services particularly kindergarten and education and care and within six years Kōhanga Reo no longer had the majority of Māori children participating in early childhood education. Some of the possible reasons are explored in this sub section. Table Four shows the number of Kōhanga Reo and mokopuna 2000 to 2010.

Table Four: of Kōhangā Reo 2000 to 2010



Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
No. TKR	594	562	545	526	513	501	488	470	467	464	477
Mokopuna	11,138	9,594	10,389	10,060	10,418	10,070	9,493	9,236	9,165	9,288	9,370

The Gallen Report

In November 2000 Te Kōhangā Reo National Trust met with the Minister of Education, the Honourable Trevor Mallard, to present The Trust's strategic plan and to discuss a direct relationship between the Crown and The Trust. A working group was set up consisting of three representatives from The Trust, three chosen by the Crown and Sir Rodney Gallen, a notable High Court judge, as the independent chairperson. The three main areas of discussion were enhancing The Trust's current relationship with government; the property putea (funding) policy and future relationships between the Trust, government and iwi. The following is a summary of the three recommendations set by the report to the Ministers (Gallen, 2001).

Enhancing the Trust's Current Relationship with Government

- The Trust, Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri develop a tripartite relationship agreement;
- a process where additional funding from both Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education be made available to The Trust over the next five years for ICT, Māori language training, resource development and research;

- the appointment of relationship managers by The Trust , the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri;
- any review of early childhood regulations reflect the unique kaupapa of the kōhangas movement and a joint review process of progress on these recommendations is agreed to by 2004.

Property Putea and the Discretionary Grants Scheme

- The Trust agree to use the Discretionary Grants Scheme (DGS) to establish new Kōhangas Reo buildings without kōhangas whānau incurring repayments;
- The Trust is not put at financial risk by the termination of the Property Putea process;
- The Ministry of Education, Te Puni Kōkiri and the Trust agree to a process where future funding supports Trust commitments such as Arahiko (computer network), Māori language training; research and resource development;
- future funding take into account that The Trust has compromised its policy, some kōhangas have completed repayments, other kōhangas are in the process of contributing to putea or “repaying their mortgage which, when discontinued under the proposed new arrangement, will incur costs to The Trust” (Gallen 2001), and
- The Trust will incur a loss of revenue to underwrite ongoing commitments that are in the pipeline.

Future Relationships between the Trust, Government and Iwi

- The government, iwi and The Trust develop a process to devolve Kōhangas Reo to iwi over the next five years;
- This process build on existing relationships Government has with iwi;
- The Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri support The Trust to define its role following the devolution of kōhangas to iwi.

The Gallen Report (2001) was released one year before the Ministry of Education *Pathways to the Future: 10 Year Strategic Plan for Early Childhood (EC)* was launched in 2002. The EC policies became a distraction for the Ministry of Education, Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Affairs) and The Trust’s discussion of the Gallen Report recommendations. The 10 Year Strategic Plan EC did not alleviate frustrations for Te Kōhangas Reo movement in fact The Trust expressed dissatisfaction

with several of the new policies. By July 2009 according to Tawhiwhirangi the Gallen Report's recommendations still had not been addressed by government.

The government having eliminated the property putea system virtually had economic and political control over the Kōhanga Reo movement. The introduction of the policies under the 10 Year Strategic Plan EC would threaten the core of the movement, its culture, by redefining what Kōhanga Reo would look like in the early childhood sector. The policies of the 2000s are discussed and analysed in the next section in relation to the Ministry of Education's intentions for early childhood and how these policies influence the Kōhanga Reo movement.

Pathways to the Future: Ngā Huarahi Arataki – 10 Year Strategic Plan ECE

In 2000 the Ministry of Education set up an early childhood working group to develop a 10 year strategic plan. There were over 30 people representing the different early childhood education services. Te Kōhanga Reo had two representatives. The new plan was launched in 2002 and had three main aims –

- Improve quality in early childhood services
- Increase participation in quality early childhood services
- Collaborative relationships

The 10 Year Strategic Plan has introduced new policies which have according to Tawhiwhirangi (personal communication September 11, 2007) disadvantaged Te Kōhanga Reo. The main change has been to divide licensed early childhood into services that are Teacher Led and services that are Parent/ Whānau Led. Te Kōhanga Reo and Play centres are in the latter group with the rest of early childhood coming under Teacher Led. This division has created a two tiered structure where policies have benefited Teacher Led and disadvantaged Whānau Led services, such as Kōhanga Reo. Funding between the two groups is now inequitable. For example a Kōhanga Reo with 50% of their kaiako qualified with the Tohu Whakapakari will receive \$8.40 for every child under two years of age and \$4.22 for every child over two years of age. An early childhood centre with the same number of children and 50% of their teachers qualified with a diploma or degree in early childhood education will receive \$10.36 /child (under two years old) and \$5.46 /child (over two years old).

This has meant that funding for Te Kōhanga Reo remains at the status quo, standard (Rate 1) and Quality (Rate 2) funding while funding for teacher led has increased. The impact of this policy has

made it difficult for kōhanga to retain kaiako and possibly attract more whānau. The different funding rates have caused financial hardships for kōhanga whānau who need to compete with Teacher Led salaries if they wish to retain their staff.

The Kōhanga Reo whānau fed back their disquiet about these two types of services in a consultation document on the 10 Year Strategic Plan EC, sent to the Ministry of Education in 2004. They were concerned that this definition separated whānau from kaiako (Whānau Led versus Teacher Led). They felt that it was the beginning of creating a gap in their kaupapa and between early childhood services.

“The Kōhanga Reo did not separate whānau and kaiako. All members of the kōhanga have equal importance. The strength of a Kōhanga Reo is measured in how the entire whānau work together. This is an important indicator of a quality Kōhanga Reo.”⁴⁴

The Tohu Whakapakari qualification is recognised for Whānau Led funding and enables kōhanga to access Rate 2 funding. However Whakapakari is not recognised for the higher rates in Teacher Led funding as the tohu (qualification) is not considered a teacher education qualification by the New Zealand Teachers’ Council.⁴⁵ And yet Whakapakari is an approved Level 7 qualification on the New Zealand Qualifications Framework alongside the Diploma of Teaching (EC) and the Bachelor of Education (EC).

During the review of the early childhood regulations (2008) the Trust put forward its case to have the Whāriki curriculum for Te Kōhanga Reo be a separate criterion to that for early childhood services and other Māori early childhood centres. Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo criterion were approved in 2010.

Māori Children Under 5 Years (2010)⁴⁶

According to Statistics New Zealand web site there were an estimated 89,170 Māori Children under 5 in New Zealand as at July 2010.⁴⁷ Of this number 38,580 Māori children were enrolled in Early

⁴⁴ Feedback and comments on the Review of Regulations for Early Childhood Education. A submission to the Ministry of Education from Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 23 July 2004.

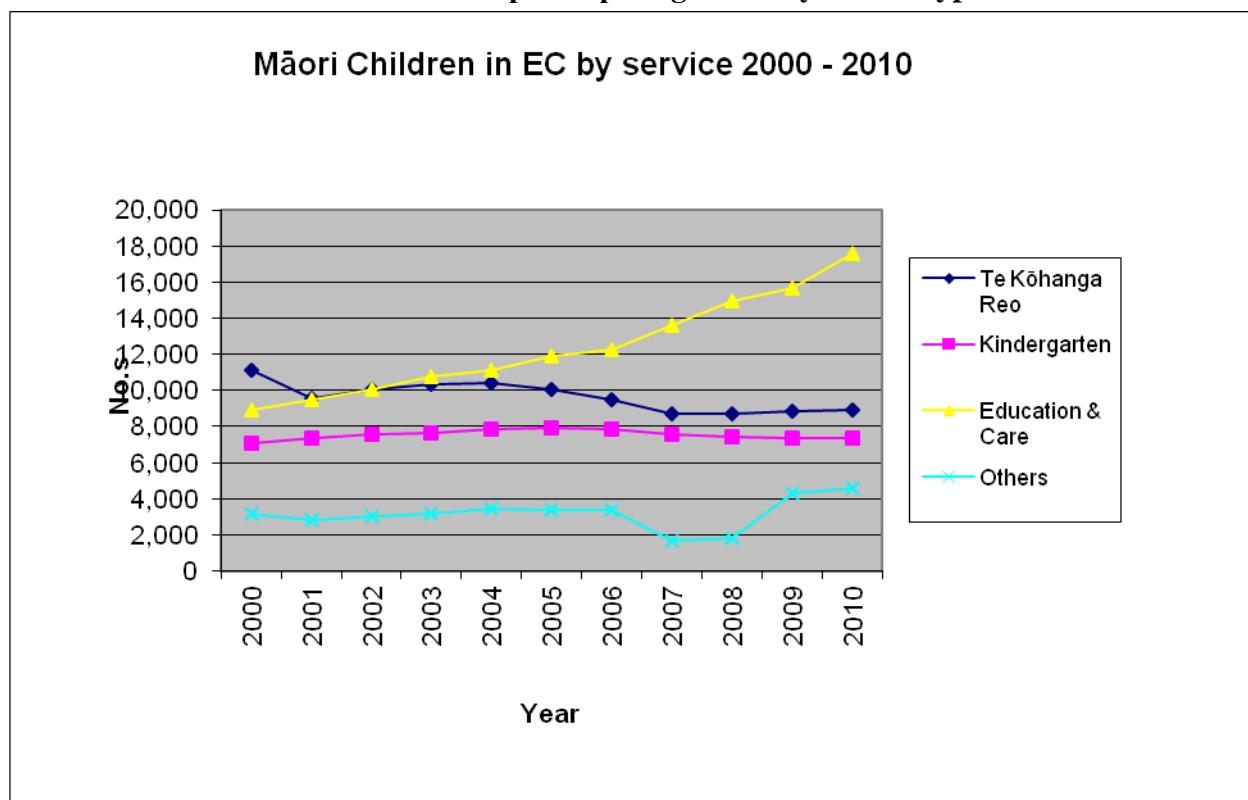
⁴⁵ The New Zealand Teachers’ Council is the professional and regulatory body for teachers in New Zealand. Its purpose is to provide professional leadership in teaching and to contribute to safe, high quality teaching and learning environments for children and other learners. <http://www.teacherscouncil.govt.nz/>

⁴⁶ <http://educationcounts.edcentre.govt.nz/indicators/engagement/index.html>

⁴⁷ http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/maori-population-estimates.aspx

Childhood Services (20% of the total Early Childhood sector).⁴⁸ Te Kōhanga Reo had 8,916 (23%) of these children enrolled. The number of Māori children not attending any Kōhanga Reo or Early Childhood Service was 50,590. This represented 57% of the Māori Under 5 Population. The service with the largest number of Māori enrolments in Early Childhood Education in 2010, was Education and Care services with 17,579 (46% of Māori children enrolled in EC).⁴⁹ Table Five shows the number of Māori under five year olds enrolled in the different early childhood services from the years 2000 to 2010.

Table Five: Number Māori children participating in EC by service type 2000 - 2010



Source online: <http://educationcounts.edcentre.govt.nz/indicators/>

Why were Māori children under five years of age not enrolling in Kōhanga Reo or other early childhood services? Most of these children were under three years old. The major occurrence for the 2000s was the introduction of the Government's 10 Year Strategic Plan (2002 – 2012) for early childhood services. It is interesting to note that a steep decline in numbers of Māori children in Kōhanga Reo happened in 2004. This steep decline correlates directly with a steep climb in

⁴⁸ <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/ece/>

⁴⁹ http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/ece/55413/licensed_services_and_licence-exempt_groups

numbers of Māori children in Education and Care services. It is also the year when the new funding system began. This 10 Year plan has introduced major policy changes which have disadvantaged Te Kōhanga Reo and I argue is one of the main causes for a decrease in mokopuna enrolments.

The release of the Early Childhood Taskforce Report 2011 pushed Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust to seek an urgent hearing with the Waitangi Tribunal. The Taskforce Report suggests that

Kōhanga Reo are of poor quality and that there are accountability issues relating to the Trust Board itself. The Taskforce also questions whether the Trust Board is a “key barrier” to the Kohanga Reo movement.⁵⁰

The Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board expressed serious concerns with the tone of the report and stated that

the Taskforce has failed to adequately inform itself through consultation or accessing relevant expertise. As a consequence, it was not in a position to make the findings and comments about kōhanga reo and the Trust Board that it did. This is reflected in readily identifiable mistakes of fact and a lack of probative evidence to support its assertions (*Ibid*).

The hearing was set for the 12 March 2012.

SUMMARY

Although the story of te reo Māori is tracked from the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi to the 1980s this chapter serves to place the Kōhanga Reo movement within a socio-political context and the particular ‘no compromise’ stance that the movement took in relation to many of its decisions.

This stance is the reason for the movement’s success in motivating an indigenous people to take a personal responsibility for maintaining te reo Māori (Bennett 1985; Ka’ai 1990; Skerrett White, 2003). The “no compromise” stance also came about because of the frustrations Māori people experienced with government acts and policies legislated initially by the new settlers’ government and continued to the present day, by following governments. The most devastating of these Acts were the Native Schools Act 1867 and the Native Schools Code 1880 (Butterworth 1990; Simon & Smith, 2001; Walker, 2004).

⁵⁰ Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust response to the EC Taskforce Report.

The mid twentieth century saw Māori groups question and pressure government to change their position on the Māori language and other socio cultural issues pertaining to Māori. The accelerated usage of te reo Māori correlated directly with events such as the return of land wrongfully taken by the government prompted by the Māori Land March in 1975 and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1976. The major contributor to the accelerated use of te reo Māori was the Kōhanga Reo movement.

Kaupapa Māori theory was an underlying thread that permeated throughout this chapter. It was not long after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 that a newly formed government marginalised Māori from participating in government. Legislated laws that disempowered Māori from their land, economic power and language soon enabled the dominant culture to take control. Cultural hegemony prevailed for over one hundred years even though Māori questioned and struggled against government policies. Kōhanga Reo was established to revitalise te reo Māori but unintentionally the movement introduced a people to a pedagogy to counter act oppression.

How and why did Te Kōhanga Reo begin?

Te Kōhanga Reo was the result of Māori elders' exerted effort to save the language. The early growth of Te Kōhanga Reo would not have been as successful if the Department of Māori Affairs did not have a visionary policy direction in place and if the desire and passion of kaumātua and the people to rescue the language was not evident. The Tū Tangata policy was empowering of whānau and placed the ownership and responsibility of Te Kōhanga Reo with the people. The Department of Māori Affairs also acted as a 'buffer' between the people and government agencies and facilitated the access to resources for the kōhanga whānau.

During the 1980s government agencies felt that the majority of Kōhanga Reo were established outside of the Childcare Regulations. When the Department of Māori Affairs was disestablished the newly formed Ministry of Education inherited over 600 Kōhanga Reo. Two thirds of these kōhanga were not licensed under the Childcare regulations. The Ministry of Education was ill equipped to support these kōhanga in both capability and capacity. By 1993 the effects of the transfer from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education was shifting the whānau away from the original vision and kaupapa. New parents were comparing a kōhanga to an early childhood service. The kaumātua were beginning to leave the kōhanga as in their eyes they questioned whether they

were needed. More value was being placed on compliance and legislation rather than Māori body of knowledge, te reo and tikanga Māori.

Then the tide turned. Kaumātua began to fall away complaining that there were too many departments involved that had no understanding of kōhanga and furthermore that parents were being coerced into an early childhood arena in order to access funding. Adding to this was the non recognition of kaumātua expertise on the basis that their competencies were not of a standard required by Government officials. The entire whānau felt devalued (Tawhiwhirangi, personal communication June 10, 2009)

Te Kōhanga Reo was seen as a Māori development initiative. It was always envisaged as being more than a childcare centre even though in the early years some Kōhanga reo licensed as a childcare centre with the Department of Social Welfare. The Government Review on Te Kōhanga Reo (1988) reported that “Te Kōhanga Reo aims to reaffirm Māori culture through whānau development, restoring Māori rangatiratanga [self determination]. In particular it aims to achieve this goal through the organisation of local Kōhanga Reo on a whānau model” (p. 20).

The transfer of the movement to the Ministry of Education has threatened the kaupapa of the Kōhanga Reo. For the whānau there has been a shift away from the kaupapa, (lore), towards the regulations and statutory requirements of government (law). The movement is balancing on the edge of two cultural interfaces, the dominant western or English culture and the subordinate Māori culture. Reversing kaupapa shift or transformative action is a fundamental necessity if the movement wishes to continue reversing Māori language shift. The survival of the language is intrinsically interwoven with the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo and with the politics of the country.

The next chapter postulates an in depth presentation of a theoretical framework for whānau development. The purpose of this framework is to place the socio-cultural influences on whānau development for Māori alongside the socio-political story of te reo Māori as related throughout this chapter. The framework in affect critiques different language development theories Non- Māori and Māori as a part of these socio-cultural influences. The role of the whānau, home and kōhanga, as a unit of analysis in the construction of language development inclusive of the child is an important element of this framework. The child is not ‘seen’ in isolation.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHĀNAU DEVELOPMENT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters discussed and highlighted the story of te reo Māori and the struggles of te iwi Māori (Māori tribes) in maintaining that language within a socio-political environment dominated by western ideology and philosophies. From the struggles of a people rose a gentle revolution, the Te Kōhanga Reo movement, designed to revitalise te reo Māori and empower the whānau to take control of their destiny. This socio-political context needed to be described so that the reader could appreciate that context as a background to the socio-cultural interactions within a Kōhanga Reo.

This chapter is concerned with providing a theoretical framework so that those socio-cultural interactions within the whānau can be deconstructed for analysis and then reconstructed. The action of reconstructing the socio-cultural interactions enables the researcher to interpret meaning and significance from the context, the language used and the values system of a people. Observing young children and their language acquisition and language use gives one a valuable tool for understanding the construction of language development and more importantly language socialisation within the whānau.

Keeping these language processes in mind I needed a theoretical framework that would portray the complexities of language development within its socio-cultural environment. The model for this framework needed to be able to focus on language development of the child within the whānau, within the home or kōhanga, within the Kōhanga Reo movement and within Aotearoa /New Zealand. The researcher could focus on a particular level keeping the other socio-cultural contexts in the background. For instance the researcher might contemplate the policies of the Kōhanga Reo movement keeping in mind the influences those policies may have on the child's language development. Conversely observing the language development of the child one would keep in the background the possible future of the language. This holistic picture needed to capture the socio-

cultural, political, emotional, cognitive and spiritual aspects of constructing language development in a whānau context.

I contemplated several possible models, such as Rogoff's (1995) three Planes of Analysis and her socio-cultural nature of human development (2003). I also considered the Poutama (Royal Tangaere, 1997) another Māori perspective of Māori development and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecology of Human Development. These are discussed in this chapter.

Finally I decided on a theoretical model that I had used in my Master's thesis with some variations, the main change being that the unit of focus was the whānau rather than the child. This model is an adaptation of Bronfenbrenner's Ecology of Human Development. I called this model the *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development*. This model will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. The main reason for this choice was that the socio-cultural ecological model of whānau development includes both Māori and non-Māori cultural domains. Their sites of interaction are both harmonious and one of struggle. In this model the Kaupapa Māori theory and pedagogy is present throughout the ecological model and is an active part of Māori development in Kōhanga Reo.

This chapter is divided into four parts and discusses reviews and critiques models on human development and the construction of language development. Firstly the theoretical models of Bronfenbrenner (1979, 2005) are reviewed and presented as a platform for the theoretical model, Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development. Secondly the chapter reviews the theory of language socialisation and tracks its historical beginnings to the present day looking at several theorists but focusing mainly on Ochs and Schieffelin, 1986, 2008 and Rogoff, 1995, 2003).

The third part focuses on language mechanisms that scaffold the construction of language development during language socialisation. A historical critique of Bruner's (1983) Language Acquisition Support System (LASS), Vygotsky's (1978) Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) is traced through to current theories of language development. Rogoff's three planes model (1995), Nelson's narratives of an experiencing child (2010) and Fivush, Haden and Reese's elaboration concept (2006) are introduced as recent extensions of Bruner's and Vygotsky's contribution. Finally the chapter concludes with a perspective of Māori development theory. The reader is then

introduced to the concept of the *Poutama*, as a developmental theory and to *Whanaungatanga* (relationships) as a language mechanism (Royal Tangaere, 1997).

Considering Māori theories and models of learning and development is conducive with kaupapa Māori theory and validates Māori knowledge and the Māori world view. The cultural descriptions of whānau and whanaungatanga are presented in the next chapter, Chapter Five: Whānau Māori.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ECOLOGY OF WHĀNAU DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned in this chapter's introduction the model the Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development draws many conceptual ideas from Bronfenbrenner's Ecology of Human Development and his 2005 revised model. This section will discuss and critique Bronfenbrenner's model as a platform to the theoretical model used to portray whānau Māori (Māori family) and te reo Māori.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) posed the theoretical idea that human development was influenced by external factors impacting on the individual at personal, educational, work, community or societal levels. He categorised these nested systems according to their proximity to the child's environment and titled his theoretical model 'ecosystems'. He investigated the impact that these external systems had on the development of the child within the family. In particular when investigating the development of the child he recognised the importance of the child's two major immediate settings or microsystems - the home and the educational context.

Bronfenbrenner considered the inter-relationships between the two settings and the influences these links had on the child. These links between the two settings are called the mesosystem. Tharp (1989) argued that the more the values, beliefs and practices are compatible between these two settings then the stronger the links and the more likely learning and development is optimised.

The next system one step removed from the child is the exosystem. The exosystem incorporates external factors such as the parents' work, mass media, and political and cultural contacts, which although the child is not usually directly involved can have an influence on the child's behaviour and development.

The micro, meso and exosystems are contained within a macrosystem which represents society, culture, government and public policy. The macrosystem impacts on interactions in all other levels of the ecology of human development. The chronosystem is concerned with the changes over time in the child's development. These changes can be life transition events such as going to kōhanga, to kura, university, graduation, marriage, divorce, and death in the family. "Such transitions occur throughout the life span and often serve as a direct impetus for developmental change" (Bronfenbrenner 1986:724).

One of the shortfalls of Bronfenbrenner, (1979) ecological system was admitted by Bronfenbrenner (2005) himself and that was that ecological theory was more about the environmental influences on the individual, which are still important to consider, rather than 'intrafamilial processes of parent-child interactions' (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). He relooked at his ecological model by integrating the ecosystems and reconsidering meaningful relationships that impacted on the ever 'evolving' development of people. He saw this change as 'humanising' human beings a part of which focused on the individual itself. Bronfenbrenner added the notion of focusing on the individual's development in the Microsystems by incorporating activities, relationships and the roles of that individual. What this means is that the focus of the individual's development is not just on that learner's interactions with others but also includes symbols and language, or in the case of this study the concepts of language acquisition and language socialisation. Bronfenbrenner named his revised theory the Bioecology of Human Development, reflecting the 'humanising' or biological quality in the word 'bio'. In his bioecological theory Bronfenbrenner named four concepts - Processes, People, Context and Time also known as PPCT. All are intrinsically inter-related.

Processes

Processes is where human development takes place

through processes of progressively more complex reciprocal interactions between an active, evolving biopsychological human organism and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate external environment. To be effective, the interaction must occur on a fairly regular basis over extended periods of *time*. Such enduring forms of interaction in the immediate environment are referred to as *proximal processes* (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998:996 cited in Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

Such examples in this study would be the regular morning karakia (prayers) and mihi mihi (greetings) sessions in the Kōhanga Reo. These are the Cultural Learning Experiences mentioned in

previous chapters (CLE) and are the proximal processes defined by Māori customs that regularly occur for the children. These CLE are the experiences that enable the children to make sense of their cultural world.

Person

The bioecology model expanded considerably on the second concept that is the ‘biopsychosocial’ characteristics of the ‘Person’. Mainly because Bronfenbrenner felt that this was a gap in his 1979 model. He distinguished three types of Person characteristics which could affect the ‘power’ of proximal processes over time. He named these *demand*, *resource* and *force*. Demand characteristics were those that Bronfenbrenner referred to as the ‘personal stimulus’ which initiated a reaction to another person, such as the action of respect for a kaumātua (elder) in the kōhanga environment. Resource is referring to the biological resources of ability, knowledge, skills and experience required to perform the proximal process at a particular time. An example of this characteristic is when a four year old child is able to stand eventually, with confidence and conduct a karakia (prayer) and mihihi (greetings) session in the kōhanga. Bronfenbrenner saw Force as dispositions which can trigger proximal processes in a particular setting such as a kōhanga child initiating karakia before mealtime.

Context

The third concept is the Context. These are the four nested ecosystems that were described earlier, the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem. According to Lerner (2005) Bronfenbrenner ‘magnified’ his concept of the microsystem by ‘incorporating the activities, relationships, and roles of the developing person into this system’ (p. xvii). The microsystem was now inclusive of a person’s interactions with other people, things, symbols and language.

For this study only two of these contexts are the foci for the microsystems and they are the child’s home setting and the child’s Kōhanga Reo. In Bronfenbrenner’s bioecology model the two microsystems that is the child’s home and the educational setting are separate and distinctive entities. In the *Socio Cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* the two microsystems overlap due to the whānau actively participating in the management of their kōhanga, their involvement in whānau learning activities and in their own language development alongside their child. The

overlapping of the child's whānau and the child's kōhanga demonstrates that the links or the mesosystem, between the two microsystems are very strong.

The mesosystem is the process relationships between the two microsystems, the home and the kōhanga. For the child the cultural compatibility between the child's kōhanga and the child's home helps forge the relationships between the two settings. The parents' and kaiako (teachers') contribution to the child's learning and language development, Te Whāriki, the Kōhanga Reo curriculum or mokopuna learning programme and the parents active participation in the operation of their kōhanga are some of the relationship links between the kōhanga and home. Cultural compatibility cements these relationships as the parents and kaiako contribute to the child's learning and language development (Hohepa, 1990; Reedy, 2003; Skerrett White, 1995, 2003). The Kōhanga Reo version of Te Whāriki (*Resource*) as a curriculum framework constructs a Māori view of the world through the cultural values (*Force*) of manaaki (being hospitable), aroha (unconditional love) and atawhai (depth of caring).

The exosystem is the indirect influence of the parents' workplace, recreational activity or community involvement on the development of the child. The ecosystem is not a point of focus for this study although the researcher is aware that this context is in the background of the study.

The macrosystem as mentioned earlier is the societal and government context. The purpose of focusing on the whānau and its development in this study is that the whānau as active participants in Kōhanga Reo are influenced by environmental factors and this in turn impacts on the child. A large part of these environmental factors have become socio-political and are reflective of cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971).

The very nature of Kōhanga Reo and the principles that the movement follows are also reflective of Kaupapa Māori theory in action or Kaupapa Māori pedagogy. Recapping these principles which were elaborated on in Chapter Two: Research Methodology shows that self determination, validating cultural aspirations, culturally preferred pedagogies, mediation, collective structures and working as a collective are also present in Ngā Pou e Whā (the four cornerstones or pillars). As mentioned in the Te Kōhanga Reo section of Chapter Three: Te Reo Māori: A Story of Struggle, the four corner stones are the kaupapa statements of the Kōhanga Reo movement. These are te reo and tikanga Māori, whānau collective decision making, responsibility and management of the Kōhanga

Reo, accountability and wellbeing of the entire whānau. As Pihamā (1993) and Smith (2002) stated te reo (language), tikanga (values and customs) and āhuatanga Māori (Māori cultural pedagogy) are fundamental elements of Kaupapa Māori theory.

Time

The final concept is the dimension of time where Bronfenbrenner felt that in the previous 1979 model he had given little focus to. According to Bronfenbrenner and Morris cited in Bronfenbrenner (2005), time has prominence in three contextual ecosystems, the micro-, meso- and macro-, which redefine and expand on the dimension of time. Bronfenbrenner had originally coined the chronosystem as influences on the family over time. For his bioecology model the chronosystem is now microtime, mesotime, and macrotime.

Firstly microtime for this study looks at snapshots of the children's interactions within activities at a particular time. An example is the child's interactions during a morning karakia and mihihi session. The child's language development is the focus within his/her two settings, where 'snapshots' of his/her language acquisition and language usage is recorded. Individual recordings of the children's language such as the parents' diary entries are examples of recording microtime.

Mesotime is the continuity of the regular activities over a longer period of time. An example of mesotime is where the children's interactions within specific CLE occur between kōhanga and home over days and weeks such as learning a karakia (prayer, grace or incantation) at kōhanga and then eventually over a period of time initiating karakia at home before mealtime. Chapter Seven, *Children's Voices*, utilises the concept of mesotime through the collection of snapshots of the four participating children over the six months. The chapter collates and analyses the children's language and social interactions by looking at the children's roles within individual CLE (proximal processes) and the language mechanisms used in the construction of their language development.

Macrotime considers the changing events in society, culture and government across a large period of time and across generations. Macrotime's particular focus is on how external influences might affect the whānau. The influences on whānau from Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust (The Trust), the government and Iwi (tribe) occur at the big picture or macro level. This is the place in the ecosystem where government policies for health, social development and education particularly for early childhood filter through to affect the Kōhanga Reo and whānau settings. Over Macro time

government policies can either enhance or undermine the philosophy and purpose of an organisation. Chapter Three *Te reo Māori: A story of struggle* and Chapter Four, *Whānau Māori* describe the influence that government, society and culture have had on Māori whānau.

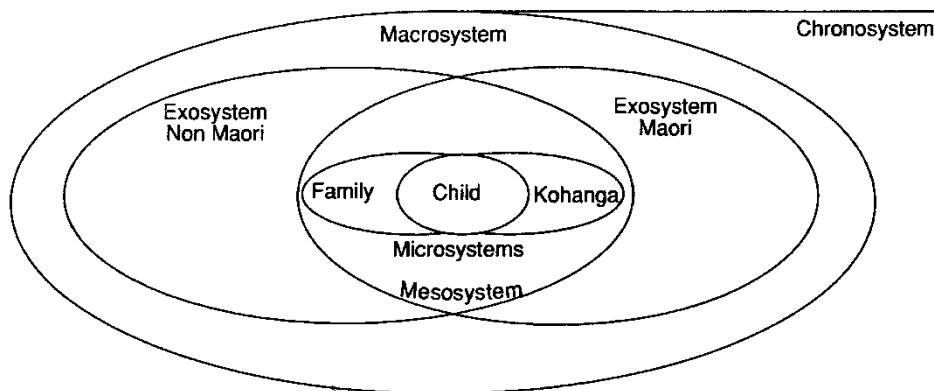
Therefore returning to the concept of whānau development and the inclusive nature of this concept I would posit that Māori development like Bronfenbrenner's nested concept is the development of the child within the development of the whānau. The development of the whānau is influenced by and impacts on the development of the hapū (sub tribe). The development of the hapū is linked to the development of the iwi (tribe). This being so then the health of te reo Māori for iwi is directly linked to the health of te reo Māori in the whānau.

This study is interested in the child's language development as a contribution to the bigger picture for ngā iwi Māori (the Māori tribes). More so this study is interested in investigating the 'how', 'what', 'when' and 'why' namely the construction of language development for the child. Consequently the study's recordings of the children's Māori language within the whānau, both home and kōhanga provides rich and varied examples of language socialisation, cultural practice and the presence of language mechanisms to support language development.

Figure Two is a diagram that better represents the external factors of all socio cultural eco-systems influencing the whānau and therefore the child within his/her home and his/her kōhanga (Royal Tangaere, 1997). The chronosystem consists of the macro-, meso-, and microtime elements. The diagram shows the overlapping of the microsystems of the child's two whānau, home and kōhanga. The exosystem is a representation of the dual heritage of Aotearoa /New Zealand. The two cultural exosystems also overlap as mentioned previously the sites of struggle or harmony are positioned in that overlap, where whānau juggle the demands of work with the demands of Māori cultural expectations. For example when whānau need to attend a tangihanga (wake for a deceased person) of an extended whānau member and require more than three days leave from work they either don't attend, take leave without pay or take annual leave.

The macrosystem represents Aotearoa /New Zealand society, cultures and government, the socio-cultural political context of the country. It is from this diagram, which emphasises the dual heritage relationships that the model varies from or rather is an extension of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model and is given the title *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development*.

Figure Two: Diagram showing the two exosystems influencing the family.⁵¹



With acknowledgment to Dr Pita Sharples who assisted the writer by providing figure 2 after discussion about the model.

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model is acknowledged for the contribution it has made to this study's socio-cultural ecology of whānau development model. Through his PPCT concepts it has enabled the researcher to site the socio-political (macro-), language socialisation (meso-) and language construction (micro-) theories and models into the 'nested' contexts. It has created a holistic picture of the story of the Māori people and their (my) language.

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

This section defines language socialisation, gives a historical review of language socialisation and discusses language socialisation as an aspect of whanaungatanga. Elinor Ochs in Schieffelin & Ochs, (1986) described the interdependence of language and social inter-relationships. The child acquires language as he/she practises social skills and the social skills then generates further interactions and further use of language. As the child repeatedly participates in the same social context then the more familiar that social context becomes, the more confident the language becomes. Vygotsky (1978) maintained that continual familiarisation of a social practice assists the child's internalisation of that social pattern and the appropriate language associated with that context. The child acquires the rules and patterns of the language just as he/she acquires the rules

⁵¹ (Royal Tangaere, 1997:67) Dr Pita Sharples had a Professorial Chair at the University of Auckland at the time of my Masters study.

and patterns of behaviour for that social setting. He/she is then more able to advance onto new social contexts (Peters and Boggs, 1986).

In an overview of language socialisation Ochs and Schieffelin (2008) narrated how a team of people representing academic disciplines such as psychology, anthropology and sociology were brought together in the late 1960s to look at language acquisition. The outcome from this team effort was a field manual edited by Slobin (1967 cited in Ochs and Schieffelin, 2008). Before the 1960s the disciplines tended to research in isolation of each other. For example developmental psycholinguistics studied phonological and grammatical competence (Bloom, 1973; Brown, 1973; Slobin, 1967) and socio-cultural research did not consider language as a critical part of the socio-cultural interactions (Makareti, 1986; Mead 1934 cited in Ochs & Schieffelin 2008).

Ochs and Schieffelin continued to say that the study of language acquisition created terminology such as Gumperz's *speech community* and Hymes' *communicative competency* (Gumperz, 1968, Hymes 1972 both cited in Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008), where children demonstrated that they could communicate within a speech community by using language competently in socially appropriate ways. Research on language acquisition of young children led to cross cultural studies of children and communicative competency. Slobin's field manual assisted with an ethnographic approach which brought together the consideration of linguistics, social and cultural processes to these studies.

The progression onto language socialisation as a new field of language study began with Ochs and Schieffelin. "Language socialisation mean[s] both socialisation through language and socialisation to use language" (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986:2).

Schieffelin (1982) was studying children's language acquisition with the Kaluli people in Papua New Guinea and a couple of years later Ochs studied children's language acquisition in Samoa. The two studies were longitudinal studies using an ethnographic approach. From the systematic collecting and analyses of data both researchers noticed how Kaluli and Samoan families' communication with their babies was markedly different to known Western baby registers, which was a simplified communication pattern to accommodate the baby's developmental level. There was reluctance for the Kaluli and Samoan families to simplify the language used with their babies. This difference was driven by the cultural practice that higher status people do not accommodate

communication down even for babies. The other cultural practice was determined by the requirement for babies to learn to display respect to people older than themselves. Hence babies tended to be positioned as observers and constantly scaffolded to repeat speech patterns to people they were communicating with.

Situation centred communication – higher comprehension demands are imposed on developing children in that the language they hear is not simplified, but infants and young children are usually positioned as over hearers rather than addressees; their attentional skills are highly scaffolded from birth; and when positioned as speakers, they are often prompted. (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008:6).

From these two studies Ochs & Schieffelin concluded that communities had different communication goals and processes for young children. These goals and processes were determined by cultural customs and practices and therefore the environment was organised around the child (Au, 1990; Demuth, 1986; Lambert, 1998; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986). Ochs and Schieffelin (1986, 2008) posed that language was more than a structured code in isolation or just a medium of communication. Language was a powerful tool that shaped bodies of knowledge.

Situation-centric orientation observed in the development of Kaluli and Samoan children may serve as an alternative form of input that selectively attunes children's attention to linguistic and socio-cultural structures and practices (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008:6).

In Te Kōhanga Reo whānau and children identify as a ‘community of learners’ (Heath, 1983) as well as a community of speakers. The kōhanga community consist of other kōhanga in their purapura (cluster of kōhanga sited close to one another). The kōhanga give support to one another, organise workshops and celebrations together and hold regular meetings. These kōhanga as well as their local kura (Māori immersion school) are members of their community of speakers (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie & Hodger, 2004). The kōhanga whānau are immersed in cultural beliefs, values and practices and these cultural contexts drive their language (Māori) through communicating and socialising.

Language Socialisation and Whanaungatanga

In the Māori world, whanaungatanga (relationships) is an aspect of language socialisation. The cultural learning experiences for the whānau are driven by the cultural obligation of whanaungatanga as defined by a set of rules or tikanga. The reader will be introduced to a cultural

description of whanaungatanga and tikanga in the next chapter on *Whānau Māori*. Whanaungatanga is not just about forming relationships with other people. It is also about the building of relationships with the spiritual world and the environment and through these relationships, the acquisition of cultural values. The child is guided by cultural rules when interacting with people, the environment, land, animate and inanimate objects. People or the whānau play an important supportive role through the process of whanaungatanga during the child's acquisition of the language, culture and values.

The child co-constructs an understanding of 'being Māori' (Rangihau, 1992) from the inter relationships he/she sees, experiences and practises and learns to speak and act appropriately for each cultural context. The cultural practices are then internalised with the assistance of the kōhanga whānau and the child's home whānau. The internalisation of these cultural practices is cemented during the acquisition of language. Language acquisition in turn is assisted by language mechanisms that are driven by the cultural context. The language mechanisms are embedded in the socio-cultural activities that enable the child to socialise. The process of acquiring language is through a series of language mechanisms that is embedded in language socialisation.

Planes of Analysis/Planes of Focus

Rogoff (2003) acknowledged the contribution that Bronfenbrenner's 1979 model made to her postulations and the development of her Planes of Analysis and Planes of Focus. However she felt that his ecological model had some disparities and was too static, and focused more on the contexts and not enough on inter-relationships. Bronfenbrenner (2005) agreed and the development of his bioecological model focused more on the socio-cultural interactions or Process-Person aspects of human development. I felt that Bronfenbrenner's 2005 model had shifted a lot closer to addressing the initial differences that Rogoff had. Whereas Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model is able to capture and depict the complexities of life and the influences on human development Rogoff's ability to explain the socio-cultural interactions on different planes is easier to comprehend.

Rogoff (1995, 2003) presents a socio-cultural approach to human development and says that there are three planes of analysis. Rogoff calls these the personal, interpersonal and community processes. All are inseparable and comprise of activities that become a focus of analysis. Her theoretical model enables researchers to focus on one of her three planes while being aware of the

other two in the background. For example in this study a focus at a personal level enables the researcher to observe and analyse the language mechanisms that the child uses to acquire language while keeping in mind the social interactions (interpersonal) and cultural meaning (community) of the interchange. The researcher is then able to move to another plane for example the interpersonal plane to record and analyse information on language socialisation, while at the same time having the information of language mechanisms (personal) and culture (community) in close proximity. From this socio-cultural approach she posed three ways to focus, which she termed Planes of Focus.

Planes of Focus consisted of three components *Apprenticeship*, *Guided Participation* and *Participatory Appropriation*. Her idea of apprenticeship is where the participant is actively involved in cultural activities of the community firstly as a novice and gradually as a competent member of that community. Throughout the participant's involvement in these activities active support from others within that community is provided. Embedded within this active support, that is *Guided Participation*, are the cultural values of that community. Over time guided participation within community activities results in the participant appropriating knowledge, skills, attitudes and attributes which enable further participation in other activities or *Participatory Appropriation*.

In a kōhanga context the cultural concept of tuakana /teina and kaumātua /mokopuna describe relationships of apprenticeship, guided participation and participatory appropriation. In these two relationships the tuakana (older more expert sibling) or kaumātua (elder a more expert person) are support systems in the teina (younger sibling, apprentice) or mokopuna (grandchild /apprentice) learning. Together they participate in co-constructing learning with guidance from the tuakana or kaumātua until the teina or mokopuna have appropriated the knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to the learning situation. Tahau-Hodges (2010) also found similar supportive relationships amongst Māori learners at tertiary institutions where students were co-constructing learning and developing that learning together.

Drawing again on the karakia and mihihi example the young child is guided by the elder or kaiako (teacher) to learn the appropriate language, demeanour and emergent leadership skills when reciting the morning karakia and greeting the kaiako, parents and young friends. The kaiako acts as support person ensuring that the child learns the appropriate task gradually removing that support until the child can complete the task confidently and on his/her own. The support becomes a

mechanism to assist the child's construction of language. The next part tracks some of the more well known language mechanisms through to more recent models.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND LANGUAGE MECHANISMS

Slobin (1967) cited in Ochs and Schieffelin, (2008) developed a field handbook as mentioned earlier which brought the disciplines of psychology, anthropology and sociology together. This opened up the investigation of language acquisition research. Language mechanisms that assisted children in constructing language development have been posed in language acquisition research. Language socialisation (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986), raising the ante (Snow, 1977), tutoring and problem solving (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976) were some of the language mechanisms that evolved from language acquisition research. Further research also founded language support systems such as the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1978), scaffolding, Language Acquisition Support Systems (Bruner, 1983; Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976) and more recently Apprenticeship, Guided Participation and Participatory Appropriation (Rogoff, 1990, 1995, 2003) and Elaboration (Fivush, Haden and Reese (2006).

This section tracks a historical review of language acquisition support systems and the language mechanisms embedded in these support systems beginning with Vygotsky, Bruner and Snow to the more contemporary models as espoused by Rogoff, Fivush, Haden and Reese.

Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)

Vygotsky (1978) stated that language initially arises from a need to communicate. The meaningful form of language interaction between the child and adult(s) is relative to the child's immediate environment or context. The acquisition of language involves a variety of internal developmental processes which enable the child to construct language and more importantly put the language to use. He stated that the acquisition of these developmental processes become *internalised* within the child's memory. He claimed that this process of internalisation is an integral part of the child's independent development achievement. Once the child's baseline for language usage is identified the adult is able to progress the child to more skilled levels of language production using language strategies or mechanisms as the tools of support. The child progresses to learn more difficult tasks and draws on these learnt strategies and support to achieve the targeted goal. He called this tool of support where one is working towards that new goal the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD).

...the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978:86).

The Zone of Proximal Development is the area between the child's independent development achievement that is what the child is able to achieve independent of support and the developmental level that the child would be able to achieve with support. Language support received by the child enables the child to move beyond his/her independent development achievement. Consequently his/her Zone of Proximal Development moves accordingly indicating another point of development for the child to achieve.

Scaffolding

Bruner (1983) was influenced by Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory of development and the idea of supported learning to extend proximal development. His theory on constructivism was based on the premise that learning is an active process whereby the child constructs his/her own learning based on knowledge and skills acquired from past experiences and through meaningful practice organises the acquired knowledge and skills, progresses to solve problems and developing new ideas, concepts and skills. Language plays a critical role in the child's construction of a meaningful world. The child is assisted in his/her active learning process and over time develops independence from this support. Scaffolding was first highlighted in Wood, Bruner & Ross' study (1976) as a tutoring mechanism to assist young children in problem solving. Bruner described scaffolding as a Language Acquisition Support System (LASS). The scaffolding metaphor drew its meaning from a building construction site where a scaffold was erected to support the workers in building, repairing or painting a building. As the work progressed the scaffold was removed. Similarly the child constructs language with the support of a person more skilled than him/herself and once the learning has been internalised then like a scaffold system the support can be withdrawn.

The scaffolding that occurs between the child (the novice), and the person more skilled at the task (the expert), who is usually an adult, enables the child to repeatedly practice, test and evaluate the new task more quickly with that support. A process of interacting between the child and the adult expert continues with the adult utilising strategies and language mechanisms to assist the child towards language independence or communicative competency. The relationship between the child and the adult is such that the adult restricts the task to what the adult as the expert believes the novice can cope with. The adult breaks the target outcome into small steps which the adult then

supports the child through to achieving. Snow (1977) stated how once a child has internalised a learned pattern the level of difficulty can be raised. She named this “raising the ante”.

The child has learnt from mastering the task, stores the learning experience in his/her memory and is able to assist others in acquiring that task as well as graduate to a higher level skill. These newly acquired skills enable the child to participate more competently in his/her own learning.

The idea of gradually removing the scaffolding infers that learning towards independence is a set of habitual patterns or formats over time.

One special property of formats involving an infant and an adult is that they are asymmetrical with respect to the knowledge of the partners – one ‘knows what’s up’, the other does not know or knows less. Insofar as the adult is willing to ‘hand over’ his knowledge, he can serve in the format as model, scaffold, and monitor until the child achieves requisite mastery (Bruner, 1983:133).

The format or activity is a series of actions revolving around a particular purpose. Repeated regularly over time activities can become routine daily occurrences. Formats or routines become so familiar to the child that they within themselves trigger language interactions.

Scaffolding is a concept that is widely used in educational settings. The Ministry of Education (1996) included the concept in the early childhood education curriculum called *Te Whāriki: He Whāriki Mātauranga mō ngā Mokopuna o Aotearoa: Early Childhood Curriculum*. Descriptions of scaffolding are also evident in the cultural support systems called Tuakana /Teina (Ka’ai; 1990) where the more knowledgeable person or whānau member gives guided support to the new whānau members in the kōhanga. Another example of cultural scaffolding is kaumātua /mokopuna. Here the special bond between the elders and the mokopuna (young child related to that elder) is paramount whereby traditionally a child was chosen by an elder to be a repository for knowledge pertaining to that tribe (Best, 1975, 1976b, Nepe, 1991, Robinson, 2005). Te Whāriki is also a curriculum which emphasises inter-relationships. In this study the inter-relationships between the adult (kaiako, kaumātua, and parent) and the child draws on a co-constructive process of learning where neither are the teacher or the student and both are learners and teachers. In many instances the inter-relationships may be a multi-construction process as in whānau learning in the Kōhangā Reo.

Rogoff (1995) considered Vygotsky's ZPD theory as limiting and argued for the importance of a group participatory process. According to Paradise & Rogoff, (2009) children take part in the activities of their community by engaging with other children and adults 'side by side' and in the process of participation are prepared for those related events that may occur at a later date. Rogoff (1990) explained that the mother's collaborative language was critical in developing the experiencing child's ability to analyse, encode and narrate past events.

Narratives of the experiencing child

In developmental narratives of the experiencing child according to Nelson (2010) the child gains knowledge from socio-cultural encounters and interactions that are meaningful to the child. Meaningful experiences are stored over time in memory. These memories are not only personal to the child but also give the child a social perspective. Meaningful experiences are affected by a variety of conditions which Nelson represented in a hexagonal figure. Her focus is on presenting a holistic view of the complexities of development. The different focus here is on the two aspects: the complexity involved in the simultaneous interactions of all six constraining systems and the continuing changes in each system occurring at different rates and at different times (p. 43).

Nelson argues that the essential point is that the child's experiences are affected by continuous change at different times, at different levels, from different directions and the child is continuously analysing, reorganising and making revised sense of his/her self in relation to his/her community. The child is supported in this direct experience guided by participating 'others' such as elders, parents, adults and older or occasionally younger siblings. Through these interactions or encounters the child and 'other' have enabled a "level of shared minds in both communication and cognition" (p. 45).

For both speaker and hearer, language *both* represents and communicates, *both* internally and externally. It thus serves as a critical *mind changing* system. These dual functions of language have profoundly changed the nature of our mentality as well as the nature of our social and emotional lives, and do so, for each child in the course of development. This process can be understood only in terms of bio-social-cultural experiential approach to developmental change (p. 45)

Nelson continues to say that shared minds in both communication and cognition become more apparent when children are aged two and three years old. An understanding of shared conversations, relating past events and appropriating social and cultural meaning adds to the child's

“reflective level of consciousness”. Narrative and the language embedded in narrative are driven by culture. Personal narratives or *autobiographical memories* enable the child to re-tell their personal stories which have significant meaning to them. These narratives enabled children to appropriate better memory skills.

Fivush, Haden and Reese (2006) stated that from Rogoff’s research they were interested in mother-child narratives where the child narrated past events as his/her personal story. They expanded on Vygotsky’s theory and argued that “children were learning the forms and functions of talking about the past within adult-guided reminiscing” (Fivush et al. 2006:1570). Fivush et al. focused on elaborative reminiscing as one form of narrative within the mother-child socio-cultural interaction process.

Elaboration

Fivush, Haden and Reese expand on processes of acquiring language and the different theoretical positions espoused across the area of lifespan development by discussing the concept, Elaboration. Their discussion highlights the role of Maternal Reminiscing Style in socioemotional and cognitive development. The assumption is that the process of elaboration involves parent-child, usually the mother, dyadic interactions where language is an integral part of that process. They focus on the elaborative styles used in the mother- child reminiscing past events, the degree of elaboration and the style of elaboration.

Their main reason for focusing on elaborations as a particular narrative style is that “that maternal reminiscing style is a critical factor in children’s developing autobiographical memory” (Ibid:1571) and is “critical in the development of children’s abilities to narrate their personal experiences” (p. 1569). The mother may provide a high degree of language support or scaffolding in facilitating and encouraging her child’s stories of past events. Based on research findings and considering elaborative reminiscing linked to language, memory, self image they are concluding that there is a high correlation between the importance of reminiscing and developmental outcomes for children.

These early interactions set the stage for the creation of a life narrative linked to memory, language, self and other. Ultimately, an autobiography does not start with the self, but in social interaction. Through language, children weave memories of their own past with past generations that have set the stage for the child’s entry into the narrative (Fivush, Haden, & Reese, 2006:1583)

In the Māori world which is described in Chapter Five: Whānau Māori, kaumātua (elders) play an important role in narrating tribal history and whakapapa (genealogy) to the next generations. Story telling was an important process of passing on history, values, social customs and family ties. The next section of this chapter poses Māori models of Māori development in the whānau and in language.

MĀORI MODELS OF WHĀNAU DEVELOPMENT AND LANGUAGE CONSTRUCTION

Poutama: An indigenous socio-cultural spiritual theory of human development

Similarly in the Māori culture the *Poutama* has a learning and development concept as one of its messages. The Poutama is a design usually found on a traditional Māori tukutuku panel (woven lattice). The graphic design consists of a number of stairways (Aratiatia / way of steps) superimposed on top of one another and represents the climb or ascent of the atua (spiritual guardian) Tane nui a-Rangi to Ngā Rangi Tūhaha, the uppermost realm of the universe. His purpose was to seek universal knowledge contained in three baskets of knowledge. A written account of this story *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga* scribed by Whatahoro as told by Te Mātorohanga and Pohuhu (1913) noted tōhunga (experts or specialists in a particular field of knowledge) in 1865 described Tane nui a-Rangi facing many challenges during his journey.

Just as the atua, Tane, overcame challenges with support from his whānau so too are Māori people reminded that with collective support from the whānau problems are solvable. In relation to the acquisition of language the Poutama is a graphic memory trigger that says that language learning is a developmental process over time, which is depicted in the stairway moving upward. The other metaphor trigger in the story of the Poutama is that a child's language learning and development is achieved with the support of the whānau that is scaffolding, co-constructing and multi-constructing the child's language development. Through repeated practice and support the child internalises or appropriates the task and is ready to progress to the next step of the Poutama that is the Zone of Proximal Development moves and becomes extended (Vygotsky, 1978) through Participatory Appropriation (Rogoff, 1995).

In the Māori world and certainly in Te Kōhanga Reo the preferred mode of learning and development tends towards group participation and obligates the whānau to look at the holistic development of individuals within the whānau (I. Tawhiwhirangi, personal communication, September 2007). Te Kōhanga Reo actively promotes group learning namely whānau learning where the principles of whanaungatanga are practised driven by the rules and customs of tikanga Māori. Improving the quality and reveraculisation of Māori language is Te Kōhanga Reo's central focus and one of the main roles of the movement (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995).

The acquisition of language or for that matter any knowledge is regarded as special and always for the benefit of the people. Knowledge is a taonga (gift) from Ngā Rangi Tūhaha (uppermost realm) and obtained by Tane nui a-Rangi for the Māori people. The Māori language is a tino taonga (very special gift) as it is the way through which knowledge is transmitted (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). According to Robinson (2005) and Royal (2008) specialist knowledge and language contained in formal, high level karakia was and still is regarded as tapu (sacred) and only for the chosen members of the tribe to learn and safeguard.

The Poutama model gifted by the ancestors is both an active and passive method of learning and development. Knowledge in action infers that learning and development is continuous where the novice acquires new skills which are meaningful to his/her community of learners. Active learning and development can be likened to Rogoff's (1995) *Three Planes of Focus*, where she states this process as one of 'becoming' rather than acquisition. Rogoff refers to the state of 'becoming' as *Appropriation*.

Within the Poutama model passive acquisition is another important method of learning and development. An example of passive acquisition is where a young child is exposed repeatedly to specific knowledge beyond his/her comprehension and is expected to *internalise* this knowledge for future understanding. Best (1975), Buck (1966), Robinson (2005) and Salmond (2005a) are a small sample of writers who give examples of the traditional practice of teaching the very young child karakia (incantations), whakapapa (genealogy), or oriori (lullabies) for future understanding. The information is stored in the child's hinengaro (intellect) and ngākau (heart and soul) and at an appropriate time in the future recalls that knowledge for the people. This practice of teaching the very young oriori or historical waiata (songs) is discussed in the next chapter, Chapter Five: Whānau Māori.

The series of superimposed stairways may also represent different dimensions of the child's developing characteristics (*te ira tangata*). In Te Kōhanga Reo four of the many characteristics are chosen as a part of the child's holistic development. These characteristics are *wairua* (spiritual), *whatumanawa* (emotional), *tinana* (physical) and *hinengaro* (the mind, intellect, memory). Most important is that all characteristics are inseparable and interdependent. Māori developmental theory strives to have all characteristics in harmony to ensure optimal development of the individual and consequently the whānau, hapū (sub tribe) and iwi (tribe). The cultural concept that binds whānau hapū and iwi is *whanaungatanga*.

I argue that *whanaungatanga* is an integral part of Māori development theory as the cultural rules or *tikanga* embedded in *whanaungatanga* are set to ensure harmony in relationships and the optimum development of the entire tribe. *Whanaungatanga* as cultural tradition is discussed in Chapter Five: Whānau Māori. *Whanaungatanga* as language socialisation was discussed in the previous part of this chapter. *Whanaungatanga* as a language mechanism is discussed next.

Whanaungatanga as a language mechanism

The collective support of the whānau in the learning and development of one another especially the children in kōhanga is embedded in *whanaungatanga*, its principles or values and the special relationships and roles within the *whakapapa* (genealogy) of that whānau. The relationships between *kaumātua* and *mokopuna* (grandparent generation and grandchild generation) and between *tuakana* (older sibling of the same gender) and the *teina* (younger sibling of the same gender) are two culturally specific arrangements to support learning and development.

In Kōhanga Reo *kaumātua* who are often the lead *kaiako* (teacher) carry out their role of transmitting intergenerational knowledge. *Te reo Māori* is critical to this role as it has the values and cultural concepts encoded into its words and meaning. *Kaumātua* investment in the *mokopuna* acquiring cultural knowledge and language is to ensure future survival of a people. Therefore scaffolding children to internalise this knowledge and display cultural competent is a high priority.

The passing on of cultural knowledge is embedded in storytelling using *karakia*, *whakapapa*, *waiata* and *pakiwaitara* as tools of transmission. According to Benavides (2009) the use of Māori narratives is a cognitive, educational tool. The ability of young children to store these stories in their *hinengaro* (mind, intellect) for future recall is considered of utmost importance. These stories have

built in signposts to assist the child's ability to recall with meaning at a future time (Robinson, 2005). Elaborative reminiscing style of learning is a similar concept where mother-child shared talk enables the child to be scaffolded by the mother employing elaborative language strategies. Open ended questions, praising, facilitation, probing and extending the child's abilities to recall his /her stories of a past event are examples of language strategies or mechanisms (Fivush, Haden & Reese, 2006).

The concept of tuakana /teina has been adopted by mainstream New Zealand as a pedagogical tool to scaffold or mentor learners towards independence and competency in a task or activity. The roles, rules and obligations of the tuakana and teina have been interpreted as a pedagogical tool to support learning and development and incorporate the theoretical concepts of Vygotsky's ZPD, Brunner's scaffolding and Rogoff's idea of apprenticeship. Active learning within a whānau group is encouraged to share and strengthen one another. The concept of tuakana /teina is activated and for kōhanga whānau means acknowledging the values of reciprocity (tuakana /teina role reversal in learning and teaching), respect (manaakitanga) unconditional acceptance (aroha) and a depth of caring for the individual as a part of the entire whānau (atawhai).

SUMMARY

The nesting concept of the ecology model (1979) and the bioecology model (2005) posed by Bronfenbrenner is a useful concept as it provides a multi-layered effect where even though the wider picture might focus in on the finer details of the microsystem the whole picture is still visible (Rogoff, 1995, 2003). Aspects of Bronfenbrenner's bioecology model coupled with a Kaupapa Māori theoretical stance gave rise to a variation on his model, which accommodated the dual heritage of Aotearoa /New Zealand. The *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* model delineated and combined two cultural worlds, Māori and non Māori, intersecting at certain systems' levels. Nested within these ecosystems' were Māori and non Māori theoretical positions.

Bronfenbrenner's revised 2005 model the *bioecology of human development* addressed some of the shortfalls he and Rogoff had articulated and he introduced this four concepts Process, Person, Context and Time (PPCT). His new terminology to represent time in three of the ecosystems namely Macrotime, Mesotime, and Microtime were useful. Rogoff's three *Planes of Focus*, namely *Apprenticeship, Guided Participation and Participatory Appropriation* were also helpful concepts of

looking at and analysing the relationships between and within the whānau particularly when needing to consider the construction of language development of the child.

Further theoretical models were sited at different ecosystems' levels of the whānau development model. The different ecosystems incorporated kaupapa Māori theory in the macro /exo and microsystem. Māori theories such as Whanaungatanga as a pedagogical model was positioned in the mesosystem as was Reveraculisation (Skerrett White, 2003) and sited in the microsystem were the Poutama (Royal Tangaere, 1997) and the tuakana /teina (Ka'ai, 1990, Metge, 1984) concepts of the Māori world.

For the non Māori dimension the macrosystem, exosystem and chronosystem incorporated theoretical models such as 'Reversing Language Shift' posed by Fishman (1991), Biolinguistics (Nettle and Romaine 2000) and Cultural Hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) introduced in earlier chapters. Language Socialisation (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) and Planes of Analysis /Planes of Focus (Rogoff, 1995, 2003) were both sited in the meso- and microsystems. The microsystem was the site where children experienced dyadic or multi-interactive relationships with 'others'. This is the site where such theories as scaffolding and construction in LASS (Vygotsky, 1978, Bruner, 1983) and more currently elaboration (Fivush, Haden and Reese, 2006) and narratives of an experiencing child (Nelson, 2010) were most likely to occur.

The socio-cultural ecological model of whānau development is a model that is representative of two cultural views Māori and Non-Māori (predominantly English speaking). It shows the possible sites of struggle at the intersection of these two cultural views. The model accommodates a variety of developmental theories, language socialisation and language acquisition theories for the research to draw on and it highlights principles of Kaupapa Māori theory. Finally the model shows the environmental influences that impact on the whānau as that whānau endeavours to be language and culture revitalisers alongside their children.

In Chapter Five: Whānau Māori the structure and function of traditional Māori families is described to the reader and the tikanga or cultural rules that bind the Māori whānau are portrayed as the cultural base of the Māori world as well as of the Kōhanga Reo.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHĀNAU MĀORI

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the cultural traits of whānau Māori (Māori families) by exploring the physical, spiritual, and socio-cultural characteristics both in the past when te reo Māori was the dominant language spoken in the home and in the present day. The focus on whānau Māori sets a cultural context for Te Kōhanga Reo and provides background information to address this study's hypothesis *that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in quality interactions (whanaungatanga) that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori.*

Through its portrayal of whānau Māori, the chapter will assist in clarifying three of the hypothesis' main points, the *cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo*, *whanaungatanga* (kinship or relationships), and what is meant by *tikanga Māori* (set of rules values and customs for Māori).

This study does not provide an in depth examination of Māori cultural knowledge and the structure and dynamics of whānau Māori, which has been covered by other more knowledgeable writers (Best, 1975, 1976b; Buck, 1966; Durie A, 1998, Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Makereti, 1986; Nepe, 1991; Patterson, 1992; Pere, 1994; Robinson, 2005; Walker, 2004) The study's aim is to establish a cultural platform building on these writers and highlight the significance of the whānau, the language and its cultural base as practised in Te Kōhanga Reo. The chapter is then able to better contextualise the whānau Māori (Māori family) and subsequently the kōhanga whānau within their meso and micro systems of this study's socio-cultural ecological model.

An overview of traditional knowledge exploring what was and is perceived by Māori as being important customs and values to be practised in the whānau begins this chapter. Three key cultural concepts are highlighted in this brief section on traditional knowledge, whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (traditions, customs and values), and whanaungatanga (kinship relationships). These three Māori concepts will portray a beginning level of understanding of whānau Māori and an introduction to the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo.

The chapter examines each key cultural concept beginning with whakapapa which discusses genealogical ties linking the past with the present. The structure of whānau Māori spanning five generations, the roles and inter-relationships between members of the whānau, current definitions of whānau and Te Kōhanga Reo as a whānau are described in this section on whakapapa.

Tikanga Māori, the traditions, customs and values of Māori is discussed next in this chapter and begins with a definition of tikanga Māori followed by an investigation of cultural practices focusing on four practices that transmit cultural knowledge. These cultural practices are karakia (prayers, chants or incantations), mihimihi (formal and informal greetings), waiata (songs) and pakiwaitara (stories). The role of these cultural practices in Te Kōhanga Reo is also introduced to the reader.

The third cultural concept, whanaungatanga is examined. Whanaungatanga is discussed as a form of cultural socialisation determined by Māori traditions and values with its roots in whakapapa. This form of socio-cultural interaction is defined in relation to the members of a Kōhanga Reo whānau such as kaumātua (elders), kaiako (teachers), ngā mātua (parents) and ngā mokopuna (grandchildren). The chapter concludes with a consideration of Te Kōhanga Reo and the cultural concept whanaungatanga in relation to the Whāriki curriculum.

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Traditional Māori knowledge consists of similar cultural concepts and kinship structures across the iwi (tribes), although there are varied tribal interpretations (Pere, 1994). Whakapapa (genealogy); tikanga (Māori customs, values and rules) and whanaungatanga (relationships) were highlighted by Mead (2003) as three key cultural concepts. The descriptions of these three cultural concepts portray the positions and roles they play in Māori socio-cultural interrelationships. More importantly the concepts are key elements in the study's hypothesis as they underpin the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo as well as being pivotal to the construction of language development in Te Kōhanga Reo.

WHAKAPAPA: GENEALOGY

Whakapapa or genealogical ties are an integral part of being Māori. Through their genealogy Māori are able to place themselves in relation to their tipuna (ancestors), their relationships with others and

track their lineage back to the land and back to ngā atua (spiritual guardians) themselves. An example of this was when my whānau attended a wānanga (seminar) on whakapapa (tribal genealogy) and our children learnt that when they followed the generations and the names of their tipuna (ancestors) they were the 45th descendant from Tangaroa the atua or spiritual guardian of the sea. Knowing their whakapapa gave them a proud sense of belonging to their Ngāti Porou⁵² tribe. Children in Kōhanga Reo learn their genealogical ties and many kōhanga encourage children to stand and recite a small part of their whakapapa as a part of their mihihi (greeting) in the mornings. Recitations of whakapapa were observed in one of the Kōhanga Reo that participated in this study and examples of these recitations are included in Chapter Seven.

Pere's (1994) view of whakapapa was that the end of the word 'papa' referred directly to the affectionate name for Earth Mother, 'Papa' of Papatūānuku. She tells the Māori stories of the beginning of humanity from Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), the creation of their many children and the spiritual and physical world that they lived in. Māori perceived the natural environment of Papatūānuku and the vastness of the universe that is Ranginui as a 'part of the natural order of things' (Pere, 1994:8).

Pere (1994), like Buck (1966) also stated that the whakapapa or the genealogy of Māori whānau had a social order and this order determined the senior (tuakana) and junior (teina) descent lines, both vertically and horizontally. Everyone was expected to know the main lines of their whakapapa (genealogy) and recite their relationship connected them to common ancestors as well as to each other (Walker, 2004).

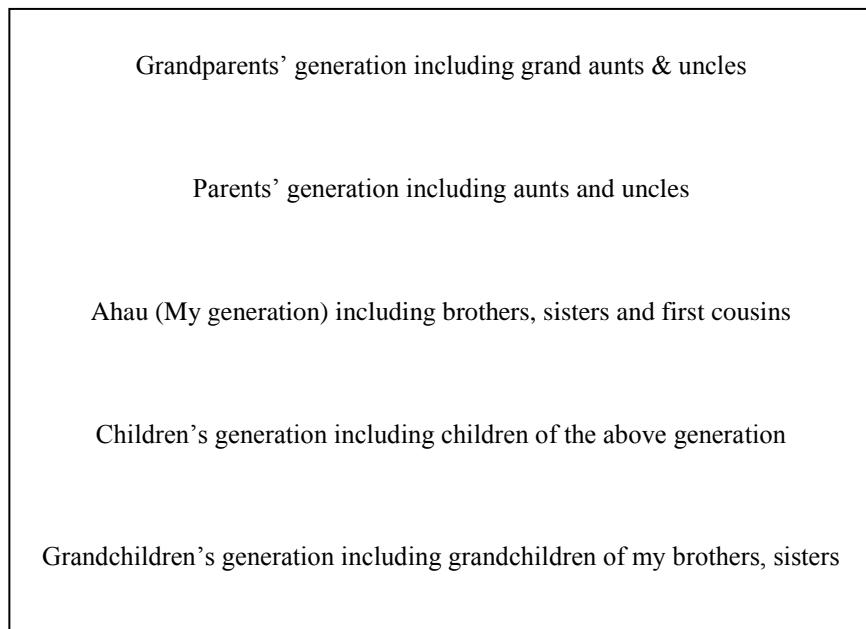
Tohunga (Priest/specialist in particular areas of knowledge) had the ability to retain whakapapa lines that extend both horizontally and vertically by remembering and understanding narratives and organising them into meaningful memories. Robinson (2005) explained the strategies he was taught to organise narratives and remember whakapapa links. He discussed his training which he stated prepared him to be a future vessel of knowledge for his iwi. Robinson emphasised the stress placed on his tutor to transmit this knowledge to Robinson as well as Robinson's role in acquiring it. Much ritual was present in the imparting of sacred knowledge.

⁵² Ngāti Porou is a tribe on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand.

It was very important for kaumātua (elders) to know their genealogical ties and to be able to make connections to members of their whānau, past and present as these ties forged strong links among whānau members. The genealogical links were remembered when the connections were accompanied by stories of the past telling of some heroic or meaningful feat performed by their common ancestor (Durie, 1994; Smith, 1995). It was also important for kaumātua who were considered by their iwi as specialist on tribal knowledge to pass on traditions and skills to the future generations and therefore ensure that the whakapapa, karakia, waiata and stories were preserved.

Buck (1966:339) considered the traditional concept of whānau as “covering two preceding generations of parents and grandparents of the person concerned and the two succeeding generation of children and grandchildren”. This meant that the whānau consisted of five generations, two above the person concerned such as the parents and grandparents and two below that person, namely, the children and grandchildren. The lateral kinship links between whānau members also included cousins, aunts, uncles, grand aunts and grand uncles. The following Figure Three is a simplified representation of five generations.

Figure Three: A simplified version of Buck's 'Five Generations'



According to Buck (1966) whānau inclusive of its five generations is acknowledged as the basic family unit in Māori society. The family unit is far more reaching than the western nuclear family. In a Māori sense the whānau are usually blood relatives. They display obligations and

responsibilities to one another. Puketapu-Hetet (1999) discussed the symbolism of the flax bush as representing the whānau as generations. She described the centre flax leaf being the child, the outer leaves the parents and further out was the next generation namely the grandparents. She also stated that it is the grandparent and tipuna (ancestor) leaves that a weaver cuts to use for weaving garments as symbolically it is from these leaves (or whānau members) that the strength (wisdom) is obtained.

A whānau member's status or place in the family was determined from their whakapapa and their order of birth. The senior and junior lineage was referred to as tuakana and teina respectively. Tuakana is the term used by a younger brother when referring to his older brother or brothers. The same term is used by women to differentiate between the older sister and the younger sister. That is, the younger sibling calls the older sibling of the same sex *tuakana* and the older sibling calls the younger sibling of the same sex, *teina*. The terms tuakana and teina were not used across genders. The terms used by a female to address her brother was tungāne, (brother of a female) and for a male to address his sister the term is tuahine. The tuakana /teina concept is important to understand as tuakana denotes seniority and that position of seniority is inherited. "All sons of a tuakana brother remain tuakana to all sons of a teina brother, hence the relationship is perpetuated through succeeding generations for this particular line" (Buck, 1966:341).

Buck continued to say that seniority through tuakana birth was extremely important as it determined rangatira (chiefly) status. The eldest son of the eldest son inherited seniority, rank and power and this seniority was passed on from the eldest son to eldest son through the generations. The rangatira (chief) senior line determined who the aristocracy were and who the paramount chief or ariki was. With the position of seniority came responsibility and leadership.

The members of the whānau were committed to common societal and cultural under takings; they celebrated the positives and supported one another in times of trouble. Both Metge (1995) and Salmond (2009) stated that the whānau share and reciprocate in times of tangihanga (funerals), family weddings, birthdays, christenings according to cultural practice and values and as is expected of members of that whānau. Many of these events are held at the traditional marae⁵³ of that whānau. One such celebration, a birthday, was recorded by a parent in this study. This celebration was organised at a marae (traditional Māori meeting place).

⁵³ Marae – traditional Māori meeting place

In contemporary society the word whānau has also broadened in meaning and can now be used to define people belonging to a common group with a single mission, such as sports teams, or workplaces (Cunningham, Stevenson & Tassell, 2005; Smith, 1995). Durie, (1994) distinguishes between the whānau who are linked through blood ties and the whānau groups that have a common cause. He names the former whakapapa whānau. The whānau usually not linked by blood but who have a common cause is known as kaupapa whānau.

Te Kōhanga Reo is an example of a kaupapa whānau,⁵⁴ a group of people coming together with a common purpose in mind, the survival of the language. The kaupapa whānau still lives the values and practices expected of whakapapa whānau. Their pride in being a member of the kōhanga whānau is displayed in the commitment they give to supporting their common cause. Whānau manage their kōhanga daily operations, learn to speak Māori, enrol in training or become a kaiāwhina (helper) and work in the kōhanga on a voluntary basis. These are examples of some of the commitments whānau have made to support their children's acquisition of te reo.

Members of a Māori whānau, whether they are whakapapa whānau or kaupapa whānau, know their connections to one another through their common ancestor or their mission. If they choose to then cultural concepts such as tikanga Māori provide these Māori whānau with the appropriate rules and mannerisms. Knowledge of tikanga Māori guides behaviour and reinforces position in their whānau. Those members more knowledgeable in tikanga gain more respect and status or mana in their whānau.

TIKANGA MAORI: CUSTOMS AND VALUES

There are many interpretations of what tikanga means. William's Dictionary of the Māori Language (1997:416 -17) translates tikanga as 'rule', 'plan', 'method', 'customs' and 'habit'. Pere (1994:46) sees all of these meanings as aspects of tikanga Māori and an integral part of Māori custom and traditions. Mead (2003) has interpreted the word tikanga as "the correct way of doing things" (p.6). According to Mead (2003) tikanga Māori is a means of social control in that it controls inter and intrapersonal relationships. He considers tikanga Māori as a form of Māori ethics, a system of conduct and principles. "People who are committed to being Māori generally regard themselves as

⁵⁴ In some of the rural areas a Kōhanga Reo can also consist of whakapapa whānau.

being bound to uphold tikanga Māori for them, tikanga Māori definitely has a bite to it” (Mead, 2003:7).

Barlow (2005) also describes tikanga Māori as a set of rules, customs, values and beliefs handed down through the generations to ensure correctness of behaviour by the individual or group within particular Māori social contexts. At social events where large groups of people may be involved such as at a tangihanga (ceremony of mourning) or an opening of a new wharenu (meeting house) tikanga is applied (Royal, 2008). There are also smaller events which may involve a group, family or an individual where tikanga or sets of rules may be applied. An example of this behaviour is where a family or group may be travelling together and before the journey they say a karakia (prayer) asking for a safe passage. Another is the Kōhanga Reo beginning their day as a group with the ritual mihimihi or morning greetings.

Individually Māori women would also observe certain tikanga (customs) when menstruating. They would refrain from gathering food, working in the gardens, or gathering sea food during this time as they were considered to be in a state of tapu or sacredness (Makereti, 1986; Mead, 2003).

Mead (2003) explains the concept of tapu (sacred) in more depth and deems it as an important factor in the controlling of interpersonal behaviour in Māori settings. The control or rules of behaviour is the ritual aspect of tikanga where the belief is that “if the ritual is not adhered to correctly then misfortune may befall the group or individual” (Mead, 2003:16). He explains that tikanga on one level is conceptual (customary knowledge or a set of rules and beliefs) and on another level is manifested in ritual practice.

Tikanga Māori is not “frozen in time” (p. 16) and new tikanga is always being developed. ”Insights from the past are utilised to solve problems of the present” (Mead, 2003:16). He argues that a ritual practised in the present day is all the more valued when it demonstrates its cultural links to the past. “People are able to own them, participate in them with some enthusiasm and take charge of them” (p. 21). He continues saying that with a resurgence of Māori people relearning tikanga it has the power to “personally enrich”, “spiritually satisfy” and “empower the individual” (p. 22). Mead concludes with an important statement “It is a fundamental right of every person of Māori descent to enjoy his or her birthright, and to feel good about it. Tikanga is a part of the birthright” (p. 22), which reinforces one of the purposes of the Kōhanga Reo movement. Te Kōhanga Reo is a

movement which enables whānau to learn alongside kaumātua and as Mead iterates “to participate in one’s own culture” (p. 22). Mead states that tikanga sets cultural signposts.

In the kōhanga the children and their parents are able to recognise these signposts and practice the cultural etiquette. Children are immersed in an environment which is governed by tikanga Māori as the following Māori researchers such as Hohepa (1990), Ka’ai (1990) and Skerrett White (1995, 2003) described in their Masters and/or PhD studies about Te Kōhanga Reo.

Daily routines set patterns of familiarity and enable children to internalise these practices. The daily practice of children removing their shoes before they enter the building or saying a karakia before eating becomes normalised. Through these regular occurrences the children and their parents internalise beginning knowledge of tikanga Māori, which enables them “to move within it [Māori contexts] in confidence, to meet other people who are following the same path and to enjoy being a Māori” (Mead 2003:22). Consequently the children and their parents are becoming socialised into Māori cultural ways.

These regular occurrences are routine cultural practices, which have been articulated in *Te Korowai*, the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Charter, and guides cultural practices in Te Kōhanga Reo. For the purpose of this research I have named these cultural practices *Cultural Learning Experiences* (CLE). An investigation of tools of cultural practice, namely CLE, that transmit customary knowledge is discussed in the next section particularly in relation to Te Kōhanga Reo. Some of these CLE are karakia (prayers, chants or incantations); mihihi (formal and informal greetings), waiata (songs) and pakiwaitara (stories). Te reo Māori was the language of transmission for all these cultural practices.

Karakia

Every Kōhanga reo begin and end their day with a karakia (prayer or incantation), which is usually followed with a mihihi session and waiata. In every Kōhanga Reo a karakia precedes the eating of food. Karakia is an important event in the Māori world. Karakia enables the ordinary people in everyday practices to connect with Io Matua Kore,⁵⁵ and/or ngā atua (spiritual guardians), and ask

⁵⁵ Io Matua Kore – The ultimate creator of all things

for guidance, acknowledge their contribution to the world or thank them for the gifts they have given (Durie, 1994; Mead, 2003, Royal 2008).

Shirres (1986) as part of his doctoral study examined over four hundred karakia of the 1800s that were contained in Māori manuscript collections of Grey,⁵⁶ White, Shortland and Taylor.⁵⁷ According to Shirres the karakia are the words of the tipuna (ancestor) being recited for the collective rather than for the individual. In Shirres' classification of the karakia he said that there were karakia for major events such as the opening of a new wharenui, the birth of a new child, the naming of a waka (canoe), tangihanga (funeral) as well as karakia for daily living, daily work, sickness, and the weather.

Karakia is a doorway to a place of reverence and respect, are more of a spiritual nature and not necessarily religious. Because of karakia it is deemed a serious time for thought and focus and requires respectful behaviour and attitudes. There are karakia for different events as noted above. The karakia reserved for special occasions were usually recited by a tohunga⁵⁸ or kaumātua (Moon, 2003). These reciters were revered in their hapū and iwi as they were the keepers of special knowledge. In these situations which are often considered very tapu or sacred, the karakia must be perfect otherwise the smallest mistake could result in misfortune befalling the person or a close member of his family (Robinson, 2005; Shirres, 1986).

The karakia for everyday events can be said by the rangatira (chief) or a delegated member of the whānau. These karakia can give thanks for the beginning or closing of a day or hui (meeting), ask for a safe journey, guide the whānau in a task and acknowledge the food that they are about to eat. These are the karakia that are more common in Te Kōhanga Reo (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995).

In this study the four children that were engaged in karakia in the Kōhanga Reo and in their home environment were recorded participating in karakia for everyday events such as the beginning and the end of the day or for blessing their meal. The children were also recorded initiating karakia particularly in their home setting. These recorded sessions will be discussed in depth in Chapter

⁵⁶ Grey was the first Governor General of New Zealand. Grey gathered oral traditions, stories and karakia from kaumātua (Maori elders) during the 1880s.

⁵⁷ White, Shortland & Taylor - Collectors of traditional karakia, myths and stories.

⁵⁸ Tohunga - specialist in a particular area of knowledge ranging from health issues, to Māori medicine, cosmology, building of a new canoe, house or carving and of course genealogy..

Seven. In the kōhanga setting normal practice after karakia was recited was to greet one another. This is the mihi mihi.

Mihimihi

Mihimihi is the cultural practise where Māori greet one another. They include formal greetings such as whaikōrero (traditional formal speech), pōwhiri and mihi whakatau (formal traditional ceremonies of welcome) to a casual mihi (greeting). Depending on the context and the occasion the mihi mihi may range from informal to semi formal to the formalities of the marae where kawa or etiquette is strictly adhered to.

Usually a ceremony of welcome either a pōwhiri or mihi whakatau will begin with a karakia (prayer) to guide and support everyone participating in the kaupapa or business of the day. The host's whaikōrero or speech of welcome as described below will then follow the basic format. Others have an opportunity to reply and add their points. Each speech is followed by a waiata (song usually sung by supporting whānau members), which enhances and complements the speakers' views and usually represents the iwi (tribe) they are from. At the end of the session everyone shakes hands and /or hongi (traditional greeting performed by pressing noses and foreheads together) which symbolises the sharing of the essence of each individual. A light meal or a feast depending on the importance of the occasion is then shared to bring everyone together out of the state of sacredness (Salmond, 2009).

- The whaikōrero is the traditional formal speech given on the marae (traditional meeting place) and is most prevalent during a tangihanga where the deceased lies in state for at least three days. Whaikōrero is also an indicator of mana or prestige when the host and the visitors exchange eloquent and poetic speeches of praise particularly when very important international visitors are welcomed. (Royal, 2008; Salmond, 2009).

Karetū (1994:32) stated that a basic format for a whaikōrero (formal speech) on a marae (traditional meeting place) is

- a formal introduction (tauparapara),
- acknowledgement of those who have passed on and then of those who are living,
- the kaupapa (purpose of the hui /meeting),

- Waiata (song usually sung by supporting whānau members)
- Haka (war chant)

In one of the kōhanga that took part in this PhD study an example of a pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony) was noted when children and whānau from the kōhanga took two of their children who had turned five years of age to the local school or kura kaupapa Māori.⁵⁹ A formal pōwhiri was conducted and whaikōrero (formal speeches) were shared from both the hosts and the visitors acknowledging the importance of the children's passage to school and the two children's continuation of learning in a total Māori immersion school.

Another type of welcome is a mihi whakatau which is used to welcome visitors in a less formal situation. Semi formal occasions occur when meetings on Māori issues or business are held. These mihimihis at these times usually begin with a karakia (prayer) and a short greeting to welcome everyone to the occasion. The meeting then proceeds and at the end of the meeting or day a karakia is again shared to end the business. The monthly kōhanga whānau hui (meeting) is such an example where the proceedings are opened and closed with a karakia and a short mihimihis (greeting). When visitors or new parents attend the monthly whānau hui (meeting) the kaumātua or chairperson will welcome them formally following the format for a whaikōrero (Karetū, 1994). The new whānau may reply and the formalities are concluded with a handshake, hongi and the sharing of food.

Informal greetings are when people meet casually or for the first time that day. The common greetings are *kia ora* or 'hello' (literal translation 'be well'); and *mōrena* or 'morning'. The informal and semi formal mihimihis protocol is an important part of Te Kōhanga Reo daily practice. The parents and children greet one another casually each morning when they first arrive at kōhanga with *kia ora* and farewell each other with the greeting *ka kite anō* or 'see (you) again'. As mentioned previously the semi formal mihimihis is always conducted at the monthly whānau hui. The other time of day a semi formal mihimihis maybe practised is every morning and afternoon.

In every Kōhanga Reo everyone gathers together at the beginning and end of the day to share a time of morning welcome and afternoon farewell together (Hohepa, 1990; Ka'ai, 1990; Skerrett White, 1995, 2003). The sessions consist of a karakia, mihimihis and waiata and then the children's

⁵⁹ Kura Kaupapa Māori - School immersed in Māori language and traditions. The first kura kaupapa Māori began in 1985 in West Auckland. Its purpose was to ensure that children from Te Kōhanga Reo could continue to learn Māori language in a total immersion school environment once they left kōhanga.

morning tea. This session follows a similar protocol to that of a mihi whakatau but the session and the children's greetings have been adapted to suit the children's level of development. Usually the children say a brief introduction known as a pepehā. An example of a pepehā is given below. The children may also recite their whakapapa (genealogy) introducing the members of their home whānau in their mihimihī.

A typical formal mihimihī said by an adult consists of a short introduction (pepehā). This introduction identifies the person's maunga (mountain), awa (river) or moana (lake), waka⁶⁰ (canoe) and/or iwi (tribe), their marae (Māori meeting place) and sometimes their family members. The mihimihī then ends with the person stating his/her name. An example of a short mihimihī is

Kia ora te whānau

Ko Tararua te maunga

Ko Otaki te awa

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Ngāti Wehiwehi rāua ko Ngāti Kikopiri ngā iwi

Ko Wehiwehi rāua ko Kikopiri ngā marae

Ko Arapera Royal Tangaere tōku ingoa

Greetings family

Tararua is the mountain

Otaki is the river

Tainui is the (ancestral) canoe

Ngāti Wehiwehi and Ngāti Kikopiri are the tribes

Wehiwehi and Kikopiri are the marae

Arapera Royal Tangaere is my name

In three research studies carried out by Mitchell, Royal Tangaere, Mara & Wylie (2006a; 2006b; 2008) mihimihī sessions were observed in 21 Kōhangā Reo, where adults and children shared karakia, mihimihī and waiata together. A more detailed examination on the types of mihimihī or Cultural Learning Experiences (CLE) the four children who participated in this study used is carried out in Chapter Seven. As mentioned previously speeches are normally followed by a waiata (song). The following section describes the purpose and role of waiata as a form of cultural transmission.

⁶⁰ A person makes reference to their *waka* acknowledging the journey that his/her iwi (tribe) made across the Pacific Ocean to Aotearoa /New Zealand

Waiata

Waiata translated into English can be a noun meaning ‘song’ or the verb ‘to sing’. There are many different traditional types of waiata Māori (Māori songs) ranging from traditional laments (waiata tangi) to historical accounts (moteatea), action songs (waiata a ringa, waiata poi), haka (chant mainly performed by men) and oriori tamariki (children’s lullaby) (Best, 1975; Karetū, 1994; Ngata & Hurinui, 1988; Orbell, 1994; Simmons, 2003).

Waiata Māori had a purpose and told a story of sadness, love, heroic feats, wrong doings or the history of the tribe. It was a device employed by Māori to remember an event and to pass the story on to future generations.

Elsdon Best, an English anthropologist, who lived amongst the Ngai Tūhoe people in the Urewera region of New Zealand during the early 20th century wrote that “the Māori was evidently much given to the singing of songs to infants and many songs were especially composed for that purpose” (Best, 1975:49). These songs were called oriori (young children’s songs). He continued to say that these songs were “peculiar compositions” and “utterly unsuitable for the purpose of being sung to children” (*Ibid*). He was alluding to the fact that these oriori tamariki (children’s songs) were “packed with allusions to occurrences in tribal history and ancient myths, beliefs” (p. 49). However Best acknowledged that the purpose of these oriori tamariki was to teach the child certain information even before the child could speak or understand the content. Then as the child grew the child became more acquainted with the meaning of the words, the place names, the whakapapa and eventually the moral or message of the stories.

This was, in fact, one of the methods of instruction adapted by the Māori..... desirable knowledge was imparted to children and so handed down to succeeding generations (Best, 1975:50)

Whether Best thought oriori were unsuitable or not these learnt waiata were historical accounts and served as ‘mind books’ to retain the events in one’s memory.

Waiata is an activity or CLE found in Kōhangā Reo throughout the country. The children learnt about their environment, through the words and actions of the songs. Hohepa (1990), Ka’ai (1990), Mitchell, Royal Tangaere, Mara & Wylie (2006a, 2006b, 2008) and Skerret-White (1995, 2003), all

noted the common occurrence of waiata as an activity in Kōhangas. The most frequent occurrence of waiata is in the morning karakia /mihimihi sessions where a waiata follows a child's mihimihi as is the routine for a formal whaikōrero (speech) on the marae (meeting place).

Waiata was also observed as an important group activity in the kōhangas. Very rarely did children sing on their own unless it was for leading others in a particular waiata (song). Children and adults sang together and in doing so practised whanaungatanga, through collectively supporting one another in the learning and singing of the song, internalising the message in the song as well as identifying themselves as a group, that is, their kōhangas.

The recordings made of the two children in one of the kōhangas in this study are examples of where one of the children being studied led his kōhangas in singing waiata (song) and performing a haka (war chant) at a local festival. Examples of these waiata are presented in Chapter Seven. Waiata was also one form of telling a story. Stories of events and people were important to bond people more strongly to their whakapapa and to each other. Pakiwaitara or oral stories were common in traditional Māori society. The next section elaborates on pakiwaitara.

Pakiwaitara

Pakiwaitara are stories which usually have special significance. The method of continuously sharing stories with the wider whānau ensured that those stories were remembered and therefore history of the tribe was remembered. Māori knowledge was shared amongst the whānau in stories or pakiwaitara. The stories often consisted of a poetic presentation by the orator and the creative use of the language, te reo Māori (MacFarlane, 2002).

Pakiwaitara shared knowledge that was preserved in the three baskets of knowledge⁶¹ as introduced to the reader in Chapter Four. The Maori language was treated with the greatest respect in traditional times as it was considered to have powers that could bring about one's misfortune or even cause death. Te reo Māori was considered a special taonga (gift) within which understanding of all knowledge in the universe was enshrined. The passing on and memorising of whakapapa or ancient karakia was imbued with stories that were taught with careful ritual to ensure that the knowledge

⁶¹ Three baskets of knowledge were obtained by the atua (spiritual guardian) Tane nui a Rangi from Nga Rangi Tūhaha (the uppermost realm) and were said to hold all knowledge of the universe.

was learnt correctly. It was considered extremely bad luck if the person made a mistake in the reciting of the whakapapa or karakia (Best, 1976b; Buck, 1966; Robinson, 2005).

An oral tradition required a very good understanding and memory capacity to retain the knowledge of all things and the Māori culture developed strategies to pass on knowledge to future generations (Buck, 1966; MacFarlane, 2002). Some of these strategies such as karakia, waiata, mihihi, and whakapapa have been described earlier. Other methods were through pakiwaitara or stories represented in carvings of ancestors, in the kōwhaiwhai patterns (graphic designs representing aspects of nature) and held in the intricate tukutuku panels (woven flax lattice). These carvings, kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku patterns acted as visual memory joggers and usually each carving, kōwhaiwhai pattern or tukutuku panel told a story which reminded the people of their origin, their tipuna (ancestors), the values learnt from the natural world and the values that ensured a strong extended family unit. (MacFarlane, 2002; Te Awekotuku, 1996; Tapsell, 2000).

In Te Kōhanga Reo pakiwaitara are more commonly presented in the first instance through the medium of books. Children may also act out stories as a whakaari (dramatic play) as they come to know, remember and understand the story and values being portrayed. An example of a whakaari was witnessed by the researcher when visiting one of the kōhanga that took part in this study. The kaiako who was preparing for his assessment of his course, ‘Te Tohu Mātauranga Whakapakari Tino Rangatiratanga o Te Kōhanga Reo’ had organised for the children to perform a pakiwaitara about Mahuika the atua (spiritual guardian) of fire.

Under the ‘Pakiwaitara’ heading in the ‘Tikanga’ section of Chapter Seven some of the pakiwaitara activities or CLE depicted the four children either relating stories about incidents that they had experienced, reading books or being the subject of a series of recordings which told a story about that child. One child loved drawing pictures and expressed her stories through this medium. In my visits to many kōhanga around the country pakiwaitara is a typical activity.

In a conversation with Dame Dr Iritana Tawhiwhirangi (personal communication September 11, 2007), she related how she as the Chief Executive Officer of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust would travel the country with members of the Trust Board and tell the stories of how the Kōhanga Reo began. She believed that the stories of the founders of the movement were important for new parents to hear and remember as it established the purpose of the Kōhanga Reo. More importantly

her stories assisted in highlighting the values which Te Kōhanga Reo movement is built upon. A previous chapter (Chapter Three) tracked and described a socio-political story of Te Kōhanga Reo. The continuous sharing of kōhanga stories whether they are at the individual kōhanga level or nationally promotes and strengthens common bonds and purpose. Story telling or pakiwaitara about the Kōhanga Reo movement strengthens relationships and is known as ‘whakawhanaungatanga’.⁶² Whanaungatanga as cultural relationships is discussed next in this chapter.

WHANAUNGATANGA: RELATIONSHIPS

Whanaungatanga is about cultural inter relationships determined by Māori traditions and values and has its roots in whakapapa (genealogy). Whanaungatanga draws on the importance of whakapapa or genealogical ties and the in-built collective responsibilities that this cultural process expects. Therefore the holistic package called whanaungatanga expects the whānau to support, guide and care for the mokopuna as well as one another (Pere, 1994).

Whanaungatanga reinforces the collective responsibilities whānau have for one another and the commitment required of individual members to the whole group. The obligations required of the whānau members to attend and support one another at tangihanga (funerals), family celebrations and events Mead states is ideal but often ‘difficult to achieve’ (Mead, 2003:29). He stated that Māori people are often caught between upholding their obligations to their Māori world, whānau, hapū and iwi (family, sub tribe and tribe) as well as to their pākehā (western) world. Attending a tangihanga of an extended family member such as a grand aunt or grand uncle is expected by the whānau but may clash with workplace policies which do not recognise extended family relations. The compromise in these situations is usually leave from work without pay.

Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell (2005) in a report prepared for the Ministry of Education on the characteristics of whānau in Aotearoa /New Zealand presented two analytical frameworks to conceptualise education outcomes in relation to whānau practices, interactions and economic arrangements. Although my doctoral study did not draw on Cunningham et al. (2005) two frameworks, Whakamātauranga whānau and Whakapiripiri whānau, their analysis of whanaungatanga is relevant as their study discusses the same values and customs described by Mead (2003).

⁶² ‘Whakawhanaungatanga’ means to make/build (whaka) relationships (whanaungatanga)

Cunningham et al. (2005) stated that Whakapiripiri whānau is a framework to conceptualise whanaungatanga operating in the whānau. Like Durie (1994, 2001a) they recognised that whanaungatanga is about kinship relationships, whānau obligations and commitments. However Cunningham et al. developed the concept of whanaungatanga further by designing a framework that explored the strengthening of the whānau based on six principles of whanaungatanga. Indicators and educational implications for each of those principles were identified and related to the different functions of the whānau that are the whānau practices, interactions and economic arrangements (Cunningham, Stevenson & Tassell, 2005:59).

The six principles which underlie their process of whanaungatanga were:

- tātau tātau - collective responsibility
- mana tiaki - guardianship
- manaakitanga - caring
- whakamana - enablement
- whakatakoto tūtoro - planning and
- whai wāhitanga - participation.

These six principles are named differently in Kōhanga Reo but are in essence very similar. The principles for kōhanga are found in Te Whāriki, the curriculum for Kōhanga Reo (Ministry of Education, 1996) and are:

- Whakamana – empowerment and aroha /unconditional love
- Kotahitanga – holistic and collectiveness, participation
- Ngā Honotanga – relationships, manaakitanga (hospitality) and atawhai (caring)
- whānau – tangata – whānau and community

These traditional values such as whakamana, kotahitanga, and ngā honotanga and whānau tangata are important principles of whanaungatanga (kinship relationships) within the kōhanga whānau structure, which will become evident particularly in Chapter Seven.

The driving force of whanaungatanga is the quality of cultural relationships between all members of the extended whānau (whakapapa) and is based on Māori cultural values, customs and traditions (tikanga). The relationships are inclusive and range from interactions between adults and adults

(elders and elders; elders and parents; elders and kaiako; parents and kaiako; parents and parents; kaiako and kaiako) adults and children, the mokopuna (elders and mokopuna; parents and mokopuna; kaiako and mokopuna) and children and children (mokopuna and mokopuna). Some of the methods for demonstrating whanaungatanga are found in the values manaakitanga (hospitality), aroha (unconditional love) and atawhai (caring). Mead stated that manaakitanga (hospitality) and aroha (love) are two dimensions of whanaungatanga with high value. “Manaakitanga is always important no matter what the circumstances might be” (Mead, 2003:29).

To be a true whānau grouping in this sense there must be the collective responsibility and accountability of the members of that whānau group to support one another; to listen, to work for the common good of the whānau, to strengthen and empower one another, to instigate collective decision making and to learn together with humility and a lot of aroha. This is known as ‘whanaungatanga’ (Tangaere; 1998:15)

The following section introduces the reader to members of a Māori whānau and their intergenerational relationships with one another. Some of the relationships between these members have been selected to highlight the roles of whānau members in the Kōhanga particularly with the child. The main focus is the emotional and spiritual relationship of the whānau.

The first whānau grouping talks about the kaumātua (elders) as the soul of the whānau and emphasises the special relationship between the kaumātua and the mokopuna. The role of the kaiako as the backbone of the kōhanga is next followed by a description of the special roles of the parents, and finally the future place of the mokopuna or children.

THE WHĀNAU

Dame Dr. Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, a prominent elder of the movement explained that the designers of the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo, the kaumātua or elders of that time felt strongly that to ensure the survival of te reo Māori the language needed to be spoken to the children in a common place surrounded by the entire whānau. The child’s home was no longer a place where the Māori language was acquired. She summarised the importance of the whānau as the key to the rebirth of the language and the intention that one day the language would be acquired and spoken in the home.

The whānau are the key to the revitalisation of te reo Māori and it was the concept of what whānau meant in the Kōhanga context that triggered the rapid increase in Kōhanga throughout the country. The whānau was not limited to just the blood parents of the children but to all whānau and extended whānau who could contribute because of their tamariki/mokopuna.

Kaiako and kaimahi were also seen as important members of the whānau. The principle of whānau was about whakamana, (empowerment), kotahitanga (working together), and whanaungatanga (Māori sense of filialness and cultural relationships). This meant that whānau were supportive in times of challenge and celebrated the positives together. The monthly whānau hui became critical to continual communication in managing the kōhanga and whānau based learning enabled whānau to make good decisions for their children. The principle of whānau is the strength of the kōhanga (I. Tawhiwhirangi, personal communication September 11, 2007).

Kaumātua: Elders - The soul of the whānau

Kotahi te hā o te tipuna me te mokopuna.
The heartbeat of the elder and the grandchild is one
(Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995).

The section begins with my memories of my grandparents (italicised), as one voice from a mokopuna (grandchild).

One of the saddest days of my life was when my grandmother passed away. She had told me before I returned to university that she did not have long to live and that she would come to see me when her time came. I did not believe her. After all she was too sick to travel. But thenShe kept her promise. I was only 22 years of age and completing my Bachelor of Arts degree at Otago University in Dunedin. I remember the day and the time. It was Friday 5:30pm and I was sitting in my room completing an assignment when an overwhelming feeling of calm, contentment and peace transfixed me. There was no crying, no fear and no awareness of time just pure love.

The phone rang at 6:05pm. It was Dad. The hospital had rung to say that Nan had passed away. My reply was 'I know'.

Nan cared for me when I was a very young child. She made her grandchildren feel special and that we were the only children in the world. Her unconditional love cemented a physical, emotional and spiritual bond between us. She passed on the greatest gift: she shaped me and prepared me for the arrival of my own grandchildren. I do miss her.

My memories as a well loved mokopuna instilled in me my obligations as a parent to ensure that my children developed strong relationships with their grandparents and when my turn as a grandparent arrived that I would always be available for my own mokopuna.

The care of the very young child was often the task of the elders. “This was a very special relationship in Maori society between the very old and the very young.” (Ritchie, 1970:50) The parents worked during the day to ensure the physical survival of the family. The very young were placed with the most-wise so that they could be shaped and guided through the early years of their lives, (Makereti, 1986; Nepe, 1991; Salmond, 2005a; 2005b).

In traditional kinship whānau, the caring of children was mainly the role of the grandparents. The children would spend the majority of their childhood years under the guardianship of their grandparents who were responsible for instilling in them the principles of aroha (love), manaaki (care), and atawhai (support) as well as teaching customs and traditions of the people, (Tangaere; 1998:10).

Makereti Papakura, one of my ancestors, born in Rotorua in 1872, wrote an account of Māori life, traditions and customs, as a part of her ethnography while studying anthropology at Oxford University in the 1920s. She documented a comprehensive account of Māori lifestyle and whānau relationships during the late 1800s. She passed away before completing her ethnography however her account of Māori as a people was printed /reprinted after her death. According to Makereti (1986) there was a communal care, a collective responsibility for all the children. She related how the elders told stories of the land and of their whakapapa (genealogy) and by doing so instilled love and respect for their hapū (sub tribe).

The old people told them stories of the patupaiarehe, the fairies who moved passed in the mistThey [the old people] told the children how dear their home and lands were to them, and to their fathers before them, and tried to make the children feel the same. They [the old people] taught them [children] the names of the birds of the forest, and of different trees and shrubs and plants and wonderful stories of the mountains, rivers, and streams as though they were living human beings..... the old Maori was familiar with the stars and knew their names.... Everything was personified to the Māori, as he was very near to Nature (Makereti, 1986:151).

Makereti also recorded how some children were placed with certain elders to learn their tribal history. This process of retaining tribal knowledge was also verified by Best (1975); Buck (1966); and Robinson (2005). A specially chosen child could be as young as four years of age when recruited to learn whakapapa and history. The elders understood the memory capacity of young children and repeatedly recited waiata (songs), karakia (sacred chants or incantations) and

whakapapa (genealogy) that held their stories. The stories were internalised in the memories of these special children so that the history of the tribe was kept safe and preserved through time.

Te Kōhanga Reo was founded on these traditional methods of learning and development, with the kaumātua as the teachers of the language and cultural values and the grandchildren as the learners. According to Dame Dr Iritana Tawhiwhirangi (personal communication September 11, 2007), one of the founders of Te Kōhanga Reo, the kaumātua or elders were excited by the prospect of caring for their mokopuna when the idea of a language nest, Kōhanga Reo, was put forward by the small working group. The concept of elders caring for the very young was not new. She said that in the first kaumātua hui (1979) co-ordinated by the Department of Māori Affairs, the kaumātua had posed a serious concern about the decline in te reo Māori and thus saw themselves as the solution to the problem.

The kaumātua excitement was infectious. When they returned home they literally gathered their mokopuna together and set up Kōhanga Reo on the marae, in kōkiri centres (Māori community centres), in their homes, in spare buildings or where ever they could. They also called on their friends who were fluent in the language to help at the kōhanga. Many of the elders had little to do before kōhanga but sit at home and watch soap operas on television. Te Kōhanga Reo gave our kaumātua a new purpose and it involved saving our language by imparting it to our mokopuna (Dame Dr Iritana Tawhiwhirangi. Personal communication, September 11, 2007).

The kaumātua are the leaders and guides within the Kōhanga Reo structure just as, traditionally they were and still are in many homes, the leaders within their whānau. Kaumātua, as elders hold a position of respect in the kōhanga (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995). They are responsible not only for ensuring the preservation of te reo Māori, traditional knowledge, customs and values but also for the wellbeing of their descendants, their whānau (Salmond, 2005a; Walker, 2004).

In Māori families kaumātua (elders) are held with the highest regard whether they are prominent leaders in the community or not. Dame Dr Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, who is now a kaumātua herself, advocates the empowering nature of the Kōhanga Reo movement, and says that the collective strength of kaumātua is the driving force and the passion behind the birth of Kōhanga Reo. The kaumātua are the soul of the whānau and the mokopuna are the heart, therefore it is not surprising to know that the Kōhanga Reo of the 1980s were lead by Kaumātua where many of these kaumātua were also the kaiako.

Kaiako: The Backbone of the kōhanga whānau

Pono ki te kaupapa. Puna ko te reo.

[Be]True to the philosophy. The language will spring forth (Moehau Reedy - proverb)

Kaiako are adults attested and employed by the kōhanga whānau to speak te reo Māori. It is also not unusual to see a kaiako who is also a kaumātua employed in the kōhanga. The main role of the kaiako is to impart te reo and tikanga Māori to the mokopuna by employing cultural methods of learning and teaching. Their focus is solely on the language and customs. Cultural practices such as karakia, mihi mihi, waiata and pakiwaitara assist the child's acquisition of language and cultural practices. Kaiako also impart cultural knowledge through role modeling and actively living these practices in the Kōhanga. For example Nani (usually the head kaiako or kaitiaki) greets visitors at the door, welcomes them into the kōhanga and provides a cup of tea. Alternatively she may gather the children and staff together to formally welcome the visitors if it is their first visit. This process of welcoming visitors, manaakitanga as discussed previously in this chapter, is the height of good manners. The cultural practice such as manaakitanga is driven by a set of cultural values and customs or tikanga.

Tawhiwhirangi (personal communication, September 11, 1997) stated that in the 1980s the majority of the kaiako were over 50 years of age and fluent native speakers of te reo Māori. She also said that previous to the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo kaumātua generally stayed home watching television as they felt that they were not needed by the wider community. Kaumātua participated in the Kōhanga Reo movement and became kaiako who were passionate about the purpose of the kōhanga. The kaiako were committed to ensuring the survival of te reo Māori. Today there maybe one kaiako who is over 60 years old employed in the kōhanga who will also be the kaumātua for that kōhanga. The average age of the kaiako is now about 45 to 50 years old and more Kōhanga Reo are recording that kōhanga graduates are returning to work in the kōhanga.

Both participating Kōhanga Reo had a kaiako who was over 60 years of age as well as kōhanga graduates employed as staff. The recorded conversations with the ten kaiako of the two kōhanga expressed their commitment to the movement, their love and aspirations for the children and their support for the whānau. Chapter Six introduces the voices of the kaiako.

Ngā Mātua – The parents - The body of the whānau

Nāu te rourou, nāku rourou, ka ora ai te iwi
Your basket, my basket (together) will feed the tribe
Whakatauki (Proverb)

As mentioned previously in this chapter whānau in the traditional Māori world view had some of its foundations grounded in whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (sets of rules) and whanaungatanga or family relationships (Rangihau, 1992; Walker, 2004). Contemporary Māori families, who chose to acknowledge their Māori heritage, including the Kōhanga Reo whānau, still practice some of these concepts. Although these concepts may have changed in some form the essence of these three traditions, whakapapa, tikanga and whanaungatanga are still prevalent particularly in the Kōhanga Reo and I would argue that these three concepts are also practised in the homes of those kōhanga families.

Chapter Three introduced the reader to the parents' roles in the kōhanga which was explained in Te Korowai. Te Korowai (TKRNT, 1995) has as its second kaupapa statement that Kōhanga Reo is overseen through whānau decision making, management and responsibility. Whānau ensure that they operate the kōhanga with the best interest of the children in mind. Their commitment to the kaupapa and to speaking te reo with their children is a part of what is beneficial to the child's learning and development. Parents in kōhanga will contribute in a variety of ways. Voluntary assistance in the kōhanga, koha of food, enrolling in kōhanga relevant courses, learning te reo Māori, attending wānanga (whānau development courses) organised by the Kōhanga Reo district office, making resources, maintaining the building and grounds and fundraising are some of these activities.

Ngā Mokopuna: Grandchildren – The heart of the whānau

He taonga te reo. He tino taonga te mokopuna
The language (Māori) is a treasure. The grandchild a special treasure
Whakatauki (Proverb)

Māori do not see young children in isolation from the whānau, hapū and iwi. Nor do they see them in isolation from their whakapapa both past and present. What this means is that a Māori child is looked upon as an embodiment of his or her parents, grandparents and ancestors; for the child holds all these people in his or her very being (Makereti, 1986; Pere, 1994). The word mokopuna epitomises this understanding of children. Mokopuna is the combination of two Māori words ‘moko’ a cultural imprint and ‘puna’ a wellspring (personal conversation Reedy, 1996). Therefore ‘mokopuna’ can be translated as ‘the well that holds the collective imprints of the ancestors’. Tilly Reedy, a noted Māori woman who with two other Māori leaders, John Rangihau and James Henare, came up with the idea of Kōhangā Reo, said that the closest English concept to ‘moko’ was ‘DNA’.

This cultural perspective gives a strong message that to trample on the mana of the child insults and abuses that child’s whānau, hapū and iwi, that child’s ancestors. All are bound together by their interconnectedness to one another, the land and the universe.

In traditional times the news of a pregnancy in the family was rejoiced and the whānau support made the mother’s life as stress free as possible. Māori believed that it was important for the mother to be calm during pregnancy to ensure the baby’s healthy development. If there were any signs of stress displayed by the expectant mother, support was given by way of child care, husband care, and of course mother care. The parents, aunts and sisters of the mother-to-be ensured that the unborn baby was under the realms of peace as much as possible (Makereti, 1986).

Women are special in Māori culture and one of the best ways to illustrate this is the name given to the womb *Whare Tangata*. This means the house (whare) of people (tangata). Women are protected and nurtured because they are the ‘house’ of future generations (Makereti, 1986; Pere, 1994)

When the time came for the mother to whakamamae, have labour pains, her mother, grandmother, and other relatives were with her, especially if it was her first child..... The presence of her mother and relatives close to her helps her bear the pain (Makereti, 1986:113).

The whenua [after birth] is taken by the mother, aunt, or other close relative to a secret place already chosen and ready to receive it. It is there buried (Ibid: 115).

Pere (1994) explains the depth of meaning of the placenta. In Māori the placenta is known as ‘whenua’. Whenua is also the Māori word for land. A Māori saying is ‘Whenua ki te whenua’.

‘The placenta is returned to the land’. A cycle is completed and the placenta is returned to Papatūānuku (Earth mother). Conversely the land nurtures the placenta while it is still in the womb.

The children in kōhanga are affectionately called ‘mokopuna’ rather than tamariki (children) by the kaumātua who were the main instigators of the movement in the early years. Parents and often grandparents made the decision to enroll their children in Kōhanga Reo to learn te reo Māori. Te Korowai, (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995) states that the child should be regarded as a precious gift.

TE KŌHANGA REO AND WHANAUNGATANGA

For the Kōhanga Reo movement, the focus on whānau development is an integral part of the survival, retention and revitalisation of the Māori language, Māori traditions and values, and Māori pedagogical practices or whanaungatanga. The language has been the vehicle for the Kōhanga Reo movement’s development. The language is also the vehicle that drives children’s learning and development and draws in parents, elders and the wider Māori community into the movement. The valuing of the role that parents/whānau and community play is an important philosophy of Kōhanga Reo. Inclusion in the learning and development of the children and in up skilling one another are important responsibilities of the kōhanga whānau.

In Kōhanga Reo settings, focusing on the development of the whānau is inclusive of kaumātua (elders), mātua (parents), rangatahi (youth) and tamariki /mokopuna (children /grandchildren). This holistic model is dependent on the entire whānau determining what is the best for their children, and then for the whānau, hapū, iwi (Pere, 1994). The practice of whanaungatanga assists with providing the best for the entire kōhanga whānau. The tuakana /teina relationship is an important component of whanaungatanga as is manaakitanga (being hospitable), aroha (unconditional love) and atawhai (depth of caring). In my involvement with three research studies conducted by Mitchell, Royal Tangaere, Mara & Wylie (2006a; 2006b; 2008) Kōhanga whānau said that whanaungatanga was seen as important cultural practice in the Kōhanga Reo movement.

Whanaungatanga as a cultural practice determines how the kōhanga whānau behave during their inter-relationships with one another and with the environment. The process of whanaungatanga supports the child to learn about appropriate patterns of interacting with kaumātua, kaiako, parents,

(their own and others), with other children and with the environment. The very nature of whanaungatanga enables the adults and children to internalise cultural practices as well as the acquisition of Māori language. The method in which internalisation of cultural practices is achieved is through the implementation of the Kōhanga Reo Te Whāriki curriculum. The Whāriki is a curriculum of inter –relationships. Chapter Three introduced the history of the Whāriki curriculum.

SUMMARY

This chapter looked into the composition and role of traditional Māori whānau, related the ideas of whānau to current times and considered the concept of whānau in relation to the Kōhanga Reo movement. To achieve an understanding of the kōhanga whānau it was necessary to introduce the reader to the concepts of whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (customs and values) and whanaungatanga (relationships). It was also important that the reader understood that when discussing the concept of Māori whānau the term was inclusive of all members that is the extended whānau. Knowing this it can be understood then that the child within the home whānau and the kōhanga whānau is the main focus of my PhD study.

Observing the language development of the child entailed taking into consideration the cultural significance of the relationships within (Microsystem) and between (Mesosystem) the child's two whānau contexts over time (Microtime/Mesotime). This chapter introduced the reader to Māori customs and values as well as the philosophical and cultural structure of Māori whānau. Here members, both, whakapapa whānau (related by blood) or kaupapa whānau (related by a common cause) who have chosen to revitalise the language are bound by Māori customs and values (Mead, 2003). In kōhanga the responsibility that members have to their whānau, hapū and iwi (family, sub tribe and tribe), to the land and the care of Papatūānuku (Mother Earth) and to ensure the preservation of the language is impressed on the whānau. Te reo Māori reveraculisation is the main purpose of Te Kōhanga Reo and the whānau are key to the survival of the Māori language. The next chapter shares the voices of the whānau that participated in this study.

CHAPTER SIX

WHĀNAU VOICES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the information from the files of the two Kōhangas Reo as well as the interviews that took place with the staff and children's family were collated to tell the stories firstly of their Kōhangas Reo and kaiako, then of the four children and their whānau. These stories underpin the next chapter which described the language socialisation and language acquisition of the four children.

The two Kōhangas Reo were named TKR1 and TKR2. The four children chosen by the kōhangas whānau and with the parent's approval were given the non de plumes Hone (TKR1) a boy who was 2 years 9 months (2.9) and Wiremu (TKR1) a boy aged 2 years 6 months (2.6), Te Aroha (TKR2) a girl, who was 2 years 11 months (2.11) and Kahutia Tama (TKR2) a boy aged 2 years 9 months (2.9). Kahutia is also the researcher's grandson.

NGĀ KŌHANGA REO

Te Kōhangā Reo One (TKR 1)

Atawhaitia ko ngā Kohungahunga, ko rātou hoki te iwi Māori mō āpōpō
‘Nurture the young, for they are our future’ (TKR 1 whakatauāki /proverb)

Te Kōhangā Reo One (TKR 1) is sited in a low income suburb of Auckland, the largest city in New Zealand. The population in this suburb is predominantly Māori and Pasifika. The kōhangā was blessed on 30 September 1991 and opened with 25 mokopuna aged nine months to five years old. This Kōhangā Reo grew from another Kōhangā Reo which could not cater for all the children on its roll. The current head kaiako is TKR1's original kaiako. TKR 1 is well supported by ‘the community, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Huringa Rūmaki Reo, kaumātua and kuia roopu.’⁶³

⁶³ A statement in the TKR1 Charter. Te Kura Kaupapa Māori is a school which is total immersion Māori language, traditions and customs. Te Huringa Rūmaki Reo is a section of a mainstream English speaking school where Maori language is spoken in the classroom. Kaumātua – elders. Kuia roopu – a group of female elders.

There are four Kōhanga Reo in TKR1's purapura (cluster of Kōhanga Reo).⁶⁴ TKR1 attended purapura meetings at least once a month to share ideas, to build relationships (whakawhanaungatanga) or organise events such as Matariki (Māori New Year celebrated in mid June), mokopuna days, sports days and wānanga (workshops /seminars) for kōhanga whānau. The purapura supported one another in the kaupapa (philosophy), in management issues, administration and whānau learning.

TKR1 has a current Tūtohinga or Charter with Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. The Kōhanga Reo whānau adhered to the principles and four 'pou' of Te Korowai, which has been described in the Kōhanga Reo section in Chapter Four. The Tūtohinga /Charter stated that 'all whānau members will tautoko and uphold the kaupapa o Te Kōhanga Reo.' Their curriculum programme for the mokopuna is based on the kōhanga version of Te Whāriki, which is the Aotearoa /New Zealand national curriculum for early childhood education.

TKR1's Tūtohinga or Charter stated that "whakawhanaungatanga is the key". Whakawhanaungatanga is an extension of the word 'whanaungatanga' and means to make or build (whaka) relationships (whanaungatanga). When TKR1 whānau reviewed their Charter the kōhanga had one kaiako with the Tohu Whakapakari⁶⁵ and one with Te Ara Tuatahi qualification.⁶⁶ The remaining four staff were enrolled in the Tohu Whakapakari, Te Ara Tuarua⁶⁷ and Te Ara Hiko.⁶⁸

Te Kōhanga Reo Two (TKR 2)

TKR2 was opened in March 2006 situated in a middle class suburb in Wellington a large urban city, which is also the capital of Aotearoa /New Zealand. It was started by a group of mothers, who had older children attending the local kura kaupapa Māori. Two grandparents also attended the first two meetings. The first meeting was held in 2002. The parents wanted to establish a Kōhanga Reo on the kura site. However it was decided to support the other two local Kōhanga Reo first, as their rolls were not full.

⁶⁴ Purapura are a cluster of kōhanga that meet regularly to organise seminars and workshops, support one another on issues and celebrate sports days and events together.

⁶⁵ Tohu Whakapakari is a level 7, NZQA approved, three year training programme for kaiako.

⁶⁶ Te Ara Tuatahi (TA1) – One year Level 3 NZQA approved, te reo course specific to kōhanga reo for adults who have very little or no te reo Māori.

⁶⁷ Te Ara Tuarua (TA2) – One year, Level 5, NZQA approved training programme for kaiako who are semi fluent in te reo Māori

⁶⁸ Te Ara Hiko – One year, Level 4, NZQA approved course for whānau on computer application.

In 2004 four parents met at one of the homes and decided to restart the process of establishing a Kōhanga Reo at the kura kaupapa Māori. According to one of the mothers, whose son was one of the case studies for this research; four of the parents were pregnant at the time and were concerned that there was no kōhanga in the area that took babies under one years of age.

We were keen to set up a Kōhanga Reo for ngā pepi (the babies) and expose them to te reo at as early an age as possible.....we agreed to re look at the kōhanga idea after we had our pepi (Personal communication with Kahutia's Mother, 2007).

In September 2004 the four mothers met again in one of the children's homes and decided to begin the process of establishing their Kōhanga Reo. They had seven interested families and eight mokopuna, five of these children were new born babies and most of the children were under two years of age.

Both Te Aroha and Kahutia's mothers told the story of how the kōhanga whānau approached the whānau of the local kura kaupapa Māori to use the name of the kura for their Kōhanga Reo. It was approved at the December kura whānau hui, 2004.

Their commitment to te reo Māori was reflected in their Tūtohinga or Charter which stated that

Te Reo Māori

- All adults will speak te reo Māori only in front of the mokopuna, on the kōhanga premises and on trips.
- All older siblings will understand that te reo Māori only is spoken to the mokopuna on the kōhanga premises and on trips together
- The mokopuna will learn to associate Te Kōhanga Reo with te reo Māori only
- English can be spoken in a designated area away from the mokopuna
- One parent of a two parent whānau will speak or work towards speaking te reo Māori to their child in their home

Ngā Mātua

- Parents will strengthen their competency in te reo Māori through Te Aatarangi (course), wānanga, and/or other te reo courses and other means.
- Parents will read te reo Māori books to their children as often as possible
- Parents can strengthen their own language development by listening to and watching te reo Māori programmes, at tangihanga (traditional wake for the dead) and other Māori ceremonies
- Parents can strengthen their own language development by enrolling in Te Ara Tuatahi or Te Ara Tuarua courses

- Parents can strengthen their own language development by learning alongside their children in the Kōhanga Reo as often as possible
 - Kaumātua
- Kaumātua are invited and encouraged to stay in the kōhanga so that mokopuna are exposed to te reo and tikanga Māori
- Kaumātua who give of their time are valued and supported through a koha or other means
- One kaumātua is employed as the kaitiaki o te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in the kōhanga
- Kaumātua are valued for the advice that they can give to mātua who are learning te reo
- Kaumātua are valued for the advice and support that they can offer to ākonga (students) on Te Whakapakari (course)
- Kaumātua are valued for the support that they can give to the kōhanga related training programmes

Tikanga Māori

- Tikanga Māori procedures appropriate to the Kōhanga Reo are identified and practised, eg karakia to begin and end the day and before eating kai,
- Te tikanga o te Kōhanga Reo is discussed during the induction of new whānau
- Te tikanga o te Kōhanga Reo is discussed when necessary at whānau hui
- Wānanga on the tikanga of the kōhanga are organised for mātua when appropriate
- Mokopuna learn te reo, tikanga and āhuatanga Māori through their mokopuna learning programme, Te Whāriki.
- All whānau model manaaki tangata towards the mokopuna, one another, kaumātua and manuhiri
- Pōwhiri or mihihi are carried out when manuhiri arrive at the Kōhanga Reo (Tūtohinga, TKR2, 2005)

Their Tūtohinga was completed in February 2005 and approved by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board in April of that year.

THE KŌHANGA REO WHĀNAU

The kaiako /kaiāwhina

In the two Kōhanga Reo over 75% of the staff were fluent or competent in the Māori language. The kaiako also expressed similar desires for the children as the mothers had. To speak te reo Māori, to be humble and act with humility and to remember the happy times of kōhanga were some of these desires. Overall the four children were surrounded by people who could speak te reo Māori in the home setting and in their Kōhanga Reo. This availability of competent speakers enabled the children to speak te reo Māori the majority of their day.

The presence of a kaumātua who was also a kaiako also meant that the children and parents had role models for tikanga (traditions and customs) to guide them. The high number of kaiako and

kaiāwhina (employed staff) (TKR1:60%; TKR2:100%) that were fluent and the remaining kaimahi (staff members) who were semi fluent provided a rich language environment for the children and the parents to acquire te reo Māori. As well as the availability of adults as te reo Māori role models three staff had the Tohu Whakapakari, two were enrolled in Whakapakari training and the others were in te reo courses. Competency in te reo Māori coupled with qualifications relevant to the kaupapa (philosophy) of Kōhanga Reo are ingredients for a rich learning environment (May & Hill, 2004).

The ages of the adults ranged from 70 years old to 19 years of age. By the second visit to the TKR1 one staff member had left and was replaced with a kaiako who had the Tohu Whakapakari and was also Wiremu's mother. The age range of the kōhanga kaimahi (employed staff) was conducive to intergenerational transmission of language and knowledge across three generations of whānau. The presence of elders was also a culture indicator that children and parents would have access to role models for te reo and tikanga Māori (language, values and customs).

One of the parents, Wiremu's mother, could not speak te reo Māori when her eldest son enrolled at kōhanga. Her sister encouraged her to help out at the 'sister' Kōhanga Reo to the one Wiremu was currently attending. Wiremu's mother began volunteering at Wiremu's Kōhanga Reo nine years ago when her sister started working there. Now she is competent in speaking Māori and has the Tohu Whakapakari qualification.

To Hone's Mum the ingredients for a quality Kōhanga Reo were the kaimahi (staff), whānau input and resources. Her aspirations for her children were that she wanted them to grow up to be fluent in te reo and to be able to "feel comfortable moving in the Māori world The two worlds and be proud of who they are" (Personal Communication with Hone's Mother, October, 2005).

It was interesting to note that seven parents volunteered in the two kōhanga on a regular weekly basis. Two kuia (female elders) were also helping in TKR2, one in the kitchen and the other with cleaning in the afternoon and four staff had attended Te Kōhanga Reo when they were children.

The following table shows the profiles of all adults in the kōhanga at the time of the research.

Table Five: Adults present in TKR1 and TKR2 on a regular basis

	Age in yrs	Fluency ⁶⁹	Quals	In Training	Voluntary	Hrs work	Employed By TKR	Comments
TKR1								
K1(F)	70 +	He pai rawa atu	Tohu			30	Yes	
K5(F)	50+		Tohu			40	Yes	K5 join TKR1 by the 2 nd visit
K2 (M)	17-21	All speak te reo very well /well	TA2	Whakapakari Final year		40	Yes	K2 Attended TKR as a child
K3 (F)	30-40	Āhua pai Fairly well		TA2		40	Yes	
K4 (F)	20-30	Kaore i te tino pai Not very well		TA1		40	Yes	Left TKR1 after visit 1
Office (F) (Parent)	30-40	Āhua pai Fairly well	TA1	Te Ara Hiko (computer course)		40	Yes	Also helped with the children
Kaiāwhina (F)	25-35	Āhua pai Fairly well			Spec Ed	2 hrs 3 times/wk	No	
Mātua 1 (F)		Āhua pai Fairly well			Vol	3 hrs wk	No	
Mātua 2 (F)					Vol	3 hrs wk	No	
Mātua 3 (F)					Vol	3 hrs wk	No	
Mātua 4 (F)		Kaore i te tino pai Not very well			Vol	3 hrs wk	No	
TKR2								
K2(F)	70+	He pai rawa atu	Tohu			40	Yes	
K1(F)	30-40	All speak te reo very well /well		Whakapakari Final year		40	Yes	
K3 (F)	20-25					40	Yes	
K4 (F)	20-25					40	Yes	
K5 (F)	20-25				Reliever		Yes	These three staff attended TKR as children
Kaumātua 1 (F)	60+	Pai rawa atu Very well /well			Vol	25hrs wk	No	
Kaumātua 2 (F)	60+	Few words & phrases				3hrs wk	No	Both have mokopuna attending the kōhanga
Mātua 1 (F)		Āhua pai Fairly well			Vol	25hr wk	No	Has a child enrolled in this kōhanga
Mātua 2 (F)		Kaore i te tino pai Not very well			Vol	3 hrs wk	No	Has a child enrolled in this kōhanga

⁶⁹ <http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/PDF's/2007/fs-tpk-maori-lang-2007.pdf> Description of fluency levels used by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori / Māori language Commission, a government agency.

Key:

Tohu Whakapakari is a level 7, NZQA approved, three year training programme for kaiako.

TA1 Te Ara Tuatahi – One year Level 3 NZQA approved, te reo course specific to Kōhanga Reo for adults who have very little or no te reo Māori.

TA2 Te Ara Tuarua – One year, Level 5, NZQA approved training programme for kaiako who are semi fluent in te reo Māori

Te Ara Hiko – One year, Level 4, NZQA approved course for whānau on computer application.

Quals – Qualifications; Vol – Voluntary; TKRNT – Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust

THE HOME WHĀNAU: NGĀ MĀTUA (THE PARENTS)

The parents and te reo Māori

The four mothers spoke Māori at home to their children. Three mothers (Wiremu, Te Aroha and Kahutia) were confident and competent to speak Māori. Hone's mother although she spoke very little Māori demonstrated her commitment to the kōhanga and her son's language acquisition by enrolling in Te Ara Tuatahi a one year language course provided by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust for beginning speakers.

Hone's Dad and all three children could understand and speak te reo Māori and Hone's mother considered her own ability to speak Māori as being limited even though her own mother was fluent. English was the home language when she grew up as her father was a Pākehā. "We learned the odd words for objects like canoe and tangi but we didn't have a conversation in Māori. At school it was English" (Personal communication with Hone's Mother, October 2005).

Hone's mother shared how she had regretted not doing things in te reo. This regret may have stemmed from the fact that she had chosen not to take te reo Māori at secondary school as her older sister had done and that she had taken French instead. "I think my Mum was a bit hurt by that". (Conversation with Hone's mother October 2005) She continued to say that she felt at a disadvantage in the whānau meetings. However she was certain that she had made the right choice for her three children and qualified this by saying

My cousin's kids went to kura kaupapa and [I] just saw the difference in them in that they were really confident in te reo and it was no problem to get up and educate their aunties and uncles on how to do kapa haka and all that kind of stuff and I thought that they turned out all right, more than all right. So it must be all right (Conversation with Hone's mother October 2005).

Wiremu's mother said that she and her sister spoke very little te reo Māori when they started at kōhanga. Wiremu's mother started learning to speak te reo Māori when her eldest son was seven years old. Wiremu's mother and aunty started volunteering in the kōhanga office and gradually learned to speak te reo by being totally immersed in a Māori speaking environment. Twenty years later Wiremu's mother is now a competent speaker. Learning the language enabled them to progress from the office to the children's area and they assisted the kaiako with the care of the children, while growing confidence in speaking te reo. Both women enrolled in Whakapakari, the three year course for kaiako in Kōhanga Reo, with the aunty graduating as well as working full time as a kaiako in Wiremu's kōhanga. Wiremu's Mum followed her sister's example and graduated in 1999.

The main reason Te Aroha's mother decided that her children should go to Kōhanga Reo was so that they would learn te reo Māori. She stated that Kōhanga Reo had a 'huge impact' on her to the degree that when she found that she could no longer understand what her second daughter was saying she left work and went to university for four years to learn to 'kōrero i te reo' (speak Māori). She completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in Te Reo Māori (Māori language).

Te Aroha's father spoke very little Māori and although he had no interest in learning he decided that he would still speak only Māori (with support) to Te Aroha because he knew how important it was.

If he doesn't know because he has very basic reo but he needs to express himself more, he tells one of us or I either tell him how to say it, or I tell the baby. So he never speaks English (to Te Aroha), even though he doesn't speak te reo. (Personal communication with Te Aroha's Mother. 2007)

Kahutia's father although his te reo Māori was limited he understood the language as it was similar to his Cook Island language. His parents were fluent speakers of the Cook Island language. Kahutia's aunties were Kōhanga Reo graduates. One aunty was a kaiāwhina /whānau helper at his Kōhanga Reo and the other aunty attended the local Wharekura a total immersion te reo Māori high school. His koro was a te reo Māori teacher at one of the local high schools and his Nani worked for Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust.

His mother recalled why she had made a commitment to ensuring the continuation of te reo Māori as a 'living language' and therefore her own learning of te reo Māori in the following story.

Well I missed out on going to kōhanga. I was five years old. But Mum used to take me to a lot of the kōhanga meetings cause I was often sick with asthma and had to stay home. However it wasn't until I was 10 or 11 that I vowed that I would learn to speak

Māori. My little sister, who was about three at the time, was walking home from the shops with me and she kept saying ‘taumaha, taumaha’. I had made her carry a 2 litre bottle of milk. I asked Dad what ‘taumaha’ meant and when he said ‘heavy’ I realised I didn’t understand my little sister so how could I help her. She was learning my language and I couldn’t understand her. I took up te reo Māori at secondary school, university and rūmaki reo classes when I was at Teachers’ College. I graduated as a kaiako for kura kaupapa Māori. (Personal communication with Kahutia’s Mother. 2007)

The parents and their Kōhanga Reo

Whānau met once a month to discuss the management of the kōhanga. In both Kōhanga Reo the whānau hui were well attended by the parents of all the children. The meetings were formal events where various reports were presented, minutes were taken and future events were planned. Seven parents helped out on a regular basis usually in the kitchen preparing the snacks and lunches for the children. One parent helped in the TKR2 office for most of the day while her son attended the kōhanga Parents of the kōhanga attended the Kōhanga Reo on a regular basis to help with the daily duties. The three research studies carried out by Mitchell, Royal Tangaere, Mara and Wylie (2006a; 2006b; 2008), also showed a high level of volunteer support from parents and kaumātua during the daily operation.

It was evident from the interviews with the mothers of the four children that the mothers were committed to the philosophy of the Kōhanga Reo movement. They showed this commitment by participating in the management and operation of their kōhanga. Hone’s mother was the secretary of TKR1. Wiremu’s mother was employed as a kaiako at TKR1. Te Aroha’s mother was the current Licensee of TKR2 and Kahutia’s mother was the kaiako (staffs’) support for planning their curriculum.

It’s damn hard work. You know if one link is missing in the chain somebody else has got to pick it up & we tend to do that quite a bit not only because some whānau are lazy but because we have a very small whānau like with our kōhanga we have nine whānau or not even that so everything that has to be done is only done by a small group of people and its tiring. Kōhanga was set up for our reo and tikanga. (Personal communication with Te Aroha’s Mother. 2007)

The four families attended their regular monthly Kōhanga Reo whānau hui and participated in fundraising, working bees and other general activities.

We met once a month in the early evening and worked out what we needed to do to get our licence from the Ministry of Education. We set up ohu or working groups for the different areas like Marautanga (curriculum). I was on that group. And Ohu Putea (Finance committee), Ohu Tiaki Whenua (Property committee), Ohu Kaimahi (Human Resources committee), Ohu Kaupapa Here (Policy committee) and Ohu Kohi Putea (Fundraising committee). We were very busy and it was a lot of work but the Trust and our nannies helped us. (Personal communication with Kahutia's Mother. 2007).

THE CHILDREN AND TE KŌHANGA REO

Hone (TKR1)

Hone was born in December 2002 and was the youngest boy of three children. His older brother, a four year old was also at the same Kōhanga Reo. His sister, aged nine, went to a few different kōhanga where Hone's father was a kaimahi at one of these. At the time of this study Hone's sister was attending a total immersion kura, (school) which was situated in a nearby suburb. The main reason for the children attending kōhanga was because both parents wanted their children to learn to kōrero Māori (speak Māori). Mum had felt that the kōhanga was "a nurturing environment for tamariki to learn te reo and tikanga." (Personal communication with Hone's mother, October, 2005)

The five kaiako/kaiāwhina expressed similar aspirations for Hone and all the children in their Kōhanga Reo, which was that Hone was confident in speaking te reo Māori. One Kaiako said that he wanted Hone to get what he, the kaiako, had received when he attended Kōhanga Reo as a child. "When I was in kōhanga myself I remember our Nannies and that they were always there – awhi awhi [hugs and comforting]" (Personal communication. K2 in TKR1. October 2005).

Another staff member expressed that she would like Hone to "know the word respect. To be confident but not over confident. Just give them the basic values." She continued to say that internalising "tikanga nowwill give them guidance for when they leave ... Te reo would probably be the first thing." (Personal communication. K3, TKR1. October 2005). The fourth kaiako wanted both children to do well and to go on to kura kaupapa. "be able to give them enough knowledge so that they are speaking te reo in kura kaupapa." (Personal communication. K4, TKR1 October 2005).

The kuia, who was also the lead kaiako in the Kōhanga Reo, qualified the staffs' comments when she said that respect for one another was an important value for the children to learn and practice.

they respect one another, they respect taonga [gifts], they respect trees, they respect the garden, they respect their kōhanga, be proud of their kōhanga, without being arrogant. Haere anō ki te manaaki i te tangata (Personal communication, K1, TKR1. October 2005)

She wanted the children to enjoy and remember their Kōhanga Reo and their kuia.

Wiremu (TKR1)

Wiremu was born in April 2003. He lived with his parents and was surrounded by extended whānau who lived next door. Wiremu was the youngest child of three children. The older two children were both adults. His two older brothers no longer lived at home. One of his older brothers also attended Kōhanga Reo as a child.

Wiremu was surrounded by adults who were competent in speaking Māori both at home and at the kōhanga. His parents' dreams for him were that he would learn to speak te reo Māori and be confident and go from kōhanga to kura (school) and then on to a wānanga (university)

At the end of the day he is able to hold onto his reo and tikanga while following his own road. That's what I like to get out of Te Kōhanga Reo. For him to get all the values and grow up strong, proud of who he is, confident and knows what he wants (Personal communication with Wiremu's Mother. October, 2005)

Te Aroha (TKR2)

Te Aroha, a female, turned three years old in May 2007. Te Aroha was the youngest of three girls. She lived with her two parents, tuakana (older sister) and two older cousins who boarded in the home. The eldest daughter was currently flatting. Her mother worked in an office at the kura kaupapa Māori (Māori language immersion school) and Te Aroha's tuakana (second eldest sister) attended that kura (school). Te Aroha's mother became involved in Kōhanga Reo when she enrolled her eldest daughter, who was two years old at the time. Even though te reo Māori was the main language when Te Aroha's mother grew up she did not speak it and when her grandmother passed away she wanted her daughters to learn te reo.

I made a choice that all my children would go to kōhanga. My second child went from the age of one. When she finished then straight to kura kaupapa Māori. And the youngest one (Te Aroha) as soon as she was able to start. [She was still one]. And after kōhanga, kura, then wharekura. (Personal communication with Te Aroha's Mother. 2007)

Te Aroha was immersed in te reo Māori both at Kōhanga Reo and at home. Her mother and older sister were able to support her acquisition of te reo Māori and her father spoke to her only in Māori. When Te Aroha turned five her mother said that she would be attending the local kura kaupapa Maori where her tuakana was and where her mother worked.

Te Aroha's mother wanted her daughter to be a quiet confident child who was very strong in her tikanga and manaaki tangata. She also wanted her to be 'strong' in te reo, a humble person "but also knows what she wants and go for itbut with humility." (Personal communication with Te Aroha's Mother. 2007)

The Kōhanga Reo staff that were interviewed expressed that they wanted Te Aroha to be confident and competent in te reo Māori, to be able to speak te reo Māori confidently and be well prepared for the kura.

Kahutia Tama (TKR2)

Kahutia (2.10 years) was the second eldest of three boys. His older brother was almost nine years old and attended the local kura kaupapa Māori, his younger brother was one year old and was about to start at kōhanga. Kahutia lived with his parents, older brother, grandparents and two aunties. His mother, brothers, grandfather (koro) and two aunties were fluent in te reo Māori. His grandmother, (nani), who is also the researcher, was semi fluent and Kahutia's father spoke a little te reo Māori. According to his mother te reo Māori was the only language that Kahutia spoke to his mother, older brother, aunties and koro and he spoke English and Māori to his nani and his father.

Kahutia was one of the foundation children of the Kōhanga Reo that he attended. He was immersed in te reo Māori speaking environments with 100% immersion at the Kōhanga Reo and 80% at home. His mother wanted him to learn not just te reo Māori but also the tikanga and values. Her aspirations for her children were that they

become strong leaders in te reo Māori when they are older.. That they learn to respect and appreciate the ways of our tipuna. They are humble, caring of one another and Papatūānuku and they remember their whānau, who they are and where they came from. Confidence with humility. (Personal communication with Kahutia's Mother. 2007)

The children and Kura (Māori language immersion schools)

The four mothers stated that they wanted their children to speak Māori and all of them had said that their children would go on to a kura kaupapa Māori (Māori language immersion school), a kura Māori in the neighbouring suburb or the rūmaki reo at the local school.

SUMMARY

It was evident from the data gathered from the interviews that the four children's Kōhangas Reo settings had a high number of kaimahi (staff and parents) fluent and competent in speaking te reo Māori. Both Kōhangas Reo had parents volunteering help during the day, fundraising, involved in working bees and attending the monthly whānau hui. Both Kōhangas Reo had kuia (female elders) who were either employed at the kōhangas or who volunteered during the day. It was also interesting to note that both Kōhangas Reo also had kaiako who attended a kōhangas when they were children. These kaiako had competency in te reo Māori which was an asset to the kōhangas when current statistics is showing that there are few native speaking elders left. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The two kōhangas were rich with adults who could speak te reo Māori.

May & Hill (2004) stated that staff/adults with native or near native fluency in both languages who have appropriate qualifications and continue to up skill themselves are critical to ensuring high quality immersion programmes. In these programmes the children are most likely to achieve a competent level of oracy and literacy in te reo Māori.

As well as kaiako and kaiāwhina who were competent in speaking te reo Māori three of the four children's homes were also 80% - 100% Māori language immersion environments. All four parents were second language learners and had begun their acquisition of te reo Māori through Te Kōhangas Reo. The parents were committed to the philosophy of Te Kōhangas Reo and demonstrated this, physically, intellectually, emotionally and spiritually. "It's damn hard work." (Personal communication, Te Aroha's mother, TKR2. 2007)

The recent Waitangi Tribunal Report (2011), Wai 262, has alerted Aotearoa/New Zealand that despite all the initiatives and funding towards revitalising te reo Māori the language is still endangered. Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust (2006) in its strategic plan, Te Ara Tūāpae, is promoting the need to increase the use of te reo Māori in the homes towards normalisation

The kōhanga documents and the whānau (staff and parents') interviews provided a wealth of information to demonstrate the passion and aroha (unconditional love) for the movement. The next chapter focuses on the children's voices and the construction of language and culture.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHILDREN'S VOICES: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One the research hypothesis stated *that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and Kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori.*

From the hypothesis emerged three overarching questions:

1. What is the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo as defined by tikanga Māori (customs and values)?
2. What is the inter relationship between socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) and the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori? and
3. What mechanisms are being used to construct language development in these socio-cultural interactions?

Chapter Three addressed the first question of the research hypothesis and defined the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo according to Mead (2003) as Whakapapa (genealogy), Tikanga Māori (customs and values) and Whanaungatanga (relationships) namely the macrosystem level of the socio-cultural ecological model. In the previous chapter the adults' stories set a broader cultural context within the children's homes and kōhanga. This chapter 'zooms in' (Carr, 2008, Rogoff, 1995, 2003) on these two microsystem levels, the home and the kōhanga. The magnified 'look' into the two Microsystems takes cognisance of the inter-relationships between them (mesosystem) and the inter-relationships within each microsystem. Language socialisation is the key theory that underpins this section where socio-cultural interactions took place in the CLEs.

This chapter focuses on analysing the language findings of the children's recordings and will select examples of the children's socio-cultural interactions within the home and Kōhanga Reo. These examples will be analysed from several theoretical positions, which will portray the socio-cultural context and the interactions taking place so that meaning derived from a cultural base can be given

to the CLE. The analysis firstly focuses on the language socialisation taking place, then the construction of language development followed by a discussion on the language mechanisms being employed by the children and whānau.

This approach to deconstruct the socio-cultural interactions will enable the reader to appreciate the complexities of these interactions and the layers of meaning taking place during these socio-cultural exchanges. In this manner the second and third questions are being addressed simultaneously. The recordings of the four children's voices reflect rich examples of language socialisation within the children's two whānau settings. The analyses of these recordings are interpreted in relation to language theories introduced in Chapter Four: Whānau Development and the Construction of Language: A Theoretical Framework.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

THEORY

The analytical approach employed draws on the Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development model posed in Chapter Four. This model grew out of Bronfenbrenner's (2005) bioecological position of Process, Person, Context and Time, PPCT, where the interactions (Process) between the child and 'other' (Person) takes place within the home or kōhangā (Context or the microsystems in this instance) over time (Time). In the socio-cultural ecological model the dual heritage of Aotearoa /New Zealand is illustrated and Non-Māori and Māori theories of development were explored. There were several theories of development discussed for this chapter and I have chosen a selection of more recent theorists to analyse the construction of language development. However, occasionally, I will refer to earlier theories such as Vygotsky's 1978 'scaffolding' model and construction /co-construction (Bruner 1983) mainly because these theories were the earlier building blocks in language support systems from which current language development models were derived.

Language socialisation (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2008), Three Planes of Analysis /Focus (Rogoff, 1995), Scaffolding (Vygotsky, 1978), Narratives of an Experiencing Child (Nelson, 2010) and Elaboration (Fivush, Haden and Reese, 2006) are non-Māori theories utilised to analyse the children's recordings. The Māori theoretical positions were mainly Whanaungatanga and the Poutama (Royal Tangaere, 1997). These theories are revisited and a brief recapitulation of each is described before analysing the language recordings of the children.

Rogoff's *Three Planes of Analysis* model discussed the *Community*, *Interpersonal* and *Personal* planes where each plane could be analysed while keeping sense of the other planes in the background. Rogoff's model is particularly beneficial in identifying which plane is selected for analysis and then utilising her *Three Planes of Focus*, *Apprenticeship*, *Guided Participation* and *Participatory Appropriation*, to analyse the mechanisms used during the construction of language. Ochs and Schieffelin called this language socialisation.

Ochs and Schieffelin (2008) posed the theory that language and socialisation were intricately intertwined. They stated that language was an important part of socialising. When a child used language in a particular setting the child learned to socialise (*Interpersonal Plane*). The act of socialising drew on the need to use language.

Socialisation within a cultural context was often driven by the rules of that society (*Community Plane*). Whanaungatanga (relationships) at its cultural level of interpretation was imbued with cultural values and rules that expected particular behaviours and the appropriate language that accompanied these behaviours. Within the cultural settings the child is constructing language (Bruner 1983) at the *Personal* plane and making sense of the world so that he /she could participate in a meaningful manner. Constructing language within socio-cultural settings required support with language from 'others' to enable the child to socialise appropriately and competently.

The presence of language support systems were posed by several theorists and are essential in enabling the child to practice, revise and develop language competence building on previous experiences. In Rogoff's Three Planes of Focus the child begins an apprenticeship stage and through practice and guided participation eventually appropriates the relevant expertise through his/her participation in the CLE. The guided participation is the language support system in the case of this study.

The *Zone of Proximal Development*, ZPD, (Vygotsky, 1978) involving the concept of *Scaffolding*, which is one of the earliest support system concepts where similar to guided participation the child receives support from someone more expert than him/herself and gradually the scaffolding is removed until the child is able to perform the task. The child's ZPD is immediately extended to a higher level of skill that he/she strives to achieve.

Similarly the *Poutama*, is a Māori model of progressive development where aided by whānau members the child is regularly exposed to CLE through whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (customs and values) and whanaungatanga (relationships). Through routine practice over time the child is able to advance to the next stage under the supervision of the elder or whānau member. The support system is provided within the cultural rules of tikanga is based on genealogical ties (whakapapa) and the practice originates from whanaungatanga (relationships). Genealogical relationships such as those between *kaumātua* and *mokopuna* (grandfather and grandchild) and *tuakana* and *teina* (older sibling and younger sibling) are cultural support systems which assist with the construction of language development. The cultural mechanisms used for supporting language development are defined by tikanga and are found in CLE. Story telling is a mechanism found in CLE such as karakia, mihihi, waiata and pakiwaitara. In these CLE the stories are narrated to, for and by the child within the surrounds of the whānau.

Nelson (2010) also termed narratives as an important method for the child to be able to recall experiences. She posed that the child's development is affected by the complexity of continuous change influencing the child at different times, within different contexts, from different directions and the child is continuously gathering information, analysing, reshaping and making revised sense of his/her place in relation to his/her community. Similarly narratives are an important cultural tool to enable Māori to gain a perspective of self in relation to place within the whānau, hapū (sub tribe) and iwi (tribe). Best (1976b), Benavides (2009), Buck (1966), MacFarlane (2002), Mead (2003), Moon (2003), Royal (2003), Salmond (2005a, 2005b) and Scott (1975) relate stories or emphasise the importance of narratives as intergenerational transmission of knowledge. Iwi Māori (Māori tribes) had an oral tradition and narrating events, history and tribal knowledge was of paramount importance. According to Robinson (2005) strategies to remember stories or whakapapa for recall in the future were employed to improve the memory.

Fivush, Haden and Reese (2006) were also interested in recall techniques within mother-child narratives and discussed one particular narrative style which they called maternal reminiscing. They looked at the *Elaboration* techniques that the mother employed to support the child's recall of past events in the child's narrative. Fivush et al., were particularly interested in the use of this reminiscing style on the socio-emotional and cognitive development over time. They argued that reminiscing was critical in developing children's 'autobiographical memory'.

The four children's recordings show their socio-cultural interactions with their parents, with extended whānau members such as older siblings, aunties and uncles, with kaiako in their kōhanga, with the researcher and with the environment. Examples of these recordings are presented next and are analysed in relation to language and culture development stressing multi-directional links to the theories described previously.

CULTURAL PRACTICES

Cultural Learning Experiences were recorded by the kaiako, kaiāwhina, the parent, whānau members and the researcher. A total of 283 different examples of CLE were recorded by the parents, aunties, kaiako or kaimahi (teacher or staff) and researcher. The CLE were elements of the cultural base of the Kōhanga Reo as determined in Chapter Five: Whānau Māori and were activities representing 'life' events in Māori culture. The CLE were activities which prepared children for future socio-cultural experiences and would enable children to participate in these events with confidence. The three components that make the cultural base for this study are whakapapa, tikanga and whanaungatanga. The following recordings are examples of whakapapa, tikanga and whanaungatanga. Firstly they are described within their cultural context, a cultural explanation of socio-cultural interaction is provided and then the interactions are analysed drawing on previously discussed language theories.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa or genealogy is regarded by Māori as an important part of knowing who you are and where you are from. There is a social order that places individual members of a whānau in a senior (tuakana) or junior (teina) role and an expectation of those members to socialise in a particular manner (Mead, 2003). In traditional times Māori whānau were expected to know their whakapapa and the stories that accompanied them as this knowledge enabled them to trace their ancestry to their land of belonging as well as pass on this information to the next generation (Pere, 1994). Chapter Five on whānau Māori describes the importance of whakapapa and some of the strategies that were used to remember genealogical ties (Robinson, 2005). Examples of these strategies were present in the four children's recordings.

Thirty one examples were recorded of the four children participating in Cultural Learning Experiences (CLE) that reinforced the importance of their whakapapa (genealogy). The types of CLE activities ranged from learning the names of members of their family (Hone and Wiremu) to

kaumātua /mokopuna bonds (Wiremu, Te Aroha, Kahutia) to reciting their pepehā (Te Aroha, Kahutia) and to bonding to their marae or whenua /family land (Wiremu, Te Aroha, Kahutia). Some of these CLE activities occurred at special whānau events such as staying on a marae (Māori meeting place), visiting an urupā (family cemetery) or attending a function as a family. This section selects some of those 31 CLE examples to illustrate the importance of genealogical ties.

Learning whānau members' names and who and where they are positioned in the family genealogy is very important to Māori as it determined the appropriate inter relationship when interacting with members of the family (Buck, 1966; Mead 2003). The four children had recorded examples of such CLE where they were encouraged to learn about their whānau, hapū, iwi and whenua (family, sub tribe, tribe and land affiliations).

The following recordings (Examples #01 to #03) were three of the conversations recorded and considered as whakapapa events or learning experiences. I have chosen one formal and two informal examples where the children are learning about their genealogical ties with their immediate family members as well as their ancestral affiliations. The contexts were kōhanga and home settings.

In Example #01 Kahutia is reciting his pepehā (genealogical ties). This CLE is an example of a formal activity, the traditional whaikōrero practice that all men are required to learn and perform on the marae (traditional meeting place) at the appropriate time (Royal, 2008). Girls also need to acquire this knowledge in preparation for adulthood when they may need to speak at formal events, during celebrations or at hui (meetings).

Kahutia is almost three years old. He is now considered old enough to begin learning to recite his pepehā. A pepehā is the first part of a formal mihihi (greeting). It is an introductory recitation, from which Kahutia and others are able to identify Kahutia's ancestry and who he is. It is important for Kahutia to remember his mountain, river or lake, his ancestral canoe, tribe and marae (ancestral or tribal meeting house) so that he is able place his connection within his whakapapa. He is learning his sense of belonging.

Kahutia is at the kōhanga. It is the routine morning ritual of gathering together to say karakia and greeting one another. This is not Kahutia's first experience of saying his pepehā. This is obvious as

in the example he is able to complete lines of his recital. Kahutia is standing, holding the rakau (speaking stick) to indicate to the whānau that he has speaking rights. He greets the whānau. The kaiako is sitting behind him and is supporting him as he begins his pepehā. Kahutia is prompted by the kaiako during his mihihi. Kahutia completes the sentence by associating the name given by the kaiako with his mountain, river and marae.

Example #01 Whakapapa – Kahutia and his Pepehā. (01 May 2007. Recorded at the kōhangā by the researcher – video clip)

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Descriptive Comments
Kaiako	Ko Tarawera	Tarawera	Kahutia is standing up to do his Pepehā in front of the kōhangā.
Kahutia	Ko Tarawera te maunga	Tarawera is the Mountain	He holds the rakau or talking stick to show that he has the speaking rights.
Kaiako	Ko Rotorua	Rotorua	
Kahutia	Ko Rua	Rua	
Kaiako	Kao Rotorua	No Rotorua	The Kaiako who is his aunty corrects prompts & encourages him.
Kahutia	Ko Rotorua te	Rotorua is the	
Kaiako	Te roto	The lake	
Kahutia	Te Roto	The lake	
Kaiako	Te Arawa	Te Arawa	
Kahutia	Ko Te Arawa	Te Arawa is	Aunty smiles encouragement
Kaiako	Te waka	The ancestral canoe	
Kahutia	Te Waka	The ancestral canoe	
Kaiako	Te Arawa	Te Arawa	
Kahutia	Ko Te Arawa	Te Arawa is	Kahutia says this part much faster and is jumping around.
Kaiako	Te iwi	The tribe	
Kahutia	Te Iwi	The tribe	
Kaiako	Pikirangi	Pikirangi	
Kahutia	Ko Pikirangi	Pikirangi is	Aunty continues to prompt Kahutia as he pauses and checks. He completes the sentence by associating Pikirangi as his marae
Kaiako	Te	The	
Kahutia	Te Marae	The marae	

The second example is a recording of a whakapapa CLE, which although it occurs in an informal situation the socio-cultural interactions are still treated with respect. This CLE was a one off occurrence but had importance as a cultural event as the expectation as determined by tikanga was that the whānau would be duty bound to complete (Pere, 1998; Mead, 2003). In Example #02 Wiremu is taken to an ancestral urupā (cemetery) by his mother and aunty. The visit highlights Wiremu's whakapapa and the special bond to whānau members who had passed on. This CLE contains the three components, Whakapapa, Tikanga and Whanaungatanga.

During this visit Wiremu's mother and aunty modelled cultural practices such as sharing whakapapa (genealogy) by naming the whānau. Tikanga such as mihihi (greeting and farewells), and cultural

rules for the cemetery such as the practice of whakanoa (symbolically cleansing the body with water when leaving the cemetery) were also modelled for Wiremu. The act of visiting the urupā with reverence and aroha (love) demonstrates the principles of whanaungatanga. Wiremu's mother introduced Wiremu to his tipuna (ancestors). Wiremu learnt their names and a strong message from his mother and aunty that he should respect these members of his whānau. He greeted and farewelled them acknowledged them by touching their headstones and learnt not to stand on their graves. He also completed the visit by washing hands when he left to remove the tapu (spiritual sacredness) of the cemetery (Royal, 2008)

Example #02 Whakapapa – Wiremu greets his tipuna (descendants who have passed on). (25 November 2005, 4:30pm. Recorded at the urupā /cemetery by Aunty K.)

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Descriptive Comments
Aunty K & Māmā	Mihi atu ki te whānau Wiremu	Greet the whānau /family Wiremu	Mama, Aunty K, Wiremu at the cemetery
Wiremu	[T]ēnā koutou katoa	Greetings to you all	Wiremu stands, opens his hands & gives his mihimihī.
Māmā Wiremu	Kai kōnei a Nani P Kia ora Nani P..	Here is Nani P... Hello Nani P...	Kisses hand, & rubs headstone Kisses hand, & rubs headstone
Māmā Wiremu	Kai kōnei a Uncle Sk.. Kia ora Uncle Sk..	Here is Uncle Sk Hello Uncle Sk...	Kisses hand, & rubs headstone Kisses hand, & rubs headstone
Aunty K	Kaua e hikoi ki runga i a rātou	Don't walk on them	Walks on the graves & tries to rub all the Headstones
Wiremu	Kāhore	No	
Aunty K	Pōwhiri atu ki te whānau hia moe rātou inaianei	Farewell the whānau They want to sleep now	Aunty refers to the dead as though they are present with them
Wiremu	Moe rātou, Moe Wiremu.	They sleep, Wiremu sleep	Wiremu lies down
Māmā & Aunty	Kao kao E TŪ	No. No. STAND UP	Both adults are anxious
Aunty K	Horoia inaianei	Cleanse (yourself) now	Aunty sprinkles herself with water
Wiremu	Ae rā	Yes	Wiremu throws water on his head
Aunty K	Mihi atu	Say goodbye	They are leaving in the car.
Wiremu	Ka kite whānau	See (you) whānau/ family	Wiremu waves out

The third example is a series of recordings where Wiremu is interacting with Tangaroa the spiritual guardian of the sea. Wiremu greeted Tangaroa four times over the six months as the following three

examples (#03; #04; #05; #06) showed. Wiremu's mother had commented in a conversation with the researcher that she had noticed Wiremu talking to Tangaroa (guardian of the sea) whenever they drove past the beach. Although she could not hear what he was saying she noted that it sounded like he was greeting Tangaroa and mumbling a karakia. With this behaviour in mind she encouraged Wiremu to greet Tangaroa whenever they were near the sea. In Example #03 Wiremu says 'kia ora' and waves when prompted by his mother to greet Tangaroa.

Example #03 Whakapapa – Wiremu and Tangaroa 1 (27 October 2005, 10:00am. Recorded in the car by his mother)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Māmā	Kai kōnā a Tangaroa. Pōwhiri atu.	There is Tangaroa. Greet (him)	Mum is driving the vehicle and sees the sea. She prompts Wiremu to say 'Kia ora'
Wiremu	Kia ora Tangaroa	Hello Tangaroa	Wiremu waves to Tangaroa

Example #04 is a month later Wiremu, his mother and aunty are travelling to their tūrangawaewae (geographical place of descent) which is over five hours drive away from their current residence. Their ancestral home is sited on the eastern coast of New Zealand. Wiremu was not feeling well and was suffering from car sickness. They were close to their destination when they stopped the car. Wiremu saw the sea and became excited clapping his hands. He greeted Tangaroa. Wiremu's mother told him to walk on the beach and talk with Tangaroa. Wiremu began counting and spotted a stick and a shell. He picked up the stick which was about the length of his arm and began his mau rākau routine (a series of traditional fighting movements using the stick as a weapon), which he had learnt at kōhanga.

Example #04 Whakapapa – Wiremu and Tangaroa 2. (24 November 2005, 9.15am. Recorded at the beach by aunty.)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Wiremu	Tangaroa Māmā Titiro Tangaroa	The sea Māmā. Look the sea Say a greeting to the sea	In the car on a trip back to their ancestral 'home' Wiremu sees the beach (the sea is Tangaroa's home).
Mama	Me mihi atu ki a Tangaroa		Wiremu starts clapping.
Wiremu	Kia ora Tangaroa Mamae puku Māmā	Kia ora Tangaroa Sore stomach Māmā	
Mama	Me haere koe ki tātahi ki te kōrero ki a Tangaroa, Kore e roa ka pai tō puku	Go to the seaside and talk to Tangaroa Won't be long and your stomach will be fine	Wiremu walks on the beach sees a shell and picks up a stick
9:20am	Tahi, rua, toru, One two	One two three, One two	

Wiremu	three, Tītiro Māmā he rākau, he anga	three. Look Māmā a stick, a shell	
9:25am	Hii!! Tangaroa !!	Hii !! Tangaroa !!	He starts his war dance routine (mau rākau) for Tangaroa using the stick as his weapon...
Aunty K	Kua reri koe ki te haere?	Are you ready to go?	Wiremu does not want to leave the beach. He is enjoying twirling his stick like a warrior
Wiremu	Kāhore Aunty	No Aunty	

The next example (#05) of Wiremu and Tangaroa was the following day when the whānau were at the beach collecting sea food. Wiremu while exploring on the beach with his Aunty K. found a kina (sea urchin) shell and a sea snail shell. After his Aunty had named the two shells and told Wiremu that they were delicious food Wiremu without being prompted thanked Tangaroa, the guardian of the sea. In this context ‘kia ora’ means ‘thank you’. Wiremu swims in a rock pool and complements Tangaroa

Example #05 Whakapapa – Wiremu and Tangaroa 3 (25 November 2005, 8:30am. Recorded at the beach by his mother)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Wiremu	He aha tēnei?	What is this?	
Aunty K	He anga kina tēnei	This is a kina (sea urchin) shell	On the beach with his mother and aunty. Wiremu finds a kina (sea urchin) shell & a Bubu (small sea snail) shell. He asks his aunty what they are
Wiremu	Ae anga kina He aha tēnei?	Yes a kina shell What is this?	
Aunty K	He anga pūpū he kai reka	A bubu shell, juicy kai	
Wiremu	Kia ora Tangaroa	Thank you Tangaroa	Greets Tangaroa
	Ko Wiremu, Ko Pāpā Ko Ja. Ko Pāpā	Wiremu. Pāpā. Ja... (older brother) Pāpā...	Draws lines in the sand and names himself, his father and his older brothers with each line.
	Tango kākahu. Kaukau Māmā	Take off (my) clothes Swim. Māmā	Wiremu wants to take off his clothes and go for a swim
	Pai a Tangaroa	Tangaroa is good	Swims in the sea by the rocks

In the final Tangaroa example in this series Wiremu initiated a farewell greeting to Tangaroa as they left their ancestral home. Wiremu and his whānau were leaving their papa kainga (ancestral home) to return to Auckland and Wiremu said goodbye to everyone including the cat. He saw the sea which bordered onto the road and said goodbye to Tangaroa. Wiremu was now acknowledging Tangaroa as he would a person.

Example #06 Whakapapa – Wiremu and Tangaroa 4 (26 November 2005, 7:00am. Recorded by Wiremu's mother)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Wiremu Nani Dot	Ka kite Ngeru He Puehu tēnā	See you pussy That's a cat	Walks to the car Nani gives another word for cat
Wiremu	Ka kite Puehu Māmā, Aunty, Tangaroa	See you cat Mama Aunty (there's) Tangaroa	waves to the cat Drives past the beach, Waves out
Wiremu	Ka kite Tangaroa	See you Tangaroa	

Summary: Whakapapa

In the Whakapapa CLE the children learnt about their extended family members either through a parent showing them photos or through meeting them, reciting their pepehā (genealogy), visiting older siblings at the local kura or as in the case of Wiremu being introduced to whānau who were now deceased. There were recordings of Hone welcoming manuhiri (visitors) at his kōhangā, Te Aroha and Kahutia reciting their pepehā and not only learning about their place in their whānau but they also learnt about their connections to their land, river, tribal canoe, tribe and sub tribe. The parents, kaiako or other whānau members gave them the appropriate words so the children would learn their genealogy and over the six month fieldwork period Te Aroha's and Kahutia's ability to complete more of the recitation was evident in the final visit to the kōhangā at the end of six months. The four children were recorded actively interacting with their elders (Nepe, 1991) who were either their grandparents, grandaunts and granduncles or the kaiako (teacher) and kaumātua (elder) at the kōhangā.

The six examples chosen above were samples of whakapapa CLE. They were also rich examples of language socialisation where the children were learning language patterns over time such as Kahutia's pepehā recital and Wiremu's greeting Tangaroa. These language routines were repeated regularly where eventually in the case of Wiremu he was able to interact with Tangaroa without being prompted. This was seen in #04 when he did his mau rakau dance to Tangaroa, complemented Tangaroa as he swam in the rock pool #05 and finally saying his farewell mihihi to Tangaroa in #06 (P. 161).

As his relationship with Tangaroa grew Wiremu as the experiencing child (Nelson, 2010) continuously gathered information about Tangaroa, reshaped it and analysed his experiences so that by the end of the six months he could recall all his experiences and complement Tangaroa with “pai a Tangaroa. Tangaroa is good”. He was now greeting Tangaroa as he would a member of his

whānau. Throughout these examples Wiremu was being guided by his whānau (Rogoff, 1995) in his socialisation examples with Tangaroa and his interactions with his ancestors at the family cemetery.

In #01 (P, 157) Kahutia (the teina or novice) was recorded being scaffolded (Bruner 1983, Vygotsky 1978) by the kaiako, (the tuakana) when he was reciting his pepehā. In the short time that he had been practising he had begun learning some of the patterns of his pepehā. With participatory guidance from his aunty he was appropriating the skills and knowledge (Rogoff, 1995) he needed to learn the art of whaikōrero (formal speeches) an important skill for marae events. By the end of the six months Kahutia was able to stand without support from the kaiako and recite not just his pepehā but also a small mihi (greeting). Rogoff's Three Planes of Focus were evident in this example of Kahutia's pepehā. Kahutia at the beginning of the researcher's visit was at the apprenticeship level where he was being guided by his aunty, who was a kaiako and other kaiako to appropriate the knowledge, skills and attitude expected of him as a male speaker. Interwoven in Kahutia's CLE was the presence of tikanga. His stance, attitude and group interactions were important as was the CLE itself in the co-construction of his language development.

The two children gained a sense of belonging to (Ministry of Education, 1996) not just their immediate whānau but also to an extended whānau which included their past and present members (Buck, 1966). They also learnt their connection to their land and that they had a kōhangā whānau, a kura whānau as well as their 'blood' whānau (Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell, 2005; Pere, 1994).

The next section elaborates on Tikanga and its role in language construction. Discussions on the Cultural Learning Experiences that were recorded of the four children are presented as four types, karakia, mihi, waiata and pakiwaitara.

Tikanga

The four activities, karakia (prayers or chants), mihi (informal and formal greetings), waiata (songs) and pakiwaitara (stories) are CLE that are an integral part of tikanga Māori and they are easy to identify. Tikanga set the rules and customs within particular activities and the language used

reinforces those rules. Over the six months in the two Kōhanga Reo the children were recorded participating in all these CLE although some of the children had a higher frequency of participation in some of the experiences. As described in Chapter Four: Whānau Māori, the CLE demonstrating tikanga have a cultural routine when acted out together. In a formal gathering or meeting the general processes normally begins with a karakia followed by a mihihi, then followed by a waiata. During the mihihi or whaikōrero session a story or pakiwaitara may be told

Examples from each of the four cultural activities are presented and analysed in relation to the construction of the children's language development. This analysis includes the purpose of the socio-cultural interaction, language socialisation and the language mechanisms embedded in the CLE. Karakia examples followed by mihihi, waiata and pakiwaitara will be presented in this order.

Karakia

On the first visit to the two kōhanga the children showed that they knew the appropriate physical movements required for karakia (prayers, incantations). They would close their eyes, place their hands together in prayer and bow their heads. The level of participation in karakia was dependant on the pattern of participation in the Kōhanga Reo and the child's confidence to participate. Example #07 captures the pattern of participation expected for karakia a formal activity in the kōhanga.

At home before breakfast, dinner at night and at Kōhanga Reo, the four children would sit appropriately and listen to their mother, brother or the kaiako recite the karakia to bless the food or the day. Three children were recorded initiating karakia in their home, one of these three children Hone, started initiating karakia just before the end of the fieldwork. The two children in TKR1, Wiremu and Hone did not lead karakia in their kōhanga. This did not seem to be a part of that kōhanga routine. However the two boys were encouraged to take that leadership role at home. Wiremu was competent to lead and say the entire karakia for mealtimes before the field work began. Hone tended to allow his mother or brother to take the lead. By the end of the six months both boys were able to lead and recite karakia at home before mealtimes.

In TKR2 all children were asked to have a turn at leading karakia. Te Aroha lead a karakia in her kōhanga as shown in Example #07 and Kahutia lead a karakia spontaneously in the local McDonalds (Example #08). His whānau praised him for reminding them of the tikanga (custom).

The following example records Te Aroha standing in front of the children and staff holding the rakau (speaking stick). It is her turn to lead the karakia and bless the start of the day. She is encouraged to begin the karakia and begins very quietly, with the familiar instructions to prepare the children for karakia. Te Aroha and the kaiako sitting next to her say the first word of the karakia together and Te Aroha does not say anything further until the end. She stands and looks around at the children and adults.

Example #07. Karakia - Te Aroha and Karakia ‘Whakataka’ (16 July 2007; Recorded at the Kōhanga reo by the researcher - video clip)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Te Aroha	Whakapiri o ringa. Kati o whatu, (mumbles - inaudible)	Clasp your hands (together). Shut your eyes. (mumbles – inaudible)	Te Aroha is holding the rakau. She begins the instructions for karakia very quietly.
Kaiako & Te Aroha	Whakataka	Send forth	Kaiako & Te Aroha say the first word
Everyone except Te Aroha te hau ki te uru	Get ready for the Westerly winds	Everyone joins in but Te Aroha
	Whakataka te hau ki te tonga	Be prepared for the southerly	does not say the karakia until the end.
	Kia mākinakina ki uta	Lest the inner lands be piercing cold	
	Kia mātaratara ki tai	Lest the coastlands be piercing cold	
	E hī ake ana te ataakura	May the red dawn rise	
Te Aroha joins in	He tio he huka he hauhunga, Tihē mauri ora	On ice, snow and frost Behold the sneeze of life	Te Aroha says the last line with the rest of the kōhanga.

Example #08 portrays Kahutia saying karakia at Mac Donald’s. Kahutia, his mother, grandmother (Nan), older and younger brothers and his two aunties are seated at the table. His two aunties have started eating when Kahutia bows his head and begins with the usual kōhanga introduction to indicate karakia. The two aunties promptly stopped eating and also bow their heads. Once Kahutia had finished his karakia everyone said “amine”. His two aunties who are kaiāwhina at his Kōhanga Reo both acknowledged Kahutia by saying “kia ora Kahutia – Tama”.

Example # 08. Kahutia and karakia at MacDonald's (02 May 2007. Recorded by the mother)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Kahutia	Whakapiri ō ringa Katia ō whatu Tūohu tō mahunga, E Pā whakapaingia ēnei kai Āmine	Clasp your hands together Close your eyes Bow your head Oh Lord, Bless this food Amen	Kahutia and his family are at McDonalds. His two aunties had started eating. Kahutia gets their attention and begins saying karakia before eating his food. The adults stop eating and wait until he is finished
Aunties	Kia ora Kahutia Tama	Thank you Kahutia Tama	The aunties praise Kahutia

Discussion

The four children demonstrated their knowledge of karakia through their body actions. They knew the appropriate karakia for specific contexts and at times initiated karakia, particularly in the home setting. By the end of the six month period the four children could recite the entire karakia for mealtimes and demonstrated that they knew the karakia to begin the day.

Within the six month period the four children demonstrated that they had learned the pattern of participation for karakia and the appropriate behaviour required. The children were also capable of reciting karakia unaided. More importantly however they had been prepared for future related events and the children were able to recognise when and how to participate to the degree that they could initiate karakia for these events.

In the kōhangā setting the mihimihi (greetings) CLE usually follows the morning and afternoon karakia. One informal mihimihi and three formal mihimihi are the next examples portrayed.

Mihimihi

Formal mihimihi sessions where children were encouraged to stand and recite their whakapapa are common practice in many Kōhangā Reo (Hohepa, 1990; Ka'ai, 1990; Royal Tangaere, 1997; Skerrett White, 2003). Mihimihi as a routine practice was also evident in the two Kōhangā Reo. Like karakia patterns of participation for mihimihi both formal and informal were routine events and were carried out by the four children within their whānau settings.

In TKR1, children tended not to practice formal mihimihi routine such as standing and reciting their pepehā followed by a mihimihi as in TKR2. However a mihimihi session was still held during the morning karakia sessions where they greeted one another, the kaiako, the parents and manuhiri

(visitors) during that session. At home Wiremu displayed a pattern of greeting the rest of his whānau when he arrived home from kōhanga. Wiremu also tended to continue the conversation by asking a question, welcoming them into the home, giving an instruction to the person or expressing his feelings. Four of the 26 mihimihi examples recorded have been selected of the four children. In Example #09 Hone is recorded greeting the plumber.

A plumber arrived at the kōhanga to fix the drinking fountain. Hone and a kaiako met the plumber when he arrived and Hone directed him to the fountain. The kaiako reminded Hone about the courtesy of greeting visitors. Hone greeted the plumber and shook the plumber's hand without being prompted by the kaiako. The kaiako told Hone to get his seat so that he could sit and watch the plumber. The plumber asked Hone to help him and Hone agreed.

Example #09 Mihimihi - Hone and the plumber (31 October 2005, 2:30pm. Recorded at Kōhanga Reo by the kaiako)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Kaiako	Mihi atu ki te tangata. Kōrero. ‘Kia ora’	Greet the person. Speak. (Say) Hello	Hone points at the drink fountain.
Hone	K[ia]..... ora	H[el]...lo	He shakes hands with the plumber & watches him mend the fountain.
Kaiako	Haere koe ki te tiki tō turu	Go and get your chair (car seat)	Hone gets his chair and sits on his car seat & watches.
Kaiako	E noho	Sit down	The Plumber gets Hone to hold down the handle. Hone smiles.

In TKR2 the morning karakia session encouraged all children to stand and use the traditional mihimihi format as described previously. The kōhanga used their rākau or talking stick which indicated to the group who had the right to stand and speak. Children including the babies under one years of age took turns holding the rākau each session. The level of complexity expected from the children's mihimihi depended on their age. Babies sat on an adult's lap and held the rakau while that adult would greet the whānau on behalf of the child. The entire whānau would then greet the baby and the adult. Children between one and two years of age stood and with a staff member's assistance would give a small greeting such as "*Kia ora te whānau*" ("Greetings family"). From about 2.6 years of age on the children were encouraged to give a formal traditional mihimihi. Te Aroha and Kahutia Tama were recorded by video saying traditional mihimihi.

The next three examples are of Te Aroha saying a formal mihihi in her kōhangā and the last two CLE are of Kahutia practising a mihihi to say for their kōhangā performance at the local festival. In the following recording Te Aroha recited her pepehā (genealogical affiliation). Te Aroha (2.11 years old) was standing with the rakau (talking stick) in her hand. Te Aroha had recently begun standing to say her formal mihihi. As in the previous example (#01) Te Aroha starts with her pepehā. The kaiako says a line of her pepehā and Te Aroha would repeat it. Te Aroha is standing ready to mihihi to the whānau. She is holding the rakau (talking stick). A kaiako sits closely behind her and encourages her. Te Aroha greets the whānau and hesitates. The kaiako says the first line of her pepehā and Te Aroha repeats this. Te Aroha is almost inaudible. This process is repeated through the entire mihihi.

By the end of the six month period Te Aroha was able to stand with confidence and recite the entire pepehā.

Example #10. Mihihi - Te Aroha and her pepehā 1 (01 May 2007, 9.15am. Recorded at the Kōhangā Reo by video clip).

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Te Aroha	Kia ora te whānau	Greetings whānau	Te Aroha stands to greet the kōhangā whānau she repeats her pepehā following the kaiako
Kaiako	Ko Marotiri te maunga	Marotiri is the mountain	
Te Aroha	Ko Marotiri te maunga	Marotiri is the mountain	
Kaiako	Ko Waiapū te awa	Waiapū is the river	
Te Aroha	Ko Waiapū te awa	Waiapū is the river	

During the third visit (18 September) to the kōhangā, four months later, the children were practising waiata so that they could perform at a local festival. Kahutia had been chosen to give a mihihi at the beginning of their repertoire. The mihihi introduced their Kōhangā Reo. The first of these two examples records Kahutia practising at the kōhangā and receiving encouragement from the lead Kaiako.

All the children are standing in two crooked rows. The girls are in the front row and the boys are at the back. The girls are standing quietly waiting for Kahutia to say their mihihi which will introduce them and their kōhangā. Kahutia has moved to the front of the group and is preparing

himself to project his voice. The kaiako, his aunty and the lead kaiako are supervising their practice. Kahutia says the mihi in a very loud voice. Both kaiako smile to each other.

Example #11 Mihi – Kahutia and Mihi 1 (18 September 2007, 10.45am. Recorded at the Kōhangā Reo by video clip).

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Kaiako (aunty)	Kia kaha Kahutia	Be strong (brave) Kahutia	Kahutia walks to the front of the group to make his mihi or announcement.
Kahutia	Tihē mauri ora Ko te Kōhangā Reo o Ngā Mō..... tēnei Tītiro mai Whakarongo mai Nō reirā Tēnā koutou Tēnā koutou Tēnā koutou katoa	The sneeze of life This is the Kōhangā Reo o Ngā Mo..... Look (at us). Listen (to us) Therefore, greetings to you, greetings to you, greetings to all of you.	He projects his voice very loudly. Kahutia says the entire mihi without any assistance from the two kaiako
Lead Kaiako Aunty	Ka rawe Tino pai	Fantastic Very good	The kaiako praises Kahutia. Aunty also praises Kahutia

A month later

It is a Saturday and the children, parents, kaumātua and kaiako from the kōhangā have travelled an hour from their homes to watch the children perform at the festival. The entire group was dressed in traditional Māori costume. Staff and two parents were on the stage with the children. Kahutia's aunty who is a kaiako at the kōhangā stood below the stage, between the audience and the children. She encouraged the children to step forward. Kahutia holding a taiaha (Māori weapon) is beckoned by his aunty to move to the front of the group. Kahutia in a very loud voice confidently gave his mihi (introduction speech) to the large audience to begin their performance. The parents of the kōhangā cheered and clapped their children.

Example #12 Mihi – Kahutia and his Mihi 2 (20 October 2007. Recorded at the festival by the researcher).

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Kahutia	Tihe mauria ora Ko te Kōhangā Reo o Ngā Moko..... tēnei Tītiro mai Whakarongo mai Nōō reirā Tēnāē koutou Tēnāē koutou Tēnāē koutou katoa	Tihe mauri ora This is the Kōhangā reo o Ngā Mo..... Look (at us) listen (to us) Therefore we greet you, we greet you, we greet you all	The kōhangā is at the local festival for kapa haka. The kōhangā is on stage and Kahutia gives his mihi to the audience. The hall is packed
Crowd	Clapping & cheering		Kahutia's Dad & Uncle have the loudest cheers

Discussion

A mihihi is a Cultural Learning Experience practised in kōhanga which teaches children the value of greeting or acknowledging one another and claiming identity through their whakapapa (genealogy). This formal part of the mihihi is called a pepehā. The mihihi process is patterned on the more formal process of the whaikōrero or traditional speeches given usually on the marae during Māori gatherings (Karetū, 1994; Salmond, 1985).

The recordings of the four children's mihihi activities in the two Kōhanga Reo and the four family settings varied in frequency. Hone and Wiremu in TKR1 were recorded participating in informal mihihi situations whereas Te Aroha and Kahutia were recorded saying formal traditional mihihi. One of the causes I suggest for this difference in occurrence was the mihihi practices employed by the two Kōhanga Reo. In the morning karakia sessions TKR1 was not observed asking children to stand and formally greet the kōhanga whānau by beginning with a pepehā or genealogical introduction. Instead children were encouraged and expected to return a greeting to the adults when the adults gave a small mihihi to the whānau. Kaiako also reminded the children to greet and acknowledge certain members of the whānau who were not present. However children in the older age group (3 and 4 year olds) were observed practising formal mihihi in special sessions during the morning. In these situations 'Nani T' the kaiako, an elder, facilitated the session. Both Hone and Wiremu were too young for these sessions at the time the field work was undertaken.

Te Aroha and Kahutia had experienced their mihihi process every morning and afternoon since they attended kōhanga 18 months ago. Now as children just turning three years of age they were expected to perform at a higher level namely the kaiako was raising the ante (Snow, 1977) or projecting their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). In the first sessions for Te Aroha (2.11 years, 01 May 2007) and Kahutia (2.9 years, 02 April, 2007) both children were able to greet the rest of the kōhanga without being prompted. The kaiako then scaffolded the appropriate language for a formal mihihi by saying the words and the children copied her. This process continued through the entire mihihi. The second recordings of the two children showed that the kaiako had changed her style of support and was now prompting the children to complete the sentences. A part of the scaffolding had been removed.

It was noted that by the end of the fieldwork that is six months later both Te Aroha and Kahutia were able to say most of their mihihi without support from the kaiako. Both children learnt to say

their family members' names and positions in their families well before they remembered the names of their mountain, ancestral canoe, river and marae (meeting place) the former being more relevant and meaningful than their tribal affiliations. However, knowing their tribal affiliations was seen as priority knowledge which the children needed to have for future socio-cultural interactions. Kaiako and parents knew that this information would be stored in the children's memory until needed and over time would become more meaningful usually by the time they went to kura (school) and would identify who they are within their whakapapa (genealogy). The researcher also observed kaiako adding more information to the children's mihihi as the children internalised the knowledge. The information for both Te Aroha and Kahutia's mihihi were provided by their parents and consisted of tribal information of both parents. The practice of mihihi was continued when the children went to Kura (school).

Chapter Five discussed the importance of mihihi and whaikōrero (formal speeches on a marae or traditional meeting place) as Māori cultural practices or tikanga, which emphasise relationships with people, ancestors and the land (Buck, 1966; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1994). The examples of mihihi from the four children demonstrated Māori cultural practices which enabled the children to internalise emergent traditional values. Children are expected to greet family and friends at formal events, in daily life and even in the community when they meet. Mihihi practices provide a strong cultural base such as the importance of acknowledging people by greeting them, the importance of identity, the pride of belonging to a particular tribe and marae, the child's connections to the land and the sense of belonging to their whānau and their kōhanga. Such cultural practices in the kōhanga prepare children for future participation in cultural events and for 'being Māori' (Durie, 2001b; Rangihau, 1992).

The values of whanaungatanga whereby the children were expected to greet their whānau in the kōhanga taught them to care for, support and look after one another (Hirini, 1997). Greeting visitors was also important in both kōhanga as it was a part of manaakitanga an important value of whanaungatanga (Mead, 2003). TKR1 encouraged children to show hospitality to visitors and in TKR2 the children stood and practised their formal mihihi which would prepare them in the future if they needed to welcome visitors. The children also learned the pattern of participation and knew that a waiata always followed a formal mihihi. Waiata is discussed as the next activity the children were recorded participating in.

Waiata

As mentioned in Chapter Five: Whānau Māori, waiata had a purpose and told a story relating to an event usually relevant to the singer. The waiata also had body actions which complemented the meaning of the words (Best, 1975; Karetū, 1994; Orbell, 1994; Simmons, 2003). The kōhanga waiata had similarities to traditional waiata in that the kōhanga waiata also had a purpose or someone lead the waiata and many waiata had body actions which interpreted the meaning of the words in the waiata.

The four children were observed singing or participating in a variety of waiata either in their kōhanga or their home setting. The waiata were sung during the morning karakia session, at the end of the day or occasionally during the day. Wiremu, Te Aroha and Kahutia demonstrated cultural patterns of singing waiata after a mihimihi or karakia. Wiremu recognised that this was the appropriate practice when the kaumātua had finished his speech at the marae and Wiremu asked his mother if it was time to sing a waiata (Example #14:177). He even stood with his mother to show support for the elder's speech.

Twelve waiata CLE were recorded of Wiremu over the six month period by either his mother, the kaiako of the kōhanga or his aunty who also worked in the Kōhanga Reo movement. Seven of these waiata took place in the kōhanga and the other five waiata were in different family settings.

Te Aroha was seen to be singing the waiata most of the time but did not enjoy leading waiata when she was asked. Te Aroha and Kahutia were recorded participating in 11 and 16 waiata activities respectively in which they had different roles and levels of participation. Kahutia was an active participant in waiata activities and he enjoyed leading waiata. His waiata actions were comical and fun. However Kahutia was very serious and focused when he led or performed the haka (Māori war chant performed by men) as in Example #15 (P. 173).

Hone was recorded not singing the words of the songs the majority of the time in kōhanga but he demonstrated that he knew the meaning of the words as he enacted the words of the waiata. The one song that he was recorded as singing was 'Rā whānau, (Happy Birthday). At home however he sang most of the words in the six recordings and one of the songs, AEIOU, he was singing on his own.

Hone had 10 recordings of waiata in the kōhangā (4 examples) and the home (6 examples), where he was either singing a waiata or participating in the actions to a waiata. Hone tended not to sing a lot of the words in the waiata, singing the occasional word. Instead he would dance and carry out the actions to the songs. At home Hone's mother recorded six waiata activities. Three of these six waiata showed Hone singing with his mother as in Example #13, one where he is singing on his own and one waiata is sung to him by his mother, older brother and older sister at bedtime.

In this waiata CLE it is evening and Hone is ready for bed. He and his mother sing a waiata together. The waiata is one he has learnt from kōhangā. The waiata names the different parts of the body and Hone points to these parts.

Example #13. Waiata – Hone and Waiata (2 November 2005, 7.56pm. Recorded at home by mother).

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Mama	Ūpoko, Pokohiwi, turu, hope waewae	Head, shoulders, tummy Hips legs	Hone & Mum sing a song from kōhangā together
Hone	(mumble) ...waewae	(Mumbles) Legs	

The following sample is Example#14 is recorded at a marae (Māori meeting place) where Wiremu's whānau were attending a 21st birthday. This example recorded by Wiremu's mother reinforced for Wiremu the importance of waiata in a cultural setting. He experienced the formal ritual that is carried out when visitors are welcomed onto a marae (Māori meeting place). Wiremu and his family had arrived at one of their family marae (Māori meeting place). Other members of the whānau had also gathered at the entrance to the marae. They were waiting for the ceremonial call (karanga) from the hosting whānau. Everyone had gathered for a 21st birthday celebration. Wiremu pointed to the kaikaranga (woman who does the ceremonial welcome) as she called the people onto the marae. The tangata whenua (host whānau of that marae) stood to speak and formally welcome their guests to the birthday. After the host's speech a kaumātua (elder) from the visitors' group stood to reply. At the end of his speech some of the visitors and Wiremu sang a waiata (song).

Example #14 Waiata – Wiremu and Waiata ‘Whaikōrero’ (03 December 2005, 12.30pm. Recorded at a marae by his mother)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
12.30pm Wiremu Māmā	He aha tēnei Māmā Ko te kaikaranga tēnā	What's this Māmā It's the woman who calls us	Pointing, waiting for the pōwhiri. (Māori welcome)

		onto the marae	
Wiremu	Oooh	Oooh	
12.45pm			
Wiremu	Waiata Māmā	Song Māmā	After the visitors' speaker replies to the host's speech the group & Wiremu stand to sing a waiata as a support to their speaker
Māmā	Ae kai te waiata mātou	Yes we are going to sing	

Wiremu was also recorded leading a haka (Chant for men) with his cousin later that evening before going to bed.

The following waiata is an example (#15) of Kahutia leading the kōhangā kapa haka (Māori traditional dance group). There were six recordings of Kahutia performing the haka (02/04/2007; 01/05/2007; 05/07/2007; 16/07/2007; 18/09/2007; 20/10/2007) over the six months. This example was the first recording of him performing a haka (02/04/2007).

The children were assembled in the main playroom of the kōhangā where the kōhangā have karakia. They had completed their karakia and mihihi session and were singing waiata while waiting for morning tea. They had sung two waiata all ready and Kahutia (2.10 years) is asked to lead the haka. Three other boys aged 2.9 years; 2.7 years and 1.8 years) stand next to him waiting for his command to start. Kahutia and the boys are doing the actions to the haka. They are stamping their foot in time to the rhythm of the haka. The actions of their hands portray the meaning of the words. The girls are sitting against the wall chanting the haka with the boys.

Example #15 Waiata – Kahutia leading the haka 1 (02 April 2007, 9.40am. Recorded at the Kōhangā by video)

Person(s) speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Kahutia	Kia rite, kia mau	Get ready, be still	Kahutia and three other boys are standing in a line. Kahutia calls out the command to be ready
Katoa	Hiiii	Hiiii	Everyone replies
Kahutia	Ahh ringa pakia	Ahhh hands (come down) slapping	Kahutia tells them to slap their hands onto the front of their legs
	Waewae takahia kia kino nei hoki	Feet stomping Be fearsome	He commands them to stomp their (right) foot in time
The boys	Kia kino nei hoki	Be fearsome	The boys repeat the last phrase to show that they are participating
Everyone joins in	Ka mate, ka mate, ka ora ka ora Ka mate, ka mate Ka ora ka ora Tēnei te tangata	To die, to die To live, to live To die, to die To live, to live 'Tis the hairy man	

pūhuruhuru		
Nānā i tiki mai	That allows	
Whakawhitī te rā	the sun to rise	
A upane, a ka upane	One step forward, another step forward	
A upane, ka upane	One step forward, another step forward	
Whiti te rā	The sun rises	At the end of the haka everyone says Hiii !!! very loudly and drags the word out to emphasis the end of the haka.
Hiiiiii !!!	Hiiiiii !!!	

The haka example showed that Kahutia was confident to lead the group in a haka when the fieldwork began. He was able to command the attention of the boys and displayed leadership throughout the performance.

Discussion

Waiata featured as an important tool for traditional learning as described in Chapter Five Whānau Māori (Best, 1974). Traditional waiata not only contained important facts about the history of the tribe but also reminded the tribe about important values, courageous deeds, love stories and lamentations (Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1988). Waiata was also significant during whaikōrero or traditional speechmaking as a song would always be sung after a speech to complement the speaker's viewpoint or highlight his tribal affiliations (Karetū, 1994).

The waiata examples contained rich examples of language describing cultural stories, values and practices as well as waiata for enjoyment and celebrations. There were a variety of different types of waiata ranging from the everyday children's songs and chants to the formal hymns, traditional action songs and traditional haka (war chants). The children acquired language through the words and actions contained in the waiata as seen in the song that Hone and his mother sang to the tune of 'Hokey Tokey' (Example #13:172). Hone was learning to name the different parts of the body.

The singing of waiata as a group reinforced the principle of whanaungatanga, where the children learned the values of collaboration, support, unity and whānau (Hemara, 2000). For TKR2 the decision to perform as a kōhangā at one of the local festivals enabled them to identify themselves as belonging to a kōhangā whānau and gain prestige and pride not only for themselves but also for their Kōhangā Reo and their whakapapa (blood) whānau.

Pakiwaitara

The fourth Cultural Learning Experience (CLE) identified under the Tikanga Māori component was pakiwaitara (stories). As mentioned in Chapter Three pakiwaitara were shared amongst whānau

members as poetic stories of feats or events ancestors became famous for or even died from (McFarlane, 2002).

Each tribe revere stories of their ancestors. In my childhood we were told the story of Hinemoa a beautiful Māori maiden of rangatira (aristocratic) birth line. Hinemoa fell in love with a young man called Tūtanekai and her parents did not consider this an appropriate match. Hinemoa was forbidden to liaise with Tūtanekai, who lived on an island (Mokoia) in the middle of Lake Rotorua. Each night Tūtanekai would play his flute to Hinemoa until one night Hinemoa attached calabashes to her and swam the lake to be with him. I am a descendant of Hinemoa and Tūtanekai and this story has special significance to me as a powerful love story and as a story of a woman's strength, perseverance and achievement (Tapsell, 2000).

In this section pakiwaitara focuses on two types of storytelling. The first is through oral tradition where the children themselves are creating and narrating mini stories about an event that affected them. The children's narrations and the way that they constructed language enabled these mini stories to unfold. The second type is through the children's use of books.

The four children demonstrated the art of storytelling and constructed language to ensure that their audience understood their message. Examples of conversation between the children and different family members or between themselves and their friends were recorded however the level and complexity of their dialogue was varied and depended on the individual children's ages and language development. Examples of pakiwaitara are oral narratives or episodes of book reading.

Wiremu had 31 recorded pakiwaitara CLE. His conversational language tended to be short phrases and short complete sentences. Nine of the 31 recordings were of Wiremu either being read to or reading a book on his own. The times of the day that Wiremu read books were in the evening before he went to sleep (4), when he arrived at kōhanga or when he was picked up at kōhanga (3) and twice during the morning with the three and four year olds sessions. Reading books was an everyday activity in the older children's group at TKR1. The researcher noticed that the kaiako would either read a book to the children, ask a child to read a book to the group or the children would choose a book to read by them.

Te Aroha loved drawing pictures and she would talk about her drawings and tell the stories. There were no examples of her reading books either at home or at kōhanga.

Hone tended to use one word and occasionally short phrases and these recorded sessions highlighted four of Hone's areas of main interest. His interests were either *pungawerewere*, spiders, *Patimana* Batman, *waewae mamae*, his sore leg, *putiputi*, flowers and *rakiraki*, ducks. There were 19 recorded 'pakiwaitara' sessions. The recording selected showed the relationship between Hone and his mother and other members of his home whānau and kōhanga whānau. The following example describes a mini story about his sore leg (Example #16).

Example #16. Pakiwaitara – Hone and mother 1 (19, 21 & 22 October 2005. Recorded by Hone's mother at home.

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
19.10.05			
8.50am			
Hone	Mamae	Sore	
Māmā	Mamae tō waewae?	Your foot is sore?	Mama is talking to older son
Hone	Waewae	Foot	Hone is playing with the plaster
Māmā	Ae mamae tō waewae	Yes Your foot is sore	on his foot. Hone points to foot
19.10.05			
6.20pm			
Hone	Mamae	Sore	Holding his leg
21.10.05			
7.10pm			
Hone	Waewae Mamae	Leg sore	Fell off the sofa & hurt his leg
22.10.05			
7.40am			
Hone	Waewae here	Leg here	
Māmā	Mamae tō waewae?	Is your leg sore?	HB is touching the
Hone	Mamae waewae	Leg sore	plaster on his leg.

The following recording is of Te Aroha telling a story about her pet cat 'Tutu'. She decides to draw the cat for her 4 year old cousin Tui. Tui is trying to help her. Te Aroha ignores Tui. Te Aroha adds two small ears on the top of her irregular rectangle. Then she adds two eyes, a small nose and a body and finally a tail. She describes the cat as she is drawing it.

Example #17. Pakiwaitara – Te Aroha and her drawings 2. (17 July 2007. Recorded by the researcher at the Kōhanga.

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Tui (4 yr old girl)	Tītiro Te Aroha. Ngā	Look Te Aroha. The cat's	Te Aroha and her cousin, Tui

	taringa o te ngeru	ears.	are sitting at the activity table. Te Aroha is focused on drawing her cat.
TA	Ko Tutu. Taku ngeru. Tītiro ki ūna taringa. E rua ngā taringa, me nga whatu. Anei ūna waewae me tōna whiore Pai ngā mīti mō Tutu Kei te kainga a Tutu	It's 'Tutu'. My cat. Look at his ears. (he has) two ears and eyes Here are his legs And his tail Tutu likes (eating) meat Tutu is at home.	Te Aroha lets Tui know that it's not just any cat. It's her cat called 'Tutu'. She tells the story of her cat as she draws the picture.

The next Example #18 Kahutia's Nan is reading him a story. In this example Kahutia uses language to construct meaning to his story so that his Nan can understand him. Kahutia's Nan is reading a book to her three mokopuna. Kahutia (2.9 yrs) and his Nan are seated on the couch in the lounge. Kahutia's younger brother, Haare (18 mths) is playing near them and once the story begins he comes and sits beside Nan. Kahutia's older brother (9.1 yrs) is also listening to the story. He is recording the session on camera. She believes that Kahutia is using the wrong word (*Tamanui Te Rā* /the Sun) in his story instead of *Marama* /Moon. His older brother enlightens Nan by showing her the next page of the book. Kahutia knowing the story had jumped ahead of the pages. At age 2.9 years he was telling Nan the story in the book in his own words.

Example #18. Pakiwaitara – Kahutia and his story book. (02 April 2007, 8.00pm. Recorded by video clip at home.)

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Nan (reading)	"I roto i ngā manga wai ka kitea i ngā mea ora" Kei hea te poraka Kahutia? Kei hea te poraka? Kei hea nē oh Kahutia Pānuitia i te pukapuka "i roto i ngā awa ka kitea ēnei mea ora". Kōrero, kōrero mai.	"In the stream is seen living things" Where is the frog Kahutia? Where is the frog? Where aye! Oh! Kahutia Read the book. "In the river is seen many living things" tell, tell me.	Kahutia is 2.9yrs old. He is sitting with his nanny reading a book Kahutia has turned the page.
Kahutia	Kei te whiti te rā te marama	The sun is crossing the moon	Nan looks surprised at Kahutia
Nan Kahutia	Kei hea a Marama? O Kei kōnei a Marama. Ara, kei kōnā	Where is the moon? O Here is the moon. Over there	Kahutia turns the page & sees a picture of the sun
Nan Kahutia Nan	Kōrero atu ki a Marama Hello Kia ora Marama Anō. Mihi atu ki a Marama	Speak to Moon Hello Hi Moon Again. Greet the moon	
Kahutia	Kia ora Marama ...(mumbles) a Marama	Hello Moon (mumbles) ... to the moon	
Nan Kala9yr old	He aha? Hahaha Ae. Ka pai engari Ka whiti te rā nē?	What? Hahaha Yes. Good, but the sun is moving across the sky. Right!	Kala laughs & points to the Sun on the next page in the book

Nan	Whiti te rā? Ka whiti te rā. Ae. Tama nui te Rā. Ka whiti te rā.	The sunrise? The sun is rising Yes. The Sun. The sun is rising
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Discussion

Māori oral tradition relied on strategies and techniques, both memorised or in visual form to preserve the history of a tribe. The Māori culture history and traditions were stored as karakia, mihihi, waiata and pakiwaitara. It was the elders who passed on the stories to the younger generations to ensure that their whakapapa was remembered and valued (Royal, 2003; Thornton, 1999).

With the introduction of the written word by the missionaries in the early 1800s Māori eagerly learnt to read and write initially from the bible (Jenkins, 1991). Today in Kōhanga reading and emergent print was observed as a daily activity with most children. Both participating Kōhanga Reo had a variety of books available for the children of different ages and the books were easily accessible and read by the children. Storytelling by the parents or the kaiako was not observed as frequently. The researcher observed one incident of storytelling in TKR1 when the kaiako taught the children to act out a story about Mahuika the fire goddess. This incident was not recorded at the time as the kaiako was being assessed by a panel of kaumātua (elders) as a required task for his ‘Tohu Whakapakari’ training. It was not appropriate for the researcher to record the activity either as the panel consisted of kaumātua who expected everyone to focus on the kaupapa (task).

Pakiwaitara is a traditional form of storytelling and the story is embellished with rich language to capture the audience and dramatise the event. This is different to karakia which tells a story but because of its sacred and special nature must be word perfect. Telling stories is a traditional Māori art form that as a language mechanism would improve the children’s construction of language development the more that the children practised pakiwaitara in kōhanga (Orbell, 1995).

Summary: Tikanga

This section described recordings of *Tikanga* practice as seen through the four CLE examples, karakia, mihihi, waiata and pakiwaitara. These CLE illustrated the children acquiring cultural values and understanding of appropriate behaviour and patterns of participation even before they were proficient in speaking te reo Māori. The repetitive nature of the CLE and the children being

exposed to the values imbedded in the CLE prepared the children for appropriate cultural interactions during cultural activities.

In Chapter Four: Whānau Development and the Construction of Language: A Theoretical Framework, I discussed how Rogoff (2003) was interested in looking at cultural patterns of human development and particularly the regularities in life that enabled children in the case of Kōhangā Reo to make sense of cultural traditions, its similarities and differences. She stated that the outcome for human development was a preparation for life. The four tikanga CLE in the Kōhangā Reo were preparing children to take their place in their culture.

At karakia sessions especially before kai the four children would wait for karakia before eating. On occasion the children would initiate karakia before eating even when the whānau were dining at a public place. Through karakia the children appreciated the special contribution that Papatūānuku (Mother Earth) gave to people. Mihimihi CLE laid out the kawa or protocol for speech making as Wiremu recognised when he and his whānau were being welcomed onto a marae. Children also internalised the significance of greeting and acknowledging people as important representatives of their whānau, hapū, iwi and therefore on behalf of their whakapapa.

The waiata CLE always followed a mihihi or karakia as seen in TKR2 and on the marae and was rich with stories. The children's patterns of participation through karakia, mihihi then waiata followed the cultural practice of a whaikōrero (formal speech) as explained in Chapter Five: Whānau Māori. The pakiwaitara were opportunities to retell their stories even if their language development was at a beginning stage. In all these CLE children also learned the importance of belonging to their two whānau, the home and the Kōhangā Reo.

Cultural practices such as acknowledging their esoteric world in karakia, knowing basic whakapapa such as their position in their whānau, learning history through waiata and pakiwaitara internalises cultural values that are the foundation of whanaungatanga. Some of these values are manaakitanga (hospitality), aroha (unconditional love), awhi (care) and whanaungatanga (cultural relationships).

Throughout the four CLE activity types were examples of whānau /tamaiti (family /child) support. Scaffolding (Bruner, 1983; Vygotsky, 1978), guided participation (Rogoff, 1995) and side by side participation (Paradise and Rogoff, 2009) were evident in whakapapa examples where Kahutia (#01:

157) was provided with support from his aunty who was the kaiako in learning his pepehā, similarly with Te Aroha (#10:167) as she was reciting her pepehā. Guided participation was prevalent where the adults in the home or kōhanga setting guided the children through a cultural context. Wiremu's recordings were rich examples of guided participation. Examples #02:158 through to #06:161 showed Wiremu's whānau members guiding him through tikanga in the urupā (cemetery) and building his relationship with Tangaroa the spiritual guardian of the sea.

In the waiata sessions held in the kōhanga Kahutia (Example #15:173) became the tuakana and lead the other children in a haka (chant for men). The other three boys followed Kahutia and as Paradise and Rogoff (2009) described participated side by side through observing Kahutia and 'pitching in' together to complete the task.

Nelson (2010) said that the reminiscing child draws on past events, personal experiences and language acquired from those experiences. The child continuously reviews the information on a particular context and makes sense of the world and his/ her place in it. In these cultural contexts 'others' are present to support the child in making meaning. Nelson also says that 'shared minds' in language socialisation become more apparent when the child is aged two and three years old. Here the reminiscing child with an understanding of shared dialogue, recalling past events is drawing on his /her "reflective level of consciousness". Similar to Ochs' statement on language to socialise and socialisation through language (1986) Nelson states that narrative and the language embedded in the narrative are driven by culture.

An analysis of Wiremu's relationship with Tangaroa according to Nelson's reminiscing child model was discussed earlier in the previous section on Whakapapa. Te Aroha's narrative describing her cat to her friend while she was drawing it is another example where the reminiscing child, Te Aroha is recalling past experiences with her pet, reviewing its physical characteristics and then transferring this information into picture form and language as she describes the cat to her friend.

A majority of the recordings had aspects of the Māori concept whanaungatanga underlying the socio-cultural interactions. The next section investigates whanaungatanga as a cultural and pedagogical tool and compares these findings with non-Māori language theorists.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga was introduced to the reader in Chapter Two: Research Methodology and then described as a cultural pedagogy in Chapter Four: Whānau Development and the Construction of Language: A Theoretical Framework. Chapter Five: Whānau Māori presents whanaungatanga in its cultural dimension, which is based on relationships derived from whakapapa or genealogical affiliations. Whakapapa relationships and interactions expect the whānau to be supportive, give guidance and care for the mokopuna as well as one another. Whanaungatanga is based on the whānau practising important values such as manaakitanga or being hospitable /respectful and aroha or unconditional love (Patterson, 1999). Tangaere (1998) stated that the whānau whether linked by genealogical ties or a common purpose is a grouping of people who exhibited collective responsibility and accountability for their members. He continued to say that the practice of such customary values as manaaki and aroha meant that members were obligated to support, care for, listen, strengthen and empower one another.

Te Kōhanga Reo is a movement of whānau who have a common purpose – to ensure the survival of te reo Māori. As an organisation based on cultural values and traditions the practice of whanaungatanga is expected. As mentioned in Chapter Three: Te Reo Māori: A Story of Struggle, the kōhanga whānau have four kaupapa (philosophical) statements written in Te Korowai that guide them in the movement's purpose. These kaupapa statements are Māori language and its customs and values; whānau decision making, management and responsibility; accountability and the wellbeing of the mokopuna (young children) and their whānau.

In Chapter Five: Whānau Māori, Buck (1966) referred to the five generations of a Māori whānau unit and described the importance of relationships between the different generations and across the generations. This section explores the practice of whanaungatanga in the children's kōhanga and home settings. Three inter-relationships were chosen and the recordings were placed in these three groups

- kaumātua /mokopuna;⁷⁰
- tuakana /teina;⁷¹
- mātua /tamariki.⁷²

⁷⁰ Kaumātua /mokopuna – the relationship between the elders (kaumātua) and the very young children (mokopuna)

⁷¹ Tuakana /teina – the relationship between siblings where the elder sibling (tuakana) supports the younger sibling (teina).

Examples of these relationships involving the children were recorded and discussed in each of the above three groupings beginning with kaumātua /mokopuna.

Kaumātua /Mokopuna

Kaumātua (elders) are the cultural models and guide the Kōhangā whānau in the practises of whanaungatanga. Many of the kaiako in Kōhangā are also elders and ensure that whanaungatanga is an important foundation for establishing and nurturing relationships. The principles of Te Whāriki, the Kōhangā Reo curriculum, are also the basic principles of whanaungatanga, whakamana (empowerment); kotahitanga (holistic); whānau tangata (family and community) and ngā hononga (relationships). Children and adults in Kōhangā are empowered (whakamana) to support (whānau tangata), care about (kotahitanga) and value (ngā hononga) one another. The mokopuna model their practices copying those of the kaiako. Whanaungatanga can be seen in the relationships between kaumātua and mokopuna, that is the elders' relationships with the very young child and between parents, aunties and uncles and the children. Examples of whanaungatanga can also manifest itself in sibling roles of tuakana /teina where older children are supporting the younger children. The latter two will be discussed later in this section.

Both Hone and Wiremu had daily contact with a kaumātua (elder) at the kōhangā as the kōhangā whānau currently employed a kuia (female elder) as one of their kaiako. This kaiako guided all children in te reo and tikanga. Only one recording was made of Hone interacting with an elder in the home setting and this was when his grandmother visited his home. However it was also very brief.

Wiremu had nine situations where he was interacting with a kaumātua. The example I have chosen is a series of four separate events where Wiremu develops a joking relationship with his Nani D... The four situations are presented as one Example (#19:183) to show the development of this relationship over the two days. Nani D... teased Wiremu on the first episode and Wiremu would reply ‘Na! Na!’ or run away. The ‘teasing’ became a game between Nani and Wiremu and both were able to play the game.

⁷² Mātua /tamariki – parents, aunts, uncles (mātua) and their relationship with the children (tamariki)

**Example #19. Whanaungatanga - Wiremu and Nani D... (24 and 25 November 2005.
Recorded by Wiremu's mother and aunty)**

Person(s) speaking 24/11/05 10.00am	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Aunty K	Mihi atu ki a Nani D.	Say hello to Nani D	Wiremu and his whānau arrive
Nani D	Hōmai kihi Wiremu	Give me a kiss. Wiremu	at Nani D's
Wiremu	Kāhore	No	Wiremu won't kiss Nani
Nani D	Māku koe e whiu ki roto i te Pigsty	I will throw you into the Pigsty	Nani teases Wiremu.
Wiremu	Na, na	Na Na	Wiremu runs away
Person(s) speaking 25/11/05 8.00am	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Wiremu	Haere moana Aunty?	Going to the sea? Aunty	The whānau are up early to go
Nani D.	Ae. Me haere koutou ki tātahi	Yes You are all going to the seaside	to the beach and gather shellfish for the 21 st birthday in a week's time.
Wiremu	Nani D ka kite	Nani D. See (you)	
Nani D	Ae, me haere ki te tiki kai	Yes go and get some (sea) food	
Wiremu	Na Nani D	Na Nani D	
Person(s) speaking 25/11/05 5.00pm	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Wiremu	Kia ora Nani D	Hello Nani D	Wiremu greets Nani D
Nani D	Kei whea ngā kaimoana	Where's the seafood?	
Wiremu	Kore kau Nan gone	Nothing	Wiremu teases Nani D
Person(s) speaking 25/11/05 6.00pm	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Wiremu	He aha tēnei?	What's this?	Wiremu's mother is asking him if he would like to try some seafood.
Māmā	He koura tēnei, Pirangi koe?	This is a crayfish; do you want (some)?	
Wiremu	Kao, Yuk Māmā	No, Yuk Māmā	Nani D is listening and when
Māmā	Pēhea ngā paua	How about paua /abalone	Wiremu doesn't want any crayfish or paua Nani D teases him.
Wiremu	Kāhore	No	
Nani D	Ka pai hōmai ōu kai	Great give me your food	

Another example of a kaumātua/mokopuna conversation is when Te Aroha had drawn a picture covering the whiteboard. Te Aroha and Kahutia's whānau were at the local marae looking after Wharekura (high school) students who were practising their cultural performance for the regional competitions. The students were in the wharenui (big house) and Te Aroha had occupied herself with drawing on the large whiteboard that covered the front wall. I approached her and asked her to talk about her picture.

**Example #20. Whanaungatanga -Te Aroha and her drawing. (09 June 2007, 5.15pm.
Recorded by the researcher at the marae.**

Person(s) Speaking 5.15pm	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Te Aroha	Kei hea te pene mō te papatuhituhī?	Where is the pen for the whiteboard?	The parents are preparing tea for the Wharekura students who are having kapa haka practice. (cultural performing group)
Nan	Mō te aha?	What for?	
TAH	Mō taku pikitia	For my picture	
Nan	Ooh pātai atu ki a Koro	Ooooh ask koro (male elder)	
6.30pm	Ooh Te Aroha. Tino pai to pikitia.	Ooooh TAH. Your drawing is very good	While the Wharekura students were practising Te Aroha was

	Kōrero mai.	Tell me about it.	
Te Aroha	Ko ngā whare teitei ēnei. Ko te taone nui o Poneke. Nāku tēnei whare.	These are tall buildings... It's Wellington city. This is my house	drawing on the whiteboard at the front of the room. Te Aroha explains the buildings and points to her house.
Nan	Oooh Kei hea te whare o Kahutia?	Oooh where is Kahutia's house?	
TAH	Kei kōnā	Over there	Te Aroha points to her drawing
Nan	Ooh ataahua tō pikitia Kei te haere au ki te kōrero ki tō Māmā	Ooh Your drawing is amazing. I am going to tell your mother.	
Nan	I kōrero kē koe? Kao	Have you told her already No	

In the dialogue Nan was impressed with Te Aroha's drawing, praises her and gets her to elaborate on the picture by saying "kōrero mai (tell me about it)". After her explanation of her drawing Te Aroha points out her home. Nan uses this comment as a platform to extend the conversation by asking her where Kahutia's home is. Nan praises Te Aroha again and then asks Te Aroha if she has told her mother. Te Aroha leaves the conversation and tells her mother who takes a picture of the drawing. Although there was no record of the interchange between Te Aroha and her mother it was obvious that dialogue had occurred as Mum approached me later that evening and was excited by her daughter's drawing.

The final recording is an example of whanaungatanga and of a special relationship between a mokopuna and koroua (grandchild and grandfather). Kahutia and his entire whānau have been at the school marae (meeting place). The high school children are practising kapa haka for the regional competitions. They are having a 'Live in' and are staying the weekend at the marae. Kahutia wanted to stay the night with his koro (grandfather) and asked him if he could stay. He did not want to go home with his mother. Kahutia asked his grandfather if he could stay the night and his koro gave him a cheeky smile. Kahutia continued his conversation and played a game with his koro. He asked if he could stay the night in three different questions.

Example #21. Whanaungatanga – Kahutia and his koro (28 August 2007, 7.00pm. Recorded at the marae by Kahutia's mother).

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Kahutia	Koro ka tāea au moe ki tō moenga?	Koro Can I sleep in your bed?	Kahutia approaches his koro
Koro	Aaaaae.	Yeeeeees	His koro gives him a cheeky smile

Kahutia	Ka tāea au moe ki tō pera	Can I sleep on your pillow?	Kahutia grins and asks him again
Koro	Aaaa moko	Yees moko (grandchild)	Koro is enjoying the game
Kahutia	Ka tāea au moe ki tō ruma	Can I sleep in your room?	Kahutia with a larger grin asks again
Koro	Ae moko	Yes moko (grandchild)	Koro gives a definite answer and touches Kahutia's head. Kahutia runs outside smiling

Discussion

The relationships recorded in the home and Kōhanga between the children and their elders held rich examples of support, caring for one another and sincere love. The examples of grandparents or kaumātua and mokopuna (grandchildren) interacting with one another demonstrated this love. Another example is that of playful teasing when Nani D. teased Wiremu (Example #19) and then Wiremu returned this teasing when he arrived home from the beach and told her that they had no seafood. The example of Kahutia and his koro playing affectionately showed Kahutia constructing language so that he could continue the word game where he was asking his koro (grandfather) if he could stay the night with him. ‘Can I sleep on your bed? Can I sleep on your pillow? [but] Can I sleep in your room?’ (Example #21:184).

Tuakana/teina

Hone’s nine year old sister and four year old brother were competent in speaking Māori. Hone’s sister currently attended a total immersion Māori language school which was three suburbs away from their home but her parents felt that it was worth travelling the distance so that she could continue to develop her Māori language. Hone’s four year old brother attended the same kōhanga as Hone but was about to transition to his sister’s kura (school). On this occasion he had just attended his sister’s kapa haka (Māori dance) performance at her school. The concert reinforced the importance of waiata, the importance of whānau support for the kura and the importance of supporting his older sister’s performance. Hone returned home with his whānau and began singing a song from kōhanga.

Example #22 is an instance where Wiremu demonstrated ‘manaaki tangata’ (hospitality to a person). Manaakitanga is a quality indicator of whanaungatanga. His young relation Ma... had arrived at Wiremu’s home and Wiremu invited her in to have something to eat. Being hospitable to visitors

and offering food or a meal is the height of good manners and Wiremu was able to demonstrate an understanding of this tikanga.

Example #22. Whanaungatanga -Wiremu and manaaki tangata. (05 November 2005, 9.00am. Recorded by Wiremu's mother at home.

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
5 yr old cousin	Mōrena e te whānau	Morning family	Wiremu waves to Ma....
Wiremu	Mōrena Ma.... Haramai kai	Morning Ma... Come and have something to eat.	Wiremu invites her to have a meal

The next example (#23) records Te Aroha (3.1 years) showing concern that one of the children had hit Kahutia. Te Aroha, Kahutia, an 18 month old baby boy, Lani, and the kaiako are in the main playroom. Lani is hitting Kahutia and trying to gain his attention. Kahutia (3.0 years) had ignored the child as the child was only 18 months old and was considered one of the ‘babies’ in the Kōhanga. Te Aroha has seen this incident and tells the kaiako. The kaiako chooses not to intervene as Kahutia does not appear to be overly concerned. Te Aroha decides to reprimand the 18 month old herself and tells Lani not to hit her friend Kahutia as it is bad. Te Aroha had taken responsibility as a tuakana (older child in the kōhanga) to discipline the 18 month old.

Example #23. Whanaungatanga – Te Aroha and ‘Tuakana /teina’ 1 (8 July 2007. Recorded in the Kōhanga by the kaiako).

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Te Aroha	I patu a Lani i a Kahutia	Lani hit Kahutia	Lani (18 month old child) is hitting Kahutia who is ignoring him. Te Aroha tells the kaiako
	Lani kua e patu taku hoa, he kino tēnā mahi	Lani. Don't hit my friend, that is bad	Te Aroha wasn't impressed by Lani's actions and reprimands him.

Example #24 shows that Te Aroha had acquired tikanga or cultural understanding of certain practices involving food. These were that it was inappropriate to sit on areas where food was prepared or served from. Te Aroha had pointed out two of these places one was the stove and the other was the table. Even though it was a toy stove in Te Aroha’s mind tikanga still needed to be adhered to.

Te Aroha is sitting on the floor in the whānau corner. She is dressing a doll in her own clothes that Te Aroha got from her bag. A kaiāwhina is sitting on a toy stove beside her. Without looking at the

kaiāwhina Te Aroha reminds her that it is not appropriate to sit on a stove as stoves are for food. The Kaiāwhina stands and tells Te Aroha that she is correct. Te Aroha carries on dressing her doll and then adds another example of a similar cultural practice. She is praised by the kaiāwhina.

Example #24. Whanaungatanga – Te Aroha and ‘Tuakana /teina’ 2 (17 July 2007. Recorded in the Kōhangā by the researcher.

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Te Aroha	Mō ngā kai ēnei	Those are for food	
Kaiāwhina	Ae tika	Yes that's right	The kaiāwhina jumps up & agrees with Te Aroha.
Te Aroha	Me ngā tepu	And tables	Not once did TA look at the kaiāwhina or stop dressing the doll
Kaiāwhina	Ka pai Te Aroha	Well done Te Aroha	

As well as demonstrating an understanding of tikanga or cultural practices Te Aroha also showed an understanding of her role as the teina or younger person in this exchange. Te Aroha did not reprimand the kaiāwhina, her tuakana, by saying ‘kaua e noho i runga i te umu’ ('don't sit on the stove'). She made a statement about the relationship that the stove had with food and then made another statement that tables were also only for food. By speaking casually about the relationship that stoves and tables have with food and not directly looking at the kaiāwhina she demonstrated respect for her tuakana while pointing out the correct cultural practice.

In the final example of Tuakana /teina there are four children sitting with the kaiako. They are making bird masks in preparation for their play. Kahutia is standing by the table watching the four year olds' activity. He joined the group of four year olds who were sitting at a table with the kaiako. The kaiako asked Kahutia if he would like to make a mask and he replied that he would like to make three masks so that he could take two masks home for his brothers. In this example Kahutia displayed a sense of whanaungatanga by thinking of his brothers and making bird masks for them as well as himself. The kaiako wrote the following comment on her recording.

He tino ngākau māhaki a Kahutia Tama (Mana Atua). Arā te whakaaro mō tana tuakana me tana teina (Mana Tangata). He whakaaro Rangatira
I was highly impressed by Kahutia-Tama's higher level of thinking. He is so thoughtful and kind which really uplifted me (Kaiako comments 17 July 2007)

Example #25. Whanaungatanga – Kahutia and the Bird Masks. (17 July 2007, 11.00am. Recorded at the Kōhanga by the kaiako).

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Kaiako	Kei te pīrangi koe ki te hanga tētahi huna kanohi?	Do you want to make a mask?	Group of four children are sitting with kaiako making bird masks.
Kahutia	Ae, ka hanga ahau e toru nē Whaea T?	Yes, I'll make three OK Whaea T?	Kala (Kahutia's older brother) Haare (Kahutia's younger brother)
	Tētahi mō Kala..., tētahi mō Haare, tētahi mōku. Ka pai tēnā Whaea T?	One for Kala..., one for Haare and one for me. Is that fine Whaea T?	

Discussion

Tuakana /teina relationships are governed by rules where both have an obligation to support, care and respect their roles in the whānau. The responsibility of seniority is that of the tuakana who is regarded as being more knowledgeable and often a role model for their teina. Chapter Four: Whānau Development and the Construction of Language: A Theoretical Framework discussed tuakana /teina as a pedagogical tool. Chapter Five Whānau Māori discussed the cultural relationships within families such as the tuakana /teina relationship between older and younger siblings of the same gender.

The previous tuakana /teina recordings of the four children provided precious examples of the relationships the children had developed either with their older siblings or with children in their kōhanga. Hone, Wiremu, Te Aroha and Kahutia practised tuakana /teina relationships where Wiremu demonstrated a special relationship with his older brother preferring to stay with his tuakana rather than go to kōhanga, Te Aroha corrected a younger child for hitting Kahutia (#23:186) and Kahutia thought of making his brothers a mask as well even though they were not taking part in the play (#24:187). Wiremu also demonstrated the essence of manaakitanga an important element of whanaungatanga when he invited a five year old into the house for something to eat (#22:186).

Mātua /Tamaaiti

Mātua translated means parent when there is a macron over the letter of the first 'a'. Otherwise matua means father. According Buck, (1966) the term 'Mātua' is inclusive of the parents of the child as well as the brothers and sisters of the parents. These aunties and uncles are also regarded as having the same parental status as the child's natural parents.

Wiremu and his father, mother or aunty were observed practising whanaungatanga throughout the six month field study. Wiremu showed that he had an established relationship with his mother, father and two aunties. Wiremu would greet his father when his father arrived home from work. He would also ask his mother where his Dad or Aunty was showing the value of atawhai (caring). The recordings by Wiremu's mother showed that Wiremu had developed a special relationship with his aunty (his mother's sister).

Hone's mother had twenty six recordings where both she and Hone had brief conversations with each other. Ten of these were about Hone and his toilet training and the others were concerned with Hone and his sore leg, Hone hugging his mother, singing with his mother or being concerned about her. Hone was recorded five times by his mother asking her to give him a hug. This is one small example recorded by Hone's mother which shows the concern that Hone had for his mother who was sick at the time.

**Example #26. Whanaungatanga – Hone and his mother 2. (19 November 2005, 9.00pm.
Recorded by Hone's mother at home)**

Person(s) Speaking 19/11/05 9.00pm	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
Māmā	Go to sleep Mummy sick	Go to sleep Mummy sick	Hone and his 4 year old brother are in their mother's bedroom. Their mother is unwell. She tells them to go to sleep
Hone	Kei te mauui Māmā?	Are (you) sick Māmā?	Hone used a full sentence.

The next example selects a particularly interesting dyadic interaction between child and mother (tamaiti/mātua). The example recorded 37 turn taking sequences in a conversation between Kahutia and his mother. Kahutia (3.1 years old) had been waiting for his mother to arrive home from work. She teaches at the local kura (school) and Kahutia had been there earlier with his Nan and Aunty. Kahutia was bursting to tell her his story from the kōhanga. It was a special day for him as today he did not have to go to sleep with the younger children. He was allowed to stay up with the three and four year olds. This meant that he would no longer be considered a teina (younger child of the kōhanga). He had joined the tuakana group (the older children of the kōhanga).

Throughout the conversation Kahutia's mother used several elaboration techniques to encourage Kahutia's dialogue. The majority of these techniques were in the form of open-ended or closed

questions. She continuously evaluated his narrative throughout the exchange. I have numbered and colour coded Kahutia's mother's talk. As well as this I have labelled the elaboration mechanisms that she uses. The key is below. I identified four different elaboration mechanisms that Kahutia's mother used.

KEY: **Clarification:** **Reflection:** **Extension:** **Continuation:**

Reflection (repeating his sentence) to encourage Kahutia to continue the conversation (lines 10; 12; 22; 32).

Clarification where Mum asks a question to clarify that she has understood his story line (lines 6; 8; 14; 24; 34; 36).

Extension here Mum adds another perspective to the central theme (lines 16; 30)

Continuation Mum continues the storyline (lines 18; 20; 26; 28)

Example #27. Elaboration – Kahutia and ‘I didn’t have to have a sleep’ story. (28 August 2007, 4.45pm. Recorded by Kahutia’s mother at home.

Person(s) Speaking	Original Dialogue	Translation	Nonverbal Actions
1 Kahutia	Māmā i hea koe?	Māmā where were you?	
2 Māmā	I te kura au	I was at school	
3 Kahutia	I haere au ki te kura kaore au kite i a koe	I went to the school, I didn't see you	
4 Māmā	I taku tari au	I was in my office	
5 Kahutia	Kao i haere au ki te tari kaore koe i reira.	No I went to the office and you weren't there	
6 Māmā	I te akomanga koe. Oooo ne?	You were in the classroom Oooo is that right?	
7 Kahutia	Ae i te akomanga koe me i haere au ki te kite i a koe	Yes you were in the classroom and I went to see you	
8 Māmā	Oooo i te mokemoke koe ki au?	Oooo did you miss me	Kahutia had a sad face and so his mother hugged him (Ka noho pouri ia ka awhi au ia ia) They both hugged each other (Ka awhiawhi māua)
9 Kahutia	Ae. I haere au ki te Kōhangā o Ngā Mo....	Yes. I went to the Kōhangā o Ngā Mo....	
10 Māmā	I haere koe ki te Kōhangā Reo o Ngā Mo.... ?	You went to TKR o Ngā Mo.... Yes Māmā I didn't have to	
11 Kahutia	Ae Māmā Kaore au me moe.	have a sleep You don't sleep at the	
12 Māmā	Kaore koe e moe ki te Kōhangā?	Kōhangā?	
13 Kahutia	Kao. Kaore au me moe i ki a Rangi	No. I didn't have to sleep Rangi said	
14 Māmā	Ka oho tonu koe i te Kōhangā?	You stay awake at the Kōhangā?	
15 Kahutia	Kao, kaore au me moe.	No. I didn't have to have a sleep	
16 Māmā	Ka oho tonu a Te Aroha?	Does Te Aroha stay up?	
17 Kahutia	Kao	No	
18 Māmā	Ko wai atu ka oho?	Who else stays up?	
19 Kahutia	Ko R...	R...	
20 Māmā	R...? Ka oho tonu a Hamiora?	R...? Does Hamiora stay up?	
21 Kahutia	Kao. Ko Hamuera	No. Hamuera	
22 Māmā	Ohh. Ko Hamuera?	Ohh. Hamuera	
23 Kahutia	Ae engari ka moe ia	Yes but he had a sleep	
24 Māmā	Nē!!	Aye!!	
25 Kahutia	Ae.	Yes	
26 Māmā	Ka oho tonu a Tui?	Does Tui stay up?	

27 Kahutia	Ae	Yes
28 Māmā	Ka oho tonu a Aroha?	Does Aroha stay up?
29 Kahutia	Ae	Yes
30 Māmā	Ka aha koutou ka tuhihi?	What do you do some writing?
31 Kahutia	Kao, i haere au ki te papa tākaro	No. I went to the playground
32 Māmā	Ka haere koutou ki te papa tākaro?	Do you (plural) go to the playground
33 Kahutia	Ae, i haere mātou ki te papa tākaro ika. Me Whaea T	Yes, we went to the fish playground. And Aunty T....
34 Māmā	Nera?	Is that so?
35 Kahutia	Ae	Yes
36 Māmā	Engari kei hea te papa tākaro ika?	But where is the fish playground
37 Kahutia	I haere mātou ki te papa tākaro me Whaea T. ki te moana.	We went to the playground and Aunty T. At the beach.

Kahutia was anxious to tell his mother his special story as that day was the first day that he did not **have to** sleep at the Kōhanga, a milestone in his eyes. His story was so important to his personal self that he was able to recall every child who had to go to sleep as well as his first trip to the playground at the beach with the older children. He persevered in his conversation to ensure that his mother understood the significance of the transition. On the other hand his mother recognised her son's emotional attachment to this story and acknowledged this (line 8) and they both hugged each other. She continued his storyline sensing the importance of his narrative (Conversation with Kahutia's mother, December 2008). In this exchange the narrative was more than just recall and reporting an event. It contained social functions, his friends had to sleep; a cultural function, he had joined the group of older children; emotional function, he was excited about his transition.

Discussion

In the first example (#26:189) Hone showed the cultural value of aroha (love) for his mother when she was sick. Aroha like manaaki (hospitality) is an element of whanaungatanga. In the second interaction (#27:190) Kahutia wanted to relate his important milestone to his mother. The interaction develops and the strong relationship between Kahutia and his mother is evident in the conversation that they had.

Summary: Whanaungatanga

This section described recordings of whānau relationships and the interactions between three generations of child's home and kōhanga whānau. The CLE illustrated cultural values of whanaungatanga being practised such as aroha, manaakitanga and atawhai (Mead, 2003). The CLE also illustrated children practising these values and constructing language so that they were able to

interact appropriately. An example (#24:187) is seen in the relationship between Te Aroha and her Tuakana and the interaction that took place when Te Aroha corrected the inappropriate tikanga practice of her tuakana. Not only did Te Aroha show that she understood the cultural practice of a person's body in relation to food but she also demonstrated the teina role of respect for her tuakana, a principle of aroha (love, respect) important in practising whanaungatanga. Another example (#22:186) is found in Wiremu's action of manaakitanga (hospitality) by his inviting his cousin into his home for something to eat.

Other examples of aroha were found in the following practices. Kahutia played a game of words with his koro (grandfather) in Example #21 (P.184) and similarly in Example # 19 (P.183) Wiremu and his grandaunt had developed a joking relationship. Hone showed aroha and atawhai (care) for his mother who was sick (#26:189) and Kahutia (#25:188) thought of his brothers when making his bird mask for their kōhanga whakaari (drama, play). Kahutia and his mother displayed an affectionate relationship in their long discourse about Kahutia's day at the kōhanga (#27:190) and Te Aroha took responsibility as tuakana to reprimand an 18 month old for hitting Kahutia (#23:186).

The cultural concept of whanaungatanga has been discussed previously in this chapter and it was pointed out in Chapter Five: Whānau Māori that whanaungatanga is an important part of the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo. The examples discussed in this chapter demonstrated the practice of whanaungatanga. The inter relationships (whanaungatanga) with the children as defined by tikanga Māori were based on the home whakapapa or the whānau ethos of the Kōhanga Reo.

All the recordings highlighted in this chapter were also examples of language socialisation (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). The child was using language to socialise Kahutia (#21:184), Te Aroha (#24:187); Wiremu (#19:183), (#22:186) and the socio-cultural context was driving their need to construct language. From these experiences they were recalling, analysing and refining language (Nelson, 2010) so that they could communicate as seen in Kahutia's (#21:184) and Wiremu's (#19:183) joking relationships with their kaumātua (elders) and Kahutia's conversation with his mother about his day at kōhanga (#27:190).

The adults (experts) provided language and cultural support and guidance (Bruner, 1983; Fivush, Haden and Reese, 2006; Paradise and Rogoff, 2009; Rogoff, 1995; Vygotsky, 1978) to the children (novices) in their acquisition, internalisation and appropriation of language. In some examples the

child assumed the tuakana role and provided guidance (Royal Tangaere, 1992, 1997). Te Aroha (#23:186) took responsibility as tuakana to reprimand an 18 month old for hitting and needed to construct the appropriate language to explain the inappropriateness of his actions.

As found in the whakapapa and tikanga sections of this chapter there were also rich examples of narratives of the experiencing child (Nelson, 2010). The term ‘Cultural Learning Experiences’ is indicative of its name and the four children had a variety of learning experiences from which they were able to store social, cultural, cognitive, and emotional information in their ‘autobiographical memories’ (Fivush et al.; Nelson, 2010). Kahutia’s recall of his day at kōhanga is an example of this (#27). He was excited and persistent (an emotional moment). He had moved from the teina /babies group to the tuakana /older children (a social-cultural event). He was now in the older more advanced group who did not have to sleep during the day (a cognitive achievement). This example is also interesting as it portrays a rich example of Maternal Reminiscing style where Kahutia’s mother employed several language strategies (elaborations) to continue their conversation.

Autobiographical narratives are linguistically structured cultural constructs of what is appropriate to recall about one’s self, and how to repeat if (Fivush et al., 2006:1570)

Fivush et al., also found that narratives are more than reporting on what happened as it contains information that places the event in a time/space context where the child evaluates what this event means to him/her (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Nelson, (2010); Rogoff, 1995).

It is apparent from this analysis that not only are whakapapa, tikanga and whanaungatanga intricately inter woven but that also the language theorists have commonalities that overlap, extend on and/or complement one another. The next section of this chapter summarises the theory and practice of the construct of language development and addresses the second and third questions that arose from the study’s hypothesis.

SUMMARY: THEORY AND PRACTICE

The construction of language development infers that language is acquired through socialisation and the act of socialisation is through language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). The process of constructing language development may differ across cultures however the one constant is the intricate meaningful relationship between learning language, using language and the socialising process

while using language (Ochs 1986). Merging out of the theories of language acquisition (Slobin, 1967 cited in Ochs and Schieffelin 2008) language socialisation became a new field of language study. Out of the process of language socialisation emerges language and culture support systems and language mechanisms to assist with the construction of language development.

This summary of the chapter examines the socio-cultural interactions and language mechanisms to address the second and third overarching question, which came out of the study's hypothesis; *that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori*. The questions are

What is the inter relationship between socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) and the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori? and

What mechanisms are being used to construct language development in these socio-cultural interactions?

To address the questions this summary will firstly discuss the construction of language development and its relationship to socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) and then look at the mechanisms used in these constructions. This chapter acknowledged that from earlier chapters the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo was made up of three components namely whakapapa, tikanga and whanaungatanga. Cultural Learning Experiences, CLE, were elements of these three components. An analysis of these CLE will assist in addressing the two questions above.

The cultural practice of whanaungatanga (relationships) requires Māori people to interact in a defined manner that is guided by traditional customs, values and rules (Pere, 1994). Language has a pivotal role in this cultural practice at both a formal level such as a pōwhiri (traditional ceremony of welcome) and an informal level e.g., a visitor to the home (Salmond, 2009). The developing and maintaining of relationships utilising mihihi, whakapapa, waiata and other cultural activities is through whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga and language socialisation are synonymous.

In Chapter Five: Whānau Māori, Cultural Learning Experiences (CLE) were identified as regular occurrences in the kōhanga. These CLE created a language platform derived from the strong cultural

base in Kōhanga Reo that is whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (customs, values and traditions) and whanaungatanga (relationships). The cultural practices within the kōhanga were culturally compatible with marae (traditional meeting place) practices where whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (customs, values and traditions) and whanaungatanga (relationships) were paramount. The children were acquiring cultural practices in kōhanga through CLE and these activities enabled the children to socialise with their peers and whānau. Within these CLE were processes which assisted the children in constructing language development.

The four children in the study demonstrated many examples of their cultural competency such as karakia (prayer, incantations) initiated by children before meals, waiata sung after a whaikōrero (traditional speech of welcome), practising manaakitanga (being hospitable) with visitors, supporting and guiding other children, being respectful to their tuakana (older sibling), to their kaumātua (elders) and practising tikanga in the kōhanga and home. The CLE became internal to the self and a part of the child's autobiographical memory (Nelson, 2010). When Kōhanga Reo was conceived cultural competency and fluency in the language were the desired outcomes for the children.

An in depth analysis of these CLE revealed rich, resourceful, social interactions across the microsystems. Recordings of the four children provided a variety of Dyadic interactions. Although the majority were between the mother and child many were also interactions with genealogical siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, kaumātua such as Nani D, the environment (Tangaroa the sea guardian) and of course the kaiako and children at the kōhanga. A range of CLE examples were selected to look into the theoretical positions mentioned previously. CLE contained examples of language socialisation as well as specific language support mechanisms.

The next question is what mechanisms are being used to construct language development in these socio-cultural interactions? To examine this third question it is necessary to identify the language mechanisms employed by the children. These language mechanisms were found embedded in the CLE which were the cultural base of the Kōhanga Reo.

In Chapter Four, which presented a bioecological framework, a selection of mechanisms that supported the appropriation of language within language socialisation were posed and discussed. The mechanisms are language constructs through the process of scaffolding (Brunner, 1983, 1996),

planes of focus (Rogoff, 1995), narratives of the experiencing child, (Nelson, 2010) and elaboration (Fivush, Haden & Reese, 2006).

The scaffolding process (Bruner 1983, 1996) was a technique which allowed the kaiako to assist and facilitate the appropriate formal language required for this task. However more important than the scaffolding technique was the cultural priority for the children to understand the special significance of learning, reciting and appropriating the values and spiritual realm embedded in the genealogical section of the mihihi also known as pepehā. Here the process of constructing language development is captured more fully by the planes of focus, apprenticeship, guided participation and participatory appropriation (Rogoff, 1995) and even more so by Paradise and Rogoff (2009) who posed a *side by side* process of learning by observing and pitching in.

Examples of mother-child narratives recalling or reminiscing a past event also portrayed different styles and degrees of elaboration (Fivush et al., 2006). One example displayed a varied elaboration style used probing, clarifying and questioning to support her son in narrating his past event. Fivush et al, 2006, argue that there is an important correlation between the high use of elaboration in the narrating of past events i.e. maternal reminiscing style, and good socio-emotional and cognitive developmental outcomes for children. Open ended elaborative questions give children a platform on which to display their event knowledge the act of putting the experience into words may help children to represent the event more richly and facilitate retrieval skills.

In the Whakapapa, Tikanga and Whanaungatanga sections of this chapter it was found that there were rich examples of language socialisation. Through the CLE the children were being exposed to language and culture where their language development was being constructed over time (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Nelson, 2010; Rogoff, 1995). The continuous process of constructing language development is reliant on language and culture strategies and language and culture mechanisms. These strategies and mechanisms in turn consist of support people and support systems (Bruner, 1983; Nelson, 2010; Rogoff, 1995; Vygotsky, 1978). The support people are the critical ingredients in socio-cultural interactions and the development of language. These socio-cultural interactions are governed by values and rules determined by society which support people use to guide the novice during the appropriation of language.

From an examination of the children's recordings and the literature (Māori and non-Māori) both national and international it is conclusive that children and whānau are using language mechanisms as strategies to construct the children's language development in the kōhanga and home setting, their two microsystems. It is also evident that the use of language mechanisms by whānau members or the children themselves enables children to construct language and develop within their socio-cultural environment. Participation in their socio-cultural setting is dependent on appropriate language and provides the child with the most important thing, the ability to socialise.

Chapter Eight is the next chapter which concludes this PhD study by drawing together the many strands in this research and in doing so provide a socio-cultural, political and spiritual picture of a movement established by the people to save the Māori language.

CHAPTER EIGHT

KEI HEA TE KŌMAKO E KŌ?

WHERE WILL THE BELLBIRD SING?

Hutia te rito o te harakeke, kei hea te kōmako e kō?
Kī mai ki au he aha te mea nui o te ao
Māku e kī atu, He tangata he tangata he tangata
Pluck the centre shoot from the flax bush where will the Bellbird sing?
If you say to me, what is the most important thing in this world?
I will proclaim; ‘tis people, ‘tis people, ‘tis people (Whakatauki, proverb)

This PhD had its beginnings in the dream that Dr Graham Smith and Dr Linda Smith articulated to emancipate Māori students in the academic world and to begin determining higher study of knowledge from a Māori position. From that dream came my Master’s thesis (1992) with their expectation that a doctoral study would follow. Now the goals of this doctorate have many layers of expectations. On my non-Māori academic side the expectation was to complete a level of scholarship that might contribute in some small way to international and particularly indigenous research. On my Māori academic side it is to acknowledge in a humble way the scholarship of our tipuna. But most important of all it is to validate Te Kōhanga Reo movement’s vision to revitalise te reo Māori. What has been reinforced for me is that Te Kōhanga Reo is more than the revitalisation of the language it is also a rich nutrient for the learning and development of the entire whānau, hapū and iwi.

My previous study focused on a developmental psychology approach to language acquisition and dabbled a little in the socio-cultural theory of language development that is language socialisation. Ironically I found myself working at Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust as a policy analyst and leading a Policy Research and Development team during the early stages of this study. In this position as a policy analyst I was actively engaged in kaupapa Māori theory and pedagogy at the kōhanga whānau level where I saw parents empowered and passionate about learning te reo and tikanga Māori. Then at the national level was the interface between Māori and non-Māori thought which at times became sites of struggle.

I learnt under the expert tutelage of Dame Dr Iritana Tawhiwhirangi to fashion a pair of reading glasses with bifocal lens that could focus on Māori and non-Māori, whānau development and human development, far and near, past and present and present and future in a blink of an eye.

My developmental psychology academic background coupled with my socio-cultural political career contributed to my socio-cultural theoretical approach, which are both woven tightly together. For me as a kaupapa kaimahi (worker for the kaupapa) in the Kōhanga Reo movement the two perspectives are inseparable. Therefore kaupapa Māori theory as the heart of the study flowed through all aspects of the research. There were many theoretical models that guided this study and as is customary I wish to acknowledge all those people that I have referenced in this study for the guidance, thought provoking, insightful and at times challenging views they have. I mihi to them as they have assisted me in opening the door to how Māori perceived developmental theory and others may now begin to revisit these concepts of Māori developmental psychology.

INTRODUCTION

Te Reo Māori has been a political agenda since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi). Since the first New Zealand government in 1852 Māori as a people were progressively marginalised and in the process disempowered politically, economically and educationally. This marginalisation has placed the Māori language at risk. Out of the concerns of the people rose a movement determined to revitalise te reo Māori back into the community and the home. This study is interested in the construction of te reo Māori in the home and kōhanga, the involvement of the whānau in that construct and in the revitalisation of the language.

The aim of this chapter is to draw together the strands of the social, political, cultural, historical, educational and spiritual stories of the whānau and te reo Māori. An analysis of these strands will reflect on the hypothesis for this study *that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori* and its three overarching questions.

1. What is the cultural base of Te Kōhanga Reo as defined by tikanga Māori (customs and values)?

2. What is the inter relationship between socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) and the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori? and
3. What mechanisms are being used to construct language development in these socio-cultural interactions?

The chapter will summarise how this study addresses the three overarching questions by recapitulating on the central themes presented in the chapters of this study. The first theme is *Kaupapa Māori Theory* and the Kōhanga Reo as Kaupapa Māori theory in action. This chapter then progresses onto the study's *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* model as a theoretical framework within which developmental theories on the construction of language are sited. The *Whānau Development* theme discusses whānau Māori and its cultural base as the basic foundations for Te Kōhanga Reo and then the voices of the children follows this theme and is entitled *The Construction of Language Development*. The conclusion reaffirms the hypothesis and poses *Challenges for the Future*.

KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORY

Kaupapa Māori theory (Smith 1997) emerged from and aligns with critical theory (Gibson, 1986) and has enabled us as Māori researchers to reclaim our place, validate our knowledge, customs and values, our pedagogical practices and our language (Bishop, 1996a; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2004; Pihama, 1993; Smith, 1997, 2002). The theory acknowledges the struggles of a minority group against the cultural hegemonic policies of dominant society and according to Pihama, (1993) it exposes the underlying assumptions that conceal power relations. She also stated that the Kōhanga Reo movement is Kaupapa Māori theory in action.

Te Kōhanga Reo emerged from the concerns and frustrations of the people, particularly the kaumātua (elders). The movement grew from their aspirations to change the situation and revitalise te reo Māori. However in setting the kaupapa of Kōhanga Reo these kaumātua unknowingly established a movement based on the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory. In these principles te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and āhuatanga Māori are a given. According to Smith (2002) self determination, validating cultural aspirations, culturally preferred pedagogy mediating socio-

economic difficulties, a collective group emphasis and a shared vision or philosophy are the main components of Kaupapa Māori philosophy.

Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach enables a multi-levelled focus across social, political, economic and historical perspectives that influence whānau development. Such issues as land confiscations, low socio-economic status, political tensions and language decline have impacted on Māori development throughout history. The move to revitalise te reo has coincided with the return of land and from this the economic improvement of some iwi.

TE REO MĀORI

The status of te reo Māori is still not secure (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Despite the advent of Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Ataarangi and many other te reo initiatives the Tribunal voiced concerns. The decline in the numbers of Te Kōhanga Reo since the mid 1990s, a resourcing issue, and missed opportunities by government to support te reo Māori initiatives are some of the reasons expressed. Fishman (1991) expressed that there were limitations if a reliance to reverse language shift was placed on the school system. I agree that this is a valid point for mainstream schools however Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori language immersion schools) and kura Māori (usually Māori tribal schools) are sites where community of Māori language speakers have the potential to spread the language into the homes through the children and whānau, given adequate resourcing.

Total immersion settings such as Te Kōhanga Reo being kaupapa Māori theory in action and have a curriculum that is based on the Māori world are inclusive of the child's entire whānau. Comments from the four parents whose children were involved in the research stated that involvement in the kōhanga transformed their lifestyle. One of the outcomes of Kaupapa Māori theory is its transformative role where the empowerment of whānau becomes a state of praxis. Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Kura Māori and Te Ataarangi (Māori language course for adult learners) are important in making a difference. Maori people have learnt to utilise the education system to revitalise te reo Māori.

A Kaupapa Māori theoretical position aligns with the socio-cultural ecological approach to language development. Both become the platform from which the study of language development and its constructs are investigated within the child's Kōhanga Reo and home.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ECOLOGY OF WHĀNAU DEVELOPMENT

A *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* model rose out of the *Bioecology of Human Development* theory posed by Bronfenbrenner (2005), who focused on the Process, People, Context, Time (PPCT) approach to studying human development. His bioecological model suited the multi level and multi discipline image that a Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach required to investigate the construction of language development within the whānau contexts.

As a part of the *Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development* position three main ecosystems were the focus for this doctorate. Each ecosystem embodied a main focus for this study and the foci correlate to the three overarching questions in the hypothesis. These three foci are the story of Te reo Māori discussed previously in this chapter. Te reo Māori and its story of struggle are located in the macrosystem and partially addresses question one. Whānau development located as a microsystem in the mesosystem addresses question one and contributes to question two. Finally language development sited in the two microsystems home and kōhanga addresses question three. Consequently each focus is appraised in relation to the child and the whānau with regards to te reo Māori revitalisation and in particular the process of constructing Māori language development.

Rogoff's (1995) concept utilised a focus on one plane while being informed by background information from the other two planes. This was a helpful concept in addressing the complexities of a dual heritage representation in the Socio-cultural Ecology of Whānau Development model.

WHĀNAU DEVELOPMENT: TE KŌHANGA REO AND HOME

The child belonged to two whānau in this study. They were the home whānau or whakapapa whānau and the Kōhanga Reo whānau. Both these whānau were microsystems within the mesosystem. The kōhanga whānau were responsible for the decision making and management of their kōhanga and the assurance to commit to the survival of te reo Māori.

The role of the whānau in this research was considered important to the language development of the child. The socio-cultural theoretical framework highlighted the dynamic role of whānau who are active agents in kaupapa Māori theory in action (Pihama, 1993). Consequently whānau who are contributing meaningfully in their kōhanga, take responsibility and ownership. The whānau become emancipated, make decisions for their kōhanga and for their children and grow in confidence.

Whānau development is an integral part of the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo. The inclusive nature of whānau means that the learning and development of one member of the whānau is the delight, support, benefit and development of the entire whānau. Like Rogoff's (1995) three Planes of Analysis socio-cultural whānau development theory meant being able to focus on the child's construction of language development while whānau interactions were occurring simultaneously.

The development of many whānau as individuals and as kōhanga has been the result of whānau involvement in Te Kōhanga Reo movement. The study found that over 50% of staff working in the two kōhanga that participated in the research came to kōhanga as parents. All of these parents had little or no reo. One of the mothers of the children now has the Tohu Whakapakari, the three year level seven qualification (New Zealand National Qualifications Framework) for kaiako. The energetic involvement of whānau, collectively sharing the construction of language development with their children in their home, at kura (school), the marae (traditional meeting place), whānau gatherings and in the kōhanga was evident in the four children's whānau and the staff who began their involvement as parents.

The whānau learning concept in Te Kōhanga Reo is premised on learning as a group where the principles of whanaungatanga are practised. Whānau members are valued for their contribution and the emphasis is on tuakana/teina support. The collective sharing of knowledge and skills across the generations is the norm where kaumātua through to young kōhanga graduates participate in sharing learning together.

Learning and improving their Māori language fluency is difficult for many parents as classes often clash with work, evening family commitments or whānau are unable to afford the fees or travel. Improving the competency level of te reo in the home coupled with learning skills on how to construct language development through a variety of narrative styles may optimise the learning outcomes for children and improve the revitalisation of te reo Māori in the home.

CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

The main focus of the study was the children's socio-cultural interactions and language development taking place within the home, within the kōhanga and between the home and the kōhanga. Language socialisation (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986) and the co-construction of language development

were evident. The four children showed rich and varied examples of acquiring language, using language and more importantly using language to socialise with others. The construction of language development was displayed in the children's socialisation through language.

Cultural Learning Experiences (CLE) were a fundamental part of these socialisation activities in the Kōhanga Reo. They were also the building blocks that assisted children in constructing the development of their language. The CLE were set by kaumātua (elders) in the 1980s and were a part of the cultural base in a Kōhanga Reo. CLE activities such as karakia, mihihi, waiata, pakiwaitara and child/adult, child/child interactions strengthened language oracy and language competency. The activities were normalised routine patterns in the kōhanga and became so familiar to the child that they were internalised and stored in cultural memory (Nelson, 2010). The child made meaning of these CLE and with the acquired knowledge, skills, attitude and perception became culturally and communicatively competent to socialise in similar cultural settings outside of kōhanga (Rogoff, 1995). Examples of children interacting appropriately on a marae and at a kura pōwhiri were recorded by parents. The Kōhanga Reo role was to prepare the child for socio-cultural and communicative competency within Māori contexts.

The children were also observed being given leadership roles in such CLE as leading waiata and karakia as well as supporting one another (tuakana/teina) in some of the CLE. The four children were also recorded initiating leadership roles at home and in kōhanga. Children's confidence in self, their place in their whānau, kōhanga and in their cultural community laid a foundation for emergent leadership.

Examples of language acquisition and language development theories were prevalent in the research. The language support mechanisms of scaffolding (Bruner, 1983; 1996; Vygotsky, 1978), apprenticeship, guided participation and participatory appropriation (Rogoff, 1995), elaboration of narratives (Nelson, 2010) and reminiscing styles (Fivush, Haden & Reese, 2006) were employed by the whānau. Examples of support systems for the child's acquisition of language were present in the mihihi, karakia and waiata activity. In particular the practice of group scaffolding was a common feature in the CLE of karakia, mihihi and waiata where a child was prompted by the group during the reciting of karakia.

The socio-cultural approach to language development was also conducive with the Poutama model of Māori development (Chapter Four) which highlighted the role of the whānau in supporting the child's language development. Both Māori and non Māori theoretical positions have contributed to this research. Non Māori theories of development have been helpful in strengthening the validity of Māori whānau development and Māori language development thus removing the shackles of oppression (Freire, 1972).

The children in co-constructing the development of their language relied on support and guided participation from another adult or child. Together the support person would employ language mechanisms, such as repetition, prompting, elaboration and reminiscing, that would enable the child to appropriate information, skills and attitude which would be stored in his /her memory (Fivush, Haden & Reese, 2006; Nelson, 2010; Rogoff, 1995, 2003). The child in the act of socialising in a specific context (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008) would recall stored information and reorganise and revise language constructs. Simultaneously the child was also recalling, reorganising and revising cultural behaviour to ensure that he /she acted appropriately.

The CLE, as defined by tikanga Māori, are the cultural elements of the cultural base in Kōhanga Reo. This study found that a strong cultural base gives rise to strong relationships, quality interactions and cultural practices, which are stored in the child's autobiographical memory. The child is continuously building and reshaping, refining and adding information in construction of his /her language development. This construction is not done in isolation but with the assistance of others who are also learning and developing from the experience, an experience that is lifelong learning.

This thesis has validated the hypothesis *that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori*. In doing so it has validated the philosophical stance set by kaumātua for Te Kōhanga Reo.

There are several contributions that this thesis makes to national and international scholarship and these are as follows. In examining language development within the entire whānau it showed the complexities of whānau supporting the construction of language development which also lead to the development of the whānau. The thesis also showed that cultural values are co-constructed as

language is co-constructed. This research makes another small contribution by adding to information on the ‘indigenisation’ of psychology and contributes to the legitimation of Māori epistemology, values and pedagogical practices. Finally a koha (contribution) to the Kōhanga Reo whānau is that the thesis probes into narrative styles that not only have an influence on cognitive and socio-emotional outcomes for children but must also result in good linguistic outcomes as well.

There is very little research on Kōhanga Reo as a community of speakers or on the socio cultural interchanges that occur within this te reo Māori community. There is also a scarcity of information on narrative styles utilised in the kōhanga or the home. Research in these areas could better inform good cultural practices and optimise the construction of Māori language development which could be utilised in the community of Māori language speakers. Further research in these areas would benefit children, whānau and te reo Māori revitalisation.

CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

Language resource people are at a critical state. There are only a small number of native speakers left in Te Kōhanga Reo. The majority of kaiako in kōhanga are second language learners (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Although there is also a notable increase in young kōhanga graduates returning to the movement either as parents or kaiāwhina. These graduates have competency in te reo Māori but limited life experiences. Te Kōhanga Reo is a movement that was founded by kaumātua. Kaumātua are pivotal to the kaupapa as kaitiaki (guardians) of te reo and tikanga Māori. A site of struggle can manifest itself within the movement whereby the kōhanga graduates who are the kaupapa embodiment are seen by some parents and by non kōhanga organisations as the teachers over kaumātua who may be second language learners. The challenge is to maintain the whānau structure of kaumātua/kaiako/kaiāwhina (elder/teacher/helper) as is customary on the marae. All members of the whānau are valuable.

Te Kōhanga Reo is poorly positioned in the government structure as the movement is concerned with the health, educational, cultural and spiritual development of the whānau. The movement has always regarded itself as a whānau development initiative. The challenge is for government to be courageous and set Te Kōhanga Reo free to do what we know best, our culture and language under the guidance of our kaumātua before they too are lost to our movement. We, as Māori people have the most to lose if the language dies.

Te Kōhanga Reo is the ideal setting to promote optimum development in te reo and tikanga Māori as the kaupapa (philosophy) of the movement was designed. The kōhanga environment is rich with cultural learning experiences and is one of the best places to progress adults learning te reo.

Te reo Māori is highly valued in Te Kōhanga Reo and as such parents in turn value the language. Therefore if kaiako and whānau members are more aware of the language mechanisms that trigger children to construct language development and understand that this trigger optimises their language socialisation in the various cultural contexts then they are better informed as to how they can support their children to kōrero i te reo Māori (speak Māori language). The process of children developing their te reo Māori and appropriating tikanga enables them to socialise with competence in their Māori world. This ability to socialise competently results in children that are confident in their community and globally.

Therefore the Māori title of this thesis *Te Hokinga Ki Te Ūkaipō* is a pathway that returns te reo Māori back to the source of sustenance Te Kainga (home).

Ngā mihi aroha ki ngā mokopuna o Te Kōhanga Reo. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

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APPENDIX 1: GLOSSARY OF TERMS

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Ahau	me / my generation
Āhuatanga	characteristics
Ākonga	student
Aho Matua	Philosophy of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori
Anō	again
Ao	world
Ao Māori	Māori world view
Aotearoa	‘Long white cloud’, Māori indigenous name for New Zealand
Āpōpō	tomorrow
Āporo	apple
Ārani	orange
Ara tiatia	steps to assist in climbing a steep ascent
Arawa, Te	group of tribes in the Rotorua-Maketū area
Ariki	paramount chief
Aroha	love
Atawhai	to show kindness to
Atua	god, super natural being
Awa	river
Awhi	to embrace, help, assist
Haka	posture dance
Hākari	feast, banquet
Hapū	sub-tribe
Hāngi	earth oven to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones
Hokinga	return

Hongi	to press noses in greeting, smell
Hononga	connection, relationship
Himene	hymn
Hinengaro	mind, thought, intellect
Hui	meeting, gathering
Ihi	passion
Inu	drink
Ingoa	name
Iwi	tribe
Kai	meal
Kaiako	teacher
Kaiāwhina	assistant
Kaikaranga	caller
Kaimahi	staff,
Kaitiaki	guardian
Kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
Kapa haka	Māori cultural performing group
Karakia	prayer
Karanga	call
Katia	close
Kaumātua	elders
Kaupapa	task
Kaupapa Māori	philosophy or vision incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society
Kaupapa Here	policy
Kauri	largest forest tree in Aotearoa
Kauwae Raro	earthly knowledge
Kauwae Runga	heavenly knowledge
Kawa	marae protocol
Ki	to
Kia Ora	greeting, thank you, hello or be well

Kite	to see
Koha	donation
Kōhangā	nest
Kōhangā Reo	Language Nest
Kohi pūtea	fundraising
Koro / Koroua	Grandfather, male elder
Kōrero	interview, information
Kōrerorero	discussion, dialogue
Kotahitanga	term for holistic within Te Whāriki
Koura	crayfish
Kōwhaiwhai	graphic designs
Kuaha	door
Kuia	Grandmother, female elder
Kura	School
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori Medium School

Mahuika	spiritual guard of fire
Māmā	Mother
Mamae	sore
Mana	prestige, pride, dignity, status
Manaaki	being hospitable, caring
Manuhiri	visitors
Marae	ancestral meeting place
Marama	moon
Mātai Tamaiti	child assessment through collective observations
Matariki	Māori New Year
Mātauranga	academia
Matua	parent
Mātua	parents
Māu	for you
Mau rākau	weaponry
Maunga	mountain
Mauri	lifeforce

Mihi	greeting
Mihi Whakatau	official welcome speech
Mihimihi	greeting
Moana	lake
Moko	cultural imprint / DNA
Mokopuna	grandchildren, young child related to that elder
Mōteatea	chants
Mōrena	good morning
Ngā	the (pl)
Ngā Huarahi Arataki	Pathways to the Future
Ngākau	heart, soul
Ngākau māhaki	humble, modest
Ngā Kaupapa Whakahaere	name for the principles in Te Whāriki, the curriculum
Ngā Rangitūhāhā	Uppermost realm
Ngā Taumata Whakahirahira	name for the Strands and Goals in Te Whāriki, the curriculum
Ngai Tahu	tribal group of much of the South Island
Ngā Tama Toa	young Māori group
Ngai Tuhoe	tribal group of the Bay of Plenty in the Kutarere- Ruātoki - Waimana -Waikaremoana area
Ngāti Porou	tribal group of East Coast area north of Gisborne to Tihirau
Ngāti Raukawa	tribal group from the Maungatautari -Tokoroa area. Some migrated from there with Te Rauparaha to the Ōtaki area.
Noho	sit
Ohu	committee
Ohu Kaimahi	personnel committee
Oriori	lullaby
Pākehā English,	caucasian, western culture
Pakiwaitara	stories
Pāpā	Father
Papa Kāinga	ancestral home

Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
Parihaka	a town established on the slopes of Taranaki by Te Whiti and Tohu
Patimana	Batman
Patupaiarehe	fairies
Pepehā	tribal saying, proverb especially about a tribe
Pepi	baby
Pou	pillar
Poutama	stepped pattern symbolising the various levels of learning and intellectual achievement
Pōwhiri	welcoming ceremony
Puna	well, spring
Purerehua	butterfly
Pungawerewere	spider
Purapura	Cluster of Kōhangas
Pūtea	finance
Putiputi	flower
Rākau	tree
Rakiraki	duck
Rangatira	chief, leader
Rangatiratanga	chieftainship
Ranginui	Sky Father
Rangimarie	peace
Rā whānau	birthday
Reme	lamb
Reo	language
Rohe	district
Rūnanganui	association
Runga	on top
Taiaha	a long wooden spear
Tātou/Tātau	us, (including speaker)

Tātau tātau	collective responsibility
Tākaro	play
Tama	boy
Taonga	treasure, prized gift
Tangata	person
Tapu	sacred
Tamaiti	child
Tamariki	children
Tamanui-te-rā	the Sun
Tangihanga	funeral
Taumata	level, grade
Tauparapara	formal introduction
Te	the (singular). See ngā for the plural form
Te Ataarangi	Māori second language programme for whānau
Te Reo Māori	the Māori language
Teina	younger sister or brother, junior
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Treaty of Waitangi
Tiaki	guard, look after
Tiaki Whenua	look after property
Tikanga	customs and values
Tinana	body, the physical
Tirīti	treaty
Tirohanga	observations
Tino Rangatiratanga	autonomy, self determination
Tino taonga	very special gift/ treasure
Tipuna /Tīpuna	ancestor /ancestors
Toa	warrior, shop
Tohu	sign, qualification
Tohunga	expert or specialist in a particular field of knowledge
Tuakana	older sister or brother, senior
Tuhituhi	writing, diary keeping
Tukutuku	woven lattice
Tupuna /Tūpuna	ancestor /ancestors

Tūrangawaewae	geographical place of descent
Tūtohinga	charter, agreement
Ūkaipō	mother, origin, source of sustenance
Umu	stove
Urupā	cemetery
Waewae	leg
Waiata	song, sing
Waiata ā ringa	action song
Wairua	spirit
Waka	canoe, modern reference also to car
Wānanga	meeting, workshops, university or tertiary education, seminar
Wero	challenge, aims
Whai Oranga	health
Whaikōrero	formal speech
Whaka	make
Whakaari	play, drama story
Whakaaro	thought, idea
Whakahaere	principles
Whakahirahira	important
Whakamamae	hurt, labour pains
Whakamana	empower
Whakanoa	to remove tapu
Whakapakari	strengthen
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whakapiripiri	to keep close together, attach
Whakatauira	demonstrate
Whakataukī	proverb
Whakatipuranga Rua Mano	towards the year 2000
Whakawhanaungatanga	relationships
Whānau	family
Whanaunga	relation
Whanaungatanga	socio-cultural interactions, relationships

Whānau Tangata	term used in Te Whāriki meaning to support
Whare	house
Wharekai	dining house
Wharekura	school – traditionally the place where esoteric lore was taught
Wharenui	meeting house
Wharepaku	toilet
Whare Wānanga	Māori University
Whāriki	mat, also the name given to the New Zealand Early Childhood Curriculum
Whatumanawa	emotions
Whenua	land, after birth

APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORMS

TE KŌHANGA REO KAIAKO CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Title of the Project: that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and Kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori.

Kairangahau/Researcher: Arapera Royal Tangaere

I agree to participate in the project and have understood the explanation of this research. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

I understand that the kairangahau/researcher will ensure the integrity of the Mokopuna, the whānau and the kaupapa and that I can withdraw myself and any information I have provided at any time (up until June 2005) without having to give any reasons

I agree/do not agree that Kaiako/mokopuna interactions may be photographed, audio or video taped.

I also understand that we can withdraw the photographs, audio and/or video taped interactions of ourselves and the mokopuna.

I understand that the interview and all information will be confidential to the kairangahau/researcher.

I understand that data from this research will be archived in Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Archives and that future uses of the data will be restricted to the kaupapa ō Te Kōhanga Reo. It will not include analyses of data in relation to individuals or Kōhanga that took part in this project.

Signed

Name (Please print)
(Kaiako/Kaimahi)

Date

Approved by the The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

on for a period of months from Reference No

HE PEPA WHAKAAE-A-TUHI MŌ NGĀ KAIAKO KI TE URU MAI KI TĒNEI KAUPAPA RANGAHAU

KA PURITIA TĒNEI PEPA WHAKAAE-A-TUHI MŌ NGĀ TAU E ONO

Whakawhānuitia te hinengaro:

Kai Rangahau: Arapera Royal Tangaere

Kua tautoko i te mahitahi, ā, me ngā whakamāramatanga mō tēnei kaupapa rangahau, ā, kei te mārama rawa atu ahau. Kua whai wā ahau hei whiuwhiu pātai me te rongo hoki i ngā whakaututanga.

E mārama nei ahau, ka tiaki te kairangahau i te wairua o ngā mokopuna, te whānau me te kaupapa o te Kōhanga Reo hoki, ā, kei a ahau anō te tikanga ki te puta, ki te tango hoki i ngā kōrero, nāku nei i hoatu ki te kaupapa, ngā hopuāhuatanga hoki tae noa atu ki te marama o Hune, te tau 2005. Ka mōhio ahau, kaore he kōrero whakamārama māku mō tēnei.

E whakaae ana ahau / e kore ahau e whakaae, kia mihini-hopureo, mihini-hopuāhuatia rānei i ngā nohotahitanga ki waenganui i te kaiako me te mokopuna.

Kei te marama rawa atu ahau he kōrero muna a taku kōrero e hangai ana ki ngā tini āhuatanga o tēnei kaupapa rangahau. Ma te kairangahau anake ēnei kōrero.

E marama ana ki ahau ka tiakina nga hua o tēnei mahi e Te Poari Matua o Te Kōhanga Reo, a, ko nga mahi e tukuna ana i nga tau kei mua mo te kaupapa o Te Kōhanga Reo anake, e kore hoki e tukuna kia hangai ki ia tangata, Kōhanga reo ramie, i tirohia e tēnei mahi.

Tuhia tō mokotā:

Tō ingoa:

(Kia mārama te tuhi, kia ora)

Te rā:

He tikanga kua whakamanahia e te komiti manaaki tangata tauira o Te Whare Wānanga o Tamaki Makaurau i te rā: mō ngā tau e mai

TE KŌHANGA REO PARENT/GUARDIAN CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Title of the Project: that the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo results in socio-cultural interactions (whanaungatanga) within the home and Kōhanga that support the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori.

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Kairangahau/Researcher: Arapera Royal Tangaere

We have agreed to participate in the project and have understood the explanation of this research. We have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

We understand that the kairangahau/researcher will ensure the integrity of the Mokopuna, the whānau and the kaupapa and that we can withdraw our child and/or any information we have provided at any time (up until June 2005) without having to give any reasons.

We agree/do not agree that Kaiako/mokopuna interactions may be photographed, audio or video taped.

We also understand that we can withdraw the photographs, audio and/or videotaped interactions of ourselves and our child.

We understand that audio and videotapes of our child will be given to us.

We understand that the interview and all information will be confidential to the kairangahau/researcher.

We understand that data from this research will be archived in Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Archives and that future uses of the data will be restricted to Te kaupapa o Te Kōhanga Reo. It will not include analyses of data in relation to individuals or Kōhanga that took part in this project.

We agree that , who is under our guardianship may take part in this project.

Signed

Names

(Please

print) Parents/Guardians

Date

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on for a

period of months from Reference No

HE PEPA WHAKAAE-A-TUHI MŌ NGĀ MATUA /KAITIAKI KI TE URU MAI KI TĒNEI KAUPAPA RANGAHAU

KA PURITIA TĒNEI PEPA WHAKAAE-A-TUHI MŌ NGĀ TAU E ONO

Whakawhānuitia te hinengaro:

Kai Rangahau: Arapera Royal Tangaere

Kua tautoko i te mahitahi, ā, me ngā whakamāramatanga mō tēnei kaupapa rangahau, ā, kei te mārama rawa atu māua. Kua whai wā māua hei whiuwhiu pātai me te rongo hoki i ngā whakaututanga.

E mārama nei māua, ka tiaki te kairangahau i te wairua o tā māua tamaiti, te whānau me te kaupapa o te Kōhanga Reo hoki, ā, kei a māua anō te tikanga ki te puta, ki te tango hoki i ngā kōrero, nā māua nei i hoatu ki te kaupapa, ngā hopuāhuatanga hoki tae noa atu ki te marama o Hune, te tau 2005. Ka mōhio māua, kaore he kōrero whakamārama mā māua mō tēnei.

E whakaae ana māua / e kore māua e whakaae, kia mihini-hopureo, mihini-hopuāhuatia rānei i ngā nohotahitanga ki waenganui i te kaiako me tā māua tamaiti.

Kei te marama rawa atu māua ka hōmai ngā hopuāhuatanga o tā māua tamaiti.

Kei te marama rawa atu māua he kōrero muna a māua kōrero e hangai ana ki ngā tini āhuatanga o tēnei kaupapa rangahau. Ma te kairangahau anake ēnei kōrero.

E marama ana ki māua ka tiakina nga hua o tēnei mahi e Te Poari Matua o Te Kōhanga Reo, a, ko nga mahi e tukuna ana i nga tau kei mua mo te kaupapa o Te Kōhanga Reo anake, e kore hoki e tukuna kia hangai ki ia tangata, Kōhanga reo rānei, i tirohia e tēnei mahi.

E whakaae ana māua kia uru atu a tā māua tamaiti, kei raro te mana o taku kaitiakitanga, ki tēnei kaupapa rangahau.

Tuhia ō korua mokotā:

Ō korua ingoa:

(Kia mārama te tuhi, kia ora)

Te rā:

He tikanga kua whakamanahia e te komiti manaaki tangata tauira o Te Whare Wānanga o Tamaki Makaurau i te ra: mō ngā tau e mai

APPENDIX 3: INFORMATION SHEETS

KAIAKO PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title of the Project: The stronger the cultural base in Te Kōhanga Reo the higher the quality interactions (Whanaungatanga) and the construction of language development as defined by tikanga Māori.

Ngā tikanga, poupouā; Ngā Whanaungatanga, whakamana; Ā, ka puna ko te reo Māori

Ko te Whakatauaki nei o Te Kōhanga Reo – Pono ki te kaupapa, Puna ko te reo.

Ko Arapera Royal Tangaere tōku ingoa. Nō Te Arawa whānui, Ngāti Raukawa, Kaitahu ūku iwi.

I currently work at the national office of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and I am interested in a study of language acquisition and cultural interaction of children and their whānau in Te Kōhanga Reo and the micro, meso, and macro sociocultural influences on the whānau: an ecological model of whānau development.

This research is being conducted as part of my requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Auckland.

I would like to study language and social interactions between the Kaiako and the two children chosen for this in your Te Kōhanga Reo.

I would like to seek your permission to observe, audio and video record interactions in your Kōhanga. The duration of my work is six months and I will visit the Kōhanga three times during this period, term 3 and term 4, 2004 and term 1, 2005. I will be in the Kōhanga for up to a week each time. During this time I will observe the two children by written, audio or video recording for a total of two hours during the day.

I would also like to discuss with you, your thoughts on the kaupapa/philosophy of Te Kōhanga Reo, the Māori language and the participation of the whānau. This discussion should only take approximately 45 minutes.

In no way will your name be associated with any information I obtain and report and this information will respect your privacy. A hui will be held in Term 2, 2005 to discuss findings.

If you decide not to take part or decide to withdraw any information you have provided at any time during this study (up to June 2005), You should feel free to do so without having to give any reason and this will be completely respected.

Your privacy will be protected at all times during the research and after the research is completed. No individual will be identified in the final report. Results of the study will be made available to the Kōhanga to help develop kaupapa practise in your Kōhanga reo.

The data will be stored at Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and can only be accessed for future use, where that use is to benefit the Kōhanga Reo movement. Future use will not include analyses of data in relation to individuals of kōhanga that took part in the study. A copy of the doctorate will be presented to the Kōhanga reo when it is completed.

Thank you very much for your time and support in making this research possible. If you have any queries or wish to know more, please phone collect, write, or e-mail me at the address below.

Arapera Royal Tangaere
8 Aramoana Place
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(04) 381 8750 (work)
(027) 226 0274 (mobile phone)
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For any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact:

The Chair
University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland
Research Office – Office of the Vice Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
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Ph: (09) 373 7599 extn 87830

The Head of the School is:

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The School of Education
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Auckland
Phone: (09) 3737599 extn 87379

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on
..... For a period of 2 years, from Reference

HE PEPA WHAKAMĀRAMA KŌRERO MŌ NGĀ KAIKO

Whakawhānuitia te hinengaro:

Ngā tikanga, poupouā; Ngā Whanaungatanga, whakamana; Ā, ka puna ko te reo Māori

Ko te Whakatauaki nei o Te Kōhanga Reo –

Pono ki te kaupapa, Puna ko te reo.

Ko Arapera Royal Tangaere tōku ingoa. Nō Te Arawa whānui, Ngāti Raukawa, Kaitahu ūku iwi.

Ko au he kaupapa kaimahi o Te Poari Matua o Te Kōhanga Reo. He mahi rangahau tēnei e pā ana ki te rironga o te reo me te mahi ahurea i waenganui ngā tamariki, me ū rātou whānau i Te Kōhanga Reo, me te āhuatanga o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi. E awe kau atu ana ki ngā whānau, he tauira toi potapotae o te whanaketanga o te whānau.

Ko te rangahau nei e mahi ana mai e ahau. He ākonga ahau o te Whare Wānanga o Tamaki Makaurau i mahi rangahau i taku Tohu Takutatanga

E hiahia ana ahau ki te rangahau i ngā nohotahitanga ki waenganui i tā koutou te Kōhanga Reo. E āta titiro ana ahau ki te āhuatanga o ā koutou tamariki tokorua me ki te rironga o rāua reo Māori.

E hiahia ana ahau i ū koutou whakaaetanga ki te kohi ma te mihini-hopuāhua i roto i tō koutou te Kōhanga reo. Ko te roanga o te wā o taku mahi nei (e ono ngā marama) ka haere mai ahau e toru ngā wā ki te āta titiro i ū koutou tamariki tokorua. (wāhanga 3 me wāhanga 4, 2004, ā, wāhanga 1, 2005). E rua ngā haora, ā, ka mahia te mahi tirohanga. Ā i mua mai, i tautohu ngā tamariki tokorua mai he reta, ā me ngā putanga, e waiho ana kia tino matatapu.

E hiahia ana āhua ki te kōrero ki ētahi Kaiako i ū koutou whakaaro i te kaupapa o te Kōhanga reo, te reo Māori, ā, te mahitahi o te whānau. Ka kōrero tatau mo e 45 ngā miniti.

Mehemea, ka whakatau koutou kia mahitahi, mēnā ka whakatau koutou kia whakatahi rānei ū koutou tamariki tokorua i ētahi wā o ngā mahi rangahau, kei a koutou tērā. Kei a koutou anō te tikanga ki te puta, ki te tango hoki i ngā kōrero i hoatu ki te kaupapa tae noa atu ki te marama o Hune, te tau 2005. Mēnā, kāre koutou e hiahia ana ngā kōrero mai mo te take, e pai ana.

Tō koutou wehenga punanga me tō koutou matatapu, e tino whakangungu ana i ngā wā katoa o te kaupapa mahi rangahau nei, ā, tae noa ki te muting o te kaupapa mahi, kore ū koutou ingoa, me te ingoa o ngā tamariki katoa e tautohu mai te whakamana o te rangahau. Ngā torangapu i puta mai, ka tono atu ki Te Kōhanga Reo, kia awhi atu i te āhuatanga o te whakaharatau i roto i ngā Kōhanga Reo hei tautoko.

Ka tiakina nga hua o tēnei mahi rangahau e Te Poari Matua o Te Kōhanga Reo, a, ko nga mahi e tukuna ana i nga tau kei mua mo te kaupapa o Te Kōhanga Reo anake, e kore hoki e tukuna kia hangai ki ia tangata, Kōhanga reo rānei, i tirohia e tēnei mahi.

No reirā, he mihi whānui tēnei ki a koutou mō ōu koutou āwhina mai i ahau, kia tutuki ai tēnei mahi rangahau. Mēnā, kei a koutou ētahi pātai, e hiahia ana koutou ki ētahi atu kōrero rānei, me waea mai, tuhituhi mai rānei ki;

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Tēnā pea, he uiui āu, tonoa ki te tangata kua whaingoatia ki raro nei,

The Chair
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Te Tumuaki o te Kura Akoranga:
Professor Viviane Robinson
The School of Education
Private Bag 92019
Auckland
Phone: (09) 3737599 extn 87379

He tikanga kua whakamanahia e te komiti manaaki tangata tauira o Te Whare Wānanga o Tamaki Makaurau i te ra: mō ngā tau e rua mai .

APPENDIX 4: LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT DIARY

The recordings that you write into this diary will help us note your child's te reo Māori development over the next six months. It will also enable us to identify particular whānau events or activities when your child communicates and help us to understand the contextual prompts that may trigger te reo. These events or activities may happen at home or away from home such as in the car, shopping trips, visits to other places. It is important to record as much as possible of the child's te reo Māori, when they occur, who was present, and the context. An example of recordings are included below for your guidance.

- The diary provided is a carbon duplicate book, which has been ruled as below. The top copy will be collected by the researcher each visit.
- It is important to keep the diary handy. Keeping it in the same special place in your home helps you to locate it quickly.
- A pad of Quik Stiks has been provided for you to keep in the car, in your bag, pocket or in your home for quick access.
- When a recording has been made using the Quik Stik please ensure that you have
 - **the date,**
 - **who was present and interacted with your child,**
 - **te reo used by the child and participants; and**
 - **a brief account of the event, eg** (mealtime at home saying karakia);
- Include any visits away from the home where you observe your child speaking te reo (eg out shopping, arriving or leaving kōhanga, in the car).
- Be sure to place the Quik Stik in a safe place until you can record it into the diary
- Try to include at least two entries per day during the designated week.
- Write as much as you can

Activity / Event (Brief description of the activity and where it took place)

Date & Time of activity (approx)	Who was there (Include others besides you)	Te Reo Maori spoken as heard	Body Language used by the child
26.7.05 8:15am	Mother and child	Mo. "kia ora M. Māku e Karakia" M. "Ae" Mo. "Whakapaingia, e Ihowa ..." M& Mo "Amine"	Child puts hands together without prompt from Mother. Child nods head up & down