

Ngā Whakakitenga a Te Kura Roa: Whaihua

He Whenua Haumako
Te Kōhanga Reo
me Te Ataarangi
Pūrongo 1

Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder

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He Karanga

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

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

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

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

Nā mātou, iti nei, nā,

Te Kura Roa

Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder

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

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

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

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

He Mihi

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

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

Dame Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira	Dame Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi
Professor Emeritus Bernard Spolsky	Professor Michael O'Reilly
Professor Paul Tapsell	Dr Te Wharehuia Milroy
Dr Timoti Karetu	Te Ripowai Higgins
Professor Piri Sciascia	

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

We are also grateful for the support given by Dr Arapera Royal-Tangaere, Andrea Hall and Maureen Muller – who have always been part of the Te Kura Roa project.

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

Paul Edwards	Ani Eparaima
Hinemihia Lardelli	Mikaia Leach
Anton O'Carroll	Meremoana Potiki
Te Wehi Wright	Jamie Yeates

To anyone we have inadvertently missed, we are most humbly grateful for your support.



He Kōrero mō Te Kura Roa

The Te Kura Roa: Whaihua project examined community responsiveness to the value of the Māori language. As noted in the preface to this report, this project was in collaboration with Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, two of the longest standing Māori language revitalisation efforts that were formed organically from Māori communities. Despite the odds, over the past three decades, these organisations have continued to produce a number of Māori language speakers. In some instances, their efforts and contributions to intergenerational transmissions is often overlooked by social or political factors, yet despite these they continue to be a significant feature of the Māori language revitalisation landscape.

The intention for this series of reports, *Ngā Kitenga a Te Kura Roa: Whaihua*, is for the whānau members of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, particularly those who participated in the survey conducted in 2010. The reports have been broken up to allow whānau to go directly to the themes that may be of interest to them, rather than having to go through a large single documents. Furthermore, they have been written in a manner that is accessible to whānau and therefore the methodological section has been included in the report as an appendix, for researchers interested in this area.

A primary objective of these reports is to highlight the positive factors of Māori language revitalisation in our communities. This does not mean that any negative responses have been purposely omitted, on the contrary. This report includes these responses with an analysis of how these measure up across all responses. It is important to note, however, that against a background of research that continues to highlight the demise of the language, Te Kōhanga and Te Ataarangi continue to actively work to stem this. These are the narratives and experiences that need to be shared and heralded to raise critical awareness about Māori language revitalisation, to create more active Māori language users and to promote intergenerational transmission within whānau and for future generations.

This report is entitled *He Whenua Haumako*, drawing from the quote by Dr Wharehuia Milroy

“Ko tāu e tangi ai, e te reo:

Mā wai au e kawea ki ōku whenua haumako?

Mā wai au e marotiritiri kia pītau māta-a-tipu kia naga nui ki te rā,

kia kawea ahau e ngā hau kāinga, e ngā hau takiwā,

ki a Pokotaringa, ki a Ngākau-nui, ki a Whakahi mā?”¹

Both movements have contributed significantly in providing a fertile ground for the language. Therefore, some assumptions can be made about language revitalisation efforts that concentrate on these two groups. However, the reports also propose to highlight how fertile this platform continues to be in looking forward to the future of Māori language revitalisation efforts.

¹ Higgins and Rewi, 2014: 1. “This is the language’s lament: ‘Who will carry me to my fertile lands? Who will protect/nurture and ensure that I unfurl towards the sun, that I may be carried on the home breeze and be heard in the homes and across the land by those who are passionate, committed and staunch?’ Translation in original. Higgins and Rewi further note how “the original quote was coined by Te Wharehuia Milroy when he was considering issues relating to the demise of the language. The quote was later adopted by Te Kōhanga Reo and printed on the T-shirts worn by staff during the Wai 2336 hearings in Wellington in 2011.”

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Whānau Members: A Snap Shot

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

	Whānau members (n)	Percentage of total
Total	775	
Gender:		
Males	128	16.5%
Females	634	81.8%
Missing	13	1.7%
Māori language initiatives: (Multiple response selection)		
Te Ataarangi	369	47.6%
Te Kōhanga Reo	516	66.6%
Kura Kaupapa Māori	187	24.1%
Wānanga	268	34.6%
Another initiative	87	11.2%
Missing	1	0.1%
Education:		
Tertiary – Degree	190	24.5%
Tertiary – Certificate / Diploma	262	33.8%
Te Tohu Whakapakari	64	8.3%
Secondary	202	26.1%
Primary	14	1.8%
Missing	43	5.5%
Proficiency:		
Native speakers	116	15%
High proficiency L2ers ²	155	20%
Good proficiency L2ers	225	29%
Basic proficiency L2ers	185	23.9%
Beginners	54	7%
Missing	40	5.2%

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

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

The Success of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi

The following section outlines survey responses from questions pertaining directly to Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi (TKR/ TA henceforth), and the success of both initiatives. These successes have not been properly researched in the past.³ Questions covered here include:

- *Key factors of TKR/ TA that enable active language use.*
- *TKR/ TA support of language use by whānau, and*
- *use of te reo outside of TKR/ TA.*

Key findings include:

- *Whānau members are predominantly women.*
- *Whānau members are heavily involved in Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi.*
- *Our whānau members are university-educated.*
- *They have a good command of the Māori language, with either an intermediate, high or native proficiency.*
- *Whānau members are intrinsically drawn to the language and this enables them to use the language*
- *The methodologies of TKR/ TA drive language use.*
- *Using te reo Māori outside of TKR/ TA is difficult for many members, with few people that speak Māori, and*
- *TKR/TA are likely the safest spaces to speak, where Māori is the preferred language.*

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

Intergenerational Transmission

It is important to give a brief explanation of intergenerational transmission, and how these initiatives support it. This term is used throughout this series of reports. Naturally transmitting a language from one generation to another is a key part of any whānau home. In the revitalisation of a language like Māori, it is even more important that the language be present and normalised there.⁴ However, with a distinct lack of speakers in homes, a need arises for whānau-centric, culturally sound methods of teaching Māori from one generation to another that are not based in the home. Both Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi achieve this, in a way that no other initiative has managed. Both have methods of teaching (sometime called pedagogies) and guiding principles that align with those of whānau. An integral part of these methods is the key objective to transmit language and cultural practices from elder generations (kaumātua, in particular), to parents and mokopuna. In doing so, a key objective is to provide whānau with the ability to use language at home, thus reinstating the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori.

³ Higgins, 2008

⁴ See Chrisp, 2005.

Key Factors of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi That Enable Active Language Use

A total of 638 participants answered the question “Can you identify the key factors from Te Kōhanga Reo/Te Ataarangi that have enabled you to actively use the Māori language?” These responses fell into ten thematic categories, as illustrated in Figure 1:

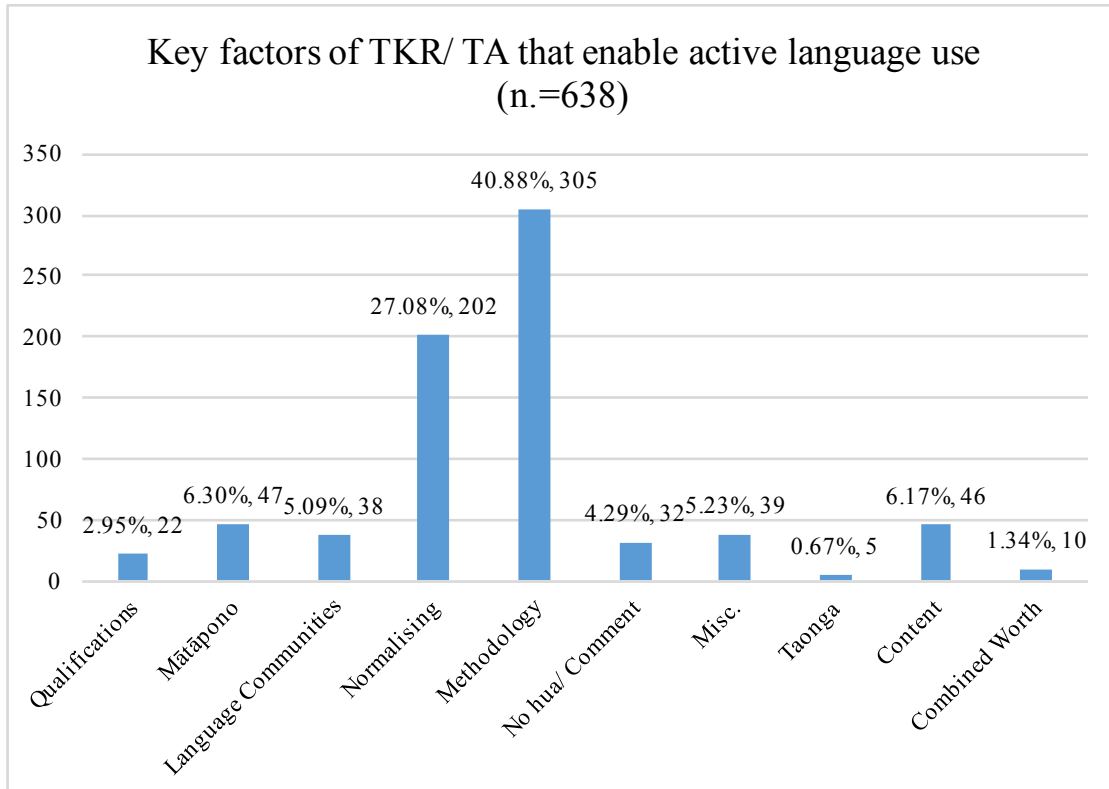


Figure 1. Key factors of TKR/TA that enable active Māori language use.
Percentage Total may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

As is shown by the graph, the clear majority of responses (40.88%, n.= 305) pertained to the methodologies of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi as key benefits that positively contributed to their use of the Māori language. Both initiatives are renowned globally for their impact on Māori language revitalisation and the pedagogy of Te Kōhanga Reo at least has been long assumed by other language groups around the world.⁵ Each kōhanga reo provides what the Waitangi Tribunal terms a “whānau learning environment,” where both parents and children are expected to attend and participate in the daily activities of child-caring and decision-making.⁶ In this model it is the elders, steeped in traditional language and knowledge, who are the most qualified language-transmitters of the kōhanga reo.⁷ Te Ataarangi is not at all unlike Te Kōhanga Reo in the whānau-learning sense, though it is also true in this environment that all whānau members are, at times, the learners and the teacher, even the teacher themselves.⁸

Te Ataarangi also administers Caleb Gattegno’s *Silent Method* originally proposed for teaching mathematics, where Cuisenaire rods are used to teach the language.⁹ The methodology was pioneered by one of the late matriarchs of Māoridom, Dame Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira and the use of the rods is affectionately known as the use of the ‘rākau.’

⁵ see Wilson, 1998; Hinton, 2011 and the case of Pūnana Leo in Hawai‘i

⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, 2012: 15

⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, 2012: 20

⁸ Higgins, 2014; Kōkōmuka Consultancy, 2001: 18

⁹ Gattegno, 1976

The model utilises a “whakarongo, titiro, kōrero” pedagogy, which encourages the student to watch and listen in order to understand what is being taught before speaking.¹⁰ In effect, this creates an environment where each student becomes their own teacher, correction is not necessary (and therefore embarrassment is avoided) and language is acquired within a uniquely Māori space. Consider the following responses given by the whānau members which illustrate the methodologies of the two initiatives at work:

- *Āe, ka ako au i raro i te maru o Te Ataarangi. Ka rawe tā rātou mahi i ngā rākau. He tino marama au.*
- *[Yeah, I'm learning under Te Ataarangi. It's awesome how they use the cuisenaire rods. It's so clear to me.]*
- *Full immersion as you are always deciphering what is being said around you and the use of rākau helps you string sentences along.*
- *Getting me doing it! Overcoming shyness, embarrassment and speaking; can see myself learning. The rākau, the repetition and the skill and aroha [compassion] of our kaiako [teachers].*
- *Immersion @ Te Kōhanga Reo - others in the whānau speaking te reo anake [only Māori]. Fluent speakers in my team @ mahi [work]. ENCOURAGEMENT! NOT correcting or discouraging.*
- *In Kōhanga just sitting and learning what the tamariki are learning has helped. Having the Kaiako and Kaimahi always talking the reo around me.*
- *Ko te kaupapa o te Kōhanga Reo arā ko te reo Maori anake i kōrero mātou, “ko te reo kia tika, ko te reo kia rere, ko te reo kia Māori” i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa.*
- *[The method of Kōhanga Reo is that Māori is all we speak, “the language should be correct, the language should flow, the language should be Māori” at all times, everywhere.]*
- *Nō Te Ataarangi taku reo, nā ngā pouako katoa taku reo i riro mai ai i ahau. Kātahi ka puta ki te Kōhanga Reo me aku tamariki, nā ki te Kura Kaupapa. Ki tō Te Ataarangi, ko te rumaki tētahi tino take e tere mai ai taku reo, otirā ko te āhuatanga hūmarie, ngākau māhaki e tau ā-wairua ai kia ū mai te reo ki te whatumanawa.*
- *[My language comes from Te Ataarangi, from all the teachers passed on to me. Then I went to Kōhanga Reo with my kids, then to Kura Kaupapa. Te Ataarangi's ethos of immersion is what allowed me to learn my language quickly, notwithstanding it's relaxed and humbling environment that appeases the mind so the language can be properly acquired.]*
- *Te Ataarangi - kia tipua ai te reo i roto i toku ngākau. TKR – parakatihi [Te Ataarangi – so the language can be instilled in my heart. Te Kōhanga Reo – practice].*
- *The rākau, the non judgemental learning culture, and my fellow classmates encouraging me.*

These responses all allude to the kaupapa of the two initiatives as sound learning environments for language acquisition and language use. The immersion setting and an environment emitting an ethos of positive reinforcement (or rather, not emitting a negative reinforcement) frequent the responses. The consistent and affectionate mention of the rākau used in Te Ataarangi further illustrates just how much the pedagogy is understood to be a critical feature of the initiative. That it has become part of the vernacular of the survey responses is a testament to its success within the movement.

Figure 1 (above) also highlights the initiatives as centres of language normalisation. 27.08% (n.= 202) responses indicated that the initiatives provided a space and context where Māori was the normal language of communication and English was not. The following responses are exemplary of this fact:

- *Always being spoken to in te reo Māori. Being involved with the tamariki [children] and kaimahi [staff].*
- *Being around others that kōrero [speak] in te reo.*
- *Being fully immersed in tikanga Māori [Māori custom].*
- *Communicating with tamariki, kaimahi and whānau.*
- *Everyday involvement mainly.*
- *Everyone speaking te reo. The only language to be spoken.*

¹⁰ see Mataira, 1980; Kire, 2011: 57

- *Immersed with matatau [proficient] speakers.*
- *Ko ngā hua i puta mai ka taea ki te kōrero ki ngā tāngata mōhio ki te reo Māori [The benefit is I can speak Māori to others who know Māori].*
- *Ko te kaupapa - me kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa [The main ethos – speak Māori all the time, everywhere]. The focus of both is to promote te reo - being constantly reminded to do this.*
- *Ko te reo Māori anake ka rangona [Māori is the only language heard].*
- *Kōhanga - gives me every day situational language / Ataarangi - helped me to “hear” reo. “Feel” the rhythm of reo.*
- *Kōrero i ngā wā katoa. Kāore au e taea ki te kōrero Pākehā ki korā [Speak all the time. You can’t speak English there].*
- *Kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa, Kore he kōrero Pākehā [Speak Māori all the time. There’s no English there].*
- *Kua rāhuitia hei wāhi kōrero Māori anake [It’s defined as a Māori only space].*
- *[Māori] Language is used at all times whilst in Kōhanga.*

The overwhelming theme in these responses is that the Māori language is used not just constantly, but with acceptance – the language is the normal mode of communication for our active speakers when they are in these environments and perhaps more importantly, English is not. This is a crucial piece of information, as all Māori speakers are bilingual in Māori and English.¹¹ As bilinguals frequent different domains there is generally an accepted language for use within that domain. Māori language revitalisation then, entails not only language learning, but also the creation of Māori language domains where the language is normalised and English is marked. As mentioned previously, the normalisation of a language has various positive implications for that language, most importantly in advancing intergenerational transmission. Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi not only teach the language, but also provide ‘whānau learning’ spaces that help adults use Māori in their everyday, meaningful ways with younger generations.

In linking the two main themes presented so far, Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi not only subscribe to the notion that a language can not only be revitalised by teaching it well, but by providing spaces to use the language in a normalised sense. Exemplary of this is a smaller group of whānau members (5.09%, n.=38) who noted the benefits of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi because they have been instrumental in the formation of a language community. The two initiatives have, in essence, moved beyond the realm of language acquisition and learning to creating a community with dense social networks, where those involved not only spend time together in their learning, but also outside of their learning:

- *He taiao Māori [It’s a Māori environment].*
- *He whānau kōrerorero [It’s an active speaking family].*
- *I have whānau I can talk to and socialise with.*
- *Large numbers of students and we keep in touch, so we can talk together (this has been helped by meeting socially outside of class e.g. down the pub afterwards)...*

In these examples, it can be seen that the two main themes of acquisition and normalisation promote language socialisation, where there is a possibility for whānau members to extend their Māori language use to other areas of their lives.

6.30% (n.=47) note the benefits of the mātāpono of the initiatives. Each initiative has its own set of mātāpono, or guiding principles, which direct how the language is taught and learnt. Te Kōhanga Reo follows a document entitled Te Korowai,¹² which contains the four pillars Te Kōhanga Reo abides by:

- *Te reo me āna tikanga Māori*
- *Whānau accountability*
- *Whānau management, and*
- *Whaioranga.*

¹¹ Chrisp, 2005: 155

¹² Ministry, of Education, 2009

Te Ataarangi abides by a “whakarongo, titiro, kōrero” philosophy, where writing is not the focus of the lesson, but careful attention must instead be paid to the spoken interaction taking place.¹³ They also have five major principles, ‘ngā ture’ (the rules) which are as follows:

- *Don’t speak English – Kaua e kōrero Pākehā*
- *Don’t be disrespectful of customs or beliefs – Kaua e poka tikanga*
- *Don’t prompt one another – Kaua e akiaki tētahi ki tētahi*
- *Only answer questions that are directed at you – Kia ahu atu te pātai ki a koe, kātahi anō koe ka āhei ki te whakahoki,*
- *Be humble of heart – Kia ngākau māhaki tētahi ki tētahi.*¹⁴

It is not surprising then, that whānau either quoted the mātāpono directly, or alluded to one or more of them as the following responses show:

- *Ko te pou tuatahi i roto i Te Korowai o Te Kohanga Reo me kōrero i te reo i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa [The first principle in Te Korowai for Te Kohanga Reo is you should speak Māori all the time, everywhere].*
- *Because the first pillar in the Korowai states te reo Māori is to be spoken in kōhanga.*
- *Kei konā ngā kaupapa o ngā pou e whā me Te Ara Tuapae hei ārahi i ngā tāngata ahakoa ko wai ki te pupuri me te whakahaere i a mātou i roto i te kaupapa nei mā runga i te tika me te pono [Well there are the principles of the four pillars and Te Ara Tuapae to guide everyone, no matter who, to help and guide us in what we are doing correctly and in good faith].*
- *Ko ngā aratohu e rima o Te Ataarangi / 1 Kaua e kōrero pākehā / 2 Kaua e poka tikanga / 3 Kaua e akiaki tētehi i tētehi / 4 Kia ahu atu te pātai ki a koe, kātahi anō koe ka āhei ki te whakahoki / 5 Kia ngākau māhaki tētehi ki tētehi.*
- *Ngā aratohu e rima nā Te Ataarangi me ō rātou ngākau māhaki [The five guidelines of Te Ataarangi and their humility].*
- *Ngā pou e whā [The four pillars].*
- *Ngā ture o Te Ataarangi [The rules of Te Ataarangi].*
- *Te Ngākau Māhaki - Kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa - Nga ture e rima - Rumaki Reo [Humility – Speak Māori all the time – The five rules - Immersion].*
- *Titiro, whakarongo, korero, ako, ako, ako / Te Kohanga te whare mō te ako pakeke, mokopuna... [Look, listen, speak, learn, learn, learn / Kohanga is a place to teach adults and infants...].*

These responses not only highlight that the guiding principles of the initiatives are clearly helpful (because they translate directly into language benefits for the participants) but they also highlight the critical awareness of the participants: they are totally aware of the policies set by the initiatives as fundamental learning values necessary to achieve linguistic success.

Qualifications are also noted by 2.95% (n.=22) to be an advantage of the initiatives, with each of the whānau members specifically noting a qualification associated with either one of the initiatives in their response. Te Kohanga Reo National Trust administers a qualification on behalf of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) called Tohu Whakapakari, a level seven¹⁵ tertiary degree.¹⁶ The Tohu Whakapakari qualification teaches “the history of te reo Māori and kōhanga reo, te reo and tikanga Māori, Māori child-rearing practices, and Māori methods of learning and teaching and assessment.”¹⁷ The qualification can be used to gain employment in any kōhanga reo, though a mainstream childcare qualification may also suffice. The necessity for Tohu Whakapakari arose from Government’s insistence that kōhanga reo staff be qualified with a recognised qualification, and the inability of ECE-qualified staff to provide a quality service in kōhanga, despite their mainstream qualification.¹⁸ Te Ataarangi also administers an NZQA recognised training programme through a Private

¹³ Te Ataarangi, 2009: 13

¹⁴ Mataira, 1986 in Te Ataarangi, 2009: 9

¹⁵ See NZQA (no date) for an explanation of the level descriptors.

¹⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, 2012: 63

¹⁷ Ibid., 195

¹⁸ Ibid., 64

Training Establishment called Te Kura Motuhake o Te Ataarangi, and are also accredited to teach up to level seven.¹⁹ They have previously run training programs in coordination with Waikato University²⁰ and Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, though the latter was discontinued in 2010.²¹ The Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology (NMIT) currently offers a one-year level four certificate entitled the “Certificate in Te Tuara [sic.] me Te Tinana O Te Reo,” which utilises the pedagogy of Te Ataarangi in its teaching.²² Qualifications aside, it should also be mentioned that potential staff are often hand-picked and trained by the stalwarts of the movement, selected for their skill and the interest they show in learning how to teach the Māori language. This is not at all unlike a traditional Māori philosophy, where keen learners of a particular trade are placed at the feet of tohunga, in order to become adept in their craft. This is, in a Māori sense, the very highest qualification one can hope to attain.

6.17% (n.=46) note learning content as a key benefit of the initiatives. Whānau members who gave answers of this type typically mentioned actual learning mediums present in the initiatives:

- *Ako karakia, ki te mihi, waiata, me kōrero mai ko ngā tamariki...[learn prayers, to greet people, songs, all the children have to speak...]*
- *Casual to formal greetings. Basic kupu [words]. Simply short sentences, waiata [songs].*
- *For me more in the learning of song and actions. Also when at class you need to try and explain yourself in te reo.*
- *Greetings, basic phrases, this all helps and encourages whānau to learn bits and pieces.*
- *He mahi ā-Rehia, ā-Tane Rore arā, ko te kapa haka => [The world of performing arts such as kapa haka].*
- *Karakia, rauemi, waiata [prayers, resources, songs].*
- *Karakia, waiata use. Basic sentence structures.*
- *Ko te whakapapa, ko te hitori, ko ngā kōrero o tōku whānau, hapū, iwi hoki ngā hua e puta mai ana i Te Kōhanga Reo/ Te Ataarangi. Ā, ko ērā ngā momo kōrero e whakamahia ana ki te taha o ngā mokopuna, ngā mātua me ngā kaumātua [Learning genealogy, history, the histories of my family, sub-tribe and tribe are the benefits of Te Kōhanga Reo/ Te Ataarangi. And those are the kinds of things we talk about with the infants, the parents and the elders].*
- *Ko wai, Nō hea ahau [Who I am, where I'm from].*
- *Learning a mihi/pepeha [greetings] and karakia to use in various situations.*
- *My daughter loves to sing her waiata she learns and she has learned a lot - so we continue this in the home.*
- *Simple clear structure. Using a 'building block' approach, working on from previous learnt language. Visual reference for learning/ retaining information. The use of waiata.*
- *Te mahi raranga... [weaving].*
- *Waiata, mihimihi, karakia, kōrero [Songs, greetings, prayers, history].*

Here, a wide range of learning content is presented, illustrating how both initiatives have become not only communities of language, but also of culture. Secondly, it can be seen that the whānau members view this content as a key benefit for the language. This is indicative of a culture that believes the language and culture are intertwined and cannot be readily separated – to lose one is to lose the other. The initiatives then, are key environments where all aspects of Māoritanga are taught and learnt and perhaps most critically, are allowed space to evolve together alongside language.

Interestingly, a mere 0.67% (n.=5) referred to the language as a kind of taonga. The five responses are as follows:

- *Āe, he taonga Te Kōhanga Reo ki ahau, ka taea e ia te whakaputa i tōku reo, te āwhina i a tātou katoa ki te kōrero, kia mau mo ake tonu atu [Absolutely, Te Kōhanga Reo is an absolute taonga to me, it can make me speak my language and can help us all to speak so that it stays with us forever].*

¹⁹ Te Ataarangi Incorporated, 2009: 15

²⁰ Te Ataarangi Incorporated, 2002: 71

²¹ Te Ataarangi Incorporated, 2009: 17

²² NMIT, 2013

- *Arohatia te reo kia ora, kia kōrerotia hei tautoko i ngā tikanga a kui mā, a koro mā [Nurture the reo so that it survives, so that it is used to prop up the customs left behind by our forbears]!*
- *E ngākaunui ana au ki te kaupapa [I am totally devoted to this initiative].*
- *He taonga hei whāngai atu ki ngā pepi me ō rātou mātua [This taonga must be shared with babies and their parents].*
- *He whakamana i te reo me tōna tino tapu. He taonga tuku iho tēnei [It gives mana to the language and acknowledges its sacredness. This is an inheritance].*

The language has assumed a taonga status ever since the Waitangi Tribunal accorded it so in 1986.²³ Since then, the revitalisation of the language has been consumed with the idea that ‘he taonga te reo.’²⁴ It was surprising then, to yield such a small number of responses along these lines. The notion surrounding language as a taonga arose from the Waitangi Tribunal’s assertion that the Government’s responsibility to protect the Māori language was primarily an issue arising from Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi:

The claimants called Professor Hirini Moko Mead of Victoria University of Wellington who produced for us a carefully prepared submission on the meaning of Article II and Article III of the Treaty. The general thrust of his view of the treaty so far as Article II is concerned is that the phrase “O ratou taonga katoa” covers both tangible and intangible things and can best be translated by the expression “all their valued customs and possessions”.²⁵

While there is absolutely no argument being made here against the Māori language as a taonga, the low number of responses of this nature would suggest that the language may have other relevancies for the whānau members and thus active speakers generally. Future analysis pertaining to questions directly related to the language as a taonga may confirm or deny this, but it would seem that given the low number of responses of this nature, and the very high number of responses of other categories, it may be time to look at the language from another angle. It is argued that the revitalisation of the language should now be viewed as more of an Article III issue, where the revitalisation of the language is more concerned with citizenship and equity to English in terms of prestige, access and use.²⁶ That is, where there is as much linguistic right for all New Zealanders to speak Māori as there is for them to speak English and to educate and socialise children in te ao Māori as they are in te ao Pākehā. Viewing language revitalisation in this way thus supports the themes presented by our whānau members such as normalisation, language communities and the like, where the language is not an object in need of meticulous preservation and pedestal treatment as a taonga in a museum requires. Rather, our acknowledgement of the language as a taonga means taking responsibility for its use and adaption as a functional aspect of the contemporary world.

Lastly, 10 whānau members (1.34%) noted that there was a combined worth in being involved in both initiatives. This signals that for at least a few whānau members, the two initiatives are beneficial in that they feed off each other.

The most outstanding benefits of the initiatives were their methodologies, and the ways in which they provided an element or normalisation for the whānau members. The frequency of these two themes show how Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi both encapsulate good language acquisition theory from the necessity to not only teach language, but to teach whānau members how to use that language in everyday contexts. The initiatives, then, are key language communities for the whānau members, where the Māori language becomes the social norm for the network involved within the kōhanga or Te Ataarangi class. This means that Māori language interaction is possible outside of these contexts, a phenomenon only possible if the language is normalised within that social network.

The mātāpono of the movements are also noted as beneficial. These principles have guided each movement from their inception, and they have not only become rooted as the key motivators of the initiatives themselves, but of Māori language revitalisation generally. Qualifications are noted by many participants as a key benefit, illustrating that participation within these initiatives

²³ Waitangi Tribunal, 1986: 4.2.4

²⁴ The language is a treasure.

²⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, 1986: 4.2.3

²⁶ Higgins and Rewi, 2013

as a language learner can also open up further learning opportunities and perhaps even employment opportunities. Learning content is noted by some participants as a key advantage, in that it is not merely language knowledge that is being acquired, but a whole gamut of knowledge is being transferred via the Māori language. This not only highlights the inherent way in which language and culture are bound, but also that the initiatives provide places in which this knowledge is also accepted within the social network. The value of the initiatives is thus not merely linguistic, but also extra-linguistic, through the advantages are all inextricably linked to the language.

The notion of the language as a taonga is noted by just a handful or whānau members. Though a few responses to just one question is not enough evidence to assume so, there is the indication here that the way in which we regard the Māori language as a taonga is changing. Where there is a general acceptance that the language is in a state of ill-health, there has long been the perception that Māori is a language to be afforded careful preservation by the few 'qualified' to look after it. This sets the precedence that it should not be used, but merely looked at and admired. As analysis of the data continues, it is possible that a trend towards the language as an Article III issue will be seen. This would demonstrate that the language is not just for the elite, the lucky few who possess it in all its nuances, but a language belonging to all New Zealanders. As a citizenship issue then, while the ultimate responsibility will always remain with Māori speakers, the language's health largely rests with every New Zealand citizen.

Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi Support of Language Use By Whānau

643 participants answered the question "How has participating in Te Kōhanga Reo/ Te Ataarangi supported language use in your whānau?" Analysis fell into eight categories, as shown in Figure 2 (below):

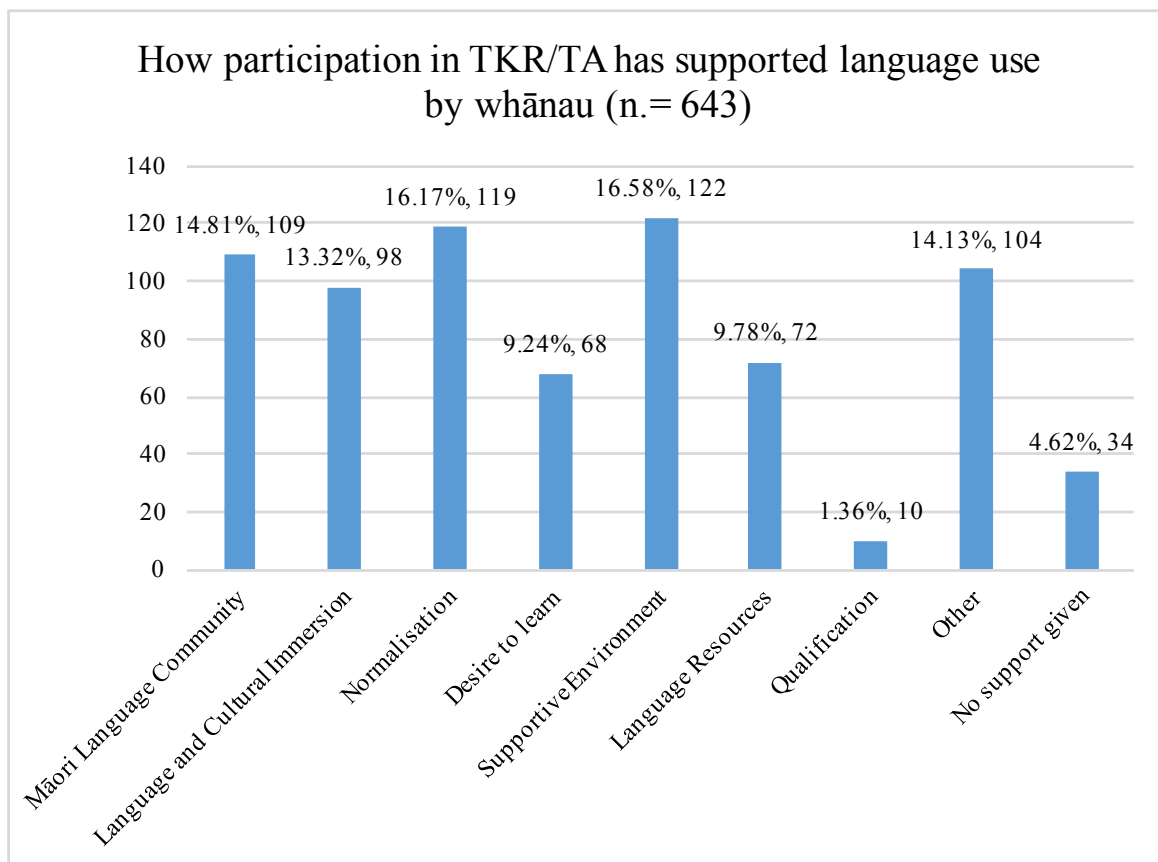


Figure 2. How participation in TKR/TA has supported language use by whānau. Percentage Total may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

The graph shows the many ways in which participation in Te Kōhanga Reo/ Te Ataarangi aids in the Māori language use of the whānau. This is perhaps not surprising, given the fact that both initiatives are described as whānau learning environments.²⁷The most frequently noted attribute of the initiatives is the supportive that each setting provides.

The 122 (16.58%) responses of this kind allude to the notion of ngākau māhaki, a theme that is evident in both settings - indeed, it is a key guiding principle of Te Ataarangi (as explained previously). Because of this support, attendees can feel confident in what they are learning and as a follow-on, are able to take the language home with them to other members of the family. The following responses are exemplary of this fact:

- *Kāore au i te ahua matakū ināianei. He kōrero akiaki mai ngā kaiako, pouako hoki te ahua o Te Ataarangi. [I'm not really that scared now. It is the way of the teachers at Ataarangi to always offer encouragement].*
- *Massively. Very encouraging. Whānau all in same boat - limited reo but keen to learn. No judging from anybody.*
- *He kaupapa ako ā-whānau. Mā Te Kōhanga Reo te whānau e poi poi i roto i te reo. Ki te puāwai mai te mokopuna, ka puāwai hoki te whānau. [It's a whānau learning environment. Te Kōhanga Reo guides the whānau in learning te reo. If they mokopuna achieves it, so does the whānau].*
- *Kua piki te māiatanga, kāore au i te matakū ki te kōrero ahakoa tika, hē ranei. [I'm braver, I'm not scared to talk whether I'm right or wrong].*

These responses are representative of all those relating to the supportive nature of the initiatives. There is a definite sense of encouragement, and a clear understanding that while an individual can achieve in their learning, there is a definite cross-over into whānau learning that extends beyond the individual.

119 (16.17%) responses illustrate that the initiatives are places where Māori language is normalised. Language normalisation is a key outcome of language revitalisation, and is the key secondary principle following language acquisition. Responses of this kind typically noted that the initiatives sparked language use when entered, and upon leaving helped to keep families in a Māori speaking frame of mind:

- *Ahakoa tā mātou mahi, kei wāhi kē rānei, ka kōrero Māori ahau. [Whatever we are doing, even if we are elsewhere, I always speak Māori].*
- *Directly. When learning, there were opportunities for your family to attend, and children. It is pretty hard for you not to be affected after class when you have been immersed in it from 9am - 3pm. You just can't help speaking when you get home.*
- *Ka kōrero Māori au i Te Kōhanga Reo mō te rā katoa, ā, ka hoki ki te kāinga ka kōrero Māori tonu. [I speak Māori at Te Kōhanga Reo for the whole day, and when I go home I remain speaking it].*
- *I sometimes just break out into Māori language with my nieces who are not in kōhanga yet.*
- *Mā te whāngai i aku tamariki ake ki te reo; kua ngāwari ake te whakatupu i aku tamariki ki te reo Māori. Nā Te Kōhanga Reo me Te Kura Kaupapa Māori i whakawhānui ake te reo o aku tamariki kia kōunua, kia nui, kia tangata whenua rawa. [By teaching my kids te reo; it has become simpler to raise my children in te reo Māori. Kōhanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori have raised the language skills of my children so it is well-spoken, comprehensive and fluent].*

Hence, the initiatives have provided spaces where the language is spoken and heard in such a way that it becomes normalised. This is the potential for positive effects in the home, such as initiating conversation among whānau members, some of whom may not have yet started to learn Māori. For other children, participation in the initiatives has had a positive effect on fluency. These are all important parts of intergenerational transmission, as noted earlier in this report.

Following on from this theme of normalisation, 109 participants (14.81%) noted that the initiatives provide a language community hub the whānau can be attached to. Speaking Māori at home requires the effort of all members of the whānau and for many learners of the language. Where there are no fluent speakers at home to help achieve this goal, there must be some kind of 'replacement' figures for intergenerational transmission. Because they are the regular place in which the Māori

²⁷ Higgins, 2008, in the case of Te Kōhanga Reo. Higgins, 2014, in the case of Te Ataarangi.

language is heard by the whānau, the initiatives serve as quasi-communities of language interaction and the replacement for intergenerational transmitters:

- *I whakataua ngā kaupapa i tōku wairua, nā tēnā i tīni tōku āhua, ā, i mirimiri ahau i tōku whānau kia rata atu ki te reo. [The initiatives calmed my nerves, which changed my outlook, and I coaxed my whānau into getting engaged in the language].*
- *We started with one moko in Kōhanga Reo. Before my first moko went to kōhanga there was only the hope of learning te reo Māori. We are a family of 16 people all of speak te reo Māori in some way.*
- *Nā ngā tamariki, mokopuna te reo i poipoi mō te katoa, nā te rongo i ngā kōhungahunga ka whai kaha te kōrero a ngā pākeke. He ātaahua te rongo i ngā nohinohi e kōrero ana. [It's the children, the mokopuna that guide the language for everyone, by listening to the little one the parents are encouraged to talk. It's beautiful to hear the little ones speaking].*
- *My kids & I learning together and it is encouraging for the extended whānau too.*
- *Nā Te Kōhanga Reo kua puawai te reo i roto i āhau, nā tēnā ka whakatō anō te reo ki roto i āku tamariki. [Te Kōhanga Reo spurred the reo within me, from that the reo was implanted in my children].*

Because many whānau members are the first in their homes to learn te reo, some kind of intergenerational transmission instigator is necessary. These examples show how the initiatives serve as language hubs that offer this kind of language transmission. Participation of this nature has the potential for home language use not possible otherwise.

It is perhaps not surprising then, that the initiatives are places of immersion for 98 (13.32%) participants, where te reo Māori and tikanga Māori prevail. By spending time in this environment, one becomes adept in all aspects of te ao Māori, not just language. In this way, Te Kōhanga Reo/ Te Ataarangi settings assume many qualities offered by the marae, where people can go to learn te reo. Consider the following responses of this kind:

- *Kua mōhio tōku ake whānau ki tēnei āhua o te manaaki, manuhiri, tangata, ahakoa ko wai. [My whānau has learnt all about looking after visitors, people, no matter who].*
- *We live away from our marae/papa kāinga - Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi are the main supports for te reo Māori for our whānau.*
- *Nō muri mai te tīmatanga o taku whāinga o te reo Māori i raro i te korowai o Te Ataarangi ka kite au i te hua, te wāriu o tō tātou reo. Nā te rangona o te reo i te kāinga i pūpū ake te kōingo ki roto i ētahi o te whānau ki te whai i te reo Māori. Nā te kaupapa o Te Ataarangi i whakapakari tēnei ki te kōrero Māori. [Right back when I started pursuing te reo through Te Ataarangi I could see the benefits, the value of our language. When we heard the language back home a few of us became incensed with learning it. The kaupapa of Te Ataarangi has helped me to speak Māori].*

The fact that the initiatives serve as marae is important for two reasons. Firstly, not every person has access to their ancestral marae. Secondly, the amount of te reo Māori being spoken on marae has been noted to be quite low.²⁸ It is therefore most a key finding that these places serve as a tūrangawaewae for those who attend.

68 people (9.24%) note that they are places where people strive to increase their knowledge of the language. Whether Māori or not, attending these settings makes ignites a certain passion in people for the language. Even if the family isn't actively using the language, there is still a desire to get involved in language revitalisation:

- *He rawe! E hia kē ngā wānanga nāku i whakatū nā te kaingākau me tō rātou hiakai mō te reo. [It's mean! I've organised heaps of wānanga because of the passion and hunger for the reo].*
- *It has had a very strong impact on our whānau before the kids started Te Kōhanga Reo there was minimum Māori language in our home.*
- *My husband who is Pākehā is very supportive and tries hard to use the language. When he knows a kupu in Māori then he will use it. He has not gone so far as doing classes yet because he is at university already but it's great that he realizes how good this is for our kids.*

- *The children and mokopuna are speaking Māori at home. You want to maintain that te reo Māori environment at home.*
- *It enables my children to hear and learn from fluent speakers. They are learning despite my lack of skills. Without Kōhanga / Kura, my children would never hear te reo Māori.*

Here, it is seen that the initiatives provide spaces of language acquisition, particularly for people who have had little exposure to the language. In the same vein, there is also an amount of intergenerational transmission here, where attendees whose language skills are limited need not worry about the quality of those being acquired by their children.

Resourcing and qualifications are important to the participants in using language at home. 72 (9.78%) people note that Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi are places to learn waiata, karakia, and how to use the rākau, which can provide useful resources to be used in the home. They also offer qualifications, which are noted by a further 1.36% as having an indirect role in home language use. The following answers are exemplary of this fact:

- *E hia kē ngā rauemi me ngā rautaki i hangaia e rātou Te Ataarangi, kia ngawari ake te whakapakaritanga o tōku nei reo Māori [There are so many resources and strategies made by Te Ataarangi so that strengthening my Māori language is made easy].*
- *Helped me immensely, I am a visual learner. So I enjoy ngā rākau, ngā pikitia [the rods, the pictures]. The whakawhanaungatanga especially is useful to me.*
- *Tini ngā huarahi hei whakapiki tō ratou Reo - mahi whakangungu, ngā wānanga, te panui ngā pukapuka ki ngā tamariki kei te kāinga [There are heaps of avenues to strengthen there reo – practicum exercises, wānanga, reading books to the children at home].*
- *Ko ngā mahi whakangungu i whakaritea, arā, Te Ara Tuatahi, Te Ara Tuarua me te Whakapakari ngā mahi tino pai ki te whakakaha i ngā tangata kore reo ki te ako reo ātaahua i te mutunga [The practicum, like Te Ara Tuatahi, Te Ara Tuarua and Whakapakari are the best things to strengthen the people who have no reo to gain beautiful reo at the outcome.]*
- *It has pushed me further out of my comfort zone to learn more for me and my tamariki I completed te Ara Tuatahi and passed.*
- *Taku whiwhinga i tōku Tohu Whakapakari [My gaining my Tohu Whakapakari].*

The initiatives are thus not just places of language acquisition, but places where resources are made accessible to attendees to aid in their own Māori language learning and teaching. Furthermore, many go on to pursue recognised qualifications within the movements, such as the Tohu Whakapakari mentioned here (administered by Te Kōhanga Reo).

There is a certain group for whom Te Kōhanga Reo or Te Ataarangi do not support language use in the home. In these instances (n.=34, 14.13%), there were internal factors close to home that served as a barrier to language use at home:

Hardly ever because my whānau is Samoan but only if I am with my Mum then it's on an occasional basis.

Kāore e whakaaetia kia tukua ngā tamariki ki ngā kōhanga. Kua pērā i runga i ngā āhuatanga kua pā ki aku tēina me ā rāua pepe. Kāore anō taku whānau kia oho. Kai te moe tonu rātou, kai te ao pōuri [The children were not allowed to go to kōhanga. It's like that because of what happened to my younger siblings and their kids. My whānau haven't woken up. They're still sleeping, in the dark].

Ko taku pāpā anake ka mōhio ki te reo, engari kāore anō ia kia tae atu ki tētahi karaehe o Te Ataarangi [It's only my dad that knows te reo, but he hasn't yet gone to a Te Ataarangi class].

I am not sure it has, if you are the only one who speaks then it's hard to practice with everyone else, especially if they don't have the same passion.

In these instances, many of the advantages of the initiatives are usurped by other control factors existent in the home. Furthermore, one cannot expect much engagement at home if no other family members speak Māori or if value of the language is low in the home domain.

There appeared to be a number of responses which we found difficult to categorise thematically. 104 (14.13%) of the responses were of a nature that did not easily fall into a theme: here whānau members gave a “yes” (n.=8) or other affirmative (n.=22)

answer, an “N/A” was stated (n.=11), or participants did not know (n.=2). There were also a number of answers which could not be accurately interpreted, such as “kia whakaaro ki ētahi atu tāngata.” To analyse these without clearly understanding the respondent’s message would be presumptuous, thus they are not included here.

This analysis has shown the many different ways in which Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi support Māori language use by the whānau. The supportive environments they provide are seen by the most whānau members as the most important way in which they aid language use at home, closely followed by their normalisation aspect. That they provide a Māori language community and spaces of total language and cultural immersion are also frequently noted by the responses.

Furthermore, many note that the access to language resources is crucial, in that they provide much needed learning tools to the home where resources are so scarcely available. This helps to create a desire and passion for the language at home.

Lastly, a small group of people note that the initiatives are usurped at home by other internal factors. This reality is indeed a sad one, and is indicative that Māori language use at home is not at all a plain-sailing exercise, but rather one frequently met with disdain by those who do not value the language. For these people, the initiatives become their only source of language use, making them even more important aspects of Māori language revitalisation. This is further evidence that perhaps the time has come to look past the home domain to other areas where language acquisition and use may be more affirmatively viewed.

Use of Te Reo Outside of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi

A total of 651 participants answered the question “How difficult would you find using te reo Māori outside of your active participation in these groups?” These responses fell into the following four main categories which are illustrated in Figure 3, below:

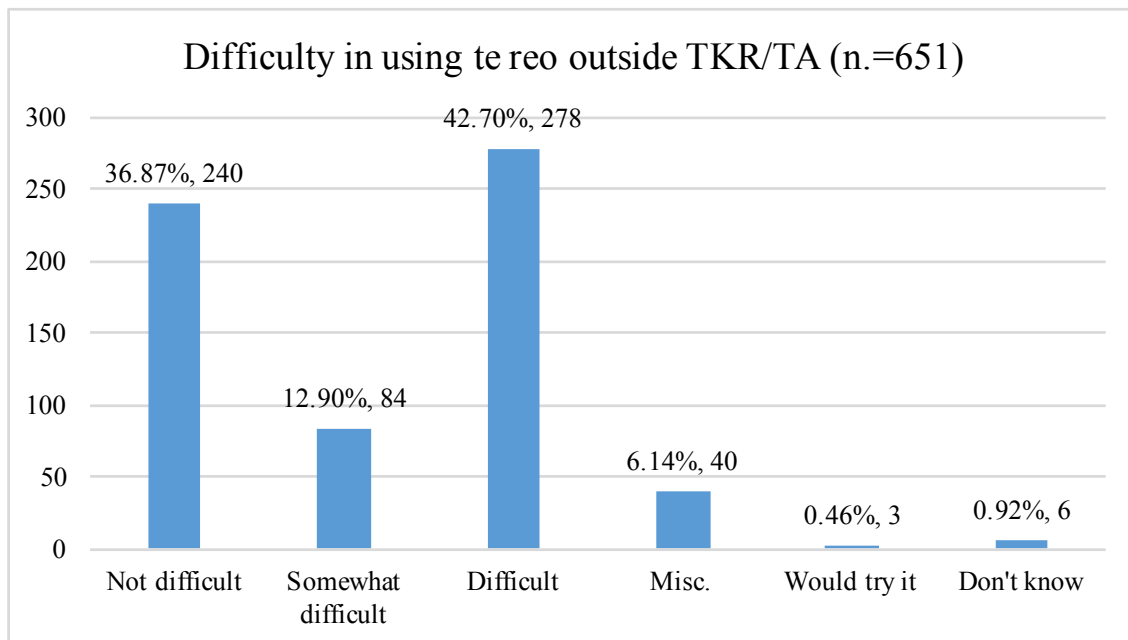


Figure 3. Difficulty using Te Reo Māori outside of active participation in TKR/TA. Percentage Total may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

The use of te reo within Te Kōhanga reo and Te Ataarangi has already been shown above, where the potential of these initiatives to create Māori speakers was seen. However, it is a key objective of both to reinstate intergenerational transmission among Māori speakers. Therefore, this question aims to examine how the whānau members feel about using the Māori language outside of these language contexts, in order to ascertain how the initiatives are normalising the language for Māori speakers.

As can be observed in Figure 3, the majority of participants (42.70%, n.=278) indicated that they experienced difficulty using te reo Māori outside of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi. At the extreme other, are the 240 (36.87%) who find it easy to use

the language in any context. To the centre are a moderate number (n.=84, 12.90%) who find it somewhat difficult (but by no means impossible) to use the language outside of the initiatives. There were a number of other responses, including 40 (6.12%) who gave miscellaneous responses, 3 (0.46%) who had never tried to speak Māori outside of Te Kōhanga Reo/ Te Ataarangi, and 6 (0.92%) who did not have an answer to this question.

The following graph illustrated the reasons some whānau members find it difficult to use te reo Māori outside of the initiatives (Figure 4, below):

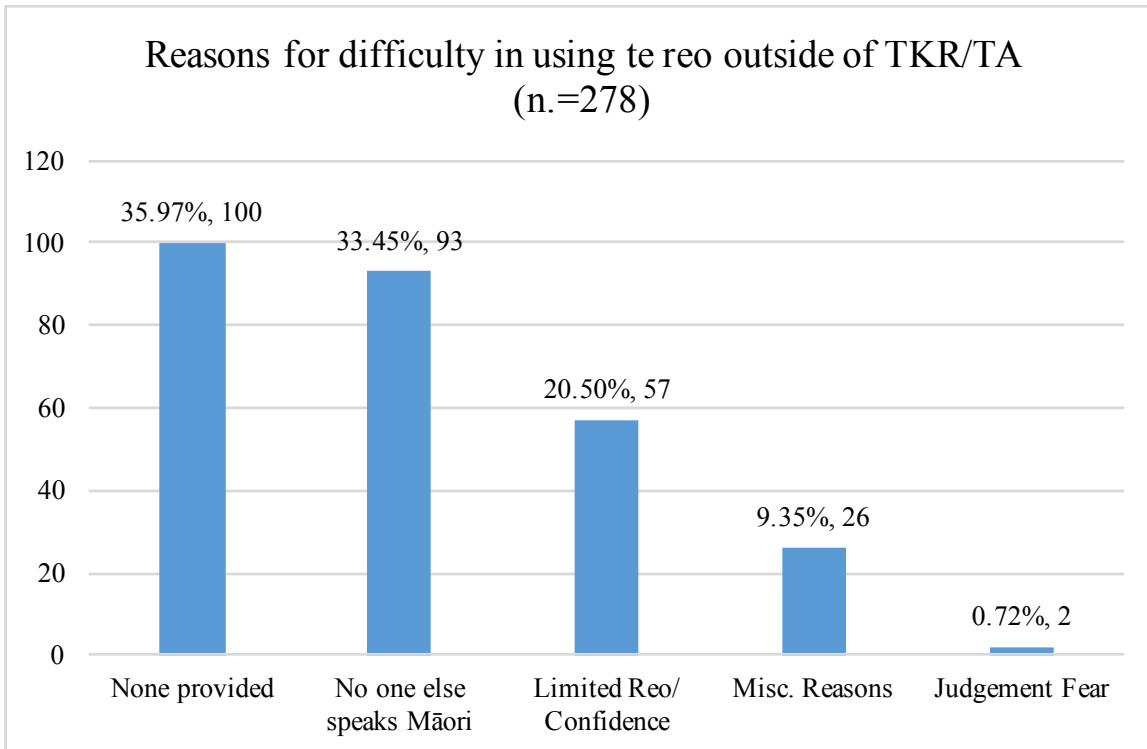


Figure 4. Reasons for difficulty using te reo Māori outside of TKR/TA.

Most participants (n.=100, 35.97%) gave no reason as to why it is so hard. 93 (33.45%) note that they have nobody else to speak Māori to, outside of these contexts. A further 57 (20.50%) have too little language or confidence to maintain a Māori language conversation outside of these contexts. Two (0.72%) note a fear of judgement, and 26 (9.35%) gave other forms of responses. It is quite clear that to see that many of our whānau members live in isolation from other Māori speakers. While Te Kōhanga Reo/ Te Ataarangi provide them with the environment to foster positive language use, any benefit may be limited if the participant lacks other people to speak to outside of the initiatives. Additionally, many also feel inadequate in their speaking skills. Thus, even when other Māori language spaces are accessible, there is no guarantee that the whānau members will feel comfortable using the language. A selection of these responses follows:

- *Pretty hard because my main friends don't know te reo Māori.*
- *Difficult as outside Te Ataarangi I do not hang out with many Māori.*
- *Difficult as vast majority friends/ colleagues are not speakers of te reo.*
- *Difficult because I only know Māori who speak the language at work.*
- *For now I would prefer to converse with myself when using the language.*
- *Hard cause sometimes I'm scared I'm wrong and sometimes I am. Where others correct me, [I feel] shame when I'm wrong.*
- *Hard I don't want to say anything wrong so I hardly use it around people that are fluent in te reo.*
- *He uaua te kōrero ki ngā tāngata nā te mea e hē ana aku rerenga kōrero, e whakamā ahau ki te kōrero [It's hard to speak to people because my sentences are incorrect, I'm embarrassed to speak].*

The example above clearly show the effects of living in isolation of other speakers – indeed these initiatives are likely the only contexts in which the whānau members may speak Māori. Secondly the anxiety some feel is expressed, making it even harder to use te reo.

Of those who find it easy, there was just one very clear reason as to why they found it so – they were prepared to speak it anywhere, to anyone. This group did not illustrate multiple reasons for the ease, in fact, most answered with a simply ‘it’s no problem’ answer:

- *Māmā noiho ki a au. [No problem for me].*
- *No difficulties using te reo Māori outside of my comfort zone.*
- *No difficulty at all. The reo is at home.*
- *No problem for there are no ‘barriers’ in using te reo Māori.*
- *Not at all.*

These answers all very simply show those who don’t find it difficult to use te reo Māori seem to be very comfortable using Māori anywhere. This is a positive result. Taken together with the reasons other feel difficult, it can be seen that when whānau members feel anxious about language use, they know exactly the reason that this is so. When they feel comfortable in using te reo Māori, they just are. There is no feeling of inadequacy and the like to pinpoint.

These responses illustrate the ease and difficulty with which Māori speakers are using the Māori language outside of Te Ataarangi and Te Kōhanga Reo. The main theme identified is that for a little over half of the whānau members, it is difficult to speak Māori upon exiting these initiatives. For the other half (a slightly smaller proportion), it is easy to continue to speak Māori.

It was identified that where the participants found speaking Māori outside of the initiatives hard, most had no other people to speak to outside of Te Kōhanga Reo/ Te Ataarangi and thus exist in language isolation, relying on those contexts for Māori language contact. Many others also found it difficult in other Māori language spaces due to their anxiety. For those who found it easy, there was no clear reason given for this ease. Presumably, those who are comfortable do not immediately know why this is so, they just do. Conversely, those who find it difficult are able to pinpoint exactly what is causing trouble.

The implications of these findings might be placed in the context of normalisation. Comfort when using the language is a necessary precursor to spontaneous language use. Outside of the initiatives, it is seen that barriers exist that inhibit on this spontaneity. This is important as any barrier to using te reo Māori will ultimately lead into a shift to English, which is likely freely accessible and usable without fear of repercussion considering the strong English proficiencies of our participants. Fortunately, for a great deal of participants these barriers do not exist.

Nevertheless, these findings show the absolute necessity of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, as places free from language obstructions evident outside them. In order to be a living language, it is crucial that te reo Māori is to be utilised in the various domains frequented by all of our whānau members, so that the continual application of the language becomes normalised for all Māori language speakers.

Conclusion

This short report has outlined the responses whānau members gave to questions relating to the successes of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi. Key findings illustrate:

Whānau are involved in numerous Māori language initiatives, and are drawn to communities of practise where speaking Māori is the norm

Whānau members are intrinsically drawn to the language and this enables them to use the language

The methodologies of TKR/ TA drive language use

Establishing and maintaining language domains are important for intergenerational transmission. TKR/ TA provide language communities for whānau members who may not have ready access to other Māori language speakers in other domains.

TKR/TA are likely the safest spaces to speak Māori, where Māori is the preferred language.

This report has outlined some of the key successes of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi. It is hoped that it will go some way to showing empirically the benefits and advantages both have provided to Māori language revitalisation, that have a strong focus on whānau and intergenerational transmission and ensuring high hopes for the future of the language. The methodologies help support the creation of domains that are relative and relevant to their activities. The mātāpono set conditions that ensure that the domains are conducive to promoting te reo Māori as a preferred language, that is to say, Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi – he whenua haumako mō te reo Māori.

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