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Te Reo, a language for Māori alone?

An investigation into the relationship between
the Māori language and Māori identity

Arapera Bella Ngaha

A thesis submitted to the University of Auckland, Auckland in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Māori Studies, 2011.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a sociolinguistic study that addresses the link between Māori identity and the ability to speak and understand te reo Māori (the Māori language). This study goes right to the heart of the relationship between language and identity. The international literature regarding this relationship is considerable and suggests that for many of the indigenous and minority language communities around the world, such a link is an imperative. It is a view that is also reflected in the Māori literature. As a first step this study questions that proposition and explores the views of Māori on this matter which allows us to gain insights into the ways in which Māori in the early 21st century view their language and their identity.

In a second phase this study looks to explore the idea of encouraging and supporting non-Māori – those who have no Māori whakapapa (geneology) – into learning to speak te reo Māori as a means of assisting te reo revitalisation, through increasing the numbers of speakers of te reo. Understandings around the importance of te reo to Māori identity have had a huge influence on the ways in which Māori reacted to this proposition.

This project is of direct relevance to Māori, who have been extremely concerned for several decades about the loss of the Māori language and its ongoing threatened status. Māori have been directly involved in measures to preserve the language both on the national stage and at local levels. More than 600 people contributed to this study and both quantitative and qualitative modes of analysis were employed at different stages of this study. The quantitative data from the survey was analysed using the SPSS¹ programme. Interpretive content analysis and narrative analysis that utilised tikanga or models of Māori understandings of identity, and sociolinguistic theory exposed a number of themes that are used to illustrate the findings of this study.

¹ Statistical Analysis Programme for Social Sciences (SPSS) is commonly used in sociolinguistic analysis of quantitative data.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Glossary	x
Abbreviations	xiii
Writing Conventions	xiv
 CHAPTER 1 – <i>Te reo me te tuakiri</i>: an investigation of te reo Māori and Māori identity	
Introduction	1
Background	6
A Brief discussion of the literature relevant to this study	13
Outline of chapters	23
 CHAPTER 2 – <i>Mahia kia tika</i>: ethical issues in methodology	
Introduction	27
Ethical review	28
The Survey	32
Community Hui	38
Interviews	46
Personal contributions.....	46
Conclusion	48
 CHAPTER 3 – <i>Mā hea koe e Māori ai?</i>: Māori identity survey	
Introduction	49
Survey results	56
Relationship between markers of identity	70
Comments section	73
Findings	76
Conclusion	82
 CHAPTER 4 – <i>Mā tō kōrero, tuhinga rānei koe e Māori ai</i>: Māori identity through narrative analysis	
Introduction	86
Background	87
Narratives	100
Analysing the narratives	101
Interpretive Content Analysis	104
Results	109
Surveys versus narratives	121

Conclusion	124
 CHAPTER 5 – <i>Mā te iwi e kōrero</i>: the voices of the people	
Introduction	126
Community Hui	128
Te Rōpū Tuatahi	130
Te Rōpū Tuarua	138
Te Rōpū Tuatoru	142
Te Rōpū Tuawhā	145
Te Rōpū Tuarima	147
Te Rōpū Tuaono	149
Te Rōpū Tuawhitu	151
Te Rōpū Tuawaru	154
Te Rōpū Tuaiwa	155
Responses collated from community hui	156
Saying NO	158
a) <i>Nōku tēnei taonga</i>	158
b) Te reo for Māori first	158
c) Selected target groups	159
d) Tikanga, te reo = Māori identity	161
e) Abuse of te reo and tikanga	162
f) Control of te reo	164
g) Commodification	166
Saying YES	167
a) Improving race relations	167
b) ‘Growing’ te reo	170
c) Retaining a Māori identity	172
Other points of discussion	174
a) Teaching te reo	175
b) Compulsory learning of te reo	175
The Interviews	176
a) Hare	176
b) Patrick	178
c) Wiremu	181
d) Hiria	184
e) Wiki & Hariata	186
f) Takiri	190
Summary of interviews	192
Personal communications	193
Conclusion	195

CHAPTER 6 – <i>Ehara te toka a Kiha i te toka whitinga rā, engari koe e Mapuna, he ripo kau tāu e kitea ai: analysis and discussion</i>	
Introduction	197
Theme 1 – <i>Te reo me te tuakiri: language and identity through sociolinguistic filters</i>	200
Theme 2 – Distance: geographic, generational, cultural and social	215
Theme 3 – Control of te reo and managing te reo resources	227
Theme 4 – <i>Manaakitanga me whanaungatanga: being inclusive</i>	233
What if?	236
Decision-making: to support non-Māori or not	242
Conclusion	243
CHAPTER 7 – <i>Kōrerotia he kōma, e kore e kōrerotia te pounamu: concluding thoughts</i>	
Introduction	248
The Journey	250
Priorities	252
Concerns	253
Conclusion	254
APPENDIX I	
Participant Information Sheets	257
Consent Forms	261
Community Hui Consents	263
Hui Participant Record Sheet	264
Report to Community Participants	265
APPENDIX II	
Survey Document	267
APPENDIX III	
Table 4.3 Focal text analysis	269
Table 5.1 Hui participants' data	271
Table 5.2 Percentage totals of iwi affiliation of hui participants	272
APPENDIX IV	
Published works and Conference papers	273
REFERENCES	274

List of Tables

Table 3.1	Distribution of the survey respondents by Age, Gender, Language Proficiency and Type of Schooling	57
Table 3.2	Distribution of the survey respondents by Age Groupings, Gender Language Proficiency and Schooling	59
Table 3.3	Percentage of responses for each marker of identity	62
Table 3.4	Percentage distribution of Language Proficiency by Age group	64
Table 3.5	Percentage of ratings (1 & 2) of markers of identity by Age Groups	65
Table 3.6	Percentage of responses signalling the importance of Te Reo By Proficiency in Te Reo – <i>Speakers</i> and <i>non-Speakers</i>	68
Table 3.7	Comparing the survey data: Rangiatea women with non-Rangiatea women	70
Table 3.8	Correlation of survey ratings across markers of identity	71
Table 3.9	Percentage of comments made in Māori by the rating of the importance of Te Reo and by Age	75
Table 3.10	Percentage of comments made mostly in English by the rating of the importance of Te Reo and by Age	76
Table 4.1	The Māori Boarding Schools	89
Table 4.2	Background of the writers	98
Table 4.3	Focal text analysis	267
Table 4.4	Overview of Traditional and Interpretive Content Analysis	105
Table 4.5	Distribution of the markers of identity noted in the narratives	110
Table 4.6	Comparison of the findings from the narrative and survey data	122
Table 5.1	Hui participants' data	269
Table 5.2	Iwi affiliation of hui participants by percentage totals	270
Table 6.1	Reasons for not supporting non-Māori in learning te reo	242

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	Model A: A Fluid and non-Fixed Māori Identity	16
Figure 3.1	Percentage of responses to the importance of Te Reo by Age and by Language Proficiency	67
Figure 3.2	Relationships between markers of identity	72
Figure 3.3	Percentage of responses by language type used in comments	74
Figure 6.1	Agencies of distance supporting LS, language loss, loss of knowledge, of tikanga and loss of identity	216
Figure 6.2	Agencies of distance supporting LS, language loss, loss of cultural knowledge and loss of identity	240

GLOSSARY

ao	world
awa	river
hapū	sub-tribe
hui	gathering, meeting
iwi	tribe, people
kaiako	teacher
kāinga	home, village
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
kapa haka	cultural dance group
karakia	incantations, prayers, church
karanga	to call, a ceremonial call
kaumātua	elder
kaupapa Māori	a political response that promotes and supports research and education for Māori, by Māori conducted in Māori ways
kōrero	to talk
kuia	elderly woman
kura	school
mana	prestige, standing, spiritual authority
manuhiri	visitors
marae	gathering place, complex of buildings – whareniui, dining-room and ablution block
manaakitanga	hospitality, being of service to ...
mātauranga	knowledge, wisdom
maunga	mountain
mau rākau	ancestral martial arts with fighting staff
mihi, mihimihi, mihi whakatau	speeches of welcome
mokopuna	grandchild
pakeke	adult
pānui	a notice, to announce
pepeha	tribal saying
poukai	gathering of loyal followers of the Kingitanga movement
pōwhiri	formal welcome, ritual welcome

puku	abdomen, stomach
raranga	to weave
rōpū	group
taiaha	a fighting staff
taitamariki	young person/s, teenager
tamariki	children
tangata whenua	people of the land
tangi	to cry, a funeral
taonga	treasured item
tapu	restricted, limited, sacred
tauparapara	a proverbial saying
tautoko	to support
tiakitanga	guardianship, care giving
tika	correct
tikanga	customary practise, protocols
tuaiwa	ninth
tuaono	sixth
tuarima	fifth
tuarua	second
tuatahi	first
tuatoru	third
tuawaru	eighth
tuawhā	fourth
tuawhitu	seventh
tupuna	grandparent, ancestor
waewae tapu	first time visitor
waiata	song
wānanga	learning / teaching forum
whakaaro	thought
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	proverbial saying
whānau	family
whanaungatanga	kinship relationships
whare	house
whenua	land

PLACENAMES

Aotearoa	=	New Zealand	Hauraki
Kaeo			Kahungunu
Maniapoto			Manukau
Rangiatea			Tai Tokerau
Taranaki			Waikaremoana
Waikato			Waipapa
Waipu			Waitaruke
Wanganui			

PROPER NOUNS

Kohanga Reo	Preschool 'language nests'
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori language medium Primary Schools
Matariki	Pleides constellation
Ngāpuhi	Tribe of the mid-Northland region
Ngāi Tūhoe	Tribe situated inland of the Bay of Plenty
Ngāti Porou	East Coast tribe
Ngāti Whātua	Auckland tribe
Tainui	Waikato tribe's waka (canoe)
Tauīwi	non-Māori
Te Arawa	Central North Island tribe
Te Rōpū Kapa Haka o Waipapa	Waipapa Marae Kapa Haka
Te Whānau a Apanui	East Coast tribe
Tūwharetoa	Central North Island tribe
Waikato	Tribe on west coast of the North Is, situated south of Auckland.
Whare Kura	Secondary School – total immersion
Whare Wānanga	house of learning, university, tertiary institute

Abbreviations

CA	Content Analysis
ICA	Interpretive Content Analysis
KKM	Kura Kaupapa Māori
LL	Language Loss
LS	Language Shift
MTV	Māori Television
NZCER	New Zealand Council for Education and Research
PIS	Participant Information Sheet
SPSS	Statistical Analysis Programme for Social Sciences
Taura Whiri	Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori
TCA	Traditional Content Analysis
TPK	Te Puni Kōkiri, Ministry of Māori Development
UAHSEC	University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee
L2	Second language (speaker, learner)

Writing Conventions

In the body of the thesis where Māori words are used in the text for the first time a gloss or a translation follows immediately after in brackets. A Glossary can also be found on pages ix to xi. Where there is need for a larger explanation, especially concerning concepts, or where a term has a range of meanings in different contexts, then the explanations of how they are used and with what meanings in this thesis are footnoted. However, when the participants' words are expressed in Māori, the Māori is italicized and translations follow (in brackets thus). The translations of the Māori text have been reproduced in consultation with the participants and with their consent. Where there is need for elaboration or clarification of points in the text, these clarifications are bracketed with [square brackets].

In Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six where participants' own words are used in the text, they are referenced by the assigned codename or numerical codes. Participant contributions noted in the survey, in the community hui, interviews and personal communications were allocated an alpha numeric code or, in cases where individuals in hui and interviews were able to be identified, were assigned pseudonyms. The contributions from the narratives described in Chapter Four were given pseudonyms and quotes used are referenced in this way.

Chapter 1

Te Reo me te tuakiri:

an investigation of te reo Māori and Māori identity

INTRODUCTION

This work is a sociolinguistic study that sets out to address one strategy for assisting the revitalisation efforts of te reo Māori. That strategy looks at increasing the numbers of those who are fluent in te reo by supporting and encouraging non-Māori,¹ who wish to learn, to speak te reo. Learning te reo involves engagement in all aspects of Māori society, because the language is seen as central to Māori ethnic and cultural identity.² The numbers of speakers of te reo Māori continue to drop³ and this study argues that because fewer people are able to engage in the language then the link between te reo Māori and Māori identity is weakened, that it is no longer central to identity. If that is the case and the language is no longer considered to be a core value for Māori identity then there ought to be no barriers to non-Māori learning te reo.

This study goes right to the heart of the relationship between te reo Māori and Māori ethnic identity. The international literature regarding the proximity of language to identity is

¹ There are a number of terms used to describe this population in the literature some have used the term ‘general population,’ others, ‘mainstream New Zealanders’ or ‘all New Zealanders.’ I have chosen to use the term non-Māori, defined as those who have no Māori ancestry as distinct from Māori, or those with whakapapa Māori.

² In this work I use the term ‘ethnic identity’ to reflect “a specific form of cultural distinctiveness and boundary formation grounded in beliefs of social connectedness and descent” (Pearson, 1996:248), and ‘culture’ to reflect the ways in which an ethnic group draw on their own knowledge and knowledge systems that allow them to act and perform particular aspects of their shared ethnicity (Nash, 1987; Song, 2003).

³ The New Zealand Census 2006 shows 23.7% of all Māori state that they are able to ‘have a conversation about a lot of everyday things’ in Māori, with other ethnic groups (non-Māori) less than 1% of the total population in 2001 (Ngaha, .Starks, Galbraith 2004) and even less in 2006 (Statistics NZ, 2007).

considerable, and suggests that for many of the indigenous and minority language communities around the world, such a link is an imperative. That view is also reflected in the Māori literature. As a first step, this study questions that proposition and explores the views of Māori on this matter which allows us to gain insights into the ways in which Māori in the early 21st century view their language and their identity.

This project is of direct relevance to Māori, who have been extremely concerned for several decades about the loss of the Māori language and its ongoing threatened status. Māori have been directly involved in measures to preserve the language that include the establishment of Māori as an official language, the implementation of education initiatives such as Māori medium schooling, and Māori broadcasting on both radio and television. Efforts to raise the fluency levels and increase the numbers of speakers within Māori communities have also been the focus of several iwi and hapū initiatives⁴ and a number of local community initiatives to promote learning of te reo have been helped more recently by government funding being set aside for this task.⁵

This study builds on the already extensive work carried out in language revitalisation and looks at another avenue for growing and maintaining a strong cohort of speakers of te reo Māori. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory (Giles and Johnson, 1987) suggests that if Māori are to retain a collective identity that places language at the centre, then there are three elements that need to be present in order to maintain and develop the language. Firstly the numbers of

⁴ Kotahi mano kāika – is the programme set up by the Kai Tahu iwi of the South Island to help their people rekindle the language. Their programme has a website which provides information and offers resources for those of that area to learn their dialect, to upskill and to learn more about their language, their people and their history. ‘Whakareia te kakara o te hinu raukawa’ Te rautaki reo o Raukawa is the language strategy set in place for people of Raukawa iwi and hapū to assist the development of te reo among their people.

⁵ Mā Te Reo – is an agency within Te Taura Whiri I Te Reo, the Māori Language Commission that has been tasked with funding and monitoring local initiatives from Māori communities that aid increasing te reo competence and fluency.

speakers of the language must be sufficient to maintain a population of speakers and inter-generational transmission of language is necessary to provide that support. The second and third elements required must be institutional support, such as that provided by government, and recognition of, or the elevated status of the language. Goodwill and support must also be forthcoming from the wider community (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, D. 1977; Giles and Johnson, 1987; Fishman 2001). The latest census data (Statistics NZ, 2007) shows us that use of te reo is declining and that even if the whole Māori population were to learn the language, the number of speakers may still not be sufficient to ensure maintenance of the language to a level where it might be sustained long term. It is generally accepted that to improve the rate and passage of te reo learning in the community, that the adult population need to upskill and gain fluency in the language which they can then transmit to the next generation in the home. When language learning at school can be reinforced and modelled in the home then intergenerational transmission will be stronger and the growth and maintenance of the language sustainable long term. I, myself, having lived with the reality of the loss of the language have had to acquire fluency in my heritage language by learning it as a second language through tertiary study and community wānanga, and in my adulthood. It is not an easy task for adults to learn a second language (Ngaha, Starks *et al.* 2004 p.33; McIntosh 2005 p.45).⁶

Opportunities for anyone in New Zealand to learn Māori are readily accessible. At all levels of the education system classes teaching te reo Māori are available. Many communities run introductory te reo classes at local high schools for anyone to learn at a basic communicative skills level and success here often provides the impetus or encouragement for learners to

⁶ In the Benton (2002) study, in the Māori community in Auckland, the percentage of participants who self assessed their language competence with te reo as medium to highly competent was very low; 11% as opposed to the national average of 14%. Many of the participants in this study voiced their distress at being unable to adequately learn the language to a communicative level of fluency (Benton & Forer *et al.*, 2002, p.52).

extend their language skills. For some, that might mean entering a more formal education programme through tertiary institutions, or perhaps through iwi and hapū development programmes. Encouraging non-Māori to learn te reo may offer a means of adding to the sustainability of the language through increased numbers using te reo, but little is known about what Māori and Pākehā or non-Māori New Zealanders might think about this.

Preliminary studies have indicated that not all Māori are supportive of non-Māori speaking Māori (Benton 2001; Benton, Forer *et al.* 2002; Ngaha, Starks *et al.* 2004) and non-Māori do not appear to have a great deal of interest in doing so anyway (TPK 2006; de Bres 2009). The TPK Report (2002) goes so far as to even say that: “It is unlikely, in the immediate future that non-Māori will contribute greatly to the actual use of Māori” (p.12). It is imperative that this position is explored now so that language revitalisation strategies for the future can be shaped accordingly.

This project aimed to canvas the views of Māori towards non-Māori learning their language. The participant base was in Auckland, where a large number of tribal groups have representation and where a sizeable number of Māori reside, 24.2% of the total Māori population.⁷ Auckland is also host to a variety of pan-tribal agencies. A study here enabled a comprehensive analysis of Māori views, without canvassing the whole country (which would be ideal but outside the scope of this project). It was not my intention to present the ‘voice of Māoridom’ nor of any particular tribal community on this matter. The findings from this study are representative only of the cohort studied. My work has been to identify the issues and concerns that Māori communities have relating to how important they consider te reo to be to their identity, and to explore them.

⁷ The Regional Council by Sex and Age Group for the Māori Ethnic Census usually resident population count table shows 13.5% of the Māori population census count reside in the Waikato Regional Council area and 9.8% in the Wellington Regional Council area. The Auckland population figures are almost double that of the next highest area, Waikato Regional Council. (Statistics N.Z., 2007).

There were almost 650 participants in this study. A large number (457) took part in a survey, 146 participated through community hui, seven were interviewed and a further 35 participants proffered unsolicited personal contributions. The participants ranged in age from the youngest, a five year old present during one hui, several primary school age children and a number of high school students, up to two kuia (female elders) who told me they were in their eighties and who were probably the oldest in the cohort. The participants were recruited through whanaungatanga (kin relationships), through personal contacts and through reaching out to extended whānau and friends. In this, a very Māori way, the researchers and researched community have a relationship, albeit for some a tenuous one, right from the outset.

There were three main components to this study. The first was a consultative one. Tribal groups and pan-tribal agencies, in the Greater Auckland region, were approached and their interest solicited to gain as diverse a range of opinion as possible. The second phase was the data gathering stage and the third phase of the project was to triangulate and analyse both the quantitative and qualitative data gathered to ensure that the views of the community were reflected appropriately. Where overlaps between datasets occurred, these were the issues that appeared to be most important for the cohort and the themes those overlaps represent inform this work.

BACKGROUND

It is important to provide a backdrop to this study, a context that situates te reo Māori and the language revitalization story in Aotearoa (New Zealand). Māori is the language of the indigenous people who arrived in these islands more than 1,000 years ago and over the 170 year period of settlement by the British the principal language of this land has moved from Māori to English. English is the community language of New Zealand with both Māori and New Zealand Sign Language for the Deaf assigned the status of official languages of New Zealand through legislation⁸ but Māori have had a very difficult journey to attain that status.

The signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi⁹ in 1840 signalled the beginning of bicultural relations in this country and the population of New Zealand was overwhelmingly Māori. The language of communication between Māori and non-Māori was te reo Māori. A very small percentage of the Māori population at that time had also learned English through the mission schools and had at least a rudimentary knowledge of that language, utilising it well as they traded with the new Pākehā (European) settlers. But, Pākehā at this time did not learn te reo to the same degree that Māori learned English. Most Pākehā who had regular contact with Māori learned only enough so that they could ply their trade (Biggs 1968; Bentley 1999), or in the case of the Missionaries, to bring Christianity to the natives.

⁸ The Māori Language Act, 1987 and the New Zealand Sign Language Act, 2006 are the two relevant Acts.

⁹ Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Tiriti is also internationally recognised under the rule of *contra proferentum* as the official document. This treaty has been considered to be the founding document of this country's dual culture nationhood and establishes the basis for settlement in this country of Pākehā New Zealanders. It was an agreement signed in good faith by Māori Chiefs and British emissaries of the Crown. Some studies of this treaty suggest that it established New Zealand as a colony under the royal protection of Queen Victoria of England (Orange, 1987; Kawharu, 1989; Durie, 2005), but Mutu (2010) disagrees and states that by her emissary signing, the Queen was upholding the acknowledgement of her father that the rangatira held sovereignty over their own lands – in the prior document 'He Wakaputanga' (The Declaration of Independence) signed in 1835 between the Queen's emissary and 35 Māori chiefs.

In the years since 1840 the use of te reo Māori has declined dramatically and there are a number of factors that have contributed to that decline. The most dominant factors were those that supported the development of Pākehā institutions and that radically diminished Māori autonomy and Māori control of their own resources. In this way Māori ways of being were contained and eventually suppressed (Metge 1967; Forster 1968). Missionary influences,¹⁰ commerce and trade, sale of Māori land and the Māori Land Court system contributed to large numbers of the Māori population learning to speak English very early in the colonising of this country, in order to be in a position to compete for both services and justice (Biggs 1968; Spolsky 2003).

The effects of rapid colonisation in the 19th century saw alienation of Māori from their land and the subsequent loss of an economic base which led to Māori disenfranchisement and distancing from their ancestral lands, their cultural support and value systems.¹¹ In the mid 20th century, the primary process that promulgated that dislocation was urbanization (Metge 1967; Schwimmer 1968; Walker 1990). The cities offered much to the rural-based Māori by way of employment opportunities that promoted new, exciting and different ways to improve their economic circumstances. Urbanisation of Māori was also deliberate government policy aimed at providing factory workers and labourers for the increasingly industrial economy. It also facilitated the alienation of remaining lands to unpaid rates and debt to the Department of Māori Affairs. From the late 1940s, post World War II, and up to the mid 1960s Māori families transported themselves into the cities in great numbers leaving behind many of the

¹⁰ Missionaries engaged in the conversion of the native Māori population to Christianity set up Mission schools where the English language was taught and the Māori people proved to be avid learners (Laurenson 1972; Simon & Jenkins *et al* 1995).

¹¹ There is a large body of literature that addresses these issues in the colonisation of New Zealand and I refer the reader to Metge, 1967; Schwimmer, 1968; Adams, 1977; Kawharu, 1989; Walker, 2004; Salmond, 1991; Ward, 1994; Durie, 1998; Mead, 2003 and the reports of the Waitangi Tribunal accessible at www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports amongst others.

elderly and those required to maintain the small land holdings still in their possession, on their ancestral lands.

The most detrimental effect on Māori of that move into city life was the dislocation from the traditional communal supports and this led to the erosion of traditional values and customs and the much reduced use of the language. The New Zealand education system did not recognise the Māori language or Māori value systems and actively discouraged the use of te reo Māori. Biggs 1968; Edwards 1990; Simon, Jenkins *et al* 1995 and Spolsky 2003 all offer examples of this along with punitive measures sometimes administered. Māori families themselves often chose not to speak Māori to their children at home so as not to inhibit their social development in the 'Pākehā world' (Edwards 1990; Selby 1999; Ngaha 2001 and Ngaha, Galbraith and Starks 2004). By the time Māori parents realized that the reduced use of te reo in the home had affected intergenerational language transfer, almost a generation of urban-based Māori had grown up monolingual in English. The Sociolinguistic Survey of Māori Language commissioned by the New Zealand Council for Education and Research (NZCER)¹² and begun in 1973 revealed that there had already been a very large decrease in the numbers of people who were able to speak Māori, to understand Māori and to write in Māori. The survey's findings showed that Māori was no longer being learned in the home and that, except for a very few rural communities, it was no longer the language of the community (Benton, 1981; Benton, New Zealand Council for Educational Research & International Association of East-West Center Alumni., 1997).

Alarm bells rang in the hearts and minds of Māori elders and so began the work of planning how to rebuild the cohort of speakers of te reo and thus take the language out of the danger of

¹² This survey hereafter will be referred to as the NZCER survey.

extinction. These beginning steps led to a range of initiatives that set out to raise the profile of the language and promote access to language learning opportunities. It began with the formation of the Kohanga Reo movement, and ultimately led to education programmes being undertaken in the medium of te reo as part of the overall strategy for revitalisation of te reo Māori (Benton 1981; Smith 1997; Benton & Benton 1999).

The first Kohanga Reo was opened in 1981 at Waiwhetu Marae, Wainuiomata in Wellington and within a few years Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura and Whare Wānanga¹³ followed.

The Waitangi Tribunal, a commission of enquiry set up to review Māori grievances in relation to Treaty matters, received a claim in 1986 that held the Government to account for its failure to protect te reo Māori, a guarantee made through the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Much of the evidence provided to support the claim came from the NZCER Survey Report, from those in the field of education and from within Māori communities especially native speakers of the language, who despaired of losing the language altogether. The Tribunal found in favour of the claimants and made a number of recommendations to the government, several of which were implemented by the Crown.¹⁴

The Māori Language Act 1987 resulted from the recommendations and gives recognition to the Māori language as an official language of this country (Benton 1981; 2007; Benton, NZCER *et al* 1997). This Act requires the government to preserve and protect te reo Māori (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal 1989). To meet these commitments several government

¹³ Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura and Whare Wānanga are the Pre School, Primary School, High School and Tertiary Institutes that deliver mainstream curricula in the medium of te reo Māori.

¹⁴ The Waitangi Tribunal as a Commission of Enquiry is able to make recommendations to government, but is powerless to implement them.

agencies were charged with fostering the use of te reo Māori in public forums such as in the public service, in the courts of law, in the media, and the education sector.

Within the public service, some government departments that had strong involvement with Māori clients were encouraged to implement bicultural awareness staff training programmes including basic te reo Māori classes.¹⁵ In the 1980s bicultural training was a compulsory component of staff development for all staff in the department of Social Welfare, but by the mid 1990s the department had restructured and bicultural awareness was no longer deemed an imperative. Bicultural practices are maintained in some areas, but are not official Public Service policy. Where there is a will among staff to work bi-culturally and bi-lingually with Māori clients and their whānau (extended family), then that happens, but there is no compulsion to do so. The language is seen as an important communication medium when working with Māori clients and communities and its use acknowledged Māori as a distinct and separate identity with cultural and social needs distinctly different from non-Māori clients. In the courts of law two weeks notice of intent to speak Māori is required and despite the provision of limited education forums in the medium of te reo, promotion and support of te reo in mainstream education is severely lacking. Until very recently there were no compulsory Māori language courses in mainstream public schools.¹⁶

It is in the media that we see the most advances made with support and promotion of te reo. There are several Māori language and bilingual publications, books and magazines, in the print media. Māori radio stations have been operating around the country for more than 20 years in some regions and in March 2004 after a lengthy battle for resources and position in

¹⁵ A Ministerial Review of the Department of Social Welfare produced a report *Te Pua o Te Atatu*, complete with recommendations for appropriate ways to work with the department's Māori clients (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988).

¹⁶ In Chapter Five (p.170), I note how Kings College has only in 2010 made a commitment to compulsory learning of te reo at Year 9.

the market for television airtime Māori Television (MTV) was launched. MTV screens programmes in te reo some with English subtitles. They also screen a number of bilingual programmes as well as programmes about other indigenous peoples, delivered in the indigenous language with English subtitles. The journey towards the establishment of MTV was fraught with problems and disjuncture (Hollings, 2005). It is to the credit of those who battled for this, despite the tribunal's recommendations to foster and support te reo, that MTV is a going concern and now screens two channels, one devoted solely to programmes delivered in te reo.

Despite major language shift (LS) and changes in the cultural, economic, and political landscape of New Zealand that have impacted upon the continued use of te reo Māori, I contend that for Māori the use of te reo remains a vital feature of their identity and that fluency in te reo is desired the most. Language loss (LL) or the reduced use of te reo in everyday contexts, however, may also be instrumental in altering the perception of the centrality of the heritage language to identity. Just how other Māori consider this prospect is central to the debate this thesis offers in relation to opening up the language, to promoting and supporting non-Māori to learn te reo. The language is still not out of danger. There is still a serious concern for the growth of te reo and development of te reo including increasing numbers of speakers of te reo. This is simply one more strategy that might assist the language revitalization efforts.

But, most importantly this study allows the Māori community to speak about their fears, their aspirations and hopes for te reo and for their voices to be heard. Only Māori themselves can say what motivates them to learn their language, what might hinder their efforts to engage in that process, or who else might they be willing to encourage and support into learning te reo.

Questions that were used both in the community hui and in the interviews to generate and stimulate discussion were aimed at encouraging people to talk initially about how important they felt it was for Māori to be able to speak the Māori language and then to discuss how they felt about encouraging and supporting non-Māori into learning te reo. Points that arose in this study but are not discussed in this work related to issues around the teaching of te reo: the training of teachers of te reo, production and management of te reo resources, dialectal variations, and the various methods employed in the teaching of te reo. All of these issues are important and all have a relationship with Māori identity and te reo. The field of education has produced a range of more focussed studies covering many of these aspects.¹⁷ And so I have confined this study to addressing only those issues that the participants raised that relate directly to the relationship between identity and language, and the ability or the desire of Māori to support, to encourage and to promote the learning of te reo Māori with non-Māori.

Changes to the New Zealand and Māori landscape have been touched upon here. In spite of major LS from Māori to English, from an autonomous people who had total control of all within their world pre 1800, to a Pākehā dominated society in the 21st century where major loss of te reo has been recorded, the participants in this study felt strongly that their language is still a very important element of who they are, of their identity as Māori. How they demonstrate the link between language and identity can be seen in the subject matter, in the kinds of words used in their deliberations and contributions to this study as well as in their choice of language, Māori or English and the analysis of their contributions is discussed in Chapter Six of this work.

¹⁷ Some examples of the range of studies undertaken are Benton, N, 1987; RA Benton, 1981; Glynn, University of Otago. Dept. of Education., & New Zealand. Ministry of Education. Research Section, 1994; Hohepa, M, 1999; Houia-Roberts, 2003; Houia, 2002; Joseph, 2003; New Zealand Māori Language Commission, 2000; New Zealand Ministry of Māori Development., 2001a, 2001b; Rei, 1998; Tangaere, 1992.

A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE LITERATURE RELEVANT TO THIS STUDY

Identity formation and negotiation is central to a study on language and identity. The relationship between language and identity has long been acknowledged through “the fields of applied language studies (Ivanic 1998), sociolinguistics (Labov 1966), sociology of language (Fishman 1999, Omoniyi 2000) and the social psychology of language (Giles and Bourghis 1976) among others” (Omoniyi 2006 p.11). Studies in these fields have been carried out in a range of populations in many contexts, and explored a number of theoretical concerns of a contemporary nature. These concerns have, over time, altered the way the relationship of language to identity has been viewed.

Smolicz (1984) considered language as a value central to one’s identity and later studies of language and identity tended to highlight and support essentialist or primordialist models characterised by a focus on biological characteristics, kinship and territory (Fishman 1997 pp. 31-60). In this work Fishman is at pains to illustrate the ways that people, speakers of ‘small’ or minority languages, link the ways that language is important to them.¹⁸ Language, they consider, is imperative to appropriately express the shared history, the shared values and belief systems of an ethnic community (Fishman 1991 p.41; 1999 p.44; Kuter 1989 p.87; Marsden 2003 p.132). Even though many indigenous and small language communities no longer have large numbers of speakers to maintain their language, language is still considered the primary medium by which the values, beliefs and ways of understanding the world are most appropriately explored and transmitted from one generation to the next (Fishman 1991 p.230; Marsden 2003 p.132; Mead 2003 p.2; Walker 1990 p.268). “Language” says Fishman, “is the mainstay of the people’s uniqueness” (1991 p.40). Although these essentialist views

¹⁸ In this chapter Fishman describes the ways in which a number of minority language communities worldwide talk about linking their language to kinship, to childhood socialization, home and intimacy and its people.

about language and identity convey a sense of identity being ‘fixed,’ and even though more recent research studies suggest otherwise, they are still commonly held views.

Nash (1987) comes to this issue from a different angle and he argues that when ethnic groups react to changes in society and adapt to those changed circumstances, that language along with other markers of identity is mutable, that it can and does change over time. Therefore he argues language cannot be considered a core value of one’s identity and Kuter (1989) in discussing the Breton language supports that notion saying that “language is but one cultural marker of Breton identity – significant to the extent that it gives the tools to participate in communities where Breton remains an everyday language” (p.87). Other challenges made to the centrality of language to identity model by; Edwards (1985), Nash (1987), Jenkins (1997) and Song (2003), amongst others, suggest that a more pervasive marker of identity is that sense of belonging which includes having a common history. They also argue that the extent of the various aspects of identity is bounded only by the extent of social relationships that a person engages in. These relationships may not be confined to ethnic or cultural elements, but are often guided by other determinants of identity such as gender, class, sexuality, age, religion and voluntary affiliation to groups of like-minded people.

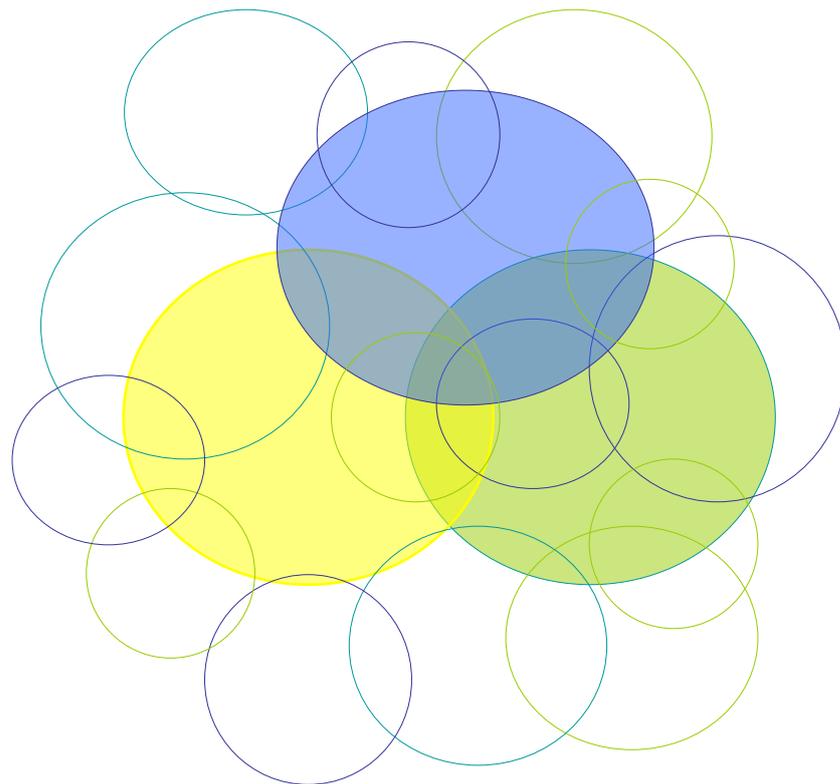
Omoniyi (2006) argues that language behaviours project images of identity (p.13) aligning with Tabouret-Keller’s consideration that “language acts are acts of identity” (1997 p.315). Recent research has taken this idea further noting that identity formation and identification is a “multilayered” process (Omoniyi 2006 p.14) and that ideas such as “performativity” (Mullany 2006 pp.157-159) and “styling the other” (Rampton 1995, cited in Omoniyi 2006 p.14) are extensions of language acts. In Mullany’s work the emphasis is on “the performance of gender and professional identities” (p.157) in the study of participants’ discourse, an

extension of the ideas raised in the work by Schiffrin (1996) and her concept of 'self portrait' through narratives. This performance identity is mirrored in the work of Holmes and Marra (2001) and their studies on language and gender in the workplace and in Thornborrow and Coates' (2005) volume where they are at pains to show that identity of self, the individual, is reflected through the gaze of others – how others perceive the individual by way of their language acts. Mullany is also at pains to restate that identity performance is not created in isolation but is “influenced by a range of local and global factors” (2006 p.160). These are factors that help to provide a context for identity negotiation.

Formation of our identity then serves to give us a frame of reference, a point of departure from which we can assemble and negotiate who we are (McIntosh 2005 p.46, Omoniyi 2006 p.12). McIntosh (2005) notes that in the case of Māori the fluid identity: “... borrows and transforms many of the more fixed elements found in the traditional identity ... challenges notions of authenticity and lays out new forms of claims making” (p.47). Although this may be seen as a departure from the essentialist notions of language and identity being inherently intertwined, it still retains language as central to this tradition. McIntosh's work sets out to show that identity and in particular Māori identity is not fixed, rigid nor unchanging, it has fluidity and flexibility (2005 p.44). And Weeks (1990) notes, “Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic, it gives you a personal location, the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your social relationships, your complex involvements with others” (p.88, cited in Song 2003 p.1). Borell's (2005a) work with South Auckland Māori youth attests to this change in thinking and she has this to say about te reo “... although Māori show collective unity in a number of ways, some approaches to Māori identity are congruent with the experiences of some Māori and not others” (p.191) and she worries that this view creates a

sense of deficit value, that if you don't speak Māori you are less Māori. Borell's study also highlights the sense of belonging as a strong element in the formation of identity for the participants, a group of young people living in South Auckland,¹⁹ but not in traditional ways. Recognising the conventional indicators of Māori identity wasn't difficult for them, but the local geography had more relevance for them and te reo was even less so, in their particular neighbourhood. Perhaps a more appropriate expression of identity for what is the reality for Māori today might be a much more fluid and flexible model, one that is malleable within the circumstance of individual Māori and within their own spaces and places.²⁰

Figure 1.1 Model A: A Fluid and non-Fixed Māori Identity



¹⁹ South Auckland is a socially and economically depressed region with a very high proportion of young people, from predominantly Māori and Pacific Island backgrounds.

²⁰ Omoni & White (2001) suggest that there has been a shift in thinking about identity, from the essentialist models to a 'multilayered process' (p.14).

In Figure 1.1 each bubble represents an indicator or marker of identity that may be more or less central than others at different times of life according to their relevance to the individual. There is the ability to move, to shift each indicator to the fore and for that element to become larger and more prominent as and when they become more relevant. At the core remain the biological whakapapa links, tikanga and marae and the shared history of Māori. The expectations and obligatory protocols of the traditional model may still be present, and be more or less important as determined by the individual in their particular circumstance. Language, the ethnic language, is encased in one of the bubbles and may be within the core or outside again, according to its importance and relevance to the individual at any particular time.

In the modern environment hybrid identity and global relationships are becoming more important, some might suggest even imperative, and so investigating how these elements affect language and identity is an area that must be addressed. The term “hybrid” has been used to describe the dual and multiethnic situations people sometimes are born into and the ways in which they manage their ethnic identity. This is also something that can be accommodated within such a model depicted in Figure 1.1. Hybrid identity can also create conflict within families and within individuals themselves. In a study of Chinese young people in Britain Parker (1995) found that rather than a hybrid blending of the two cultures in the public domains of school and employment, the participants in his study chose to act one way – an English way in school and in employment and a Chinese way acknowledging a different set of cultural beliefs and practises, in the home. Johnson’s (2008) study in an inner city school in New Zealand, noted that in recognising the increasing diversity of both students and teachers in New Zealand that “the special status of indigenous Maori students, particularly those in mainstream education” (p.67) were a particular concern. The school’s

governance body saw as an imperative the need to demonstrate valuing different cultures and languages and in particular that of Māori students as these students “explore and shape the hybrid identity (part indigenous / part global citizen) that will undoubtedly characterize their lives in the 21st century” (p.67). The school has implemented programmes that allow that exploration in a ‘safe’ environment and the results show improved attitudes, academic success and confidence with Māori students. The hope is that these improvements will continue to grow and develop so that all the students, not just Māori, may be better enabled to meet the challenges of the global village that is now their world (p.75). But, Garcia (2006) advocates caution and notes that the impact on bilingual education of globalization in the United States, has worked against the empowerment of the less powerful groups, the minority language group, (p.170).

Where different blends or varieties of a language are used by certain sects of the community and also in particular situations, they are often symbolic of boundary formation. Dubois and Melancon in their study of the Cajun community were able to distinguish several hybrid varieties of Cajun French (1997) creating and delineating ethnic boundaries. Spotti (2006) cites Auer (2005) and Mercer (2000) when he cautions that it is also important not to rush into equating hybrid language use as hybrid acts of identity. How ‘cultures of hybridity’ (p.189) are constructed and used is still a very new area and will require a lot more careful investigation before that conclusion can be reached.

Language shift (LS) to some degree is inevitable when languages come into contact (Edwards1985 p.47). Dorian (1982) describes LS as “the gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community” which will often occur because of a shift in prestige, the language being lost is associated with more lowly pursuits or positions in a

particular society (Kuter 1989 p.76). As a key feature, language may sometimes be replaced by other cultural features or remain simply as a symbolic icon, a memory of what once was, or a language of ritual such as ‘church’ Latin, or as Kuter (1989) says for the Breton language cultural symbolism comes to the fore, French is promoted as an international language, a language of the future, and Breton is “uniquely rural” (p.75). As LS takes hold, language loss (LL) may occur, where “the community gives up a language completely in favour of another” (Fasold 1992 p.213). Where LS is well advanced Sallabank (2006) and Levine (2006) express concerns that sometimes revival efforts are misplaced. Sallabank (2006) speaks of the “worrying trend for campaigners to focus their attention on language as a symbol of identity, rather than the social and economic factors that caused language shift” (p.151). And, as noted earlier for the case of te reo Māori, Levine (2006) cites Sissons (1993) and Poata-Smith (1996) who share Sallabank’s disquiet with placing language in a context of culture and state that “a focus on culture does little to alleviate the socio-economic problems and concerns of the majority of Māori people” (p.105). LS is associated with socio-economic shifts because it is the result of the loss of the ability to assert one’s own beliefs and values in ways that can be accommodated in a society that is changing. Fishman (1999) also considers LS in the context of ‘anomie’ experienced by speakers of a language who move into a society alien to their world view and where their language is not widely used or considered valuable. It is important then that language is able to adapt to society’s continual change.

LS is associated with power relations and the inequity in those relations. It is even more evident when we consider the struggles engaged in negotiation of identity and language in the global context (Christ 2003 pp 138-139; p.145) and Christ also notes that “reordering of conflict is a critical manifestation of local identities” (p.214). On the one hand globalisation is

a threat to tradition bringing the negatives of materialism into a society, but it also offers “access to modernity and technology” (Fishman 2006 pp.20-23).

This is the reality for Māori in New Zealand and ongoing LS has been highlighted in recent studies where the diminished use of te reo Māori is reported (Benton, Forer *et al* 2002; Ngaha, Galbraith and Starks 2004; Ormond 2004; Borell 2005; McIntosh 2005, Statistics NZ 2007) and most recently in data gathered through a Review of the Māori Language Sector and the Māori Language Strategy (April, 2011).²¹ It may seem that te reo might not be that important to Māori identity at all, or knowledge and use of te reo would be more widespread. But, these findings do nothing to show if or how Māori value the language nor how important or central Māori people believe te reo is to their identity today.

There is a growing body of work that addresses how new language learners negotiate their identity (Norton Pierce 1995; McKay and Wong 1996; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004).

Linguistic clues such as code switching and code mixing are evidence of this, a facility that promotes the ability to show political support for minority languages, or simply pride and an affinity for the identity that the language is associated with (Kuter 1989 p.86; Ngaha 2001 p.133). Heller’s (1988) edited volume includes descriptions of a range of works where code switching is addressed. She says that the study of code switching has moved from the more deterministic models to more dynamic models where context, domains and interlocutors play a major role in determining language choice and use. But, Woolard (1989) asserts that “conversational code switching ... is a symbol of progressive advance of LS” (p.359), whereas Fishman (2006) noted that in China it is “fashionable for young people to speak their

²¹ Using the UNESCO Framework 2009 (Lewis & Simon 2009 p.26 cited in the Review of the Māori Language Sector and the Māori Language Strategy 2011) “the use of the Māori language in households with children, te reo Māori would fit somewhere between ‘definitely endangered’ and ‘severely endangered’ according to Intergenerational Language transmission measures” (p.17).

native tongue mingled with a few English words to show either their educational background, or just for fun” (p.59). In this case such use of the language has implications for the traditional language and raises concerns, for the “purity” of the language, authenticity and ultimately the preservation of tradition. Code switching is common, it is also highly invasive and is a concern for all who care about the ‘authentic’ language, but I would suggest that it also provides a challenge as to how this can be utilised in positive ways, to aid language learning.

The idea of non-indigenous people being encouraged to learn a small or indigenous language is unusual: LS usually moves towards the dominant language with the small language gradually being used less often resulting ultimately in the loss of that small language (Fishman 1991; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Hinton and Hale 2001; Abley 2003). Among the better known and successful examples where the small language is promoted for use by the dominant population are those where political intervention and legislation has supported that move: the use of Catalan in Catalonia (Woolard 1989), French in Quebec (Fishman 1991) and the Welsh language in Wales (Te Rito 2000; Segrott 2001). In each of these examples, there is a political agenda that supports, promotes, and Fishman (1991) suggests, sometimes punitively pushes the small language to the fore. Without legislative impetus to support language promotion and maintenance the small and indigenous languages struggle for survival: cultural supports²² alone cannot guarantee language survival (Myhill 1999).

TPK and Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori (Taura Whiri) have undertaken a large number of studies addressing Māori language policy and strategic direction (TPK 1999; 2002; 2003; 2004; 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri & Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori 2003) in relation to language

²² Promoting and supporting language maintenance and regeneration for the particular ethnic community only.

planning, language maintenance and revitalisation. Aspects relating to the place of non-Māori in this field have been recorded but minimal discussion has taken place. Two surveys on attitudes towards te reo, including a non-Māori cohort, have been effectively summarised in TPK (2006). These government publications note the primary role of non-Māori in the maintenance, revitalisation and regeneration of te reo Māori is to be a support to Māori initiatives and that it is not necessarily the role of non-Māori to speak Māori (de Bres 2008). But, just how that support is manifest, what language behaviours are expected is not made clear. Nicholson and Garland (1991) note the difficulties around the revival and revitalisation of te reo in this European dominated society when the policymakers are predominantly Pākehā and they also control the finances. Financial support, legislative support and support through positive attitudes and language behaviours on the part of non-Māori are imperative for the future development of te reo.

Several other studies focussing on a range of te reo initiatives for Māori have also commented on the engagement of non-Māori in this area. Boyce's 1992 study of a community in Porirua notes the concerns of Māori about non-Māori "taking over the language" (cited in de Bres 2006 p.40) and in Boyce (2005) she also states that non-Māori need to engage in these matters in ways that respect Māori knowledge and tikanga. Benton (2007) addressed the responsibilities of non-Māori in supporting Māori initiatives in terms of ownership of the language and Bauer (2008) looked at the data from the TPK and Te Taura Whiri initiated Māori Language surveys around language attitudes and supporting the development of a strong cohort of speakers. For long term language survival, Bauer considers that it would be more useful, more productive, for funds and resources to be targeted to supporting Māori communities where there is a greater than 80% chance that all of its members will speak Māori, but because of the resource implications such a plan requires non-

Māori support. Just how that happens she does not address specifically. In all these cases, however, non-Māori are seen as supporters of Māori initiatives only and active engagement with te reo is not openly encouraged.

Only de Bres (2008) has had non-Māori engagement as the focus of study. De Bres undertook a survey with 80 non-Māori and interviews with 26, to ascertain their attitudes towards te reo Māori so that language behaviours might be identified that could possibly give action to supporting te reo maintenance and regeneration. From the results of this work de Bres found there were a range of desired behaviours that non-Māori might undertake to show their support for Māori language maintenance efforts. These language behaviours included, amongst others, “attention to pronunciation of Māori words, use of Māori words, and speaking Māori” (p.40), but she acknowledges that Māori views of the desired behaviours of non-Māori regarding te reo may not be the same. It is at this point that this study picks up the challenge and I set out to find out just what Māori might think about supporting non-Māori into learning te reo and how that might affect them.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

It is very important when any research work is carried out in the Māori community or involving issues that affect Māori that appropriate engagement of the community and their commitment to the process is gained. In Chapter Two I outline the plan undertaken in working with the community to engage them in the process and to gain their commitment in gathering the data and to guide and monitor the whole process. Ethical concerns for Māori have a particular focus throughout this study and this chapter outlines the process undertaken

that ensured ethical issues were addressed appropriately: on an academic level and on a Māori community level.

Chapter Three describes the survey. The design of the survey instrument, the process for recruiting survey respondents, the analysis of the results and the discussion around the findings are all contained in this chapter. The quantitative data was all collated on an SPSS database so that analysis could be readily undertaken. When the statistical data was analysed it appeared that the importance of te reo for this study cohort contradicted the essentialist views noted in the literature, te reo was rated 5th in importance out of 8 markers of identity. I then sought a different measure of markers of identity that might test the veracity of these results.

Chapter Four provides a review of a set of narratives written by Māori women in 2001 which were analysed for markers of identity. In the initial stages I investigated ways to code this data and spent some time examining the best ways to do that (Ahuvia 2001; Hinton and Hale 2001; Holsti 1969; Morse 2002). Topic coding was most useful in pointing the way forward and I eventually settled on using Interpretive Content Analysis (ICA). This process was a way of assessing qualitative data in a quantitative way that also allowed for context to be taken into account. Correlations were then able to be made between the survey results and the analysis of the qualitative data of the narratives.

Chapter Five outlines the content and context of the qualitative data gathered from community hui, interviews and personal contributions made. Each of the community groups are described first with some indications of the kind of talk that transpired in each hui. The language used in each hui, who spoke the most in the hui, the age groups predominant in each

group and the reo ability acknowledged by members in each hui are also described. The focused responses made on the subject of Māori readiness to support non-Māori into learning te reo are then laid out. The collective qualitative data from the community hui, interviews and personal contributions are addressed in this chapter and aligned for analysis.

The interviewees were all known to me and were invited to participate because of their linguistic and community experience. Four of the six interviewees were male, one was an elderly widow and the sixth interview was undertaken with two elderly sisters, who asked to be interviewed together. Five of these interviews were audio taped and transcribed and their contributions also form part of the narrative database described in Chapter Five. Field notes only were taken during the sixth interview as the respondent was not happy to have our conversation tape recorded.

In Chapter Six I explore the analysis of the qualitative data (from Chapter Five) triangulated with the quantitative data of the survey and narrative analysis data from Chapters Three and Four respectively. Narrative analysis is the primary mode of analysis of this data. It is a form of analysis considered appropriate in sociolinguistic study and as Thornborrow (2005) says that “stories have a pervasive role in our everyday lives” (p.1) which allows insights into everyday accounts of people and their activities in a non obtrusive fashion. In storytelling much of the individual and their identity is manifest (Sciffrin 1996; Holmes 1998). Narrative is an inherent trait for an oral society and Māori narrative carries within it many indicators of identity not only in the language of the people, but also in the content and process of the story-telling (Holmes 1998).

The discussion in this work takes place through four themes which illustrate the views of the participants in relation to the proximity of te reo Māori to Māori identity. The first theme is sociolinguistic filters. The second is distance illustrated through geographic distance, intergenerational distance, as well as cultural and social distance. Control and management of te reo and te reo resources is the third theme followed by the fourth one of inclusiveness, displayed through manaakitanga (caring for one's visitors, being hospitable) and whanaungatanga (kinship relationships).

The final chapter concludes this work outlining the main findings from this research. It highlights elements of the research that were significant and sometimes unexpected as well as areas that require more in-depth research.

Chapter 2

Mahia kia tika: ethical issues in methodology

INTRODUCTION

There were five different types of data gathered in this study each with their own particular processes. There was a survey; a series of written narratives, a number of community hui, several interviews and a collection of personal informal contributions. This chapter outlines the methodology employed for those areas which involved direct contact with the study participants and required ethics approval. These were a survey, a number of community hui and interviews. Ethical review was undertaken on two fronts in this study. The first was through a Kaumātua (Elder) Advisory Group using a tikanga Māori²³ process, and the second followed the University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee (UAHSEC) protocols. The narratives analysed as part of this study and described in Chapter Four did not require contact with the writers and so the methodology for that section forms part of that chapter.

The primary underlying tenet for this work was that of the adage *nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora ai te manuhiri*:²⁴ with the expectation that the outcomes of this research would be practicable and appropriate for use by the Māori community. Support and sanction from within is integral to the success of any project in Māori communities and must be through the involvement of the community itself and in discussions with *kuia* and *kaumātua* (Benton,

²³ a process derived from traditional Māori customary practices.

²⁴ 'With your foodbasket and my foodbasket, the guests will be well nourished.' This is a well known Māori proverb, which is a metaphorical allusion to collaboration and the sharing of resources for the benefit of all.

Forer *et al.* 2002). Māori involvement from flaxroots upwards was essential to the steering and shaping of the research to ensure compliance and commitment to the process by the target group, but also to ensure that outcomes would be beneficial to the Māori community (Levy and Kingi 2003).

I designed, planned and carried out this study with help and advice from kuia and kaumātua and my supervisor. The field work section, facilitating and recording each community hui was carried out by a small research team: myself as Research Co-ordinator; three research assistants, all of whom worked part-time on this project, and a group of kaumātua advisors.²⁵ All the field researchers were Māori graduates who had previously worked in the research environment within the Māori community and were all female aged between 35 and 55. All the team members were competent speakers of te reo Māori.²⁶ The Kaumātua Advisory Group had oversight of the whole data gathering process, and worked closely with myself and the researchers in the field. The Academic Supervisor²⁷ monitored progress and offered technical expertise as requested.

ETHICAL REVIEW

In this study there were two distinctly different and separate channels through which ethical issues were addressed. The first was the Māori channel through which access to the participants was gained and research design issues addressed using a tikanga Māori framework. The second channel involved was the academic arena where compliance with the

²⁵ The kaumātua advisors formed a 'Kaumātua Advisory Group' whose valued assistance is described in the discussion around ethical review in the next section.

²⁶ All the researchers had previously worked on the Urban Disparities Project 1999 – 2002, administered through the James Henare Māori Research Centre, University of Auckland (Benton, & Forer *et al.*, 2002).

²⁷ The Academic Supervisor was the only non-Māori person in the research team. Her role was to advise on the application of the methodology and analytical tools to ensure that this work would meet the academic rigour required in sociolinguistic research.

protocols determined by the researcher's governing institution, in this case the UAHSEC, had to be maintained.

The Māori ethical review was undertaken by a core group of four kuia and kaumātua who acted as an advisory and mentoring group in this study - the Kaumātua Advisory Group. The role of the Kaumātua Advisory Group was primarily to advise the team on all aspects pertaining to interaction with and within Māori community groups; to comment on hui process, to provide advice on the most appropriate ways and means of working with particular groups and to facilitate contacts into the various community groups in Auckland. These members also offered guidance in the research design. This was one level at which the notion of tika (doing the correct things) operated. At least one of the Kaumātua Advisory Group members attended initial contact meetings with marae committees and the kaumātua members often helped facilitate group discussions in the course of the community hui. Their input in the hui proved invaluable, especially when native speakers were part of the discussion groups. The use of the reo brought dimensions to the discussions that were not possible to transmit adequately in English. Their expertise in knowledge around tikanga and the Māori world view was a valued resource in discussions with older and native speakers in the hui. At both the Marae Committee Hui and in the process of community hui, tikanga (customary practice) and tika (correctness) were monitored and maintained by the kuia and kaumātua, and the hui participants themselves. The research team's role in the hui was simply to initiate and facilitate the discussion topics and to record the events.

Membership of the Kaumātua Advisory Group was flexible and varied over the course of this study: sometimes people moved, became ill, or most often became very busy engaged in other matters attending to the many competing demands on their time. The busyness of these

elders was seen through their involvement in their own communities. Their skills and expertise, not only in the use of te reo since all the kaumātua were native speakers of te reo, but also in the deployment of tikanga and knowledge of tribal and marae history, were frequently sought after. They also offered the wisdom gained from life experiences. The service offered by our kaumātua is unparalleled in mainstream New Zealand and it is service rendered with little or no remuneration.²⁸ Involvement in the Kaumātua Advisory Group in this study was completely voluntary and the flexibility of membership was such that members were able to move out of the process, as they needed to and return at their own discretion.²⁹ Tribal representation within the kaumātua group covered areas throughout the country, but was predominantly aligned with the Tai Tokerau (the five tribes of Auckland and Northland) and Waikato iwi. Both iwi have mana whenua status³⁰ in different parts of the research area.

The second channel through which ethical concerns were considered was, as noted previously, the UAHSEC. The formal research proposal was submitted to the UAHSEC for consideration along with Participant Information Sheets (PIS) which explained the project and process for potential participants and participant groups (see Appendix I). These were supplied in both Māori and English. Consent Forms, again in Māori and English, and letters of support for the study from Māori community leaders were also submitted. Concerns raised by the UAHSEC about the research proposal were centred around the proposed consent

²⁸ Elders have an acknowledged position of authority in Māori communities. They are expected to carry out and ensure the protocols and our iwi customary practises that ensure our 'being Māori' are upheld and maintained. These roles are not salaried positions and do not carry a compensatory element.

²⁹ One of my elderly aunts was unwell for many months and unable to actively participate in this project for some time. However, she insisted that I visit her regularly so that she remained in touch with our progress. Her wise counsel was invaluable.

³⁰ Mana whenua' is the term ascribed to the iwi who have ancestral land use rights in a particular area. Those rights carry the responsibility and duty of care and authority over the prescribed landscape, and include care for the environment and manuhiri (visitors) resident in their tribal region.

arrangements for community hui and under sixteen year-old participation in both surveys and community hui. The UAHSEC guidelines to research propose that individuals participating in any piece of research should individually consent to the process and do so formally, through signing the appropriate consent forms. The UAHSEC protocols also require the caregiver of any person under the age of sixteen to provide written consent for that young person to participate.

I met with the designated member of UAHSEC reviewing this proposal and put the case that divisions, or separation within the hui process is alien to tikanga Māori. The inclusion of our taitamariki (young people) in the survey and community hui and encouraging their input is an essential process for Māori community involvement. The topics discussed in this research: the ongoing life of the language itself, te reo revival strategies, teaching and learning policies is a responsibility that will be left in the care of today's young people in years to come. It was imperative that they were involved, had opportunity to comment, to have a say, or at least be present to hear the discussions that surround the language issues that confront us today. Decisions made in this area now will impact upon their lives and the future of te reo and how they manage these issues will be in their hands.

Individual consents for all participants including additional caregiver consents for those under sixteen years old suggest difference and division, and cuts across tikanga. Singling out individuals through completion of individual consent forms implies an expectation of individual contributions. Tikanga does not demand nor expect vocal contributions from all participants in a hui, but one's mere presence is sufficient to acknowledge involvement. It is often the case that agreement or disagreement is signalled in other ways: non-verbal cues such as clapping, raising your hand, shifting your body position, singing a waiata (song) or

even leaving the hui are as valid or tika in the Māori context as voiced opinion. Thus, for hui Māori the necessity for individual written consents is nullified.

The UAHSEC representative agreed that for the purposes of this project, that completion of the survey and participation recorded through attendance sheets administered in the community hui would suffice as consent to participate. A register of all survey participants was compiled and attendance lists of hui participants replaced the individual consent forms. The requirement for separate parental consents for those under sixteen year olds was also waived. For the interviews, all the interviewees signed their own individual consent forms.

THE SURVEY

The survey was designed to be easily administered. Clear directions for filling it out were given and we hoped it would take no more than 10 minutes to complete. The survey was anonymous, each completed survey was noted in a register and allocated a code number before being tabulated in the SPSS computer programme and processed for analysis.

The survey form had five sections (a copy is attached in Appendix II). The first section was an invitation to participate in this study and began with a formal introductory greeting in te reo³¹ followed by an explanation of my role and the research team involved in this study. A brief overview of the study followed with information about how the survey fitted into the ‘big picture’ relating to the ongoing maintenance of te reo and language revitalisation efforts.

³¹ The greeting uses formulaic language (greetings or well known sayings and phrases) that acknowledges elements of the Māori world of particular significance and includes ritual acknowledgement of the ancestors and the recent deceased.

On the reverse side was the survey proper, and invited respondents to answer the question “What are the aspects that you consider help you to identify as Māori and how important are they to YOU?” Respondents were then provided with eight possible response tokens and were asked to rate these on a Likert scale from 1 (essential) to 4 (not very important). These tokens, each describing a specific feature of identity, were chosen after reviewing the literature on Māori identity and consulting with my kaumātua mentors, with whānau members and Māori colleagues. In discussions with them I was helped to narrow the list down to just eight features which were generally considered most appropriate and were considered to be amongst the strongest indicators of identity. There are a number of features of identity suggested in the literature that were not included in this work for a range of reasons and these are noted in Chapter Three where the survey is described in more detail.

The eight features of identity eventually chosen for use in the survey were: Knowledge of whakapapa (genealogy); knowledge of whanaungatanga (kin relationships), knowledge of tikanga (customary practices), knowledge of te reo (the Māori language), upbringing, connections to marae (traditional Māori gathering place),³² connections to land³³ and physical characteristics. The order in which they were positioned on the survey sheet reflects the order of importance of these features as noted in the study by Benton, Forer *et al*, (2002) conducted with an urban cohort in Auckland as this was the most recent study undertaken in this field at the time this research was begun.³⁴

³² The marae incorporates a physical complex of buildings and open spaces where a range of customary practises and communal activities take place. These may include ceremonial funerary practises, celebratory occasions such as birthdays and weddings, religious services for the community, meetings and a range of other gatherings. The marae evokes a sense of belonging through its shared history and the shared use of the facility by whānau and hapū who belong to the area in which each marae is located. It is a physical space that embodies spiritual connections through the whakapapa of each community, a truly Māori space..

³³ Māori land in this survey refers to land that Māori had traditional use rights over and which may or may not still be held in Māori ownership and/or occupation.

³⁴ This research was begun in late 2003 and data gathering continued through to 2007.

In the next section of the survey respondents were asked to provide background information that I hoped would help in the analysis of the results. Information the respondents were invited to furnish were their age group,³⁵ gender, schooling, home suburb/residence, tribal affiliation and a self assessment of their language proficiency in te reo. Each of these variables can influence the way in which we view and understand our identity.

Other variables such as marriage and partnerships, the people we live with and their ethnic affiliations as well as the language used in the home all influence the ways in which we see ourselves and how others see us.³⁶ The home environment was not considered in this survey as it was felt that all the additional information requested would put people off completing the surveys.³⁷ These additional influences, however, were raised in the community hui discussions described in Chapter Five of this thesis and are therefore part of the overall discussion in Chapter Six. In the final part of the survey form there was a small section for respondents to make any comment they wished about the survey. The confidentiality of both the respondents and their information was also stressed and contact information for the researchers was included. In compliance with the UAHSEC guidelines for Research in Māori communities, all the information supplied to the participants was furnished in both te reo Māori and English.

For the most part recruitment of survey respondents was through personal networks, through whanaungatanga, where whānau members, work colleagues, friends and acquaintances were

³⁵ Respondents were to invited to indicate age group such as: <16, 16 – 19, 20 – 29, 30 – 39, 40 – 49, 50 – 59, 60 – 69, or 70 plus, but most wrote their actual age.

³⁶ This relates to Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' which considers the influences that one's social and cultural environment have on the individual's understandings and expressions of self and identity .

³⁷ I had piloted several versions of the survey on my colleagues and a few family members. Their feedback on earlier versions was that there were too many questions being asked, for a seemingly short survey. A number of people were put off as they said they felt it was becoming too intrusive.

shoulder tapped and invited to participate.³⁸ A profile of the survey respondents is provided in the Table 3.1 in Chapter Three (p.57). All members of the research team including the kaumātua were actively involved in recruiting participants.

Community hui participants were also invited to complete the survey. A small number (12) were recruited at a conference³⁹ and still others (34) during the Ngāpuhi Festival day held in Manukau City, March 3rd 2007. The surveys from respondents who participated in community hui or who attended my paper at the conference were identified in the coding of the data as they had been given more opportunity to discuss and consider the issues around language and identity than others who'd simply read the PIS and possibly asked questions of the researcher administering the survey. Having a raised awareness or theoretical understanding of an issue prior to undertaking a survey on the matter can present biased results so separation of the two groups in this way was important to the analysis applications of the data.

A number of variations of the age data were run against the variables and the responses were eventually ordered into three age groupings which provided more focussed results and best illustrated the group findings. The group labelled Taitamariki (Youth) were all those under 30 years of age; the Pakeke (Middle) group were the 36 – 50 year old age group, and the Kaumātua (Elder) group were the 55 plus age group. These groups also demonstrated the best fit according to access to te reo learning opportunities, but not withstanding any language learning from the home environment.

³⁸ Informal contact was made by members of the research team with people and community groups who they felt might be interested in participating in this research, and initial contacts were established.

³⁹ The Mātauranga Takekake: Indigenous Indicators of Well-being: Perspectives, Practices, Solutions Conference in Wellington, June 14-17, 2006.

A five year interval in the data used for analysis separates each age group cohort so as to remove any arbitrary bias.⁴⁰

A primary identifier as Māori is being able to name the iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe) groupings that one has genealogical links to. Some iwi are known to have preserved their own dialect of te reo better than others. Benton's study in the 1970s (NZCER Survey) found only two areas had been able to maintain te reo as the community language, but today several iwi are proactively pursuing te reo revival and revitalisation programmes for their people.⁴¹ I wanted to test whether iwi affiliations influenced attitudes towards te reo. It was also expected that participants could note affiliation to more than one iwi and hapū. Each instance of an iwi or hapū being mentioned by participants regarding their affiliations was counted individually, so in counting these occurrences there were likely to be a higher number of affiliations to iwi than there are participants.⁴² The iwi and hapū named by the participants were grouped together to take into account both iwi and geographic linkages and an example of this is that where mention of any one of the iwi or hapū within the Auckland isthmus and Northland were made, they were placed in the Tai Tokerau category. Three fields were made available for this data in the SPSS data file and the iwi group responses are represented as percentages of the total responses recorded. Each category had a numerical value applied to it for loading into the database.⁴³ This allowed a broad geographic representation distribution to be discerned, but organised along traditional Māori lines.

⁴⁰ All surveys were used in the overall analysis of data, but where the age variant was used in the analysis those aged 30-34 and 50-54 were excluded to ensure clarity of separation of age group in the analysis.

⁴¹ See reference to Kai Tahu and Ngāti Raukawa p.2.

⁴² The same process was used to count the incidence of iwi affiliation notified in the community hui data.

⁴³ Some examples are: the 5 iwi of the Northland rohe were combined under Tai Tokerau and labelled (1). Waikato, Maniapoto and Hauraki Iwi were listed under the Tainui confederation of tribes (2).

Residence was another variable chosen for inclusion which allowed insights into geographic distribution and particularly urban versus rural distribution of responses. By monitoring this distribution, detection of bias was readily observed and moves put in motion to counteract possible biases.⁴⁴

In the schooling section, respondents were offered two choices, Mainstream or Kura Māori,⁴⁵ and ticked or circled the appropriate response. When I piloted the survey with family members and colleagues, several noted they'd been schooled in both Mainstream and Kura Māori and so a third variable was included that showed schooling under both categories. A number of mainstream schools have bilingual units, or Māori total immersion classes or units. In this study that division or determination was not readily available and so only the three levels of schooling, Mainstream, Kura Māori or a mix of both were assigned numerical values and entered into the database.

In the self assessment of language proficiency five levels of language ability were prescribed and survey respondents were asked to circle the level that best described their own reo skills. The skill levels noted were “Native Speaker” and this describes those for whom te reo Māori is their first language: the language they grew up speaking. The next level is “Fluent Speaker” and describes those who have attained a high level of fluency through learning te reo as a second language. The middle level “Good” describes the level where someone can conduct short and relatively basic conversation in Māori, but is not able to maintain sustained conversation over lengthy periods of time. The fourth level “Fair” indicates that a person is only able to use a few simple sentences and phrases, and the fifth level “Minimal” notes

⁴⁴ In the final calculations, South Auckland residents formed the largest concentration in this survey, and South Auckland is also host to the majority Māori population in metropolitan Auckland (Statistics, N.Z., 2007).

⁴⁵ Kura Māori includes any schooling in the medium of te reo Māori, kohanga reo level up to and including studies at whare wānanga.

knowledge of a very limited range of Māori words and/or phrases only. These five levels of proficiency were labelled from 1, as a “Native Speaker” to 5, as “Minimal” reo knowledge in the database and are the same descriptors used in the Benton, Forer *et al* study (2002).

In a number of the calculations the data in these categories has been reconstituted into two classes which I have named “Speakers” – those who rated themselves in the Native Speaker (1) down to Good (3) levels, and “Non speakers”, those with Fair (4) down to Minimal Māori language skills (5). This subdivision was used at different stages of the analysis to signal particular trends.

Once all the survey data had been loaded into the SPSS database, frequencies were run across all variables. Descriptive cross tabulations, Pearson Chi Square tests, were run to test for bias and to test for statistically significant variation. Spearman Correlation tests were also run to address the strength of the correlation across the variables. These tests provided results that pointed to the strength of the relationship between te reo and Māori identity and their findings are discussed in Chapters Three and Six of this work.

THE COMMUNITY HUI

Marae communities throughout the greater Auckland region were considered as the primary targets for the Community Hui: this encompassed urban marae⁴⁶ sometimes known as pan-tribal marae, as well as tribal marae.⁴⁷ Towards the end of 2004 initial contacts were made

⁴⁶ These include marae in educational settings such as Waipapa Marae at the University of Auckland; and those under the auspices of mainstream churches such as Te Unga Waka, run by the Māori Catholic Diocese of Auckland. These marae operate with the goodwill of the host tribe within the host tribe’s territory, in this case Ngāti Whātua.

⁴⁷ In Auckland there are tribal marae that have mana whenua, i.e. have had traditional occupation rights and responsibilities for many generations (see also Kawharu M. 2002). There are also marae that have iwi tauhou status where the community maintain a marae in Auckland, but their historical roots and land rights lie elsewhere. Te Tira

with members of marae committees who were known to the research team members. Letters were then sent out to those marae committees asking to meet with them so that we might outline the research proposal and to invite them to take part in the research. The letters gave a brief outline of the research, advised who the members of the research team were, what the marae involvement might be and what the benefits might be for their people and for Māori in general. They were offered the opportunity to liaise with a member of the research team who could respond to any questions they might have. Two marae committees agreed to take part in our project, but only one of those was able to convene hui with their people within the time-frame we had open to us.

After discussions among the research team members, we decided to alter our recruitment strategy extending the invitation to engage in this research to other Māori community groups in Auckland. This opened up our research cohort to a wider audience: people who might be affiliated to several marae both in Auckland and elsewhere, church groups, educational groups, sports and recreational organisations, as well as whānau and hapū groups. This expansion also afforded a greater likelihood of gaining taitamariki input.⁴⁸

The beginning processes for each hui varied, and were dependant on where the hui was held and whose hui it was. In the case of the marae community hui the researchers were known to be waewae tapu (first time visitors) on the marae and a formal pōwhiri (traditional welcome) was extended to us. The kaumātua accompanying us responded to the mihimihi (formal speeches of welcome) and after greetings from both parties, the kaumātua of the marae

Hōu Marae is maintained by the people of Ngāi Tūhoe iwi living in Auckland, their ancestral lands being situated inland of the Bay of Plenty and this marae, like others of the same status, are supported by the goodwill of Ngāti Whātua.

⁴⁸ Despite marae being open for all Māori, unless a hui is aimed specifically for taitamariki involvement, it is not uncommon for hui to be attended predominantly by adults. Similarly, only certain whānau claim associations or whakapapa with individual marae and unless there were hui with each marae in Auckland, the range of participants might still been quite limited.

passed over the facilitation of the hui to the research team. In cases where the venues were in places other than marae, the process of karakia (prayers) and mihi whakatau (formal speeches of welcome) set the scene for the initial encounter. Once our kaumātua had responded to the greetings the hosts then handed over the hui facilitation to the researchers. Three hui were conducted in marae facilities: two in church properties, two in tertiary institute classrooms, and two in people's homes.

As the research co-ordinator I was present at every hui and co-facilitated with other members of the team. At each event the lead facilitator would check to ensure all participants had been fully apprised of the project, our process and the role requested of them before we began our discussions. If people had questions they wished to raise with us about the study then we responded to all questions as they were raised. Throughout the hui we encouraged people to continue to ask questions and the facilitators responded to these as and when they arose. The research team emphasised that our expectations were simply for participants to engage in honest and thoughtful discussion around the issues and concerns pertaining to te reo and their views around Māori identity.

We always sought permission to audio tape the discussions which often prompted lively debate, discussion and further clarification especially around issues of "who owns the data" from each hui. Although the process was outlined in the PIS, in every case the community hui sought verbal kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) confirmation about the study and the process of engagement. Each community group was advised that reports back to the communities would be made within three months of each hui. Members would then have a chance to make any further comment or alteration to their contributions, including total withdrawal of their information, should they wish to do so. The transcripts of hui and interviews, including

additional notes made by the researchers and the audio tapes would be returned to them at the completion of the report-back process. This is in keeping with tikanga that ownership of the information proffered must remain with the participants and that they determine what should happen to the information.

At each hui the principal facilitator began with a brief overview of the state of te reo and used the most recent census and research reports to illustrate the numbers and geographic spread of Māori speakers within Aotearoa. This helped to focus the group on to the topic of te reo and then opened up the discussions with hui participants. They were invited to make comments, offer their views and their stories and to begin conversations. A series of informal questions and pointers assisted the facilitators to maintain the direction of the discussions and ensure they stayed on track. Sometimes, however, the telling of stories that branched off into other directions often revealed considerations that had not formerly been evident and added depth to the discussions.

In one of the larger hui (more than 20 people) the participants' discussions were conducted in two smaller groups with the participants self selecting into those divisions. In another hui there were a number of first language and fluent speakers of te reo present and they formed their own discussion group and our kaumātua team member facilitated their discussions in te reo Māori. In that group illustrations from traditional Māori stories were used by the participants to clarify points or to aid understanding. In two other hui shared discussion took place in small groups of four or five and a spokesperson reported back to the hui the main points of each groups discussion. With smaller groups the discussions took place all

together.⁴⁹ The facilitators endeavoured to remain objective and non-judgemental speaking only when necessary to respond to questions around process or to input information and to keep the discussion focus on task.

The various community groups were contacted initially through the research team's whanaungatanga links and when interest in the project was signalled a formal written invitation to participate was sent. As community groups indicated interest they were asked if they would consider accommodating our research discussions within the context of hui or wānanga that they might be holding for their own purposes. If we could fit our hui into a gathering of their own then our needs would be met and economies of scale meant that costs, travel and time constraints would be minimised for the community. The research team proposed that a two to three hour slot would be sufficient for our purposes. A total of eleven groups self-selected into the project. Four groups accommodated our project hui within the framework of a hui of their own. Two groups withdrew their information after receiving report– back on their hui from the research team. These two groups were extended whānau groups and were not confident that their contributions were good enough. Despite all assurances that their contributions were indeed valuable they still asked that their tapes and records be removed from the study and returned to them. The research team complied with their requests.

One member of the research team was assigned to liaise with each community group so that arrangements for each hui and information about participant involvement were communicated appropriately for each group. Approaches to the two marae community groups were facilitated by our kaumātua members at each of the marae's monthly Marae Committee

⁴⁹ Five of the nine hui worked through their discussions in one group, modelling tikanga Māori in their hui process.

Meeting. That forum provided opportunity for kanohi ki te kanohi interaction that allowed community members to ask questions about the research and to see and meet the researchers. These initial meetings also gave potential participants opportunity to seek out links with the research team through whakapapa connections. Interacting with the researchers on a level where links through whakapapa between both parties are established is an inherently Māori process (Marsden 2003). It allows credible affirmation of individuals through mātauranga māori (Māori knowledge systems and practice) that have more meaning and validity in Māori communities than any academic credentials. After these initial encounters each community was better armed to make informed decisions about their willingness to be involved.

Invitation by members of each group to participate was undertaken by the group themselves and through their own processes. These varied markedly. Some notified their members by email, others by their own notice boards, pānui (notices), through meetings, or simply by phoning each other. The research team sent copies of the PIS to the liaison person for each group before the hui convened so that their own people had a chance to read and discuss it. If there were any queries these were usually addressed by the researchers through the community liaison person, or with the group at the beginning of each hui.

A diverse range of Māori people were represented in these discussions. One hundred and forty-six Māori engaged in these hui and a profile of the participants from each hui is found in Appendix III (Table 5.1). The data recorded in these participant profiles shows the age of the participants, gender, urban vs rural location, iwi affiliations and self assessed te reo ability. In the section on te reo, respondents used the five point scale which was applied in the survey to assess their speaking ability. This linguistic data was not available for all the participants, a number chose not to provide that data on the attendance sheets. Age is

recorded in the same age groupings as is used in the survey data. The participants in these hui ranged in age from the youngest, a five year old present during one hui, to several primary school children and a number of high school students, up to two kuia who were in their eighties.

Te Rōpū Tuatahi⁵⁰ is the first group described. These are women who were residents at Rangiatea Methodist Māori Girls' Hostel in their teenage years. Several of them also wrote narratives that are analysed in Chapter Four and there are strong links between the two datasets. Although the Rangiatea women's hui is described first, the first hui conducted in this research was with a group of women who were members of a Māori Methodist congregation in Auckland (Te Rōpū Tuarua). As with Te Rōpū Tuatahi in this hui there were only women present and this group had the greatest concentration of Māori speakers of te reo: five native speakers of te reo and four second language (2L) learners, 64% of the group. The next group (Te Rōpū Tuatoru) were students of the University of Auckland who were members of Te Rōpū Kapa Haka o Waipapa, the Māori cultural performing group belonging to the university student body, and 69% were aged between 18 and 30 years of age. One local marae community took part in this work (Te Rōpū Tuawhā). This marae is located in a socially depressed region of Auckland and aligns with the Tainui confederation of tribes whose boundaries include South Auckland and extend south and across to the West coast. The people here work closely with initiatives undertaken by the mana whenua Ngāti Whātua (the iwi who have traditional occupation rights in Central Auckland), but centre their engagements around local social service agencies and local issues. Fifty percent of the people involved in the hui claimed northern Māori ancestry and 76% were over the age of 45. The next group (Te Rōpū Tuarima) were high school students in a Māori boarding school (age 13

⁵⁰ Each of the hui are identified in the discussions by a fictitious name for ease of description and to assist confidentiality.

– 17), followed by a group of university students (Te Rōpū Tuaono) students of the Māori Studies Department of the University of Auckland. None of these students were involved with the kapa haka activity as were those in Te Rōpū Tuatoru. The next group (Te Rōpū Tuawhiti) were members of a ‘Rōpū Mau Rākau⁵¹ studying and practising the Māori martial arts using taiaha (fighting staff). Another group (Te Rōpū Tuawaru) were members of a wānanga waiata (a class learning traditional songs) and the final group (Te Rōpū Tuaiwa) were members of a rōpū raranga (weaving class) who met regularly for instruction in their craft.

All the tape recorded data was later transcribed and analysed and within three months of each hui I reported back to each community group and outlined the main themes coming through their contributions to the discussion of the research. Having presented these findings to them, I then sought their endorsement of the process and approval for the inclusion of their data into the final report. The lists of hui participants taken at each gathering were then filed and stored according to the UAHSEC requirements along with a copy of the transcripts and reports from each hui. For the final report back to all the research groups I compiled a pamphlet that summarised some of the main points of their discussions in a concise way that would be accessible to a wide readership (Appendix I). Other reporting mechanisms included the delivering of several conference papers as well as a number of journal articles (see Appendix IV).

At the conclusion of several of the community hui a number of people signalled that they wanted to continue conversations around this topic. The researchers set up six interviews and took notes of other conversations where people wanted to say more, but declined to be

⁵¹ Mau Rākau is the ancient form of Māori martial art using weapons such as a fighting staff. Proponents of this art require considerable strength and fitness and are subject to strict discipline.

interviewed. Still others emailed comments to the researchers as they thought more about the issues and all these contributions are included in the qualitative dataset for analysis and considered as ‘personal contributions’.

INTERVIEWS

There were six interviews conducted for this research. Four of the interviewees were male, one elderly widow and the final interview is with two elderly sisters, who asked to be interviewed together. Five of these interviews were audio taped and transcribed and their contributions also form part of the narrative database described in Chapter Five. Notes only were taken during the sixth interview as the interviewee was not comfortable with our conversation being taped.

PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

There were a total of 35 contributions received from comments made informally during conversations with the researchers outside of the designated hui convened for this research. Information about these contributors is sketchy, but 15 (42%) were male and they were predominantly from the iwi of Te Taitokerau. Six were native speakers and 15 had high levels of fluency in te reo, so more than half of these contributors signalled strong affinity for te reo.

The transcripts from each of the hui were reviewed and the main points regarding language, or language and its relationship to identity were collated into a spreadsheet with each point noted under specific headings. The responses to the question of opening up the learning of te

reo to non-Māori were likewise added under their own categories. These responses, both affirmative and negative, often came with provisos or conditions. These were listed and when new points were made by each group they were also noted and the listing on the spreadsheet enabled ease of viewing of all the data for analysis. The same process was used to look at the interview and the personal contributions data. Each dataset was addressed separately: the community hui as group responses, the interviews as fairly comprehensive individual responses and the personal communications as individual but random responses. Finally, all three datasets were viewed together. The main arguments for supporting non-Māori to learn te reo, or not are described in Chapter Five.

CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to describe the ethical issues maintained throughout the methodology employed in this study. A description of who the research team were in this work and their roles undertaken in this study are noted. At all points of the research where contact was made with participants a degree of ethical oversight was imperative. This included engagement in the survey, the community hui and the interviews. How that ethical oversight was achieved is outlined here and includes a description of both the Māori and academic channels. The Māori process involved a Kaumātua Advisory Group and the academic channel was through the UAHSEC. Both processes had their own forms of rigour and compliance that provided challenges of their own.

The survey instrument and the variables used are described, along with the recruitment process for the survey respondents. A brief account of the community hui process and the manner in which community engagement was achieved for the community hui has been

described followed by an outline of how interviewees were recruited and the gathering of personal contributions. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of how the data was to be ordered for analysis so that meaningful information from the participants could be readily accessed and that might then give us insights into their views about sharing te reo with non-Māori.

Chapter 3.

*Mā hea koe e Māori ai?*⁵²

Māori identity survey

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the survey administered in this study. The respondents were people resident in Māori communities largely in the greater metropolitan area of the city of Auckland. The aim of the survey was to canvas a large number of Māori people and have them rate the importance of eight indicators or markers of identity to their own views of their identity as Māori. Their responses when collated might give an indication of how people saw the importance of the eight prescribed markers of identity, one of which was te reo Māori, in their own lives. I felt that if we understood how Māori felt about the importance of te reo today then we might be helped to understand their reactions and responses to the question of sharing their language with non-Māori and of te reo being a language for all New Zealanders. The survey was conducted simultaneously with the community hui and included many more respondents than just the hui participants.

A review of the literature around Māori identity and ‘being Māori’ provided a wide range of indicators or markers of identity that were considered to reflect notions of identity for Māori and I shared and discussed these with the research kaumātua advisors, with colleagues and family. There were a number of markers of identity considered and discarded and these are described later in this chapter. The particular markers chosen for the survey were those the kaumātua advisors considered the most appropriate as strong markers of identity. They were: knowledge of whakapapa, or genealogy, whanaungatanga, or familial relationships, tikanga

⁵² ‘By what means do you see yourself as Māori?’ Or, what is it that makes you Māori?

which relates to knowing customary practises, te reo Māori, upbringing, marae, connections to land, and physical attributes. These eight markers were listed on the survey without translations or explanations. The final marker which I labelled as physical attributes I included because anecdotally a large number of my contacts said that Māori people often described themselves in terms of particular physical characteristics, or was that merely a caricature? In some respects this depiction might be considered as the antithesis of the physical characteristics of Pākehā, Māori being physically distinctive from Pākehā in skin colour, hair type and colour and the shape and size of facial features, in particular the nose and lips. Certainly comments from Māori participants in the Benton, Forer *et al.* (2002) study voiced these elements as being part of what made them Māori (p.34), so I wanted to see just how widespread those views were.

There were a number of markers of identity considered and discarded. Wairua (spirituality), manaakitanga (hospitality or, responsible hosting), and tiakitanga (guardianship) are a few that were discounted because they are not as easily definable without lengthy discussion or explanation, nor as well known to the general Māori populace as those chosen. These particular markers could also be described within the bounds of tikanga and although discounted as individual markers in this survey, the Kaumātua Advisory Group felt they could be considered under the banner of tikanga. ‘Māori culture’ was another feature that was suggested and then excluded as the kaumātua considered it to be too broad a term. It was a term they considered more aligned today with kapa haka (traditional Māori dance), Māori art forms such as carving and weaving and Māori martial arts, amongst a range of other cultural activities. In discussing all the proposals, the research team decided that those left off the list were not ‘core’ elements of identity, but were what Nash (1987) described as part of the peripheral layers of identity as distinctive as perhaps Māori food and dress.

I was also interested to see what factors influenced the choices made in discerning the value of these markers of identity. I suspected that the views of different groups of people might be significant. Factors considered in this work were: age, language proficiency (te reo proficiency) and the language medium of schooling – Māori or English. And, there was also the urban versus rural divide. Does one's perception on the matter of the centrality of te reo to Māori identity alter if one resides in the city or in the country? Certainly the studies by both Borell (2005) and Ormond (2004) show that for younger Māori the environment and their locality⁵³ greatly influences their view of self, their identity and the place of te reo Māori in that identity. Some iwi have also been more proactive than others in the promotion and support of language revitalisation. I wondered if data around iwi affiliation, which is a strong indicator of identity, might also signal strong ties to the language.

There were a number of limitations to this survey. Little of the environmental conditions around the participants themselves are known. Factors such as; ethnicity of marriage partners, the language of the home as children, language in the current home, multigenerational households as well as the presence of speakers of Māori in the home were not solicited in the survey. However, a number of these issues were raised in the community hui and were discussed and considered as part of those forums (see Chapter Five).

When providing their age, respondents were asked to signal their age group rather than their actual age as members who piloted the form suggested some might be reluctant to offer their age, despite the survey being anonymous. The majority of respondents, however, did enter their actual age rather than the age grouping providing more accurate information for this database. An example was shown on the survey form that indicated an age group in a 10 year

⁵³ Borell's research participants placed huge emphasis on their locale as an identifier.

block such as '20 – 29.' The age variable was an important factor as this has been shown to illustrate change over time (Boyce 1992) where younger people tend to have different views from their parents and grandparents. The age group is also significant in relation to access to te reo learning opportunities,⁵⁴ and Māori language medium schooling and language proficiency have been shown to be important factors that relate to positive attitudes towards aspects of te ao Māori – a Māori world-view – (Chrisp 1997; Christensen 2001; 2003) including te reo.

The Taitamariki (Youth) cohort was comprised of all those under the age of 30 and was the group most likely to have had ease of access to learning te reo in their education through formal teaching in the medium of te reo. Opportunities in their own home environment for learning te reo was also more likely as the parents and grandparents of children attending kohanga and kura, by enrolling their children in the Māori medium schools, signalled their strong advocacy for te reo, and this group includes some of the new generation of native speakers.

The Pakeke (Adult) group, aged between 35 and 50 have had limited access to te reo teaching and learning. During their school years te reo teaching was not generally available through mainstream education. Formal te reo learning opportunities for this group was confined primarily to Church Boarding School situations and Correspondence School. For this generation te reo was not encouraged in schools and many were ostracised by non-Māori and especially teachers if they were heard speaking te reo (Biggs 1968; Barrington & Beaglehole 1974; Selby 1999). Conversely a number of Māori parents also chastised their children if they came home from school and continued to speak English. But, so many more, especially those

⁵⁴ Those under the age of 30 were more likely to have had the opportunity to engage in Māori medium schooling than older participants, since kohanga reo began in the early 1980s and kura kaupapa in the mid 1980s.

living in the urban environment, actively encouraged their children to speak English. These parents felt that English was necessary for their children to fit in better in schools and in employment and thereby succeed in the Pākehā world (Edwards 1990; Selby 1999; Ngaha 2001).⁵⁵ Although this age group fit into an era where formal learning of te reo was severely limited many, and particularly those who were raised in their ancestral homelands, still learned the language through their home environment.

The Kaumātua group included the older native speakers a number of whom, although discouraged from speaking Māori in settings outside of home and ancestral lands, still managed to retain full use of their language. But this age group also included a few who, like many of those in the Pakeke cohort, just did not have the opportunities to learn te reo, or were not encouraged to do so.⁵⁶

In the schooling section of the survey, respondents were offered two choices, 'Mainstream' or 'Kura Māori'⁵⁷ and circled the appropriate response. Other elements of schooling that included bilingual units, or Māori total immersion classes or units in mainstream schools were not readily available and so only the three levels of schooling, Mainstream, Kura Māori or a mix of both were assigned numerical values when entered into the database.

Residence in the Auckland cohort was noted through the various City Councils in the metropolitan Auckland region and they were: North Shore, Central Auckland, Manukau City, Papakura, Counties and Waitakere. Where other areas of the country were cited they were

⁵⁵ This Pakeke group was predominantly the children and in some cases the grandchildren of the migrants of the so-called 'urban drift,' who moved into the cities after World War II to pursue employment and education opportunities and to escape the poverty of subsistence farming. It was also deliberate government policy to entice Māori into the cities pushing assimilation practices, (Walker 1990 p.197).

⁵⁶ Durie, 1997 and Ngaha, 2001 show how during urbanisation in particular Māori parents focussed their children's energies on learning English, believing that te reo Māori would not help them succeed in the 'Pākehā' world.

⁵⁷ Kura Māori included any schooling in the medium of te reo Māori, from kohanga reo level up to whare wānanga as well as a few who older members who had attended 'Native Schools' in their youth.

noted under their respective regions and some determination of an urban and a rural component in the study was thus made possible.

A primary identifier for Māori is being able to name the iwi and hapū groupings that they have genealogical links to. It was also expected that participants might note affiliation to more than one iwi and hapū. In the earlier description of the survey for every instance of an iwi or hapū being mentioned by participants regarding their affiliations, each was counted individually. In counting these occurrences there was a higher number of affiliations to iwi than there were participants. And as noted previously, the iwi and hapū named by the participants were grouped together to take into account both iwi and geographic linkages. These distinctions were such that connections within Auckland and northern iwi and hapū were considered under the umbrella of Te Taitokerau. The Tainui confederation of iwi (predominantly Waikato, Maniapoto and some Hauraki iwi) were placed under a category called Tainui. Bay of Plenty iwi formed one category, called Matatua and included Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Tūhoe, and other iwi/hapū that affiliate to the Mātātua waka (canoe). The East coast iwi formed their own category (Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāti Porou and Kahungunu), Taranaki and Wanganui (iwi based on the lower west coast of the North Island) formed another category as did the central inland iwi of Tuwharetoa and Te Arawa.

Other variables such as marriage and partnerships, especially where the ethnicity of those people were not Māori, as well as the language used in the home are all strong influences in identity. As noted earlier this level of detail was not pursued in the surveys, my primary concern was to gain information about how the prescribed markers of identity were perceived by the respondents. To that end I limited the personal information requested to those items I

considered would be most useful and that similar sociolinguistic research studies had used (Boyce 1999; Bell, Davis *et al* 2000; Benton, Forer *et al* 2002).

The last item requested of respondents was for them to indicate an assessment of their own te reo skills. In the self assessment of language proficiency five levels of language ability were prescribed and survey respondents were asked to circle the level that best described their own te reo skills. The five degrees of proficiency were labelled in the database, from 1 as a 'Native Speaker,' to 5 as 'Minimal' te reo knowledge and all these proficiency levels are described more fully in Chapter Two (p.37).

Self assessment has its challenges and detractors. The main concern is that there is no measure or second check on the quality of the respondent's language ability. Is there some form of measurement that might be applied to validate the stated assessment? Bauer (2008, p.40) considers the use of interviewer assessments as have been used in the language surveys⁵⁸ versus self assessment reporting. She raises the issue of respondents over or under stating fluency and concludes that both interviewer assessments and self assessment methods each have their own pitfalls. In this study I felt that monitoring this assessment was inappropriate and would only serve to put one more obstacle in the way for respondents to comply with completing the surveys. And, there may be a number of reasons for over or under stating one's ability in a language. Bell, Davis, *et al* (2000) and Ngaha (2001) acknowledge that sometimes fluency in one's ancestral language may be asserted for political purposes, to show solidarity in support for the language. Of course such an assertion is strongly indicative of support for the language and identity link.

⁵⁸ The 5 yearly Māori Language Surveys administered by TPK, Te Taura Whiri and Statistics New Zealand use interviewer assisted surveys. Bauer (2008) says that over-reporting may occur out of a desire to please the interviewer, and under-reporting out of fear of being judged, or being seen to be boasting (p.40).

At the bottom of the survey form a space was offered for respondents to state their name or any identifier they might choose, such as a phone contact number. This information was noted as being optional and most chose not to include any personal identifiers. In some respects this was not helpful as I was unable to go back and ask for clarification of points made if I needed to. Below this was a blank space with an invitation for people to make any comments they wished. There was no call made upon what the comments should be about, but I hoped that some might provide additional information about why they rated the prescribed markers the way they did, or that they might expand on issues pertaining to te reo and identity.

The comments section was in contrast to the survey process because the data gathered was qualitative. The survey data was quantitative. Some of that commentary, I was able to convert into quantitative data and included it on the spreadsheet database by sorting the matters recorded into themes and setting up fields in the spreadsheet to accommodate the points made. These fields indicated where comments were made that (a) talked about language or te reo, (b) talked about language and identity and (c) made links between language and any of the other markers of identity.

SURVEY RESULTS

There are a number of general results noted from the survey which are important to help illustrate the language identity relationship. It is also important to reiterate that this was not a random sample of the population and frequencies were run to test for bias in the distribution of responses at regular intervals during the data gathering process. As the survey forms were completed each was given an identifying code number, the data was entered onto the SPSS

spreadsheet and each survey form was then filed. The code number was the only identification used in working with the data and 457 completed surveys were loaded onto the database.

Table 3.1 Distribution of all survey respondents by Age, Gender, Language Proficiency and Type of Schooling

	Under 30's	Age 30 – 50	Age 51 plus	TOTALS	
	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	%
Male	65	49	28	142	31%
Female	134	96	85	315	69%
Gender Total	199	145	113	457	100%
Native Speaker	8	2	25	35	9%
Fluent	23	11	12	46	12%
Conversational reo	54	36	18	108	28%
Fair – phrases short sentence	37	44	22	103	27%
Minimal – words	35	40	18	93	24%
Language Skills Total	157	133	95	385	100%
Mainstream schooling	146	131	79	356	88%
Kura Māori	17	0	4	21	5%
Mainstream & Kura	16	3	7	26	7%
School Total	179	134	90	403	100%

Table 3.1 illustrates the profile of the survey respondents. There were 142 male respondents, 31% of the total cohort. It is possible that the gender distribution was affected by the fact that all members of the research team were women, but it is not unusual for women to outnumber men in this type of research activity, namely surveys. The distribution between age groups was such that just under half the cohort (42%) were aged under 30 years old with the age group, 30 – 49 years old making up 32%, and those over 50 years of age 26% of the study

group. While the Taitamariki group numbers are much higher than the others, this spread is on a par with the national census statistics of 2006 where close to two thirds of the Māori population are noted as 30 years of age and under.⁵⁹ It is also clear that around 79% of this study group signalled that they were not strong speakers of te reo and the majority were schooled predominantly through mainstream education.

Table 3.2 provides the same breakdown for the data relating to the age groups that are separated by a five year gap and these are the age groupings used in cross tabulations and statistical data analysis.

⁵⁹ The Census data of 2006 notes that 60% of the Māori population is under the age of 30; 19% are aged between 35 and 50, with just over 10% making up the age group of 55 and upwards (Statistics NZ, 2007).

Table 3.2 Distribution of the survey respondents by Age Groupings – Gender, Language Proficiency and Schooling

	Under 30's	Age 36 – 50	Age 56 plus	TOTALS	
	<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	%
Male	47	34	20	101	31%
Female	124	52	54	230	69%
Gender Total	271	86	74	331	100%
Native Speaker	8	2	21	31	10%
Fluent	23	5	10	38	12%
Conversational reo	54	23	13	90	29%
Fair – phrases short sentence	37	31	15	83	27%
Minimal – words	35	25	9	69	22%
Language Skills Total	157	86	68	311	100%
Mainstream schooling	133	82	54	269	86%
Kura Māori	11	0	3	14	5%
Mainstream & Kura	15	1	6	22	9%
School Total	159	83	63	305	100%

The patterns of gender, language ability and schooling distributions are very similar in Table 3.1 and Table 3.2, so using the ‘age group’ data allows for clear separation between age groups without greatly altering the cohort distributions (e.g. gender distributions are the same).

Iwi representation among the survey respondents covered affiliations from throughout Aotearoa, but again, they were not intended to be representative of the Māori population. The iwi groups most prominently represented were, as expected, the northern iwi of Tai Tokerau at 42% and Tainui with 23%. Both these iwi groupings also hold mana whenua status within parts of the greater Auckland region. The largest iwi in the country are notably Ngāpuhi, (the

iwi whose ancestral lands are based in mid Northland), at 24% of the Māori population and Tainui are the third largest iwi grouping at 13.5% of the Māori population (Statistics NZ, 2007). The responses for the residence section were not precise enough for a clear demarcation between urban and rural residence to be made because the description was sometimes too broad to clearly discern that demarcation.⁶⁰ Urban residence was only clearly stated where the suburb name was offered.

The majority of the respondents, 88%, noted their schooling was through Mainstream only, with just fewer than 6% noting their schooling had been through the medium of Māori language only. The spread of respondents across the range of language proficiency was approximately half with an ability to speak Māori to some degree (ratings 1 – 3 on the language ability scale), and the other half of the cohort had reo skills that were quite limited (ratings 4-5 on the language ability scale). These points are clearly seen in Table 3.1 and as will be discussed shortly, in Table 3.4. There are eight native speakers shown in Table 3.1 in the under 30s age group, Taitamariki, and this suggests the influence of kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and the commitment of whānau to ensure intergenerational transfer of te reo takes place through the use of te reo both in the home and at school. These are the new generation of native speakers.

Not all the requested data was forthcoming. Where respondents left the boxes blank or ticked boxes rather than rating the prescribed marker of identity using the Likert Scale, these were coded as blank or ticked. A few respondents who simply ticked the boxes commented to me that they did so because they were unsure and felt uncomfortable about rating these features.

⁶⁰ e.g. 'Whangarei' as a response to the question of current residence makes no distinction between the city of Whangarei or the outlying rural district under the Whangarei District Council.

Twenty-five respondents (less than 5% of the total responses) chose either to tick the reo variable box, or to simply leave it blank. Of these respondents, one third are male and 52% live in South Auckland, 32% in other parts of Auckland, and of the remainder 8% live in Northland and 8% made no response to the area of residence question. In relation to language proficiency, 60% assess their language ability in the lower two grades, in the Minimal to Fair range and the majority of them (86%) were mainstream schooled. This suggests limited access and contact with Māori resulting in distancing from learning opportunities and the likely consequences reflect low levels of confidence in and around Māori language domains.

When analysing the spread of responses across all the indicators of identity, the Kaumātua group tended to allocate more number 1s, signalling a marker was essential to Māori identity, than the other age groups. This was possibly an indication of their better understanding of the concepts these markers represent and how they align with their Māori identity. There were no other identifiable patterns found developing across the other age groups: gender, types of schooling groups, iwi affiliations nor language proficiency groupings.

The percentage of ratings made at all levels from all the surveys ($n=457$) for each of the eight features of identity is illustrated in Table 3.3. This table shows the percentage of responses for each marker of identity against the four ratings of importance (1, as an essential marker of identity, down to 4 – not very, or least important), and including recordings of those surveys where the spaces were left blank and those where the boxes were ticked. The results have been ordered from the highest percentage per marker to the lowest and the shaded sections in the table indicate the two levels at which each particular feature is considered to be at least of very high importance. Frequencies were run against all the markers and all instances of ratings for each marker of identity were counted.

Table 3.3 Percentage of responses for each marker of identity

	Essential (1)	Very Important (2)	Less Important (3)	Least Important (4)	Tick or Blank	Totals
Whakapapa	70	20	5	2	3	100%
Whanaungatanga	54	27	12	2	5	100%
Tikanga	49	25	18	4	4	100%
Marae	46	25	18	5	6	100%
Land	43	24	18	7	8	100%
Te Reo	42	25	21	7	5	100%
Upbringing	42	23	20	9	6	100%
Physical Attributes	16	9	15	51	9	100%

The highest rated indicator of Māori identity in this study was Whakapapa and 90% of the study cohort rated Whakapapa as an essential element (1), or at least very important (2), (the pink shaded areas) to Māori identity. Whanaungatanga rated at 81% followed closely by Tikanga and Maraе at more than 70% and then Land and Te Reo at 67% each in fifth equal position. Upbringing is rated at 65% and Physical Attributes is considered of high importance by a quarter of the respondents. Those who considered Physical Attributes as very important were only 25% of the whole study cohort. Since this rating was a considerable distance from the next highest rating and considered least important by more than half the respondents, this item was omitted from all ensuing data analysis.

These results suggest a shift away from the traditional views and studies of Māori identity, and of language as core to Māori identity, to a view that sees language playing a much lesser role in fixing identity. That might be seen to open up opportunities for non-Māori to be encouraged into learning te reo and thereby boosting numbers of speakers.

To explore these results further, I started looking at the overall rating of these markers of identity against the variables noted on the survey form: gender, age, type of schooling, geographic residence, iwi affiliation and proficiency in te reo. What were the underlying factors that influenced their choice of rating for each marker of identity? Pearson Chi Square Tests were run against these crosstabulations of the data to determine whether a significant variance (less than 0.01) was present. None of the calculations were able to show significant variances but the results are important and are illustrated in this chapter.

In the schooling variable, although no significant variation was discerned there were clear indications that those who had some Māori language medium schooling exhibited more positive ratings in their assessments. Both increased age and language proficiency in te reo showed results that illustrated positive attitudes towards te reo as a marker of identity and are variables that have been noted in other language studies that aid the promotion of positive attitudes towards te reo Māori and Māori identity (Benton 1979; Boyce 1992; Chrisp 1997b; Christensen 2003). The older generations tended to have greater reo proficiency and had better understanding of the relationships between these markers of identity because of that understanding of the language. I began by looking at the study group first by age group and their professed proficiency in te reo and Table 3.4 shows these results.

Table 3.4 Percentage distribution of Language Proficiency by Age

		Taitamariki <i>n</i> = 158	Pakeke <i>n</i> = 80	Kaumātua <i>n</i> = 67
Native Speaker	<i>Speakers</i>	4%	2%	31%
Fluent	<i>Speakers</i>	13%	6%	15%
Good	<i>Speakers</i>	35%	27%	19%
Fair	<i>Non Speakers</i>	22%	36%	22%
Minimal	<i>Non Speakers</i>	26%	29%	13%
TOTALS		100%	100%	100%

The upper three levels of proficiency I have classified as *Speakers* and the lower two levels as *non speakers* (the shaded sections) in the further analysis of data. As expected the Kaumātua group had the greatest number of the ‘Speakers’ (65%) and the Taitamariki group had a large percentage in the mid range – Fluent L2 speakers and Good – Conversational speakers – (48%). This mid range compared across the three age groups shows a marked increase of conversational speakers in this Taitamariki group as against the Pakeke (33%) and Kaumātua (34%) groups. In the non-Speaker range – Fair and Minimal – the Pakeke group had the highest number (65%) in that category. This is not unexpected considering this group were the most likely to have been affected by historical distancing from the predominantly rural ancestral lands and cultural centre through urbanisation. Of interest is again the native speaker percentage (52%) in the Taitamariki group. These are the first kohanga reo graduates.

In order to see if there is discernable change over time, the rating of the markers of identity data was run against the age variable, using the three levels of age distinction noted earlier: under 30’s, 35 to 50 year olds and 55 years old and upwards. The data in the table below, Table 3.5 used only those items rated on the survey forms as a 1, essential and 2, very important to Māori identity.

Table 3.5 Percentage of ratings (1 & 2) of markers of identity by Age Groupings

	Taitamariki <i>n</i> = 150	Pakeke <i>n</i> = 79	Kaumātua <i>n</i> = 58
Whakapapa	93	92	84
Whanaungatanga	83	78	78
Tikanga	72	74	70
Connections to Marae	71	72	70
Reo	67	71	66
Connections to Land	64	71	66
Upbringing	61	70	68

As expected, whakapapa again rated the highest across all age groups. In the Taitamariki group te reo rated 5th in order of importance on the list of 7 indicators, the Pakeke group rated it 5th equal with land connections and the Kaumātua group also rated it 5th equal with land. It was not surprising that the Kaumātua group rated te reo lowest as this is the group where the majority of the native speakers are located (21 of the 31 native speakers, see Table 3.2) and that low ranking could be that, as has been noted in the Languages of Manukau Study (Bell, Davis *et al* 2000) the more comfortable and the more secure the speakers are in their community language, the less likely they are to recognise it as an indicator of identity. However, in the overall ratings across all three age groupings, the pattern of the results was very similar.

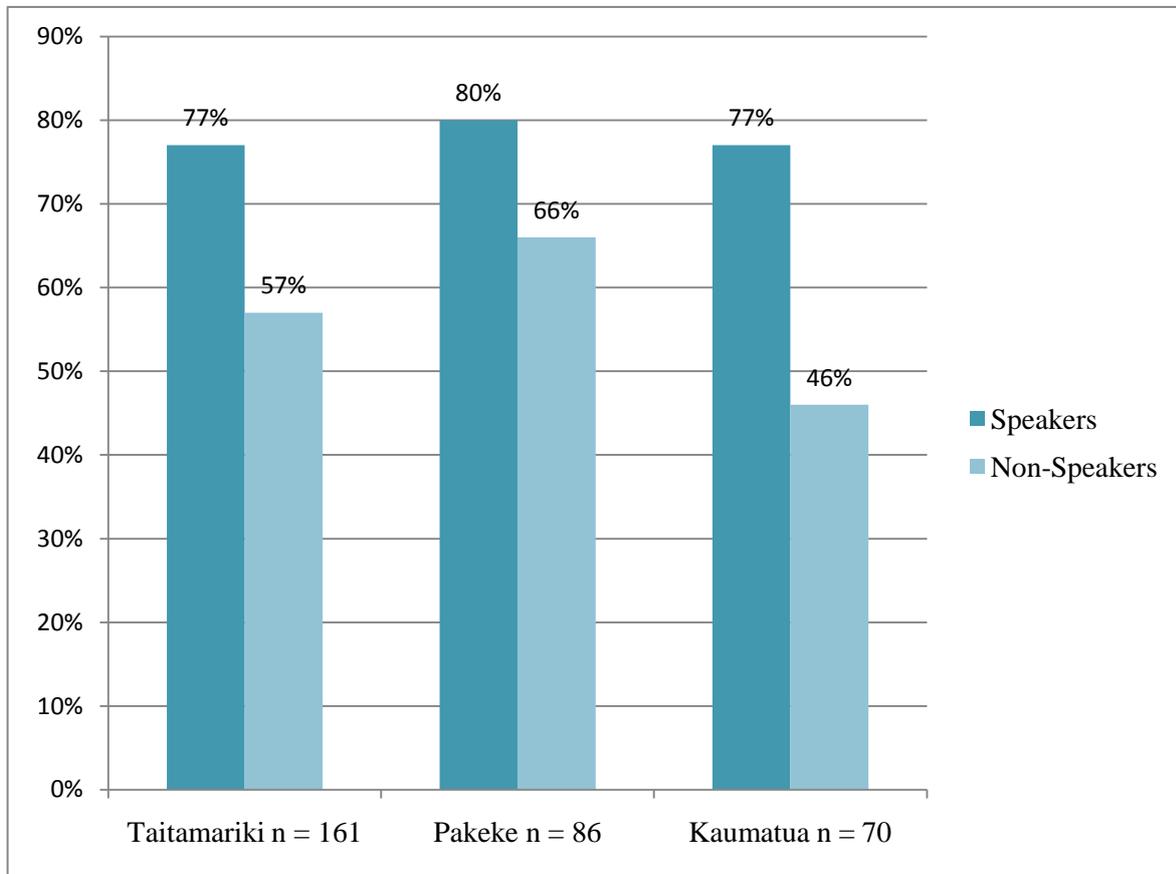
This survey was one way to discern just how Māori people today view te reo in the context of their own identity and as a first step towards understanding their feelings about sharing their language, promoting and supporting others who have no Māori whakapapa to learn te reo. In Tables 3.3 and 3.5 te reo Māori is rated in the 5th position of importance. Whilst seemingly low in priority, 5th of eight and seven tokens respectively, te reo is still seen as very important

by more than two thirds of the survey responses, signalling that it is still important. Although te reo was not considered the most important item, these respondents still considered it to be a very strong marker of Māori identity.

When the age variable was tested further the results showed the pattern of responses between Taitamariki and Kaumātua are most alike, 67% of the Taitamariki responses rated Te Reo as at least very important with the Kaumātua group rating 66% (Table 3.5). The Pakeke group, who had the greatest number of less proficient speakers 65%, (see Table 3.4), also had the highest percentage of those who considered te reo as being of high importance at 71% (Table 3.5) which suggests that neither age nor proficiency may be as strong an influence on their views of the value they place on te reo as perhaps other factors. So, despite their relatively low levels of proficiency the Pakeke group rate highly the value placed on te reo as a marker of their identity.

These variations were then combined and cross tabulation was made across age and language proficiency. Figure 3.1 shows where all those who rated te reo of high importance – as (1) or (2) – are considered by each of the three age groups and then again by their stated language proficiency as Speakers or Non Speakers.

Figure 3.1 Percentage of responses to the importance of Te Reo by Age and by Language Proficiency



Pearson Chi Square Variance 0.948

The patterns of responses for each age group between Speakers and Non Speakers were similar with the Kaumātua group having the greatest difference between language proficiency groups (a drop of 29%) and Pakeke the least (14%). Similar views were demonstrated by the similar distribution of responses for each age group across the Speakers (77% - 80% with a 3% margin), but the Non Speakers who consider te reo of high importance differ considerably across age groups over a 20% margin – from 66% for the Pakeke group down to 46% for the Kaumātua group. Those least proficient in te reo, who tended to be in the Pakeke group, were also the most likely to consider te reo very important suggesting that despite their lack of te reo proficiency they retain strong views about the value of te reo.

When cross-tabulations were made across the indicator of te reo and the schooling variable the numbers who rated te reo as being of great importance were relatively high across all three types of schooling – 69% for Mainstream, 95% for Kura Māori and 85% for both Kura and Mainstream schooling. These results predictably suggested a link between language medium schooling that encourages and supports te reo and fosters positive attitudes towards te reo as an important marker of Māori identity.

Table 3.6 illustrates this point. Eighty-two percent of those classed as *Speakers* also considered te reo as being at least very important to Māori identity, but only 62% of the *Non-Speaker* group considered te reo in the same way. The group classed as *Speakers* included those who had some schooling in Kura Māori.

Table 3.6 Percentage of responses signalling the importance of Te Reo by Proficiency in Te Reo – *Speakers* and *Non Speakers*

	Speakers <i>n</i> = 202	Non Speakers <i>n</i> = 230
Essential (1)	51	39
V.Important (2)	31	23
Important (3)	14	28
Less Important (4)	4	10
TOTALS	100%	100%

A number of those who attended the community hui described in Chapter Five of this work also completed the surveys. As noted earlier, I wondered if having their consciousness raised through the discussions affected the way these respondents indicated the value of te reo in their surveys. When their data was separated from the others, there was no immediate discernable difference, although it seemed that they were more likely to rate all the markers

(except physical attributes) as 'essential' (1). I suspect this is a result of increased awareness of issues around Māori identity that came out of participation in the hui. However, the data was inconclusive in that regard. For those who attended our community hui, completed the survey and rated their reo proficiency as good to native speaker like, 83% considered te reo as very important or essential to their Māori identity. A high number of those with fair to minimal reo proficiency also rated te reo as very important or essential (71%).

Another group whose data was easily identifiable was the ex students of Rangiatea, who were also one of those groups who completed the survey and took part in the community hui. Their data was separated out of the dataset to independently assess their ratings of the markers of identity against the ratings from female survey respondents in the same age range as those women, namely from age 45 upwards, who did not attend Rangiatea. This was an important comparison because it highlighted the significance of those elements within Māori communities that were absent for these boarding school students and might otherwise have helped shape their understandings of Māori identity. I had hoped that the element of distance both geographic and cultural might be signalled in this comparison of the data. Table 3.7 illustrates this data and the results are ordered from the highest frequency of the markers of identity noted to the lowest in the Rangiatea women's surveys.

Table 3.7 Comparing the survey data Rangiatea women with Non-Rangiatea women

	Markers of Māori identity	Rangiatea %	Non Rangiatea %
	<i>n</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>94</i>
1	Whakapapa	64	61
2	Upbringing	57	54
3	Whanaungatanga	57	55
4	Tikanga	50	46
5	Land	43	45
6	Te Reo	21	35
7	Marae	29	52

The results relating to the first 5 markers are comparable across both sets of data. Differences clearly show up in te reo and marae where the rating by Rangiatea women is considerably lower than that of the other female respondents of similar age. This may well be attributed to the separation of the Rangiatea women from the home environment where Māori social practices and use of te reo were more likely to be encountered. This would have included being around people using te reo Māori, visiting marae with parents and other whānau for celebratory occasions, various hui as well as mingling with others of their home community.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MARKERS OF IDENTITY

I then considered what distinctive relationships, between these markers of identity, might be found in the responses from these respondents. Spearman 2-tailed correlation tests were then run across all eight markers of identity. This calculation showed the result for each time a particular marker of identity was rated as essential (1), and the corresponding ratings for each of the other seven markers according to each individual survey. These tabulations were then

plotted and the strength of the relationship between any two markers is shown in Table 3.8 and described as a ratio of 1.0.

Table 3.8 Correlation of survey ratings across markers of identity

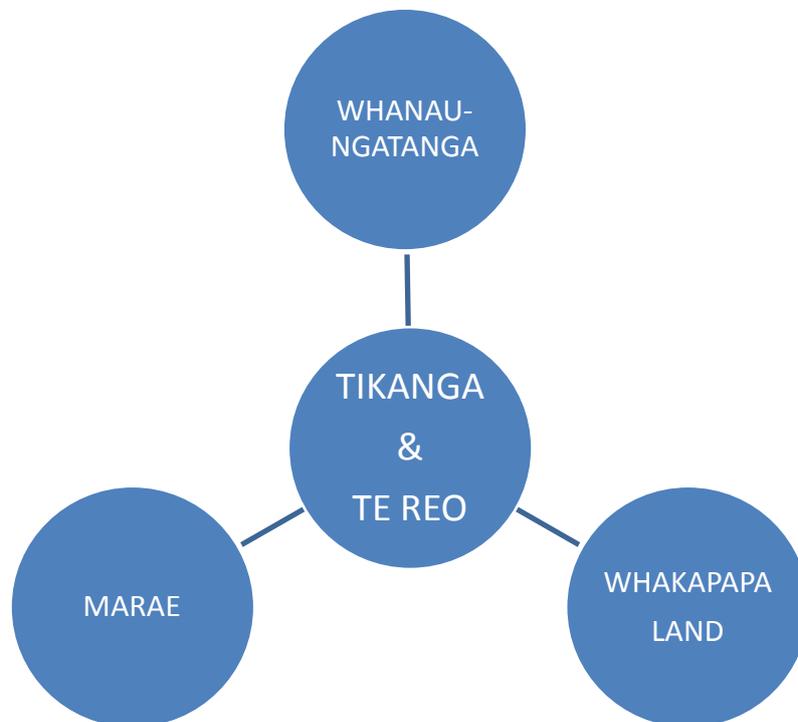
	Whakapapa	Whanaunga-Tanga	Tikanga	Te Reo	Up-Bringing	Marae	Land	Phys. Atts
Whakapapa	1.0	.49	.49	.41	.25	.41	.39	.15
Whanaunga-tanga		1.0	.61	.47	.43	.46	.46	.31
Tikanga			1.0	.66	.48	.51	.41	.31
Te Reo				1.0	.37	.48	.41	.34
Up-bringing					1.0	.43	.39	.43
Marae						1.0	.63	.36
Land							1.0	.33
Physical Attributes								1.0

There was no significant variance noted, which shows that relationships across and between all the markers were relevant, and that the markers chosen were appropriate for this study. The numbers indicate the strength of the relationship between the variables with the higher numbers indicating the stronger more robust relationships.

The strongest relationship noted, with a score of 0.66, is that between Te Reo and Tikanga. This shows where those who considered Te Reo of high importance to their identity that they have also considered Tikanga in the same way. The second strongest relationship is that between Land and Marae (0.63), which is not unexpected because Marae have generally been built on communally owned Māori land. Marae have been described by Walker (1990 p.187) as the last bastion of Māori, that last place that Māori can truly own as a Māori domain. The

next highest rating relationship is between Tikanga and Whanaungatanga at 0.61. Tikanga also has the strongest relationships with 3 of the 7 indicators that included Marae (0.51), Upbringing (0.48), and Te Reo (0.66) which might signal that the pivotal factor for influencing views on identity could be Tikanga, or more appropriately knowledge of Tikanga. Te Reo and Marae also feature highly at 0.48, again consolidating the place of the language in that final bastion of Māori autonomy, the Marae. Figure 3.2 helps to depict these relationships more clearly.

Figure 3.2 Relationships between markers of identity



For Te Reo, the strongest relationships are with Tikanga (0.66), followed by Marae (0.48), Whanaungatanga (0.47), and then Whakapapa (0.41) and Land (0.41). Upbringing (0.37) and Physical Attributes (0.34) indicate weaker relationships. This distribution also helps to illustrate which of these markers, for this study cohort, remain central to Māori identity.

COMMENTS SECTION

Next I addressed the comments section on the bottom of the survey forms. Unlike the survey data, these were all qualitative in nature. The comments were collated and assessed for the language used as well as the content. Of the 457 survey responses returned, 149 (31%) respondents had offered comments, which in itself is significant as this level of response shows a high level of interest and signals positive attitudes towards this study, towards te reo and especially te reo linked with identity. Again, however, I must reiterate that this sample of respondents is not random and the majority of those who participated in and contributed to this study also had an interest in te reo.

Fifty-nine percent of the comments noted on the surveys were about te reo, 25% were comments linking te reo with identity and a further 34% made comments that linked te reo with marae, tikanga or whakapapa and identity.⁶¹ Examples of these comments were:

Knowing my whakapapa and tupuna is something I find to be absolutely essential. How can I be someone without knowing where I'm from – tikanga / reo / whakapapa. (568)

... regarding identity as Māori, whakapapa is certainly the key for me as well. Am not too keen to rate attributes as such so will leave it as is (600).

I think that having a knowledge of te reo isn't as important because I know people who aren't Māori that speak Māori. Mum always taught us about the treaty and our ancestors (629).

Kia mau ki tō Māoritanga (728)

[Hold fast to those elements that signify your being Māori]

⁶¹ Many of the comments noted support for this work and a few offered additional markers of identity for consideration.

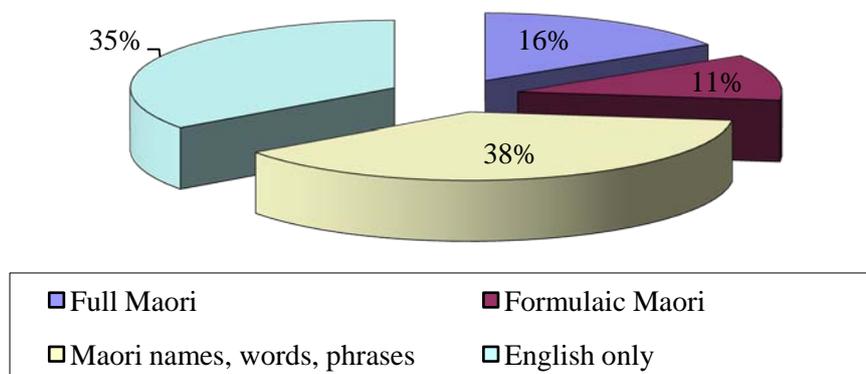
Ko te mea nui o tōku Māoritanga ko te taha wairua me te aroha ki te tangata me te taonga i homaitia e te Atua ko tōku reo (698).

[The most important part of being Māori for me is the spiritual side, love for mankind and the gift given to me from the Lord, that is, my Māori language].

Almost all the comments were supportive of this study but two in particular were critical of aspects of the survey and these comments are discussed later in this chapter.

There were four basic categories of language used in this section. There were surveys where full Māori (whole sentences in te reo – 23) was used, those where symbolic or formulaic reo (greetings or well known sayings and phrases – 16) were used, those that interspersed Māori words, names or single words into their comments (53) and those where only English was used.

Figure 3.3 Percentage of responses by type of language used in comments



The distribution of language use illustrated in Figure 3.3 shows that 27% of those who commented did so in te reo Māori (16% used full Māori and 11% used formulaic reo), and a further 38% used Māori words code switched into their English language commentary.

Those who wrote in Māori, with the exception of two in the kaumātua age group, assessed their reo proficiency in the upper levels and also noted te reo as ‘essential’ (1) to their identity as Māori. The two exceptions rated their reo proficiency in the ‘fair’ range (4) and rated the importance of te reo as number 3 on the rating scale (important). However, their comments were made in well constructed Māori sentences which suggest that in their self assessment of their reo proficiency they have underestimated their skills. I suspected that this was not uncommon with the more competent speakers, playing down their reo ability, and is a feature noted in the Languages of Manukau study and also by Bauer (2008). I also found that the Taitamariki group was more likely to use formulaic Māori than the other age groups.

These comments were then split into two main categories, those who used Māori and those who did not. I factored these variables into the data pertaining to the importance of te reo noted and spread them across the age groups, since age seemed to have a bearing in the quantitative results thus far, and ran Pearson Chi Square tests on the data. Tables 3.9 and Table 3.10 illustrate the different age groupings rating of the importance of te reo for those who commented in Māori and for those who commented in English.

Table 3.9 Percentage of comments made in Māori by the rating of the importance of Te Reo and by Age

Importance of Te Reo Language Used	High Māori	Low Māori	TOTALS
Taitamariki	73	27	100%
Pakeke	100		100%
Kaumatua	86	14	100%

Pearson Chi Square Variance 0.232

The patterns across this data, albeit in different languages, were similar. More than two thirds consistently rate in favour of te reo being important to Māori identity, whether they wrote in

Māori or in English. These tables also highlight the Pakeke group as being the strongest supporters of te reo.

Table 3.10 Percentage of comments made mostly in English by the rating of the importance of Te Reo and by Age

Importance of Te Reo Language Used	High Mostly English	Low Mostly English	TOTALS
Taitamariki	73	27	100%
Pakeke	78	22	100%
Kaumatua	73	27	100%

Pearson Chi Square Variance 0.872

THE FINDINGS

The first major consideration from this survey was that all the markers of identity chosen for this survey were appropriate and second, that whakapapa was considered to be the most important marker of identity. This supports the literature on identity that considers biological links as core and essential to identity and is congruent with traditional Māori views of identity (Karetu 1978; Haig 1997; Fishman 1999; Song 2003).

The ranking of te reo at fifth highest, however, does not appear to bear out the notion of centrality or that language is a core value of identity, as is noted in the Māori literature and expressed in the following whakataukī by renowned Māori elder statesman and inaugural patron of the kohanga reo movement, Sir James Henare.⁶²

Nā te reo te kākahu o te whakaaro, te huarahi ki te ao tūroa o te hinengaro. Ko te reo, te mauri o te mana Māori.

⁶² Sir James Henare in his speech delivered at the opening of the first kohanga reo in Wainuiomata, 1981 illustrated the importance of te reo to Māori identity through this whakataukī.

[Language clothes one's thoughts, and provides the pathway to enlightenment of the mind. The Māori language is the ethos of all that it is to be Māori]⁶³

Despite the language being considered in a much lower position on the scale in this survey, fifth out of eight markers of identity, the gap between these markers is a relatively small percentage. Table 3.3 shows that for those who considered te reo and whakapapa as at least very important (67% for te reo and 90% for whakapapa), there is only a 23% variance between them. These ratings indicate that te reo is still considered a very strong marker of Māori identity, despite their seemingly low position. That notion is also reinforced in the correlations made across the eight markers to assess the strength of the relationships between these markers – see Table 3.8. As noted already the strongest relationships that te reo holds are with tikanga, followed by marae, whanaungatanga, whakapapa and land, and in that order.

Analysis of the survey data does not show change over time as one might expect of a language that is declining, but the similarity of the results from both Taitamariki and Kaumātua in their consideration of the importance of the language to identity does signal positive attitudes towards te reo and possibly a push towards language growth – Table 3.5. It also raises an interesting question about why the rating of the importance of te reo was highest for the Pakeke group who were also the least proficient. Perhaps it was the lack of opportunity for this group to learn te reo and to participate more in Māori communal life that suggested these elements were more desirable – that they feel they have missed out. How then would these participants feel about sharing their language with others who have had no experience of Māori life and tikanga and do not have whakapapa Māori?

⁶³ This translation was furnished by Hone Sadler Ngāti Moerewa, Ngāpuhi, 2006. Benton (2007) uses this whakatauki in the title of this paper and translates 'mauri' as the cornerstone.

Language proficiency and age were both shown to influence views about the importance of te reo to identity in positive ways. That influence is more marked in the Kaumātua age group and in the Taitamariki group, who also support the traditionalist theories that consider language integral to identity, that language is a core marker of Māori identity. Where language competence is evident, there is also a higher rating of all the other markers of identity reflecting strong links between te reo and tikanga.

In looking at language proficiency across the age groups, the Taitamariki group had a large percentage in the mid range of Speakers – Fluent L2 speakers and Good – Conversational speakers – (48% see Table 3.4). This reflects much improved access to te reo learning initiatives for this under 30s age group. It might also suggest that the Taitamariki are reaping the benefits of an education that provides a greater awareness of the history of Māori in this land. Since the advent of the kohanga reo movement,⁶⁴ the implementation of the Māori Language Act 1987 and the associated activities of Māori renaissance and te reo revitalisation efforts, mainstream New Zealand has been made much more aware of Māori language and customs. That awareness has also aided the promotion of positive attitudes towards Māori language and Māori ways of being.

In the comments section of the survey, those who had the ability to speak Māori used these skills admirably and in doing so demonstrated pride in their language and their identity reflecting positive images and attitudes towards te reo. That positive reinforcement of te reo and Māori identity was also present in all the comments made, both those expressed in Māori and those expressed in English. However, this positivity might also be a reflection of the

⁶⁴ Kohanga reo opened the floodgate for interest in te reo me ōna tikanga (Māori language and the culture that pertains to the language) to grow and flourish.

composition of the study cohort many of whom were highly supportive of te reo revitalization efforts anyway. But, would their support extend to non-Māori learning te reo?

The environment around growing up was significant. Distance from the Māori world, distance from the language and the customs shows a difference in how the markers of identity were considered and processed. A number of those who did not rate the markers of identity numerically, but simply ticked the box or left the spaces blank, told me they did so because they were uncertain or uncomfortable about rating the markers. These were the ones who asked what they should do, how should they rate these items? Some did not really understand the concepts, whereas others could not bring themselves to rate any one item higher than others. Perhaps for these respondents only, the uncertainty with which they addressed this survey could be related to their distance from Māori cultural activity and te reo Māori. This distance from te ao Māori (the Māori world) might also explain the marked difference in perception of te reo and connection to marae by the Rangiatea women versus the women who did not attend Rangiatea Methodist Māori Girls' Hostel (Table 3.7). Boarding away from home and the Māori community had distanced the students from the linguistic and cultural aspects of Māori life.

Challenges were made in the comments section and three in particular I have noted here which concern perceptions around te reo. The first comment carried with it a sense of anger and frustration that spoke volumes about knowing what it is to be Māori but not necessarily having to be seen to be engaging in Māori activities and education, including learning te reo.

... not doing kapa haka, reo classes or weekend wānanga doesn't make me any less Māori ... I know my whakapapa, I know my whānau connections and I know I'm Māori! (610)

This comment reinforces the position of whakapapa as the most dominant marker of identity. But it also raises concerns about being judged by others and other Māori in particular. This is the voice of a Pakeke person, but it reflects also the views of several others and especially younger Māori who do not speak Māori. It is also congruent with the understanding that this group (Pakeke) are the ones who were deprived, through no fault of their own, of access to te reo and tikanga. This commentator is also male which adds another dimension to be considered. For Māori men there is an expectation that they will take the upfront and public position of leadership on the marae, as speakers for their family and their hapū. That role traditionally requires the speakers to maintain the traditions and history of the region and to be able to recount these in te reo Māori. So for Māori males the pressure to learn and to use te reo appears to be greater than for Māori women. This may also be a reason for the low numbers of men who completed the survey (Table 3.1). But, te reo is also very important for Māori women because they are the adults most closely associated with the children and traditionally, it is their role to maintain the stories, the whakapapa, the family history and the language within the whānau for ensuing generations.

These issues also link into the concern for Taitamariki that if they are not seen to be engaged in areas that involve Māori cultural activities, or are seen to lack a strong affiliation with Māori, they may be viewed in a negative light, what Borell (2005b) cites as “deficit terms” (p.22). A caution is noted by Borell when she says, “the risk here is that Māori youth, particularly those that are not deeply or actively steeped in such recognised dimensions of the culture, are often invisible” (p.34). I would suggest that this also holds true for Pakeke who are not speakers of te reo, especially since they are at the opposite end of the continuum to speakers of te reo, who are more likely to have traditional understandings of the Māori world accessed via exposure to the language. It is a concern that calls for further investigation.

The second comment I want to note is one that bemoans the fact that this age group missed out on so much because of forces external to them. There is a real sense of hurt and deprivation echoed here.

... The era and environment I grew up in did not encourage tikanga Māori. Te reo was not an option at kura. My parents did not teach us te reo as they did not see the relevance at the time, in fact I'm not sure my father has changed his view on this [she notes that her mother has]. As a result I feel aggrieved at having missed out on what was rightfully mine ... playing catch-up is difficult (620).

These comments, although challenging, also give a sense of where the young and urban Māori in particular are now and how they are making sense of te reo and te ao Māori within their own life experiences. It raises issues around how the parents of this generation, who are now the kaumātua, saw the relevance of te reo for their children. And, it is interesting to note the changed view of the mother of this woman, who is now totally supportive of all her three children and her mokopuna learning te reo, especially since both she and her husband are native speakers of te reo.

A third comment addresses the survey process.

... all of the other things add to your 'Māoriness'... you could have no reo, no knowledge of tikanga, a totally non-Māori upbringing, and still be Māori by virtue of your whakapapa... I am rating them [the indicators of identity] as attributes that contribute to Māori identity not as attributes that enable you to identify as Māori ... (599)

The issues raised here relate to semantics and the way the survey was presented and highlights what this respondent considers could be suggestive in two ways. The title 'Māoriness Survey' assumes the notion that whether one is Māori or not can be measured or is dependent on the degree to which one is involved in, or has access to, or can verify the degree of engagement in any, or all of the prescribed markers of identity. Secondly, the order

in which the features are laid out in the survey might also suggest a prescribed hierarchical order and this respondent challenges any notion that assumes or coerces, albeit in a subtle way, her responses and clearly outlines the context in which her answers are positioned. This comment also links to the first one described in this section about assumptions made regarding what one knows rather than, who one is.

The research team did not set out to pre-empt responses. We do acknowledge though that these points could have influenced the way people considered and rated the markers.

This particular respondent (599) rated her language skills as 2, being a fluent second language learner of te reo. The tone of her comments also suggested a hint of anger and frustration “you **could have** no reo, no knowledge of tikanga, a totally non-Māori upbringing, **and still** be Māori”. The use of the auxiliary verb ‘could’ and manner particle ‘still’ illustrate the emphatic voice. Perhaps the underlying disquiet relates to having to learn one’s own language outside of natural intergenerational language transfer? Now whether or not this disquiet can be transferred into a positive mode of supporting non-Māori into learning te reo is a matter for further investigation.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have outlined the survey used in this study. I set out to try and find out how Māori viewed the importance of a prescribed number of markers of identity. I was especially interested to note how my respondents viewed the importance of te reo to Māori identity. I used several variables to explore whether these might, or might not, influence the choices made on the importance of these markers to Māori identity. The use of these variables in the

data analysis; age, te reo proficiency and language of schooling I hoped might also provide clues as to how members of this cohort might perceive and respond to the idea of non-Māori learning te reo.

The ratings offered in this survey have helped to illustrate five main points on matters relating to the link between language and identity. Firstly, whakapapa was found to be paramount to affirming identity as Māori. Secondly, te reo rated fifth overall in importance, but was still strongly signalled as very important to Māori identity – see Table 3.3 where 67% see te reo as at least very important. In the comments section, there were clear indications enunciating support for the reo. Several respondents noted that they thought te reo ought to be a core value, but the reality was that in practice it was not. Thirdly, both the quantitative and the qualitative data reveal that despite a large number of less proficient speakers of te reo, attitudes to te reo are strongly positive.

The fourth point noted was that contrary to the fears echoed in the 1970s that te reo was in dire circumstances and at risk of being lost altogether (Benton 1981; Benton *et al* 1997), there is evidence here that the Taitamariki results show positive growth in the numbers of speakers in that generation, and alongside that is strong understanding of other elements that signal Māori identity. This generation have had the benefit of access to formalised reo learning opportunities and have gained insights, through te reo, into Māori values and practises not readily accessible to those without te reo. They are also the beneficiaries of the fruits from the struggles for te reo revival and revitalisation, but is this enough to assure the on-going growth and development of te reo me ōna tikanga? The use of te reo in the domains of justice,

education, health and most notably through the media, especially television,⁶⁵ has greatly influenced their upbringing and their views of te ao Māori in ways different to the views of their parents' and grandparents' generations. These illustrations of the growth of te reo and its use in day to day interactions helps to normalise and cement the position of te reo within New Zealand society today.

The fifth point is that language proficiency in this study is shown to strongly influence views on the importance of te reo to Māori identity. This is not unexpected. There are differences, but the link between the traditional themes of tikanga, whanaungatanga, whakapapa and te reo are still very strong. Perhaps these might be strengthened even more by bolstering up the efforts to increase the numbers of speakers of Māori through pushing for opportunities to raise the levels of proficiency for all speakers⁶⁶ and thereby raising the profile of te reo in everyday New Zealand society. Building up the numbers of speakers of te reo is one way in which the profile of the language may be raised as it will encourage speakers of te reo to engage with one another in more domains than is the current practice. Perhaps the ease with which this happens might be an indication of support for non-Māori learning te reo.

The results of the survey clearly show te reo does not feature in the top set of items considered essential to Māori identity. This is contrary to the literature that suggests te reo is a core marker of identity and since that was not borne out by this survey, I set out to find other ways in which language and identity might be exhibited and measured. What other avenues were there for testing for the strength of the relationship between te reo Māori and Māori identity?

⁶⁵ In March 2004, Māori Television was launched, providing a forum for Māori language programmes to be broadcast to the nation.

⁶⁶ Te Kura Reo Courses administered and funded through Te Taura Whiri provide a forum for aiding competent speakers of te reo to raise their levels of proficiency, and improve the quality of their language.

In Chapter Four a number of narrative texts, written by a group of Māori women in 2002, is examined for markers of identity. These texts are assessed using a form of content analysis, Interpretive Content Analysis, and the results are used to gauge measures of identity that might test the veracity of the results from this survey, on the importance, the value of te reo to Māori identity.

Chapter 4

Mā tō kōrero, tuhinga raini koe e Māori ai?:

identity through the analysis of
narrative

INTRODUCTION

The findings from the survey described in Chapter Three suggest that Māori place more importance on whakapapa, whanaungatanga, tikanga and marae for their identity than on te reo. The rating for te reo of fifth out of eight items of importance in the survey data could reflect the much diminished role that the Māori language plays in the day to day lives of Māori since English is the predominant language used in everyday contexts in Aotearoa today. The numbers of those able to converse in Māori are relatively small.⁶⁷ Māori friendly language domains are also relatively restricted and are mainly to be found in the education arena through Māori medium schools and in Māori community settings such as marae. The survey results in Chapter Three, on the importance of te reo to Māori identity are in opposition to the Māori literature which considers te reo to be a core value central to Māori identity.

An alternative independent measure of the value placed on te reo was sought. I was fortunate to have access to a collection of 22 narratives written in 2002 by a group of Māori women. These women had resided at Rangiatea Methodist Māori Girls' Hostel,⁶⁸ a church boarding facility for Māori school girls, during their high school years. At the time of this study, these

⁶⁷ Census 2006 data shows that 23.7% of the Māori population are able to converse in te reo (Statistics N.Z. 2007).

⁶⁸ Hereafter referred to as Rangiatea

women were aged between 45 and 80. This dataset is important because it was sourced independently of this research but gathered simultaneously with this project.

This chapter begins by describing the background to the narratives; their purpose, who the writers were and the context in which they are situated. I used Interpretive Content Analysis (ICA) with these writings to identify words and phrases (focal texts)⁶⁹ that illustrated features of identity. The focal texts were tabulated by specific markers of identity and enumerated and the results allowed a comparison with the survey data results (see Chapter Three).⁷⁰ Further to the quantitative analysis provided by the ICA of the narratives, a qualitative approach using narrative analysis explores how identity is also expressed in the narratives, not only in the language used but also by way of the content of the stories, the structure of the stories and the way in which the stories are told (Schiffrin 1996, p.170). The findings from the qualitative narrative analysis are then used to seek congruence with the findings from the survey, the quantitative data analysis. The overall results are then discussed addressing the value placed on te reo in relation to Māori identity and seeking to ascertain the strength of that relationship.

BACKGROUND

The NZCER Survey undertaken in the 1970s highlighted the rapid pace at which LS from Māori to English was taking place and confirmed for many the fears that if LS was not checked quickly, language death would be the inevitable result. Benton *et al* (1997) cites education and urbanization as probable factors in that process (p.18). Māori boarding

⁶⁹ Focal text refers to the particular piece of text used for analysis, and in this case I used the phrase.

⁷⁰ Fifteen women from Rangiatea also completed surveys illustrated in Chapter 3 and that survey data provided opportunity for a second comparison to be made with the survey data of women in the same age bracket and who did not attend Rangiatea (see Table 3.7).

schools,⁷¹ one small facet of the education arena, have been attributed with nurturing and grooming Māori scholars and leaders of tomorrow.⁷² An exploration of the practices around language use in one of the Māori Boarding Hostels, prior to the NZCER survey, provides more information about the way Māori viewed their identity as well as factors, from the Māori boarding school environment, that may have influenced LS.

The first Māori boarding schools, opened in the mid 19th Century,⁷³ were committed to equip young Māori people with the skills to survive and prosper in the rapidly changing face of Aotearoa, a land that was becoming more and more Europeanised (Old 1994; McManus 1997). These schools received some assistance from the state, but for the most part were financed and managed through the auspices of particular mainstream churches.⁷⁴ Religious instruction was included in the curriculum and the schools were sometimes referred to as ‘Māori Church Secondary Schools’ or simply ‘church schools.’ There were eleven large (more than 100 pupils) church schools and Table 4.1 lists these Māori boarding schools and provides a little information about their beginnings and their church affiliations. The schools in the shaded areas are still open the others have since closed.

⁷¹ These were Independent Māori boarding schools sometimes referred to as Māori Church Secondary Schools (Curtis 1980, p.164).

⁷² Simon (1992) noted that scholarships were promoted “to develop an educated Māori elite who would return to their villages and spread the gospel of assimilation” (cited in Filipo 1993 p.30).

⁷³ Te Aute College (Te Aute) in the Hawkes Bay opened in 1854, St Joseph’s Māori Girls’ College, Napier in 1867 and Hukarere Protestant Girls’ School (Hukarere) in 1875.

⁷⁴ e.g. Te Aute College and Hukarere came under the umbrella of the Anglican Church, St Joseph’s under the Catholic church, Wesley College and Rangiatea under the Methodist Church.

Table 4.1 The Māori Boarding Schools

Boarding School	Location	Hāhi (church denomination)	Male/Female	Date opened	Date of closure
Queen Victoria School	Parnell Auckland	Anglican	Girls	1903	2001
Hukarere	Napier	Anglican	Girls	1875	Open
St Josephs Māori Girls' College	Napier	Catholic	Girls	1867	Open
Turakina Māori Girls' School	Marton	Presbyterian	Girls	1905	Open
Rangiatea Methodist Girls School/Hostel	New Plymouth	Methodist	Girls	1940	1977
Te Waipounamu Girls College	Christchurch	Anglican	Girls	1909	1990
Hato Petera College	Auckland	Catholic	Boys	1928	Open
Wesley College	at Paerata Auckland	Methodist	Boys & Girls from 1985	1924	Open
St Stephens School	at Bombay Auckland	Anglican	Boys	1930	2000
Hato Paora College	Fielding	Catholic	Boys	1947	Open
Te Aute College	Hastings	Anglican	Boys	1854	Open

The boarding schools all began with student numbers of around 20 pupils, but gradually built up and in some cases led to rolls numbering several hundred pupils. There were a few smaller schools such as Waitaruke Catholic School in Kaeo, Northland, which offered boarding facilities for very limited numbers and the Church College of New Zealand (hereafter, the Mormon College) on the outskirts of Hamilton which also catered for a large number of Māori students.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ The primary focus of the Mormon College was to cater for Mormon students, not necessarily Māori or even New Zealand students.

In 1931 the Director of Education urged the church schools not to focus on the pursuit of academic areas of education, but to teach subjects primarily aimed at improving the lot of Māori, which for girls focussed on domestic skills and for boys, agriculture (Mikaere 1994). The Bishop of Waiapu, is quoted as saying it was “with the thought in mind of providing good Christian wives for the boys of Te Aute” that Hukarere Protestant Girls’ School was established in 1875 (cited in Mikaere 1994). The idea of proposed Colleges for training Māori girls for domestic service was also mooted and ostensibly shunned by Māoridom (Coney 1993), but the reality was that such training continued in the Māori boarding schools in the 1940s and 1950s and to a lesser extent through the 1960s.⁷⁶

Māori parents who sent their children to the Māori church schools were totally supportive of these schools and believed that they provided opportunities for their children to advance in a rapidly changing world. These opportunities included: developing the Pākehā side of their education, whilst retaining their Māori identity through encouraging Māori values and practices. They believed the schools also taught good study habits in a controlled environment that was absent of distractions. Māori parents also believed these schools represented and implemented the marriage of Māori and Christian values and that they offered greater opportunities for success, both academic and sporting and supported the development of self confidence in the pupils. The boarding school situation still allowed parents some say in decisions made about their children at school, as well as accommodating Māori expectation such as being able to have their children attend important hui (Curtis 1980). Success stories of students who became leaders in both Māori and mainstream society encouraged parents to support and affirm the church boarding schools. During the decades of the 1950s and 1960s these Māori church schools were at the height of their popularity. School

⁷⁶ Accounts in the local Methodist publications would outline the daily routine for the girls at Rangiatea. It was predominated by home craft lessons and cleaning duties (1941).

rolls were at their maximum capacity and students were achieving academically on a par with national School Certificate pass rates and above the national Māori pass rates of around 15% (Curtis 1980). These academic successes reflected positive attributes onto the Māori students, but were not indicative of their Māori identity.

Most of these boarding schools have now closed. The reasons for their closures are diverse and are well documented (Curtis 1980, Filipo 1993; McManus 1997; Gudgeon 1998; Taylor & Goldsmith 2004). For those still in operation, changes within the boarding schools themselves have been made to ensure their relevance and best practise protocols for Māori education in the 21st century.⁷⁷ Those best practises include the deliberate inclusion of Māori values and te reo in the daily lives of the students.

Much of the material written about Māori boarding schools presents historical accounts of the institutions and accounts of academic and sporting achievement (Gray 1970; Old 1994; Jenkins & Morris Mathews 1995; Gudgeon 1998). The book in which the narratives considered in this study appear includes a brief overview of the history of Rangiatea, but of more value to this study are the stories and accounts written by the students themselves about their experiences. Not only does this study allow analysis of these accounts for data that illustrates features of identity, but it also provides insights into the day to day life of a student in one of the Māori boarding schools. The subsequent effects of their experiences in that educational setting upon their later lives, including their attitudes towards te reo and their identity as Māori, can also be traced.

⁷⁷ Wesley College and Queen Victoria School with predominantly Māori Rolls became integrated – under the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975, whereby the state took responsibility for costs associated with the schools, the church for the boarding facility and the ‘special character’ of each school was preserved. Others soon followed. Still others moved from being fully fledged schools to boarding hostels only with students attending state schools e.g. Rangiatea in New Plymouth and Te Waipounamu, Christchurch. Paerangi, a united Business Unit was formed in 2001 to assist the management of these remaining Māori boarding schools Hato Petera on the North Shore, Hukarere and St Josephs in Napier, Hato Paora in Masterton and Turakina in Marton.

Te reo Māori was virtually banned from the classroom in state schools at the turn of the 20th century and the literature around Māori experiences in the school settings is replete with stories regarding the punishments meted out for using Māori in schools (Biggs 1968; Haig 1997; Selby 1999). In the 1930s the education authorities made it clear that such behaviour was not ‘official policy’ but anecdotal accounts show it was “the practise in many schools well into the next decade” (Benton *et al* 1997 p.9). By the late 1950s, te reo Māori was made available to be taught as a core curriculum subject, provided schools had qualified teachers to do so. Most schools, however, did not have the capacity to teach te reo. There were very few teachers qualified to do so, and if students opted for Māori as a subject they were usually left to work through these studies by correspondence, or encouraged to take another subject.

In the Māori boarding schools te reo Māori was retained as a compulsory and core subject. Despite that, te reo Māori had limited application outside the classroom: cultural song and dance performances utilised the reo, but English was generally the medium of communication in the hostels (Gudgeon 1998). That limited application of te reo is not surprising since the Māori boarding schools were modelled on English boarding schools: the ideological paradigm transplanted from one cultural context into another without consideration of cultural norms in the new context.

Rangiatea was a boarding hostel for young Māori girls run by the Methodist Church of New Zealand. The hostel opened in 1940 in an old parsonage adapted to accommodate 12 students initially as a ‘residential training college for Māori girls’ (Taylor & Goldsmith, 2004, p.12).

In charge of the hostel for the first 33 years of its life were Pākehā Deaconesses.⁷⁸ The

Matron in charge during the final years from 1974 until closure in 1977 was Māori and an ex

⁷⁸ Deaconesses were the women of the Methodist Church who had committed themselves to the work of the church. Their mission work in New Zealand was primarily concerned with the development of Māori whānau through their teaching and support of the women and children.

boarder of Rangiatea herself. For the first year a Māori Minister and his wife acted as Matron and Chaplain, under a Pākehā Principal. In 1946 and 1947 a schoolteacher who was Māori taught the students English, Writing and Arithmetic in the small classroom built on to the chapel. From 1949 to 1950 a Māori Sub-Matron was on staff. No other Māori staff member was employed until 1974.

From 1958 there were two Māori men on the Board of Governors, which had oversight of the hostel, and a Māori Minister who occasionally, maybe monthly, came to conduct an evening service and sometimes to tutor students taking te reo by correspondence. These were the only contact with Māori the students had during term time. They had very limited contact with and virtually no input from Māori and Māori ways of living and being. This distancing from their Māori origins, many have noted in the narratives, impacted upon their understandings of their identity.

The narratives by the former residents of this hostel are a rich source of data for understanding the church Māori boarding school, and boarding hostel, phenomenon in Aotearoa and the continued practise of colonisation in the mid 1900s. Being Māori, and identified as such by the institution of the Methodist church through enrolment in Rangiatea Methodist Māori Girls' Hostel, clearly define the students as Māori and from 1940 up until 1958 the entire student body were Māori.

In 1958 the hostel opened a new and much larger premises, that had facilities to cater for 70 students and from that time onwards students of other ethnic origins entered the hostel. At the commencement of the school year places were filled by Māori students. If there were vacant positions in the hostel, these were offered, in the first instance, to Scholarship

students from the Pacific Islands⁷⁹ and then to Pākehā girls from the waiting list at New Plymouth Girls' High School boarding hostel, Scotlands. During the 1960s the hostel enjoyed full capacity and the student population was predominantly Māori (80%) with boarders from the Cook Islands, from Niue, the Solomons, Gilbert and Ellice Islands,⁸⁰ Tonga and Samoa making up around 15% of the hostel population and a very small number of Pākehā students (only 5% in 1967). I myself was a student there from 1965 to the end of 1967.

By 1971 the numbers entering Rangiatea had begun to decline and there were several reasons for this. A number of the Pacific nations had by this time built high schools in their own countries, so the Island Territory Scholarship students were now more likely to be schooled closer to home. New high schools had also been built in many rural districts allowing Māori families to keep their children at home and to send them by bus to local schools. Up until that time many rural Māori families had been forced to send their children to boarding schools for their high school years, or they had schooling via correspondence, neither of which was the ideal.⁸¹

The demographics and social climate in New Zealand was also changing and a much greater number of Māori had moved to live in urban settings. Employment opportunities abounded and for many families both parents worked to provide for their families. For some, the urban environment offered much to beguile and entertain, but the cities lacked the whānau support systems that might have been present in their home community and one of the by-products of that urban reality was the inability of parents to adequately oversee the care of the children

⁷⁹ These were students who had gained Island Territory Scholarships.

⁸⁰ The Gilbert and Ellice Islands are now known as Tuvalu and Kiribas.

⁸¹ Boarding Schools have continued to be an option for rural communities, but because of the costs involved, Māori have tended to reserve that option for students who show signs of academic or leadership potential.

(Walker 1990 p.206). The Department of Social Welfare and the Māori Affairs Child Welfare Division were a burgeoning industry because of these conditions and the whānau of many children, who had come to the notice of either of these welfare agencies, were encouraged to assist their children into boarding schools.⁸² More often though, the state would take over responsibility for the child removing them from their whānau, and boarding schools became the ‘dumping ground’ for many young people who often struggled to fit in and who came with behavioural problems that had thus far not been addressed.⁸³ Few staff in the boarding schools had been adequately trained to manage the sometimes aberrant behaviour of a number of these young people who had become state wards.⁸⁴ The second Matron of Rangiatea voiced her concerns on this matter acknowledging that these young people required professional guidance which the staff were ill-equipped to supply (Wedding 2005). These moves added to the distancing of the child from Māori values and their Māori identity.

In the 1970s there were fewer students at Rangiatea from rural communities and many more from the urban centres, especially Auckland and Wellington and a larger proportion, who were wards of the state.⁸⁵ By 1977 the boarding population at Rangiatea was a mere 32 students. Recruitment drives had reaped no substantial increase in enrolments and morale with both students and staff was at an all time low. The Board closed the hostel.

⁸² Removing the young person from their present environment that had been deemed by the state to be no longer a safe or a sound place for them, and taking them into a boarding school was one way that stability and regimen for the child to gain a sense of security could be achieved. However, this often backfired and the young person’s behavioural problems affected their peers in damaging ways.

⁸³ The Matron’s reports note increasing requests for Rangiatea to accept students who were in the care of the state. These students invariably came from urban areas and their dysfunctional behaviour has been referred to as being a by-product of the ‘urban drift’ by their parents and families.

⁸⁴ These were children who had come to the notice of the Dept. of Social Welfare or The Māori Affairs Welfare Division and for whom the State had been declared legal guardian.

⁸⁵ New enrolments from 1975 – 1977 show 46% (27 out of 58) come from the urban centres of Auckland, Hamilton, Rotorua, New Plymouth, Palmerston North and Wellington and 5% (3) are state wards.

There were three major points of difference that distinguished Rangiatea Hostel from other Māori boarding schools. Rangiatea was the first of the Māori boarding schools to move to a purely boarding situation with students living in the hostel, but attending state schools. This saw a distinct separation between church and state, a move which was cited in the local newspapers as being a ‘social experiment’: the church managed the girls’ hostel life and the state governed their formal education. The headlines in the Daily News December, 1962 read “Successful pattern of State School, Church Home” and the article reported the success of the experiment in the separation of church and state even suggesting that it might be a model that other schools (Māori boarding schools) might consider.⁸⁶ But, neither the state nor the church of that time actively supported nor promoted the Māori elements of the students’ identity.

A second and very important point of difference was that there were very few Māori staff employed at Rangiatea, and as noted earlier, from 1959 to 1973 there were no Māori staff at all. An ex pupil of Rangiatea was appointed to the position of Matron in 1974 and remained so up until its closure in 1977. For the students contact with Māori other than their fellow students was severely constrained. Those students who lived at some distance away did not go home for weekend leave or for long weekends. Sometimes these girls were invited to stay with local Pākehā families for these holiday breaks, but not Māori families.⁸⁷ And thirdly, most important to this study is the fact that there was no formal teaching of te reo in the hostel. During the mid 1960s some very limited tuition was offered by the local Māori Minister who took some evening classes to help and support students who were taking Māori as a curriculum subject by correspondence. None of the state schools these girls attended

⁸⁶ Te Waiponamu Hostel for girls opened in 1947 and operated in much the same fashion as Rangiatea, first as a school then later as a hostel with girls attending Avonside Girls High in Christchurch. In more recent years, St Joseph’s in Napier adapted and now boards students who attend Taradale District High School.

⁸⁷ The Matron did not allow the boarders to go to Māori families for holiday breaks unless they were whānau and permission was granted by the girl’s responsible parent or guardian.

provided the teaching of te reo Māori and so access to learning of te reo was severely curtailed.⁸⁸

Twenty-six years after Rangiatea had closed a few ex-pupils met by chance at the funeral of a former student's mother, and reminisced over their school days. They decided to set up a reunion of Rangiatea staff and students. They made contact with all known former staff and students and asked for their support. As names and addresses of interested parties were gathered more ideas for the reunion also came to the fore and members of the committee decided to compile a commemorative booklet for the Reunion. All who were contacted were also invited to submit a piece about their own recollections of life at Rangiatea for inclusion in the booklet.

The booklet titled *Ngā Kākano o Rangiatea: Memoirs from our time at Rangiatea Methodist Māori Girls' Hostel, New Plymouth* consists of three parts. There is a section outlining the history of Rangiatea and its story from the time of opening in 1940 to closure in 1977.

Photographs were collected from the Methodist Church archives in the Whiteley Memorial Church and accounts about the hostel from the church records as well as reports from the Annual Minutes of the Methodist Church Conference were gathered. The local Taranaki Herald archives were searched for articles about Rangiatea and its residents and all these resources were added into the compilation of Rangiatea's historical record. The second section holds the accounts from the first two Matrons⁸⁹ on their experiences in the management of the hostel.

⁸⁸ Māori boarding schools where school and hostel were under the one umbrella included the teaching of te reo as a compulsory part of their curriculum.

⁸⁹ At the time of the Reunion the committee had been unable to make contact with the third Matron.

The third section contains the stories from the boarders themselves and their recollections of life at Rangiatea. There are twenty narratives⁹⁰ from that reunion booklet that provide the content used in this study. Because the narratives were created for purposes other than the present research they provide a valuable source of data that can be used as an independent measure against the findings from the survey data described in Chapter Three.

Table 4.2 Background of the writers

Name	Year of entry	Home Rural (R) Urban (U)	Rohe / Region of origin	Language in home of origin Māori / English	Self Assessed Reo Ability
Riria	1940	R	Taranaki	M	1
Erana	1941	R	Waikato	E & M	3
Carol	1941	R	Taranaki	M & E	1
Parehuia	1943	R	Taranaki	E & M	1
Dina	1946	R	Taranaki	M & E	1
Rose	1947	R	Waikato	M & E	1
Kiriana	1951	R	Waikato/Maniapoto	M & E	3
Lorraine	1955	R	Waikato/Maniapoto	M & E	3
Kathleen	1954	R	Northland	M	1
Valerie	1960	R	Waikaremoana	M	1
Hiria	1960	U	Auckland	M & E	2
Miria	1961	R	Waikato/Maniapoto	M & E	1
Brenda	1964	R	Waikato	E	4
Wairua	1965	R	Northland	E & M	4
Kahu	1965	U	Auckland	E	2
Huia	1965	R	Waikato	M & E	2
Tania	1966	R	Waikato	E	4
Karena	1966	R	Gisborne	E & M	4
Theresa	1967	R	Northland	E & M	4
Waiata	1977	U	Wellington	E	4

⁹⁰ There are 22 narratives in all, but one was a piece rewritten by the daughter of one woman and one was submitted by a student from Tuvalu. These two pieces were excluded from the study.

Table 4.2 provides some of the background detail on each of the writers with each assigned a pseudonym to assure anonymity. The oldest of these women is Riria, now aged just over 80 and the youngest is Waiata in her mid 40s. All but three come from rural backgrounds: eight came from the Waikato region (40%), four from Taranaki (20%), three from Te Tai Tokerau – Northland – (15%), one from inland of the Bay of Plenty (5%) and one from Te Tai Rawhiti – East Coast – (5%). Of the urban students, two came from the suburbs of Auckland (10%) and only one (5%) from the outskirts of Wellington City.

The last part of this table provides information about the language backgrounds of the writers and their current ability with te reo. The rating applied to their language ability here is the same self report grading as that applied in the survey addressed in Chapter Three. Eleven came from homes where te reo was the principal language spoken and the other nine from homes where English was the dominant language. Three came from homes where Māori was the only language spoken in the home and four came from English language only homes and of those, only one had acquired fluency in te reo, the other three having very limited reo skills.

Many of the Rangiatea students went on to achieve academic success. In talking about their careers, eight mention being involved in tertiary education either as teachers or administrators. Nine of the writers became involved in the teaching profession and include a Professor of Māori Studies, several school teachers, educators in the tertiary sector and one librarian. Four have made careers in the health arena as nurses, as managers, administrators and Māori Community Health Educators.⁹¹ Four entered into business of various kinds and

⁹¹ All those in the health sector began as clerks in the mainstream health services or as nurses. All have since worked in Māori health most for Māori organisations: Lorraine notes her role as Service Manager for a central North Island Hauora organisation and Miria talks about being a Māori community liaison and education member of the Meningococcal B Project Team in South Auckland.

public service; two worked with their husbands in the farming community and one is also a recipient of the Queen's Service Medal for Public Service.

THE NARRATIVES

The narratives contain descriptions of the highlights of their experiences as well as the low points and all are tinged with a sprinkling of humour in the recounting of what some describe as their “adventures” (Wairua). Some of these pieces are short (around 200 words) and others are quite lengthy (around 1,800 words). No limitations were made on the writers and their submissions and editing for the reunion booklet was minimal restricted only to addressing grammar, spelling and punctuation wherever the editors⁹² felt it necessary to ensure clarity for the reader. It is important to note that no-one knew what anyone else was going to write and so there is a certain amount of caution evidenced in the writing of these pieces: the un-stated nuances that can only be understood by those who lived through these experiences are hinted at and not openly stated. The isolation from each other in which these pieces were written is useful because they provide an independent raw source of information outside of the primary research study and talk about te reo and Māori identity within these writings is neither prompted nor predetermined.

There are several themes that emerge from the twenty narratives. For all these students the transition to Rangiatea was a completely unsettling experience and many recount the fears noted in those first introductions to this new environment. They talk about how alien the setting was; living with virtual strangers and being a long way from the familiar, from home and whānau and having Pākehā people dictate their every move twenty-four hours a day every day. These accounts clearly describe the forming of new relationships, seeking out and

⁹² Two members of the Reunion Committee took charge of the compilation of the Reunion booklet.

forging new friendships with their fellow boarders and the camaraderie that developed amongst them in these relationships became akin to surrogate whānau relationships.⁹³ Such allegiances were clearly illustrated as being the most supportive and memorable aspects of their lives at that time and in that place. The sacrifice made by parents and whānau to provide the opportunity to gain a good education and opportunity to succeed in a rapidly changing and more Pākehā world than their parents knew, was also acknowledged in these writings. All narratives are contextualized and this is the context out of which these accounts are drawn. Analysis and interpretation of the writings must be treated with caution, and care was taken to ensure that the integrity of the writers, in context, was maintained.

ANALYSING THE NARRATIVES

The first decision to be made concerned just how the narratives would be analysed. Content analysis was considered as it is often used in social sciences as a way of analysing qualitative data that can reveal “... motives, values, beliefs and attitudes ... in a person’s writing or speech”(Holsti 1969 p.44).⁹⁴ Traditional Content Analysis (TCA) is generally seen as “an objective, systematic and quantitative method of describing the content of texts” (Ahuvia 2001 p.139). Holsti notes that it is sometimes called the scientific method because of the strictly systematic and rigorous application of coding rules that provide objectivity. It involves coding text into categories in a systematic way, counting the frequency of occurrences of the focal text in each category and then interpreting the findings.

⁹³ Walker (1990) notes that surrogate whānau groups, or “quasi-kin” (p.199) were not uncommon for Māori who moved from the heritage community to alien communities, such as the cities during the urban drift of the 1950s.

⁹⁴ The report by Benton *et al* (2002) successfully uses this methodology in analysing interview data from Māori participants in their study of Well-being and Disparity in Tamaki-makaurau.

The process of this form of analysis occurs in four stages. At each stage a number of decisions are made. First, the particular texts for analysis (focal text) must be determined and these might be single words, phrases, headings, or in cases where analyses of newspaper or magazine articles provide the dataset, titles of articles might be the focal texts. Second, the chosen text must also be representative of the total cohort of data under examination. Third, some determinations must be made around the categories that each piece of text is to be coded under. Those categories are governed by the overall purpose of the analysis and are quite specific. Finally, a set of coding rules governs just how the individual pieces of text are coded into each category and all those responsible for handling the data must be trained to apply the coding rules in a uniform manner. Success in the coding process can be gauged by high levels of agreement of coding of particular text by several different coders applying the rules in the same way. Explicit adherence to the coding rules then ensures the objectivity of the process. The frequency of a text appearing in each particular category may then be counted and these tabulations provide a degree of rating, which allows quantitative analysis of what is essentially qualitative data. Interpretation of those quantitative results can then proceed.

While this approach provides a seemingly simple and clear cut process for determining the frequency of particular text types that appear in a set piece of writing, it is most suited to situations where there are precise markers being sought within specific categories. These markers will generally be specific words and phrases that leave little or no room for variation or misinterpretation, a process sometimes called Manifest Content Analysis (Holsti 1969 p.12; Ahuvia 2001 p.141).

I rejected the TCA approach for the following reasons: firstly, a word-by-word analysis provides a measure of data that could be assigned to particular features of identity, but that would only present a quantitative measure of words that held features of identity in their meanings. Familial terms are an example where a word count for all instances of ‘parents, mother, father, mum, dad, grandparents, brothers, sisters’ and so on are an illustration of how identity is reflected through whakapapa, but whakapapa may also be reflected in other ways such as in the naming of places of origin (Mutu 2001; Carter 2004), “I came from Waikaremoana, Tuai ...” (Valerie) or, “I was born in South Taranaki ...” (Carol), and these items would not be picked up through word searching individual words of a certain type. Secondly, setting up coding rules to account for every eventuality is cumbersome and has the potential to be overly regimented. Such strict regimentation might also restrict the ability to decipher underlying intent. Thirdly, I was concerned that the context from which the focal text was derived, including the subtle nuances that might contain several layers of meaning being hinted at in the writings, be recognised and preserved. “All three of us snuck across the road ... [to the public phone to call home]” (Tania). This excerpt ostensibly talks about breaking rules, but the underlying meaning inherent in this act of disobedience was the desire and need to return home to the tangi (funeral) of a much loved uncle and echoes the very real call of whakapapa, tikanga and whanaungatanga.

One of my colleagues had also been a student at Rangiatea and was therefore as familiar as I with the environmental backdrop to the data. Together we monitored the process and quality control checking, although I was the only person coding all the data. The coding process and determining the limits of categorisation in each instance was achieved through consultation and lots of discussion. We also discussed the most appropriate approach for analysing these

particular narratives and we opted for an approach called Interpretive Content Analysis (ICA).

Interpretive Content Analysis

ICA is an approach that allows qualitative data to be analysed in a structured and systematic way but also takes context into account. Because of that inclusion it is particularly suited to this study.

Coding for ICA is achieved either in small collaborative teams or may be conducted by one person. The coder makes a judgement based on the text itself and their background knowledge of the context in which these focal texts are located. Each piece of text is then placed into predetermined categories. Exclusivity in the coding of categories is a measure of objectivity. ICA requires background knowledge and understanding that may be achieved through an intense and selective training process, but more usually requires a high level of engagement from within the community of interest in order to make appropriate judgements. It was inevitable that sometimes more than one 'label' for features of identity could be applied to the pieces of focal text and each time this occurred it is noted as a separate application for that feature. I proceeded to work systematically through each narrative identifying the focal text and created a list of those pieces of text in an excel file. I created columns alongside the text, each column was allocated to one specific feature of identity and each column was marked in the appropriate place when features were assigned (an example of one page of the excel sheet analysis is attached as Table 4.3 in Appendix III). Table 4.4 illustrates the comparison between TCA and ICA as applied to this study.

Table 4.4 Overview of Traditional and Interpretive Content Analysis

Issue	Traditional Content Analysis	Interpretive Content Analysis
Selection of focal texts	Focal text is representative of the larger body of text available for analysis. Words, phrases, titles of items, articles etc. may be used as focal text.	Focal text is representative of the larger body of text available for analysis. ICA requires in-depth examination and understanding of the context so phrases are more likely to be used.
Selection of coders	Usually the researchers, but because coding rules are available independent researchers may also code. Inter rater agreement is essential and provides a measure of quality assurance to the process.	Usually the researchers, but in some cases highly trained assistants may be used to code data. In this study the researcher coded in consultation with one other colleague, who had the same knowledge of the environment and context.
Training of coders	Coders are trained to apply the coding rules thereby minimizing subjectivity. A totally Objective approach	The coders require high levels of expertise and/or experience in the background context of the subject. Highly Subjective approach ⁹⁵
Coding rules	These are explicit to minimise subjective judgement.	Each text is approached individually to make the most compelling and contextually sensitive interpretations – understanding of the background context and environment is essential.
Inter coder agreement	Provides assurance that coding rules have been followed. Exclusivity which sees text fitting into only one code is assured through correct application of coding rules.	Coding is applied to ensure the most compelling interpretations are made. Subjectivity suggests that more than one coding category is possible for any focal text. In this study collaboration between colleagues along the way provided a measure of quality assurance.
Justifying interpretations of the focal texts	Inter coder agreement provides a measure of the coding rules being uniformly applied. Justifiability of categorisation and thus interpretation is directly attributed to appropriate application of the rules.	The justifiability of each interpretation is assessed on an individual basis and collaboration is sought as and when necessary – when best fit requires possibly more than one category, or a new and different one is generated.

Adapted from (Ahuvia 2001, p.161)

Assigning focal texts to specific categories was a process of identity deconstruction and reconstruction through the examination of these narratives. Having assigned each of the focal

⁹⁵ Marsden (2003) argues that objective approaches are inappropriate in considering a Māori world view and he advocates a subjective approach and in this study that analysis is culturally informed, an historically situated interpretation/interpretive analysis.

texts into categories I counted the frequency of occurrences of each feature of identity. This provided an empirical measure that helped to illustrate the levels of importance of these features to identity. Some overriding themes and suggestions of priority or ordering of certain elements can also be seen that propose consideration of some features as core or central to identity and others that might be seen as more peripheral.

Having chosen the analysis tools the next step was to determine the various categories that would be used to sort the text into. From the outset there were some distinct markers clearly relating to identity. Belonging to 'Church' and in particular the Methodist Church of New Zealand is a notable feature of identity in the case of these women, as is also 'School': these memoirs relate primarily to their school days. The eight markers of identity noted in the survey work outlined in Chapter Three provided the baseline categories for working with this data. These were: whakapapa, tikanga, whanaungatanga, upbringing, land, marae, te reo and physical attributes. Where there seemed to be an apparent ill-fit between the markers derived from the survey data and a particular piece of focal text, or the text indicated other characteristics or markers of identity, then different terms were considered and new categories were created to accommodate these texts. A further ten features were noted from these narratives that included Church and School.

In this work all aspects of ancestry and family referred to in the text were coded under whakapapa. Tikanga included talk about all aspects of Māori tradition and culture; whanaungatanga was descriptive of relationships and upbringing covered all descriptions of how one was raised including school experiences. Land included mention of placenames as well as descriptions of areas. Any talk about Marae is included in this category and Te Reo included any talk about language, and the use of Māori words.

Whakapapa is one of the most easily determined features and is seen in the use of familial terms such as Mum, Dad, brothers, sisters, grandparents and so on. I began by word searching the whole cohort for words that were familial descriptors such as these and including both English and Māori⁹⁶ text. These yielded no less than 127 instances, around 1% of the total number of words in the cohort. When I added in the total number of times the first person 'I' is used, an additional 464 increased the terms that could be attributed to whakapapa to 591, 4% of the total word count. I then revised the process and since the decision had been made to work with the phrase as the focal text, I systematically sifted through each narrative and looked for examples that overtly noted whakapapa, such as references to parents as well as examples that had latent understandings of whakapapa which included pepeha and sometimes places of origin.⁹⁷

Tikanga, marae and land are concepts that were not openly expressed in these narratives, which is not unusual given their context, however, they are sometimes found through the reading or interpretation of the underlying text, the unstated nuances. The building and supporting of relationships is reflected through whanaungatanga, most expressly seen in the descriptions of how the girls related to each other. The common ground they shared enhanced their experiences and strengthened the bonds of whanaungatanga, reflecting for many the rural Māori communities they had come from. There, one was in close community with everyone else, related to almost everyone else and everyone knew who you belonged to.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Examples are where some used the term whānau while others used family and similarly, some used mokopuna while others spoke of their grandchildren. All variations were considered and included.

⁹⁷ In the final analysis the first person 'I' and its derivatives – me, my etc. – were only included where they held other illustrations of whakapapa such as, "I was the eldest."

⁹⁸ This illustrates the importance of whakapapa to Māori identity as it clearly situates one in a particular context, an important referent in the Māori world.

Place is one category that was very strong in the data and that importance to identity is borne out in the recent studies of the Pasifika languages in South Auckland (Bell, Davis *et al.* 2000).⁹⁹ Placenames are clear indicators of belonging; places of origin and places of residence all carry notions of identity that for Māori also relate to land, whakapapa, marae, upbringing and whanaungatanga.

A distinctly Māori sense of humour is mirrored throughout these writings giving credence to that innate 'Māori' humour noted by Benton *et al* (2002 p.47) as a feature of identity in their study of a Māori cohort in Auckland. Mention of cultural practices of singing and dancing reflect a measure of tikanga as well as being part of the more peripheral accoutrements of identity, such as ethnic food and dress, and are considered under the category of 'culture'. Occupations and training undertaken after leaving school (education category) carry a layer of Māori identity that is also considered here, as well as teaching outside of the institution of school that might include aspects such as tikanga Māori, sports and recreational activities. Talk of sporting prowess, achievement and cultural performance activity is considered together under the category of 'performance'. The daily regimen of boarding hostel life was initially categorised here as 'tikanga 2' to distinguish talk about customary practice in the hostel, from Māori customary practice, but in the refining of the process of collating and sorting the data, this category was subsumed under 'upbringing'.

Out of the total cohort just over 1,000 focal texts were categorised and when all the texts had been allocated into the appropriate categories as features of identity, there were 20 separate categories. But, there were a number of overlaps indicating areas that could readily be incorporated into other categories: tiakitanga and manaakitanga were two categories that

⁹⁹ The Cook Island people in this study made constant reflection and references to their homeland in the islands.

reflect very similar values and which also relate to particular practices dictated by tikanga, and so these three categories were combined.¹⁰⁰ Occupation and education are also combined and considered in the one category. As noted previously, focal texts were sometimes able to be considered in more than one category and they were thus counted several times, once for each category.

THE RESULTS

Table 4.5 illustrates the final 15 categories that were considered in this work and are ordered in this table according to the highest frequency of occurrence and complete with examples of the focal texts that were applied in each.

¹⁰⁰ *n* values, the number of occurrences in the focal texts for these are: Tikanga 16, Tiakitanga 186, Manaakitanga 70

Table 4.5 Distribution of the marker of identity noted in the narratives

Rating	Feature of Identity	Example of focal text	<i>n</i>	Percentage of occurrence
1	upbringing	... the strong foundation of my formative years ...	643	23
2	whakapapa	I had never left my parents before	439	15.8
3	place	... the big city of New Plymouth.	340	12.2
4	tikanga, tiakitanga & manaakitanga	. . . long hair my mother combed and plaited for me every day ...	272	9.9
5	whanaungatanga	... Rahera from Te Kuiti took me under her wing ...	237	8.7
6	school	... my first day at New Plymouth Girls' High ...	157	5.8
7	land	... moved home to 'Kawhia by the sea'.	146	5.2
8	occupation and education	My teaching career spanned 30 years.	138	4.8
9	te reo Māori	We only had one language at Te Tii ...	120	4.2
10	performance aspects	Sing-alongs were common ...	92	3.3
11	humour	... you can throw your watch away up there ...	80	2.7
12	church	... quite a track from Whitely Church to the hostel ...	57	1.8
13	rural	... I also came from the backblocks ...	49	1.7
14	marae	... married at our marae ...	23	0.8
15	physical attributes	... the hair gets whiter	2	0.1
	TOTALS		2795	100%

Items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 15 in Table 4.5 are the same categories used in the survey. In addition to these are items 3, part of 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13 (shaded blue). The first of the additional categories is 'place' which focuses on talk about where one is from, and any talk about places. 'Tiakitanga' picks up on talk about the care of self and others especially in terms of guardianship, and 'manaakitanga' covers talk about care for others or hospitality. These elements are encompassed and determined through tikanga and so were included in this category. Talk about life after school life and further 'education' and 'occupation'

initially have their own categories. In the category of ‘performance,’¹⁰¹ talk about sport and cultural activity such as dance are picked up here and ‘humour’ has its own category.

Humorous stories, quips and plays on words fit into this category and the final category ‘rural’ is a particular aspect of the feature of land.

Given the background to these texts it is not surprising that upbringing plays such a prominent position in the ranking. It is notable that despite the fact that school and church are the common denominators for all the narratives, that these are ranked much lower and might suggest these factors were more peripheral to identity for these students. What follows is an outline of how the texts were coded into each category with further examples to illustrate the process.

The focal texts that relate to **Upbringing** as the principal feature of identity inherent in these works cover the talk about these women’s lives before arriving at Rangiatea, the adventures, the escapades, the regimen and the lessons learned from the experiences at Rangiatea. They also cover life after Rangiatea when the women initially left the hostel and began to make their way in the world. The majority of these texts relate to time spent at Rangiatea and most focus on the positive aspects of life in this Pākehā boarding hostel. “I also came from the backblocks” (Kiriana); “...my early schooling was at Okaiawa School” (Carol), and “I had always had long hair which my mother combed and plaited for me every day” (Erana) are short excerpts that describe some thoughts about life at home before going to Rangiatea. “Thoughts of Rangiatea naturally recall the girls” (Erana); “the years I spent at Rangiatea stood me in good stead” (Huia); “so too the ringing of bells, bells, bells” (Waiata), are all reminders of the company enjoyed at Rangiatea, the benefits gained and the regimen

¹⁰¹The descriptor ‘performance’ refers in this situation to an activity and is not used in the sense of ‘linguistic performance’ as is understood in the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) ‘acts of identity’ and as used by Mullany ‘performativity’ as cited in Omoniyi (2006).

followed. There are a considerable number of focal texts that describe day to day events with many describing the place of order and authority and the sense of stability that life at Rangiatea offered. “I enjoyed going to church on Sundays because it was what we did at home as well” (Kathleen); “each Sunday we had to walk to Whiteley Church in a crocodile line” (Rose); “... was my dorm captain” (Miria); “I loved being at Rangiatea, everything was so ordered and clean ...” (Brenda).

Whakapapa as noted earlier was one feature that was relatively easy to identify. A few of the items included in this category are: “I was the eldest of a large family” (Brenda); “... my youngest sister Theresa ...” (Wairua) and “... he [Dad] was from Te Atiawa ...” (Carol). There were also many examples where the meanings needed to be unpacked such as Tania’s comment “... all three of us snuck across the road ... [to the public phone to call home].” This excerpt ostensibly talks about breaking rules, but the underlying meaning inherent in this act of disobedience was the desire and need to return home to the tangi (funeral) of a much loved uncle and echoes the very real call of whakapapa, tikanga and whanaungatanga. Kathleen’s comment “Māori was never spoken at the hostel and I really missed that” is an illustration of how important the language was in Kathleen’s life at home, with her whānau, her roots, her upbringing and whakapapa. The use of placenames intimating whakapapa “my roots in Waitomo” (Huia), and pepeha “Ko Panekire te maunga ...” (Valerie) are classic examples that illustrate just how important place and position is to Māori identity and yet these examples are clearly illustrations of whakapapa as well. Pepeha is used by only two of the writers, but pepeha signals links to language as well as whakapapa, to land and to whanaungatanga.

Discourse regarding **place** is rated highly in the analysis of these narratives. Place relates to several other features of identity such as whakapapa, as noted in the previous section, and also to schooling, to church, to upbringing as well as life after Rangiatea. Miria says “I was born and raised in Parawera ... my parents decided to send me to Rangiatea”. Placenames are inherently identifiers, “... it was even more frightening my first day at New Plymouth Girls’ High ... well over 1,100 girls there ...” (Brenda); “... from 200 kids at PKB Primary to 1,500 at Spotty [Spotswood College]...” (Wairua); “... we walked to Whitely Methodist Church and trammed back ...” (Carol). Towns, cities and countries are illustrated in Wairua’s accounts of her OE¹⁰² adventures “... worked in a pub in the West End of London ... travelling the UK in a campervan ... we traversed Scandinavia and Central Europe.” Talk about careers also mention place “... I taught in Tauranga, Howick and Rotorua...” (Wairua); “... we taught together in South Auckland ... (Huia); “... my first job was at Bickley Maternity Hospital in Hawera” (Carol) and “I have been teaching for many years ... in the Far North ...” (Hiria). Place is prominent at all stages of life for these women “... we maintain strong links to Tauranga Moana...” (Huia); “... to get married in Kawhia ...” (Tania); “... Colin and I and our three kids moved to Salamander Bay ... 3 hours north of Sydney... ” (Theresa) and is also seen in descriptions such as “... we had some unusual people in the bay ...” (Waiata) and “I came from a small country town ...” (Erana).

Talk about **Tikanga** Māori (protocols and customary practise) in this work is very limited and appears mostly when talk is around aspects of home life, “... we were told we could not go home to the tangi ...” (Tania). Caring for oneself and the care of others is the basis for inclusion in the section that relates to tiakitanga (6.2%) and manaakitanga (2.5%) and these values align closely with tikanga. Mention of the manner in which people were taken care of,

¹⁰² Overseas Experience

whether that be through hospitality and entertainment such as concert performances, or issues of health including all aspects of food, are included in this category. There were cases where these young women came to Rangiatea because they had lost a parent, and so here I include talk about the care of relatives, the care of the girls by relatives and the care taken of each other. Carol talks here about being an only child “... brought up by my mother and lots of devoted aunties and uncles ...” and then there was caring for younger siblings “... I was the eldest [of 10] ... having to share my bed with at least one or more of my sisters or younger brothers ...” (Brenda). Comments that give recognition and acknowledgement of the lessons learned from Rangiatea, especially if they have helped shape their later lives are noted here. Wairua cites a vivid memory of the matron “... your poise and grooming ...” which is followed later by recognition that the matron had been a major influence and role model in her life. Care of others also reflected in whanaungatanga is seen in these items; “... fighting for your rights, sticking up for my sister ...” (Tania) and “I really enjoyed being with everyone in the hostel, especially when the older girls from Te Taitokerau looked after me” and, “... my relations sometimes but not always know to leave me alone ...” (Kahu).

Whanaungatanga was primarily noted where relationships, not necessarily through whakapapa, were described. Examples of this type of text were, “Grace was assigned as my ‘helper’ as we were in the same class ...” (Wairua); “... we sure did have a special bond that was forged all those years ago ...” (Karena), and “... becoming part of the Rangiatea whānau ...” (Kathleen). And then there are examples where whanaungatanga linked back to whakapapa and tikanga as well. Miria said “I knew I would love it there ... my dormitory was [called] Tainui...”¹⁰³ Kahu also tells how, “... I built a home on my ancestral lands ...” which shows how whakapapa and whanaungatanga are inherently connected with and to

¹⁰³ Tainui is the name of the traditional canoe to which Miria’s people belonged. Each dormitory was named after one of the traditional canoes that brought Māori to this land.

ancestral lands, as is Kiriana's description of the weaving of whariki for her marae.

Connections to and with land, marae and marae whānau are inherently relationship oriented maintaining and strengthening the bonds of whanaungatanga and therefore indicative of Māori identity.

Every instance of place names in these narratives is also registered in the category of **land** as a feature of identity. From the total word count, there are more than 60 instances of place names recorded. References to rural areas and land features, such as: "Having come from a farm..." (Theresa), and "...we had some unusual people in the bay, artists, poets ..." (Waiata) have been placed in this category also. Pepeha have a place in this category "Ko Mangapiko te awa, Ko Parawera, Owairaka, Aotearoa nga marae" (Miria) as land and geographic features are inherent in their prose. Although the land category is relatively small – less than 5% of the overall applications, reflections of home and missing home and all that invokes are also representative of the notion that land is dear to one's heart, and especially the home land, "...I had never been away from home before..." (Dina); "...I was so homesick until Rahera from Te Kuiti took me under her wing ..." (Kiriana).

School and illustrations of how school is evidenced as a feature of Māori identity in this cohort, is generally quite easily recognised. Examples are noted when specific mention is made of the names of the schools attended, such as New Plymouth Girls' High School, Spotswood College and Devon West Primary School. Levels of authority relevant to school are also signalled in examples such as; "When I started at Rangiatea there were so many senior girls (sixth formers) ..." (Karena); "... and the beautiful beaming smile of my first prefect ..." (Wairua), and "... the leadership of a fabulous Principal ..." (Karena). Incidents in school such as in this next illustration carry with them aspects of school, of language and of

tikanga. “I walked out of the class and she [the teacher] followed me and we had a bit of a kōrero (discussion) in the corridor ...” Karena had raised an issue with the class over the mispronunciation of Māori words in a play, as she said “...we were always corrected on our pronunciation of the English language so I felt the Māori language commanded the same respect.”

Nineteen of the narratives included some description of the writer’s **occupation**, and/or post school **education**. Changes in direction in their career paths are signalled, and six mention career changes that have steered them back into servicing and working with Māori communities, particularly in the health and education arenas. Miria notes working as a tobacco picker, a shearing hand and telephone operator up to her present occupation as Māori Health Educator in South Auckland with the Meningococcal Project Team. Kahu says “I’ve been there in Māori Studies at the University ... teaching Māori language and Treaty of Waitangi courses ...” and Lorraine advises that she “... helped set up and am now Service Manager for Tuarima Hauora.”¹⁰⁴ Nine of the 20 writers also talk about their ongoing education. Lorraine describes her going back to school after her children got older “I went back to Waiariki Polytechnic and did a Certificate in Business Studies ... and now doing studies with Te Wananga o Aotearoa ...” and Valerie talks about her ongoing study involvement “... the Marae and Kōkiri Centres offer a choice of tertiary programmes” and she says “...It’s so stimulating keeping the grey matter ticking over.”

The use of **te reo** in these narratives is quite limited and that is reflected in the position of this feature of identity in Table 4.5. Only two narratives use pepeha in their introductory sections giving quite clear signals of identity in Māori ways. Two writers also include in their closing

¹⁰⁴ Tuarima is a fictitious name used to preserve confidentiality.

remarks complete sentences in Māori expressing their pleasure in being able to take part in this reunion and their looking forward to catching up, affirming their competence in the use of te reo and seven writers sign off using Māori salutations. One example of how text, although not overtly about te reo, is classified in this category is in the excerpt by Karena, noted earlier in the school category. There she had challenged the class on matters relating to correct pronunciation of Māori. The total absence of te reo Māori at the hostel is recorded by Kathleen¹⁰⁵ and Erana states her appreciation of those comments “... I was rapt to read Kathleen’s comments on the lack of te reo ...” Because English is her first language, Erana regrets not having access to learning te reo during her school days. Notably there are eight who assess their language skills at the highest level¹⁰⁶ and three others who are fluent L2 learners (see Table 4.2), yet so few opted to use te reo in the telling of their stories.

All Māori place names are counted in this category, as are the institutions with Māori nomenclature such as Kohanga Reo and Kokiri Centres. Fourteen of the narratives use Māori words as part of the discourse, or as salutations to complete their narrative. The word whānau is used only 12 times despite it being one of the words more commonly inserted into the everyday language of New Zealand (Macalister 2004),¹⁰⁷ indicative perhaps of the distancing from Māori identity in their earlier years. Other Māori words used are hoha (to be fed up, used 3 times); waiata (to sing used 3 times); kōrero (to talk used 3 times), and whāngai (an adopted child used twice). Their uses in all these instances are examples of code switching. Kahu talks about getting older and that as far as her rapidly greying hair was concerned she commented that she had “... always been too hoha (fed up) to dye it ...”, and Huia when

¹⁰⁵ In the section on whakapapa – p.112

¹⁰⁶ Three came from homes where only Māori was spoken

¹⁰⁷ A word search and count for both family and whānau where they could be interchanged showed ‘family’ 23 and ‘whānau’ 12.

describing her grandchildren says, “We have seven grandchildren including a whāngai (adopted child) and another due in August”.

Cultural activity is rated low in the database. Whenever singing or dancing (1.4%) or inferences are made to these activities, they are counted in this category. A number of the narratives describe how some students joined the church choir. There were a number of reasons given for joining the choir (none of which were to become better Methodists) and most were for the so-called perks acquired as a choir member.¹⁰⁸ All of these descriptions are included into the church category as well as the cultural activity category. And then there are the performances that the girls practised cultural items for “...we had requests to perform with our Māori Action Group ...” (Waiata); not to mention the recreational singing and/or dancing; “... remember singing on the bus all the way to school?” (Kahu), and “I still have flashes of me dancing hard out thinking I was a Go-Go girl”¹⁰⁹ (Tania).

As stated earlier, included in the category of performance are references to sports (1.9%) and sporting prowess. Some of the enduring activities remembered involved items in this category and they were not always pleasant memories. Waiata describes how she and three others were chosen to trial for the Taranaki representative netball team and “... not being allowed to go ... trials were to be held on a Sunday.” But there are many references to the girls prowess and engagement in the sporting arena, notations such as “... what a great team we had ...” (Tania), and “... belonging to every sports team available ...” (Wairua). Both

¹⁰⁸ Choir members stayed at school late on Fridays for choir practice, they ate dinner at Scotland’s the Pākehā boarding hostel, went home on the local public bus service later in the evening and were able to “... perv at all the boys in town ...” (Tania), or on Sundays being able “... to hide my French book in my choir gown and learning my vocab for Monday’s test during the sermon” (Kahu).

¹⁰⁹ In the late 1960s a popular music programme featured on television had a team of dancers who were known as ‘Go-Go’ dancers.

cultural performances and sporting prowess relate to the exercise of performance in two different ways and are combined under the heading of **performance**.

Throughout these narratives are examples of **humour** often using a play on words, sometimes code switching and code mixing and generally aimed at being able to laugh at ourselves rather than at others.¹¹⁰ Māori humour will often flout convention, not to cause offence but to highlight some anomaly or even some supposed absurdity. It may also state the obvious in ways that minimise possible affront. An example of humour that illustrates this phenomenon and incorporates code mixing is: “I arrived home and it was like a tangi (funeral)” (Carol). Carol had flouted the convention or tikanga of maintaining her plaits, as her mother and aunties had done before her, and while away at boarding school had cut her hair. The upshot of that was that having defied the family convention for the women to maintain and groom their long hair, her actions caused much heartache to the whānau which evoked a heightened sense of grief and loss at her transgression. But, this act was also evidence of the transition of the young girl into a more independent young woman making her own choices and her way in the world.

One of the native speakers of te reo had this to say on having to take a course to “... have a piece of paper to be eligible to teach [te reo Māori] ... nothing much to really talk about is it!” (Kathleen). A flippant remark ostensibly noting a ‘paper requirement’ to teach a skill already inherently highly advanced that covered up an element of hurt that is explored further in Chapter Six (p.213). The use of slang is also evidence of humour at work in these texts “... **perv** at all the boys in town ...” (Tania). And here in a simple statement that reflects the naivety and naiveté of rural youth venturing out into the world is a classic example of this

¹¹⁰ Holmes (2005) suggests that it is also a boundary marker used to emphasise cultural difference between Māori and Pākehā.

humour. “... I believed we supplied the country with electricity, as my father worked at the Hydro Power Station ...” (Valerie).

Texts belonging to the **Church** category were again fairly easily discerned by virtue of the lexical items that related to church and church activity. They are also inherently place related. Underlying layers of meanings pertaining to church are seen in the descriptions of the mode of transport in travelling to church, playing of the guitar in services and the mention of particular people who were aligned with the church: the local ministers, the deaconesses and even mention of the services on marae are church oriented. The church choir also featured in several accounts “... hiding my French book in my choir gown and learning my vocab for the Monday test during the sermon...” (Kahu) and “... I loved singing and sang in the church choir ...” (Tania).

The last few categories showed minimal measures and both **rural** and **marae** are also classified under the descriptors of place and land. Despite the small percentage of text relating to the rural category, 14 of the 17 writers who had come from rural backgrounds mentioned that aspect of their origins. It would seem therefore that despite the limited amount of talk about that early life it was still an important part of their identity. Lorraine says “... I came from the heart of the King Country backblocks ...” and Erana talks about being “... a little girl from a farming background ...” Marae are mentioned infrequently and only once in relation to upbringing: “... took services at the marae and we all went” (Carol). Marae is only mentioned again by Tania when she talks about getting married on her marae and then by several women in relation to their voluntary work for their marae in later years. That type of work, although voluntary, often carries with it a huge burden, such as taking office on marae committees and their experiences in these roles are also recounted “... were also involved

with the Kakariki Marae ...” (Kiriana); “...I’ve served on more marae, iwi and land trusts in ... than I care to remember ...” (Kahu); and “...myself as secretary to Whetu [Marae] and still secretary of Parearau Marae ...” (Lorraine).¹¹¹

Finally, the role that **physical attributes** plays in relation to identity is seen as minimal in this study although there is much talk about clothing, a fairly typical occupation for teenage girls “...white berets for church... mini-skirts...cut away dresses... op-art ...” (Wairua); “... exercises in white blouses and black bloomers ...” (Lucy), and talk about hair and hairstyles, “...I was determined to cut my hair ...” (Carol) are examples of this talk evident throughout these texts.

SURVEY VERSUS NARRATIVES RESULTS

All eight of the markers of identity prescribed in the survey occur in the narratives and validate their use. The extra features found in the narratives are not incompatible with those in the survey and a number are complementary such as the feature of place, which in the amalgamation of the narrative and survey data in Table 4.6 includes the categories of land, school, church, rural and marae. The significance of place is amplified when both land and marae in the survey data are combined and the amalgamated data is shown as percentages of the whole count of focal texts for all the categories. The data is arranged in order of highest percentage to lowest for the narratives data.

¹¹¹ Marae in all instances are given fictitious names to preserve confidentiality.

Table 4.6 Comparison of the findings from the narrative and survey data

Markers of Identity - Narratives	%	Markers of Identity – Survey (1 & 2)	%
Place (includes school, church, marae, land, rural)	24.0	land and marae	26.2
Upbringing	20.9	Upbringing	11.8
Tikanga (includes tiakitanga and manaakitanga)	19.7	Tikanga	13.5
Whakapapa	12.6	Whakapapa	19.3
Whanaungatanga	7.9	Whanaungatanga	14.9
Occupation and education	4.8		
Te reo	4.2	Te reo	11.8
Performance (includes cultural and sports activities)	3.3		
Humour	2.8		
Physical attributes	0.01	Physical attributes	4.2
TOTALS	100%		100%

All the markers of identity are important. Upbringing as expected, rated much higher in the narrative data than in the surveys as these accounts are primarily about part of the writers' upbringing and their formative years. Marae as a marker of identity did not rate highly in the narratives and since the boarding school experience did not include any aspects of Māori ways of being, except singing Māori hymns and waiata and cultural performances for show, it is not surprising that this aspect is not significant in the narrative data. But it is significant under the descriptor of 'place' as a feature of identity. In the correlation tests of the survey data (see Chapter Three, Table 3.4), land and marae had the second strongest relationship and the value of 'place' as a marker of identity in both sets of data acknowledges the strength of that relationship.

Whakapapa and tikanga rated highest in the survey data, but in the Rangiatea narratives were positioned at third and fourth placings, indicative of the influence that distance through boarding and schooling away from Māori communities had upon these respondents' views of their Māori identity. Whanaungatanga featured in fifth position in both datasets and the overall results indicate relative congruence across both datasets.

Te reo is low in priority on both sets of data and may be accounted for by the wide range of te reo ability for all participants and the recognition that the narratives had a totally different focus to that of the survey data. Furthermore the correlation tests noted in Table 3.4 ascribe a weak relationship between language and upbringing which is borne out in the narrative findings. The strongest relationship noted in Table 3.4 is between tikanga and te reo, but the strength of that relationship is not found in the narratives probably because there is so little talk about tikanga Māori in these narrative pieces.

Physical attributes as a feature of Māori identity rates lowest in both sets of data and that in itself is a significant finding. Māori people ourselves, through our own brand of humour, suggest that we have physical features that are distinctly Māori, such as the shape of one's nose and lips, but this study indicates that such features are clearly not defining of who we are as Māori.

The analysis of the narrative data in this study supports the findings of the survey and provides a credible and independent measure of those findings.

The use of te reo although limited in these narratives is an acknowledgement that te reo is important to Māori identity and is openly stated by Erana and Kathleen when they talk about

the lack of te reo in the hostel. The three women who wrote small passages¹¹² in te reo in their narratives are all native speakers, and the use of Māori greetings and salutations and the sprinkling of Māori words throughout the work of others also signals that te reo is still a valued feature of Māori identity. That valuing of te reo is also mirrored through the language used in the comments made by the survey respondents on their survey forms (see Chapter Three, Fig.3.3). Both sets of data clearly illustrate that te reo, is important even though its ranking may suggest otherwise.

CONCLUSION

This chapter shows how a set of narratives were analysed in order to assess the types of expressions of Māori identity and the frequency of which they occur in these narratives. I have described the methodology used and included an explanation of the tools of analysis sometimes used in sociolinguistic research with an explanation of why ICA was chosen, namely to allow a subjective analysis, or an analysis that is a culturally informed, historically situated interpretation: an interpretive analysis.

These narratives were written in 2002 by women who had all attended the Rangiatea Methodist Māori Girls Hostel during their school years from the late 1950s up to 1977. The narratives were unsolicited for this project, but provide a rich source of data about life in those times from the viewpoint of young Māori girls as well as data for this project. An overview of Māori boarding schools, as they relate to this study only, is also included to provide a context for understanding the background of the writers and the wider society of that era. These writings provided an opportunity to address elements of Māori identity and

¹¹² Valerie began her work with her pepeha and ended with Māori greetings and both Kathleen and Miria wrote short passages in te reo as well as their greetings and salutations.

how they are expressed independent of the survey described in Chapter Three and the community hui material described in Chapter Five.

A number of expressions of identity, additional to those used in the survey, were found in this study. Just how they have been described and addressed is set out in this chapter. A comparison of the survey results and the results from the analysis of the narratives show variations, but there is a match in the position of te reo low down on the list with physical attributes also placed in the last position. Whakapapa and tikanga rated highest in the survey data, but in the Rangiatea narratives they were positioned at third and fourth placings. It is possible that this placing reflects the influence that distance through boarding and schooling away from the Māori community has had upon these respondents' views of their Māori identity.

The analysis of these narratives confirms that the results from both the survey and the narratives are comparable. Both datasets show that te reo is noted at the lower end of the scale of importance to Māori identity and highlights how traditional views on language and identity appear to have shifted. But, the results also serve to emphasise that all the features of identity considered in this study are still important to Māori. Such a strong link in the relationship of te reo to Māori identity may therefore inhibit Māori to support non-Māori learning te reo.

Chapter Five takes us further in this debate addressing the link between te reo and Māori identity through kanohi ki te kanohi interaction and discussion in community hui and interviews.

Chapter 5

Mā te iwi e kōrero: the voices of the people

INTRODUCTION

The focus for these community hui discussions and interviews was for the participants to initially share their views on how language and identity relate to each other, or link together. Then I hoped they would talk about whether they believed Māori should encourage and promote the learning of te reo to non-Māori living in New Zealand. This proposition essentially asserts that te reo Māori is a language for all New Zealanders. I suspected that the participants' views around the relationship between te reo and their Māori identity might influence their responses to that question and so I was interested to hear what the participants had to say about that relationship and to find out just how ready they were to promote te reo with others who were not Māori, who did not have whakapapa Māori.

As noted previously the participants in this study were by no means a random sample. A number had strong feelings about promoting Māori interests, in particular te reo, and maintaining a strong Māori identity. Many of them had been involved in, or were currently engaged in Māori medium education and the revival of Māori arts and crafts. Registering interest in participating in this study also reflected a political awareness of the issues involved and that awareness surfaced as discussions progressed. The relationship between te reo and Māori identity was of great interest to all, but many had not considered these issues in such a deliberate manner before and so there was a wide range of views and experiences around Māori identity and reo ability among these participants.

Firstly some preliminary information about the hui process and the participants themselves is necessary. The style in which hui Māori are conducted offers opportunity for anyone present to speak and to be heard uninterrupted. That process allows for all views to be presented and argued. Decisions made after a complete and frank discussion may not have unanimous support, but the process allows for voices of dissent to be raised and their issues and concerns to be fully aired. Either party may shift their position or they may agree to disagree. Any dissent is noted and may be recorded.¹¹³ Such is the process of consensus decision making which is the norm for Māori hui process and was the format followed in these hui.

The composition of each of the community groups who took part in this study is described briefly and points specific to each group are illustrated. Next the responses from each community hui concerning non-Māori being encouraged and promoted into learning te reo, or not, are laid out under several headings. These headings helped organise the issues raised in their discussions. There were seven points raised that did not support the promotion of te reo with non-Māori and these are listed first along with the reasons for each point made. A further three points are listed that consider the positives that could come out of supporting non-Māori into learning te reo.

Descriptions of the interviews follow the community hui and include some brief background information of each interviewee and an outline of the process of the interviews. Their responses to the questions relating to the promotion of te reo with non-Māori were then aligned in the same way as that of the community hui data. The review of the informal personal contributions followed and these responses too were aligned with those of the community hui and interviews under the same headings. In this way the data from all three

¹¹³ In earlier times differing views were often recorded in narrative accounts handed down orally through generational kōrero. Today dissenting voices or differing views are more usually recorded in the minutes of meetings, changes made through outside influences, namely democratic processes.

sources was able to be viewed in a way that showed comparisons and compatibility under specific headings. The chapter concludes with a description of the themes derived from the drawing together of ideas put forward by all of the contributors and these themes are discussed more fully in Chapter Six.

THE COMMUNITY HUI

There were a wide range of issues and questions raised and discussed in these hui. Some of these were: In what ways do understandings about Māori identity contribute or not to the willingness and /or ability of Māori people to learn te reo? What are the obstacles to learning te reo that relate to Māori identity and what can be done to remove or to mitigate those obstacles and to encourage language learning opportunities? What might encourage the learning of te reo and using it every day, and what are the implications for Māori if more non-Māori are encouraged and supported into learning te reo? What effect might that have on Māori perceptions of their identity and the use of their language? How would supporting and encouraging non-Māori into learning te reo affect the growth of the language and in particular, the intergenerational language transfer in the home when not all of the adults – parents in the home – are Māori and speak te reo? All of these questions and issues are important to this study. Some were of greater concern to the participants than others, but all have a bearing on and contribute to Māori considerations about supporting non-Māori to learn te reo.

Each hui was assigned a fictitious name to assure anonymity and confidentiality when working with the data and they were Te Rōpū Tuatahi (the first group) through to Te Rōpū Tuaiwa (the ninth group). Where participants are quoted they are assigned pseudonyms or

their quotes are referenced by the transcript reference (name of group). Some background information for each community group is outlined first and includes a description of the composition and the nature of the group. Elements such as gender, age and fluency in te reo are noted as is the process of each hui, because each was a little different. Illustrations of the data gathered from each hui have been used to clarify particular points raised in each group as part of their overall description. Examples of the language used in the hui and the type of talk that evolved helped to illustrate how they perceived the link between te reo and identity. Highlighted in these passages as well is talk that showed willingness to support others non-Māori into learning te reo as well as talk expressing unwillingness to do so.

In Appendix III, Table 5.1 outlines the various attributes of each of the community groups in terms of gender, urban or rural residence, age groupings, schooling, and iwi affiliations.

Table 5.2 (Appendix III) presents the iwi affiliations data which shows that 56% of those who listed their iwi affiliations aligned with iwi of Te Taitokerau with the next highest percentage, 13% aligning to the Waikato region. Given that these hui took place in the greater metropolitan area of Auckland, these proportions are compatible with the census data of iwi resident in Auckland and they are also indicative of traditional iwi boundaries.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Statistics, N.Z. (2007)

Te Rōpū Tuatahi

The women in this hui had all been residents of the Rangiatea Māori Methodist Girls' Hostel in New Plymouth during their high school years, and seven had contributed to the narratives which provided the data analysed in Chapter Four. The women met in two separate hui one in Auckland and one in New Plymouth. The numbers at each hui differed, ten in Auckland and eight in New Plymouth, but four of the participants attended both hui and there were only four new members present in the second hui. The process of each hui was similar and the outcomes of the discussion with these women were also very similar as the same issues were talked about. I decided to consider their data in aggregate, as data gathered in the context of hui participation rather than as two separate hui.

Most of these women (66%) grew up in rural Māori communities, but are predominantly urban-based now: seven live in Auckland, three in New Plymouth, one in Gisborne, one in semi-rural Waikato (just south of Hamilton), two in semi-rural South Taranaki and one in Wanganui. All but one noted that the language in their current homes is predominantly English. The one native speaker says she and her husband converse in te reo around 60% of the time in the home, but try always to converse in te reo with their mokopuna when they visit.

At the first of the hui held in Auckland there were 11 women including myself. It was a very informal discussion that was audio taped and later transcribed and one other member of the research team took notes. The group met at Whakatuora, a Māori Methodist Centre in Mangere, close to the airport where out of town travellers were able to be accommodated in a

cost effective way.¹¹⁵ The second hui was held in New Plymouth at a meeting room within the Pukeariki Museum and Library complex. These women did not all know each other as they had attended Rangiatea at different times from 1948 to 1977, so the initial part of the hui was spent getting to know one another.

Although I had a facilitating role for the most part participants at both hui took the lead at different times asking questions of each other, noting when commonalities arose and talking about differences in experiences as they transpired. Both hui were marked by very open and free flowing discussions. Of the 14 other women present, there were only four that I had not met before. Because of my prior knowledge of the majority of these women and my own engagement in the same boarding school experiences as them, it was important that someone else was available to observe and record the events with impartiality. Thus the role of the note taking observer researcher was significant. We began each hui with karakia followed by self introductions and then I introduced the topic of our discussions, namely how they understood their identity as Māori and how they perceived te reo related to their identity. Because these women had the common experience of boarding school, as expected, the discussions centred on te reo and the boarding school situation and extended on into their current experiences of te reo. Within these discussions expressions of Māori identity were evident and I expand on some of these as they are illustrated in this work.

My opening mihi (greeting) and prayer at the beginning of our hui was the only formal use of te reo throughout both hui. All of these women displayed a high level of confidence in their interactions in the gathering, all willingly contributing to the discussions. No-one spoke more

¹¹⁵ This complex includes a marae style, communal accommodation facility as well as self-contained rental units for young Māori Methodist women who work in the city, or who are students at one of the many tertiary institutes in Auckland.

than a few short phrases or words in te reo in their conversations, but the things they talked about signalled strong ties to their Māori identity.

Their firm conviction about the importance of their own Māori identity was a strong driver for these women to push for te reo to be learned by their children and grandchildren. Home is one illustration of place that was shown in Chapter Four to be a strong feature of identity and talk of home is strongly reflected in the talk of the Rangiatea women accentuated for them by their distance from home while at boarding school. Their recollections of home carry also the embodiment of whānau and the familiar (whakapapa, whanaungatanga, land and tikanga), all distinctive features of Māori identity.

... and me talking about how I used to cry every time I had to go back and, and I thought I was the only one who did that y’know I found it really, really hard. I mean I wanted to go when we first applied to go away, it was all exciting and what not, but it was just too far from home y’know ... (Maria)

Going away to ‘town’ to a boarding school was an exciting adventure for a young Māori girl but with that came also trepidation and acknowledgement of the loneliness of separation from home and all that home invokes. There are many examples in their talk which refer to home and whānau:

“...I was really getting hurt and angry cause she was stopping me from seeing whānau, my sister ...” (Pine),

“...One of my cousins ...” (Kura),

“...me and my cousins...” (Aurere) and

“...my Dad would fly me back...” (Kararaina)

Further illustrations of **place** in these kōrero are evident in these passages.

... Yeah I loved dancing all night – go to the **Community** [hall] go to the **‘Polynesian’**

all these places where there's a lot of Māori... Māori **dance places**, big places...
(Kare)

... and when we were sent **out** it was always to **Pākehā** [homes for weekend visits],
we were never sent to **Māori** [homes], we never ever went on to a **marae** ... I dunno
... but he [my Dad] wanted to make sure we did well in the **Pākehā world** ...
(Weera)

These excerpts clearly note place as being important and especially Māori places and spaces, where Māori people could be found, as opposed to spaces that they considered were not Māori, where Māori might not normally be found. These were images that reinforced the familiar and supported their identity as Māori.

Only two of the hui participants grew up as first language Māori speakers of te reo: Aurere felt that school had a negative impact on her use of te reo and it continued when she went to work. Miria was only at Boarding school for one year. She returned back to her whānau where te reo was the norm and attended Te Awamutu College, which at that time had just been built. “In Te Awamutu, Kihikihi we all spoke Māori, I grew up with it, you too eh Cuz!” said Miria, and “... yeah but I didn't really keep it up, only now I'm using it more ...” was Aurere's response.¹¹⁶

Of the other women none of them spoke te reo fluently and they all had come from linguistically similar home environments where English was the dominant language. In some cases like Brenda's Māori was never heard at home. She made frequent mention of the fact that her father did not speak Māori to them,

¹¹⁶ Aurere now works for a community health organisation which services a largely Māori and elderly population, many of whom are native or fluent speakers of te reo.

... my parents never spoke Māori at home both my parents were fluent, but I never heard my father speak one single word, not like my grandparents [they] would say 'come and have a kai' but never my father (p.3).

It was only at her father's tangi (funeral) when people spoke about him that Brenda realised that both her parents could speak Māori [they were both native speakers], but she could not understand why they [the children] had never been taught the language. Weera noted that both her parents also were native speakers of te reo, but the following reflection into the possible reasons behind the choice of language used in her family home may also provide insights into the reasoning of others for their choice of language used in the home.

... our Dad spoke Māori to other whānau when they visited or when we were at whānau/church functions, but rarely to us. I think he wanted to make sure we did well in the Pākehā world and that didn't necessarily mean he needed to teach us Māori ... our Mum had already died ... when she was alive they spoke Māori to each other at home ... and, well he was so busy anyway ... ¹¹⁷

The stories from all those who'd come from predominantly English speaking homes were similar. They all had concerns around their perceived loss, loss of language, loss of tikanga and their identity. They also acknowledged that sacrifices were made by their parents to offer them a different and hopefully better path in life that the Pākehā boarding school appeared to offer, and those sacrifices included distancing the children from Māori communal life.

When asked about how often they spoke in Māori at Rangiatea and who they spoke Māori to, Ngaire said "... we weren't allowed to speak it ..." and Aurere said "... we got strapped for speaking it at school [primary school] and when I came out of there [to here], same thing"

(p.2). But Arahina recalled another girl who spoke Māori fluently saying that:

¹¹⁷ Weera's father was a Methodist Minister who was often absent from home ministering to sick parishioners, comforting those in mourning and generally taking care of the parish. Care of his younger children for a year or so after his wife died and before sending them to boarding school had been the domain of his two oldest teenage daughters (15 and 16 year olds).

... she loved it when the coasties¹¹⁸ arrived because they could speak Māori, and those from Ruatāhuna¹¹⁹ ... and so she loved getting together and going flat tack 'cause that was the only chance she got to hear Māori spoken and it was always out of earshot of the staff ... (p.6).

Brenda said that she can now understand why this particular girl had such trouble with English at school, “she really struggled with English because Māori was her first language ...” (p.6). Weera remembered with fondness “we used to sit there and listen to them because that was the only kōrero (Māori language) that we heard ...” (p.4).

During the early years of the 1940's Ngairē recalled their teacher who taught them Māori, but as she was only there for one year, she didn't learn a great deal. Others recalled how some students learned Māori by correspondence during the 1960s.

... the only taste I had of it was when Moke Couch [the local Māori Minister] came and he took evening classes [for those taking Māori by correspondence] but that didn't last long only an hour and a half and it wasn't enough to learn much ...” (Kura).

Apart from that, no-one could recall any other teaching of te reo, formal or otherwise. What was a vivid memory for all was the learning of waiata Māori and their performances in the poi team.¹²⁰ There were annual inter dormitory competitions as well as group performances for the whole hostel where the girls went out to perform in public. As the group discussed these performances the following story was recounted.

Miria: We only got it [te reo] through kapa haka ... we had to learn waiata and kapa haka ... that was the only te reo Māori input we got

Brenda: I actually felt it was done so that we would go out and perform

¹¹⁸ Girls who came from the East Coast

¹¹⁹ Ruatāhuna is an isolated Māori community located inland from Whakatāne, the Bay of Plenty, where the community language at that time was still predominantly Māori.

¹²⁰ Today we are more likely to refer to the 'poi team' as the 'kapa haka' group.

Miria: Yeah, I remember people used to come to the hostel ... when we had visitors at the hostel ... we all got trotted out to perform

Weera: Exactly, we had to learn to be performing seals!

Laughter broke out from the group and the discussion became quite animated then as others recounted similar instances where cultural performances for the entertainment of the public were recalled. This was also an aspect of Māori boarding school life that Māori boarders in other church boarding schools for Māori girls noted as being distasteful (Gudgeon 1998; Tarau 2004). Public performances were fun they said, because it took them out of the hostel,¹²¹ but when they felt they were being put on show to make others look good they knew and resented it. Unfortunately, they noted that it was a frequent occurrence. The women also recalled that despite having daily evening prayers, none of it was ever conducted in Māori, but “we were allowed to sing Māori hymns” (Weera); Kare said “we sang Māori hymns, we were allowed ...” and “we didn’t even do any karakia not in Māori anyway” (Pine p.4).

It was clear that the activity of singing and performing items in Māori was permitted and encouraged, but learning or conversing in te reo Māori was not. The sifting out of aspects of the culture that were encouraged and those that were not was clearly racist. Elements of Māori culture that privileged a European perspective of Māori identity worthy of maintenance, namely song and dance, was encouraged, but the language itself was not. In response to the question: “Did you speak much Māori?” Ngaire replied “No it was

¹²¹ Another story recounted was how they met Kiri Te Kanawa when they performed at a show in the Bowl of Brooklands, where Kiri was also performing and Brenda recalled how “... she was just like us and had freckles and stuff just like us too...”

completely blocked because it wasn't allowed" and Arahina said "I don't remember any classes in Māori coming out of there, never..."¹²²

As far as helping their own children to learn Māori, all the women expressed regret that they'd not pushed their children more in that direction.

... I was always aware that Māori was not good enough, and I think that I may have brought my kids up similar... to be very Pākehā, even though my husband was Māori ... but as times change I have also changed my ways [of thinking] (Brenda, p.5).

... Two of my kids went to kohanga reo but I pulled them out because I didn't think they were learning anything ... I felt it was just a glorified babysitting service: y'know people just used the system ... but since then with my mokos, well ... I make sure they go and I go along to support too so I'm learning with them ... (Pine, p.4).

Although Miria's children have a good grasp of te reo, she says they understand what's being said, but not one speaks Māori.¹²³ Arahina has a daughter who is a kura kaupapa Māori teacher and is fluent in te reo. Others noted that they were happy their children had learned some reo at school, albeit fairly limited, and not just kapa haka as they themselves had done. Their feelings of loss because opportunities to learn te reo and maintain tikanga were denied them in the boarding school experience were keenly felt and they were fervently opposed to that occurring for others. The lost opportunities, they felt were denials of their identity.

There was disquiet and resentment noted in the changed tone of their conversation when they talked about missing out on learning te reo and the concerns that they and others of their generation felt. They considered they'd been hard done by. Occasionally the feeling that they'd missed out on something special that was also their birthright, is hinted at in their stories "... both my parents were fluent but I never heard my father speak one single word

¹²² Arahina was resident in the hostel before 1958. After that time some students attended Spotswood College and were allowed to take Māori through correspondence classes.

¹²³ Miria was the only one who considered herself a 'native speaker' of te reo.

...” and “... [my Mum] thought that Māori language wasn’t gonna get us anywhere ...” (Brenda). These women do not want succeeding generations feeling the sense of loss that they do, nor to be in this uncomfortable space of not being able to speak their ancestral language.

When they talked about going back and trying to learn te reo, the frustration of that experience is clear especially since so few have been able to successfully acquire the language. Kararaina said after several unsuccessful attempts at learning through night classes, “...now all I know [of te reo] is through association of work, friends ...” but for her that learning from colleagues, friends and community associations had been the most successful. Learning te reo through her work associations also provided her with the opportunity to learn in the context of tikanga and thereby build on previously unknown aspects of her identity. Only two women in this cohort considered they’d been successful in learning te reo, albeit to a limited degree, as both were adamant that they were still learners that there was still much to learn. The other women clearly saw this as advantageous to maintaining Māori identity and admired the achievements of these two.

Te Rōpū Tuarua

There were 15 participants in this hui including myself, 12 adult women and three children – one boy and two girls. All were members of a Methodist Māori church congregation in South Auckland, a group that I was intimately involved with on a regular basis. The Methodist Church had its genesis in England in the 18th century under the leadership of John Wesley and had as its basis a strong commitment to social justice. Those same tenets of social justice have been embodied into church practice here in Aotearoa in acknowledgement of and commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As members of Te Taha Māori o Te Hāhi Weteriana o

Aotearoa (the Māori division of the Methodist Church of New Zealand), the women in this hui were both knowledgeable and vocal in discussing issues around social justice for Māori especially in matters concerning te reo. Four of the older women in this hui had been involved as Kuia (respected female proponents of te reo) and Kaiako (teachers of te reo)¹²⁴ within various kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura so they were also well versed in the issues relating to language acquisition for children and young people. They were not strangers to the constant struggles that are presented when one sets out to swim against the tide of popular and mainstream opinion. Their own personal experiences in the setting up and maintaining of kohanga reo in particular have helped clarify their own understandings of the value of te reo, to Māori identity.

We met one evening before the beginning of another church wānanga that was to focus on church matters. Of the 15 participants, five were native speakers of te reo and four others were L2 learners with a high degree of fluency. More than half this group then, were fluent and competent speakers of te reo.

This hui was convened at a time when Māori communities were being vividly reminded that race relations in mainstream New Zealand were far from harmonious.¹²⁵ The undercurrent of bad feeling by mainstream New Zealand towards Māori being seen as having privileged status in certain areas of New Zealand society was severe and was reflected in the media of

¹²⁴ These are titles conferred upon the particular positions in the Māori medium pre-schools – Kohanga reo.

¹²⁵ Barely one week earlier the former National Party Leader and Leader of the Opposition, Dr Don Brash in a public address had condemned the Labour Party's policies that he claimed favoured Māori over other New Zealanders through a range of government endorsed programmes. His address had been delivered during the period leading up to the enactment of legislation confiscating the foreshore and seabed from Māori. Debate between Māori and their supporters and the much larger non-Māori population over this issue was particularly acrimonious.

that time.¹²⁶ Māori reaction and concerns the participants felt around this situation surfaced several times in this gathering, which served to emphasise their pride in their Māori identity.

This group work-shopped their discussions in one group and their familiarity with one another fostered the high level of trust within the group. One of the kuia in this group was a member of the Kaumātua Advisory Group and since I was also known to the group, one other member of our research team who was independent of and unknown to members of this group, took on the role of principal facilitator of this hui. She was also a fluent speaker of te reo. The Kaumātua Advisory Group member assisted with facilitation as required and I recorded the discussions and took notes.

After the opening mihi and introductions, members of the group sought the facilitator's credentials in a very Māori way. In her introductory pepeha the facilitator signalled her iwi affiliations through geographic and genealogical references. Whakapapa is an extremely important marker of identity for Māori and making links through whakapapa provides one with a lot of information about a person within a very short time frame. The information contained within pepeha provides a reference point for the enquirer with which they are able to locate a person in a particular context. Members of the hui then asked if she knew people that they knew were from her area. She responded to their queries and after having established some common links, the group appeared to be prepared to begin discussions and share their views. A measure of that preparedness and their ease with the facilitator was noted when, as she asked if all the members had read and understood the PIS (Participant

¹²⁶ See Hingston (2006)

Information Sheet) they unanimously either said yes or responded by nodding affirmatively even though a couple had only just received copies and had not yet had time to read them.¹²⁷

The facilitator began by outlining the present position, according to the latest census data, regarding the numbers of people who are actively engaged in speaking te reo and those who are learning te reo. The group quickly and very easily engaged in the dialogue. There was a tendency in this hui for two of the kuia to dominate discussions, however, every person contributed to the discussion at some point in the hui. The children, although they had very little input into the hui, when they were asked questions had no hesitation in responding.¹²⁸

The hui continued for around an hour and a half after which time the participants themselves felt they'd said all that they wanted to, and we concluded with karakia followed by light refreshments.

In this hui the language used was predominantly English, but the native speakers of te reo often spoke totally in te reo, code switched between the two languages and sometimes just mixed codes.¹²⁹ When trying to describe the shallowness of the language being taught and learned in school, whaea Ririana's comments illustrate the typical type of code switching that took place,

No whānau if you think *e mōhio ana, ko te mea, e mōhio ana* ([they] know, the thing is [they] think they do know) oh, you got one on me bro – well there we are...

(Tuarua, p.4)

¹²⁷I observed this in my role as note taker and participant observer.

¹²⁸The children were asked about their involvement in kohanga reo.

¹²⁹Code mixing is usually expressed through single word insertions of Māori into the English text and is most often random. Code-switching is often more deliberate indicating what Holmes (1992) describes as “symbolic or social meanings of the codes” (p50) to reflect affective meanings rather than just information and acting in much the same way as metaphor.

When talk was conducted in te reo no-one asked for translations which indicated that either everyone understood what was being said or politeness and respect for the older women was being observed. From my own intimate knowledge of this group, all were able to understand te reo, but not all could speak it. Around 30% of the participants' recorded commentary was in te reo Māori.

Because of the depth of experience in this group with teaching te reo¹³⁰ there was some considerable discussion over the future of te reo and the teaching of te reo in the schools. This group were particularly concerned with the quality of teaching and the competency of teachers involved in teaching the tamariki.

... Well then who is it that does monitor the different deliveries, methods ... you've got the University of Auckland and the way that they deliver the reo, different again to Waikato, different again to Atārangi, different again to Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, so, if you're trying to get a consensus, of a really good quality method to go by, which one do you go by – and who's going to monitor it?

These same questions were raised by other groups and are issues that require further investigation and while these are very important questions the scope of this study did not allow for them to be addressed in any great detail.

Te Rōpū Tuatoru

There were 23 participants in this community hui, 11 men and 12 women all of whom were members of the university kapa haka group. The members were tertiary students engaged in studies within the university and came together from a range of different disciplines across the university. The youngest were two 18 year old female first year students, the oldest a 42

¹³⁰ All the native speakers were kuia who were involved with Māori medium teaching in kohanga reo, kura kaupapa and wharekura, two others were registered teachers and two had children currently enrolled in kohanga reo or kura kaupapa.

year old male who had recently returned to university to complete a degree begun during the late 1980s. The majority of this group, however, were placed within the early twenties to early thirties age group (18 of the 23). Only one of the women in this group considered she was a fluent speaker of te reo, but six of the men assessed their language abilities as fluent and one in the native speaker category. All of the fluent speakers of te reo had also had some exposure to te reo immersion schooling through kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori.

Several of the women (6) rated their skills as 'fair' acknowledging that their language skills extended only to short sentences and phrases, but the bulk of the overall group (10) rated their language skills as 'good', being able to converse in short conversations. It is significant that no-one in this group rated their skills as 'minimal', the lowest end of the scale.

The hui was incorporated into a weekend wānanga where the group were practising for the regional kapa haka competitions to be held in three weeks time. This discussion gave them the opportunity for a break from their practice, but all the members were very interested in the topic and were keen to contribute. This they did quite readily both during the hui and later also when we joined the group for refreshments after our hui. Several of the young women sat with us and talked more informally about their thoughts and experiences. Some of these comments we were permitted to include as 'personal contributions' and they form part of the last set of data described in this chapter.

The hui began with the researchers being formally greeted in mihi whakatau (speeches of welcome) and then facilitation of the hui was given over to the research team. The principal researcher began by introducing the topic and sharing the census information. She then asked the hui to consider the information and, in two groups, to discuss firstly their views on the link between te reo Māori and Māori identity. Secondly they were invited to discuss whether or not Māori ought to encourage and support non-Māori into learning te reo. There were three

of the research team working with this gathering. There was one facilitator and one note-taker, who worked with one group of 12 participants. In the other group the facilitator tape recorded the discussion and took notes of the discussion points.

In both groups the men tended to dominate discussion but the women who did contribute in the hui forum did so confidently. The language in the hui was almost all English, te reo Māori was only used during the formal mihimihi process. In the hui discussions, code switching and code mixing occurred often with single words or short phrases being dropped into the conversation.

... some people are *тино kaha ki te tuhi* good at writing [in te reo] ... (p.3)

... sometimes we may place *tapu* (severe, strict limits) restrictions on our reo (p.3).

This group also raised challenges for themselves in this hui regarding their own use of te reo with one of the women asking, “do we actually speak te reo at kapa haka all the time?” (p.4) she then continued by saying that she felt the group had responsibilities to encourage the speaking of te reo in all spaces,

...how many of us go and speak te reo at the campus cafe? [a few raised their hands]

There’s only a small percentage, so what I’m saying is that are those strategies sufficient to ensure that we move on and be total te reo? (p.4)

The talk in this group was always very free flowing and animated with questions raised and challenges often being made within the group of each other, and often by the women, such as this one.

... if we teach and encourage non-Māori to learn te reo will it be to our cost? ... (p.5)

Responses to this particular question raised a number of concerns that were common among several groups. These included the notion of Māori monitoring and managing the best use of

the minimal teaching resources available, commodification of te reo and abuse of both tikanga and te reo. Concerns were raised stating that from these altered circumstances the way that Māori practise our tikanga would change and affect our perceptions of our Māori identity. The group discussed these concerns widely and these discussions are more fully described in the latter sections of this chapter.

Te Rōpū Tuawhā

This group were the only marae community who engaged in this research. They belonged to an urban marae that is situated in one of the eastern suburbs of Auckland, in a relatively socially and economically depressed area of the city. It is a region of high density state housing and low decile rating schools, markers that are indicative of social and economic depression. The people of this marae, however, do not see their community in these terms. In recent years the community has worked with TPK to raise the profile of this marae. TPK have helped the community in appointing a co-ordinator for the marae who had set up various marae-based programmes for the local community. Together TPK and the marae community were working to upskill their people, to renovate their buildings, to expand their membership base and to operate in ways that attract local people to engage as community through this marae venue. At the time of our meeting with this community, the main difficulty in convening a hui was finding a time slot that could accommodate us. The marae had several events scheduled¹³¹ that were being run on their premises or utilising their personnel.

¹³¹ Te reo classes, Marae Committee Meetings, raranga (weaving) classes and whānau meetings were some of these activities.

Thirteen people took part in this hui. The researchers¹³² were welcomed in a formal pōwhiri and the kaumātua from the advisory group took the role of principal facilitator in this hui as there were a number of fluent speakers of te reo present (three native speakers and five fluent L2 speakers), all of whom were men. Despite the relatively high concentration of te reo speakers the majority of the language used in the hui was English. At times though, Māori was used by the native speakers to help explain their points of view.

... But my own *raru* (problem) with that is people like these fullas here *kua pouri tonu te haere* (are still working in the dark) so that wisdom or knowledge from the ... *kāhore i eke mai nei ki a tātou* (hasn't been passed down and understood by all of us) (p.2).

... you know her, *ko tāna tau, kuia hoki taua mea. Kāore e tika tā te tono ...* (at her age she's an old lady. It isn't right that her words ...) (p.3)

The process of the hui facilitation was the same as the previous hui. The participants were given an overall view of the status of te reo from the census reports and then they were invited to offer their views on the nature and the strength of the link between te reo and Māori identity and the possibility of Māori support for non-Māori learning te reo. Everyone contributed to the discussions at some point, but the men tended to dominate the discussions, although two of the older women (46 to 60 year age bracket) were very vocal.

Details regarding occupation were not gathered on the profiles of the participants, but one of the men, a native speaker of te reo and one of the more vocal participants, talked about being involved in kohanga reo as kaumātua advisor and his role as a teacher of te reo in a community setting. He was totally supportive of Māori learning te reo and spoke of the ongoing need for continually encouraging Māori to take up the challenge because, in his

¹³² Two were present in this hui, one kaumātua and myself co-facilitating, audio recording the hui and both also took field notes.

view, the language and identity were indivisible. For him supporting non-Māori in this was another story.

Continuing education was an area that created a lot of discussion with this group. One of the youngest women who was the co-ordinator for programmes on the marae and three other women spoke about their engagement in continuing study, two learning te reo in classes with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and another in a weaving class, again with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. One woman spoke of her experiences of learning te reo in this way.

... sometimes going to places like Te Wānanga o Aotearoa are just the best place to give them a kick start and get them going. Once you learn a little bit of reo you get a boost and think 'hey, I can actually do this' (p.5).

The three youngest participants, all in the 30 to 45 year age bracket were the least proficient in te reo and expressed some regret in that. One woman said "...I'm just trying my best to listen by ear. That's why I come here ..." (p.11) indicating that she was currently involved in the reo classes at the marae, but also that she found that being around the marae and speakers of te reo was for her a valuable learning forum.

Te Rōpū Tuarima

This group were school girls and their 'house mother' who lived together in a whānau unit as part of a Māori boarding school establishment. There were nine girls aged between 13 – 17 and they were all learning te reo Māori as a compulsory subject in their school studies. None of the younger girls considered they were competent and confident speakers of te reo, but the two senior girls (one a Year 12 and one a Year 13 student) said they understood te reo and had no problem understanding their kuia and kaumātua when they spoke Māori to them. As

speakers themselves, both rated themselves as being able to carry out sustained conversation in te reo.¹³³

As expected the older girls were more confident than the others and had the most input but, when a voice was sought from the others, the less vocal ones although reticent at first, did talk and offer their views. It was difficult to elicit free ranging discussion with the girls and there was not a great deal of interaction or discussion of points from the group, but these young people were, in their own way, quite eloquent about what Māori identity was to them. Being Māori is ‘cool!’ and they felt that meant, “... language and everything, protocols. It’s about who you are...” (Arihia p.1), and on the subject of te reo and being Māori they felt that: “... it’s [te reo] unique, nowhere else in the world do they speak Māori” (Arihia, p.1). Erana also said “It’s cool to be Māori, but sometimes you kind of feel intimidated by other cultures that are bigger than you ...” (p.1).

The girls recognised that they lived in a fairly sheltered environment and that they were helped in sustaining their Māoriness, their Māori identity by the activities available to them in the school. These were te reo classes, daily karakia and Catholic Mass conducted in Māori, kapa haka, and team sports that traded on using Māori language and cultural symbols in the everyday school life. The school marae was also a place they identified as important to their identity as Māori. The ‘kāinga’ boarding hostels (large homes with house parents who supervised and took care of around 10 boarding students per kāinga), were also oriented as whānau units that helped to instil and maintain Māori values within the kāinga. In these ways te reo Māori and Māori identity was nurtured and sustained.

¹³³ They had indicated a rating of 2 on the language ability assessment scale used in the surveys.

This group was not the easiest to work with. In hindsight I would reconsider working with such a young group in this way and I would probably adapt the style of engagement and interaction to one more suited to young people.¹³⁴

Te Rōpū Tuaono

Several students in the Māori Studies Department of the University of Auckland had heard about my research and expressed interest in this work. I invited them to join in a focus group hui to share their thoughts. Seven students engaged in the hui. All were currently studying in the department, two of them majoring in Māori studies. Political Studies, Art History, English, Psychology and Education were the other disciplines their studies reached across. They were two men and five women. Of these, four were known to me as students I had formerly tutored in te reo classes.

I facilitated this hui alone and tape recorded the discussions. The hui was held in one of the tutorial rooms in the department, a venue the students chose as a central base for them all. The levels of te reo ability of these participants ranged from two students who had very high levels of fluency, one had progressed through Māori medium education to wharekura, the other was an avid L2 learner. Three had fairly good conversational skills and the other two had a limited level of te reo ability. All these participants also completed surveys.

Participation in this hui was spread fairly evenly across all the participants. The high level of interaction and articulation by the students demonstrated the group's interest in the discussions around Māori language and identity and the possibility of encouraging non-Māori

¹³⁴ Engaging a facilitator closer to their own age and involving them in an activity are strategies that might help put young people more at ease and possibly stimulate more conversation. Such a process takes time, but I expect that it would result in much improved interaction and discussion yielding richer data.

into learning te reo. Their level of comfort and trust in both the process and their fellow students also contributed to their willingness to be involved in the discussions. These free flowing conversations might also be indicative of their ability to articulate their thoughts and ideas clearly, possibly a skill enhanced through their tertiary study.

The language of the hui was predominantly English. When Māori was used in this group's discussion single words or short phrases were inserted into the conversation, and the ease in which they were inserted indicated high levels of understandings of both the words and their meanings.

... it just instinctively annoys me when **Tauīwi** (non-Māori) will claim it [te reo] as their **taonga** (p.2).

... but I know the **tikanga** and that's more important to me (p.4) ... and when your **whānau** say "**Karanga** girl!" [you make the ceremonial call, girl!...] (p.5).

A number of the words used are found in the Dictionary of New Zealand English and are words entering into the New Zealand vernacular on a regular basis.¹³⁵ Words such as reo, whānau, taonga, (valued possession) tikanga and karanga (a ceremonial call) were used frequently and inserted into conversation as though they were part of everyday speech in an English language context. 'Te reo' or just 'reo' was used with the greatest frequency (49 instances). The word 'tikanga' was used with the 2nd highest frequency (22 times), 'whānau' seven times and 'taonga' rated next highest occurring five times in the transcript.

This group acknowledged and strongly supported the assertion that Māori want to learn their language and felt that access to learning opportunities should be made more readily available

¹³⁵ The Orsman Dictionary cites a large number of Māori words that are used increasingly in the vernacular of the New Zealand public, both Māori and non-Māori. Further discussion of the way Māori words are used in this study appears in Chapter Six.

to them. However, the group as a whole did not consider te reo to be an essential aspect of their identity, but agreed that knowing the reo greatly enhanced their Māori identity.

Although a few had limited ability with te reo, they all had very strong ties and pride in their Māori identity, albeit exhibited in different ways. Jolene said:

... when people walk in my house with their shoes on, my husband goes – my husband’s Pākehā – , ‘will you please take your shoes off Jolene gets ... about that’ ... he doesn't want to go into ‘you know she was brought up Māori’, but take your shoes off ... ” (p.1).

In another account, Evelyn told how she’d attended a school function at her niece’s school where the national anthem was sung first in English and then in Māori. A number of Pākehā parents in the audience sat down during the Māori rendition, which Evelyn felt was disrespectful, but she consoled herself with the knowledge that the pupils singing in Māori were of different ethnicities and she said, “and I thought ok, I’ll remember that, let them sit that’s alright because I know what’s coming in the future those kids will ... enjoy themselves, ‘cos they’ll learn Māori reo and waiata and think nothing of it” (p.6). Her vision is that her niece’s generation will grow up without the barriers of racism that her generation has faced.

Te Rōpū Tuawhitu

This group was predominantly male, six young men and two women, all members of a local mau rākau group. The youngest was a young man aged fifteen, there were two young men in their early 20s and the remaining five participants were aged in their 30s, the oldest being 36 years old. Only one person, an older male was a fluent speaker of te reo. At that time five were enrolled in te reo classes either at Hoani Waititi Marae in Henderson or through the Mangere Campus of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. The youngest male, a high school student enrolled in a mainstream school, had learned some reo through involvement with this group

and the older female indicated she had minimal ability with te reo. All of them considered the involvement in this group's activities had strengthened their reo. One young man said, "... mau rākau came first and that then put me on a journey to learn te reo..." (Jack p.2)

Instruction in the mau rākau discipline is conducted solely in te reo and members were actively encouraged to learn te reo. They were also required to prepare a speech in Māori that they would then share with the class at the next training sessions.¹³⁶

All of the males spoke about being involved in kapa haka over the years and two spoke of being in Māori language classes at school, but acknowledged that as they had got older and become involved in mau rākau, the reo had surfaced as being important in their lives. They felt it enhanced their Māori identity and said that mau rākau was the vehicle that had made it happen. Paora said:

... we all [his cousins] spoke English you know ... back in the 70s ... because I was a bit rebellious I was pulled to my grandparents' side, on my father's side, quite a lot being the tuakana (elder child) of our, of my whānau. And of course I was made to sit, watch and listen [at Poukai¹³⁷] while the other kids played around (p.3).

He went on to talk about his experiences at boarding school and learning te reo and acknowledged that he'd squandered that learning because his heart was not in it. He had been more interested in flouting the rules and generally rebelling against the system. Today he continues his reo learning through Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (the Wā) and through attending hui and is a staunch advocate for te reo.

... this year I'm attending the Wā over here at Canning Cres one night a week and it's been awesome ... one person cannot learn the whole te reo without Te Ao Māori

¹³⁶ Each week three students would talk briefly (2-3 sentences initially for beginners) to their fellow students in te reo. As their language skills progressed, students were required to expand and extend their kōrero.

¹³⁷ Hui-ā-iwi (tribal gatherings) maintained by Waikato iwi and supporters loyal to the Kingitanga (King Movement).

[understanding the world through Māori knowledge and ways of being] it's just too great ... so I'm on a journey *ako i te reo* (learning Māori), you know *tō mātou reo* (our language) as well as my wife and kids and the *mau taiaha* [mau rākau] that's why I did it [brought them in to the activity], for them (p.3).

Paora was clearly able to link te reo as being pivotal to knowledge of the Māori world and Māori identity.

When asked if anyone lived in homes where te reo was the dominant language used, Turu said that in their home, he and his partner boarded with the mau rākau instructor, tikanga was observed within the whare (house). When visitors arrived he was encouraged to formally greet and acknowledge the manuhiri (visitors) and that meant speaking te reo and rounding off the greeting process with waiata. Another described events where tikanga was observed in a friend's home for first time visitors where they were formally greeted, karakia was pronounced and they were then escorted into the living room and introduced to the tupuna (ancestors) whose photos hung on the wall.

None of the people in this group had grown up in homes where te reo was prevalent and they had all been raised in and around the greater Auckland area. They had many divergent experiences of learning te reo and had encountered negativity from both Māori and others in relation to being Māori, and in a range of situations. Haami spoke about teaching a group of American students the haka and being annoyed at their disrespect for it, "... cause you know they just laugh ... and like they put you off ... they just keep laughing and talking" (p.5).

Nathan also talked about how other Māori students at his boarding school criticised learning te reo because "... it's not gonna get you the big bucks ..." (p.3) and at that age everyone was looking at an education pathway that would take them into lucrative employment.

For all these participants, their involvement in mau rākau had enhanced their views of their identity as Māori and heightened their interest in learning and using te reo as much as possible.

Te Rōpū Tuawaru

In October of 2005 members of the Ngāpuhi iwi¹³⁸ living in Auckland had set up a series of five weekend wānanga (teaching and learning forums) where waiata, history and protocols pertaining to their own iwi were being taught. Members who lived in Auckland and some in rural Northland attended these hui. At the last of these weekend wānanga the Saturday afternoon was set aside for our research hui. There were 36 people at this hui, 14 of them lived in rural Northland. This group did not want their hui audio taped. Despite all reassurances about confidentiality they chose not to have their discussion and debate recorded. The group discussions were conducted in one large group, again a decision made by the group themselves and two of the researchers took notes.

The language of the hui was predominantly English. Several of the older men expressed their thoughts in Māori as well as English sometimes only in te reo and at other times moving with consummate ease between both languages demonstrating excellent bi-lingual ability. The reo ability of those present ranged across the whole spectrum from native speakers to some who had minimal reo skills. Not everyone spoke in this hui, but those who did were not restricted to just the men, nor just the older ones as several of the younger women contributed to the discussions.

¹³⁸ The ancestral landbase of the Ngāpuhi people is situated in the Mid North region North of Auckland.

One interesting point raised was the linking of health and wellness of Māori as a people to te reo. Matiu had this to say,

“language is also a reflection of how healthy your society is. If we get healthy in the ways that we determine and live our lives, then our reo will get healthy ... your language should be as normal as breathing” (p.1).

And a part of that picture of wellness they felt also included the telling of the stories and history of this country “... from our viewpoint, a Māori world view ...” (Paki p.3).

This group was one of the most vocal and participants engaged willingly, knowledgeably and without fear of either embarrassment or intimidation despite the quite large audience. This indicated a high level of trust existed in this group. However, not everyone here completed the survey. This group was also very keen to see and hear the report that summarised discussions from their hui and to have an overall report of all the hui. The report back process for this group was achieved by the research co-ordinator presenting that report to the meeting of Te Taurahere-O-Ngāpuhi-Ki-Te-Tonga-O-Tāmaki Makaurau¹³⁹ at their monthly meeting in February, 2006 where they approved their data for inclusion in this study.

Te Rōpū Tuaiwa

This was a class of weavers who were studying at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. They invited us into their wānanga one Saturday and we spent almost three hours with this group. There was only one older man (60 plus) and twenty women in this rōpū and all lived locally in South Auckland. Only the one man had attended a Māori school in his primary school years at Ruatāhuna and he was also the only native speaker of te reo. All the others had varying levels

¹³⁹ Te Taurahere-O-Ngāpuhi-Ki-Te-Tonga-O-Tāmaki Makaurau is a Committee based in South Auckland that is a satellite of the principal mandated body – Te Rūnanga-a-iwi-o-te-whare-tapu-o-Ngāpuhi – that has oversight of Ngāpuhi’s tribal interests.

of fluency in te reo, most with very low levels of fluency. Only two were under 30 with 50% of the group in the age group between 46 to 60 years of age.

This group also chose not to have their discussions taped, but after the introductory presentation of the census data regarding te reo use, the group themselves decided to talk through the issues in small groups of up to five people, and then present back to the main group their own group's ideas. This was the process used in other aspects of their studies and it was one they were familiar and comfortable with. Each group also appointed their own scribe to take notes for the report back process and throughout the whole hui English was the only language used. The discussions were very lively and animated in the small groups with reporting back being very easily achieved. The levels of trust and safety in this group were very high, which added to their willingness to work at the discussions.

Many in this group did not consider the link between te reo and Māori identity was very strong, nor even essential. Certainly they felt that knowing and understanding te reo enhanced Māori knowledge, but was not essential to Māori identity. Their experience in the weaving classes, where much of the instruction and the Māori stories told in that process were delivered in a bilingual manner, highlighted how knowledge of te reo aided understanding and built up the store of Māori knowledge which enhanced their Māori identity. However, as the stories could still be told via the medium of English, some argued that strong links between te reo and Māori identity were therefore not essential.

Responses collated from all the community hui

In all the community hui when it was suggested that te reo Māori is for everyone, a language for all New Zealanders, initial reaction was negative. The idea that others who had no inkling

or understanding of the Māori world might learn and use te reo initially provoked negative responses. However, as time and conversations transpired, this negativity relaxed and full meaningful discussions took place where many issues were raised and those that were most important for the groups are reflected in this section.

All nine community groups agreed at one level that te reo is indeed a language for all New Zealanders, but there were conditions that some would like to see applied at particular levels. That te reo belongs to Māori and is aligned closely to Māori identity is not disputed. There was unanimous agreement that no matter what, priority for the limited and quality teaching resources available, especially native speaker teachers, ought to be committed to helping Māori into learning te reo.

After full discussions six of the nine groups had members who did not agree that te reo was necessarily for all New Zealanders. They voiced their concerns clearly and outlined conditions that they considered reasonable to allow for some non-Māori to undertake learning te reo and to a limited degree. The nature of consensus style hui allows for all voices to be heard and their views were considered deliberately and with care. There were seven concerns raised that prohibited participants offering unconditional support for non-Māori learning te reo. These concerns and conditions for relaxing restrictions are presented in this section through illustrations of the talk of the participants. This same process is then used to present the arguments made for approving the use of te reo by all.

SAYING ‘NO!’

(a) *Nōku tēnei taonga (this is my prized possession)*

In the Tuarua group after almost two hours of full discussion, one of the kuia spoke up and said: “You know how Pani said, she doesn’t want her seabed and foreshore talked about at ... well I don’t want every Tom, Dick and Harry to learn my Māori language. That’s mine!” (Tuarima p.7). When others in the hui pressed her for further elaboration and suggested that perhaps she found it difficult to let go or to share her knowledge and skills, she gestured towards her abdomen saying, “No, it’s more than that, it’s down here somewhere – way down deep” (Tuarima p.7). She went on to talk about her reo being something passed down to her from her tupuna “*nō mai rā anō,*” (from her ancestors, from ancient times) and that it was something that she felt reluctant to share with just anybody, it was something much bigger than her. This kuia had been actively involved in kohanga reo in South Auckland since its inception and at this time was still the kuia for one kohanga reo and its associated kura kaupapa. Her change of heart was supported by native speakers in the other groups who talked of te reo being a taonga (Tuarima p.2), and one who said “I’ve been brought up with my language, *mai i taku tamarikitanga ā kāhore au e’ hakaāe kia hoatu ki ētahi atu*” (... from my childhood and I don’t agree to giving it to just anybody) (Tuarima p.5).

(b) **Te Reo for Māori first**

As a consequence of the concerns being raised regarding sharing this taonga of te reo with others, it was suggested that perhaps degrees of priority ought to be assigned. In the first instance Māori people ought to be encouraged and supported into learning te reo.

... I think we should encourage ourselves to learn eh, ourselves first ... (Tuarua p.2).

... if you don’t understand, then you know what to do, get up on the waka and *ako i te*

reo, (learn the language) talk to them [your children, your family] so that they can see the importance of the *reo* ... (Tuarua p.1).

... maybe we just have to get ourselves cracking and learning *te reo* (Tuawaru p.3).

...I think it's for the hapū to start in housing wānanga for the *reo* so we can start encouraging others to learn the language ... (Tuaono p.6).

The responsibility for enabling Māori people to get engaged in learning and speaking *te reo* these people clearly saw as a responsibility for Māori first to encourage and support other Māori into *te reo*.

(c) Selected Target Groups

Considerations were then made for who might be supported into *te reo* if they so desired, beginning with whānau members who were not Māori. A couple of young women in the Tuatoru group had this to say about their non-Māori whānau members:

... and they want to *tautoko* (support) us and they get what my whānau call *āhua Māori*, (kind of way of being as Māori – superficially anyway)¹⁴⁰ but you have to be careful who you give it [Māori knowledge] to and know they're going to use it in the right ways. You don't give it to any Harry, Dick and Tom cause we suffer the consequences (p.9).

... we have to trust that there are those who have an interest to keep things safe for Māori, like my Mum, she's Pākehā, but her mokos are Māori and she lives the tikanga with us as well. It should not be given to just anybody... (p.9)

... Now Arihia's Mum, she's gonna be around forever and that's the point that she's got no option, she's not gonna leave her family. Arihia knows she's gonna be safe because she's [her Mum is] the *kaitiaki* (caregiver) of her *tamariki* (children) ... (p.9)

¹⁴⁰ This description suggests that these are people who have learned to respect and practise the protocols pertaining to the tikanga of the area their whānau whakapapa to, but they themselves do not have whakapapa Māori.

These sentiments were echoed in the other groups with comment noted especially in relation to 'living the tikanga'. A kaumatua in the marae based group talked about concepts such as whakapapa, tikanga and te reo in relation to identity and said that "... you have all those taonga that people just know about because they live with them ..." (Tuaono p.10). For him, those non-Māori whānau members have a vested interest in things Māori because they are connected to whānau Māori. And, just like the rest of us, they have to learn aspects of tikanga Māori simply by virtue of living and actively participating in the Māori world. In so doing they gain an appreciation of the tikanga and how it is understood from a Māori viewpoint. But for non-Māori, compliance with tikanga is a choice, if they choose not to be involved they can just walk away.

...yeah but, with the reo comes tikanga and we wear it every day they don't ...
(Tuatoru p.4).

... they go home and learn it and yet on the Marae you live it ... (Tuatoru p.7).

For Māori who choose not to associate with the Māori world they too can walk away, but that does not alter their biological ties to te ao Māori, nor does it sever the sense of belonging that is part of whakapapa.

Of particular concern are the whānau where one parent is not Māori and children growing up in these households are far less likely to hear te reo in the home if it isn't spoken by the adult household members who are their immediate role models. These quotes echoed in three other transcripts focused on the select group of non-Māori parents as a target group to be supported into learning te reo. Kararaina asked if we do not support others to learn te reo, then "where does that leave those who have [a] Pākehā mother or father?" (Tuatahi p.11) and still others voiced similar concerns.

... if there's only one parent in the home who speaks Māori, then the kids won't talk *i te reo* (in Māori) [at home], nor when they play, they begin to resent it (Tuawaru p.2).

How can intergenerational language transfer take place within these homes and families if the language is not heard, if it is not part of everyday life? All the groups were patently aware of the limited te reo teaching resources and their comments about selective learning audiences reflected those understandings. But, they considered this aspect in a positive light saying that “exposure to many different languages” is good for our children and that communication is the key to harmonious relationships (Tuaono). So, if both parents are familiar with and use te reo every day the children will see its use as normal and value it on a par with English.

(d) Tikanga, Te Reo = Māori Identity

Included in these discussions was the notion that te reo and tikanga go hand in hand: one cannot be learned appropriately without the other. It was acknowledged that there are different levels of understandings and that for non-Māori not only was it difficult to learn the deeper meanings of both, but it was also inappropriate. As noted previously non-Māori can make choices about being involved in te ao Māori, or not. For Māori it is part of who we are, our identity, our ways of being. One kuia described how non-Māori do not really understand what we mean when we talk about tikanga and te reo being part of each other, incomplete without each other.

...[only a Māori] would really know what tikanga is all about, it's not just *hei tu ki te hakahaka*, (standing up and doing the haka), you know like the Pākehā, *tu ki te mihi, ki te kōrero* (who stand up to make speeches of welcome in Māori) something they've memorised. The tikanga is your total being – your ethos (Tuarua p.2).

These points served to illustrate clearly the need to restrict carefully just who Māori might encourage and support into te reo. Several of the native speakers who were concerned that the more intense or deeper learning that is part of tikanga should not be given to just anyone, talked about that knowledge being abused. Whaea Hiria said,

You know when the old people used to say, '*kaua e hoatu ki te kaha*' (be wary of how much you give away), they were talking about the other Māori, you know don't give your *mātauranga* (knowledge) away. Hold back some for yourself" (Tuatahi p.8).

She went on to say that in their time the tupuna were talking about sharing your own tikanga-a-iwi (local regional customary practices) with other Māori, today its Pākehā and non-Māori we need to be wary of. And when the suggestion was made that it's all right to let anyone have whatever knowledge they want, one of the younger women in the kapa haka Māori challenged that stance.

...I don't think we can say that ... they suffer the consequences if they do something wrong, it's on their back, because in our iwi we don't let any of our knowledge out unless we're sure the person that we give it to is going to use it properly [safely] (Tuatoru p.8).

Māori take very seriously their role as kaitiaki (guardians) of all aspects of te ao Māori, and particularly Māori knowledge.

(e) Abuse of te reo and tikanga

Many groups raised concerns about what they saw as historical abuse of all things Māori. The present debate over who owns the seabed and foreshore¹⁴¹ is an example where Māori knowledge and property rights have been undermined. They believed that slowly but surely aspects of the Māori world have been taken away or altered and watered down. Members of Te Rōpū Tuatoru spoke about how the rituals of encounter have been adapted to fit into the corporate forums within government departments. Many were concerned that these situations are an abuse of Māori culture, Māori knowledge and tikanga and that they diminish the values that underpin these rituals and therefore our Māori identity. Their concerns were that these same practices would occur with te reo. In the Tuatoru group one person suggested,

¹⁴¹ See Hingston (2006) and Charters & Erueti (2007)

... that they will use our reo like they use anything to gain control and dominance, like, 'oh we know te reo Māori now oh so we can listen to all your *whakaaro* [thoughts, ideas] and ... oh we know your *tikanga* now you can't do that' ... (p.7).

And, another recounted being told by a Pākehā nurse what she should do with her baby's placenta: the nurse suggested she plant her baby's placenta under a tree.

... they're telling you what your own *tikanga* is that's what I think is wrong (p.8).

Haami, from the Tuawhiti group spoke about teaching a group of American students the haka and being annoyed at their disrespect for it, "... cause you know they just laugh ... and like they put you off ... they just keep laughing and talking" (p.5).

Another story emerged of a Chinese medical professional woman who visited one kohanga reo in South Auckland to carry out ear tests on the tamariki. She was supposed to wait for a Māori Community Health Worker to accompany her, but she didn't and as a result she was 'thrown out' of one kohanga. When the community worker asked her what had happened and why she hadn't waited for her, the woman's response was "Oh those Māoris are rude". The community worker said "you're ruder!" It transpired that this woman had refused to comply with basic Māori courtesies such as removing her shoes at the doorway. She'd not waited for the simple welcoming and greeting protocols to be conducted, but upon being invited inside straight away began setting up her equipment in one corner of the room. She then demanded the children be brought to her one at a time for examination.¹⁴² According to this participant she continually ignores Māori protocols and "just refuses to even attempt to speak Māori" (Tuatahi p.5). Her behaviour is demeaning of Māori protocols, *tikanga*, Māori identity and all that it entails. The Māori community health worker who recounted this story then told the ear specialist she was never to go anywhere near the kohanga reo in her region again without her.

¹⁴² She was an ENT specialist who was to check the children's ears for signs of 'glue ear'.

Manipulation of te reo was a concern and participants saw mispronunciation as a continual abuse of our reo. They cited many examples of this from the media, particularly television and although many acknowledged there had been considerable improvement in some quarters, in others there was still a long way to go.

Then there are those Māori who resist the move towards sharing anything Māori with others “... Pākehā have taken from us ... and may take our reo” (Tuatahi p.12). Their fears are borne out in this kōrero, “... there is gonna be a small majority that, if I can put that word in ‘bastardise’ our reo for their own misuse ...” (Tuaono p.3). The realisation though is that for the most part, those who misuse our reo are in the minority and there was strong acknowledgement that there is also a large amount of goodwill in the non-Māori community towards all things Māori and examples of this can be seen in the growth of interest and activity in using te reo during “te wiki o te Reo Māori,” Māori Language Week each year.

(f) Control of te reo

The participants put up a strong argument for Māori to ensure that they maintain control of their own language and all facets of its management. Uncle Patu, kaumātua of Te Rōpū Tuawaru said:

We should have been speaking Māori right from the word ‘go’ ... we should have been continuing to kōrero Māori and Pākehā should have learned it too (Tuawaru p.1).

And another kuia concurred with, “...they didn’t teach our language and there’s generations of te reo been lost ...” (Tuarua p.6). Still others talked about Māori people now being more proactive about firstly acknowledging what’s gone before and then looking at who Māori are, what they want to achieve, and how to manage what happens next.

... It's just like another level of colonisation in a way because our own traditional institutions have been taken away from us and we're being told how to run them [modern Māori organisations] pretty much ... (Tuaono p.2).

... We need to be in control of our lives, we need to take back control ... (Tuarua p.1).

One further implication of more non-Māori learning Māori is that they also become teachers of te reo and many felt that non-Māori were ill-equipped to teach te reo appropriately, because of their inexperience and understanding of our tikanga and a Māori world view.

Concerns about the quality and depth of te reo understandings is expressed in these excerpts:

... Yeah, they've got nothing to develop the child's reo – [their] learning is only skin deep (kuia in Tuarua p.2).

... And the history ... and a different way of looking at the world ... and it could be our world, our way ... appreciating our nature and our culture ... respecting our harakeke (native flax) and things like that? (young mother, Tuarua p.4)

These concerns are already evident as a number of non-Māori teachers are teaching basic Māori in mainstream and bi-lingual units in schools. Huia said, "...at the beginning of the year my son was in the Māori bi-lingual Unit and his teacher was Samoan? ... so what's that about huh?" (Tuarua p.2)

The absence of an understanding of tikanga and a Māori world-view by the teachers of te reo in schools is very worrying for all the groups. The government was singled out by this group as having responsibility to assist by funding language learning initiatives, but that these had to be driven by Māori themselves (Tuawha). Māori input in the training of teachers of the reo in schools is limited to what is required at Teachers Training College. After leaving the Teacher Training institutions many reo teachers have to seek their own support systems for

continuing their reo development and for non-Māori teachers that is not always easy. A very few schools assist teachers to upskill and continually revitalise and expand their reo skills.¹⁴³

(g) Commodification

Adding to that feeling of loss of control over te reo and aspects of tikanga was the view that teaching te reo was sometimes used by non-Māori as a springboard to something better including monetary gain. These participants see commodifying and compartmentalising the language as detrimental to Māori which would eventually lead to the breakdown and alteration of views about other aspects of the Māori world.

... Pay [is their] motivation for some that's why you see, that's why they [Pākehā] do that [learn te reo] ... and now I believe if you're going to teach Māori in the schools you get about three to four thousand added on to your mea, [thing] pay eh! (Tuatahi p.2)

... I can see it happening in advertising there was that case that Māori brought up in regards to that ahmm... toymaker y'know... (Tuaono p.3)

This last quote is a reference to a case where selective use of Māori cultural icons was used in the manufacture and advertising of certain commercial products.

Confining or relegating 'Māori things' into 'Māori spaces' was a practice also recognised and came out of a discussion around the use of te reo in the media. One participant talked about experiences within her own extended whānau.

... not a lot of my Pākehā family tune into Channel 33 [the Māori Television channel] you know I mean we should be going mainstream, but then people would say, 'why

¹⁴³ Te Kura Māori o Ngā Tapuwāe is one school committed to the professional development of the Māori language teachers and strengthening and developing their reo skills is an integral part of each teacher's professional development (Emery, personal communication).

do you put that there [on mainstream television] put it in Māori television that's Māori, stick it over there ... (Tuaono p.4).

So demarcation of space was also seen as a form of commodification of not just the language, but of any and all aspects of being Māori. This applied also to items or elements identified by non-Māori as having Māori content and/or context. Who determines what Māori content is? If not Māori then this would suggest that Māori no longer have control over their own language, their own customs and protocols and even their identity? These people say that it presents a real fear for Māori that sharing of their language and language resources with non-Māori could result in diminished control over elements that constitute their Māori identity.

SAYING 'YES!'

Three of the nine groups were unconditional in their promotion and support of te reo for all New Zealanders who wanted to learn. These were the group of women who spoke specifically about their boarding school experiences – Te Rōpū Tuatahi, the high school students – Te Rōpū Tuarima, and the group of students in the weaving class – Te Rōpū Tuaiwa. It is significant that these were also the groups who were predominantly taitamariki and who had the least proficient levels of te reo ability. The other six groups proposed conditions around the learning and the learners. But these three main reasons voiced for encouraging the learning of te reo to all New Zealanders were agreed upon by all nine groups.

(a) Improving race relations and promoting positive attitudes towards Māori and Māori identity.

Despite almost 170 years since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and more than 200 years since the first European seamen set foot in this country, communication and complete

understanding between Māori and Pākehā of each other's way of life has not been achieved. For Māori, there was little choice in their upbringing. Māori children mostly attended mainstream schools where the language of instruction was primarily English. The customs and language of New Zealand society have been that of the Pākehā and Māori people have had to adapt to the conditions: speak English and live under English societal norms. Pākehā people have not been required to learn anything about what it is to be Māori: to learn the language, to understand the protocols nor to acknowledge Māori knowledge, values and beliefs or lifestyles. This was raised by two of the groups who expressed the hope that by encouraging 'others' to learn te reo Māori that this would open up insights into our world, our views about what is important for Māori and why. They hoped that might then advance positive attitudes towards things Māori.

... Learning te reo maybe will give them an insight into who we are and that might help turn attitudes around as far as understanding who we are. Perhaps begin in schools and teach the real history¹⁴⁴ of this country ... (Tuawaru p.2).

... Yes, to help more people to learn ...they'll understand what we're on about ...
... [if you know the reo] you have an understanding of two peoples ... (Tuarima p.3).

A number of participants said they'd love to be able to converse with their Pākehā friends and others, who are not Māori, in te reo. They felt this would help to break down some of the negative attitudes towards Māori people and te reo.

Suggestions were also offered for ways of enticing more people both Māori and others to learn te reo. One suggestion was to encourage the learning of te reo in a few of the elite Pākehā schools and that might do much to raise the profile of te reo.

¹⁴⁴ The real history spoken of here was the history of this country from a Māori perspective. New Zealand history in schools presents a sanitised and eurocentric view of the history of this land.

... maybe look at Pākehā to look at all the main *kuras* (schools) that Pākehā have to bring out their main leaders and if you focus on the high end of these *kuras* then try and put some sort of you know reo classes you know ... so that they don't have to try bring them up at a early age try to influence them ... in their own Pākehā way... (Tuatoru p.4).

This is an idea mooted by Spolsky (2003), but which raised the ire of others in this group who felt it totally inappropriate and that it opened the way for the reo to be abused. Their concerns were that the reo would be moulded to accommodate Pākehā models of language and language teaching, Pākehā schooling practises and that these would negate and detract from the tikanga of te reo itself. That model has since been taken on board and in October 2010 King's College, one of Auckland's most elite High Schools, made the learning of Te Reo Māori compulsory at Year 9 – the first year of High School.

Despite some negativity the overall view within each group was that there is much goodwill amongst non-Māori. They believe that there are many non-Māori genuinely concerned to take on board Māori concerns and be respectful of the taonga that is te reo me ōna tikanga. The following comments point to a positive outlook on the future.

... Language is also a reflection of how healthy your society is. If we get healthy in the way that we determine and live our lives, then our reo will get healthy ... Your language should be as normal as breathing ... sharing could help society's ahmm health, ahmm well-being (Tuawaru p.2).

... I suppose they [young people today] have a more balanced look ... and yet *ētahi e mohio ki te kōrero Māori* (some know how to speak a little Māori) even this much ... I remember we got rapped over the knuckles *ki te kōrero Pākehā i te kāinga* (if we spoke English at home). Perhaps we'll have a better world when our mokos (mokopuna – grandchildren) grow up (Tuatahi p.4).

Evelyn's experience (Tuaono) at a school prize-giving where the whole school – a mainstream school – sang the National anthem in Māori is one that projects hope. In that

school there were children of many ethnicities; Chinese, Indian, Pacific Island and Pākehā New Zealanders and all the children sang in both Māori and English. She believed that in time these children would grow up, without the prejudices and negative attitudes of their parents towards things Māori. She hoped they would also be more respectful of the place of Māori in this country and more inclined to welcome diversity in this country. Certainly the notion that today's children are less likely to present negative attitudes towards te reo because of increased exposure to it at an early age is a hopeful sign. Perhaps the next generation will offer support and acceptance of te reo in New Zealand society without question.

Acknowledgement was also noted, that there are non-Māori who will learn te reo for whatever reasons and that we cannot and should not try to stop that. This in itself is an expression of manaakitanga as mirrored through tikanga.

... Well it's nothing new, you know back in the history when they came and they wrote our newspapers and all that, they learnt our reo, they spoke our reo, look at Ryan and them¹⁴⁵ ... If they want to, they're [non-Māori] going to [learn te reo] anyway. They already are ... if they want to learn, let them learn ... (Tuatahi p.6).

(b) 'Growing' te reo

The second very important point recognised by more than half the participant groups, is that Māori are a relatively small community within this land – less than 15% of the total population. For the language to continue to grow it needs to be more widely used: to be used by more people, to be used more frequently and in more domains. In order for the Māori language to be seen as part of the New Zealand landscape, as a normal part of New Zealand society, non-Māori need more exposure to te reo and we need their support to do that.

... I don't honestly see how the reo can/will survive unless other people don't learn the reo ... (Tuarua p.1).

¹⁴⁵ This is a reference to Pā Ryan and others such as the Williams family who compiled the most commonly used Māori dictionaries.

... I like the whole idea of Māori being spoken normally by people on the streets and me going up to my Pākehā mate and having a conversation in Māori with him and he being able to converse *i te reo* (in Māori)... (Tuatoru p.6).

Support can also be passive, by not being negative towards the language. It could also be very positive, such as learning and using te reo in everyday contexts with Māori colleagues, whānau and friends. But, there were stories about negativity from non-Māori also who could see no use for the language, no advantage in learning or using it.

... a girl in my old class she's from Germany ... she really wanted to do Māori and she told me that she was really surprised at the reaction she got from white New Zealanders, most of them asked her “why would she waste her time, what are you doing that for?” ... (Tuaono p.4)

... you talk to a New Zealander about it [visiting Māori cultural activities] and they go "oh what did you go to that for " you know, not a Māori New Zealander, a white one there's a kind of antagonism, they put this defence system up against it and you just have to wonder why ... (Tuaono p.4).

To illustrate further advantages of non-Māori learning te reo, two stories emerged out of discussions with Te Rōpū Tuawaru. Both were about non-Māori people who had learned te reo. They understood and participated fully in te ao Māori, but they were also mindful that they were not Māori and never could be. Nevertheless they had the highest respect for tikanga and te ao Māori.

... well we went through varsity together with a Pākehā fulla who now heads a major Government department in Wellington, their language development section and he's fluent in te reo, understands and practises the tikanga. Do we deny him because he's not Māori? He knows that and he accepts that he never will be Māori, but there's a prime example of someone who has embraced all that it is to be Māori, but he's not Māori (p.3).

... another example where a Pākehā family living in Whirinaki came to our reo hui in the weekend and the son he's learning te reo. He respects our tikanga and acknowledges it but he's not Māori he chooses to learn te reo and loves it (p.3).

(c) Retaining a Māori identity

The women in the Tuatahi group felt keenly their lack of te reo. Even though most have very limited te reo skills, they see no reason to withhold it from others, especially if it will help support our own to learn. If learning te reo will help to increase the numbers of speakers, will raise the levels of language competence and provide the next generations, the children and grandchildren with support and the opportunities to learn and speak te reo, then they are right behind such moves. The sense of loss of their heritage, not just the language but also connections to 'being Māori,' through the boarding school experience is keenly felt by these women, despite the benefits gained through their mainstream schooling. They do not wish that history to be repeated and strongly affirmed their Māori identity and their desire to promote and reinforce that identity now within their own families.¹⁴⁶

Te Rōpū Tuatoru discussions focussed around the importance of te reo for Māori and the benefit that knowing one's language is also to know one's identity. Māori identity was a strong theme in this hui and some light-hearted banter emerged that queried what the pōwhiri process might look like without te reo. It was cause for laughter, but with serious undertones. This led to discussions that showed real concerns about the loss of language leading to loss of tikanga and the fear that we lose those elements of our 'being Māori' that make us unique – loss of identity. But, the notion that te reo was a defining issue in terms of Māori identity was challenged by Hamiora when he said,

¹⁴⁶ See Pine's talk about her mokopuna going to Kohanga reo and Brenda talking about how her thoughts about raising her children have now shifted (Te Rōpū Tuatahi).

Well really that *kōrero* isn't really true. I mean if nearly 90% of us can't *kōrero i te reo* (speak Māori) well, so the reo doesn't make us Māori. Saying that without the reo you can't be Māori is a falsity ... we are in changing times and the more important question is, not how important is te reo to me, but how relevant is it to me today?
(Tuawaru p.3)

His view was that people (Māori) will be encouraged to take up learning te reo if they can see it has relevance for them in their lives today, but that if it isn't sustained it may all be in vain.

... If it is relevant then you have to do something about it. You might start to learn and then something happens and you let it go, then it might become relevant for you again and you pick it up again, and then drop it because something else becomes more relevant and before long you turn around and you're dead and your tamariki are asking the same questions! (Tuawaru p.3)

Hamiora went on to say that it is important to get on board and not be put off by anything. If Māori are really serious about the issue, if they really want to learn, then just do it. The groups applaud the fact there are many non-Māori who speak Māori and were proactive in supporting Māori issues, but were keen to state that speaking Māori did not make them Māori. Likewise Māori who cannot speak Māori are still Māori.

... not having the language did not negate your identity as Māori (Tuawaru p.4).

... I always think it's sad that we beat ourselves up as Māori for not knowing the language. We really beat ourselves up - you know me ... Why do we have to beat ourselves up ... we're on the journey... that's what matters ... (Tuawaru p.4).

It was suggested that if using te reo can be seen and promoted in a positive light, if it can be seen as useful to an individual, perhaps that it enhances your identity, then people might be encouraged and empowered to learn te reo. And, sometimes it takes time to find the

appropriate learning medium and process that suits the individual. Several study participants noted this concern.

... I've tried several times to learn ... night classes ... (Tuatahi p.5).

... For me I tried all different ways to learn te reo, but it was Te Atārangi that worked for me, because I was involved ... (Tuawaru p.4).

Global utility was a phrase used by one person in relation to giving te reo more relevance in today's environment. Global utility they said required te reo to be linked into more than Māori identity, that it must also be useful or meaningful on the global stage so that Pākehā can see a potential benefit, a potential enhancement of their skills base. If te reo can be incorporated into career goals then it becomes more attractive to potential learners, both Māori and Pākehā.

... Well if we can give Māori language that global utility ... and take it in to your career you can give that an end goal a career goal, I'm sure more people would think or would pick it up (Tuaono p.5).

The points made here all relate to normalisation of te reo, breaking down the barriers of resistance to learning and finding opportunities to make the learning of te reo more attractive, and more relevant in Aotearoa today. We also see the introduction of western values entering into these discussions through instrumental motivation for learning te reo.

OTHER POINTS OF DISCUSSION

There were a number of other issues raised in these community hui that relate to whether Māori would support and encourage non-Māori into learning te reo, but which were not explored further in this research. These issues are recorded and illustrated here as they were

part of the discussions and added to the debate within each hui. They are not analysed as part of this study, but are points that would benefit from further research.

(a) Teaching te reo

Ways in which te reo is taught was an issue strongly debated and criticised in these hui. It seemed that a preference for activity based learning was by far the medium most preferred, rather than formal classroom type teaching and learning. Considerable discussion centred around the difficulty of learning a second language as adults that also related back to earlier discussions around modes of learning and language teaching methodologies. The learning of dialect variations was also a part of this discussion and participants agreed that dialects can be learned as the learners advance in their language learning journey. The initial emphasis, however, must be to encourage folk to begin the reo learning journey.

... why not support one another and not try and contradict one another – you know, oh I'm from Ngāpuhi, you know, why not tautoko Taranaki or whoever they are with a different dialect – *tautokongia te reo* (support the language) (Tuarua p.1).

... I think that the Wā have got the right way because they go back to each area and their teachers are from that *rohe* (area) (Tuatahi p.7).

(b) Compulsory learning of te reo

The discussions varied on this matter. The subject was not even raised in four of the groups and in the others there was no consensus about whether it should be compulsory or not, for everyone to learn te reo.

... maybe we should have reo being compulsory in schools? Nah!!! What do we do when we're forced to do something? We rebel, and that only creates more dissension, people turn against the reo ... (Tuawaru p.2).

... making it compulsory is gonna get people's backs up ... (Tuaono p.6).

... Yes. I think to some extent but maybe not all through like through school C or 6th Form Cert level but at least something ... (Tuatoru p.1).

These issues were roundly debated and all the groups contributed to the discussions.

THE INTERVIEWS

All the interviewees were known to me and I conducted all the interviews. All but one interview was tape recorded and later transcribed. I spoke to all the interviewees prior to their interviews about the topic to be explored in the interview, namely whether Māori should encourage and support non-Māori into learning and using te reo Māori. They had also read the PIS and had the opportunity to ask questions. The interviews were free flowing and unstructured as I allowed the participants free reign to talk about the particular areas that concerned them the most about the link between te reo and Māori identity and the promotion of te reo with non-Māori in Aotearoa. Where I felt it necessary I entered into the dialogue with the occasional prompt or question. A brief summation of each interview follows and begins with a description of the interviewee and their experience with te reo Māori. All are fluent speakers of te reo, and all but one are native speakers.

Hare

Hare teaches te reo Māori in a tertiary institution. He has taught in both mainstream and kura kaupapa Māori schools for many years and is a strong advocate for education and especially education initiatives that nurture and support the use of te reo. For him there is no argument about whether or not te reo should be available to all citizens of this land.

... I think that if Māori is an official language of Aotearoa, as it is, then we have no

option but to teach all our citizens Māori ...the reo does not get its intrinsic mana from the legislation but the term “official status” must not be an empty one (p.1).

When I asked about funding this kind of teaching programme and suggested that one might argue that we don't have the funds available to support such a widespread programme, he responded saying, “to argue on the grounds of available resources is not good enough” implying that if the legislation provides a certain status for the reo, then government have no alternative but to support and nurture that. He went on to say that inaction is a form of racism, denying opportunity to a particular segment of the community by omission.

... a lot of Pākehā racism stems from ignorance and part of that ignorance is, is ignorance of the reo. I believe that if the government committed resources to teaching Māori at primary school level that that would change the mindset of learners at an early age and eventually those learners will grow a more greater empathy with Māori (p.2).

Hare is an advocate for making te reo compulsory in the mainstream school curriculum. He suggests that it ought to be introduced at the earliest age possible so that the children who are tomorrow's citizens of this country do not have the same racist blocks to their psyche that many non-Māori do today.

... It is the removal of those blocks from the future generations that is causing me to argue along these lines. I think that education works ... I believe ultimately in the efficacy of education (p.3).

Although Hare recognised there were obstacles to overcome, such as inadequate teacher resources and indecision around how it would fit into the curriculum, these were issues he felt that could be worked through given the goodwill of those assigned to carry out the task and the resources to do so. And when challenged about how some might view the compulsory aspect of learning te reo, he had this to say.

... Rather than see it as compulsory I would invite people to start thinking of it as

necessary, as essential rather than compulsory ...(p.4). ... If a good level of commitment is made to the teaching of te reo at the primary school level then ... in generations to come the resourcing question will not be such a vexed one, because those kids, when they grow up will say yes! why ever not? Rather than as this present generation does, question why should we? (p.6)

Hare believed that these kinds of strategies will lead to normalisation of te reo across the whole of New Zealand society, “normalisation of te reo Māori, which also means the reclaiming of mana Māori (Māori autonomy)” (p.7) and reinforces Māori identity. However, he says that political processes have over time created a situation where “Māori [people]... together with te reo are regarded by a big section of the Tauwiwi population as being alien, dangerous, threatening or not important, this [way of thinking] is damaging to our nation” (p.8). Hare believes that the everyday use of te reo by all peoples in Aotearoa will go a long way to rectifying that attitude, what he describes as “that erroneous mindset” (p.8).

Patrick

Patrick is the only L2 speaker of te reo of all those interviewed and as such he sees the need to gain the support from ‘others’ to ensure the reo is sustained long-term and if that means encouraging non-Māori to learn and to speak te reo, then that’s what we should do, “... if the language is going to survive we need more non-Māori to pick it up, and we need more support ...” (p.10).

Patrick is a teacher of te reo and a trainer of teachers and as such he is acutely aware of the need to increase and upskill our teacher resource “one of the things that we've always faced is the problem of shortage of teachers” (p.1). He recalled instances where he knew of teachers of te reo who were not Māori and who had carried out that role effectively.

... Te Kura Tekau¹⁴⁷ has a non-Māori teacher at the moment then there's Te Kura Ruatekau ... we had a non-Māori teacher there and very very well thought of and she's doing Whakapiki reo [Māori language class], and Pāngarau [Maths class] at Korimako... (p.2).

Patrick also talked about strategies employed back in the late 80s where speakers of te reo were encouraged to come and train as teachers and then go out and teach te reo in the schools. He didn't think that had worked well and suggested that we should maybe have taken good teachers and taught them te reo and increased our teaching resource that way.

... a lot of kura have realised that you know it's more important that in terms of teaching that we get a good teacher as opposed to getting someone that may be from our iwi or our local community that's a good speaker of Māori that may not be able to teach... (p.3).

A major stumbling block for non-Māori teachers, he believes, will be those Māori who do not want their children taught te reo by someone who isn't Māori.

... There's always going to be a certain opposition from Māori parents from family that they're actually teaching. For some [teachers] that sort of issue is gonna be a major stumbling block ... there's gonna be parents out there that are gonna be anti them ... and they're gonna have to be quite strong in themselves ...to say that this is something that I simply need to overcome ...(p.5).

And, to those who are concerned that Pākehā may learn our reo and then try to control or take over our language as has been stated in previous examples, Patrick says that in his experience this does not happen. Non-Māori who have learned te reo to a high level of learning are very aware of this scenario and are deliberately proactive in supporting Māori. He is also against making the learning of te reo compulsory but suggests the need to make the learning of te reo readily accessible.

¹⁴⁷ All place names and school names have been altered to preserve anonymity.

... [te reo] should never be compulsory but what we should be doing is making more provision for those that want to learn it ...then there's always those tensions that ahh... when it comes to the teaching of the language that because we've got a shortage of teachers, choices have to be made around distribution of resources...(p.6).

Patrick notes that over the years the focus that Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori has placed on the learning of the language has changed. Under the leadership of Timoti Karetu, the first Commissioner of Te Taura Whiri, the emphasis was to support and encourage Māori initiatives that focussed on strategies for Māori to learn te reo. Under the more recent leadership of Patu Hohepa, the second Commissioner of Te Taura Whiri, that focus appears to have shifted now towards initiatives that appeal to a more mainstream target audience. In the introduction to the “Kia Ita” Statement of Intent Report 2004-2008 (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Maori 2004) the Minister of Māori Affairs the Honourable Parekura Horomia and the Commissioner, Dr Patu Hohepa state:

Our vision “kia ora te reo Māori hei reo matua, hei reo kōrero mō Aotearoa – Māori language is a living national taonga for all New Zealanders”... .

Patrick also stated that “a lot of their strategies are in fact focusing more on promoting the language amongst non-Māori, promoting it in the media ... to promote the language profile through things like supporting the Māori national anthem ... promoting Te Matariki (The Māori New Year) celebrations etc...” (p.5).

An area of particular concern for Patrick is the way in which those Māori who are also of Pākehā or other ethnic descent often have difficulty reconciling their identity as Māori, especially if they do not really look Māori. For himself, Patrick acknowledges his Pākehā descent and the fact that he doesn't look very Māori and notes the issues that raises, “... for some Māori people I'm not Māori enough and for some Pākehā people I'm tainted and you're

kind of stuck in between ...” (p.11). Patrick says that he is fortunate to have a very supportive whānau and so identity issues that may surface through this kind of thinking do not affect him greatly. He worries that for others this is a problem and some people do struggle with the dilemma of being Māori. Their whakapapa determines that, but not looking very Māori, or living a Māori lifestyle – one that engenders whānau support through engagement in Māori community – does sometimes create barriers to learning te reo. He suggests that more research needs to be done that will address barriers to learning te reo. Special attention also should be given to helping L2 learners to extend their language skills beyond basic conversational reo.

Wiremu

Wiremu has had an extensive background in Māori radio and television and has taught te reo in community settings, including compiling a language learning programme via Māori radio. Wiremu is supportive of all New Zealanders learning te reo, but suggests that te reo is a political football.

... We don't hold the purse strings, the finances in this country to cater to that [the teaching and learning of te reo]. If we would say anything else it would probably ... work against our cause of having te reo around ... but I'm happy enough, for everybody to know the reo... (p.1).

He believes te reo has a place in schools as of right but is against compulsory learning of te reo in any arena.

...I'm totally against forced fed Reo. I'm totally against compulsory, ahh... making people have to learn te reo Māori, because, I don't want people hating our languages ... I think it should be compulsorily available, compulsorily available in schools, in

primary schools, it should be there as of right. It should be available to all New Zealanders because it is the Māori that makes us [New Zealanders] who we are (p.2).

But, he does caution that te reo does require a level of respect, “but [what] I do say is they need to treat it as a taonga, not just as a mere, not just as a piece of ahh, not just as a tool”(p.2). Wiremu talked extensively about Māori being able to reclaim their language and their identity through re-naming and ‘unearthing the memories’, a term he heard used by an African academic who’d visited Aotearoa recently. Wiremu said, “... the colonisers [through re naming of places] buried our memories, so I think it's important for us to unbury or unearth our memories, and that could be in the terms of the landscape ... (p.2). He spoke of his own experiences in this with whānau land he’d been involved with and talked about how part of that reclaiming process is to continually use the original Māori names. This reinforces identity through the use of te reo and with places of significance to the people.

He is very concerned that in the media, and particularly in television, that the reo spoken on air is “becoming quite um, let's say Pākehāfied watered down” (p.4). In that respect he has real concerns that the media tend to employ good journalists whose reo may not be of a very high standard when he considers they should be employing strong speakers of te reo and training them in journalism. His stance on that matter has always been to encourage the best quality reo to be broadcast in all the media.

Wiremu utilised the medium of radio as an aid to teaching te reo and spoke about how he used that forum to provide good models of spoken reo, in a constant and consistent manner to people in the Hawkes Bay.

... the radio’s still going too, it’s like its subliminal learning. So that for me it was like having it for breakfast lunch and tea, te reo Māori, and it's just there in the

background even if you didn't understand it ... was really tuning people's ears to the sound of our language ... (p.4).

He is a strong advocate for Māori radio believing that the programmes they taught in their area were highly accessible to both Māori and non-Māori and were non-threatening and non-invasive. People made deliberate choices to tune in or not. Certainly feedback from those who did tune in was very positive.

One of his primary concerns with non-Māori learning te reo is that mistranslation and misunderstanding continue to be a problem, primarily because non-Māori do not have the tikanga that provides the backdrop to Māori stories. He cites the case of a work written by a Pākehā woman about one of his tūpuna.

... maybe it's a thesis I don't know but I started reading through and there were some bloomin' glaring mistakes in it, in translation, or in her primary her source material ... (p.9).

This did offend and sadden him that his tupuna's story was being inaccurately reflected to the reader. That was just one example and he knew there were many more instances of this kind of inaccurate translation and reporting. He is also concerned that things relating to te reo and tikanga are not always respectfully presented in the media – again because the presenters are inadequately schooled in both tikanga and te reo. Here he cites problems with translations displayed on screen whilst listening to Māori dialogue.

You've got a sentence going across the screen and you've got an old nanny with a moko speaking something that's profound to Māoridom and the English translation is something quite profane ... (p.10).

A further example he described was that of a non-Māori person speaking on one of their marae,

... He got people's backs up once he began preaching to us on our marae, about our kids: Pākehā thinking, but all i te reo [in Māori]. I consider this an abuse of the privilege of using te reo ... (p.12).

Each of these examples add to the list of dangers and negative attitudes that he and a number of other Māori see as denigrating to both Māori people and the reo. He does not believe that non-Māori realise the privileged position they have when they learn te reo, particularly as many of our own have not had the same opportunities. Wiremu believes that his own vocation as a native speaker and a teacher of te reo is a lifelong one and is a role that he carries willingly.

Hīria

This interview was not tape recorded at Hīria's request. She felt shy and nervous about that and so I made notes of our discussions. Hīria is a recent widow now retired and living in the Far North who lived most of her life in Auckland, although her first school was Waiomio Primary School in the Mid North. She lived with her maternal grandparents until she was ten when she moved with her parents to Auckland. Her first language was te reo Māori and despite living the next 45 years in Auckland she retained a high level of fluency in te reo. She talked primarily about te reo in the context of her own whānau.

When asked her opinion about whether we ought to encourage non-Māori into learning te reo, she wondered why they would want to. For her it seemed that there are so many more attractive and lucrative things to do in the Pākehā world than ours that it seemed strange that some would even want to speak Māori. But, she did concede that there might be some gains in places where being a speaker of Māori might help them into jobs, and she worried that

would then be taking jobs away from Māori people and she said “that’s not good for us, they might try and teach us our own reo?” (p.1)

Her own children do not speak Māori but the two oldest took Māori for a short time at high school, maybe a year, but it was only an option and they didn’t see any real need for it. At that time her husband didn’t speak Māori so their children rarely heard it spoken when growing up, except when their grandfathers visited. Both Hīria’s father and her father-in-law spoke Māori to her when they visited. As to compulsory learning of te reo, she was strongly opposed to it. Even as an option at school for her children, it never helped. She thought that “maybe they’d have got interested if it was compulsory” but that didn’t happen for her children and she wasn’t sure that would have changed anything.

A couple of her mokopuna went to kohanga reo and then on to kura kaupapa Māori where she felt they didn’t learn a great deal, “too much kapa haka and sports” she said. She pulled her grandson out at Year 6, didn’t feel it was worthwhile. When he went to mainstream he struggled for a while, but eventually caught up to the others, but he never really shone in school anyway. Even now he doesn’t use any reo he learned although he understands her when she talks Māori to him and he responds in English.

In spite of the fact that her children hadn’t succeeded in terms of learning and using te reo, she’s strongly supportive of her mokopuna going to kohanga reo. Her one negative experience with kura kaupapa Māori has left her wary, but she admits her grandson’s case may well have been an isolated one, or that particular kura may not have been the best at that time. Anyway, she is mindful that these are limitations and does not have a totally negative

view of kura and she now has two other mokopuna at kura who seem to be managing quite well. She speaks Māori to them all the time and they respond in Māori.

She does see te reo as being important for Māori identity, but also notes that if Māori don't learn te reo and still say they're Māori it can't be that important. She acknowledges that te reo has got to be present in the home for tamariki in kohanga and kura, they need the reinforcement at home, to see that speaking te reo is a good and normal thing to do. But, if it's not present in the home, she wonders perhaps that "maybe knowing the tikanga is what really counts?" (p.3).

Wiki and Hariata

These two women are elderly, one close to age seventy and the other almost eighty. Hariata was one of the Kaumātua Advisory Group who moved back to her country home part way through the research study, but maintained a close eye on progress through regular telephone calls with me. I met with her and her sister in her (Hariata's) home late one afternoon and we talked over candlelight.¹⁴⁸

Both of these women are native speakers and grew up in rural Northland in the heart of a thriving Māori farming community. At different times both moved to Auckland to pursue their respective vocations, lived in the city and raised their families there for more than 40 years before returning home to the north.¹⁴⁹ Their language in this interview frequently

¹⁴⁸ The powerlines to her house had been damaged and she was waiting for the electricity repair man to arrive and fix up the line. We waited almost 3 hours for the repairs to be made. She was embarrassed that she wasn't able to offer the hospitality of a hot cup of tea while we talked, but offered some home made baking and a cold drink.

¹⁴⁹ Hariata's health needs in recent years required her to live close to certain medical facilities, but at this stage her health had improved to a point where she was able to return to her 'home'. This was a cottage built on her

moved easily between both languages. Wiki had always been proactive in the implementation of kohanga reo in the Mangere community in Auckland, but Hariata did not go along with kohanga reo at all.

... I've never been in favour of kohanga reo and for the simple reason, *nga kaiako i te reo at kohanga reo, horekau kē e mōhio ana ki te kōrero Māori i te reo tūturu pēnei i a tātou nei ne?* (p.1)

(... The teachers at kohanga reo they don't even know how to speak Māori properly, not like the way we're speaking now ...)

Wiki on the other hand totally supports the work of the kohanga reo.

... *mā ā mātou mokopuna i haere mai* from 1996 up to now, fluent, *tēnā haere ki te hohipere ki ngā rata e kōrero Māori-hia ana, ngā rata, ka mea atu ngā rata ki nga mātua* 'what is he saying?' (p.3)

(... our grandchildren went from 1996 up to now and are fluent. If they go to the hospital, and they tell the doctors (in Māori) what's wrong or what they want, the doctor asks the parent, 'what is he saying?')

Both considered that access for Māori and encouragement for Māori to learn should have the major focus, but that it had to be an individual decision, compulsory learning of te reo was not something they would support. Wiki noted a discussion she'd had with her son, who wanted his son to learn Māori and she'd told him,

... 'if they want to learn the reo, let them pick their own time to do it' I said 'not because you want him to'

These women also felt that the children learn informally best, by being around their nannies and learning from them while engaging in activities with their nannies.

Wiki ... But they can say Grace in Māori, *tae ana ki te karakia i roto i te reo.*

whānau land that she'd built for her retirement. She had only been home for three months when we talked. Wiki had returned to the whānau home, 200 metres down the road from Hariata, some eight years earlier, after the death of her husband.

Hariata *Pērā anō nōku ā ka mōhio rā ki te karakia i te reo, ae, i te 'hakapai i wā rātou kai i roto i te reo, engari ēhara nā te Kohanga reo i ako (p.2).*

Wiki ... but they can say Grace in Māori, (they can say prayers in Māori)

Hariata (... Just like mine they know how to pray in Māori yes, to say Grace, but they didn't learn that from kohanga reo).

Hariata went on to describe how modelling and actions were as valid a teaching method as any other and not necessarily through kohanga reo.

... but, *'hakarongo ana ki a mātou e 'hakapai ana ēnei kai* and they pick it up, *anā pēnā anō me te Inoi a Te Ariki*, most of our mokopunas can say it in Māori.

(... but, by listening to us saying Grace and they pick it up, and just like that, the Lord's Prayer too most of our mokopunas can say it in Māori).

... they hear their Nan *i nga haere ki nga karakia up at the marae, ki nga haere ki nga huihuinga, e rongō ana rātou, ne?*

(... they hear their Nan when they go to church up at the marae ... when they go to all the many hui, they hear it don't they?)

Both women despair for their mokopuna who live in Auckland as they rarely hear te reo.

Wiki says that when she's with them she will talk Māori to them, but it's only for a short space of time. They do agree that te reo should be available for all cultures to learn but are not convinced that forcing people to learn it was an option. Wiki clearly stated her assent.

... Definitely we should be helping them. I say that because *i tupu ake au tō mātou 'hakatipuranga* (I grew up, our generation grew up) come through the era where we were forced to learn to speak English. Nowadays, *kua huri ne kua huri ki te kōrero i te reo* (we've turned right around now to speaking Māori). But, about it being compulsory, I'd like to hear other opinions about that.

Hariata was a little more reserved and her reasons for that were evident when she said:

... One of the things for me *i te 'hakaako atu koe i ētahi o nga mea i kōrero mai nei i te reo, huri muri kē wā ngā kōrero* and that annoys me (p.4)

(... if you teach some things speaking in Māori, the words, stories get all changed around in the translation...)

These women are also staunch advocates for their church upbringing and gave many examples of how the church activities have helped the younger members in particular to learn te reo. These activities have also been conducted in ways that adhere to tikanga Māori. Their view is that these church practices and activities, especially hui, are extremely powerful learning contexts for young people to learn te reo. They considered christian teachings in concert with tikanga Māori, were a powerful learning combination. In the discussion that followed both kuia reinforced the notion that anyone who wants to learn te reo should be allowed to do so, and that Māori should support that. Their only proviso was that any language learning should also be undertaken in conjunction with the learning of tikanga.

They said that deeper knowledge and understandings of tikanga and te reo must be treated with care and respect and is not to be shared with just anyone. People must earn the right to that knowledge. They recounted the story of a nephew who came to them to learn a certain waiata. They took the time to take him through the history and the stories contained within that waiata as well as to explain the depth of understandings within some of the words and phrases used. Much of the waiata was expressed in metaphors that required a depth of understanding of the Māori world that would not normally be accessible to those with limited te reo skills. This particular nephew (Tāne) stayed with them for two days as they went through this process. By the time they'd finished he'd learned all there was to know about this waiata and how to sing it. Sometime later they found out he'd shared this waiata and some of the stories within it with another person. That person (Toko) was skilled in Māori

oratory and waiata and he came from a nearby marae. They felt they would have been happy to share this taonga with him had he asked them himself, but he had not, he had bypassed them in a way which they considered was sneaky. These two kuia were not happy about that situation and shared their disappointment with their nephew.

Wiki: ... what Tāne should have said when asked was well, ‘*nā wāku whaea tēnei maioha mai me nga kōrero*’, *mutu ki reira. Wēnei e hē ana ko Toko ...*

Hariata: ... *tā mātou ki a Tāne, heoiano*, Toko’s interested because its coming from a different direction, an old ...

Wiki: (... what Tāne should have said when asked was well, ‘My aunts gave this as a gift for me’, and left it at that. These things Toko did were wrong. [It was wrong of him to ask for the waiata knowing how it had been gifted].

Hariata: ... it was from us to Tāne and that’s it ... [the implication being that this gift was not something to be shared with just ‘anyone’ nor without their consent])

The power board repair man arrived and the kuia sang me the waiata we’d been talking about as the repairs were made and then they insisted I stay and have a hot cup of tea before I departed.

Takiri

Takiri is a community liaison person working in rural Northland in a Māori Health organisation. His role takes him out into the Māori community working on the marae and with the local community addressing issues that affect their health. Takiri spoke only in te reo. He has made a personal commitment to speak te reo all the time and in as many domains as he is able, including in all aspects of his work life.

On the surface Takiri suggests that sharing te reo with others is fine if the language is in a healthy state.

... Ki te oranga o tātou mā i te tuatahi, e hakaāe, tukuna ki te ao katoa. Tēnā he manawa matemate tonu i o tātou kāinga, te kore e whai tangata e kōrero Māori ana, oo, me tirohia ki reira. I te tuatahi, 'hakapakari te kāinga i te tuatahi ne...
(p.1)

(... If we are all well – the state of our language is healthy – in the first place, I agree, share with everyone. However if the heart [central core of our being – te reo] of our homes is still unwell, and there is no one to speak Māori, well, then let's look again. Firstly, strengthen the home first yes? ...)

Takiri talks a great deal about ensuring the safety, the cultural safety for those who do not have strong reo skills when they speak in the whare (meeting house). In his interview he speaks eloquently about the place of speakers within the whare: physical space as well as the place occupied by the speakers within the community – status and position. He is particularly concerned that our tamariki in kohanga reo and kura kaupapa are not pushed too soon to speak when they are still children learning both te reo and tikanga.

... tāku kōrero anā ki nga māhita, e kaua e tukuna wēnei tamariki i te wā nei, kia tū ki te kōrero. Me āta tiaki mārika, me mea ki a rātou, kia kaha te kōrero i te reo engari kaua e tū ki te mihi, i te mea koia tēnā ko te tūranga mō ngā mātua

(...do not allow the children, at this stage, to stand and greet people. We should nurture them very carefully and say to them, continue to speak Māori, but do not stand to formally greet people, because that's the role of your fathers / elders ...)

He cautions that there have been cases where kaumātua have been slighted or offended by very young people “tamariki tonu” (mere children) who have stood in the house to address the gathering, taking the position of kaumātua who have earned that position over many years of service to their people. For Takiri, the right to a place on the taumata (speaker's platform) has to be earned.

... Kaua e tō te tuku o ngā mātua, kia tamariki i ngā mātua kia hakakaumātua i ngā tamariki ...

(... Do not surrender the role of the father to the child, lest you belittle the elders and elevate the child to the parent role...)

That same safety precaution must be extended to anyone who learns our language and customs. For these reasons Takiri is very wary about opening up te reo to anyone other than Māori. Takiri considers the best learning of te reo and tikanga must be carried out within the whare, on the marae and in one's own tribal takiwā (area). Therefore, he argues that funds targeted to improving te reo teaching and learning programmes allocated from central government through agencies such as TPK and the Ministry of Education should be allocated to marae and for the learning of te reo to be addressed and determined by the marae committee members in each area.

Summary of interviews

Both Hare and Patrick agree that non-Māori should be encouraged into learning te reo unconditionally for three main reasons. First, Hare says that as an official language of New Zealand, accessibility to the reo ought to be available as of right. Second, Patrick suggests that a language, in order to survive and thrive, needs a corpus of speakers who will continue to use the language. If non-Māori join in then the numbers of speakers who will maintain the use of te reo will be boosted to help grow the language. Third, both agree that these increased numbers of speakers of te reo, and increased language domains will offer greater opportunity for others to learn more about Māori; their history, their customs and traditions. In this way, attitudes towards Māori, te reo Māori and Māori ways of being may be improved and the profile raised in New Zealand society.

The other interviewees also agreed that that non-Māori should be encouraged into learning te reo, but with provisos. These conditions could be considered under three categories; learning tikanga had to accompany the learning of te reo, respect for the language and the tikanga had to be recognised by the learners, and thirdly learners of te reo needed to know that learning te reo was a privilege for non-Māori that carried with it a responsibility of care. All the interviewees considered te reo as an important marker of identity, but not necessarily essential to Māori identity. Because of this, they felt they were able to extend the hand of manaakitanga and encourage non-Māori to learn te reo.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

These comments were unsolicited, but when people heard of this research a number of them offered their views. They were commenting primarily on whether Māori should encourage and support the learning of te reo with non-Māori New Zealanders. In addressing that issue, a number of elements were also considered. Some talked about the learning of te reo as part of the process for gaining citizenship. Many noted that improved understanding of Māori issues would result from learning te reo. And there were those who considered such a move would impact negatively upon Māori and their status in this their heritage land.

... “No way! Kei hea tō tātou tino rangatira? Ki au nei, mena ka tukuna te reo, ka ngaro haere tō tātou mana nā Tauīwi i riro ai tō mātou whenua, tō mātou tikanga pērā ki ngā mahi taurekareka i te takutai moana Kāre au e whakaāe ki tēnei take, e hē rawa atu!”(RC4)

(... where is our own authority, our autonomy? To me if we open up our language to others we lose control over it as well as our own way of being, our own authority ... non-Māori took our land and our customary practises just like the underhand taking of our seabed and foreshore. I will never agree to this, it's wrong!)

This contributor was fiercely adamant that we should not encourage non-Māori to learn our reo as it would impact negatively upon Māori identity and Māori control over their own resources. This was one of only three of the thirty-five contributions received that was offered in te reo.

Overwhelmingly around 80% of these contributions support te reo for all and most suggest that learning will help others understanding about Māori.

... Why shouldn't they all [anyone] learn Māori, they might then have some idea about who we are and learn to understand us maybe? (RC2)

... Yes, to an extent, [correct] pronunciation is a basic requirement that everyone living in Aotearoa should have. (RC23)

... Yes, to bridge the gap of basic understanding for them about us; to give our language validity, value and respect ... (RC25)

More than 30% raised the point that te reo has a role to play for all New Zealanders and notions of national responsibility for te reo were echoed in these responses.

... Our language deserves to be valued because it's our national heritage ... (RC24)

... it's [te reo is] a mantle that the whole of New Zealand has to carry...(RC6)

And others still noted the need for support to ensure te reo doesn't die out.

...Yes for survival, for survival ... (RC8)

... Yeah aim to maintain so the language isn't lost, shouldn't be left to a small percentage of the population Māori or non-Māori. (RC6)

Not all these contributions spoke about whether they could consider te reo being a language for all New Zealanders, but several made comment on related aspects such as the difficulty of learning a second language as an adult.

... Just because we're brown doesn't mean that we can automatically learn and speak Māori, I found it really hard! (RC3)

The following story was one that highlights the way some feel about non-Māori learning te reo which acted as an incentive for learning. This story came from a young man who was a student learning te reo at a the Wā after receiving their first test results.

... we had our tutor come and talk to us one day at smoko time and asked us if we knew who'd topped the class. When we said we didn't know, he pointed out this Indian fulla, yeah he'd only been here [in the country] two minutes and was already better than us. Well we got stuck in then – couldn't have this outsider beat us tangata whenua! (RC1)

When considering whether te reo should be compulsory to be taught in schools or if it should be compulsory for all resident in Aotearoa, as with the other contributors there was no consensus. Voices both for and against such a move are noted.

... Should be compulsory ... (RC6)

... I do not believe te reo should be a compulsory subject, but I do believe there should be a minimum requirement for all New Zealanders (Q2)

... No, not in the schools it should be up to the individual families (Q8).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the main ideas and considerations made in the talk gathered from the participants in this study engaged in the community hui, in interviews and through informal personal contributions. Some background information for each of the nine community groups who participated is outlined. Information about the interviewees and the personal contributors is also provided in order for the reader to gain some understanding of this particular corpus whose qualitative data is explored and described in this study.

The collective community hui discussions have then been considered under two main headings; examples for those who say ‘no’ to the sharing and promotion of te reo with non-Māori, and examples from those who say ‘yes.’ Seven main reasons are put forward in consideration of the arguments for not supporting non-Māori into te reo, and three main points are presented that support this proposition.

The five interviews are presented in a similar way but the responses in each interview to the question of Māori supporting non-Māori into te reo is considered within each individual account and a brief summary of their talk concludes that section. The personal communications received are then described with examples of their views.

Throughout the discussions from all three data sources a couple of contrasting views arose that appear at odds with each other. The first relates to the teaching of te reo from the marae base which for those in the urban scene is acknowledged as posing real dilemmas. The second is the suggestion that the reo teacher resource could be enhanced by taking good teachers and teaching them te reo, and yet another person felt the opposite way was more appropriate. These examples help to illustrate the diversity of opinion within Māoridom.

A number of issues also raised such as; national support for te reo, difficulties with learning te reo, incentives for learning te reo, concerns about the quality of teaching, and compulsory learning of te reo were noted as part of the discussions. However, they are ancillary to the focus of this particular study and are not discussed any further. An analysis of the responses that most aligned to the question of whether Māori should encourage and promote the learning of te reo to non-Māori living in New Zealand are addressed in Chapter Six, beginning with exploring how these responses were linked with te reo and Māori identity.

Chapter 6

Ehara te toka a Kiha i te toka whitinga rā, engari koe e Māpuna, he ripo kau tāu e kitea ai: analysis and discussion

INTRODUCTION

The links between te reo and Māori identity have been illustrated throughout Chapters Three, Four and Five in this work. It would appear at first glance at this data that te reo is no longer considered as closely linked to Māori identity as has been described in the literature, where the traditional views of Māori identity consider te reo a core value of Māori identity. This apparent weaker relationship between te reo and Māori identity might also suggest that Māori could consider supporting others, non-Māori, to learn te reo, to help increase the numbers of speakers of te reo and thereby promote ongoing use and growth of te reo Māori. Several themes that signalled such a move were found in the data from the previous chapters and analysis of those themes is discussed in this chapter.

There were seven main areas noted in this study (see Chapter Five) that prevented the study participants from giving unqualified support to non-Māori learning te reo and accepting the premise that te reo Māori is a language for all New Zealanders. There were three equally strong responses that were supportive of encouraging and supporting non-Māori to learn te reo. What lies beneath those responses, how they relate to Māori identity and te reo Māori and how they might influence decisions by Māori to support non-Māori into learning te reo, guide this next section and are discussed under four themes.

The first part of this chapter provides illustrations of how Māori identity continues to maintain strong links with te reo even though the survey results indicate te reo is not rated highly. Through triangulation of both the quantitative and qualitative data I have highlighted links through sociolinguistic filters, links that are not always easily seen. This is Theme One, and the analysis covers the language used by the participants in this study, both Māori and English, as well as the content and context of their talk. English was overwhelmingly the main language used by the participants in this study which adds weight to the argument that perhaps te reo is more peripheral rather than core as a marker of identity. It is evidence that might also support the consideration of te reo as a language for all New Zealanders, that te reo is important for all New Zealanders.

The next three themes are taken from areas the talk of the study participants made clear were important to them and that impacted greatly upon their reflections about sharing te reo with others. Theme Two relates to **distance** which includes the distance between geographic points, between generations as well as cultural and social distance. Cultural and social distance relates to the particular separation that occurred for young people moving away from their home community to new socially and culturally different environments. Theme Three relates to **control** of the language and the language resources and draws particularly on the work by Benton (2001) and de Bres (2009) who addresses the government's role in managing Māori language policy and direction. Theme Four is **manaakitanga and whanaungatanga**, or being inclusive.

In this discussion the underlying triggers and ideas that determined placement within these themes is revealed. Sometimes the examples illustrated could be considered within the scope

of one of the other themes: they are not mutually exclusive.¹⁵⁰ The examples analysed through each of these four themes help to reveal the latent, less obvious thoughts and feelings of this study cohort that influence their decisions to agree or not to the inclusion of non-Māori in learning te reo.

The title of this chapter uses a well known whakataukī from the Hokianga, North Auckland region. *Ehara te toka a Kiha i te toka whitinga rā, engari koe e Māpuna, he ripo kau tāu e kitea ai.* This proverb or tribal saying prescribes a cautionary tale of the rising and falling of the tide naming two prominent rocks that signal that flow. Of significance to the work of this chapter is that one must be wary of that which is not overtly stated, not always clear or visible, not always understood because it is being expressed through filters or perspectives that may not be known to the observer. Caution is required in the interpretation of these narratives to ensure that assumptions are not made just as Māpuna is the rock that signals the unknown, sometimes hidden dangers, because it is visible only by the ripple that flows over it at low tide. Kiha on the other hand is always visible above the waterline.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ This was also the pattern noted in the narrative analysis undertaken in Chapter Four.

¹⁵¹ This is one variation of the whakataukī offered by kaumātua Rereata Mākiha. Kawharu (2008, pp 79-81) offers several variations of this particular whakataukī along with explanations.

**THEME ONE - TE REO ME TE TUAKIRI, - LANGUAGE AND
IDENTITY: through tikanga and sociolinguistic filters**

Māori identity is illustrated throughout this study in ways that were not always overtly stated or made obvious, but were nonetheless important. At the initial meetings with the Māori community, the research team always began their introductory greetings and salutations through tikanga Māori. That process included karakia and mihi mihi, pepeha and whakataukī and all expressed in the medium of te reo. Tikanga reflects the values of Māori and its use by the research team was the most appropriate way to begin work with these community groups. This beginning helped set the tone of the gathering and focussed all those gathered onto the purpose of the hui, namely to talk about te reo Māori. Tikanga is an inclusive mode of practice that allows those who may not have had a great deal of contact with te ao Māori, or who have limited language ability, to feel included. Even if people do not understand the language, inclusion is achieved through the images and expressions of geographic landmarks, genealogical links and mention of tribal origins inherent in the expressions of pepeha and whakataukī delivered during the mihi mihi. The relationship of the individual to their hapū, their iwi and thus their identity, as expressed in te reo, is one reason why te reo has been considered absolutely essential to being able to fully express one's identity (Waymouth 1998; Ngaha 2005). That same process, conducted in English does not allow for the same understandings of history and kin relationships that are inherent in the delivery through te reo (Mutu 2001; Ngaha 2005) without lengthy expansion, because they come out of a Māori world view.

Once the introductions were completed, the language of the hui invariably reverted to English. That change of direction was made for several reasons. Most often the research team were advised by the senior members of the community group we were working with that a

number of their members might have difficulty in following the proceedings in Māori. The use of English ensured ample opportunity for inclusion and engagement of as many as possible in the discussions that took place.

It is also acknowledged that, to some extent, using English may have also prohibited those fluent speakers of te reo from using Māori. They may have chosen to adapt their language to ‘fit in’ with the other members present, including the researchers, or to accommodate the less able speakers of te reo.¹⁵² Through hesitations in speech it was evident that the kuia sometimes revisited their talk repeating their points made in English, for the benefit of those less fluent in te reo.

... *kaua e hoatu ki te kaha* (don’t give away everything) – they [the elders] were talking about the other Māori, you know don’t give your *matauranga* (knowledge) away, hold back some for yourself.

Sometimes small group work within the hui was conducted in te reo. The community hui with te Rōpū Tuawhā was one hui where the native and fluent speakers worked together for a short time, speaking totally in te reo. The more fluent speakers often reverted to the language they were most comfortable with and spoke in Māori. Sometimes there were whole conversations in te reo. At those times, the most appropriate member of the research team¹⁵³ would engage with that contributor or group of contributors drawing out their views around the matter under consideration. The older and fluent speakers often referred back to stories about their upbringing and their ancestors, stories more readily understood by those of similar age and upbringing and were illustrations of their identity. But, for the most part, the community hui were conducted predominantly in English.

¹⁵² For accommodation theory, (see Giles, H., R.Bourghis *et al*, 1977; Coupland, 1998; Bell, 1999).

¹⁵³ Usually that happened with kaumātua and then our kaumātua team member would facilitate discussions in te reo.

This dominance of English as the medium of communication is further confirmation of the persistence of LS from Māori to English within the Māori community. Several people commented that a gathering such as this ‘a Māori hui’ should probably have been conducted totally in te reo, but it was not, more evidence of the relentless onslaught of continuing LS. In the comments section of the survey this observation was made which reflected concerns that the ideal really does not match up with the actual. “Connections to marae should be a number 1, but in reality probably a number 3; again same with reo.” (592)

A number of the hui participants were highly competent bilinguals in Māori and English, but the use of English in the hui illustrated inclusiveness ensuring clarity of communication for all participants and encouraging engagement in the discussions by everyone (manaakitanga). Language can sometimes be used as a tool to deliberately exclude, but in these community hui that was not the case. The native speakers either spoke in English or translated parts of their conversations so that those who were not fluent in Māori could understand what they were saying, promoting solidarity through accommodation.

An element of the community hui that further illustrated tikanga Māori was that during discussions turn-taking was strictly adhered to. Māori protocols dictate that when one person is on their feet, when one person is speaking, that they have the floor and are permitted to speak unhindered (Metge 1967 p.257). When they have finished speaking then another person may speak. That second person may be rising to support the previous speaker’s comments, or they may be rising to refute the previous speaker, or even to posit different views. The single most important feature of this process is that each speaker has the right to be heard. In all the hui, participants complied with this protocol without direction being given

from either the research team, the particular facilitator of each hui, or the kaumātua. These actions signalled understanding of and compliance with tikanga Māori.

The use of **formulaic language** was a very common occurrence noted, both in the comments from the surveys and in the community hui. What was most interesting was that the less able speakers of te reo were prolific users of this type of language. That increased usage of formulaic language such as greetings Macalister (2007, p.501) describes as being indicative of demonstrating pride and loyalty to their identity as Māori.

Code switching was the most commonly used demonstration of te reo Māori being used in the community hui and in the interviews. Code switching may be used for different effects. It may signal an obvious change in the circumstances, such as new people entering into the room or it may be associated with a particular addressee: a more respectful and formal style of greeting and language will often be used when elders are being addressed. This selective use of te reo might be considered as an affirmation of Māori identity, especially when it is used in respectful forms. Other reasons for code switching, or code mixing may also be that it is used to make a political statement, promoting solidarity and affirming Māori identity. In this way, those less skilled in the language are able to assert affinity with their identity, even though they may not have the language competence to talk about issues and concerns totally in te reo. There are many examples of code mixing noted throughout the data, where phrases or most often single words were inserted into the conversations.

You know you have to *whakatau* (greet and welcome) them (Tuawaru).

In the excerpt where Brenda and Weera are talking about listening to a couple of the girls, conversing in te reo “cause that was the only chance she got to **kōrero** ...” and “that was the

only **kōrero** that we heard ...”, the use of the Māori word ‘kōrero’ rather than the English ‘talk’ signals that this particular lexical item ‘kōrero’ was important. Underlying that is also the sense that kōrero or talk in the Māori language and the use of te reo is what was important. The language evokes a sense of familiarity of home, a home that shapes our identity. Replacing the word **kōrero** in this context with **talk** or **speak Māori** does not carry those same sentiments. That particular extract also suggests that being able to speak or talk Māori with others who were fluent speakers was something that was unusual or out of the ordinary, and exemplifies the distancing from the language and the cultural norm of home with whānau members and community, to the hostel life.

And, from another group came this excerpt “... really, that **kōrero** really isn’t true, I mean if 90%¹⁵⁴ of us can’t **kōrero i te reo**, well...” The same Māori word is used in both a verbal and a nominal context. This conversation continues in the vein that suggests the link between te reo and Māori identity is far more tenuous than we would like to believe. But, the use of Māori words in the contexts these passages are taken from, convey far more in their semantics than if the English equivalents were inserted. The underlying meanings portrayed in the Māori words and phrases have significant meanings, which may not always be easily translated in one word in English. And, this is precisely the consideration made regarding misinterpretations through lack of understanding of the context in which language is used, translating from one language to another. Context is all important and these texts need to be read with understandings of that context, a subjective view from within a Māori world context.

¹⁵⁴ This figure was highly inflated by the speaker as he deliberately chose to portray the foolishness of considering that minority views would govern the decisions.

The use or the insertion of Māori text into English conversation was seen most markedly in the Tuaoono group where all (seven) of the participants used this particular process. This group were all university students who were keen to take part in this study, to have their say and all were staunchly supportive of the use of te reo in all contexts in society, but they had reservations about the learning for all New Zealand residents. None were native speakers of te reo and only one was near fluent and yet they all indicated their affinity and support for the use of te reo by code mixing.

... yes, I *tautoko* [support] that', and yet I don't, because ... (Rōpū Tuarua)

... I've got a *pātai* (question) actually ... (Rōpū Tuawaru)

... they had a baseball team and being able to *kōrero* (talk) to each other in Māori gave them an advantage ... (Patrick)

Increasingly we are seeing the insertion of Māori words into New Zealand English (NZE) and Macalister (2005, p.viii) suggests that it is precisely that which makes this form of English distinctive. Since the arrival of Cook to these shores in 1769 borrowing from the Māori language has taken place. It is not new and the earliest evidence of this can be found in Cook's and Bank's journals where particular species of flora and fauna were recorded by their Māori names. The early traders and missionaries continued that practice in order to facilitate their communication with and between Pākehā and Māori. Over time the increased borrowing of Māori words into the NZE lexicon has varied. The early Pākehā Māori described by Bentley (1999) as European or Pākehā who lived amongst Māori learned te reo Māori and were often the 'go-between' for Māori and Pākehā transactions and discussions. In relating concepts from one language ideology to another, they simply borrowed words from the Māori and inserted them into their speech. Macalister (2005) also notes that these Pākehā Māori became "important conduits for the passage of words between monolingual groups"

(p. xv), but, because these Pākehā Māori were looked down upon by the English settlers, their linguistic practices were also frowned upon. Attitudes towards the people were reflected in their behaviours and borrowings from what was perceived as an inferior or 'low' language were minimal in polite English society. Again this is not new and is a phenomenon widely recorded in sociolinguistic studies and accounts for much of the resistance to the learning of minority and 'small' languages.

The incidence of Māori borrowings being introduced into New Zealand English is increasing and empirical evidence to support that has been amassed through several studies (Macalister 2004; de Bres 2006). In a review of television news over a 20 year period from 1984 to 2004 de Bres found no marked increase in the use of Māori words, but she did find that there was a definite increase in the uptake of Māori greetings by the news presenters, all of whom were non-Māori.

Although the insertion of Māori text into NZE appears to be increasing in frequency, this study cohort raised concerns around meanings still not being clearly understood. This problem was discussed by the Tuawhā group who felt that Māori words can only be translated appropriately in the context within which it appears. What that suggests is that meanings will vary and there is not always one translation or interpretation possible. A word such as 'mana' has many translation equivalents. It is a word conveying concepts that cannot always be translated directly into English with ease. The Williams Dictionary (1975) offers eight distinct translations, the Reed dictionary (Ryan 1997) offers five and Macalister (2005) provides two and the examples he uses show their use as inserted (code switched) into English text. The concern raised by this study cohort was that to the uninitiated the subtleties of language definitions can be misconstrued within the contexts that these words appear. The

use of ‘mana’ in two different contexts will not necessarily have the same translation equivalents in English because the meaning of mana lies within the reo.¹⁵⁵ In this chapter there are three examples where the word ‘mana’ is used by my participants and each with subtle differences in meaning. Without the background understandings of traditions and histories to guide their thinking towards appropriate interpretation, many felt that non-Māori have a much greater chance of misinterpretation of Māori concepts which might cause offence. Holmes (2005) also picks up on this saying that “There are also Māori words used in NZE which have rather different semantics for those with a thorough understanding of Māori culture” (p.99).

Code tags were another linguistic device used where the desire to be associated with that Māori identity can be expressed, even though you might have very limited reo skills (Holmes 1998, p.52). These were more evident in the speech from the younger urban participants.¹⁵⁶

... but they miss out the big gap, tikanga, **ne?**

... aspire to be quite political **ne?**

The expression **ne** is a code tag, a form of casual language which is used at the end of interrogatory phrases or sentences inviting, suggesting, or even positing the expectation of a positive response, or at least agreement from the hearer. It is a distinctively Māori term.

Another example of code tag use is when words from the target language are inserted mid sentence possibly to signal a change in direction.

... my children were brought up through Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa *engari*

(but) my sisters and I missed out (Tuatahi p.4)

¹⁵⁵ It is important to note, that this distinction is only applicable to concepts and not lexical items with ‘real world’ referents.

¹⁵⁶ Holmes (1998, p.52) illustrates the use of ‘eh’ as a code tag indicative of Māori identity particularly among young Māori, but it is also used by young Pākehā. I contend that because of this that ‘eh’ is not exclusively Māori and cannot therefore be considered indicative of Māori identity.

... the mokopuna can hear your voice, *ahakoa*, (although) well they don't always know (Tuarua p.10)

The insertion of the Māori **engari** rather than the English **but** signals that the change discussed (attending Māori medium schooling) has a meaning other than simply a change in the direction of education. There is a whole paradigm shift involved from Pākehā to Māori educative practices, a change of world view. As well, the sense of regret is noted by the use of words such as **missed out**. In the second example **ahakoa** notes a shift in the direction of thoughts, almost as an aside or suggestion made sotto voce. The insertion of Māori code tags into English sentences is becoming a very common practice and reflects the work of the language renaissance of the 1970s, 1980s and beyond as a show of loyalty and solidarity with tikanga and reo.

On the question of speaking te reo, Ngaire says "... it was **completely blocked** ..." and Arahina's use of the absolute negative "... **never** ..." in that context add weight to the conviction that speaking Māori was not allowed, that it was banned. Those distinctions through the use of the superlative 'never' and the images provided by the meanings of words, such as 'blocked' serve to highlight not just the absence of te reo, but also the sense that total absence, through restricted access, brought with it injustice. These were the underlying and inherent tensions in this discussion and this tension was noticed in the body language exhibited by the participants along with their changed tone of voice and volume when these issues arose.

Metaphor is a device commonly used in narrative to illustrate ideas and concepts in ways that give them depth and substance. It is a device inherent in all aspects of tikanga Māori. The most easily recognised use of metaphor for Māori can be seen in pepeha and in formal

greeting processes. In each of the community hui where formal mihimihi and whakatau were performed to begin the process of the coming together of two parties: the researchers and the community groups, the language of the interaction was te reo Māori. The content and context of that process was replete with metaphors that situated both parties through whakapapa and whanaungatanga within the context and purpose of each hui.

Pepeha were illustrated by the women of Rangiatea who used this formulaic reo in their narratives (Chapter Four), and several hui participants used their pepeha to introduce themselves the first time they spoke in the hui. All instances were clear demonstrations of identity acknowledgement and fixing: giving the cultural context of the speaker to enable the hui participants to align with and make connections to them – whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) in practice. The Tuarua group used this process with the facilitator, seeking out her whakapapa connections in order that they might find some point of resonance with her, some whanaungatanga connections. A measure of trust arises when such connections can be made. Likewise in the formal powhiri with the marae-based group, the mihimihi process allows for whakapapa connections to be raised and responses made accordingly that highlight elements of whanaungatanga: of making connections.

Conversations among the Rangiatea women described how they felt when they were asked to perform, traditional Māori song and dance, for visitors. I noted Miria and Weera's choice of words when talking about performing in public, they said, "...we got **trotted out** to perform..." and "... to be **performing seals**..." which provide for the reader/hearer images of being controlled and manipulated, of being used the way animals might be, and signals the distaste with which these women saw themselves, their culture and their identity, being demeaned.

Journeying is used as a metaphor that describes the road travelled in learning te reo, sometimes the path is smooth and easily signposted and at others the traveller encounters obstacles. This particular metaphor does not relate solely to Māori and the learning of te reo Māori, but is cited in other works where language learners have recorded their views about language learning and journeying. The important thing for learners of te reo though, is that they are on the journey, on the path to successful learning of te reo, “... mau rākau came first and that then put me on a **journey** to learn te reo... so I’m on a **journey** ako i te reo” (Tuawhita p.2). “For me, learning te reo me ōna tikanga has been a wonderful **journey** one in which I intend sharing and teaching in the future” (786). There are obstacles and sometimes some go astray for a while. “This is a **journey**. It took us so long to learn English and we’re still learning. Why do we have to beat ourselves up about not learning Māori? ... We’re on the **journey**, on the **journey**” (Tuaiwa).

In Māori story telling the lack of a **coda** is a distinctive feature. It isn’t always absent, but this feature is frequently part of Māori narrative or storytelling. The coda of a narrative Thornborrow and Coates (2005) note “functions to bring the narrative sequence to a close and provides a transition from the narrative sequence back to the ongoing talk” (p.6) and Holmes (1998; 2005) suggests that lack of a coda signals common understandings: the narrator presumes that the audience understands the point of the story and therefore within Māori audiences it does not need to be stated explicitly. In this study, that understanding stems from mutual experiences and exposure to the thinking and understandings from within the Māori world. It is that shared history that helps form and encompass identity of the individual linking them to their ethnic grouping. The short narrative noted previously, where Te Rōpū Tuatahi members spoke about having to take part in cultural performances is distinctively Māori in that there is no coda, no evaluative statement that marks the point of

the story (see conversation between Brenda, Weera and Miria – Chapter 5). The story teller knows that her audience have had the same experiences.

The lack of a coda was also evident in the narrative from Te Rōpū Tuarua where the kuia changed her mind regarding whether she was supportive of non-Māori learning her language. Her reasons for repositioning her thinking she could not explain, but she said “I’m not altogether happy [to give] because, that’s [te reo] me, it’s mine, it’s who I am.” In expressing these views she gestured towards her abdomen when saying “it’s mine, it’s who I am.” This is an instinctive gesture recognisable to those who have been raised from within the Māori world. For Māori the centre of one’s being emanates from within the abdomen. In the western world, when describing aspects of one’s being that are close to the core, they are considered to reside in or to emanate from the heart or the mind. But for Māori that centre of one’s being is the puku (stomach) or ‘te tau o taku ate’¹⁵⁷ the seat of one’s emotions, the core of one’s being. That physical gesturing to one’s puku is for Māori an indication of the depth of feeling associated with the issue. Certainly, this kuia felt highly aggrieved at the perceived loss of her language.

An adjunct to the recounting of this particular narrative was that one by one, the older members of the group – all over 60 years of age, first language speakers of Māori slowly shifted their stance. Their eventual reluctance to fully commit to the matter of encouraging non-Māori into te reo was based on their perception of loss, of giving something away and that loss they considered was a loss associated with their core of being, of their identity.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Whakataurangi ake i te here i taku ate’ this is the first line of a waiata tangi which talks about bringing together and settling or calming down the grief stricken soul or centre of one’s emotions. ‘Te tau o taku ate’ is a term used to describe the seat of one’s emotions, the core of one’s being, and these expressions are often found in waiata and in tauparapara (proverbial expressions).

These matters helped to illustrate the heightened sense that te reo is inherent, that it is, for these elders and native speakers of te reo, a core element of their identity.

One other commentator made the observation that she felt her language was gifted from God, it had mana (an authoritative spiritual dimension) and therefore for her, her language was above all else.

Ko te mea nui o tōku Māoritanga ko te taha wairua me te aroha ki te tangata me te taonga i homaitia e te Atua ko toku reo (694).

(The most important thing about my being Māori is, on the spiritual side, love to all mankind and care for the gift given to me by God, my language).

It was a gift that was a part of her and that she felt she had a responsibility to maintain and foster for others. For her, the manner in which she perceived this gift was the same as the way in which Māori perceive their ties to the land. Theirs is the onus of caring for and nurturing that land, the environment and all who reside on it including the animal and plant life, as well as visitors and sojourners – it is a mana whenua responsibility. The responsibility of nurturing that gift of te reo helped to emphasise, for her, the core relationship of te reo with her Māori identity.

During the 1986 hearings for the Māori Language Claim to the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal, the following story which has been attributed to Huirangi Waikerepuru, eminent kaumātua of Taranaki, in his oral submission asked the question:

“Ina tae atu au i mua i te aroaro o te Atua, ā ka mea mai, ‘I aha koe i tōku reo nāku koe i hoatu?’ He aha taku whakautu?”

(When I stand in front of God and he says to me ‘What did you do with the language that I gave you?’ What am I going to say?–[if I don’t fight for my reo?])

The participant in my study viewed te reo with the same sincerity, with the same importance, with the same value as did this gentleman. And his story is yet another example of Māori narrative without coda.

And this brief narration tells a story of its own. “I had to do a course to have a piece of paper to be eligible to teach [te reo Māori] ... nothing much to really talk about is it!” (Kathleen). This story came from a woman who grew up in a small isolated rural Māori community where the community language was Māori and the traditional customs and protocols persisted. Kathleen had to travel to the local primary school by bus half an hour each way. There was no local high school she would have had to study by correspondence. Kathleen was sent to Rangiatea to board and attend high school in New Plymouth. As noted in Chapter Four Kathleen’s view of having to attend a course to fulfil a paper requirement, a certificate of language competence, in order to teach a skill already inherently highly advanced seemed foolish, fruitless and demeaning: no acknowledgement was made of her prior learning or knowledge. Kathleen had no issue with the language teaching component of her study, but having to prove language competence through a Pākehā process was insulting. Instinctively Māori are offended by such examples because there is little recognition or value given to Māori knowledge in contexts such as these. It would seem that only Pākehā educative processes and protocols can be considered as valid. Discriminatory practises such as these are well understood from a Māori perspective and unfortunately are not new.¹⁵⁸ The inequality of power relations between Māori and Pākehā non-Māori are made more explicit in exchanges such as these.

¹⁵⁸ Sir James Henare, Colonel of the 28th Māori Battalion shared the same misgivings when his soldiers returned from World War II. Many of his officers who had served valiantly and successfully managed Māori troops in war time entered into the Department of Māori Affairs working within Māori communities to help achieve the government’s policies. These were skilled leaders, eloquent in both Māori and English and well steeped in Māori traditions and protocols. That none of these highly competent men were ever placed into positions of seniority, of management during peace time, was a source of deep pain for Sir James, even till the day he died (Wooster, 1984).

Takiri's narrative account signals the importance of ensuring tikanga is maintained within the 'house' [the wharenuī] when young people are put in the position of responding to greetings from the taumata (see p.192) is a further illustration of the absence of coda. In that excerpt it is not merely the roles in the wharenuī that are being critiqued, but also the role that the language, te reo plays in that most important process of greeting and responding from the taumata. That the taumata is the most prominent position in the 'house' is understood from within the context of the Māori world, but it may not be understood by non-Māori. The implications of young and inexperienced people taking up that most important role on the taumata, that because of their paucity of knowledge and understanding of the reo, local hapū history, tikanga and traditions, they may inadvertently offend the elders, or guests and visitors to the marae. Manuhiri may feel slighted that a mere child and not the hapū leadership make that very important and significant gesture of welcome.¹⁵⁹ Such an insult or affront can bring shame and dishonour reflected not only upon the speaker, but on the elders of the marae, and extending onto the hapū and the community. There is a sense of loss of mana (authority and standing) for the hapū and this example serves to illustrate how using te reo in the appropriate manner is all important to maintain the integrity of a Māori sense of belonging, of identity and of pride.

In all these examples language and identity remain inextricably entwined. They highlight the need for non-Māori who choose to learn to speak te reo to be mindful of the deep understandings of tikanga to ensure the reo is used in the most appropriate manner.

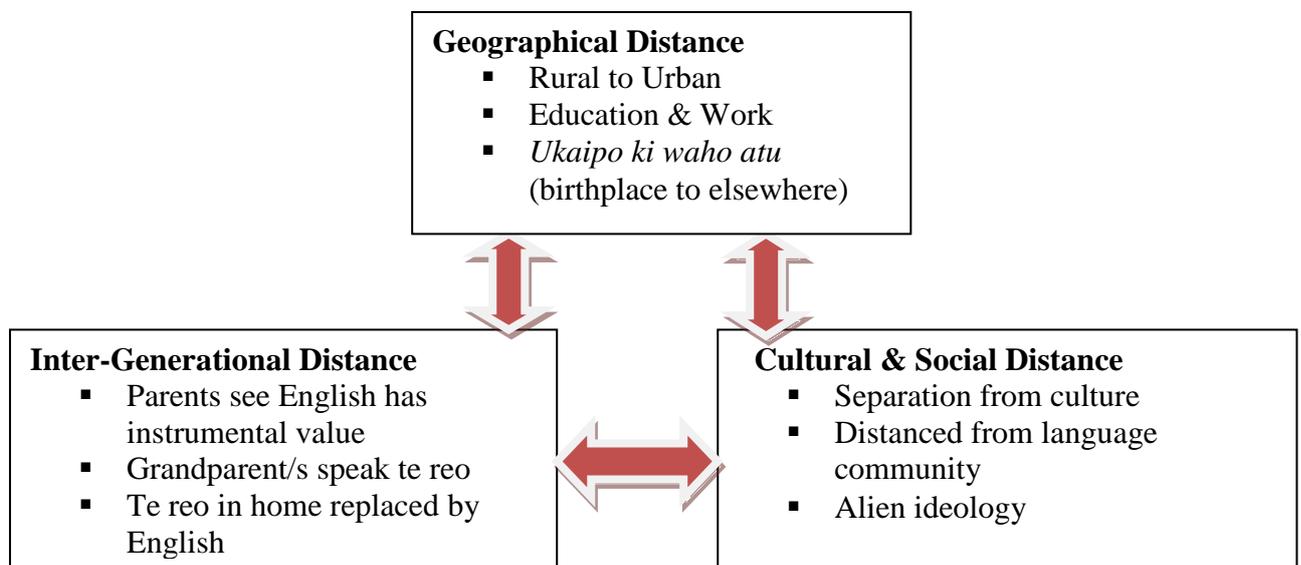
¹⁵⁹ In Pākehā understandings, this could be likened to sending a 'boy' to do a 'man's' job.

THEME TWO – DISTANCE – geographic, generational, cultural and social

This section focuses on distance from three different perspectives, all of which contribute to LS and language loss to varying degrees. Although the following discussions, on the surface anyway, relate to language loss and language maintenance they also contribute to loss of Māori identity and consider distance in relation to access and opportunity to learn and use te reo Māori. Below the surface, the impact of that distancing from the reo and the Māori community is what has affected, influenced and aided the formation of particular attitudes towards te reo in later life. This includes how the participants in this study felt about non-Māori learning te reo.

The enduring influence that distancing through relocation from close knit and whānau oriented rural Māori communities into the alien social milieu of urban mainstream New Zealand is evidenced by talk about the value the participants placed on te reo and identity loss. Physical relocation was not only evidence of geographic distance from the home community, but also cultural distance measured by the inability to maintain important cultural practises outside of their traditional homelands and includes the loss of cultural supports. Social distance is also a part of that equation and relates to the feelings of insecurity felt by Māori when encountering social experiences and environments that are alien to anything that they might have known before. Figure 6.1 helps to illustrate these concerns.

Figure 6.1 Agencies of distance supporting LS, language loss, loss of knowledge of tikanga and loss of identity



None of these considerations is a standalone domain. The study participants’ talk crossed the boundaries of all three measures of distance crossing back and forth across each of these domains and making seamless transitions between each with ease. The data from the Rangiatea women (Chapter Four narratives and Te Rōpū Tuatahi) shows how, through the education systems, distancing from their families impacted upon their ability to maintain te reo and tikanga in the alien, non-Māori boarding school environment. In the boarding school situation they were almost totally divorced from Māori world realities. Sallabank (2006) in her work with the decline of Guernsey French signals a similar position in the schools of the Guernsey Islands and suggests that the teaching of the language and culture was omitted from the school education, possibly to encourage integration and that most likely language and culture loss was a by-product of “... benign neglect or apathy” (p.133). I contend that for Māori the LS was more deliberate than distancing Māori youth from their culture, through the boarding schools/hostels, was a deliberate act of assimilation into mainstream New Zealand life and society as noted previously by Coney (1993) and Mikaere (1994). The by-product of

that assimilation and acculturation was language loss. Opportunity to learn the language was severely limited and opportunities to use te reo were selective, for performance aspects and for public displays.

Table 3.7 graphically illustrates the effect of distancing through comparisons of the survey data from the Rangiatea boarders and writers of the narratives, with women of the same age group who did not experience that distancing from whānau that boarding school required. Twenty-nine percent of the responses by the Rangiatea women rated marae as at least very important to Māori identity (1 & 2 on the survey scale of importance) and the non-Rangiatea cohort rated it at 52%. Te reo was ranked at 21% by the Rangiatea women and 35% by the others. These two examples clearly show marked differences in the perception of the value of these significant cultural markers by these two groups of women of similar age, but with different teenage schooling experiences. It's possible that other factors may have contributed to the responses made, but given the similarity between the ratings of the other indicators or markers of identity (see Table 3.7 in Chapter Three), distancing from the language and the culture would appear to have been a considerable influence.

An important outcome from the separation or distancing experienced by the women who left home for boarding school has been the keen desire to learn te reo and to advocate for their children and mokopuna to have the opportunities denied them in this regard. Brenda says that not only does she advocate for her mokopuna to go to kohanga reo, she goes with them so that she can learn too (Rōpū Tuatahi) and Pania regrets not supporting her children more into going back home to their whānau marae. And, there are those who have found the “reo becoming increasingly important as I get older” (565) and recognising that “being able to speak Māori is a nice concept but in reality without the community to support it, it's very

difficult and hard to lace the language together” (811). This illustrates the very real and genuine concern that both geographic and cultural distance, in particular the lack of community support, contributed markedly to loss of opportunity to gain the language.

Urbanisation took its toll on others in this study. A number spoke of this distancing from traditional heritage lands into the urban arena and the effect that had on them and their reo learning. Tāne talked about no longer being close to places where te reo was spoken. His family moved to Mangere when he was at Primary School, because his father got work in Manukau City.

“I grew up in Pukekohe ... you got told by your elders ‘*Katia te kuaha*’ (shut the door) so you just learned by that...” (Tuaiwa p.4)

Being in places where the language was used, where you heard the language spoken in familiar contexts aided learning and understanding. Being removed from such spaces, through no fault of your own, added to the distancing from the culture and the language. The two kuia interviewees, Wiki and Hariata, who spoke about their mokopuna learning te reo from being around people and places where te reo was heard provided further examples. Although the mokopuna were not necessarily being instructed in te reo and tikanga the benefits of being in Māori spaces, where te reo was spoken and cultural practises undertaken, were reflected in their understanding of what was said to them in Māori. When the mokopuna went home to their parents, in this case back to the city and away from places where te reo was the language norm, their learning of te reo and practice of tikanga was not maintained and LS continued.

And then there was Paora who noted his experiences of growing up in Australia. When his family returned to New Zealand his grandparents took him under their wing and he was taken to all the Poukai and iwi gatherings that his grandfather went to. In some ways this was a

reversal of cultural distancing experienced by most of the other participants in this study, and as a young teenager Paora found these very Māori spaces quite daunting. It proved to be too much and he rebelled by refusing to go everywhere with his grandfather and deliberately choosing to spend time with mates rather than with Māori speaking adults. Now in his early 40s he has consciously made the move to learning te reo me ōna tikanga. He is in his second year of a reo learning programme through Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and is appreciative of the time spent with his grandparents in his teens, as he still remembers much of the tikanga and the language from the exposure to those times and experiences.

Often people spoke about having grandparents in the home who spoke Māori to them, but their parents did not. As a result these people considered their ability to understand te reo was much stronger than their ability to speak te reo (Ngaha 2001, p.317). Although the individual language skills of reading, writing, listening comprehension and speaking Māori were not considered separately in this study a number of comments about understanding te reo when they hear it, but not being able to respond in Māori were made.

... I can understand most, umm well sort of umm of what is said, but I can't answer...
(Tuarima)

... and my Nan would tell us stories yeah nnn I knew what she meant eh? ... [the implication was that her Nan was telling those stories in Māori] (Tuaiwa)

... *e āku nei tamariki e mōhio ki te 'hakarongo* (my children they understand what they hear), they can't speak it but then *haere mai ki te kāinga* (when they come home) I speak Māori all the time and they know, but to speak it? ... [at this point the speaker shook her head indicating that they could not speak Māori to converse with her]
(Hariata)

When asked about their learning of te reo those who had some level of understanding often said they'd be happy to learn, but just hadn't got around to it. Other things in their lives were more important.

Several in the community hui also spoke of the fiscal and economic difficulties around returning 'home' [to their ancestral homelands and communities] in order to maintain te reo and tikanga.

...grew up around native reo, spoke fluently at a very young age, lost reo through teenage to adult age, trying to learn fluency again, but going 'home' [back to own marae and hapū several hundred miles away] on a regular basis is too expensive.

(783)

Their concern is not simply about the cost of travel and geographic distance, but it also concerns the stress and time involved to travel, and time away from home and family. There has to be some consideration made by the individual, some cost/benefit analysis about the practicality of time and cost involved versus the benefit to the individual, to their whānau and hapū.

Hoki ki te kāinga whakawhānuitia tō reo! (Go home – to your home of origin – and expand, reinforce and consolidate your language skills and the depth of your language). (Tuarima)

This call was driven by the more fluent speakers who had had that experience by and large, growing up around the language. But members of the Tuawaru group noted that for many, considerations of returning 'home' to learn te reo were no longer a viable proposition, and that was not just because of the time, distance and cost involved to travel. The numbers of fluent speakers and kaumātua who could teach te reo me ōna tikanga in our home regions have also dwindled. Many kaumātua have died and a number, because of health issues, have moved to live with their children, often into the cities. But the positive arising out of this

situation is that new opportunities have opened up for different ways for learning to happen. Several iwi and hapū have set up wānanga in some of the major cities to enable their people to learn te reo me ōna tikanga from their own regions, without incurring major expense both in time and money.¹⁶⁰

This question was raised by te Rōpū Tuawaru, How relevant is this learning for me now? Does the cost outweigh the benefit, and how do we measure the benefit? The consideration by this group was that if it is highly relevant or very important to us, then we find ways to do it. We make the sacrifices necessary. If it isn't so relevant right now, then let's just move on, perhaps the time is not right. We cannot afford to beat ourselves up about things that we cannot change. At some later stage learning te reo could become very important and so we do something about it then. The point is that at certain stages in our lives, we need to assess the value of learning te reo in relation to our own individual circumstances and make decisions accordingly (see Figure 1.1 p.16).

Gender did not feature as a significant variable in this study. In the survey male respondents made up 38% the total cohort, but there was no significant difference noted in their responses to those of the female respondents. In the community hui, in all the formal elements of face to face interactions the men took centre stage and carried out the traditional rituals and protocols, supported by the women in each gathering. The language in those situations was in

¹⁶⁰ In the course of this study, some of my community informants said they attended community wānanga in Auckland set up for their own people. These iwi were: Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Ngāpuhi and Ngai Tahu. Te Wānanga Whai Kōrero is one learning opportunity in Auckland where whānau who trace descent from the tupuna Tuteauru, of the Hokianga region, gather monthly for a full day (usually a Sunday) and learn te reo, waiata, mihimihi and the history and protocols pertinent to their region. Kaumātua from the area, who now live in Auckland, share both their skills and their knowledge in this forum. This group has been meeting like this for three years now and have received funding from TPK – the Mā te Reo fund, over the past two years to support their efforts. A similar wānanga is taking place in Wellington for people from that same region and utilises the senior tutor from the Auckland group who commutes monthly for these classes. The cultural and generational distance between home of origin and current home and between generations is being lessened through these types of arrangements.

part ritual, but not in its entirety. There were times when the language was English rather than Māori, an accommodation made for those less proficient in te reo.

Holmes (1998) cites Fitzgerald (1993) and Metge (1967) who suggest that Māori women are not regarded by their male whānau members as equals (in public leadership) (p.62) and that women are expected to recognise the traditional authority of a Māori male. Mikaere (1994) challenged these assumptions, noting that certainly in the upfront positions in the formal arena of the marae, men take the leading roles as I have mentioned already. Women, however, have considerable influence in the Māori world and when writers have focussed on the male roles as leaders in Māori society, they have helped –albeit unwittingly– to subordinate the position and roles of Māori women.

When I and the other female researchers interacted with Māori men in conversations and discussions during the community hui we were regarded as ‘the researcher’ a professional role which did not intrude on traditional roles and responsibilities. When other female members in the community hui interacted with the men during discussions, the women were clearly able to assert their views openly and without concern for their views being considered less valued. In te ao Māori there are very clear roles for men and women that complement and support each other. When levels of authority are asserted and demonstrated they are determined by seniority of whakapapa and/or expertise, not, as has been suggested, by gender.

Age was seen to strongly influence the consideration of te reo and its proximity to the core of one’s being to one’s identity. One would assume that the more mature participants would be more likely to indicate that closeness than the younger ones, but the Taitamariki rated the

importance of te reo on a par with the Kaumātua group (see Table 3.5) and their comments also reflect a strong tendency towards agreement that te reo was very important for Māori identity.

Te reo is important for identifying with Māori culture and other Māori people because understanding the language relates to a better understanding of tikanga and Māori concepts (638 - Taitamariki)

I think it's important to be brought up in kaupapa Māori¹⁶¹ and with connections to whānau, marae. It'd be ideal to speak te reo but understand that some, many do not. (508 – Taitamariki)

In this study language proficiency was the more defining feature that illustrated marked differences in perception of the importance or the proximity of te reo to the core of one's identity. This is not new and Chrisp notes in his research that the more proficient someone is in the language, the more likely they are to promote the learning of the language and to have positive attitudes towards the language and the culture (Chrisp 1997; Christensen 2001; Te Puni Kōkiri 2002). This is not unexpected as the Māori literature clearly supports the notion that te reo is the medium through which understandings of the Māori world are best transmitted and these views are echoed by indigenous peoples all over the world about their own languages (Fishman 1991; Nettle & Romaine 2000; Abley 2003).

An interesting development highlighted in this study was that the group who had the least proficiency in te reo, the Pakeke group, signalled the strongest consideration of te reo as being very important to Māori identity. Again, in Figure 3.1 we see that in the Pakeke group both speakers (80%) and non speakers (66%) rated te reo as at least very important (rated as 1

¹⁶¹ Kaupapa Māori has, over time, come to mean almost anything and everything that relates to being Māori and performing in ways that reflect elements of living as Māori. A more accurate description would be tikanga Māori.

or 2). This is also supported in the qualitative data from hui and survey commentary where those in the Pakeke group expressed regret at not having access to te reo learning. The suggestion that loss enhances the desire is borne out by these results and by the many comments noted in this vein.

I was rapt to read Esther's comment on the lack of te reo. English was my first language. (R20)

This woman was commenting on the lack of access and opportunity to learn te reo in her schooling. She was only 8 when her mother died and she was sent to boarding school where there were no reo learning opportunities for her. And others said:

I feel aggrieved at having missed out on what was rightfully mine. Playing catch-up is difficult (620).

Not having the reo has at times excluded me from learning about who I am (842).

This generation is so lucky (744).

Respondent (620) has made the conscious decision to try again – this will be the third time – to learn te reo and is attending wānanga once a month to learn te reo and tikanga. She hopes that in the future that at least when she does return to her home marae she is less likely to feel like the outsider, like a visitor to a place that is her ancestral home. The monthly wānanga also fits more comfortably with her very busy lifestyle.¹⁶²

Respondent (842) raises her experience of exclusion because she doesn't have the ability to understand all that is said in Māori domains, when te reo is spoken. In this situation, could the use of te reo be a deliberate ploy by some Māori to maintain distance and thereby promote a type of elitism? If the answer is yes, would this also be a deterrent to opening up te reo

¹⁶² She is in a senior management position in one of New Zealand's largest companies and also has a family to take care of.

learning to non-Māori? Would it make those who feel excluded from Māori community in this way more or less inclined to support non-Māori to learn te reo? This element of exclusion is also keenly felt by respondents in the Borell (2005) study where the study cohort noted they were considered almost invisible if they were not involved in activities such as: kapa haka, kura kaupapa Māori or marae based activities. It is highly unlikely that Māori who want to learn but perhaps haven't had opportunities to learn will be happy to encourage non-Māori to learn their language. And, if there is some element of elitism being perpetuated by speakers of te reo then excluding access to te reo by non-Māori will be a given.

Leith (2005, p.144) suggests that this type of talk might be considered 'victimising' or narrating accounts in ways that suggest they are the helpless victims of situations beyond their control. It is an expression of frustration and embarrassment that mixed emotions around language and identity raise for those who have limited reo skills (TPK 2001; Benton 2007). In this study there is resolution offered in respect of that perceived victim mentality, through the acknowledgement by the participants that despite these transgressions, there have been many gains.

Respondent (744) acknowledges and applauds the fact that the Taitamariki generation have had greater opportunities to learn te reo because of the advances made through the Māori renaissance begun during the 1970s and onwards. Those advances made through the efforts of Māori, government support and the goodwill of non-Māori prompted action. The implementation and ready access to learning te reo through kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura and various wānanga, as well as through bilingual and immersion units in mainstream schools were the result. That such initiatives were not available for the Pakeke age group is a situation that she regrets. That element of regret for opportunities missed is

keenly felt and is a common thread running through this study felt by many with limited te reo skills. The concern for opportunities lost, or opportunity denied is less evident for those with stronger language ability, but the concerns are still there and for these participants their concerns are for the growth of the language among the ensuing generations. In addition to that is the recognition that if learning te reo is important, or relevant to the individual then they will do something about it, that they will no longer allow themselves to be ‘victims’.

The use of te reo in the survey comments (27% used full Māori or formulaic Māori, Figure 3.3, p.74) and the regular use of te reo in the community hui is evidence that there is a strong affinity for te reo and strongly positive attitudes towards te reo in most quarters of Māori society. All of the interviewees were fluent speakers and throughout their interviews, with the exception of the gentleman who spoke only in te reo, moved easily and regularly between both English and Māori, demonstrating true bilingualism. Their flexibility in that regard demonstrates both their comfort and expertise in both languages.

Takiri who spoke only in te reo has made a conscious decision to speak only in te reo at all times and in all places, such is his commitment to the ongoing life of te reo me ōna tikanga. In support of that stand, another contributor had this to say “ I think it is essential to learn te reo Māori to fully understand ... to help Māori better identify with [their] turangawaewae and participate more widely in marae life and tikanga” (259). The question remains though, would inviting non-Māori to engage in learning te reo help those Māori, who don’t speak te reo, to engage in and participate more fully in using te reo, and to engage more fully in marae life and tikanga? Takiri’s response to that is a resounding **no!**

Even though the survey results (Chapter Three), backed up by the written narrative analysis (Chapter Four) indicate te reo does not rate highly as a marker of identity, the talk from the community hui and interviews clearly indicates otherwise. Te reo is still a very important marker of Māori identity and that claim is clearly heard through the voices of our study participants across all age groups and levels of te reo Māori proficiency. This would seem to indicate that Māori may not be so ready to share their language and language resources with others who have no whakapapa Māori, especially when there is approximately 77% of the Māori population who do not have those same language skills.

THEME 3 - CONTROL of the language and managing te reo resources

Misrepresentation and abuse of te reo Māori was a major concern noted by participants as being a real barrier to being able to support non-Māori into learning te reo. Modes of abuse ranged from the simple mispronunciation of Māori words through to misrepresentation of Māori concepts, such as the meaning of words like ‘mana’ and to disrespecting the language and tikanga. One person suggested it was “just like another level of colonization ... our own traditional institutions have been taken away from us and we’re being told how to run them pretty much” (Tuawhā), or as another suggested that Pākehā become familiar with aspects of the culture from one region, and assume that the same tikanga apply to all Māori.

There are many examples in this study where participants talked often about how non-Māori (usually Pākehā) make assumptions about what tikanga Māori encompasses and its interpretation and these erroneous remarks are considered highly problematic. Kelly recounts a conversation with a Pākehā woman she met when she had her first child in hospital. This woman already had a mokopuna (Māori grandchild) and she said to Kelly, “oh so you’re

going to hang your placenta in a tree, that's what all the Māori's do" (Tuaono). For Kelly this remark was offensive as this was certainly not the practice in her own tikanga-a-hapū (tribal practice). But the most offensive aspect for her was that here was a Pākehā person making assumptions about what Māori practices were and lumping all Māori together. It is the kind of practice that denies identity.

And, Rahuia, a tertiary student said that she really wanted to be able to talk Māori with her friends, to talk Māori in all kinds of places, not just marae or at kura. "I want others to embrace our reo and our culture, but not undermine our ownership of it" (Tuarima). She sees the manipulation of tikanga by Pākehā leading to manipulation and taking over of te reo. For her they are both the same thing, one inevitably leads to the other (Boyce 1992).

The re-naming of places was one strategy identified in this study as being a means of diminishing the importance of te reo and the tikanga of an area because re-naming alters the understandings of the history and traditional stories of each area. Wiremu recounted the story of a hapū in the Hawkes Bay region who were fighting through the courts for the name of a local landmark to be returned to its original Māori name. It is currently known as 'Fern Hill' and the local hapū were seeking reinstatement of the original Māori name 'Puketapu'.

Denying the original names of places denies the history and stories of the people of that region.¹⁶³

Naming in the traditions of Māori has always been an extremely significant act, with names often representing people or deeds significant to the life of the region (Waymouth 1998; Paul

¹⁶³ In 2009 the people of the Whanganui region after many years of struggle succeeded in having the Crown, through the Geographic Board officially acknowledge the correct spelling of the name of their city built on the Whanganui River. For more than 100 years the city has been known as Wanganui, a misspelling that has denied the mana of the Whanganui iwi traditions and history (New Zealand Herald Dec.21.2009 p.A1.)

2000). Wiremu talked about how the memories of the previous peoples, indigenous peoples are buried by the colonizers through this re-naming of places. He stressed these ideas “I think it's important for us to unbury or unearth our memories” and in that way we reclaim our stories, our history and our language. Wiremu said “it's the language that's part of the cultural capital of this country” and stressed that it is not necessarily recognized nor understood. If the language can be seen as a valuable commodity, a rich cultural resource and given the acknowledgement worthy of that standing in this land, then that is a positive move towards relaxing resistance and for Māori to embrace others into learning te reo.

There are already many examples of how the language and Māori cultural images are used as cultural capital in this land, but only in as much as they can be used commercially. Used in this way the participants considered that the language was being commodified and stood to lose some of its intrinsic meanings. It is compartmentalized within a particular space or concept and used for commercial gain. Examples raised by the group were the way that tourism ventures capitalize on the language. The haka, recognized internationally as distinctively belonging to New Zealand, but not necessarily Māori is another example. Teachers gaining qualifications to teach te reo and being paid extra for that skill and employment opportunities that indicate preference for staff who can speak Māori are examples that illustrate this. Instrumental rather than integrative motivation to learn te reo has been the key.

What concerns this study cohort is that there is not enough integrative motivation by non-Māori learners that shows sincerity in their attitudes towards the language. How can we tell if non-Māori are learning te reo, because they genuinely value the language and culture, or if it is seen as simply an additional skill that offers them gain, financial or otherwise? If their

motivation is for the latter, then the depth of language skill and expression they display is not likely to encourage growth of the language.

They go to Training College ... and they're given a ticket, you know to register whatever and yet they don't know nothing about the reo. They can say '*haere mai ki te kai*' (come to the table – to eat) '*e noho ki te kai*' (sit down – and eat), '*ae, kāhore*' (yes, that's not correct) that's it ...they've got nothing to develop the child's reo (Whaea Riria).

As role models for the ongoing life of te reo their limitations would inhibit language learning rather than growing it. One of the greatest fears voiced in this study was that the language would be altered through the influence of non-Māori teachers teaching te reo. This included transference of English grammar structures onto te reo and inappropriate uses and interpretations of Māori concepts within the language (Harlow 2005; Benton 2007). Harlow (2005, p.141) provides some good illustrations of this. The study group stress that situation should be monitored constantly to ensure the reo retain its own autonomy.

On consideration of te reo being shared with non-Māori, Takiri said he wanted to ensure that the language of the community, within the community was strong and healthy first. This is a restriction that Takiri sees as important to the growth of the language. In his discussion he is acutely aware of the dwindling Māori language resources, especially the elder native speakers of te reo.

... ka tino ngaro te reo o ērā kāinga i roto i ngā tau e tata mai nei i te paunga o te whakatupuranga kaumātua mōrehu ...

(... in the last few years [I've noticed] the language disappearing in those homes where whole generations of those elders [from a bygone era] have been lost).

For Takiri, the loss of the language is far greater than simply loss of a particular mode of communication. He ties the value of the language into the traditions, the history and the

position of the people themselves within their own land. He relates that importance to core values of identity and centres it on that language domain that is the final bastion of Māori, the marae.

Ki te ora mai ngā marae kāinga, he nui ngā tohu e kitea, he kāinga kua ora, he hītori kua ora, he reo kua ora, he tāngata kua ora, ā he hapū kua ora, ngā tino tohu a te rangatira.

(If the marae are thriving, then there are a number of signs that demonstrate that. The homes are thriving, healthy, the history, the language, the people and hapū are flourishing. These are all signs of chiefly independence – autonomous well-being).

If Māori have the ability and the resources to build up the language resource within their own regions first, and especially through marae learning, then Takiri considers that engaging others into learning te reo me ōna tikanga could be a next step.

Benton (2001) addresses some of the concerns that members in this study cohort raised regarding control of te reo and asks the question about who should have the last say on matters relating to te reo Māori. He notes that the question of ownership of a language is a complex and convoluted one and relates to identity, as I am hoping to show through this study. Ownership relates to control and it relates particularly to what Benton describes as the management of language –as–resource (p.38). While one could say that the speakers of the language are the owners, Benton rightly points out that less than a quarter of the Māori population can speak te reo, but the language is claimed by all ethnic Māori. He also suggests that at the current rate of language learning and transmission that within a generation it is likely that speakers of te reo will be those who grew up in homes where the speakers of te reo are second language learners, or who acquired their reo as adults. The truly native speaker resource may become a thing of the past.

In this study participants were clear that Māori should be in charge, in control of the language resources, the teaching of te reo and of access to te reo resources. But what was meant by ‘control’ was not easy to define because a number of state departments and organisations currently have a role to play in that. Using te reo and promotion of te reo many felt was really important. Speaking and hearing te reo in multiple domains would likely create some normalisation of te reo and the profile of te reo could be more prominent.

... yeah normalising of the reo so its heard on the street every day, that'd be cool!
(Tuawhā)

I just want to be able to to ahm speak te reo ... we Māori can control it ... we need to control it (Tuaono).

The concern remains that Māori, not just those who speak the language but those who have whakapapa Māori, retain control of the language. Overwhelmingly there is concern that the severely limited native speaker resource that we have now does not become overused and abused.

So what do the people mean when they say Māori should be in charge? Te reo is that as an official language of this land te reo belongs to everyone.¹⁶⁴ Hare said:

The reo does not get its intrinsic mana from the legislation but the term ‘official status’ must not be an empty one... since Māori is an official language of this country it follows that all of its citizens should know that language.

As noted earlier, the management and control of the language as part of educative processes and within academia, is the responsibility of a number of government agencies and departments. Te Taura Whiri o Te Reo Māori is the government’s ‘monitor’ and has the role

¹⁶⁴ The Māori Language Act 1987 gives official status to te reo.

to protect and foster the language. They provide support for the growth of the language through funding programmes, through resources produced and shared online, in publications and via teaching programmes. They also maintain an active research component in their work that allows for new and innovative teaching and learning programmes to be reviewed and implemented. The Kohanga Reo National Trust has a role of protecting and nurturing the growth of te reo through its programmes, and within the Ministry of Education a number of measures are in place to again support the passing on of the language to students in kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura, wānanga and in the bilingual units within mainstream schools. TPK is also the crown's agent responsible for oversight of Māori well being in a number of arenas including the growth and protection of te reo. In all these agencies Māori are part of the process, but the processes employed are constrained within governmental guidelines and policies, processes that do not necessarily adhere to or reflect tikanga Māori. Participants in this study consider Māori involvement in the decision making process around the ongoing life of the language should be paramount.

THEME 4 - Manaakitanga and Whanaungatanga or Being INCLUSIVE

Manaakitanga or being good hosts to one's visitors is an element of tikanga Māori that is universal amongst all tribal regions and peoples. Whanaungatanga is closely aligned with manaakitanga in that relationship building is part and parcel of good relations between host and visitor. These are deep seated Māori values that aided in the ability of settlers to this land to acculturate fairly readily. In the traditional pōwhiri process visitors are initially challenged and should they signal their intentions are peaceful they are welcomed onto the marae or into the place of gathering and meeting. It is the responsibility then of the host people to make the visitors feel welcome and to accommodate them as best they can. It is a mana whenua

responsibility. Manaakitanga might also be seen to extend to assisting non-Māori residents to learn te reo.

Our tribal histories abound with stories of strangers being hosted and cared for by the people of a specific area who are not related to them. Ihenga and Rongomai, ancient legendary Māori leaders, took their warriors in an adventure into the underworld seeking knowledge of the dark arts. Through their own misadventure, they are left stranded wandering aimlessly for a very long time before they emerge from the bowels of the earth. They are found by a tribe not known to them and are taken in and helped back to good health before they take their leave and return to their own homeland. The hospitality of the leaders Mata-tiro-tā and Hāhuia and their people is lauded and their good deeds and efforts are recounted through the oral traditions down through the ages (Biggs 1997 p.132).

And, during the late 1800s, tribal leader and Ringatū prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi Tūruki was pursued by the constabulary throughout the centre of the North Island on charges of treason. He was sheltered and cared for by the people of Tuhoe and in his latter years, the people of Maniapoto (Walker 1990 p.132).¹⁶⁵ In the mid 1800s an Anglican minister visiting the Waikaremoana region recounts the hospitality he and his companions received at a village on the shores of Lake Waikaremoana. Theirs was a journey undertaken in rough and stormy weather through the steep bush clad hills of the Urewera ranges. Not only did their hosts offer food and shelter, but they were warmed and given dry clothes till their own were sufficiently dried and provisions were supplied for their continued journey (Biggs 1997 p.15).

¹⁶⁵ Te Kooti came from a different tribal area to both these iwi.

As noted previously, in the early days of colonisation in this country a number of European settlers and traders were taken in and supported by Māori. Learning the language provided for many, instrumental motivation as it gave them the edge over the competition when trading with other Māori. Bentley (1999) writes of the Pākehā who became known as Pākehā-Māori because they lived with Māori as Māori. As part of that transformation a number also took Māori wives and they learned to speak te reo Māori. Integrative motivation was paramount for them learning the language as that went a long way to fulfil the desire to be a part of the Māori community in which they were ensconced. For the most part Māori embraced Pākehā who showed the desire to live amongst them and who genuinely set out to learn, and who respected their host's language and their culture. Having a Pākehā living in one's village was even considered desirable and sometimes seen by other Māori to add to a chief's mana (standing or prestige). The relationship was generally symbiotic as the Pākehā who settled here had skills of their own to offer the Māori community. They often became trusted advisors to the Māori as they were able to interpret for Māori as well as provide some of the background nuance not always evident in cross cultural communications.

Tikanga Māori maintains that Māori have a responsibility to manaaki their guests and include them in the normal pattern of Māori communal life. Teaching them to use te reo, is an appropriate way to do that. This study cohort talked often about how the sharing of the language, the culture and protocols requires a measure of reciprocity. Māori expectations are that guests respect all elements of Māori life shared with them. Members of this study felt it was most important that non-Māori should understand and appreciate that the learning of te reo Māori is not a given, but a privilege and ought to be respected as such.

... non-Māori who get into the position of getting ahm ... being privileged to learn the reo need to be mindful of ... that there are Māori who don't have that ... (Wiremu)

Wiremu described an incident where a Pākehā from his local area had learned te reo and became a speaker in the local marae. He became so familiar with the role, or at least what he thought was the speaker's role, that he misconstrued the tikanga around that position in the marae. Wiremu felt that this kind of behaviour was an abuse of the privilege of using te reo. He went on to say that this person has since been banned from speaking on several of their local marae and it was the kuia that pulled him up on those inappropriate behaviours and the punishment meted out was determined by all the kaumātua. Wiremu also said "I don't deny other people learning the language, but I do say is they need to treat it as a taonga. Not just as a mere, not just as a piece of ahmm, just as a tool."

Members in this study who for reasons beyond their own control were denied access to te reo continue to be resentful when they see non-Māori abusing the privilege of learning te reo. Such disrespect just adds to their frustrations. The native speaker resources are diminishing, are precious and need to be respected and managed carefully.

WHAT IF?

So can the information gathered here help us to answer the question, are Māori prepared to support and assist non-Māori to learn te reo? Myhill's (1999) review of the two language revitalisation ideologies, language-and-territory and language-and-identity suggests that they are incompatible. When one of these ideologies is invoked, it negates the other. I believe that the views coming through in this study suggest there are possibilities for aspects of both these ideologies to work in the case for Māori.

To invoke the language–and–territory ideology, means that all who reside in New Zealand must acquire a level of competency in te reo Māori. Compulsory acquisition of the language was not something this study cohort could support. Fishman (1997) is also critical of the processes invoked in cases like this because language revitalisation achieved in this way, through what he considers are punitive and invidious means, raises questions about the durability of the language acquired. Motivation to learn the language is instrumental and language acquisition is for the purposes of gain, most often economic in nature, and not necessarily sustained long term or contributing to the ongoing life and transmission of the language, a situation already noted by the participants in this work (see the kuia’s talk about pay for teachers of te reo p.167).

The essentialist tradition is part of the language–and–identity ideology which argues that a language should be reserved for those who have the appropriate ethnic affiliations. That excludes any others who might wish to learn the language. In this study many felt that should that ideology be invoked for ethnic Māori being encouraged to learn te reo, nothing much would change. Non-Māori are not excluded from learning, but they are also not actively encouraged. There remains no incentive for non-Māori to engage with the language, to engage with and learn about the Māori community and to gain some understanding of the indigenous peoples of this land. The language environment then fails to support the minority language as the language domains and speaking opportunities are limited. Consideration of a low level of language competence for the general population was more acceptable to this cohort than suggesting fluency, because speakers of te reo themselves are not plentiful.

In Catalonia where the language–and–identity ideology has been adopted the revitalisation efforts are geared towards “activating the passive Catalan that Spanish speakers quickly

acquire ... fostering a fondness for identification with Catalan” (Fishman, 1999, p.299). It promotes integrative motivation such that the history, customs and ritual, values and beliefs of the particular ethnic community become ingrained in the consciousness of the speakers of that language and are able to be passed on intergenerationally. However, unless there is a marked increase in population, the language is still contained within a ‘small’ minority population with limited domains of use and with limited numbers of speakers. Myhill (1999) notes that adoption of the Catalonian language throughout all public domains can achieve normalisation of the language and promote the language as belonging to all Catalonians, residents of Catalonia regardless of ethnicity. But, Woolard (1989) argues that in order for this rhetoric to be successful, the language and ethnic identity consideration needs to be relaxed. In other words, the notion that only those of Catalonian descent are encouraged and supported to learn the language has to be annulled and the profile of the language elevated. A raised profile might be achieved through increased domains for language use, which again requires more speakers of the language, perpetuating a circular argument.

Language revitalization is a highly political process. Where ‘small’ languages are used in power environments such as in schools, in politics, in commerce and in the media they have a much greater chance of survival. Afrikaans in South Africa, French in Quebec, Welsh in Wales are all instances where successful language growth has been sustained because they are supported through legislation. But, where the language profile is less pronounced, where there is no formal sanction supporting obligatory use, the languages struggle to gain traction and are constantly battling against language decline and loss.

Te reo Māori is supported through legislation, the Māori Language Act 1987, but through limited domains. Māori medium education and those areas within Māori control such as,

marae and Māori run organisations that actively support te reo and tikanga Māori are a few of these domains. So there are opportunities for Māori to engage in Māori language activity but within limited domains. Ready access to some of these opportunities for all Māori though is not so easy and it appears from the participants' talk in this study that disadvantage for Māori remains higher than for others living in New Zealand. The agencies charged with responsibility for supporting te reo and te reo initiatives do not necessarily expect that non-Māori should learn te reo, but they do expect that non-Māori should support te reo.¹⁶⁶

To revitalise the language it is necessary for wider New Zealand to value the language and support a positive linguistic environment (TPK and Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, 2003b, p.27).

On August 22nd 2010 Radiolive announced the results of the latest survey by Te Taura Whiri where 500 New Zealanders (all ethnicities) were surveyed and found that 38% of that cohort supported compulsory teaching of te reo in schools. That is a major advance from earlier studies, but it is still only a small survey sample of the population.

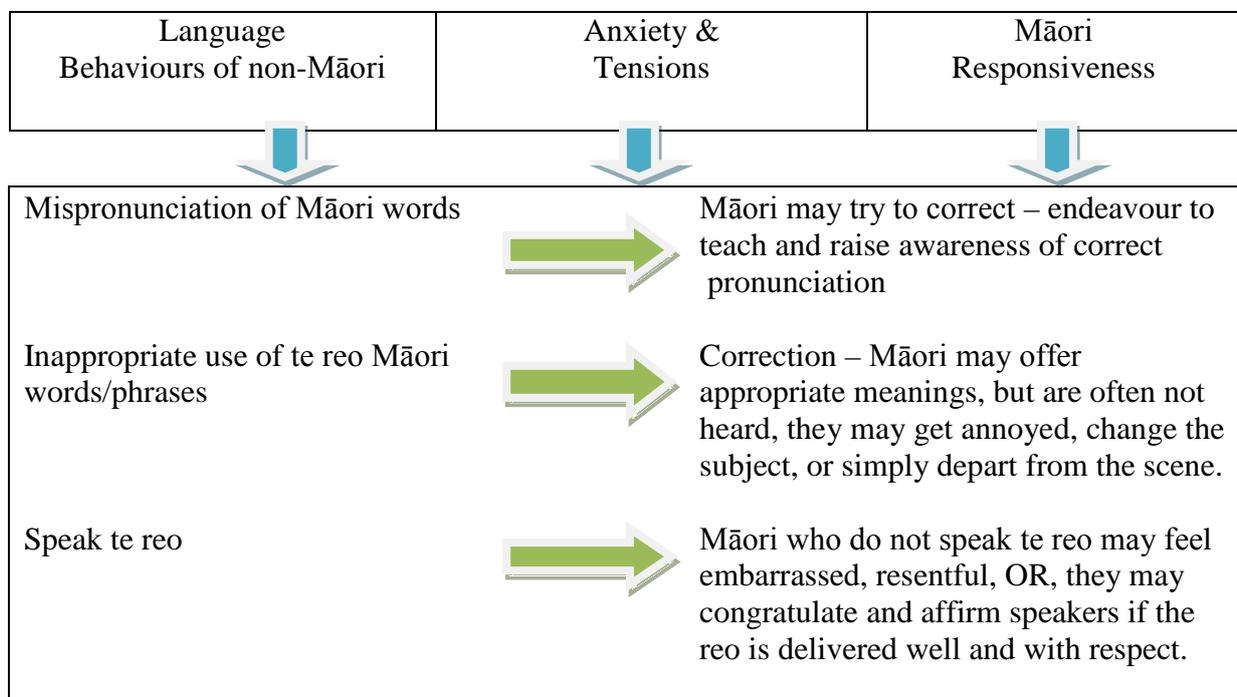
The views put forward in this study show that there is some flexibility. Certainly an environment that is supportive of te reo is what Māori desire. When Māori culture and language is valued, when its intrinsic value is recognised, acknowledged and respected, at that point Māori in this study felt they could support and accommodate some non-Māori in learning te reo. The underlying issues that guide or promote that support are the attitudes and language behaviours exhibited by non-Māori towards te reo and respect for tikanga Māori. Anxiety and tensions arise for Māori when the language behaviours demonstrated by non-Māori do not show appropriate respect for the language, the people and/or tikanga Māori. Those anxieties and tensions translate into Māori putting up barriers to protect themselves,

¹⁶⁶ See also Māori Language Commission (1996) 'Toitū te Reo' (policy document) Wellington and Māori Language Commission cited in de Bres (2009).

their culture, language and ultimately their identity, and withdrawing their support for non-Māori entering into their world.

In her study relating to the behaviours non-Māori might adopt to support Māori language regeneration, de Bres (2009) notes that the importance of attention to pronunciation, use of Māori words and speaking Māori are possibly “three of the potential desired behaviours for non-Māori.” Certainly in this study there is agreement on the first two points. However, as far as non-Māori speaking Māori is concerned there remains no consensus, but several respondents noted that they are sometimes embarrassed and resentful that they cannot speak as well as some non-Māori who have gained fluency. Figure 6.2 helps to illustrate those concerns.

Figure 6.2 Language behaviours of non-Māori that impact negatively on Māori



There was deep concern that all people in this land ought to at least try to pronounce Māori correctly. When Māori words are used inappropriately or made fun of, this study cohort felt

strongly that corrective measures should be taken and the non-Māori speakers ought to be helped to understand why these behaviours are inappropriate. This is not always easy to do, nor is it always accepted with grace. The third point noted in Figure 6.2 highlights how Māori acknowledge and affirm non-Māori speakers of te reo who conduct themselves respectfully. Even non speakers of te reo will acknowledge when te reo is delivered well, and that level of respect can only be achieved through immersion in te ao Māori and commitment to te reo me ōna tikanga.

There was strong agreement though that there was goodwill towards non-Māori learning te reo through lower level pathways. Hare suggested that te reo ought to be included in the state curriculum for primary schools, making the language more ‘normal’ as part of normal school life and removing some of the mystery, some of that fear of the unknown that he believes conjours up resistance to all things Māori. Certainly there are accounts in this study that mirror those sentiments. And, there were others who felt that perhaps learning about tikanga Māori might encourage more Māori into learning te reo, but as well that non-Māori might have a place in that process. In these cases emphasis would focus more on the practices, understanding the tikanga not necessarily the language, with the hope that learners would be encouraged to learn more and do more. An introduction to the Māori world in this way, through tikanga, provides opportunities to gain an appreciation of and respect for the Māori world. Exhibiting behaviours that show that respect and appreciation will then encourage support from Māori to assist non-Māori into learning te reo Māori. Metge cautions that “Māori are shrewd at picking those who approach them with genuine respect and those who fake it” (2010, p.8), so non-Māori must be prepared to work with Māori and on Māori terms: a reversal of the current state of power relations.

DECISION MAKING – To support Non-Māori or not

In Chapter Five I outlined seven reasons raised by the participants in the community hui that suggested they were unwilling to give wholeheartedly to this support for non-Māori. Each of these points is illustrated in Table 6.1, and associations are drawn from the participants’ discussions that support these points and link them with Māori identity.

Table 6.1 Reasons for not supporting non-Māori in learning te reo

Points made	Associations drawn	
<i>Nōku tēnei taonga</i>	Te reo is a precious aspect of who I am	MĀORI IDENTITY
Te reo for Māori first	Belongs to Māori and is the medium through which aspects of Māori identity are best transmitted and learning retained.	
Selected whānau members	Whanaungatanga ties – non-Māori who are part of whānau Māori are to be nurtured first.	
Tikanga = Te Reo = Identity	Tikanga is all important and when learned together with te reo, greater understanding of and respect for the Māori world can be achieved.	
Abuse of te reo & tikanga	Misunderstandings of te reo and about tikanga can lead to inappropriate and possible racist behaviours.	
Control of te reo	Māori must have the ability to influence and direct initiatives via policy and fiscal control	
Commodification / Global utility	Promotion of integrative motivation for learning and using te reo and reduction of instrumental motivation will aid the creation of positive views of Māori.	

All of these points and their associations made by the participants relate directly to their understandings about Māori identity and Māori identity was seen as important for everyone

in this study. It is also important to remember that this cohort was comprised of a large number of people genuinely interested in this topic and in developing and promoting te reo to strengthen ties to Māori identity.

The three points made that all groups could agree on to encourage non-Māori into te reo were firstly being able to promote positive attitudes towards Māori people and te reo. This is a basic tenet recognised in all the attitude studies conducted by TPK and Te Taura Whiri that will help to raise the profile of te reo. It is important for non-Māori to have some understanding of our history and our culture, which could be gained through some learning of te reo. Second, teaching te reo to non-Māori will grow the numbers of speakers giving greater opportunities for anyone to speak the language more often and in more domains than at present. The third point agreed upon was that learning and using te reo was the best pathway to growing and maintaining an understanding of Māori identity.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I set out to look beneath the surface of what was said and what was written to try and understand the motivations behind the talk from my study cohort. I hoped that this process would clarify whether Māori could encourage and support non-Māori into learning te reo as an opportunity to grow the language, to increase the cohort of speakers of te reo and aid its ongoing development. I began by describing the findings of this research through four themes which I felt mirrored the talk and information offered, both quantitative and qualitative, by the participants.

The first of those themes was the use of sociolinguistic devices or practices all of which indicated strong loyalty and affiliation with Māori identity. The collective understanding of tikanga Māori and adherence to those practises is the first indication that identity was highly valued and within those protocols the language was deeply embedded. The second point noted was the widespread use of English. This was made more apparent in the community hui where the predominant use of English signalled the continuing onslaught of LS. Despite this there were some groups, within the hui who spoke entirely in te reo and instances where code switching took place often as an accommodation for those who were less fluent in te reo. Code tags, formulaic language and the absence of coda in narratives were noted as being significant acts or tokens associated with loyalty and affinity to Māori identity. Metaphor is one linguistic device that is seen illustrated in a number of ways throughout this study, most notably in the use of tribal descriptions through pepeha and whakataukī. But it's important to note that the use of metaphor was not restricted to the Māori language. There are several English examples that illustrate feelings both positive and negative and helped to show motivations for respondents making known their views on particular issues.

The second theme, distance, was on the surface concerned with how distance contributed to language loss. But, more importantly with this perceived loss of language was how it contributed to loss of identity. There were 3 types of distance described and discussed. The first, geographic, was expressed predominantly by the former students of Rangiatea Methodist Māori Girls' Hostel who were physically distanced from their homes and Māori community into an alien predominantly Pākehā community. The second form of distance raised was generational, that distance between each generation which was seen to inhibit communication in te reo and intergenerational language transfer. The third type of distance discussed was cultural and social distance. Cultural distancing first related to distancing from

the cultural norms of the Māori community, where the participants were raised and the ‘new’ social environment that related to non-Māori environments, urbanisation and placement in boarding school. That distancing invariably noted the almost total absence of te reo.

The results created a strong sense of loss through no fault of the participants themselves and with that a desire to ensure that does not continue for ensuing generations. This perceived loss is reflected not only in the loss of language, but also in the lack of knowledge and understanding of cultural practises that are inherently Māori and part of their identity. Despite these drawbacks the majority of this study cohort felt it more constructive to focus on ways forward, on ways to ensure the next generations do not suffer as they had.

The third theme discussed in this work was control and management of te reo and especially te reo resources. The concerns over this particular matter arise out of the language attitudes that influence behaviours and that demonstrate negative views towards Māori language and customary practise. It is these negative language behaviours that impact most upon the response of Māori to encouraging and supporting others, non-Māori to learn te reo me ōna tikanga. The participants in this study felt strongly that the agents of the crown, who have responsibility for management of the language resources, protocols around the teaching of the language, and especially the teacher resource, retain a strong Māori cultural presence. That must include constant checking out with Māori and not a consultation process where decisions have already been made.¹⁶⁷ Kaumātua, competent speakers of te reo and Māori community representatives must be involved.

¹⁶⁷ Consultation with Māori has often been cited as the way in which agents of the crown have sought mandate, have sought co-operation and support for projects they wish to undertake. All too often these so-called consultations have had predetermined outcomes and the consultation process has merely been window dressing.

The fourth and final theme discussed here is manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. Being Māori encompasses these as core values. Together they express what the study cohort has illustrated in their talk. The majority concede that there is flexibility, that there is room for non-Māori to be included in the learning of te reo and with that also tikanga, but with provisos. Firstly they consider that Māori themselves ought to be strongly encouraged and assisted into learning te reo. The Māori community has a role to play in that as Takiri suggests, building up the 'home' marae resource first has got to be paramount. Marae and hapū communities have a responsibility in that regard, as do the crown agencies to support their initiatives. Second, those non-Māori who are part of Māori whānau may also be assisted in that path because they too are role models for the following generations of tamariki Māori and are also engaged in tikanga as members of Māori whānau, hapū and iwi.

It soon became evident in this work that the strongest resistance to non-Māori learning te reo came from the perception that non-Māori did not value the language and showed little sign of respect for the language, the tikanga and the people. The language behaviours displayed, mispronunciation of Māori words and misinterpretation of Māori were the main kinds of unsavoury language behaviours noted. This misuse of te reo Māori created anxiety and tension for some in this study and their reactions were such that they considered totally prohibiting the use of our limited language teaching resources for non-Māori.

Despite the hope for te reo Māori to grow through more Māori learning and using te reo in increasing domains, the study group recognise that this may well be a distant goal. What is possibly a more realistic outcome in the short term is that promotion of tikanga Māori rather than a focus on the language could be more helpful to raising the profile of Māori and ultimately te reo. Certainly several participants who had limited reo skill levels felt that

despite that, they did have a strong grasp of tikanga. A number felt that perhaps knowing tikanga might be enough to support Māori identity, and others still, that it was more important than knowing and speaking te reo. And, perhaps there was some way forward then for non-Māori to engage in te reo learning at a low level, through learning about tikanga and exercising that whilst practising correct pronunciation. Certainly evidence from recent surveys suggests this may be a way forward.

Chapter 7. *Kōrerotia he komā, e kore e kōrerotia te pounamu* : concluding thoughts

INTRODUCTION

The title of this chapter “*Kōrerotia he komā, e kore e kōrerotia te pounamu*” is a proverb uttered by my ancestors that suggests that things of great value are clearly distinguished from those of lesser value. A fairly literal translation might be that ‘what is said of a stone, a pebble, is spoken thus, but greenstone can never be spoken of in the same way.’¹⁶⁸ In this work it has been a challenge to seek out, that which is valuable and sustainable through the eyes of the study participants and to then project and promote these views in ways that might assist the development of te reo revitalization promotions and programmes.

This study set out to ascertain how important fluency in te reo Māori is as a feature of Māori identity and whether Māori are supportive of non-Māori learning and speaking te reo.

There were several challenges posed in this work. The first was to ensure that Māori were involved and engaged at all levels of this work. In that engagement it was important to provide ethical oversight of the process through Māori perspectives ensuring processes that were tika, that protected Māori contributions, and that provided cultural safety and preserved

¹⁶⁸ It is said that a particular warrior of great prowess (Whakatara of Ngāi Tūteauru), the descendant of a woman of great mana (Te Auparo) was challenged to avenge her death after many others had failed. The contest between Whakatara and his challengers was minimal and Whakatara’s killing of Te Tirarau of Ngāti Manu settled the debt of his aunt’s murder (JPS 47:4 L.G. Kelly, 1938).

the integrity of the work for the people and the community. The Kaumātua Advisory Group who supported this work was invaluable in providing that Māori ethical oversight.

The second challenge was to discover just how important Māori today thought their language was to their identity as Māori because the literature suggests that for Māori, te reo and Māori identity are inherently linked. If it was found that the language was not considered to be very important to Māori identity, then there ought not to be any problems with supporting non-Māori to learn to speak Māori.

A survey and an analysis of narratives written by Māori provided quantitative data that helped to show the degree to which te reo was seen as essential, or not, to Māori identity by the participants in this study. This issue was followed up in the discussions in the community hui and then talk moved into views about supporting and encouraging others, non-Māori to learn to speak te reo Māori. Both the quantitative and qualitative datasets gathered were triangulated and provided the basis for discussion around moving this strategy forward, to support non-Māori to speak Māori.

The relationship between te reo and other prescribed markers of Māori identity, as perceived by this study group, are illustrated in Figure 3.2. It affirms that te reo is very important to Māori identity and fluency in the language greatly enhances that identity. Learning te reo also requires engagement in te ao Māori and understanding of tikanga as a part of that language learning. Benton (2007) begins this particular article with the question ‘*Mauri* or Mirage?’ and in that work he is at pains to address the position of te reo Māori as ‘cornerstone’ to Māori identity. If we look at the most recent census data where 23.7% of the Māori population speak te reo, you have to ask the question, is the supposed centrality of te reo still

true, or is it merely a mirage, an ideal that does not match the reality? This study in part explores this question in the search for a consensual response from Māori as to their position in sharing their language and inevitably their limited language resources with non-Māori.

THE JOURNEY

Throughout the journey of this thesis I discovered that there was no simple response to determining whether Māori were supportive of non-Māori speaking Māori, nor was there a clear cut process to follow. The third challenge with this study was to find ways to navigate through the data to reveal meaningful responses. Narrative analysis was the primary tool used with the qualitative data which was the most appropriate for this study. It allowed for a subjective view drawn from within te ao Māori to investigate the talk from the participants.

The investigation uncovered a range of views which were informed by many different experiences. There were issues related to the age of participants, their upbringing, their levels of proficiency in te reo, the ease of access to Māori language domains as well as access to quality language learning forums and resources, all of which influenced their views on this matter. There was considerable discussion around why non-Māori should be supported and encouraged to learn to speak Māori, and with that came the recognition of the rapidly changing ‘face’ of Māori today. There was clear acknowledgement that many of our Māori tamariki and mokopuna also have whakapapa Pākehā, Tongan, Indian, Chinese and many, many others. Do we deny them their reo because of their alter whakapapa / geneology?

The importance of tikanga and te reo and the close knit relationship these two elements have in relation to Māori identity were reinforced in this study as being most important despite the

fact that less than a quarter of the Māori population can speak te reo. Indications from all the analyses show that as well as a healthy regard for te reo and strong positive attitudes towards Māori identity, all the study group share a strong desire to engage in tikanga. A number of the responses even suggest that tikanga may be more important than the language. While this was certainly not the ideal, learning and understanding tikanga could be considered one of the more readily accessible avenues to fostering the desire to learn te reo.

Spolsky (2003, p.40) notes that there is growing ideological support for te reo and its maintenance and this study provides evidence to support that, even though the number of speakers of te reo is low. This support can be seen in the positive response and willingness of people to engage in and be involved in this study and in the in-depth consideration of the issues and discussions that took place. The range of participants across all age groups, all levels of language proficiency and tribal affiliation has allowed representation across the spectrum of the Māori population. But, it is important to be reminded that the responses here are from this discrete population only and are in no way intended to be the voice of all Māori.

There is strong evidence in the stories of participants, not all of whom were speakers, that taking the time to engage in and be supportive of Māori medium domains promotes te reo learning. Engagement in marae based activities, kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and other culture based activities where te reo is prominent; kapa haka, wānanga, mau rākau, and raranga were all spoken of in favourable tones. These are all signs of growth and positive attitudes towards te reo and Māori identity. Engagement by non-Māori in these cultural domains whilst not overtly encouraged is still supported, and especially so if they are members of whānau Māori. Hohepa (TPK, 2006) suggests that although that shift in focus, from focussing on pushing Māori to learn Māori to non-Māori, may not be well liked in some

Māori circles, but it is having a positive effect on the way the language is viewed by non-Māori. Raising the profile of things Māori and changing attitudes towards te reo in positive ways can only be advantageous for Māori and te reo.

PRIORITIES

The priority for the participants in this study has not changed. Support for learning te reo must in the first instance be geared towards Māori. It is of considerable concern that our quality native speaker resources are severely limited. Many spoke of the need to conserve these resources as best we can and to utilise them respectfully and with sound stewardship.

It is clear that these study participants saw the knowledge and practise of tikanga as being very important for Māori identity. Even though some considered tikanga to be more important than te reo, no-one contested the fact that together, knowledge and practice of tikanga and te reo complemented and strengthened Māori identity. There was clearly a desire for all Māori to learn to speak te reo, but for many of the Pakeke age group in particular, the ability to learn had been suppressed and many struggled with it now. This struggle they did not want repeated for the ensuing generations. So learning the language as children, or even simply being in and around places where the language is used, they maintained, could assist language learning. Modelling the use of te reo through everyday interactions and engagements sends a strong message that te reo is desirable, that it is adaptable, that it is contemporary and that it is valuable.

Sharing of te reo and tikanga resources with non-Māori who are whānau members is the next level of learning disbursement. These whānau members are considered 'safe' because they

walk alongside us in te ao Māori. Their offspring are our tamariki and mokopuna and are the ensuing generations, and they have the right to engage in the customs and practices of their ancestors including the language. It will also be their responsibility to carry on and maintain te reo me ōna tikanga, so it is not just right and proper that these non-Māori whānau members are encouraged and supported in their endeavours to practise te reo and tikanga, but it is imperative that they do so. In this way non-Māori whānau members model the value placed on te reo and their use of te reo will also assist the growth and inter-generational transfer of te reo. Sharing the valuable language resources with non-Māori who may not have commitment to the respectful use of te reo and tikanga Māori, because they have no associations with Māori community, is not seen as a priority.

CONCERNS

De Bres (2009) raises the concern that the language behaviours of non-Māori may create anxiety for Māori. The participants in this study shared stories of non-Māori who have acquired very good te reo skills and use them respectfully and responsibly. There were also stories about those who have not. This creates angst for those who have been deprived of the language or who have real difficulty learning te reo as adults. Mispronunciation and mistranslation by non-Māori were both areas identified that created anxiety for Māori. Perhaps one way forward to aid the growth of te reo could be to explore the barriers that Māori adults have encountered, as expressed in this work, that prevent them from learning te reo. This I believe is an imperative.

Learning the language in alien contexts such as the classroom was noted as a particular concern. Takiri continues to push for te reo teaching and learning in the context of local marae. In this way the local dialects, the local tikanga and histories are remembered and

revived through oral transmission, assuring their sustainability for generations to come. There has to be acknowledgement that the rural areas are more likely to retain the language and tikanga because most of the tribal marae are in rural areas. But, the numbers of speakers qualified to teach te reo are severely constrained. Funding for teaching te reo in this context is therefore difficult to obtain. How do we overcome this hurdle?

Code switching was evident in almost every encounter with the participants in this study. Whilst it is considered by many to be detrimental to the authenticity of te reo, its widespread use could offer challenges for teaching the language. That challenge would be to try and find how code switching might be used to advantage, that it might be used as a strategy in teaching and learning te reo.

The discussions in this study suggest that a truly bicultural expression of nationhood would be total participation by all residents of Aotearoa in both te reo and tikanga Māori. That total engagement by non-Māori is not what the participants in this study see as desirable. They see progress being made through a greater understanding by non-Māori of tikanga, which might then possibly lead to wider engagement with te reo. They are at pains to stress though that any engagement by non-Māori in te ao Māori has to be voluntary and undertaken on Māori terms.

CONCLUSION

In addition to offering a touchstone with which to link into language maintenance efforts in this country, it is my hope that this study will provide a methodological and analytical framework of use to researchers investigating heritage or indigenous language initiatives in

other countries where their languages remain under threat of loss. This work has been an opportunity to address the link between te reo and Māori identity. Our whakataukī and our ancestral stories signal strongly that our identity is inherent in our language and our tribal customary practices and vice versa. Discovering just how valid that notion is in the twenty first century when less than a quarter of the Māori population can speak Māori has been the major challenge in this work.

Throughout this study I kept at the forefront the question, what would be useful for Māori from this research? What can I give back to the Māori community? I believe that this work has helped clarify the importance that te reo continues to have for Māori and their identity. I believe it has shown the myriad of ways in which we express our Māori identity even though the language we are sometimes speaking may be English, but the content enhances our Māoriness. I believe that this work highlights our responsibility to ensure that te reo continues to be spoken, in all domains and as often as possible, even by those who may not have whakapapa Māori. I believe that it also highlights the importance of tikanga and te reo to our identity and that learning both in concert strengthens and enhances both te reo Māori and Māori identity.

The argument that because fewer people are able to engage in the language then the link between te reo Māori and Māori identity is weakened, that it is no longer central to identity, is clearly not supported in this study. This project also aimed to canvas the views of Māori on what they thought and how they felt about non-Māori learning their language. It was important to investigate this issue to ensure that if this was a strategy planned for development sometime in the future, that there was a basis, a body of evidence of support by Māori for that to take place.

Moving into the future, there will be non-Māori who may not contribute greatly to the growth or development of te reo, but their support for others speaking te reo is invaluable. There are a number of strategies suggested in this work that can support and encourage non-Māori into te reo that are practical strategies and do not put too great a strain on our already stretched te reo resources. At low levels of engagement, the learning by non-Māori can more readily be supported and monitored to ensure that appropriate respect and care for the language and tikanga is nurtured. This study has shown that there are hurdles and obstacles to be overcome before Māori will readily entertain non-Māori into speaking Māori, but there are signs of hope, of a way forward which probably lies with the children of 21st century New Zealand. I close now with this consideration for the children of this land, both Māori and non-Māori, who Hare says in time to come will not ask “Why do we have to learn Māori? But will instead ask “Why ever not?”

APPENDIX I

University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Forms – Reference 2003/360

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - ENGLISH

Title: Te Reo, a language for Maori Alone? An enquiry into the views of Maori?

E ngā iwi, e ngā mana, e ngā karangamaha o tēnei marae, karanga mai, karanga mai karanga mai!
Koutou nga iwi, ngā kaitiaki o tēnei marae, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa!

Tangihia rātou kua huri ki tua o te ārai, haere koutou, haere, haere. Ko tātou ngā morehu i waihotia ki muri hei kaitiaki i ngā taonga maha i tukua iho, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tatou katoa.

Ko Puhanga Tohora tōku maunga o roto o te wahapu o Hokianga, ko Ngāpuhi te iwi, ko Ngāitu, Te Mahurehure, ko Ngāti Hine hoki ōku hapū. Ko Te Arapera Bella Ngaha tōku ingoa.

My name is Arapera Ngaha and I am a staff member/student at The University of Auckland, and I am currently enrolled for a doctoral dissertation in the Department of Maori Studies. I have a strong interest in the field of language maintenance of Maori and am conducting this research in order to be able to build on the information available in the public domain about te reo, its use, and attitudes towards its use in everyday interactions. This information will also help provide some guidance for those who set the direction for language learning programmes but most of all it provides an opportunity for ordinary Maori people to have input in that decision-making process.

Two of the most useful ways in which we can build on the reo resources that we already have, is to increase the numbers of speakers and to increase the numbers of ‘reo friendly’ places. These are places where we can feel comfortable speaking Maori at any time. But that means changing attitudes towards te reo, not only of others, but of ourselves as well. Many of our tamariki today are part Maori and part other ethnicities, and so it is difficult to know if they have opportunities in the home to hear and maybe learn te reo. The numbers of Maori speaking adults are decreasing, and although we have the rise in tamariki coming through Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Wharekura, who are speakers of Maori, there are serious doubts that this may still not be enough to maintain te reo as a language of everyday use.

I invite you to participate in this research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. I would like to explore your views about whether we should encourage non-Maori to learn te reo or not. As well, if you have other ideas around how we can not only maintain te reo, but also help it to grow, then I would feel privileged to discuss and explore these ideas with you as well.

You may also be invited to complete a Survey that asks you to rate the importance of a number of markers of Māori identity, including te reo, on a scale of 1 being essential to my Māori identity to 4 being not important.

What do we need to do?

I would like to convene a hui with whanau involved with this, your marae. During this hui, my colleagues and I will facilitate a discussion on this subject and take note of your views on the matter. We will outline for you some of the most recent statistics that relate to the growth of te reo and open up the discussion so that you can then talk about your ideas and your thoughts from your own experiences and perspectives.

Who can be involved?

Anyone who belongs to this marae community may take part in the discussions. Participation is to be determined by yourselves, the marae community.

Will our discussions be taped?

Yes, provided those present agree for this to happen, we will audio-tape each hui. There will also be one or two people taking notes on the discussions to ensure that we capture your thoughts accurately.

After the hui is over, the research team will transcribe the discussions, pull out the main points of the korero and will return to this committee with a summary of the discussions. We will then seek your permission to add that data into a report that will be compiled using the data received from the discussions held at all the marae we visit. We expect to cover around 20 marae in Auckland over a period of around 2 years.

What will happen to the tapes and the transcribed material?

Once the material has been transcribed, the tape recordings and transcriptions will be returned to the Marae Committee for your own use.

Who will benefit from this research?

- ❑ These discussions may help raise awareness of the dilemma that te reo faces, because despite the initiatives already in place in the education arena, we are still facing a degree of language loss.
- ❑ The final report on the overall findings will present the views of Maori, who may not have any other way in which their views can be heard and the report can then provide direction for those planning te reo initiatives in the future.
- ❑ The data from this research will also form the basis of a PHD Thesis by the co-ordinator of this programme, Arapera Ngaha.

How long will this take and where will it be?

Each hui will take from 2–4 hours, depending on the numbers involved and can be held at any time that is convenient to yourselves.

To conclude, I wish to acknowledge *Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga* without whose financial assistance this research would not be possible. I also want to take the opportunity to thank you all very much for your time and your contributions to this important work.

If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me at: (09) 3737599 extn 88545 or on (027) 4209945 or write to me at:

Department of Maori Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland. Tel (09) 3737599 extn: 88545

My supervisor is: **Professor Margaret Mutu**
Department of Maori Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland. Tel. 373-7999 extn. 87465

My supervisor is: **Dr. Donna Starks**
Department of Applied Language Studies & Linguistics
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland. Tel. 373-7999 extn. 85236

The Head of Department is: **Professor Margaret Mutu**

Or for any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact:

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee,
The University of Auckland, Research Office - Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
Tel. 373-7999 extn 87830

HE PEPA WHAKAMĀRAMA KŌRERO HEI ARATAKI I A KOUTOU – Te Reo Māori

Te Kaupapa:	Te Reo, mō te Maori anake? He aha ngā whakaaro, ngā moemoea?
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E ngā iwi, e ngā mana, e ngā karangamaha o tēnei marae, karanga mai, karanga mai karanga mai! Koutou ngā kaitiaki o tēnei marae, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa!

Tangihia rātou kua huri ki tua o te ārai, haere koutou, haere, haere. Ko tātou ngā morehu i waihotia ki muri hei kaitiaki i ngā tāonga maha i tukua iho, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

Ko Pūhanga Tōhora tōku maunga o roto te wahapū o Hokianga, ko Ngāpuhi te iwi, ko Ngāitū, ko Te Mahurehure, ko Ngāti Hine hoki ōku hapū. Ko tētahi manga anō nō te waka o Te Arawa, Ngāti Whakaue, te hapū ko Ngāti Rangīwaho.

Ko Te Arapera Bella Ngaha tōku ingoa.

He kaimahi/tauirā ahau i Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau Kei te whai ahau i taku tohu Tākutatanga (PHD) mai i te Tari Maori. He kaha tōku aro atu ki te tiaki i te reo Maori, kei te whakahaere ahau i tēnei rangahau kia kitea ai ngā whakaaturanga, ngā whakaaro, me ngā mahi a te iwi whānui e pā ana ki te reo i ngā wā katoa. Ko aua whakaaturanga hei tautoko i te huarahi kua whakatakotohia mai e rātou mā, ngā kaihanganga orangā mō te reo. Ka āhei hoki te iwi Maori ahakoa ko wai ki te whakauru atu i ōna whakaaro ki ngā whakawhitiwhiti kōrero e pā ana ki te reo.

E rua ngā tino hua hei tautoko i ngā rauemi reo kei mua i a tātou. Me whakanui ake ngā kaikōrero i te reo, me ngā wāhi hei kōrerotanga i te reo. Kia āhei tātou ki te kōrero Maori i aua wāhi i ngā wā katoa. Engari, me whakarereke ngā whakaaro o te iwi kē me tātou hoki ki te reo. He maha wa tātou tamariki nō te iwi kē tētahi o ngā mātua nō reira e kore e mōhiotia mena kei te rongona kei te akona rānei te reo i ō rātou kāinga. Kei te mimiti haere ngā pakeke matatau ki te kōrero i te reo. Ahakoa ko whakapiki ake ngā tamariki Maori kua puta mai i ngā Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori me ngā Wharekura e mātau ana ki te kōrero Maori ko te tino āwangawanga kē he iti rawa ēnei hei kaiwhakaora ake i te reo i ngā rā katoa.

Ma te iwi e tautoko te ako i te reo rangatira ki ngā iwi kē atu, kāhore rānei?

Ko taku hiahia kia uru mai koe ki tēnei rangahau. Kei te whakawhetai ahau mō tō awahina mai i au. Ka whakarongo ahau ki ōu whakaaro mena ka whakaāe tātou/e kore ranei, kia ako te iwi kē i tō tātou reo. Mena e whakaaro anō ōu hei whakaora hei whakapakari ake i te reo, tēnā kōrerohia mai.

He mea anō tāku, mena e hiahiatia ana, ā, ka taea e koe te whakakī i tētahi pepa rangahau tāku. Ko te kaupapa o taua pepa rangahau, māu anō e titiro ki tōu ake whakaaro e pā ana ki te tuakiri o te tangata Māori. Kei a koe te tikanga mō taua mahi.

Me aha tātou?

Kei te hiahia ahau ki te hui tahi ki te whānau o tēnei marae. Māku me ōku hoa kairangahau e whakahaere te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mo tēnei take. Ka tuhia e mātou o koutou whakaaro. Mā mātou e pānui atu ki a koutou ngā tataunga o nāianei e pā ana ki te tupuranga o te reo. Ka hoatu te wāhanga ki a koutou hei whakaatu mai i ō koutou ake whakaaro mo tēnei take.

Ko wai e taea te uru mai?

Ko ngā iwi o tēnei marae. Ma koutou e whiriwhiri ko wai.

Ka hopua a tātou kōrero e te mihini hopu reo?

Āe, engari me whakaāe anō ngā iwi o ia hui. E tokorua ngā kairangahau hei tuhituhi i ētahi o ngā kōrero o ia hui kia tika ai te mau o wō koutou whakaaro.

Ka mutu te hui ka tīmata ngā kairangahau ki te tuhi i ngā kōrero mai i te rīpene hopu reo. Ka tirohia ngā whakaaro matua kei te puta mai i aua kōrero. I muri o tērā ka hoki mai anō mātou me tētahi ripoata o aua kōrero. Ka pātai hoki mātou mena ka whakaāe koutou kia tuhia a koutou kōrero ki tētahi ripoata o ngā

whakawhitiwhiti kōrero e pā ana ki tēnei take. Ko to mātou tumanako kia rua tekau ngā marae mai i te rohe o Tāmaki Makaurau nei e whakauru mai ki tēnei rangahau. E rua ngā tau e whakahaerehia ai tēnei mahi.

Mā wai e mau ngā kōpae, i ngā rīpene me ngā tuhinga?

Ka oti ngā kape tuhinga o ā koutou kōrero, ka hoatu ki a koutou ngā mea katoa. Mā koutou e whiriwhiri me aha.

Ko wai ka whiwhi hua mai i tēnei rangahau?

- Mā ēnei kōrero pea e whakaatu mai ngā raruraru e pā ana ki te reo i te mea ahakoa kua whakatakotohia kē ngā huarahi mo te reo Māori e te Tari Mātauranga kei te kitea tonu kua ngaro haere te reo.
- Mā te rīpoata mutunga o tēnei rangahau e whakaatu ngā whakaaro o te iwi Māori ahakoa ko wai. Mā tēnei rīpoata hoki e awhina te huarahi mō rātou kei te whakamahi i ngā kaupapa whakahaere i te reo.
- Ko ngā whakaaturanga o tēnei rīpoata te putake o te tuhinga roa mō te tohu Takutatanga a te kairangahau matua, a Arapera Ngaha..

Pēhea te roa o te hui, ā, ki hea?

Kei tō koutou marae te hui, ā mā koutou e whiriwhiri te wā ka tīmata. Kei te āhua tonu o ngā tāngata kei te uru mai te roanga o te hui, engari ki a mātou nei, e rua, e toru hāora pea te roa.

Heoi i tēnei wā me mihi aroha atu ki a koutou e pānuitia ai te pānui nei, kia ora anō mō tō koutou tautoko ki ā mātou mahi. Anā, mā te Atua koutou e manāki, e tiaki, e ārahi i ngā wā katoa. He mihi anō hoki ki *Ngā Pae o Te Maramatanga*, nā rātou i tuku mai tētahi pūtea hei tautoko, hei awhina te kaupapa nei. Ngā mihi nui ki a rātou.

Mehemea he pātai tonu āu, wāea mai, kōrero mai, ā, māku koe e whakahoki kōrero.

Tono mai, wāea mai ki a:

Arapera Ngaha

Department of Maori Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland.

Tel (09) 3737599 extn: 88545 or (027) 4209945

Ko ōku kaiwhakahaere ko:

Professor Margaret Mutu

Department of Maori Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland.

Tel. 373-7999 extn. 87465

Dr. Donna Starks

Department of Applied Language Studies & Linguistics
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland.

Tel. 373-7999 extn. 85236

Ko te tumuaki o te Tari Maori ko:

Professor Margaret Mutu

Mehemea he pātai, he raruraru hoki i te tika o tēnei kaupapa, wāea atu ki a:

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee

The University of Auckland, Research Office - Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland.
Tel. 373-7999 extn 87830

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Title: Te Reo, a language for Maori Alone? An enquiry into the views of Maori.

Researcher: ARAPERA BELLA NGAHA

Individual Consent Form

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me at any time up to June 2005 without giving a reason.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I agree/do not agree that the hui will be audio taped.

Signed: _____

Name: _____
(please print clearly)

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on November 19th for a period of 3 years, from 19 / 11 / 2003.
Reference 2003 / 360

KA MAU TĒNEI PEPA WHAKAĀETANGA I NGĀ TAU E ONO

Te Kaupapa: Te Reo mō te Maori anake? He aha ngā whakaaro, ngā moemoea o te iwi?

Kaitūhonohono ko: ARAPERA BELLA NGAHA

Mō tētahi tangata anake

Kua pānuitia tēnei pepa ā, mārama ana au i te kaupapa. E whakaāe ana au te wātea mai tētahi wāhanga ki te pātai i ngā pātai, ā, ka whakahokia ngā kōrero.

Mōhio ana au ka taea e au te whakakore āku kōrero, whakaaro hoki, tae atu ki te Hune o te tau 2005, ā e kore mea atu te tikanga.

- E whakaāe ana ahau ki te uru mai ki tēnei mahi.
- E whakaāe ana ahau / E kore au e whakaāe ana ki te mau i ngā kōrero i te mihīni hopu reo.

Tuhia tō ingoa: _____

Tō ingoa: _____
(Me āta tuhituhi)

Rā: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS
COMMITTEE on November 19th for a period of 3 years, from 19 / 11 / 2003.
Reference 2003 / 360

FACULTY OF ARTS

Te Tari Māori
Te Wānanga o Waipapa
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau



The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Title: Te Reo, a Language for Maori Alone? An Enquiry into the views of Maori in Community Hui

Researcher: ARAPERA BELLA NGAHA

Name of Rōpū: _____

Address: _____

Date of Hui: _____

Location of Hui: _____

Research Facilitators:

Name: _____

Designation: _____

Name: _____

Designation: _____

Name: _____

Designation: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
on November 19th, 2003 for a period of 3 years, from 19 / 11 / 2003. **Reference. 2003 / 360.**

- I believe we should all learn each other's reo because of the mixed marriages, and they've got grandchildren and children [who are part Māori]

A particular concern was that whichever way the learning of te reo is carried out, that the understanding and practise of tikanga should also go hand-in-hand with te reo.

- ...My Mum is Pakeha, and she wants to learn, I want her to learn too and we – my whanau – support her in that because she's the kaitiaki of my tamariki and she's going to be around them like forever... so she will keep the language safe because that's part of who her mokopuna are ... my Mum knows the tikanga, because she lives it with us...

And, if we support others to learn our reo, our tikanga, how do we monitor that our Māori ways of 'being' and 'thinking' and 'doing' are not altered by the influence of another ideology and cultural background of the non-Māori but fluent speakers? Many spoke about the embarrassment of being in places, often formal gatherings, where non-Māori addressed the hui in te reo that was more fluent than their own. These kinds of experiences have created barriers to language learning and to a greater extent participation in 'things' and 'practises' Māori. Community and whānau expectations were also signalled as barriers to learning te reo.

Although all the Māori communities in this study embraced the idea of te reo being a language for all New Zealanders, they do not see that promotion of te reo for non-Māori is a priority. The imperative is still that our energies be focussed on encouraging and helping Māori to learn te reo, ideally at home and on their own marae within the support networks of hapū and iwi.

- ... strengthen the home first yes? If we do that, then perhaps there's no reason to send people off to the University [any other tertiary institutions] to learn our language ...

Kupu Whakamutunga

This study has provided a rich and diverse dataset that offers an opportunity for the flax-roots Māori community voices to be heard and we gratefully acknowledge their truly valuable contributions. The work continues to seek pathways forward.

Nā reira e te iwi ka nui te mihi ki a koutou katoa. Nā ō koutou kaha ki te hāpai i tēnei kaupapa kia puta mai ai ngā moemoea, ngā nawe, ngā mamae hoki e pā ana ki tō tātou reo, ā, ka kitea ai te huarahi tika. Mā te Atua koutou e manaaki e tiaki, e ārahi i ngā rā kei te haere tonu mai, ā, i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa hoki!

The research team gratefully acknowledges Nga Pae o Te Maramatanga, without whose support this work would not have been possible.

*“Ahakoa he maramara noa iho,
mā te katoa ka puta mai he puāwai”.*

*“Although each contribution may
seem small, together they help
the dream grow to fruition”.*

Research Team

Arapera Ngaha, John Ngaha, Awhina Rawiri,
Hohipere Tarau, Robin Tarau

Contact

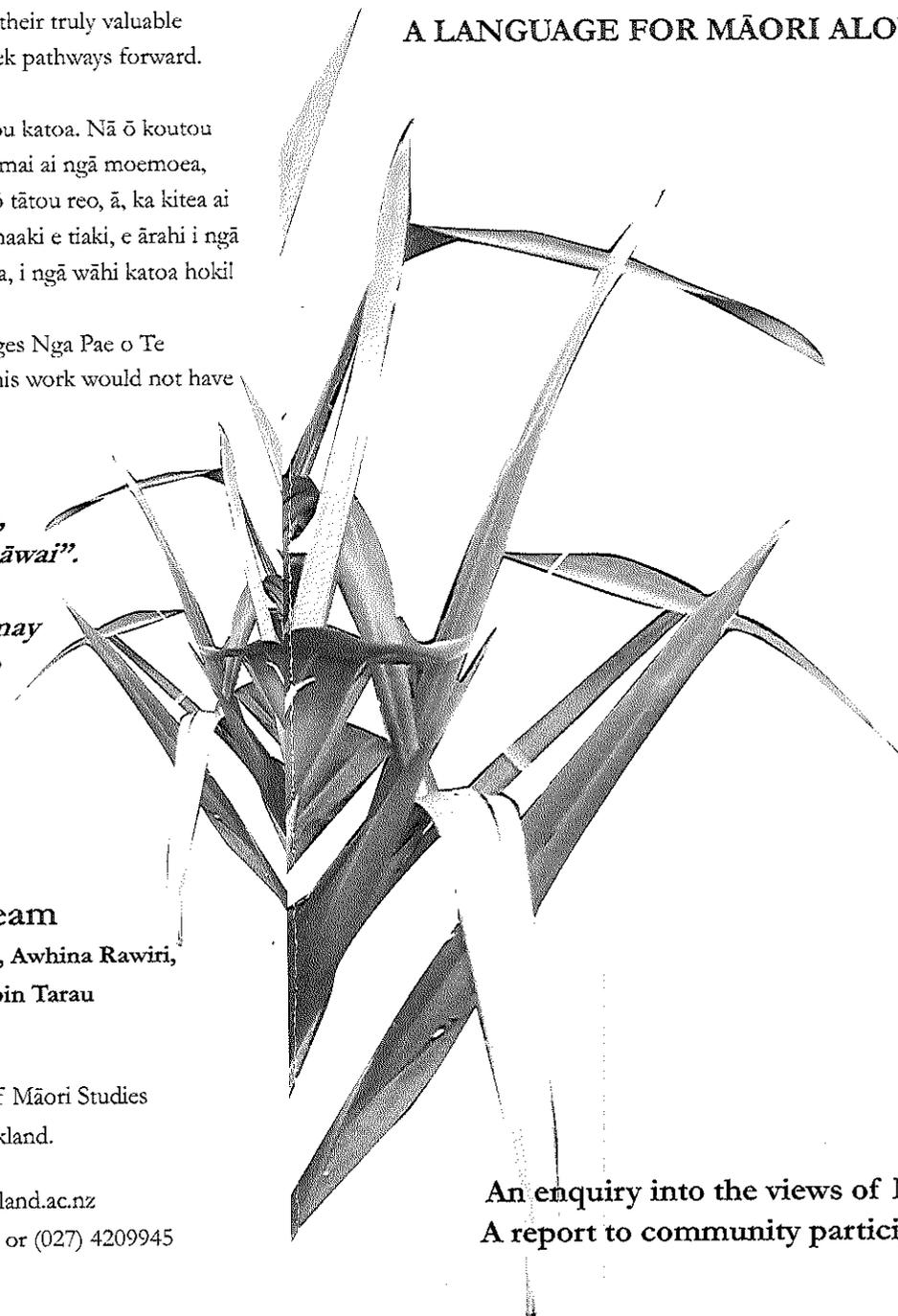
A.Ngaha c/- Department of Māori Studies
University of Auckland.

Email: a.ngaha@auckland.ac.nz

Ph: (09) 3737599 extn. 88545 or (027) 4209945

TE REO

A LANGUAGE FOR MĀORI ALONE?



An enquiry into the views of Māori
A report to community participants

This study canvasses Māori opinion at flax-roots level on the idea that te reo Māori, their language, is shared by all New Zealanders. A number of the issues and questions raised have implications for proposed strategies outlined in Te Puni Kokiri's (TPK) 2003 Māori language revitalisation strategy reports. The views expressed by Māori who participated in this study build on the work of these reports and the study is aimed at assisting policy-making and further reo revitalisation efforts.

Participation

Māori communities were invited to participate in the study, from within the urban Auckland region and a smaller northern rural community. Focus group hui and interviews were carried out within these communities. A survey that explores the link between Māori identity and te reo, and a case study that helps to illustrate the long term effects of previous Māori language policies and practises on language use, also contributed to the dataset gathered in this study. These community contributions provide the database for this study.

The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee (UAHSEC) provided ethical review for the research; members of the research team were experienced with working in the Māori community and were ably assisted by kaumātua and kuia who helped steer the process and direction. In that way a Māori ethical review – ensuring processes followed were tika for each community – was gained.

Findings

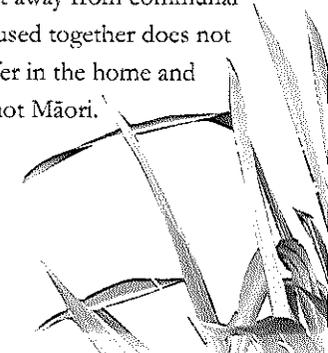
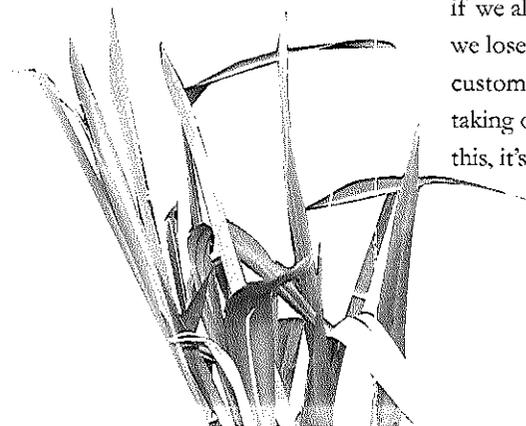
The Māori communities in this study generally agree that te reo Māori could be considered a language for all people in New Zealand, but with reservations and support was not unanimous. When concerns were raised in the focus group hui some lively discussions followed that brought out important issues that might otherwise not have surfaced. This is what some had to say.

- Why shouldn't they all (anyone) learn Māori, they might then have some idea about who we are and learn to understand us, maybe?
- No way! Kei hea tō tātou tino rangatiratanga? Kī au nei, mena ka tukuna te reo, ka ngaro haere tō tātou mana nā Tauīwi i riro tō mātou whenua, tō mātou tikanga pērā ki ngā mahi taurekareka i te takutai moana Kāre au e whakaāe ki tēnei take, e hē rawa atu!
- [No way! Where is our own autonomy and authority? For me, if we allow others our language (through promoting it), then we lose control of it ... our land was taken by Tauīwi, and our customs and traditions are being lost, just like the scandalous taking of our seabed and foreshore ... I will never agree to this, it's a terrible idea!]

Secondary findings suggest that views across these Māori communities were similar with no major variance between age groups, iwi, etc.. But there were challenges to the traditional link between language and identity.

- ... I mean if 90% of us can't kōrero i te reo, well, so the reo doesn't make us Māori, saying that without the reo you can't be Māori is a falsity ... the more important question is not how important is te reo to me, but how relevant is it to me today?

Opportunities for learning te reo are a concern, especially for adults and non-Māori partners. Native speakers in particular acknowledged the changes to Māori society which make it much more difficult to maintain te reo for Māori alone as so many of the Māori population are no longer only Māori. All groups (young Māori and older Māori; white collar professionals and the unemployed; speakers of te reo and non speakers of te reo; urban and rural based Māori) although sometimes divided in opinion acknowledge that the traditional ways of learning are no longer practical in Aotearoa today. Our lifestyles, work commitments and economic circumstances do not allow us the luxury to focus solely on learning te reo. Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura and Whare Wānanga provide institutional language learning opportunities from an early age, but inter-generational transfer in the home although the ideal, is still far from the reality. The shift away from communal three generation families being housed together does not easily lend itself to language transfer in the home and especially so when one partner is not Māori.



APPENDIX II – Survey Document page 1

Tēnā koutou!

E ngā iwi, e ngā mana, e ngā karangamaha o ia hapu o ia marae hoki, karanga mai, karanga mai karanga mai! Tangihia rātou kua huri ki tua o te ārai, haere koutou, haere, haere. Ko tātou ngā morehu i waihotia ki muri hei kaitiaki i ngā taonga maha i tukua iho, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

My name is Arapera Ngaha of both Ngāpuhi and Te Arawa descent. I am a researcher at the University of Auckland and also a student enrolled for a doctoral dissertation in the Dept. of Maori Studies. I have a strong interest in the field of language maintenance of Maori and, with a small team of colleagues, am carrying out research that will help build on the information available about *te reo*, its use, and attitudes towards its use in everyday interactions. We hope the information gathered may also guide the direction and process for *te reo* learning programmes; but most of all we aim to give an opportunity for Maori people from all walks of life to share their views, their concerns, dreams and aspirations about *te reo Maori*.

This survey is but a small part of the ‘big picture’ that relates to our Maori identity and we would appreciate your assistance in this matter, through your completing this survey.

Your views will be respected, and confidentiality of all information offered will be maintained at all times. No individual will be identifiable in any reports that use this data.

Please do not hesitate if you have any questions; you may contact me on:

a.ngaha@auckland.ac.nz

OR ph: 3737599 extn. 88545

OR mob: 027 4209945

Ngā manaakitanga o te Atua i runga rā ki a koutou katoa, tēnā koutou katoa!

Survey Document page 2

Maoriness Survey

What are the aspects that you consider help you to identify as Maori and how important are they, to YOU?

Please indicate by numbering 1 – 4 your preferences.

1 = essential 2 = very important 3 = important 4 = not really important

Knowledge of Whakapapa	Knowledge of Whanaungatanga	Knowledge of Tikanga	Knowledge of Te Reo
Upbringing	Connections to Marae	Connections to Land	Physical Characteristics

Please indicate also:

Age group e.g. 20 – 30:

Gender: M/F

Schooling: Mainstream/Kura

Home suburb:

Tribe/s:

Te Reo skills: please circle one of the following indicating your own skill level.

Native
speaker.

Fluent
speaker.

Good – able to
hold short kōrero

Fair – a few
sentences

Minimal – a few
words/phrases

Your name: (optional) _____

Comments: _____

APPENDIX III Tables

4.3 Focal Text Analysis

FOCAL TEXT	wk	wh	tik	upb	lnd	mar	reo	Pa	pl	sch	chch	occ	edn	tia	man	hum	rur	cul	Spt
I came from Waikaremoana, Tuai	1	1		1			1		1								1		
those of us from Kahungungu,	1	1		1			1		1								1		
new kid from the sticks					1				1							1	1		
Puketapu whanau are Te Atiawa / Hamua.	1	1		1			1		1										
a connection to Parihaka and Taranaki	1	1		1			1		1										
a Māori community,		1							1										
you could be related to us		1																	
We had been brought up	1	1	1	1															
My address is					1				1										
I am based at the marae						1			1			1							
a foundation member of Spotswood College			1	1					1	1									
I was number 38			1	1															
working at Far North REAP Centre					1				1			1	1				1		
born and raised in Parawera	1			1			1		1								1		
I attended Parawera Māori School				1			1		1	1									
I went home and worked in Te Awamutu	1				1		1		1			1							
We live in Manurewa now					1		1		1										
my days at Kurahuna Hostel		1	1	1			1		1		1								

FOCAL TEXT	wk	wh	tik	upb	lnd	mar	reo	Pa	pl	sch	chch	occ	edn	tia	man	hum	rur	cul	Spt
I remember being No. 32			1	1															
I was the eldest of a large family	1	1	1																
Always having to share my bed at home	1	1	1	1										1					
I am currently a librarian number "71"			1	1								1							
North Shore Teachers' College, graduating									1			1	1	1					
I became a cleaner												1							
I went on to teach												1		1					
I taught at the school for 14 years									1			1		1					
in Holland where we currently reside		1	1		1				1										
to return to NZ					1				1										
one of 10 children	1		1																
for returning to NZ					1				1										
She taught me that all (my mother)	1		1	1									1						
strong foundation of my formative years			1	1										1					
a small country village environment		1			1				1								1		

Key:	wk	Whakapapa	chch	Church
	wh	Whanaungatanga	occ	Occupation
	tik	Tikanga	edn	Education
	upb	Upbringing	tia	Tiakitanga
	lnd	Land	man	Manaakitanga
	mar	Marae	hum	Humour
	reo	Reo	rur	Rural
	pa	Physical Attributes	cul	Cultural Activity
	pl	Place	spt	Sport
	sch	School		

Table 5.1 Hui participant data

Rōpū Name	Tuatahi	Tuarua	Tuatoru	Tuawha	Tuarima	Tuaono	Tuawhitu	Tuawaru	Tuaiwa	Totals
Wahine	14	13	12	8	10	5	2	27	20	111
Tāne		1	11	5		2	6	9	1	35
Total No.	14	14	23	13	10	7	8	36	21	146
Urban	12	14	23	13	2	7	8	22	21	122
Rural	2				8			14		24
Mainstream School	12	11	21	11	10	5	8	32	20	130
Mainstream & Kura Māori	2	3	2	2		2		4	1	16
Age: >16		2			8		1			11
Age:16 - 30			16		1	5	3	5	2	32
Age:31 - 45		6	7	3	1	2	4	12	6	41
Age:46 - 60	11	1		7				13	9	41
Age:61 - 75	3	4		2				6	4	19
Age:75+		1		1						2
Iwi: Tai Tokerau	4	12	1	7	4	5	6	33	7	79
Iwi: Waikato	4	1	3	2	1	1	4		3	19
Iwi: Taranaki, Wanganui	6			1	1			1	2	11
Iwi: Bay of Plenty	1		2	1	1	1		2	2	10
Iwi: East Coast	2	3	4	1	3	2		2		17
Iwi: Te Arawa, Tūwharetoa		2	1	1					1	5

Table 5.2 Iwi affiliation of hui participants by percentage totals										
Rōpū Name	Tuatahi	Tuarua	Tuatoru	Tuawha	Tuarima	Tuaono	Tuawhitu	Tuawaru	Tuaiwa	Totals
Iwi: Tai Tokerau	4	12	1	7	4	5	6	33	7	56%
Iwi: Waikato	4	1	3	2	1	1	4		3	13%
Iwi: Taranaki, Wanganui	6			1	1			1	2	8%
Iwi: Bay of Plenty	1		2	1	1	1		2	2	7%
Iwi: East Coast	2	3	4	1	3	2		2		12%
Iwi: Te Arawa, Tūwharetoa		2	1	1					1	4%
										100%

APPENDIX IV – Published works and Conference papers

Refereed Articles:

- Ngaha, A. B., Starks, D., & Galbraith, S. (2004). Who speaks Maori in New Zealand? The census interpretations and personal perspectives. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics*, 10(2), 17-38.
- Ngaha, A. (2005). Language and identity in the Maori community: without te reo, who am I? In J. Holmes, M. Maclagan, P. Kerswill & M. Paviour-Smith (Eds.), *Researching Language Use and Language Users* (pp. 29-49). <http://www.nzlingsoc.org/documents/Researching%20Language%20Use.htm>

Conference Presentations

- Ngaha, A. July 2009 *Whose research? Engaging in academic research in Māori Communities*. Fourth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, University of Athens Greece, 8-11 July, 2009
- Ngaha, A. July 2009 *Distance: the divide that stifles minority language learning* Athens Institute for education and Research – 2nd International Conference on Philology, Literature and Linguistics – Athens, Greece 13-16 July, 2009.
- Ngaha, A. Dec. 2008. *Whose research? Engaging in academic research in Māori Communities*. WIPCE, Melbourne, Australia Dec. 8th.
- Ngaha, A. August 2006 *Māori Church Boarding Schools: agents accelerating language loss*. 10th New Zealand language and Society Conference, Christchurch Arts Centre, Aug. 19th
- Ngaha, A. July 2006. *A case study of language maintenance of Te Reo Māori within the boarding school phenomenon of the 1960s: linguistic survival strategies*. ALAA Conference, Brisbane July
- Ngaha, A. June 2006. *Te Reo = Māori Identity = Well Being = Te Reo Traditional Knowledges: Indigenous Indicators of Well-Being, Perspectives, Practises, Solutions Conference*. Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, June 14th, 2006.
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- Ngaha, A., Starks, D., Galbraith, S., *Who speaks Māori in New Zealand? The census interpretations and personal perspectives*. Language and Society Conference, Waikato University, Hamilton, November, 2003.

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- Bentley, T. (1999). *Pakeha - Māori : the extraordinary story of Europeans who lived as Māori in early New Zealand*. Auckland : Penguin books.
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