

Te whakarauora reo nō tuawhakarere

Giving our children what we missed out on:

Māori Language Revitalisation

for Māori/English Bilingualism

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
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Abstract

Te reo Māori, the Indigenous language of Aotearoa/New Zealand, is endangered; consequently, it is striving to achieve intergenerational transmission within a dominant English speaking society. This thesis focuses on the relationship between language and identity and the historical and contemporary contexts that have shaped the lives of eight iwi Māori participants and their children, who are living in the realities of this situation. When interviewed, these participants all had children aged between 0 and 5 years and all understood the importance of te reo Māori intergenerational transmission. This thesis seeks to answer the following broad research question: “What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children?” Using a Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach and an Indigenous narrative inquiry method, parents’ narratives were gathered and emerging themes were formed from these. Using Benham’s (2007) Indigenous narrative framework for analysis, these emerging themes were first placed into three features: ecological, sociocultural, and institutional. These three features were then scanned for the interrelationships across all three features and further analysed to thereby create a fourth feature, interrelationships. The key findings from this research are that intergenerational te reo Māori is not only about passing on language: it is also about healing intergenerational historical trauma, racial assumptions and stereotypes, which all arise from the legacy of colonisation. These aspects need to be addressed as part of developing both reo Māori communities of support and cultural and spiritual wellbeing so whānau can develop resistant and resilient language identities for living in a contemporary world. Due to high language loss in Ngāi Tahu tribal region (located in the South Island), succession planning is required at all language levels. Rather than relying on institutional knowledge, it is te reo Māori relationships and mentoring systems that will sustain and

encourage the use of te reo Māori. This research shows that whānau living the reality of being Māori/English bilinguals have followed a pathway handed down from their ancestors: a pathway which has created a new dynamic way to be bilingual in a contemporary world. The unique contribution of this thesis is to present this pathway in a new model based on these participants' narratives. This model demonstrates the key roles of whakapapa and rangatiratanga in establishing normalisation of te reo Māori in the home, hapū, iwi, community and civic society. Parents' experiences and knowledges are valuable as they have led the way in language revitalisation. It is hoped that these research findings and the resulting model will assist Ngāi Tahu with future planning for intergenerational te reo Māori.

Keywords: te reo Māori; intergenerational transmission; language loss; language planning; Māori language revitalisation; bilingualism.

Glossary

Āe	Yes
Aotearoa	Land of the Long White Cloud, New Zealand
Aroha	The reciprocal obligation to care, respect
Atua	Ancestor, god, supernatural being
Auaha	Creativeness
Awa	River
Aroha ki te tangata	A respect for people
E tika	Right
Hananui	Highest mountain in Stewart Island
Hapū	Sub-tribe
He kanohi kitea	A face to be seen, meet face to face
He Māori ahau	I am Māori
He whakaaro tāku	My opinion
Hinengaro	Mind
Hoki	Return, also
Homai	Give to me
Hui	Meeting
Hui taumata	Summit conference
I te kāika	At home
I ngā wā katoa	All the time
Iwi	Tribe, people
Kai	Food
Kāinga	Home
Kāinga Kōrerorero	Home language group
Kaimoana	Seafood
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship of the earth
Ka pai	Well done
Kapa haka	Performance
Karakia	Prayer, incantation
Kaiako	Teacher
Kaumātua	Elder
Kaupapa	Philosophy

Kaua e mahaki	Do not flaunt your knowledge
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not trample on the dignity of a person
Kei roto i te kaika	In the home
Kete	Basket
Kia ora	Hello, thank you, be well
Kia tupato	Be cautious
Koha	Gift
Kōhangā reo	Language nest
Kōhangā	Māori language immersion early childhood education
Kōhungahunga	Bilingual early childhood centre
Kope	Nappy, diaper
Kōrero	Talk
Koro	Elder (male)
Kōrua	You (two people)
Kotahi mano kāika, kotahi mano wawata	Generation reo campaign
Kuia	Elder (female)
Kura	School
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Kaupapa Māori immersion schools
Kura reo	Language school
Kura reorua	English medium school with a bilingual unit attached
Kura tuarua	Secondary school
Māmā	Easy, mother
Mana	Prestige, status, spiritual power, charisma
Manaaki	To support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect
Manaaki ki te tangata	Hosting and being generous
Manaakitanga	Generosity
Māoritanga	Māori culture
Marae	Formal Māori gathering place
Matua	Father
Matua awhi	Parent helpers
Maunga	Mountain
Māui	Name of a well known Polynesian character of narratives, famous for his feats/exploits

Māui-tikitiki-a Taranga	Another name for Māui
Mihi	To greet, pay tribute, acknowledge, thank
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Ngā rā o mua	The past (days in front of us)
Ngā rā kei muri	The future (the days after)
Ngāti Māmoe	Tribal group, South Island
Ngāi Tahu	Tribal group, South Island
Ōtautahi	Christchurch
Oriori	Lullaby
Pā	Traditional fortified site
Pākēhā	Non-Māori New Zealanders
Pakeke	Adult
Panekiretanga	Language school for fluent speakers only
Pāngarau	Mathematics
Pānui	Read
Papa	Ground
Papakāinga	Homeland
Papatūānuku	Mother earth
Pepeha	Tribal sayings
Poi	Light ball on end of string
Pōtiki	Last born
Pōua	Ngāi Tahu dialect for grandfather
Pirangi au	I want
Pūmanawa	Talents, intuitive, cleverness
Puna reo	Māori language group adults and children
Pūrākau	Myth, ancient legend, story
Ranga	Weave
Rangatiratanga	Right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy
Rangi	Sky
Ranginui	Sky Father
Rāhui	Ban, prohibition
Rakiura	Stewart Island
Reo ā-iwi	Dialects
Rūnanga	Tribal council, iwi authority
Rū whenua	Earthquake

Takiwā	District, area, territory, vicinity, region
Taha hinengaro	Thoughts and feelings side
Taha tinana	Physical side
Taha Wairua	Spiritual side
Taha Whānau	Family side
Tāne	Male
Tāne mahuta	God of the Forest
Tangata	Person
Tama	Son
Tamaiti	Small child
Tamariki	Children
Tangaroa	Atua of the sea
Tāngata	People
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Tangihanga	Funeral
Taonga	Treasure, anything prized
Taonga tuku iho	Treasures handed down
Tauwi	Foreigner, European, non-Māori
Tauparapara	Chant at the beginning of a speech
Te ao Māori	Māori worldviews
Te ao Pākehā	Pākehā worldviews
Te ao whānui	Global worldviews
Te aho matua	Guiding philosophy of Kura Kaupapa Māori
Teina	Younger sibling, child or novice in terms of expertise
Te kore	Realm of potential being, the Void
Te puni kōkiri	Māori department of government
Te reo	The language
Te Taura Whiri	Māori Language Commission
Te Waipounamu	South Island
Tika	Be correct, right
Tikanga	Custom
Tīmatanga	Beginning
Tinana	Body
Tino pai	Very good
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, autonomy

Titiro	Look
Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero	Look and listen before you speak
Tohunga	Expert
Tuakana	Older sibling, child or more expert other
Tūhawaiki	Name of South Island ancestor
Tūrangawaewae	A place to stand
Tūturu	Real, native, authentic
Uruao waka	Ancestral canoe
Utu	Reciprocity
Waiata	Song
Wairua	Spirit
Waitaha	Canterbury
Waka	Canoe
Wānanga	Institution of higher learning, discuss in depth
Whāea/whaea	Mother
Whakaaro	Thought, opinion
Whakairo	Carving
Whakamā	Shy, reserved, shame, embarrassment
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakarongo	Listen
Whakatauākī	Proverbial saying according to someone
Whakatauki	Proverbial saying
Whānau	Family (including extended)
Whanaungatanga	Relationships, connectedness
Whare	House
Wharekura	Secondary school using kaupapa Māori principles
Whāriki	Flax mat
Whatumanawa	Inner heart, core
Whenua	Land

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

Te muranga o Rakiura
ka tau iho i runga i
Te Punga o Te Waka a Māui.
He whare wānanga,
He whare tiaki taonga
nō Tāne mō Papatūānuku me Tangaroa.
Otirā, mō te ira tāngata ngā hekenga
o Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe, me Waitaha.
Ka whakamaua kia tina, tina!
Haumi e, Hui e, Taiki e.
The aura that are the glowing skies
that envelop the anchor of the waka of Māui.
A house of learning,
a house full of the treasures
from Tane for Papatūānuku and Tangaroa,
indeed, and also for we the descendants of
generations of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha
Binding this tightly, tightly.
Together, tightly, all is bound.

(New Zealand Department of Conservation, 2012 p. i)

This thesis begins with a mihi to my ancestral land, whakapapa links and to my iwi Ngāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe and Waitaha (New Zealand Department of Conservation, 2012). Te muranga o Rakiura refers to the glowing skies or southern lights, aurora australis that can

sometimes be seen from Rakiura (Stewart Island). Rakiura, the third largest island in New Zealand, is also known by the ancestral name Te Rakiura a Te Rakitamau which refers to a pūrākau, an oral form of Māori narratives. The chief, Te Rakitamau, was asked by his terminally ill wife to marry her cousin after she died. So he paddled across Te ara a Kiwa (Foveaux Strait) to where she lived, only to find that the woman he had wanted to marry was already engaged. He asked about her sister but she too was engaged and he blushed with embarrassment. Hence the other name for Rakiura, *Te Ura o Te Rakitamau*, which refers to Te Rakitamau's blushing incident (Ashwell, 2000, 2002). Hananui, the highest mountain in Rakiura, was also named after his blushing cheeks. Te Punga o Te Waka a Māui (the anchor stone of Māui), is the original name for Rakiura and comes from the Māui stories about the fishing up of the North Island. The waka that Māui travelled in was the South Island and the anchor stone for his waka was Rakiura (Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2016).

This name and story demonstrate the connection that language has to land and whakapapa, as both are an inherent part of identity. Land, like whakapapa, embodies ancestral connections to the past, and provides a foundation for future generations. The Māori word for land is whenua which is the same name as the placenta. It is customary to iwi Māori to return the whenua (placenta) to the land at a place important to whānau and at death Māori bury the body at a place sacred to whānau (D. Williams, 2007; J. Williams, 2004). These cultural practices ensure land has its own mana and mauri due to the presence and deeds of ancestors from that place. Intergenerational rights and spiritual connections to ancestral land demonstrate the importance of protecting land for future generations to come.

Spiritual connections to the ancestors are also expressed in the mihi to Rakiura and in karakia through the words, “Ka whakamaua kia tina, tina! Haumie, Hui e, Taiki e”. These words refer to the importance of binding and bringing people together from the past and

present. The reo in karakia provides a way of acknowledging the past to guide our future. J. Williams (2004) says, “Karakia are ritual formula” and are respectful ways of mediating between the domains of the atua and requirements of iwi Māori as guardians of the land. Atua are acknowledged in the mihi to Rakiura and reference is made to the ancestral relationship of Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and her first husband Tangaroa (Atua of the Sea). Language and stories are connected to place and it is these stories that are handed to future generations. According to J. Williams (2004), acknowledging that the present generations are linked to these atua by way of whakapapa continues ancestral relationships (J. Williams, 2004).

This thesis begins in the past with whakapapa, ancestral connections and also ends with a model for bilingualism which uses a whakapapa research framework. Te reo Māori and whakapapa are the keys to who we are, to whom we belong and to where we are headed next in regards to our language identities.

Ko wai au

Whakapapa is a comprehensive conceptual framework enabling Māori to make sense of their world (Emery, 2008; Mikaere, 2011; Skerrett-White, 2003). The introduction presents the whakapapa or the inception and development of this research. Whakapapa lays the foundations for Māori identity and establishes connections. An essential part of whakapapa is the past, called *ngā rā o mua*, meaning the days are in front of us to move forward and this underpins a sense of cultural knowledge and belonging in a contemporary world. The future is called *ngā rā kei muri*, meaning the days after (Ka’ai & Higgins, 2004). This creates a Māori worldview where the past guides the future and the past is carried with us (Jackson, 2007; Ka’ai & Higgins, 2004). In order to form strong Māori language relationships, knowing your whakapapa, and where you are from, creates the ability to envisage and shape who you are to live as iwi Māori.

Whakapapa is about connections and, according to Tule (2006), “It is how Māori people connect with Māori people, how Māori people connect with the land, the waters, the sky” (p. 171). Therefore it is appropriate (tika) in this thesis to identify who I am first. Whakapapa is fundamental to a Māori way of being and is therefore part of language identity not only for me but also for the participants in this research.

Cultural stories, storytelling through pūrākau, establish whakapapa connections through land and language. Embedded in the Māori language imagery of the word pūrākau is pū, meaning the base, and rākau the tree, which reflects the social relationships and interconnectedness people have with the environment (Lee, 2005). Pūrākau are part of “connecting, nurturing, sustaining and flourishing of our people” (Lee, 2005, p. 8). Storytelling is therefore an important part of language regeneration. This is demonstrated in the following story which forms the foundation of my own pepeha. Pepeha, or tribal sayings, encapsulate the way people are bound together by a common ancestor or ancestors (genealogical connections) and land features (geographical landmarks) to form particular hapū-iwi connections. Waitaha were the first people of Te Waipounamu travelling on Uruao waka and settling in Canterbury. Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu followed soon after and then important whānau links were established by intermarriage and political alliances. Pepeha establish tribal identity and, through oral history, te reo Māori is mapped geographically onto land. Pepeha are a cultural, linguistic and geographical map to enable people across generations to connect to their ancestors and place.

The following pepeha shows my connections, my whakapapa to Ngāi Tahu:

Pepeha

Ko Hananui te maunga.

Hananui is the mountain.

Ko Te Ara a Kiwa te moana.

Te Ara a Kiwa is the sea.

Ko Tahu Pōtiki te tangata Rongonui.

Tahi Pōtiki is the eponymous ancestor.

Ko Kāti Huirapa, Ngāi Tūāhuriri ngā hapū.

Kāti Huirapa and Ngāi Tūāhuriri are the [sub] tribes.

Ko Waitaha, Ko Ngāti Māmoe, Ko Ngāi Tahu, ngā iwi.

Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu are the tribes.

Ko Uruao, Ko Takitimu ngā waka.

Uruao and Takitimu are the canoes.

The traditions and language of Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu are part of the landscape and locate me in a unique identity within the iwi of Ngāi Tahu. In the Ngāi Tahu creation story:

Te Waipounamu is the waka that carried four sons of Raki (sky father) to meet his second wife Papatūānuku (earth mother). The sons journeyed from the heavens and when they sought to return, the karakia (incantation) failed, overturning their waka which became the South Island (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, 2016c, para. 3).

The reo Māori within pepeha reflect a deep understanding and connectedness with the past and the future and are part of taonga tuku iho, treasures handed down by our ancestors.

Ancestral relationships Tūhawaiki

My whakapapa has a long line of ancestors that protected land to ensure it was there for the generations to come. We are known as Rakiura Māori. My ancestor Tūhawaiki signed the Treaty of Waitangi on June 9, 1940, in order for the lands to be protected as well as protection of the law. He did not sign away iwi rights to the land. Through previous multiple land sales for economic purposes, in particular to whalers and sealers and land speculators in Sydney, Tūhawaiki understood how European land sales worked (Evison, 1993, 2006). He could read, write and speak a little English and knew about cash

transactions and banking. The New Zealand Company wanted to purchase the Otago block in 1844 and Tūhawaiki's experiences as a businessman and understanding of colonisation practices were called upon. His knowledge of previous dealings with Pākehā are noted by George Clarke, interpreter to the Native Land Court in 1844, when he recorded Tūhawaiki saying:

We are but a poor remnant now, and the Pākehā will soon see us all die out, but even in my time we...were a large and powerful tribe...we had a worse enemy than even Rauparaha, and that was the visit of the Pākehā with his drink and his disease. You think us very corrupted, but the very scum of Port Jackson shipped as whalers or landed as sealers on this coast. They brought us new plagues, unknown to our fathers, till our people melted away. (Otago Witness, 1908, p. 43)

He understood the effect colonisation was having upon the land and iwi. Unfortunately, in the Otago block transaction, the resident Ngāi Tahu iwi were not left with sufficient land (Evison, 2006).

Tā Tipene O'Regan described my ancestor Tūhawaiki as, "He tangata matekite ki te mahoranui – atea" which means, "a person who had a view of the far distant horizon of his people" (Te Karaka, 1996, p. 47). Tā Tipene stated this in reference to Tūhawaiki's ability to understand and influence technology, the economy and education to advocate for the future lives of Rakiura Māori (Te Karaka, 1996). Tūhawaiki signed the Treaty of Waitangi in order to preserve and care for our taonga: particularly land, reo and iwi Māori in the South Island. It is this taonga tuku iho from my ancestor that provides the passion and foresight in this research.

Land and intergenerational knowledge

In November 2015, my father died and in the personal effects bequeathed to our whānau we ascertained that we have mutton birding rights to Tīā Island. There is a long tradition of Ngāi Tahu iwi, Rakiura Māori taking tītī (muttonbird) from the islands within the Rakiura area Stewart Island, and Rakiura itself is part of that tradition. Tītī were a major source of

food for local iwi and also used as a major trading commodity with other iwi. Before the death of my father I knew we were connected to whānau in Rakiura but knew nothing of the language and cultural connections and stories associated with this part of our whakapapa. This situation demonstrates how language and whakapapa is lost through the generations unless understanding of the significance of land ecology to identity, language and whakapapa, is passed on. Information is handed down intergenerationally through land rights and when this land is lost then significant identity is also lost. Land, our whenua represents who we are and our identity. It is important for my son's identity that this intergenerational knowledge is re-enlivened in my own son. An intended outcome of this research is to explore how participants ensure these knowledges are passed on intergenerationally in their own whānau to create their language identities for the future.

Ko te kāhui mauka, tū tonu, tū tonu, ko te kāhui
takata karo noa, karo noa ka haere – The people will perish but the mountains shall remain. (Te Karaka, 2012b, Makariri, p. 12)

Background

The following background contextualises this thesis. I began this research because I wanted to investigate the ways in which parents who are second language learners and speakers of te reo Māori nurture their children as Māori in the region of Christchurch. After reviewing the work of García (2009), there was a shift in my own use of the term “second-language learners” to “emerging bilinguals”. In light of García’s work, my research focus changed from investigating second language learners to how emergent bilinguals or bilinguals go about establishing the Māori language identity of their children. I wanted to investigate deeper in order to understand how parents develop their own Māori language identities as they are themselves learning the language as well as imparting a strong sense of identity to their children through the intergenerational transmission of

language. Participants were limited to those who had children aged 0 to 5 years. My own child was age three at the time of this research and I was experiencing the daily dilemmas of attempting to use te reo Māori. The next section outlines my family history and my own loss of language experiences.

Family history

I have chosen to undertake this study because of my own experiences of teaching my child to speak te reo Māori, wondering where to start and where my support would come from. As established in the introduction, I am Ngāi Tahu and whakapapa to Rakiura, the deep South, Banks Peninsula, and Canterbury region. I was born and raised in Christchurch. I am still learning te reo Māori and do not have whānau members that can support my use of te reo Māori in the home due to complete language loss in my immediate whānau. My depth of understanding about being a Ngāi Tahu woman and mother continues to develop. At the beginning of this thesis journey my child started at an immersion early childhood centre and transitioned to a bilingual primary school located next to a marae. I chose this pathway for my child not only to break the cycle of language loss but also due to the difficulties encountered using and learning te reo Māori as an adult. My child's school is the only school in Christchurch that is marae-based and this means there is a strong relationship between the school and the marae community. I chose this school because of my whakapapa connections. Attending educational environments to develop te reo Māori and understanding how to work and connect at a marae is a valuable experience for my child. The understanding of whakapapa comes from a person's own whānau connections and is not developed in a school environment. Language regeneration involves strong whakapapa and whānau connections.

Context of the study

The historical and contemporary contexts situated around te reo Māori have contributed to language loss. This has meant there are dilemmas faced by Māori parents wishing to bring their children up bilingually in the Ngāi Tahu Te Waipounamu region. Concerns as to the health and status of Ngāi Tahu reo Māori remain. The 2013 Census Statistics New Zealand showed that the major differences between the languages spoken by the Ngāi Tahu and the New Zealand Māori population were:

- A *larger* percentage of people who speak English only (84.3% compared to 77.5%)
- A *smaller* percentage of people who speak Māori and English (9.7% compared to 16.1%)

(Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016b)

This means the participants in this research have fewer speakers of te reo Māori and an environment where English language is dominant. The 2013 Census data show that iwi Ngāi Tahu able to speak te reo Māori has declined since the 2001 and 2006 censuses. The census data show that for people affiliating with Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu and living in New Zealand on 5 March 2013:

- 11.2 percent could hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori, in comparison with 18.4 percent of the total population of Māori descent.
- In 2006, the figure was 11.7 percent (20.0 percent for the total population of Māori descent), and in 2001, 12.6 percent (21.1 percent for the total population of Māori descent).

(Statistics New Zealand, 2013)

Alongside this 2013 Census data, learners of te reo Māori have had limited exposure to natural, native language models of generational language. As an iwi, Ngāi Tahu is highly

integrated into mainstream society with isolated communities and no high density areas of Ngāi Tahu speakers (O'Regan, 2007). English language continues to dominate the region. Concerns as to the health and status of te reo Māori have resulted in language and cultural revitalisation movements. In the Ngāi Tahu Te Waipounamu region there is a Māori language planning strategy developed by Ngāi Tahu “Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata” (Te Karaka, 2000a, p. 29). The first campaign was called “generation reo” (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, 2008a). This catch phrase and campaign was used to heighten people’s understanding and awareness about the importance of language revitalisation. The goal for this particular programme is for Ngāi Tahu iwi to understand that te reo Māori, including reo-a-iwi (that is, the variations in language particular to each iwi) is endangered and needs to be spoken in the home. The “generation reo” campaign also reasons that it is an intergenerational responsibility for the survival and wellbeing of te reo Māori. This Ngāi Tahu Māori language strategy is reviewed every five years. In 2016, this campaign addresses three goals: lifestyle choices that enable intergenerational transmission, active participation and commitment to te reo Māori in the home, and building strategic relationships for continued language revitalisation (Kotahi Mano Kāika, 2016).

The focus of language revitalisation has shifted from te reo Māori in education, to the home, to the government and now to iwi (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014, 2016c; Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori, 2008). All contexts where te reo Māori is developed are vital for language regeneration. Despite recent changes in policy direction, the impact at whānau level has remained the same and te reo Māori continues to decline (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori (Māori Language Commission) continues to develop strategies to improve the health of te reo Māori due to this decline (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). In 2016, Parliament passed Te Ture mō te Reo Māori 2016 (Te Puni Kōkiri,

2016a). This act establishes Te Mātāwai on behalf of iwi and iwi Māori, to lead revitalisation of te reo Māori at the community level and the Crown will lead this at a national level (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016a). This act aligns with a current iwi goal by Ngāi Tahu Kotahi Mano Kāika (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, 2016b) to increase the use of te reo Māori in the home.

The emerging narratives of the research participants demonstrate whether these new outcomes align politically and socially with the reality of living and using te reo Māori in the home, school, iwi, hapū and communities that participants are part of. This research provides supporting information about how participants go about achieving some of the aspirations inherent in the 2016 Māori Language Act.

Indigenous researcher

As an Indigenous researcher it is important not only to establish who I am as an Indigenous community member but also to ascertain my role as a member of the research community as a Māori academic. According to L.T Smith (2012), part of the Indigenous research process is negotiating and transforming institutional practices and research frameworks. This institutional research space elevates Western research processes and colonialism through economic and social policies which has meant that Indigenous researchers have had to negotiate pathways to demonstrate that Māori theories and knowledges are relevant and valid. The research space needs to be rigorous to meet the research criteria of the institution and at the same time is expected to meet the requirements of the community. As a Māori researcher there is a reciprocal relationship that is dynamic and constantly negotiated due to the status of Māori in a colonised society.

It is recognised that the term “Māori” may be problematic in that it is a term applied to Māori after the arrival of the colonists to New Zealand. Rangihau (1981) says:

I have a faint suspicion that Māori is a term coined by the Pākehā to bring tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity (p. 175)

Rangihau (1975, 1981) refers to the difficulty of the concept of the word “Māori” because iwi Māori are not homogenous and are located within iwi, whānau, and hapū. These words describe the kinship groups of traditional social organisation before the arrival of Pākehā. Te Ahu Poata-Smith (2013) says iwi, hapū and whānau were “complex constellations of lineages woven together by intermarriage, political alliance, and by migration and resettlement” (p. 51). Being “Māori” means different things to different people, from different iwi. This research examines the ways parents and their preschool children identify as iwi Māori and how this is defined in relation to a language identity.

Significance of this study and Ngāi Tahu Reo

I wanted to contribute to understanding how te reo Māori is passed on intergenerationally, in particular for Ngāi Tahu iwi. Understanding how te reo Māori is used within whānau and the choices parents make to speak te reo Māori in the community, school, whānau, hapū and iwi establishes how te reo Māori is spoken in a civic society. This is an investigation into the daily lives of the participants and the reality of living with bilingual practices, political decision making and intergenerational language regeneration.

Local language loss

Whānau and community participation in language regeneration of te reo Māori is still low. In the 2013 Census, 82.5 percent of Māori in Canterbury region spoke only one language, compared with 76.5 percent of all Māori in New Zealand. Ngāi Tahu is the third largest iwi in the country, with a count of 54,819 people of Māori descent. Loss of language amongst Ngāi Tahu therefore affects a large percentage of South Island Māori. Ngāi Tahu speakers may be included in the intermediate or lower levels for speaking te reo Māori as evidenced in the 2006 *Survey on the health of the Māori language* report (Ministry of

Māori Development, 2007). The situation for Ngāi Tahu in the 2013 Te Kupenga survey showed that 11.2 percent of Ngāi Tahu iwi could hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori, in comparison with 18.4 percent of the total population of Māori descent. This statistical information does not provide information about the specific ways Māori speakers are creating their own bilingual contexts for maintaining te reo Māori. This research looks at the practical applications of living with bilingualism in the region of Christchurch.

Majority language speakers and the attitudes and values of non-Māori New Zealanders influence language regeneration (De Bres, 2008). Although attitudes of non-Māori towards te reo Māori continue to improve (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006a), there remains a concern for the return of te reo Māori to a healthy state (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016c). O'Regan (2012) expresses concerns about the quality of te reo Māori being taught and the low number of people involved in te reo Māori language activities and language in the home, despite continued language regeneration activities. The apathy towards language regeneration efforts, barriers to motivation to learn te reo, and lack of access to educational opportunities in te reo Māori are key concerns for Ngāi Tahu te reo Māori development. This research looks at the current thinking of reo Māori speaking participants and the narratives indicate strategies as to how participants gained motivation to continue to use te reo Māori with their children. Accessing information regarding their passion and motivation to continue with te reo Māori in the home, school and community is useful for future generations of Ngāi Tahu te reo Māori speakers planning for intergenerational transmission. The current information available to Ngāi Tahu demonstrates the extent of the continued language loss in the Ngāi Tahu region and also shows the dearth of reo Māori speaking kaumātua available to assist with the regeneration of te reo Māori. The

Ngāi Tahu participants in this research were aware of this loss. This thesis ascertains the current approaches participants used to overcome this loss.

Part of the cultural revitalisation of language, knowledge and culture in te ao Māori (the Māori world) started at the preschool level. In 1982 the first kōhangā reo (Māori language nests) were opened. Kōhangā reo were able to bring Māori families together as these language nests rely on whānau support to enable them to work successfully. Once the kōhangā children reached five years old, there was a dilemma as to where to place children who were fluent speakers of te reo Māori in the schooling system (G. H. Smith, 2000). Hence the primary schooling system was started, called Kura Kaupapa Māori, which involved the total immersion in te reo Māori. In 2016 we now have a variety of options for parents.

In Canterbury there are only two kura kaupapa and several bilingual and immersion programmes. This limits parental choices for those wishing to bring up their children bilingually. There is the option of kōhangā reo immersion environments in te reo Māori in the early childhood sector. There are also bilingual options in preschool and in the primary school mainstream system. Preschool systems that do not require the support of Māori parents during the day have become a necessity for many parents due to parental workforce commitments. How parents make these educational choices in relation to their own te reo Māori knowledge was investigated.

Te Waipounamu communities have changed for socio-economic and political reasons, and parents look to childcare services to cater for children's learning needs. The decision a parent makes about the best education for their preschool children in a Christchurch context is part of this narrative inquiry. The option of quality schooling in te reo Māori is minimal. The *Ka Hikitia Accelerating Success* programme developed by the Ministry of Education for 2013–2017 is an approach to continuing te reo Māori education.

Implementation is slow and disparities remain. The strategy asked educators to acknowledge and assist with the use of te reo Māori by community members, and aims at having high quality early childhood and Māori language education. The project aimed at getting government agencies and family, iwi, hapū and whānau and community engagement in education and is a response to the New Zealand government's Treaty obligation to protect and promote te reo Māori. Of interest in this research is what the narratives state about the involvement of participants in quality educational environments.

I investigated what happened to a Māori parent's Indigenous language and participation in the language community as an emergent bilingual or as a bilingual once parenthood occurs. This involved looking at how parents' experiences of language loss and identity affect the choices parents make for their children. Of interest in this research is what happened before and during parenthood that formulated the choice to speak te reo Māori. Parenthood also presents an opportune time for parents to learn their own language at the same time as they teach their children (Iqbal, 2005).

Research questions

This thesis investigates the relationship of language to identity and how colonisation practices both historical and contemporary affect intergenerational Māori bilingualism. The overarching objective of this study is to understand the experiences of parents in the Ngāi Tahu region of Christchurch bringing up their children as Māori. As a result, the study aimed to explore the following broad research question: What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children? The question explores what the participants are telling us about the daily lived experiences of raising their children as Māori.

Subsidiary questions were generated based on the data, however aspects of importance include:

- How do emergent bilinguals or bilinguals go about establishing the Māori language identity of their children?
- What expectations do parents in the region of Christchurch have of themselves when raising their children bilingually?
- How do parents in the region of Christchurch support their child bilingually?
- What are the issues for those who are bilingual/emergent bilingual speakers of te reo Māori in the region of Christchurch?
- What influences parents' choice of education in the region of Christchurch?
- How do ecological perspectives impact upon language regeneration?

Overview of the thesis structure

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The introductory chapter establishes my whakapapa and relationship to this land, Te Waipounamu, Aotearoa. The context for this study and significance of this research is outlined to show how important intergenerational te reo Māori is for language regeneration and the connections of whakapapa to land and identity. I situate myself in this research to show how language loss and colonisation have shaped my own language identities in the Ngāi Tahu region of Christchurch. Chapter Two situates the current research in the related literature to establish the research methodology. It includes a critical review of second language learning theory and the influence of colonisation on the parenting views and aspirations of education for Māori. Historical grievances related to the Treaty between Māori and Pākehā are explored and their relation to the contemporary situation for iwi, hapū and whānau are discussed. It then describes the influence of historical trauma and land loss, which demonstrates the importance of land to language and language to land. The importance of intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori in a civic society and the importance of linguistic identity development in a local

context are outlined. This research builds on the work of others by acknowledging how the current literature findings influence the daily lives of the participants.

Chapter Three introduces a Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach and describes why this is the appropriate framework. It then outlines the research method used: Indigenous narrative methodologies. These approaches are determined by the literature, the researcher, the participants in this thesis and the question investigated. Indigenous narrative methodologies enable stories to be told from perspectives that are not from the dominant cultural norm. There are eight participants in this research who range from emergent bilinguals to bilinguals and have children under the age of five. This section explains how their narratives have been recorded and the participants' backgrounds.

In Chapter Four, the results, data analysis and discussion of the narratives are presented according to the first part of Benham's (2007) framework for analysis. This chapter looks at how ecological features of the Benham framework impact on language regeneration and language identities and presents the five themes arising from the narratives. The following question is asked of the data: How do ecological perspectives impact upon language regeneration? The last part of Chapter Four looks at the analysis of these themes and introduces a new model from the findings of the ecological data.

The results and data analysis for the sociocultural features of Benham's 2007 model are presented in Chapter Five. This chapter provides a continued overview of the next four emerging themes from the data and looks at the sociocultural contexts and relationships that influence a bilingual language identity. The question asked of the data in this chapter is: How do sociocultural perspectives impact upon language regeneration? The final section of this chapter introduces the second part of a new model from the findings of the sociocultural data.

In Chapter Six, the results and data analysis for institutional features of Benham's (2007) model are covered. This chapter introduces the two emerging themes from the institutional features data and then an analysis of these data and the third part of a new model from the findings of the data. The question asked of the data in this chapter is: How do institutional perspectives impact upon language regeneration?

Chapter Seven includes the results and data analysis for the interrelationships across all three features of Benham's (2007) model. The interrelationships across ecological, sociocultural and institutional features are discussed and their interrelationships analysed, including one new emerging theme from across the data. The fourth and final part of the new model from the findings is outlined. The question asked of this data is: How do the interrelationships across all three perspectives impact upon language regeneration?

Chapter Eight contains the final conclusions and reflective evaluation, recommendations and conclusions of this research. Further research agendas are also discussed to assist with future investigation into the daily lives of emergent bilinguals and bilinguals for Ngāi Tahu whānau and iwi Māori who continue to struggle to regenerate te reo Māori. These findings indicate that there is a new way to be bilingual in a contemporary society and this research presents the final model called *A Whakapapa of Bilingualism*. This model concludes the thesis and shows the pathways taken by participants in their journey to be bilingual in their day to day lives. The development of language identities is complex. The parents and children continue to refine and develop their identities according to the contexts they live in but have the same goal of having te reo Māori as a living language, and valued as a civic language across three generations.

Conclusion

This introduction established how I belong to the whakapapa of Ngāi Tahu, locating the iwi in its historical, geographic, and sociocultural environment. It also established how

whakapapa connects to land, language and identity and the importance of whakapapa in maintaining powerful language identities. This research examines the various strategies, concepts and understandings that parents have about reo Māori language identities and how they go about sharing this knowledge with their children. This includes the choices that parents make and the experiences that they encounter. The following chapter explores what the literature is saying about the context parents encounter when revitalising Māori language with their children.

Chapter Two: Literature review

Introduction

This research investigates how parents who are emergent bilinguals or bilingual speakers of te reo Māori and English revitalise Māori language identity with their children. This chapter explores the current literature concerning bilingualism and Māori identity in historical and contemporary contexts, which in turn informs my research approach. This literature review begins with a discussion of te reo Māori and the Treaty at a national, tribal, hapū and whānau level. This situates te reo Māori from the past to the present and describes how it has reached its current state in a neo-colonial society. The next part of this chapter looks at linguistic identity and demonstrates the importance of language for identity, socialisation, and providing strength to withstand the political and economic pressures of living in a neoliberal society. In the last part of this chapter, the literature associated with intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori is discussed, including how a colonised society views second language acquisition across the domains of parenting, and childhood.

Treaty of Waitangi

Treaty at a national level

The Treaty of Waitangi (1840) defines the relationship between the Crown and Māori in New Zealand. The principles of the Treaty are embedded in the statutes and regulations of New Zealand law. The Treaty created a reciprocal relationship between Māori and the Crown. It gave the Crown both the right to govern and the obligation to protect, while guaranteeing to Māori their rights and property and giving them all the rights and obligations of British subjects. Of particular importance to Māori was that it gave them

equality of status in the partnership created by the Treaty (Ministry of Justice, 2016; State Services Commission, 2006).

Reference to “the Treaty”, in a broad sense, does not encapsulate the intricacies of the Treaty of Waitangi. There are actually two Treaties (Articles in te reo Māori and English translations), reflecting different worldviews and values. For example, the Māori text of the Treaty gave up “kāwanatanga”—the right to govern—but retained “tino rangatiratanga”—sovereignty or the right to self-determination. However, the English text of the Treaty speaks of Māori giving up sovereignty while retaining “full exclusive and undisturbed possession” of lands, estates, forests, fisheries and other resources. These two ideas run counter to each other, as there would be no point in retaining your lands when you cannot exercise sovereignty over your lands. In order to provide some clarification around what I have termed the intricacies of the Treaty of Waitangi, the courts have provided some principles.

The principles, Waitangi Tribunal reports and te reo Māori acts

The Māori language is a taonga (treasure), guaranteed Crown protection under the Treaty of Waitangi, which imposes obligations on the Crown to ensure its preservation (Hancock & Gover, 2001). There are several important cases in legislation and Waitangi Tribunal reports that recognise this obligation. The Māori Language Act in 1987 established te reo Māori as an official language of New Zealand. This Act stems from a Waitangi Tribunal report in 1986 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986) where it was established that te reo Māori was a taonga guaranteed under the Treaty, and that the Crown had significant responsibilities for its protection. The reo Māori claim (1986) stated that the Crown must consult with Māori before acting upon any decisions that may impinge upon any Māori interests protected by the Treaty. The Waitangi Tribunal (1986) recommended that a Māori Language Commission be established, that the education system and broadcasting policy support the

Māori language and that anyone who wished to do so be enabled to speak in Māori in the courts or when dealing with any public bodies. This assisted those in education wishing to establish schools in te reo Māori. The Education Act Amendment No. 80 in 1989 was written for the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori schools.

A new Māori Language Act was passed in April 2016 to provide better ways for the Crown, iwi and Māori to work together to revitalise te reo Māori. This Act replaces the Māori Language Act of 1987. It is New Zealand's first law with the Māori text prevailing as the language of law. If there is any debate regarding interpretation, the Māori version according to the law of *contra proferentem* would take precedence (Suter, 2014). This Act centralises te reo Māori at the tribal level by forming a new body called Te Mātāwai made up of 13 board members: seven from iwi Māori, four from Māori language stakeholder organisations, and two chosen by the Māori Development Minister. It is hoped that this Act and Māori language strategy will make progress with having te reo Māori part of a civic society rather than only the dominant English speaking environments (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016a).

The Lands Case in 1987 is where the Court of Appeal defined the principles of the Treaty. In order to do so, the Court had to consider the two language texts and derive an understanding of the basic agreement between the parties of the Treaty (Hancock & Gover, 2001). The Court of Appeal emphasised that there were two core principles: "partnership" and "active protection". The principle of partnership included the obligation on both parties to act reasonably, honourably and in good faith. The principle of "active protection" by the Crown was determined by Court of Appeal President Cooke as "active protection of Māori people in the use of their lands and waters to the fullest extent practicable" (State Services Commission, 2006, p. 15). Therefore, the principles of the Treaty as well as the Treaty texts are what determine how te reo Māori is protected by the Crown and by Māori.

The Treaty principles are constantly evolving and, according to President Cooke in the Muriwhenua Land report (1997), will continue to evolve from generation to generation as conditions change (Hancock & Gover, 2001).

The Treaty and its relevance today

Treaty principles are informed by the literal terms of both texts and the cultural meanings of words, as languages carry distinct values. The influences and events which gave rise to the Treaty are determined from historical sources as well as contemporary explanations and legal interpretations (Hancock & Gover, 2001). According to Te Aho (2008), the Crown has failed to adhere to either version of the Treaty, which has been devastating for Māori. Traditional tribal structures, ways of life, landholdings and Māori opportunities to develop have been lost (Te Aho, 2008). This is evidenced amongst other things today in, the social and educational statistics for Māori and the lack of intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori.

There is also a need to apply the Treaty to present-day circumstances and issues, particularly education. The Graduating Teacher Standards (2015) has the statement: “These standards recognise that the Treaty of Waitangi extends equal status and rights to Māori and Pākehā alike”. Further guidelines in the standards include statements like “use te reo Māori and tikanga-a-iwi appropriately in their practice” (Education Council, 2015, Standard Four). Institutions implement these policies in the courses they deliver. The institutions decide how these standards need to be met by all graduating teachers. How these standards are implemented change with leadership, new degrees and policies. Recommendations and course approval about implementation are monitored by the Education Council, but it is up to the institutions to implement policies related to the Treaty. Therefore, it also appears to be up to each generation of iwi Māori and Māori in the workforce to ensure policy makers are held accountable.

Te Reo Māori Tribunal Report 2010 (Wai 262)

Although active protection of te reo Māori is one of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi de jure (in law), there are implications for strategy and policy development of this official status in law. Difficulties with the implementation of the principles in policies and procedures have been referred to in the 2010 Te Reo Māori Tribunal report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). This report stated there were four main components to the Crown obligations to protect te reo Māori as a taonga under the Treaty. These were:

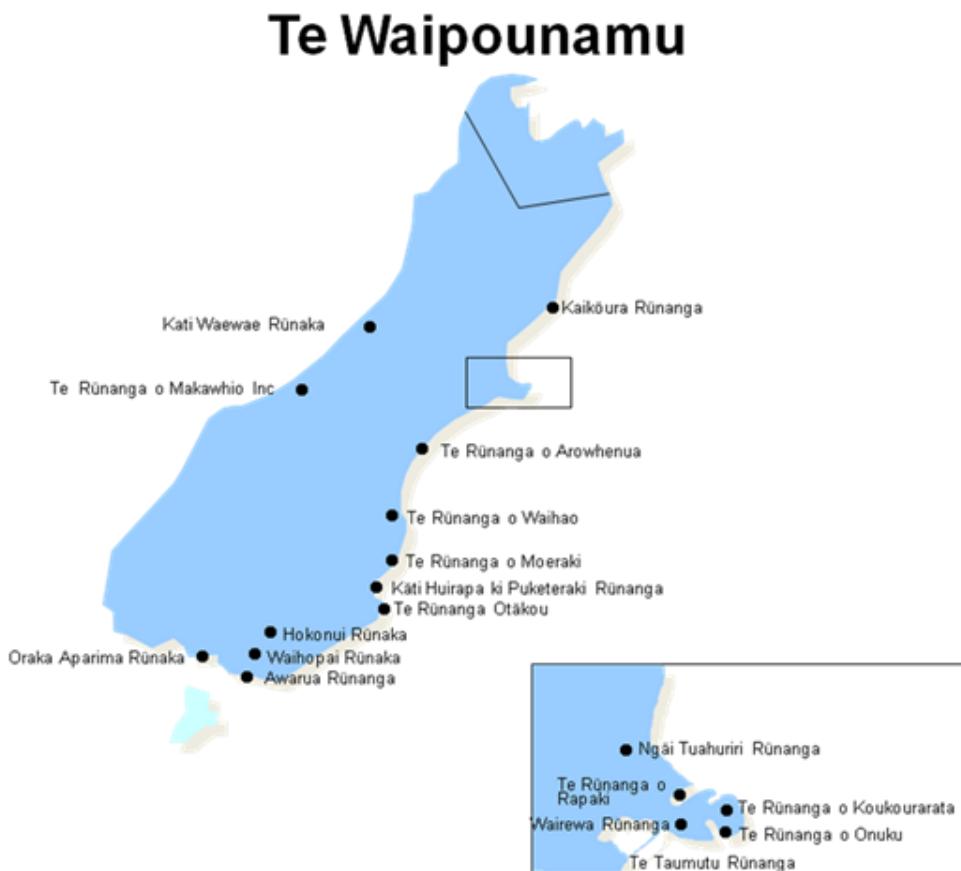
1. partnership
2. a Māori speaking government
3. wise policy
4. appropriate resources.

The Tribunal recognises that active protection of te reo Māori is a joint effort by two partners and that the Crown's Māori language policy should be strategic and transparent. The Crown needs to transfer enough control of the resourcing to ensure the vision of reviving te reo Māori is maintained by the communities, while maintaining its own expertise and resourcing. The report also emphasised the importance of language domains (authentic learning contexts where only te reo Māori is spoken) and being open-minded about suitable ways for language transmission to occur. According to the Tribunal, protection of te reo is of national interest and is not just a Treaty obligation. Te reo Māori can also play a key role in fostering a national identity (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). The new Māori Language Act 2016 is a movement towards some of the recommendations made by the Waitangi Tribunal.

Treaty at a tribal level, the Waitangi Tribunal and the Ngāi Tahu claim

In September 2008, Mark Solomon on behalf of the Papatipu rūnanga of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tahu whānui made an application to the Waitangi Tribunal (see map below of the Papatipu rūnanga which make up the rohe (tribal region) of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha).

Figure 1. Papatipu rūnanga of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha



This claim specifies that Ngāi Tahu has been and continues to be:

Prejudicially affected by the ordinances, acts, regulations, proclamations, notices and other statutory instruments, policies practices, acts and/or omissions of the crown which were, are and continue to be inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as set out in this statement of claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 2008, p. 4).

In order to understand present policy and relations between the Crown and Māori, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the historical events that led to the current day context. The Ngāi Tahu claim makes reference to breaches of the Treaty, which are similar

to those presented to the Waitangi Tribunal in the te reo Māori general claim in 1982 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989). The Crown is a Treaty partner of Māori and according to the Treaty must act in good faith, acknowledge and actively protect the interests of Māori. The “guarantee” in the Treaty is affirmative action to protect and sustain te reo Māori. The difference between the 1982 general te reo Māori claim and the Ngāi Tahu claim in 2008, with regard to te reo Māori, is that Ngāi Tahu had already made an agreement with the Crown in 1998 about the confiscation of their lands. Ngāi Tahu received an apology from the Crown as part of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Act in 1998. This Ngāi Tahu claim, registered in 1986, was about the Crown’s failure to keep its promises, its failure to provide the reserves, the food sources and the health, educational and land endowments that were needed to give Ngāi Tahu a stake in the new economy.

The three-volume Ngāi Tahu report (1991) by the Waitangi Tribunal laid the foundation for the “principle of exchange” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). This principle is the notion of “the exchange of the right to govern for the right of Māori to retain their full tribal authority and control over their lands and all other valued possessions” (Hayward & Wheen, 2004, p. 33). The principle of exchange was extended to embody four principles in the Ngāi Tahu Sea Fisheries Report 1992. These were the principles of active protection, the tribal right to self-regulation, the right of redress for past breaches, and the duty to consult (Hayward & Wheen, 2004).

The Ngāi Tahu claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2008 refers to the direct results on the iwi of Ngāi Tahu of these failures to keep promises. Ngāi Tahu believe the Crown has continued to make Treaty breaches upon Ngā Taonga o te taiao (treasures from the environment), ngā tikanga, te reo me te Mātauranga (customs, language and Māori knowledge) ngā utunga hou (new losses), and te whakamutunga o ngā Kereme (deed of settlement). The “ngā tikanga, te reo me te Mātauranga” part of the Ngāi Tahu claim refers

to the Crown failing to adequately protect or provide for Māori language and culture and the associated knowledges, teaching and learning in a Ngāi Tahu specific context. The full rights and privileges of Ngāi Tahu whānui have not been actively recognised and protected. The major focus of this claim in 2008 is that Ngāi Tahu has been disadvantaged socially, economically, culturally and physically by the denial of the rights and privileges under Article Three of the Treaty. The claim asks the Crown to take action to address the breaches of the principles of the Treaty. These claims have a direct relation to this research and the continued dilemmas associated with being Ngāi Tahu in Ōtautahi (Christchurch). An example of the “new losses” continues to be demonstrated in education. There is a general lack of resources and educational opportunities for those wishing to bring up their children as Māori and speaking te reo Māori in this region. The Ngāi Tahu claim highlights the inability of Ngāi Tahu in the region of Ōtautahi to have access to excellent educational opportunities, and development of te reo me āna tikanga for children. Better knowledge of te reo Māori leads to better educational outcomes for all.

The Ngāi Tahu claim provides impetus for tribal strategy regarding education. Ngāi Tahu sought a Treaty based relationship with the Ministry of Education and in 2001 Ngāi Tahu signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Education, Te Kete o Aoraki. This memorandum has meant that the following education indicators for Ngāi Tahu whānui would be monitored:

- participation in early childhood
- measures of reading, writing and doing maths for success
- secondary school retention
- risk-suspensions, truancy and participation in alternative education
- measures of educational achievement or added value

- te reo acquisition
- education qualifications
- actions/interventions to ensure improvement in educational outcomes.

(Mather, 2002, p. 430)

These activities were to be undertaken by the Ministry of Education. This memorandam continues to be supported by rūnanga to provide a closer educational relationship with schools and education providers in their regions. Ngāi Tahu Education also has its own iwi strategies which are reviewed every five years. The progress with these indicators and strategies continues to be slow.

Treaty at a hapū level and environmental resources

The breaches of the Treaty outlined in the Ngāi Tahu claim will now be discussed in reference to the Treaty at a hapū level, beginning with environmental resources. “Ngā Taonga o te taiao” refers to Ngāi Tahu historical and ongoing rights and interests in certain “environmental resources” and the fact that it continues to exercise mana in respect of these certain taonga o te taiao in the claim area, as it has also done historically. These environmental resources have a direct link to the language and cultural aspects associated with developing a Māori identity in Ōtautahi. An example of this is gathering Manu Tītī (muttonbirds) which is a Ngāi Tahu tradition. There are specific language and cultural values and traditions associated with “muttonbirding” that are intergenerationally passed between whānau. If the language and traditions are not preserved, then these are lost. My own son does not have access to these traditions in our whānau. This aspect was lost when my pōua died. The only aspect my own father remembers, is seeing tītī in the fridge each year and sneaking a taste when my pōua was not around. As referred to in Chapter One, when my father died, muttonbirding rights were passed on to our whānau but due to language loss we now rely on whānau whānui for knowledge associated with this taonga.

According to Fishman's (1991) Stages of Reversing Language Shift called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), this would be part of Stages 6 to 8 (Fishman, 2001). This is where there are few older generations of minority language speakers and intergenerational transmission in the settings of home, family, neighbourhood and community are required for language survival, as in the case of te reo Māori. Environmental resources include language and cultural traditions, which need to be passed on intergenerationally. When the cultural tradition is not passed on, then the associated language disappears too. Fishman's stages and loss of cultural traditions all represent serious circumstances for what has been called the “re-veracularisation” of te reo Māori (Skerrett-White, 2003).

Treaty in the home

The implementation of strategy and policy development for the Treaty also has an effect on practice in the home. Statutes in the law and the principles of the Treaty enable Māori language to be protected and have status, but do not guarantee language transmission. As a Ngāi Tahu mother, a person learning and teaching te reo Māori and as an educationalist, these reports and pieces of legislation influence how te reo Māori is actively used and protected in the takiwā (district) of Christchurch. It is my responsibility in the home and the Crown’s responsibility to ensure this happens in institutions like education. These pieces of legislation and reports have a direct influence on how te reo Māori is transmitted to the next generation. The Wai 262 report put emphasis on language domains. Children need to experience te reo Māori in a functional domain. Language domains that provide authentic experiences with meaningful language in the daily communicative lives of children, for example between the home and school, assist with developing a Māori identity (Skerrett-White, 2003). This in turn enables people to think about their own cultural identity and their personal place in the world (Ministry of Education, 2009). Te

Taura Whiri i te reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission) has an overall goal of fostering te reo Māori as a living, thriving, valued community language which includes nationwide educational involvement (Skerrett, 2010c). Puna Reo, Māori language groups of parents speaking te reo Māori with their children, have been established to develop te reo Māori in the home and this is a functional domain. Acquiring funding and time to develop adult te reo Māori for use in the home is a continuing dilemma for those living in the Ōtautahi region. This research explores the links between language, land, culture and identity as outlined in the Ngāi Tahu claim in 2008.

Language, land, culture and identity

Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua

The permanence of the language, prestige and land

Without the Māori language, prestige and land, Māori culture will cease to exist. The stronger the language, the stronger the prestige, the stronger the nation (Ministry of Education, 1990, p. 10)

Terralinguisitics (language of the land)

Te reo Māori encapsulates the sense of place and the interconnectedness of land and language, and how identity is shaped in relationship to land. According to Carter (2005), there are two languages and viewpoints used to describe the New Zealand landscape. One is the Māori language narrated and represented through stories connected via whakapapa (genealogy) and the other is the English language, which has been focused on a “colonial discourse of discovery, integration, appropriation and expansion” (Carter, 2005, p. 8). An example of how te reo Māori is represented on the landscape is a map drawn from memory by Te Wharekorari in 1848 of the environment surrounding the Waitaki River. The names on Te Wharekorari’s map indicate the streams, caves, ancient settlements and camping places at each of the resource sites along the Waitaki River (Carter, 2005). The bottom of the map is geographically located at the coastline and the names ascend in order to end at

Lake Ohau (Otago, South Island). The place names represented on the map record the history, and genealogies. This map is also evidence of Ngāi Tahu's ongoing relationship with the river environment. Te reo Māori is mapped onto the land which enables Ngāi Tahu to reclaim the knowledge through the language despite the disruption to Ngāi Tahu reo development. Place names, waiata, whakataukī, whakapapa, manuscripts, contemporary interviews as well as published sources are all indicators of the importance of te reo Māori to the relationship between place and space, and place and identity (Penetito, 2004).

The meaning of place refers to a deep sense of belonging, an emotional connectedness, and commitment. Space is a more abstract concept where the value of a place becomes important once a person has been there for a specific amount of time. Te reo Māori being mapped onto the land signifies a deep sense of belonging and an emotional connectedness with identity. This is illustrated specifically in the myth of the origin of the human species in te ao Māori. Tāne was given some earth by his mother Papatūānuku which he shaped into Hine ahu-one and after mating with her started the first human being. When Papatūānuku gave Tāne part of herself she told him. "Ka puta tō hua tuatahi, whakahokia tōna whenua ki te whenua. When your first child is born return her whenua to the whenua. That is, return the placenta to Papatūānuku, who is at once land and ancestor" (Metge, 1995, p. 110). Language in place is another vital component of Māori identity which needs to be developed and acknowledged.

Ngāi Tahu place names are recorded in te reo Māori. These names are a significant part of Ngāi Tahu history, as from these place names comes Māori identity, Māori origin, Māori whakapapa. The language of the landscape signifies areas that are of importance to the landscape users and are indicators of values, knowledge and beliefs, ideologies, and views of the ways the world is shaped (Carter, 2005). Knowledge of the local environment is

incorporated into the language to enable management of resources. This is so for the Māori language and culture in New Zealand and for Ngāi Tahu iwi. Reflected in these names are features of the landscape, names of people or events, some are descriptive names like Waimakariri (cold water) and some place names have journeyed on waka from East Polynesia (Hawaiki) with New Zealand's first human occupants. Some Hawaiki names are based around creation and origin myths or stories of real people who have become part of the myth. Some place names are also just ancient names that we do not know the meaning of (Stokes, 2003; Te Karaka, 2009). The name Hawaiki is debated in regards to being a mythical place or as being a specific geographical location (Howe, 2003). These place names are part of the development and shaping of a Ngāi Tahu Māori identity (Ngāitahutanga) in Ōtautahi via te reo Māori.

Linguistic identity

Linguistic identity is not just concerned with language and how that shapes identity or vice versa. Linguistic identity considers the interaction of language and culture and how they interact in both contemporary times and across the generations. According to Anchimbe (2007), linguistic identity is a process which is constructed according to the generations. Norton and Toohey (2011) also refer to identity being developed across time and space and how the person understands possibilities for the future. Every time learners speak, they are negotiating and renegotiating a sense of self in relation to the larger social world and reorganising that relationship in multiple dimensions of their lives (Atkinson, 2011). In te ao Māori, negotiating the sense of self would refer to the linguistic links to the past via whakapapa (ancestral origin and genealogy). Moana Jackson says whakapapa “is like a history of repetitious beginnings. Each new event, each generation of ideas and actions that shape human lives is a product of those that have gone before” (Jackson, 2007, p. 173). Jackson refers to what Patricia Grace calls “now time”, which means seeking out the

symmetries and similarities with the past. The links between the past and the present is a part of this research about Ōtautahi as the participants are bringing up children in the interface between worlds. These worlds are te ao Māori, te ao Pākehā and te ao whānui (Durie, 2003b). Linguistic identity means making sure of the linguistic reality of the community during the time period of the study. There are new communities built on local languages and cultures and the foreign languages and cultures introduced by colonialism and globalisation. Māori are also part of many communities as they can also identify strongly with multiple hapū and iwi. Iwi Māori genealogical connections and social relationships have changed over time and communities remain fluid (Hayward & Wheen, 2004). This research looks specifically at the linguistic identities developed in the region of Ōtautahi as language loss and neo-colonialism has affected the way te reo Māori has been passed on through the generations.

Linguabridity

Anchimbe (2007) proposes the term *linguabridity* which means children that are brought up between two or more languages do not consciously know the boundaries of the identities. Anchimbe states children grow up with both languages being different only in terms of the contexts and people with whom they speak. Children do not consciously align or fluctuate between linguistic identities like adults. According to Anchimbe, linguabridity is about creation of identities and how linguistic and cultural elements, shared by the linguistic identity group in which the children find themselves, are shaped by virtue of birth and/or educational background. This construction is created according to the generation. Anchimbe maintains that there is a distinction between those who switch or align consciously with identity creation and those who do so unconsciously, having been brought up with no other options. For bilinguals linguistic identity means bilingualism is part of your life experiences. According to Saunders (1988), there is a difference between

infant bilinguals and child bilinguals. An infant bilingual is one who has a simultaneous acquisition of two languages from birth and a child bilingual acquires first one language within the family and the second language through preschool and/or early years of school. Saunders argues those children who have the opportunity to become bilingual before four years of age have more chances of using their two languages (Saunders, 1988). Skerrett-White (2003) further says:

They have an earlier awareness of the arbitrariness of language in that they can analyse it more intensively; they can separate out meaning from sound earlier; they have a greater adeptness at divergent thinking; greater linguistic and cognitive creativity and cognitive formation; and greater social sensitivity than their monolingual counterparts or child bilinguals (p. 53).

When bilingualism is an unconscious part of your early life experiences from birth then there are cognitive and social benefits not experienced by monolinguals or child bilinguals.

Power

Anchimbe (2007) does not refer to the aspects of identity and power which override how identity is communicated and enacted in the communities as children develop. Linguistic identity is a function of the prevailing political climate and legislation as well as specific historical moments like colonialism in New Zealand. L. T. Smith (1999) says, “History is also about power... It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others” (p. 34). Indigenous people are still marginalised and do not possess the power to transform history into justice. English language, for example, has taken on a hegemonic role threatening the survival of te reo Māori and, according to Anchimbe, globalisation is causing linguistic hybridity. Sayed (2007) has called hybrid languages “neo languages” because these languages are about resistance of the hegemony of English but also about culture retention (Sayed, 2007). García (2009) believes that, in education, non-dominant language children fare less well than dominant language children in obtaining the cognitive

and social advantages of bilingualism, because their bilingualism is not extended, valued or respected. This is evident in New Zealand English medium schools. Based on the work of Skerrett's (2012) geopolitical trends, we can see that education in New Zealand has moved from subtractive language policy, where Māori language was seen as a problem and Māori children were forced to learn English, to language as a right. To counteract the monolingualism movement in education, Māori language changed into revitalisation mode. The Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nests) movement began, Māori language gained official status in 1987 and language became a resource. Education for Māori language became available from early childhood to tertiary and further political lobbying for te reo Māori occurred, promoting the benefits of bilingualism (Skerrett, 2012).

Blood quantum

Identity creation in New Zealand has been shaped politically, legislatively, and historically through the process of colonisation. Māori identity has been labelled and categorised according to Western constructs of ethnic identity (Te Huia, 2015). Blood quantum classifications have been used in the New Zealand census system and in legislation for identification. Historically, the blood quantum approach was used as a tool to either categorise or document how fast Māori were being assimilated or disappearing (Cormack & Robson, 2010). In a contemporary world, classification systems continue to be used in the New Zealand census to identify “disparities and inequalities”. Kukutai (2011) refers to the work of Ian Poole a demographer (1963) who criticised the blood quantum system of Māori identification because it worked from a notion that there are biologically distinct races instead of cultural processes in understanding demographic behaviours. He identified that the statistical definition of Māori in forums like the census did not resemble how Māori saw themselves as Māori. The blood quantum approach was applied in New Zealand to define Māori until 1974 and the passing of the Māori Affairs Ammendment Act

(Kukutai, 2004). In this act, “a Māori was defined as someone with “half or more blood” (Kukutai, 2004, p. 3). A blood quantum approach was used as part of a political goal of assimilation (Borell, 2005b, p. 193). However, by the late 1970s, ethnic identification for Māori changed from blood quantum categories to whakapapa. Tribes themselves were able to regulate who is and is not a tribal citizen by registration of whakapapa.

Unfortunately, disparities still continue as official categories like blood quantum although not used in a contemporary society continue to affect how Māori identification is viewed as a whole by society. According to Kukutai, the “official categories portray a particular vision of social reality that tends to privilege the discourses and concerns of those in power.” (Kukutai, 2011, p. 47). The way citizenship is developed in society is influenced by historical notions of identification of who is and who is not Māori according to set criteria and historically, assimilation practices included the assimilation of land. An example of the use of blood quantum categorisation in legislation for assimilation purposes is evident in the Māori Housing Act 1935 and the Māori Affairs Bill in 1952. The definition of being Māori in the 1935 Māori Housing Act was “... a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand and includes a person descended from a Māori” (Kukutai, 2010, p.49). This was for the purposes of making better provisions for the housing of Māori people. This was changed, in the Māori Affairs Bill, to “anyone less than one half Māori blood”. The definition of who was Māori and who was not Māori, was further classified because of the diminishing area of Māori land (E. Chase, 2010). In the United States, where blood quantum laws originated in 1872, the government applied these laws also to acquire land from Native American tribes or nations. These laws continue today.

In New Zealand, it is taking a while to undo the effects of the 1970s blood quantum laws on identity. According to Te Huia (2015), “the personal act of claiming a Māori identity

can be difficult for those who believe in a set criteria and perceive themselves to have failed to meet aspects of a set criteria for ingroup membership” (Te Huia, 2015, p. 18). The legacy of a blood quantum approach remains a powerful indicator of Māori identity due to continued use of phrases like ‘half-caste’, and ‘full blooded’ (Hou-fu Liu et al, 2005, p. 193). In everyday society, the common question asked is “how much Māori blood do you have?” or “are you Māori?”. Categorisation of who is and who isn’t Māori and blood quantum continues to define Māori identity despite changes to legislation. As referred to by Te Huia these social indicators can inhibit positive self Māori identification due to perceived negative societal expectations. This occurs despite contemporary legislative changes to whakapapa and self identification as ways of identifying as Māori.

Colonialism and identity

The authenticity debate of being Māori continues. Classification terms for Māori identity change and, across time, some Māori have identity terms for their peers. The definition of being Māori has been influenced by wider societal practices of Indigenous authenticity. Rewi (2010a) remembers these classification terms in his years as a university student:

- *Plastic Māori*, Māori who have retained cultural practices only “superficially”, for example, those merely involved as cultural performers
- *Spuds or Riwai*, likened to a potato, because they are Māori (brown) in the colour of their skin, but psychologically, ideologically and behaviourally Pākehā
- *Born again Māori*, Māori who, beyond their control, were deprived of any Māori upbringing and knowledge who now have a realisation of their Māori side and are zealously committed to reaffirming their lineage and their identity through culture and language
- *Radical Māori*, so called because they protested any compromise of culture

- *Māori tūturu* (true Māori), consisting of Māori raised amongst peers with a strong affinity to culture and language as well as being heavily committed to the maintenance of these themselves (p. 72).

There continue to be new terms that are applied in contemporary contexts regarding being Māori, which are racial assumptions about the physical characteristics and traits associated with being Māori (Poata-Smith, 2013). I would add “purists” or “ter‘eo’ists” to this list. Those who say, “kaua e kōrero Pākehā” and only speak Māori, frowning at te reo Māori grammatical errors, constantly reminding you about native speaker status. Another catch phrase is middle class Māori reminding people how to be Māori, so they are called “elites”. This type of terminology is associated with the privileged coloniser, the dominant group privileging themselves. Hence the influence of neo-colonialism still exists and now Māori marginalise Māori. Taonui (2010) has some thoughts about cultural alienation and he says an impact of colonisation in Aotearoa is the application of anger upon vulnerable people. He believes cultural alienation, forced assimilation and cumulative marginalisation create anger in Indigenous societies. When this anger is not understood, it becomes internalised within the colonised society and inverts upon itself (Taonui, 2010). Taonui says the Indigenous oppressed attack each other. Taonui was referring to violence and Māori child homicide and abuse but this can also refer to identity formation and the way being Māori is currently perceived. Colonisation took away traditional identity via whakapapa and cultural ways of being, and now some Māori struggle to obtain cultural recognition and to find their Māori identity in a contemporary society. Kukutai and Rarere (2015) looked at iwi identification in the census and show that, between 1996 and 2013, the number of Māori reporting an iwi increased by 45 percent (Kukutai & Rarere, 2015). This reflects a growing awareness of whakapapa and that the 1990s was a socio-political period of growth where te reo Māori changed from being seen as a problem to being a right (Skerrett, 2012).

Being strong in identity enables resilience to neo-colonialism. These are some of the types of barriers that parents confront when they are developing their child's Māori identity.

Webber (2008) concludes that colonialism continues because mainstream (or conventional contexts of) Pākehā culture and values are held up as normal, ordinary and desirable. According to Webber, this contributes to Māori identity being based on traditional cultural phenomena, while Pākehā culture goes unnoticed and uncriticised—that is, the invisible option for identity and culture. Collins (2004) acknowledges that self-identification as Māori does not necessarily mean social/ethnic group acceptance as Māori. Penetito (2010b) says there are adults in New Zealand society who strongly identify as Māori and have a great sense of pride when those in the younger generation participate in activities usually reserved for their generation:

Speaking te reo Māori, showing respect to elders, attending hui, help without being told, sharing things that are valued, spontaneously expressing emotion, standing up for their whānau, singing waiata, being humble but never bowing their head to another, and eating kai Māori (p. 41).

Penetito further says a little more than half a century ago, this domain was for kaumātua to uphold values and maintain tikanga. In the 21st century, this role is being left to younger generations as those with te reo Māori knowledge and culture are lost. Understanding Ngāitahutanga and reo development has been a priority for Ngāi Tahu iwi due to the impact of colonisation and the Treaty breaches referred to earlier in this literature review.

Culture and identity

Post-colonial theorists like Said, Spivak, and Bhabha have written extensively about the construction of “other”, authenticity, hybridity, the “third space” and the impact of these labels on Indigenous societies, along with the continued struggle for a place in which to have identity reconstruction. Identity reconstruction in the third space is about finding a place to be fluid, situational, and self-determined instead of being constructed as the Other,

the “them and us” syndrome. In New Zealand, this can be seen as divisive categories of Māori (the colonised) or Pākehā (the coloniser), of us/them, either/or, privileged with Pākehā beliefs, values, practices and norms, requiring that colonised Māori, assumed separated from their traditional roots, move to a mutual sense of “both/and” (Webber, 2008). The third space is a cultural location where hybrid Māori/Pākehā can constantly negotiate their ethnic identities in relation to their unique historical circumstances as native/colonial, colonised/coloniser, and Māori/Pākehā. Penetito (2010a) proposes a “one plus one equals three” situation for Māori education (Diamond, 2011; Penetito, 2010b), where there is a Māori space to strengthen a Māori cultural base as tangata whenua and a Pākehā space where each group’s educational aspirations are intact but there is a third space. This space is overlapping, where there is a negotiated relationship between tangata Maōri, tangata Pākehā, and all other tangata of this land. Penetito suggests this is the future of education in New Zealand and this strengthening will support the contested process of negotiating future Māori identities.

Matahaere (1995) argues that, “for Māori to maintain a legitimate role as Treaty partners, to be acknowledged as a valid culture entitled to its own forms of representation, we must embrace an identity which misrepresents the contemporary reality of our lives” (p. 20). Matahaere believes Māori people are encouraged to be Māori but must be seen to be different; ambiguity with identity is no good. Matahaere refers to the concept of being “Māori” as having set characteristics and that there is no allowance for fluidity of identities. Acknowledging identities are constructed rather than genetic allows for the continual interplay of both cultures in the formation of identities. Set characteristics do not account for “iwitanga” and diversity. Griffiths (1994) sees “difference” as part of the colonisation process of assimilation policies, where difference was suppressed. Hybridised subjects are not allowed to legitimise themselves or speak out in ways which threaten the

dominant culture (Griffiths, 1994). Traditional knowledge is a “taonga” handed down from the ancestors but cultural identity is not fixed but fluid and needs a place where multiplicities of identity can flourish. McIntosh (2005) says if you glorify or romanticise traditional Māoritanga, Māori culture and ways of living, then an “individual can be located in a space and time that may be fictitious and unnecessarily rigid” (p. 42).

In New Zealand, Māori can have multiple identities, not just Māori and Pākehā. Ballara (1998) has argued, “Māori have been coping with multiple identities for centuries” (p. 335). Bevan (2000, cited in Webber, 2008 p. 29) suggests there are two options for those of dual heritage Māori/Pākehā descent. One option is identifying with dual identities and switching between them—however, this denies there is a power struggle because one is a dominant culture. Tangata whenua identity is already at a disadvantage. Option two which Bevan supports a singular tangata whenua identity to halt the processes of assimilation, not hybridised Māori/Pākehā identities. Bhabha (1994), Meredith (1998) and Webber (2008) support the concept of a third space where cultural identities can be a place where cultures of origin can have a new category of cultural location and negotiate their ethnic identity in relation to their circumstances (Bhabha, 1994; Meredith, 1998; Webber, 2008). In regard to cultural identity, Te Awekotuku says, “I claim all my cultures, all my conflicts. They make me what I am; they will shape what I am becoming” (Te Awekotuku, 1984, p. 121). This identity definition provides strength in a global Aotearoa ever-changing complex space. Penetito (2010b) believes identity is “a construction, a process never completed, never a proper fit, a totality” (p. 44). Identity construction is a complex issue. This research further explores this process.

Cultural maintenance

Sometimes cultural maintenance requires extreme measures to ensure that survival and regeneration occur. Te reo Māori should be compulsory in all schools. In a telephone poll

survey completed by Research New Zealand, some 38 percent of New Zealanders supported the idea that teaching te reo Māori in schools should be compulsory (Kalafatelis, 2010). This might assist with avoiding some of the intergenerational duplication of language loss. Since Māori became an official language in 1987, the process of language loss has not halted, and Māori students are not yet succeeding in English medium secondary schools. In October 2010, the Waitangi Tribunal released the Wai 262 report about the state of te reo Māori and the Crown's obligations under the Treaty. The report made recommendations again and confirmed that, despite some revitalisation of te reo Māori, it is an endangered language and in decline again. The Crown is not meeting its obligations (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Extreme measures were not taken in 1986, which have led to further deterioration of te reo Māori. Even though there is research evidence that cultural identity is important for people's sense of self and contributes to the individual's wellbeing, policy making and education continues to fail Māori students. Te reo Māori is part of cultural identity and, according to Dr Tamati Reedy, "Māori must speak our language. It is our unique expression of our identity. It is our identity in Aotearoa" (cited in Rewi, 2010a, p. 67). Rewi (2010a) refers to culture as including customary practices, language values and philosophies which form cultural identity. Language identity is cultural identity and Rewi further says, "Identity reassures one's sense of self-worth, confidence, security and belonging. It installs pride. Conversely, to have no culture is to experience a lack of identity" (Rewi, 2010a, p. 57).

A Māori-medium educational philosophy advocates for student achievement in a way that is culturally and linguistically responsive (Ministry of Education, 2012). The concern of the 2010 Report of the Waitangi Tribunal is that the number of students attending Māori medium schooling is in decline. In 2000, there were 26,357 Māori students in Māori medium education and in 2009, there were only 25,349 Māori students attending Māori

medium education (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Parents who are making decisions about which type of educational environment they will send their children to, need to consider their child's Māori identity and the environments where Māori children are succeeding. Māori identity is at the foremost and is not a compromise. *Te Aho Matua*, the foundation document for Kura Kaupapa Māori (Te Rūnanga Nui o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori, 2000) upholds a sense of self-worth, confidence, security and belonging by understanding the nature of children and the socialisation process. Identity is encapsulated because of the importance placed on genealogy, links with whānau, hapū and iwi, including iwi Pākehā and tauwi, and children are secure in their knowledge about their own people and their Māori heritage. Culture is not compromised in a kura kaupapa environment unless dominant cultural expectations are imposed. This happened to the kōhanga reo movement in the 1980s, which was developed by Māori and for Māori to ensure the continuation of Māori values and traditions for future generations. This movement has now been absorbed into early childhood education which continues to compromise the whānau nature of kōhanga reo (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). Rewi (2010a) believes cultural compromise is tolerable when "it is the owner of the culture that has ultimate control and initiates the change and it is not a response to cultural dominance and/or cultural avoidance" (p. 70).

Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) researched four programmes in different institutional settings in New Zealand to find out why these programmes were successful. These institutions were places where cultural compromise was not usually possible, namely Universities, and Polytechnics. The researchers found that what made programmes work was when the individual was seen as part of a whole community and Māori values and practices were implemented within a specific space within the institution (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008). Ensuring cultural maintenance alongside te reo Māori maintenance is a continuing battle in the revitalisation and intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori.

Intergenerational transmission

Linguistic genocide

In New Zealand, linguistic genocide has been happening slowly and intentionally since the introduction of colonisation. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), linguistic genocide is “actively killing a language without killing the speakers or letting a language die” (p. 312). What is needed now is to understand the far reaching effects upon the next generations of this long period of colonisation. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) specifically refers to the long term effects of linguistic genocide in education. The difficulties associated with education have been blamed on not knowing the dominant language, social status and cultural differences from the dominant culture. These aspects place cultural and language dominance as successful ways of being educated and second language and Indigenous cultures as a problem. Skutnabb-Kangas campaigns for international linguistic human rights. The United Nations declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples was developed in 2007. Article 13 refers to the language rights of Indigenous people and the right to revitalise and regenerate languages. The declaration also refers to appropriate state policies to enable this to happen.

Article 13

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.
2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that Indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

(United Nations, 2008, p. 7)

This declaration recognises tino rangatiratanga, Indigenous peoples' rights to self-determination, ability to maintain their own languages, to protect their natural and cultural heritage and manage their own affairs. New Zealand only signed the declaration of the

rights of Indigenous people in 2010 after a proviso was added which stated that it operated within, “the legal and constitutional frameworks that underpin New Zealand's legal system” (Chen, 2011, p. 135). The commitment required in the declaration to Crown and Māori relationships regarding language and culture is still being developed. The Māori Language Act 2016 establishes new relationships between the Crown and Māori via Te Mātāwai to increase the involvement of Māori in the decision making regarding the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Protection of Indigenous languages in education, home and society should continue.

Intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori (Fishman)

Due to the loss of te reo Māori through the colonisation process, it has become urgent and vital to Māori identity as New Zealanders that te reo Māori is passed on intergenerationally. From 1973 to 1979, Richard Benton completed a NZCER Sociolinguistic Survey of Māori Language Use. The findings showed that te reo Māori use was endangered and that something needed to be done about regeneration. In the 2013 Census, te reo Māori was still endangered as the number of Māori speakers continues to slowly decline. The work of Joshua Fishman's (1991) GIDS in “Reversing Language Shift” is an excellent tool for establishing the language needs of iwi. This tool has been well researched and Ngāi Tahu iwi have a language plan to increase the use of te reo Māori in the home, based on the previous work on Fishman (Te Karaka, 2000b). Ngāi Tahu invited Fishman to talk to iwi about language planning in 1995. The GIDS was compared to the Māori situation for te reo Māori across the country and the Ngāi Tahu situation. This has led to some forward planning for Ngāi Tahu te reo Māori, including a programme called “generation reo” and a focus on te reo Māori in the home for Ngāi Tahu whānau.

Joshua Fishman has a more recent discourse structured around three key concepts: patience, prudence and functional differentiation (cited in Skerrett, 2010b). According to

Fishman, when your language is in a weakened state, *patience* means taking on only that which you can accomplish. For example, schools and clubs in the Māori language community and family homes are generally the safest havens and are therefore good places to start. *Prudence* means taking on what you can as an individual within your own capabilities (personal power) that you can action and support. Personalised language plans are a great example of this. *Functional differentiation* is about having some language domains that are places where only te reo Māori is spoken. For Ngāi Tahu reo, this would be to specifically have some functions where no other languages have access. An example of this is where some Ngāi Tahu families have started to speak only te reo Māori in the home. In 2001, a report produced by Te Pūni Kōkiri bilingually, called, “The use of Māori in the family: Some research findings”, found that children were socialised to view te reo Māori as a regular function of everyday life. As the focus of intergenerational transmission was on their children, parents forgot the importance of seeing their own te reo Māori development as contributing to the Māori language acquisition. The quality of their input impacted on their children’s language. The implications and future recommendations of this report and Fishman’s work are still relevant today.

Te reo Māori is endangered, in society, in our schools and speakers are second language learners implementing transitional language between society and schools in the home (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, 2013). The proportion of Māori people who speak te reo has dropped in the last two censuses, from 25.2 percent in 2001 to 21.3 percent in 2013 (Ministry of Social Development, 2016). Language and culture revitalisation programmes, since the 1980s, have focused on Māori medium education. This has meant a brief revival of reo Māori—however, as the 2013 Waitangi Tribunal report states, the transition of kōhanga reo to national early childhood education policies from 2000 to 2011, and a concentration on English medium early childhood services, have

led to a drop in participation in kōhanga reo (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). Alongside this, the number of students in immersion education continues to decline. A combination of reo in schools, home and communities is required.

Civic language

If te reo Māori is to survive, then it needs to become a civic language, a language of the community as well as in the home and education (Ahu, 2012; May, 2012). Ahu defines civic language as a “language of New Zealand law and legal process” (Ahu, 2012, p. 5) and states the term civic encapsulates:

a range of discourses in the public sphere, including national and international politics, business, economics and government... its core meaning relates to the rights and duties of citizenship according to the law. A civic language is the medium that enables the exercise of those rights, and includes access to government departments, public institutions, and courts (p. 5).

Ahu further states it is in the civic space that Māori language remains excluded due to the dominance of English the language of political and legal discourse (Ahu, 2012).

Pennycook (2010) argues that the complexity of the language environment is not about colonisation of language and language rights, and globalisation of languages, but is also about local contexts where the language is used. If the local context is taken into consideration, then the political status of te reo Māori would change to being about the local experience of the language users first, and later about the experiences of the nation state. Pennycook (2010) believes language is about the context and the construction of place together, rather than “being reliant on the grand sweeping gestures of imperialism, language rights and globalization” (Pennycook, 2010, p. 16.9). Language rights, globalisation and nationalism have influenced language policies (May, 2012), but the realities of the local environment and language use, and the daily effect of language policies in the local context in people’s lives have been less explored. This research explores this space, the context of Christchurch and access to a Māori language identity.

The social and linguistic developments according to place influence the political language ideologies. Parents living in these local contexts need te reo Māori to be promoted and used in the local community, home and in education in order for intergenerational transfer of reo Māori to be successful. Te reo Māori needs to be promoted at the national and local levels.

Language domains

Whānau reo development across all domains, contexts, access to information and awareness of Māori language in the home are vital for language regeneration. As referred to earlier, Fishman's key concepts of patience, prudence and functional differentiation for language regeneration are important; however, a crucial domain for Ngāi Tahu to be targeting is the main language level of the speakers. The 2013 Te Kupenga survey for Ngāi Tahu showed there were less than 11.2 percent of Ngāi Tahu speakers that could hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori, in comparison with 18.4 percent of the total population of Māori descent.

If the target level of reo presented is too high or only one way of being a whānau is modelled, then this creates barriers for learning. The Ngāi Tahu resource, *Raising Bilingual Tamariki* DVD (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, 2008b), has two-parent families with fluent speakers or one parent as a fluent speaker in a two-parent whānau. If the majority of speakers are emergent bilinguals, then such fluency is unattainable in the short term. Modelling for moving along the reo continuum would be more attainable. The Ministry of Education has launched a series of videos encouraging learning te reo Māori in immersion settings in a variety of ways (Ministry of Education, 2016). This encourages parents to be involved in immersion education and outlines the reasons for this. Fishman's concept of "prudence" refers to being discreet with the way we manage our resources. If the resources are only directed towards those who speak te reo Māori fluently, then this

leads to elitism of te reo as a taonga. Immersion settings encourage all levels of speakers to learn. Domains for fluent speakers of te reo Māori, and places where poetic and academic language ability in te reo Māori can be maintained, are vital components of language regeneration in terms of quality reo Māori. Domains for quality te reo Māori being developed and nurtured are kura reo and Panekiretanga. This information slowly filters back into homes and communities. Speakers use their holidays and weekends to maintain learning and using te reo Māori. These language schools need to be continued to be funded and supported, but the number of te reo Māori speakers will not grow if the models, activities and places for less fluent people to learn do not grow too. An unpublished report for the Ministry of Education by Te Aika, Skerrett, and Fortune (2009), of the provision of te reo Māori in the southern region, demonstrates the need for more te reo Māori resourcing in a wide range of areas (Te Aika et al., 2009). Of specific importance to this study are the recommendations for whānau development and access to information, and the need to raise awareness of Māori language revitalisation issues. Hōhepa (2015) also refers to the importance of fostering reo Māori for parents in the home in ways that suit the differing needs of parents (Hōhepa, 2015). For the South Island, the most pressing issue is the lack of trained te reo Māori teachers and teacher training locations for te reo Māori.

The guidance of experienced speakers in the home needs to occur for the less experienced. As parents are learning te reo Māori in classes in institutions, then classes also need to keep occurring for those wishing to bring their children up bilingually. When a language is in language death, the aim begins at a different stages. The aim could be for native speakers that can be orators, poets and writers, or the aim could be to have competent native speakers of te reo Māori in the home, or both. We can all be teachers of te reo Māori in the home but perhaps not all teachers of te reo Māori in an institution. This research

explores parents' wishes for their children including ways they might carry on their reo in the home or in institutions.

For intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori to be successful, parent/s' understanding and knowledge of bilingualism, and how bilingualism advances as a child develops, is essential. Research completed in 2001 about the use of te reo Māori in the home indicated that parents' critical awareness of language acquisition is important to the transmission of te reo Māori (Ministry of Māori Development, 2002). Parents' understanding of second language acquisition, and their own language development and role in the process, contribute to the development of their child/children. Skerrett (2011) says of particular concern is the misplaced assumption, among parents and whānau, that two or three years of kōhanga, where some conversational Māori has been acquired, is seen as sufficient, so then children are transferred to English medium contexts to learn English. The same thing has been occurring in Māori medium contexts. Students need to acquire language literacy to age-appropriate levels in order for students to have academic language proficiency. This enables transference of literacy skills effectively from one language to another, which is an advantage of additive bilingual education. The delay of second language acquisition for academic language proficiency, and indicators of effective programme types, signifies that students need to remain in bilingual/immersion programmes for a minimum of six years, ideally eight years (Skerrett, 2011; May, cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2013).

Second language acquisition

Second language learning/bilingualism

Language learning is about language learning domains, meaningful contexts and use of te reo Māori in the home as well as in educational environments, rather than developmental stages of learning. Speaking te reo Māori in the home is vital to the intergenerational transmission and survival of te reo Māori (Fishman, 1991; Mutu, 2001; Nicholson &

Garland, 1991; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008). Learning a second language takes time and children do not go through the same series of language developments in measurable stages, as languages are not static (Baker 2007, 2011; García & Baker, 2007). Burman (2008) disputes developmental psychological child research that says acquisition of language is a sequence from babbling through to condensed word combinations that begin to use grammatical structures to demonstrate a shift from infancy into early childhood. According to Burman, the role of language as an essential component for the rest of the child's development, is ignored or underplayed in set sequences. Contexts of use and variations in social positions, relations and the structure and use of language in later childhood, are components of language acquisition too. Variation of the sequence is seen as a departure from a standard (Burman, 2008). Burman sees this as a false standard and variation appears to have been ignored as part of te reo Māori development in children. Development is more holistic and involves whānau, spiritual, mental and physical health as part of language development as in Durie's Tapawha model (1982). This model appears to be more compatible with language development as it involves the whole being as part of health which is also required for language health (Durie, 1996, 1998). According to Skerrett (2011), Māori identity is linked to language and culture via whānau, hapū and iwi, which are a vital component of language development:

Research indicates that Māori succeed with the opportunity to develop a sense of "self" and "place in the world". Where identity, language and culture count in education, in community, with whānau, hapū and iwi, life choices and opportunities are maximised and personal responsibility and economic independence achieved. The engagement of whānau and communities in the child's learning is a powerful influence over that child's education success. Whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations play significant roles in Māori language education, influencing children's educational pathways and their learning, advancement and success (p. 78).

Royal Tangaere (1997, 2006, 2012) and Skerrett-White (2003) provide information about te reo Māori language development of children in immersion Kōhanga reo education

settings and in the home. However there is a dearth of research for children from birth to five years of age, for parent/s who are second language learners of te reo Māori with low/intermediate level proficiency, who wish to nurture their children as Māori. Most of the research is provided for those who can already speak te reo Māori, or adults who, as second language learners, have reached a certain level of language proficiency. The research also agrees that encouraging parents to use and learn te reo Māori in the home is vital so that schools and institutions do not become the sole domain for te reo Māori. Skerrett-White (2003) has completed a doctoral thesis which includes te reo Māori language development for children from birth to age five in a kōhanga reo context (Skerrett-White, 2003). The themes and examples developed are useful for children interacting in social situations using te reo Māori in kōhanga contexts and in the home. Further research in this field is required. Francis and Reyhner (2002), Barron-Hauwaert (2004), Baker (2000, 2007), and Saunders (1988) are works associated with guidelines for parent/s and teachers of children who are bilingual. These authors have established patterns of development of the emerging bilingual child and discuss the advantages of being bilingual. They appear to be in tandem in terms of believing that being bilingual is beneficial for families, children and the wider community.

Motivation and adult second language learners

Parents who are second language learners of te reo Māori need to have self-awareness, and understanding of their own Māori contexts, in order to be motivated learners of te reo Māori for their children. Baker (2006) considers attitude and motivation as a factor of success or failure to learn a second language. Without this, Baker argues, individuals cannot accomplish long term goals even with the support of appropriate curricula and good teaching, as these are not enough on their own. According to Baker, there are two main groups of reasons for learning a second language (minority or majority): the first is referred

to as *integrative motivation*, which is those who wish to identify with or join another language group to identify with the minority or majority language's cultural activities; the second is called *instrumental motivation*, where language is learnt for useful purposes like career prospects or economic reasons (Norris-Holt, 2001; Baker, 2006). King (2009) also questions what motivates second language adult speakers and contends that cultural identity is an important motivator, but that context is also important, as Māori are not homogenous.

Te Kanawa and Whaanga (2005) maintain that self-motivation and self-direction are key components of their professional development programme to continue to improve their own proficiency in te reo Māori. They see kaupapa mātauranga Māori, and the inclusion of whānau, hapū, and iwi, as significant to development but so is the teacher's own self-motivation (Te Kanawa & Whaanga, 2005). Mlcek et al. (2009) found in a study into language and literacy in marae-based programmes that mātauranga (knowledge past, present or future which has its roots in the language and culture of Māori people) was the ultimate motivation in education participation (Mlcek et al., 2009). What makes successful parental professional development programmes for speaking and learning te reo Māori in the home requires further investigation.

Understanding the factors related to being an adult second language learner also contributes to the development of children's language, especially if the adult is still learning te reo Māori themselves. Parents take on the role of self-direction and self-motivation when learning and teaching te reo Māori with their children. They too need the support of whānau, hapū and iwi and those involved in decision making about te reo Māori programmes in order to succeed.

Becoming bilingual

Second language learners and teachers in New Zealand English medium and immersion te reo Māori classrooms are often not aware of language strategies to develop their own language proficiency. Language learning has been encouraged in educational environments in New Zealand mainstream schools only since 2008. “Code switching” into English is not seen as part of the re-vernacularisation of te reo Māori. Code switching is the use of two languages simultaneously and it is used in a typical bilingual community (Skerrett-White, 2003; Skerrett, 2011). Code switching enables speakers to express themselves in one language and to switch into the other language to compensate for deficiencies. This enables continuity of speech when there is an inability to express something in the less familiar language (Skerrett-White, 2003). “Frontloading” is another second language teaching strategy, where new and complex concepts are first learnt in English and then the new learning is discussed in the second language (Grassi & Barker, 2010). Those concepts are then expressed in te reo Māori (Skerrett, 2011). Making mistakes is an important part of language learning, as children and adults benefit from the forms of feedback on those errors. These language strategies are also important for parents to use with their children and as adult learners and speakers of te reo Māori. They are a part of the language learning process.

A great deal of the literature on bilingualism (Baker, 2000, 2007; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Francis & Reyhner, 2002) refers to the “one-parent-one-language” approach (OPOL method). In this approach, one parent speaks one language to the child and the other parent speaks a different language. The benefits of this, for the child, is that he or she gets a good model of language to learn. This body of literature assumes that one of the speakers in the home is fluent. This will not always be the case for te reo Māori in the Ngāi Tahu rohe due to te reo Māori being an endangered language.

There is a body of literature that attempts to define bilingualism (Baker, 1993, 2006, 2011; May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004; Saunders, 1988). Skerrett (2011) found in a literature research on being bilingual and bilingualism that, like Baker (2006, 2011), defining exactly who is or is not bilingual is almost impossible. Skerrett suggests that a more helpful way might be to locate important distinctions and dimensions about the term bilingualism. This is to explore the essential difference between bilingual *ability* (for example, being able to speak and write in both languages) and bilingual *usage*, the domains or contexts where languages are used. This distinction caters for the differing needs of bilinguals in differing contexts, as an individual's two languages are never static and are ever-changing and evolving (Skerrett, 2011). Baker (2011) further says there are overlapping and interacting dimensions to bilingualism, and lists ability, use, balance of the two languages, age, development, culture, context and elective bilingualism as aspects to be considered. This further demonstrates the complexity involved in being bilingual.

Bilingualism literature considers teaching and learning theories about bilingual thinking like the Common Underlying Proficiency model (Baker, 2000, 2011, García, 2009). In this theory, the first and second language features of a bilingual person are spoken and learnt separately, but underneath the surface features (for example, pronunciation and fluency), the person's “common underlying proficiency” or integrated thought processes (cognitive/academic) are combined: “the understandings, concepts and processing operate from common ground between the two languages” (Baker & Sienkiewicz, 2002, p. 74). This model proposed by Cummins (1979, 1981b, 2000) supports literacy in the native language as being important for learning English. This model is often applied to learning language in the home. Cummins (1981) further says that with this theory it is important to practice both languages in academic ways because “the transfer of academic skills across languages does not happen automatically” (Cummins 1981a, cited in García, 2009 p.70).

Other theories refer to approaches to learning languages which are used in educational institutions like the additive approach, which also supports first language and literacy for a total immersion approach to education (Cummins, 2000). According to Cummins (2000), a “both/and” rather than an “either/or” orientation to both first and second language acquisition should be implemented. A subtractive approach to bilingualism is where learning an additional language like English is seen as a difficulty or problem with negative cognitive, social and educational consequences. In the case of te reo Māori, English is learnt at the expense of the first language. Arnberg (1987) says contrasting and discussing the differences in languages helps children become aware of the importance of bilingualism. Engaging children in discussion enables them to make sense of their situation, context and world. Suppressing the English language use of a bilingual child would be viewed by many sociolinguists as a subtractive approach to bilingualism (Skerrett, 2011). Burman adds to this discussion by arguing that, “if we are interested in specific patterns individual children exhibit in learning to talk, then no single theory or disciplinary model will suffice, nor can they simply be combined in an additive way” (Burman, 2008, p. 183). This approach to language learning in a complex, globalised, sociocultural world seems to be the way bilingualism and approaches to being bilingual are beginning to be viewed.

Whānau, parenting and educational choices

This section outlines the importance of whānau approaches, parenting and child-rearing practices, and education, in terms of how these contribute to Māori aspirations and language regeneration.

The role of parenting, parenthood

The research on parenting in te ao Māori involves whānau experiences. Durie (2006) acknowledges that the role of whānau is to intergenerationally transfer mātauranga Māori,

as this contributes to identity, learning and the development of potential. He further says that, “while educational institutions have been major contributors to the revitalisation of te reo Māori and culture, the shaping of language, values, and cultural world views is a fundamental whānau function” (Durie, 2006, p. 7). Researchers (Mane, 2009; Pihamā, 2010a, 2010b; L. T. Smith, 2005), the Ministry of Education via documents like Ka Hikitia (Ministry of Education, 2013a), and the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) all concur that the community is part of the education of Māori. Whānau became part of the learning community alongside their children when kōhangā and wānanga (institutions of higher learning) were established. Iwi make contributions to whānau and to education via iwi education plans like the Ngāi Tahu education plan. Some iwi have established wānanga where parents and other whānau members can participate in learning programmes, which enable iwi to be part of a knowledge society (Durie, 2006). This also includes iwi efforts to revitalise te reo Māori, via marae, hui, iwi radio and television. Ngāi Tahu started reo-ā-iwi wānanga (Ngāi Tahu dialect and tikanga wānanga) in 2009. These are funded by Ngāi Tahu through the Kotahi Mano Kāika project.

According to Durie (2006), whānau can unleash or limit potential when it comes to education. At Hui Taumata Mātauranga V, the national Māori education summit at Taupo in 2006, there were four strategies for addressing unrealised potential:

- changing perceptions and attitudes to whānau and Māori learners
- normalising success
- expanding options for schooling
- reconfiguring policies and programmes for whānau education.

Durie (2003b) acknowledged that Māori live in the interface between two worlds, that is, te ao Māori and te ao whānui. Durie (2006) believes that these worlds are strongly influenced

by relationships and that these can limit or unleash Māori potential. Durie lists these relationships as relationships between Māori and the Crown, between iwi and the state; and relationships within whānau, between whānau and schools, and between whānau and wider society. Durie says, “Whānau relationships are three dimensional as different generations carry messages about the past, present and the future. Whānau provide continuity with the past but must also grapple with the present and at the same time anticipate the future” (Durie, 2006, p. 20). This is a dilemma and part of the continuing struggle for parents who are second language learners of te reo Māori wishing to bring their children up with a Māori identity. Loss of language contributes to a continuing dilemma. There are tensions within the three dimensional relationships to be negotiated; however, Durie (2006) believes whānau are the gateway to education, the economy, society and Māori potential through these extended relationships. Whānau are the key to Kaupapa Māori principles and practices. This research explores this potential.

Language and identity are inextricably linked to the social and cultural contexts in which they are used, and language plays a key role in developing personal, group, national, and human identities (Ministry of Education, 2007). Identity changes and develops as a person interacts and moves through life transformations. Parents' own identity development will have an influence on their perceptions of identity development.

Childhood and post-colonisation

Colonisation has also influenced “good practice” for childhood and parental practices. The construction of the notion of “childhood” has its influences in the “progressive, scientific, reasoned” thought of Western perspectives through imperialist and colonialist actions (Cannella & Viruru, 2004) from the industrial modern period of enlightenment. These actions were implemented around the globe. Western thought (colonist ideologies) and purpose around the globe were based on actions like extracting riches, imposing religion

(usually Christianity) or to assert an imperialistic power over Indigenous populations; in other cases, the purposes were less direct like settlement or trade (Cannella & Viruru, 2004). Populations of mostly Indigenous people became part of the discourse of progress that privileged White European adult males and placed those who were younger (labelled “children”) and colonised people in much the same positions—called savage, incompetent, out of control and incomplete (Cannella & Viruru, 2004). This is how children have been positioned and described in early colonial writings. Pere (1991, 1997), Hemara (2000), Jenkins and Harte (2011) and Papakura (1986) concur regarding how Māori nurtured their children differently and this was not according to the imperialistic viewpoint of Christian missionaries. European accounts of child rearing practices come from their own cultural views (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). These practices often include raising children with some form of punishment, therefore Māori children were recorded as being “overindulged”. Early writers like Edward Shortland commented on methods of raising children and he writes, “freedom given children, made them bold, brave and independent in thought and act...” (Jenkins & Harte, 2011, p. 22). The missionaries also recorded instances in early colonial writings of child rearing and Grace (1895) says “the parents exercise no control over their children in everything appertaining to the child the child is cock of the walk. This is true and a real obstacle in the way of those who want to instruct them” (cited in Hemara, 2000, p. 46). The reality is that children were considered tapu, directly linked to atua, ancestors and to those who are still to come (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Children were considered precious and were a vital link to whakapapa.

The colonisation process has influenced how children retain, develop or lose their Māori identity. Papakura (1986) also writes about this: “The Māori never beat their children, but were always kind to them, and seemed to strengthen the bonds of affection which remains among Māori throughout life” (cited in Hemara, 2000, p. 12). Children were not there to be

“seen and not heard” but were taken to important hui and their questions were taken seriously and answered as fully as possible by their elders, which is how children learnt tikanga and kawa. Whānau members taught tikanga, whakapapa and whanaungatanga (Hemara, 2000). These teachings were encompassed in waiata, whakataukī, and kōrero tawhito. The whakatauki, “He aha te mea nui he tangata he tangata, What is the most important thing, it is people it is people” seems to sum up a definition of childhood for Māori, as the young were considered to be an iwi’s greatest resource (Hemara, 2000, p. 11). The influence of neo-colonialism continues in a contemporary society via the homogenisation of cultures and continuous comparison with the dominant Pākehā culture. No-one has investigated whether an awareness of the continued influence of colonisation assists parents with building strength and resilience with Māori identity.

One of the most influential components in the New Zealand colonising process is the Western approach to learning and understanding the English language and culture, and implementation of the aspects referred to above. The definition of childhood which is defined in terms of developmental stages of learning in New Zealand has its influences in the colonisation process, where children were disciplined according to missionary values and British education systems. The learning of English (Native Schools Act, 1867) was part of the discourse of “progress” that enabled the missionaries to impart their ideals about childhood, parenting and language firstly through and then at the expense of Māori language and culture.

Human development and colonisation

Post-colonisation or neo-colonisation continues the belief of progressive human development that places human beings into hierarchies, positioning people on a continuum between those who are the most advanced, developed, mature, and knowledgeable (adulthood) and those who are immature, innocent, and less logical (or childhood)

(Cannella & Viruru, 2004). Battiste refers to the term “culturalism”, which is developed within a belief system similar to that of the term “childhood” referred to by Cannella and Viruru (2004). Culturalism is where Western knowledges and ideologies are the universal norm and Indigenous knowledges differ only from this norm (Andreotti, 2009). Battiste says that a “culturalist perspective” homogenises both Western and Indigenous cultures. Indigenous cultures that deviate from this norm are classified as deficient and lacking (Andreotti, 2009). This definition is similar to the continuum of development described above for children, where the comparison is between those who are advanced and those who are inferior. Said (1978) refers to the concept of “orientalism”, which defines others as lacking and those who colonised the others as superior. This is again being culturally different from a predetermined norm.

Another perspective on the positioning of people, which has impacted on childhood and how children were prepared for parenthood, is provided by Jenkins and Matthews (1998). Jenkins and Mathews (1998) refer to the “Christianising” policies of missionaries which impacted on Māori attending the missionary schools in 1815 to 1847. The churches believed in a “monogenist” view of race, believing that all human beings were linked to a common origin through their being children of God. Jenkins and Mathews (1998) apply this to education in 1847 to 1867, when the state joined the church in the provision of Māori education and participated in the “civilising process”. This view is consistent with a “polygeneist” view of race, where it is thought that different groups of human beings descend from different origins and therefore cannot all be regarded as “human”. The church saw Māori as being worthy of conversion to Christianity and the state saw Māori as being capable of being civilised through instruction in the English language via the curriculum (Jenkins & Mathews, 1998).

Elsdon Best, an early ethnographer about Māori customs and beliefs, wrote about *The Mythology and Religion of Māori* from the polygenist viewpoint. An example of such writing is in the preface of this book, when he writes, “Uncivilised people like our Māori, are not given to much thought” (cited in Jackson, 2011, p. 73). Jackson also notes that by using the pronoun, “our Māori”, this implies that Māori could be owned and Māori could become “theirs”. This is an example of a hierarchical framework.

Belich (1996) describes seven colours (clear, grey, white, black, red, brown and green) that are specific lenses as to how Māori were perceived through the eyes of the Europeans in the 19th century. The colours indicate various stereotypes and a hierarchical structure from which Māori were described as being quite European-like, from the best of savages, to unsalvageably savage and bestial (Belich, 1996, p. 21). These colour stereotypes are also indicative of how Māori were treated in education. The legacy of these concepts still persists today. The European intellectual tradition is seen as “something that is somehow pure and superior and race free” (Jackson, 2011, p. 72). Transforming Pākehā belief systems continues to be a challenge.

Neo-colonialism persists in the use of “humanistic theories of education” which are not based on Indigenous perspectives in education. Individuals and groups who accept these continua and hierarchies are placed in positions of power over children and over cultures or societal groups who would choose other forms of knowledge and being. Education in New Zealand has a colonising history of domination of Western ideologies (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011). People who possess Western developmental knowledge are placed in positions to guide and regulate others. Cannella and Viruru (2004) view the imposition of one form of interpreting the world on everyone as harmful to all of us. Diverse knowledges, different ways of thinking and being in the world, and multiple human voices and possibilities are

ignored. This is the way Māori parents and children have been raised and viewed in the New Zealand education system.

The process of colonisation continues to the present day. In 2010, the National Government implemented a national standards policy beginning with reading and mathematical levels in the New Zealand schooling system. These standards assume that all cultural knowledges are the same by stating a specific reading and maths level that all children have to attain throughout certain time periods of their primary schooling.

Kōhanga reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori education have their own educational frameworks, namely *Te Korowai* in kōhanga reo and *Te Aho Matua* in Kura Kaupapa Māori curriculum. A longitudinal project called *Te Rerenga ā Pirere* (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Hodgen, & Wylie, 2004) followed children over a four year period and collected data about their home, kaupapa Māori educational environments and their performance on a set of measures of te reo Māori, tikanga and pāngarau (mathematics). Central to the research project was a framework called te ira tangata, which combined aspects of *Te Korowai* and *Te Aho Matua*. The framework depicts a holistic development of the child and every child develops across a range of dimensions, at a pace that is appropriate to them. The dimensions include Tinana (physical), Hinengaro (intellectual), Wairua (spiritual), Whatumanawa/Ngakau (socio-emotional), Auaha (creativity) and Pūmanawa (talents/intuitiveness/cleverness). Each dimension evolves and develops through interaction with mana atua (esoteric), mana whenua (land), mana tangata (people), mana reo (language), and mana aotūroa (environment).

This model goes against the current national standards model being implemented by the National Government. Instead of improving the educational situation for children, all this policy has done is to take away funding from early childhood education to enable the government to fund and implement this policy of Western developmental knowledges.

Developmental psychology does not fit with Māori worldviews of human development. The use of developmental psychology in education has assisted in improved environmental conditions and materials, for example, more adult assistance/materials for children to explore, but this has been at the expense or even extinction of diverse cultural knowledges, voices and ways of being in the world. Macfarlane (2004) agrees that traditional Euro-Western theories of development have contributed to education and to the developmental psychology world but that the compartmentalisation of development into domains that one progresses through is incompatible with a Māori worldview. The study and writings of Euro-Western human development would commence at the prenatal stage and progress through to later adulthood, whereas a Māori worldview would more likely begin with te kore, when the earth was a void, and that when a person dies, their spirit travels to Cape Reinga. Therefore, there is not an end to one's being in a human lifespan way of viewing the world. There is a series of transformations through the lifespan rather than fixed stages (Macfarlane, 2004). These transformations are influenced by a holistic worldview such as in Durie's (1982) Whare Tapa Whā model (Durie, 1998, 2003a). The model is likened to the four walls of a house where completeness includes taha wairua (spiritual side), taha tinana (physical side), taha whānau (family), and taha hinengaro (thoughts and feelings). Macfarlane (2004) is concerned about actually proposing a theory of development from a Māori perspective as attitudes, beliefs and principles that exist within Māori culture differ. Despite this, the National Government has developed national standards for Māori immersion environments (Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2010a, 2010b).

Educational practices

Durie (2004) advocates three concurrent goals for considering Māori educational advancement: "to live as Māori, to actively participate as citizens of the world, to enjoy good health and a high standard of living" (p. 2). In order for this to happen, Māori need to

be a part of decision making in education and have the opportunity to make decisions. Durie (2003b) believes that living at the interface impacts upon Māori worldviews. Policy, teaching practice, assessment of students and key performance indicators for staff, must be able to demonstrate that the reality of the wider educational system matches the reality in which children and students live. Many of those in Western countries who make the decisions about what educational alternatives to offer are themselves monolingual. It is important that the intersections between these two worlds are fully appreciated so that the space can be negotiated wisely by students and by providers of educational services. The trouble is that the educational experiences of Māori parents and whānau themselves reflect the educational experiences of the past.

As referred to in the section on post-colonisation, educational practices since the state control of Māori education in 1867 were aimed at assimilation policies, where the main goals were to “civilise” the Māori race according to Pākehā belief systems by native schooling. L. T. Smith (1986) believes this is where knowledge of the English language and English practices were introduced and aspects of Māori life—that is beliefs, value systems, language and spiritual bonds—were taken away from whānau. L. T. Smith, (1986) and Pihama, Smith, Taki, and Lee (2004) refer to the Hunn report in 1960 on education as a continuation of the integration of Māori and Pākehā elements to form one nation. They refer to Māori experiences of schooling as an ongoing maintenance of the dominant group over the interests of Māori.

According to G. H. Smith (1986), the taha Māori component in schools in the 1980s is an example of further acculturation of the Māori culture. Taha Māori was designed to enable Pākehā to understand Māori culture rather than recognising and implementing te ao Māori. Pihama et al. (2004) say once again it is Māori people needing to change in order to have success in the education system. Pihama et al. (2004) believe the underpinning philosophy

throughout the 1960s to the 1990s was a “deficit” theoretical approach, where Māori people were viewed as lacking appropriate skills and knowledge. This deficit approach involved changing Māori parents, Māori children, and Māori whānau. The belief was that this would enable the Māori child to achieve more successfully in the education system. This is the educational environment that many of the parents in this study may have experienced.

Initiatives in bilingual education have enabled parents to look for high quality immersion and bilingual programmes. The definition of high quality is not yet understood by the Ministry of Education but there are definitions available for bilingual and immersion education. According to Skerrett (2011), the key factors for achieving good outcomes in immersion or bilingual education include:

- early language teaching (i.e., from ECE);
- participation in bilingual or immersion education provision for at least four years and ideally six to eight years;
- more intensive immersion education and a different type of pedagogy (second language acquisition) for those coming late to language learning;
- family use of te reo Māori in the home environment;
- productive partnerships between whānau, Māori communities, kura, schools and government; and
- quality teaching and programmes involving at least 50 percent immersion in the target language (Māori) taught by teachers with a high level of competency in te reo Māori and in teaching a second language (p. 10).

The ability to achieve good outcomes, provide quality education, and whānau involvement in education, is a continuing debate with the Ministry of Education. The Ngāi Tahu educational strategy documents in 2006 and 2015 recognise that individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi are actively involved in educational matters. The 2015 strategy reminds us that education is lifelong and should be driven by iwi values, traditions and aspirations. The whakataukī “Mō tātou, ā mō kā uri a muri ake nei” was written to inspire Ngāi Tahu whānui to live long and well, to be culturally enriched, and to lead the future (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2006, 2015). At the forefront of issues in the Christchurch region is the necessity for quality te reo Māori teachers and a lack of training opportunities for teachers in the South Island. The strategy has supportive statements for Ngāi Tahu involvement in the education sector, and the goals need to be evaluated and the education sector held accountable for meeting these requirements.

Traditional experiences of Māori whānau may have involved colonisation experiences producing shame for their own cultural identity and language, but from those experiences also comes a determination for some that their children will not go through the same. At the Kotahi Mano Kaika symposium (2010) celebrations, it was mentioned that now there was more choice available for parents regarding their children’s te reo Māori education. Unfortunately, there is still not much choice in the Christchurch region due to barriers like travel distance, and type of programme offered (immersion, bilingual and mainstream schools). Parents are not asked about the type of educational environment that suits the specific needs of their child, whānau or reo Māori. Instead, parents do their “best” from what is currently available. This research looks at parental choices for education.

When parents are making these educational and daily life “choices”, they do not necessarily have enough information about the probable long term consequences of their choices, neither for themselves and their children (or grandchildren) nor in relation to the

fate of the language. The educational contexts as well as social contexts are subject to wider policies within a civic society. Teacher changes within and across school contexts can affect and change an original school choice. Government decision making about schools can leave parents powerless. Parents have to have enough reliable information about the long term consequences of various choices, their benefits and drawbacks, before it can be stated that there has been any choice (Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010). The Ngāi Tahu education strategy (2015) reminds iwi that many different strategies need to be used so that Ngāi Tahu are leaders in any future aspirations. Parents and children are the future leaders.

Whānau and intergenerational trauma

Intergenerational trauma involves transferring the characteristics of trauma experiences to subsequent generations (Atkinson, 2002; Yellow Horse Brave Heart 2003). Denham (2008) refers to trauma narratives not only being from historical experiences from a colonial past but that these include present day experiences. Yellow Horse Brave Heart (2003) defines historical trauma as the “cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences” (p. 7). Denham attributes historical trauma to the various contemporary issues that afflict American First Nations people. This would also be indicative of other Indigenous people who have been colonised. The New Zealand experience of colonisation has had some violent as well as less violent experiences. According to Jackson (2007), the souls and minds of people to be dispossessed can occur via power struggles:

Destroying the world-view and culture of Indigenous peoples has always been as important as taking their lives, because the actual process of disempowerment, the key purpose of any colonisation, has to function at the spiritual and psychic level as well as the physical and political (p. 178).

The results of this are evident in the social statistics (Walls, Li-Chia, & Huang, 2006).

Denham (2008) found that the way traumatic events are retold can be different intergenerationally. If the events include narratives of specific resilience strategies, acknowledging the past, and confirming identity, then this strengthens the memories of new generations. In te ao Māori, this would be whakapapa and how this information is transmitted to whānau. This research explores the effects of intergenerational trauma upon learning and passing on te reo Māori intergenerationally.

Discussion

This section provides a final discussion of the content included in this literature review chapter. The headings used in this chapter (Treaty of Waitangi; Language, land, culture and identity; Intergenerational transmission; Second language acquisition; and Whānau, parenting and educational choices) were included because of the impact of these aspects upon te reo Māori regeneration and Māori/English bilingualism. The powerful force of colonisation and legislation in civic domains have combined to influence language identities across the generations. The literature has shown that this interrupts contemporary whānau Māori/English bilingualism and the regeneration of reo Māori.

Resisting colonisation has meant continuous lobbying and claims to the Waitangi Tribunal in order for land and reo to be protected in the region of Ōtautahi. Despite these efforts intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori is still not viable. As a direct result of Treaty breaches, I now have to continue to learn te reo Māori as an adult in order to pass on te reo Māori to my child. Te reo Māori was lost intergenerationally via my pōua and, like many other iwi Māori, he was told by his grandparents to learn te reo Pākehā. L. T. Smith (2012) notes that Indigenous attempts to reclaim land, language, knowledge and sovereignty have usually involved contested accounts of the past by colonisers and colonised. According to Smith, colonisation has meant that these accounts have occurred in the courts, mass media and enquiries by government agencies. L. T. Smith says there is a belief in the systems

(tribunals, the courts and governments) proving the truth then things will be set right. Unfortunately, this is not the case—instead, it is about power and dominance of one cultural way of being over another. Retelling stories from the past to include stories of resistance and resilience, and reclaiming the past from a Māori worldview perspective are powerful forms of resisting colonisation (L. T. Smith, 2012). This resistance and resilience has led to the development of my child’s language identity as he attends a Puna Reo group. He interacts with other children who have parents wishing to bring their children up with a Māori identity at Puna Reo, in his educational environment, socially and at home. These are parents reclaiming their stories, language and worldviews. However, in order to do this, we as adults have had to consciously make these options part of our lives because bilingualism is not part of our life experiences from birth. Parents have to continue to make these opportunities to use te reo Māori available to override the dominance of English.

Literature about blood quantum and culture and identity was included because this relates to linguistic identity development. This identity is shaped according to the generations. The authenticity debate continues due to the social discourses around blood quantum. The question, “How much Māori blood do you have in you?” is still asked today. This infers there are no “real” Māori left, and therefore, if there are none left, this supports the notion that there is no need to speak te reo Māori. These aspects impact upon language identity from childhood through to adulthood. The colonising influences of identity debate widen into parenting and child rearing practices. Western European ways of educating and definitions of family and childhood are privileged at the expense of Māori values and expression of whānau and identity. Māori ways of belonging are ignored in order to be successful in te ao Pākehā. The benefits of Māori/English bilingualism are left to be expressed by smaller numbers of reo Māori advocates in small community spaces.

Literature about the strategies and concepts for successful bilingual approaches are helpful to learning te reo Māori in the home. However, not all the strategies are applicable to all contexts, especially when the language is seriously endangered, which is the context for parents in Waitaha, Te Waipounamu. Therefore, it is helpful to investigate language acquisition strategies to support language regeneration.

Conclusion

This chapter has overviewed the main themes in the literature review associated with parents who are emergent bilinguals or bilingual speakers nurturing their children as Māori. The review began with a discussion about the Treaty because the Treaty enables Māori to challenge and critically analyse relationships and affirm Māori rights as a Treaty partner. The literature confirms that these rights continue to be reviewed and revisited each time policies are renewed or applied in civic society. The Ngāi Tahu context has been utilised to illustrate how these principles and practices can be applied to a specific region. Each context is different as Māori are not homogenous and are instead iwi, whānau and hapū living in te ao Māori and te ao whānui (Durie, 2003b). Resources and the influence of colonisation in civic society are different according to each of the contexts within which parents nurture their children as Māori. Identity formation is fraught with difficulties as post-colonisation continues in a changing New Zealand society, and has a strong influence in Māori worldviews of identity. Recognition of the influences of colonisation is often difficult to identify; therefore, strategies to overcome firstly colonisation and secondly to build resistance and resilience are essential. It has already been established that intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori and speaking Māori in the home are key to the survival of te reo Māori, but what is not clear is how to go about this process when parents are emergent bilinguals or bilinguals in a contemporary world because te reo Māori is endangered. Due to historical loss, Ngāi Tahu language learners are mostly at emergent

language levels. This needs to be taken into consideration when developing future te reo Māori programmes as well as developing reo Māori across education, institutions, homes and communities. Neo-colonialism continues to be a strong factor in hindering strength and resilience for Māori identity and te reo Māori development. Identifying what it means to be Māori, to be tangata whenua and Indigenous to New Zealand (Penetito, 2010b) needs to be revisited, as does the concept and context of how the concept of whānau works in relation to the intergenerational transfer of te reo Māori. Parents are determined and motivated when learning and teaching te reo Māori with their children. It is this vital role that requires more support within a civic society. The literature has revealed there are many opportunities for Māori within institutions to continue to learn te reo Māori but the support required for learning and maintaining te reo Māori in the home, community and schools continues to be problematic.

The next chapter examines the methodology used in this research. A Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach and research practices are discussed as well as Indigenous narrative inquiry method. The reasons why this approach is appropriate for the research question “What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children?” are discussed and the data gathering process outlined.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

Chapter Two introduced the current literature around policies and practices affecting intergenerational language acquisition, bilingualism and identity. Although there is an abundance of literature overviewing the importance of bilingualism and language regeneration in regards to identity development, there is less literature and research available about Māori parents' language identity in their local contexts. In order to answer the research question, this chapter explores critical Indigenous research methodologies and how these have influenced this research process.

A Kaupapa Māori framework is apposite because Western theories are inadequate in terms of explaining iwi Māori experiences (Pihamo, 2001; Smith & Reid, 2000). However, they are useful for challenging the status quo and exploring some of the historical influences upon the development of language and identity in the 21st century. Critical theory and social justice are theories that explore the disparities in society and are a part of a Kaupapa Māori framework (Mahuika, 2008; L. T. Smith, 2012). G. H. Smith (2012) says kaupapa Māori draws upon critical theory because of the politics of social change and action aspects of critical theory. Action means focusing on Māori self-development and rangatiratanga to mediate and overcome the negative impacts of colonisation upon iwi Māori. Theoretical aspects of critical theory include analysis of social order due to capitalism and colonisation (G. H. Smith, 2012). Kaupapa Māori draws upon iwi Māori Indigenous knowledges as well as critical social theory to analyse social order. This study positions kaupapa Māori at the centre. G. H. Smith (2012) argues kaupapa Māori challenges the unequal power relations and domination of Pākehā culture in New Zealand and seeks to redress the balance to enable iwi Māori to be iwi Māori.

In a Kaupapa Māori methodological framework, Māori languages, knowledges, cultures and values are validated and legitimated (Hōhepa, 2015; Penetito, 2011; Pihama, 2010b; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 2012). This means that Kaupapa Māori research practices are privileged, rather than Western ways of knowing, and producing theories and academic research (L. T. Smith, 2012). L. T. Smith (2012) says that Kaupapa Māori research is grounded in Māori worldviews and that being Māori is an essential criterion for carrying out Kaupapa Māori research. She further contends that, “Bishop, Irwin, Pihama and Smith have all argued that being Māori, identifying as Māori and as a Māori researcher is a critical element of Kaupapa Māori research” (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 188). Māori have individual and collective identities, and live in a Western capitalist society; Māori are tāngata whenua, New Zealanders, Kiwis and the Indigenous people of Aotearoa (Penetito, 2010b). Kaupapa Māori research enables exploration of Māori identities because there are multiple and fluid boundaries for these concepts (Mcintosh, 2005; Penetito, 2011). Iwi Māori are complex people and the world is dynamic and constantly changes. Kaupapa Māori theory accounts for this as it is open, flexible, fluid and evolving (Pihama, 2001; G. H. Smith, 2012). The research question in this thesis is also open and fluid because it engages with the emerging narratives of the diverse Māori research participants.

According to Jackson (2011), there are four components of bravery that underpin Kaupapa Māori research. The first component of being brave is to know who we are; the second to know where we are at; the third to know what we have to think about and the fourth is to know where we have to go and what we have to transform. Skerrett further comments on the fourth component of bravery by stating we are always looking at transformation while simultaneously mediating the rate of change. She says we need to know how to transform language policies and practices in the face of the constant threat to our knowledges and languages (M. Skerrett, personal communication, December, 2012). Kincheloe and

Steinberg (2008) also refer to life being in a constant state of change and, because of this, we need to simultaneously construct and reconstruct the meaning of what we observe. The fifth component of bravery is about exploring how to respond to external influences whilst taking a rangatiratanga approach on the ground. Jackson's components of bravery build a wider frame of Kaupapa Māori theory and he also suggests developing *kaupapa* within the frame. Examples of this would be Kaupapa Māori education, Kaupapa Māori praxis, Kaupapa Māori assessment, Kaupapa Māori values, Kaupapa Māori ecologies and so on. These kaupapa demonstrate the eclectic nature of Kaupapa Māori theory. In the wider frame of Kaupapa Māori theory, there are multiple domains which have "a range of expressions that are influenced by whānau, hapū, iwi, urban experiences, gender, and geography" (Pihama, 2010b, p. 12). This research acknowledges a wider frame and looks at the domain and the Kaupapa Māori environments that parents experience and how Māori identities are expressed and developed across the generations.

The multiple possibilities of Kaupapa Māori theory enable a range of potential transformations to occur during Kaupapa Māori research. Transformative components of kaupapa Māori pose questions and seek knowledges (*mātauranga Māori*) that are crucial to the survival of Māori people as iwi Māori in Aotearoa. A Kaupapa Māori framework is "cognisant of the historical and cultural realities of Māori, in all their complexities" (Pihama, 2010b, p. 8). Kaupapa Māori research explores the essentialising treatment of iwi Māori via Western discourse and the non-essentialising discourse of Māori worldviews.

This chapter is divided into two parts. In Part One, qualitative research methodologies as well as critical Indigenous methodologies and how these research methodologies underpin my thinking about this research are examined. Kaupapa Māori is also discussed. In Part Two, the Kaupapa Māori research design and insider research are outlined. The Treaty of

Waitangi is included in this discussion because the Treaty underpins the rationale and context for Kaupapa Māori and insider research.

Part One: Qualitative research methodology

History of qualitative methodology

A discussion about qualitative methodology involves acknowledging the history of this research and the historical influences that qualitative research has undergone as a methodology. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) begin their discussion of what qualitative research is by representing the qualitative forms of research (observation, participation, interviewing, and ethnography) as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power and for truth. Qualitative research processes have been critiqued historically (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kovach, 2009; L. T. Smith, 2013a). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) recognise colonial knowledge as the means by which research was carried out in the traditional period, from the early 1900s until World War Two. Experiences of research were reflective of the positivist scientist paradigm and “the other was studied as alien, foreign and strange” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 15). “Othering” is further referred to by Denzin and Lincoln as the “troublesome other” when research was carried out with a set agenda. This was especially the case when the study of culture, customs and habits stood in the way of white settlers. Denzin and Lincoln contend that in the colonial context, research becomes a supposedly “objective” way of representing the dark skinned “other” to the white world.

Critical studies, feminism, previously silenced groups including those affected by colonialism, emerged more powerfully in the 1990’s onwards to question and to offer solutions to the conflicts and tensions in qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) suggest the solution is that the centre changes, because if this occurs then a new society emerges and the scientific Western approach to research has to be thought about differently. Considering a research paradigm outside the Western tradition offers a

systematic change approach to the world. If you change the centre, then you change the way society thinks about qualitative research. Smith states that the actual word “research” itself is bound to European imperialism and colonialism (L. T. Smith, 1999, 2012). L. T. Smith also says that, “the word research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary” (2012, p. 1). She refers here to the deep mistrust that developed among Indigenous communities about being researched for colonising purposes rather than for benefits to Indigenous communities. Positivist methods and “factual” scientific knowledge are but one way of telling stories about societies or social worlds, and during the early period of qualitative research this was not sufficiently recognised.

In the modernist phase (post-war years to the 1970s), qualitative researchers were interested in qualitative studies that looked at social processes. Researchers were drawn to practices that let them give a voice to “society’s underclass” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Denzin and Lincoln do not define what is meant by “society’s underclass” or who decides who it is that fits into this class. In that sense, this category could amount to further oppression of an “underclass” by positioning them in that class. Māori are positioned as Treaty partners and continue the fight over sovereignty in order to be given a “voice”. In qualitative studies, there were new interpretive theories—for example, critical theories and feminism—which began to influence research methods but it was not until the next phase (1970s to the 1980s), with the introduction of computers, that there were diverse ways of collecting information.

Nature of qualitative research

Qualitative research is descriptive and provides rich data where every detail is considered using a qualitative method. Qualitative research is interactive in nature where relationships are ongoing to gain complex and varied responses. Direct contact between the researcher and research participants allows the generation of descriptive and rich data. The

relationship is interpretive because the stories of both the researcher and the research participants intersect and are reflected in the meanings being made. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) define qualitative research as:

...a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices turn the world into a series of representations including: fieldnotes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (p. 3).

The meanings take into consideration the language and historical contexts of the people being researched. Qualitative research is also reflexive (Rossman & Rallis, cited in Kovach, 2009); the researcher's own self-reflection is the meaning making process. Researchers need to be continually aware of their own biases and locate themselves in the research. The aspects discussed above have been thought about in my own research processes and decision to use Kaupapa Māori research within the qualitative paradigm. Qualitative research now and in the future can effect change in the world if Indigenous qualitative methodologies are validated and legitimated.

Kovach (2009) believes there are two fundamental difficulties with assuming that qualitative research stemming from Western traditions could also speak for Indigenous methodologies. The first is about form and the distinctive structure of language that holds the meaning in tribal knowledges and tribal languages. Kovach says you can only go so far when those who are completing the research do not speak a tribal language that enquires into the nature of tribal knowledge. Qualitative research would need to resist the cultural constructs that permeate the English language. The second aspect that Kovach refers to is knowledge itself, as Indigenous methodologies are guided by tribal epistemologies. Tribal knowledge is not Western knowledge (Kovach, 2009). Kovach says Indigenous researchers

need to move beyond merely assuming an Indigenous perspective on non-Indigenous paradigms. I am moving beyond using non-Indigenous paradigms in my own research, as a Kaupapa Māori research methodological framework requires use of mātauranga Māori.

Qualitative research is inclusive of Kaupapa Māori research methodology which considers the environment and language of those being researched under their own terms. Kaupapa Māori research reaches into tribal lands, knowledges and languages, and allows the language of the researched to emerge. Macfarlane (2003) argues the strength of a qualitative approach is the flexibility of the process in that it allows the researcher to respond to new or unanticipated knowledge as it occurs. If you change the centre of qualitative research to critical Indigenous research, then the research begins to benefit the community being researched.

Critical Indigenous qualitative methodologies

Kaupapa Māori is part of a growing body of critical and Indigenous methodologies that questions the benefits as well as promotes self-determination of research for Indigenous communities. Self-determination begins with asking those who are being researched what they would like to see researched. In this way, the benefits to the community are based on Indigenous knowledges which are inclusive of relationships and the ecosystem in which Indigenous communities live. Indigenous researchers develop methodologies and approaches that “privilege Indigenous knowledges, voices and experiences” (L. T. Smith, 2005, p. 87). L. T. Smith (2012) further says that Indigenous peoples have been working together locally, regionally and globally to create a self-determining Indigenous world. This has created an Indigenous research agenda. This agenda focuses on one of the major goals of Indigenous research, self-determination. It is more than a political goal; it is a social justice goal that involves the processes of transformation, of decolonisation, of healing and of mobilisation as peoples. Survival, recovery, development and determination

are conditions that Indigenous communities move through in this process (L. T. Smith, 2012). It is neither a sequential development nor a planned approach. Words such as healing, decolonisation, spiritual, and recovery distinguish Indigenous methodologies from the research terminology of Western science. Indigenous scholars decolonise Western methodologies by critiquing and demystifying the ways in which Western scientific approaches have been applied in the academy and from there in Indigenous communities. Who defines and benefits from the research is problematic in this sense. Critical Indigenous inquiry begins with the concerns of Indigenous people and is assessed in terms of the benefits research creates. This leads to defining what culturally responsive research practices are when research is carried out by Indigenous and/or non-Indigenous researchers. There is a distinction between culturally appropriate and culturally responsive practices. Moreover, there is an issue in terms of who determines these.

There is a better chance of success in research being culturally appropriate and culturally responsive if the concepts and values are derived from Indigenous worldviews. Strategies and skills are fitted to the needs, language and traditions of the respective Indigenous communities. Denzin, Lincoln and Smith (2008) state research work must “represent Indigenous persons honestly, without distortion or stereotypes and the research should honour Indigenous knowledge customs and rituals - it should not be judged in terms of neo-colonial paradigms” (p. 2). Critical Indigenous researchers acknowledge the importance of concepts such as identity, sovereignty, land, tradition, literacy and language. Indigenous scholars commit to the values of resistance, struggle and empowerment at the local level. However, Denzin et al. (2008) argue critical theory in the wider sense does not address how Indigenous cultures and their epistemologies are sites of resistance and empowerment (Denzin et al., 2008). Deloria, (1988) also contends that when anthropologists and the academy provided research about Native Americans this hindered

their aspirations. The research provided was about native Americans guided by the academy rather than for and with Native American people. Knowledges provided by anthropologists have been shaping attitudes and policies for native Americans which does not have relevance to their present circumstances. Tribal society was dictated by Western research. This has also occurred for Māori. Universal traditional understandings of Māori or deficit theorising is reported on and upheld as truth instead instead of contemporary realities and aspects of resistance to the constant threat of colonisation. Understanding the theoretical approach of critical theory and, indeed, engaging with Western theories, enables a transformative Kaupapa Māori approach and enables counter-hegemonic practices against negative theoretical paradigms for Māori (G. H. Smith, 2012). This research looks at the daily experiences of Māori parents to find transformative practices that will benefit iwi Māori parents. A Kaupapa Māori approach is vital to critique the ongoing colonisation and dominant interests which cause dilemmas in establishing Māori identities.

Denzin and Lincoln also refer to one of the key principles of Indigenous research as being research completed by Indigenous persons. For Indigenous people to benefit from the research that is done on, for or with them, the research must be conducted with an ethical lens. This results in a moral space that aligns Indigenous research and critical theory. Each site of Indigenous struggle is different. Critical inquiry is grounded in principles centred on autonomy, home, family and kinship, which presuppose a shared collective and vision. Smith argues Indigenous knowledges from autonomous communities are not commodities or products sold in the market place (G. H. Smith, 2000). A related idea from Bishop (1998, 2003) discusses the “absence of the need to be in control”, and that instead there is “a desire to be connected to and be a part of a moral community where the primary goal is to be compassionate about another’s moral position” (Denzin et al., 2008, p. 187). Bishop gives an example of this position in te ao Māori where research is evaluated by participant

driven criteria and by the cultural values and practices. In Māori culture, this would be self-determination, the sacredness of relationships, embodied understandings and the priority of community over self. Researchers create new story lines and criteria of evaluation reflecting these understandings. This is what I have attempted in my own research by giving back the transcribed interviews to the participants to review what they have said to ensure it accurately reflects their understandings of the process. I have also outlined what will happen with the data and the purpose of the research, plus the intended outcomes and the audience for the results. Although this work is completed for the academy, the intended results are for the benefit of the Māori community. However, as a researcher, I am the one that gains the most benefit from this research as I chose this topic and receive a doctoral award. Therefore, it is sobering to recall Patai (cited in Kirklighter, 2002) who states that self-reflexivity in scholarly writings does not change the current realities for those being researched and advocates for an awareness of the perceptions and cultural capital that the scholar brings to the research. Behar (cited in Bates, 1997) adds that “we are not just observing others, but observing ourselves observing others” (Bates 1997, Section E).

In relation to Behar’s observation, above, I acknowledge that I bring my own Māori identity, class and gender issues to the research process. I am also part of a colonised New Zealand and when referring to class and gender issues it is important to acknowledge that class has an inherent racist base, because prevailing notions of wealth and class status have been created by very powerful settler interests which have dominated the New Zealand nation state and society. Gender, like class is also a Treaty of Waitangi issue because the Crown has ignored the rangatiratanga or chiefly authority/power of Māori women.

My worldviews as an indigenous scholar is positioned within and between contrasting worldviews. Pihamo (2016), suggests Māori have been studied and theorised ‘about’ for the last 200 years, that is, by Pākehā academics and researchers. Using Kaupapa Māori research approaches validates Māori research as part of research processes. The researcher creates the frame in order for the stories to be told for a readership. This needs to demonstrate the complexity of sociopolitical aspects of indigenous communities as well as representing the historical and contemporary life of indigenous people. According to L.T. Smith (2012), “writing can be dangerous because we reinforce and maintain a style of discourse which is never innocent” (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 37). Smith further states writing can be dangerous because we are building on previous texts written about indigenous people, and academic writing is a form of selecting writing, arranging and presenting knowledge. Historically Māori knowledges have been misrepresented and this continues as knowledges can still be misappropriated.

Alongside a moral tie to Indigenous communities, as part of the research process there is also a spiritual tie, where the soul of the culture resides. In Indigenous ethical and moral models, there is respect and a reclaiming of Indigenous cultural practices. These practices privilege storytelling, listening, voice and personal performance narratives. I have chosen narrative as the way of hearing and listening to the voices of my participants. Another aspect that is different in Indigenous research, in comparison to Western research practices, is the spiritual, social and psychological healing that occurs by telling stories. Being able to re-story empowers communities and in this way reproduces the politics of possibility. Indigenous research is inclusive of what Denzin et al. (2008) call restorative Indigenous ecologies. This involves celebrating survival, remembering, sharing, networking, protecting and democratising daily life. It is about cultural survival from colonisation

processes and healing the wounds. The next section of this chapter looks at the issues of colonisation and trauma and the effects this has had on research.

Influence of colonisation on research methods

Colonising knowledges

Colonisation of research has meant that Eurocentric knowledge is legitimised over Indigenous knowledges (Battiste, 2008; L. T. Smith, 2012). Indigenous researchers are working in institutions that have historically denied the knowledges held by their own peoples. L. T. Smith (2012) believes that Indigenous knowledges make a unique contribution to world knowledge and these are part of contemporary disciplines and institutions (L. T. Smith, 2012). This denial of Indigenous knowledges in institutions has meant Indigenous people have had to establish their own body of knowledges as a valid and legitimate part of the research process. Battiste and Henderson (2008) argue that:

...communities want their knowledge and heritage to be respected and accorded the same rights, in their own terms and cultural contexts, which are accorded others in the area of intellectual and cultural property. (p. 132)

Smith contends that a deep distrust of research has occurred in Indigenous communities because of the different set of belief systems that underpin the philosophy of the research process (L. T. Smith, 2012). Battiste and Henderson (2008) take this concept a little further by stating that “colonizers reinforce their culture by making the colonized conform to their expectations” (p. 134). This refers to research benefiting colonising cultures rather than the “researched” community. It is in these spaces that Indigenous knowledge concepts can be changed and reformed, especially if the research is written in a dominant language where cultural meanings within languages are redefined. Battiste and Henderson (2008) argue that most literature on Indigenous knowledge is written and developed in English or in other European languages. Very few studies have been completed in Indigenous languages.

Battiste contends that “linguistic competence is a requisite for research in Indigenous issues” (Battiste & Henderson, 2008, p. 133).

Ngāi Tahu continue to develop their research capacity due to the “myth and rhetoric” created by homogenising iwi as “Māori” across New Zealand as a nation. Ngāi Tahu as an iwi has been defined according to Māori research rather than Ngāi Tahu research. Ngāi Tahu’s research website states that, “Ngāi Tahu require evidence-based knowledge and monitoring to have the confidence to invest in Ngāi Tahu-relevant research and development opportunities. This is the key to developing a respect and demand for robust research” (Ngāi Tahu Research, 2016). Research based on research in and about te reo Māori is an area that requires attention. This research intends to add to the body of knowledge, regarding intergenerational te reo Māori in the Canterbury context, both with Ngāi Tahu tribal members and Māori living within the Ngāi Tahu region.

Indigenous knowledge is part of the land and Indigenous languages (Battiste & Henderson, 2008). Land and language disappear due to what Tuck says is “settler colonialism” (Tuck & Yang, 2012). This is different from other forms of colonialism because when settlers move to a new land, they not only make a new home but they insist on “settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5). This causes disruption to Indigenous relationships to land, which Tuck refers to as “profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5). This has occurred in New Zealand. Indigenous languages and relationships are part of Indigenous knowledges and restoration of these begins the process of healing. Indigenous languages have the ability to transform and decolonise research processes and to change how knowledges are represented. Battiste and Henderson (2008) refer to the importance of Indigenous researchers finding the soul of people in their language. Jackson (2007) further says the soul of people is destroyed in the colonising process and that “... colonisation has to function at the spiritual and psychic

level as well as the physical and political” (p. 178). Colonisation of the soul is evident in the social statistics. According to L. T. Smith (2012), in almost every social index Māori are disproportionately represented as disadvantaged, even when statistical analyses control for class factors such as income levels (L. T. Smith, 2012). This has left Māori in the margins in the economy and society. Neoliberalism also means Indigenous knowledges have become a commodity owned by an individual not a community that can be used in the market place. This economic commodity has not improved the situation for te reo Māori and culture. Indigenous knowledges remain in the margins and are not valued when it comes to intergenerational transmission of that knowledge. The knowledge remains in the control of those in the market place. Battiste and Henderson (2008) believe:

...Indigenous people should be supported in developing their knowledge for commercial purposes when they think it is appropriate and when they choose to do so. When this knowledge creates benefits for others, policy and legislation should ensure that Indigenous people share those benefits. (p. 132)

Policy and legislation in New Zealand so far has not allowed for Indigenous people to share in the benefits. Traditional Indigenous knowledge is regarded as a potential avenue for Indigenous communities to enter the market place with items to sell, while at the same time it lies at the heart of identities, histories, legacies and responsibilities for generations that have been here before and those to come. Indeed, the guiding principle whakataukī of Ngāi Tahu is “mō tātou ā mō kā uri ā muri ake nei, for us and our children after us” (Te Karaka, 2000a). The corporate arm of the tribe is currently working in a neoliberal market and it is hard to convince them that te reo o Ngāi Tahu should be an overarching and underpinning consideration for future planning (Martin & Skerrett, 2013). Battiste and Henderson (2008) say some Indigenous commodities are not “market ready yet” so have not been discovered in the research sense or commercialised. Selling this legacy is regarded by some as tantamount to destroying the culture (L. T. Smith, 2012) and intergenerational obligations to future generations. In te reo Māori intergenerational

languages and cultures are stated as “taonga tuku iho” which literally means treasures handed down from the ancestors. The cycle of continued colonisation, and neoliberal market commodities of Indigenous worldviews, are intent on rescinding ancestral knowledges for the benefit of Western worldviews. Decolonisation strategies need to involve understanding these processes, which are discussed in the next section.

The struggle and decolonisation

Decolonisation processes need to be multi-layered, multi-dimensional and occur across multiple sites simultaneously (L. T. Smith, 2012). O’Loughlin (2009b) too refers to the layering of colonisation and says that decolonisation somehow implies that the layering of colonised people’s pre-existing values can be removed. He says one challenge for educators is to understand Western colonisation principles associated with Indigenous theory and practice in education and to sometimes discard the latest Western research if these aspects are ignored. Educators must also resist calls for “Indigenous communities to limit themselves to essentialist notions of a romanticized traditional state of innocence and purity” (O’Loughlin, 2009b, pp. 145–146). In this research, this means acknowledging that there are many ways to be Māori in a contemporary world. Kovach adds that decolonisation is a holistically layered process where research interests can navigate two distinctive worlds (Kovach, 2009). A decolonising perspective in research can work towards instigating change and indicate methodological inconsistencies when researchers attempt to combine Indigenous and Western methods of research. Kovach views decolonisation as the means by which space is created in everyday life, research, academia, and society for an Indigenous perspective without it being neglected, shunted aside, mocked or dismissed (Kovach, 2009). Kaupapa Māori research methodology follows my own Indigenous way of knowing. A kaupapa Māori approach in this research assumes

participant knowledges are validated and legitimised and seeks to understand participants' wellbeing by exploring their worldviews and experiences of living in a colonised world.

Kaupapa Māori research is therefore a tool which researchers can use to show how their methods are being aligned with a particular way of knowing and it is therefore part of the decolonising process. L. T. Smith (2012) outlines five conditions that have framed the struggle for decolonisation. The first is critical consciousness and gaining an understanding of the hegemonic practices. The second is reimagining the world and the position of Māori within the world which enables alternative possibilities. The third is the distinct ideas created when events, ideas, and social categories intersect to enable tactics to be employed. The fourth is counter-hegemonic movements which traverse the sites of struggle and in which the status quo is disturbed. The fifth is the concept of structure, underlying imperialism and power relations which produce inequalities and marginalisation. These dimensions reflect the “multiple positions, spaces, discourses, languages, histories, textures and world views that are being contested, struggled over, resisted and reformulated by Māori” (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 201). Indigenous researchers are now applying their own research questions to these sites of struggle. The intent in this research is to ensure participant voices are narrated from their own experiences of being iwi Māori.

Healing historical and disaster trauma

Indigenous communities in highly developed nations have argued strenuously that there have been long term traumatic impacts of colonisation that have left them diseased, and dispossessed of identities, languages and lands. Indigenous cultures are very different from colonising cultures in that the past is part of the present looking forward into the future (Jackson, 2007; O'Loughlin, 2009a, 2009b; L. T. Smith, 2012). These traumatic impacts can be passed on intergenerationally in families and whole communities. Atkinson (2002) speaks of lore or wisdom that is passed down through generations and suggests that the

“trauma of colonisation and the institutionalized bureaucratization of Indigenous people’s lives have led to the collapse of lore – a lorelessness that leaves Indigenous people adrift without history, memory, or well-being” (Atkinson, 2002, cited in O’Loughlin, 2009b, p. 150). However, when these memories become spoken, they have the potential to set individuals and communities free to live lives that are deeper and more linked to their histories, rather than the global neoliberal culture which is based on market value and favours individualism rather than collaboration. Smith referred to “events” as the third of the five processes for the struggle of decolonisation, as referred to earlier. In Christchurch, from 2010 onwards, the impacts of disaster trauma associated with multiple large earthquakes have further added to the loss of wellbeing for Indigenous communities. Earthquakes have re-storied the lives of those involved and as a result Māori are taking the opportunity of an “event” (the earthquakes) to talk about previous events that have intersected our lives, including the colonising heritage of Christchurch and Ngāi Tahutanga tribal knowledge. Through this process, instead of further language loss, Ngāi Tahu reo and stories previously silenced will be reclaimed and put back onto the land. From trauma come stories of hope and healing. L. T. Smith (2012) says it is important to tell our stories as a resistance to colonisation so that our histories are not ignored. She says that we live in a dominant culture and society where people can choose to avoid learning about Māori histories. Māori look to the past to move forward—therefore, telling our narratives is vital for healing (L. T. Smith, 2012). Re-storying enables Māori worldviews to be heard and understood. This is part of the healing process of colonisation.

Indigenous narrative

An Indigenous approach to narrative research is culturally relevant and responsive. The approach intertwines narrative methodology with Indigenous counter-colonial methodological orientations. Both approaches centralise the importance of linguistic

identities, tribal realities and life at the interface (Durie, 2003b) between Māori and the wider global context. While narrative inquiry is a flexible, open and fluid methodology, Kaupapa Māori methodology works to draw the analysis into a space which privileges Indigenous concerns. While Indigenous people often grapple with multiple social and colonial identities, it is often the case that their indigeneity is effaced when seeking to understand their experience of the every day. Lee (2009) locates pūrākau as a traditional form of Māori narrative that “contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and world views that are fundamental to our identity as Māori” (p. 1). According to Lee (2009) and Bishop (1996), this narrative form—storytelling—was one of the ways in which knowledge was sustained and protected in Indigenous communities. Lee believes that reclaiming storytelling and retelling our traditional stories is to engage in one form of decolonisation. Bishop and Glynn (1999) concur with this by stating, “the storyteller maintains the power to define what constitutes the story” (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 178). Narrative inquiry allows participants to “reflect on stories in their own cultural contexts rather than the language chosen by the researcher” (Bishop, 1996, p. 23). It is the aspects of narrative inquiry referred to above that encourage me to choose a narrative approach in my research.

Community based Kaupapa Māori research

Kaupapa Māori research provides strategies to enhance engagement processes with Māori communities. Māori researchers walk alongside the community being researched and have responsibilities to ensure that research is about protecting and regaining control over Māori knowledges and resources. Recent debate in the literature asserts a disconnection between the community and an understanding of Kaupapa Māori theory and research (Eketone, 2008; Mane, 2009; Ratima, 2008). The divide seems to be more between the “academy”, or “university systems community”, and Indigenous communities, rather than with a

“Kaupapa Māori” research approach. Kaupapa Māori theory is important for the advancement of Kaupapa Māori research. It is a guide for Kaupapa Māori research which ensures that Māori protocols are followed during research processes (Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006). Kaupapa Māori theory evolved from Māori community educational developments of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori (Hōhepa, 1990; Ka’ai, 1990; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2010a; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999; Walker, 2004). The divide between Māori communities and universities will continue, unless universities understand and use a kaupapa Māori approach to research itself and actively seek out work that has support and guidance from the community (G. H. Smith, 2000). Universities do not use the same approach as wānanga, which promote, grow and sustain Māori language, knowledge and culture in all its manifestations. A Kaupapa Māori approach to research is not yet fully accepted within the academy. Kaupapa Māori theory has been around for thousands of years (Pihama, 2010b; Taki, 1996) and Māori tipuna have always been philosophers and theorists (Mikaere, 2011). Kaupapa Māori research in the academy is a relatively new research approach, rather than viewed as having been around for thousands of years. Kaupapa Māori theory is the only theory that acknowledges a cultural base or the cultural underpinnings of the theory. This does not occur in a Western theoretical approach to research (Pihama, 2013). Kaupapa Māori research is subject to much debate in the academy as it does not fit the “norm” of traditional Western approaches to research (Pihama, 2013). There are further decolonising practices required to enable an understanding of a Kaupapa Māori research approach in the academy.

Formulaic approach and biculturalism

Another recent debate around Kaupapa Māori research is that Kaupapa Māori is being used like a formula to indicate that research or programmes are meeting the needs of Māori

participants. Researchers tick a formulaic box to say they are using a Kaupapa Māori approach for Māori participants in their research (Mikaere, 2011), instead of completing Kaupapa Māori research that is with, by and for Māori. Kaupapa Māori in this sense is being applied as a culturally sensitive model rather than as a culturally safe model (Margrain & Macfarlane, 2011). L. T. Smith (2012) further argues that in this way Kaupapa Māori research loses its critical theory aspect, where the research space challenges the spaces provided for Māori (L. T. Smith, 2012). This is similar to previous attempts in education to meet the needs of Māori, such as the taha Māori approach of the 1980s, introduced into the New Zealand core curriculum in 1984 by the Department of Education (G. H. Smith, 1997), and a bicultural approach introduced from the 1990s onwards (Penetito, 2010b). These were ways for Māori language and culture to be used in schools and society. These approaches were about increasing Māori institutional cultural aspects rather than challenging the structural analysis of histories, economies, colonisation and so on (L. T. Smith, 2012). In the 1990s, biculturalism was promoted by some Māori intellectuals as a way of ensuring there were opportunities for equal participation in the economic and political spheres (Walker, 2004). According to Walker (2004), Māori are bicultural because they have to learn and function in two cultures in society, although some Māori are now alienated and decultured due to historical circumstances of colonisation and political changes. Pākehā culture, which drives politics and the economy, is mainly monolingual and monocultural. Penetito says biculturalism is mainly about Māori making a compromise about being Māori in a Pākehā world dominated by monocultural society (Penetito, 2010b). As long as being Māori fits into Pākehā systems and ways of being, then biculturalism is accepted.

According to Walker (2004), instead of biculturalism's "equalising transformations", what has occurred is Māori know about te ao Pākehā (Pākehā worldviews and culture) and

Pākehā sometimes choose to know and participate in te ao Māori if the worldviews work within a Western paradigm. The tino rangatira approach of Kaupapa Māori research is about self-determination and being grounded in mātauranga Māori and is not an additive approach. Durie (2001a) concludes that learning opportunities for Māori students diminish when students engage in learning where a Māori dimension is added onto an existing framework. Decolonising practices in the academy need to be continually recognised and instigated to ensure colonisation of Kaupapa Māori research processes does not occur. Western approaches should not be able to pick and choose which aspects they will or will not use in their research approaches to working with Māori. Mahuika (2008) sums up the use of Kaupapa Māori research processes in comparison to Western paradigms when he states:

Unlike the dominant Western paradigms, kaupapa Māori does not make claims to universal truth or to superiority over other existing paradigms. Arguably the ultimate goal of kaupapa Māori research, like much of the scholarship from Indigenous and minority peoples, is to challenge and disrupt the commonly accepted forms of research in order to privilege our own unique approaches and perspectives, our own ways of knowing and being (p. 4).

Self-determination in research

Kaupapa Māori is grounded in te reo me ūna tikanga and mātauranga Māori (Māori language, culture and knowledges) with tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake (Māori self-rule and self-determination) as the key concepts and practices embedded in the research (Pihama, 2010b). Kaupapa Māori research as a grounded approach means being strong in who you are as a Māori researcher and that you have relationships with whenua and place. As a Māori researcher, this means continuing to connect with my Ngāi Tahutanga and maintaining whakapapa connections and ngā reo me ngā tikanga Māori (Pihama, 2013). Kaupapa Māori research is also organic, grown from Māori communities and contexts and not from outside dominant Pākehā (non-Māori) constructions of research. Kaupapa Māori research includes iwi perspectives which is the relationship to whenua and

place (whakapapa) and the perspectives of the iwi involved in the research. Self-determination in the research is about decisions being made by the iwi rather than an outside agency. A Kaupapa Māori research approach ensures full participation by iwi in that the community, not outside agencies, decides what is to be researched. According to Pihama, there needs to be more Kaupapa Māori theorising from iwi perspectives (Pihama, 2010a). This is an important way of adding to the body of research knowledges from Māori perspectives and local contexts.

Rangatiratanga is the concept of self-determination and independence in relation to Māori culture, aspirations and destiny. Parental choices are influenced by dominant cultural expectations of parenting, childhood and educational practices, rather than rangatiratanga. According to Durie (2006), rangatiratanga includes where motivation for learning comes from, having a sense of ownership and control over what is learned, how it is learned and when it is learned (Durie, 2006). Currently, parents do not have enough information about the long term consequences of their choices for themselves, their children, grandchildren or language. Different generations carry messages about the past, present and future. Whānau provide the link and continuity with the past but are also dealing with struggles in the present while at the same time trying to anticipate the future. Tino rangatiratanga promotes the need for Māori information and knowledge to be made available to Māori learners. It is about Māori people making choices and decisions for themselves. Pihama et al. (2004) believe this is a decolonising notion which is part of Kaupapa Māori theory to ensure the validation and legitimisation of te reo Māori and tikanga (Pihama et al., 2004). It is a belief that Kaupapa Māori must be accessible and available to all, taking into account the diversity of Māori communities.

Kaupapa Māori theory acknowledges the many differing voices within Māoridom and is for Māori and by Māori, as Māori are iwi based. This is evidenced by the fact that each

kōhanga and each kura are community based and involve members of the community in the philosophy and life of the school. Although the literature shows that Māori cultural practices, identity and language are influenced via colonisation through educational systems, parenting practices and definitions of childhood, Māori voices continue to challenge the power systems still in place in the educational and whānau environment.

Insider research: Kaupapa Māori research

Insider research refers to the relationships side of research. It is about who is in control of the research, the research information and the outcomes of this. The Kaupapa Māori approach to insider research is a research approach that is guided by and created through Māori worldviews. There is an intrinsic connection between the researcher, the researched, and the research (Bishop, 2005, cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This connection refers directly to the research approach intended for this study. I have used a Kaupapa Māori lens throughout this research as the researcher, and I have worked with Māori participants, the researched. The research process is about understanding myself as a Ngāi Tahu mother and emergent bilingual in relation to my research. A Kaupapa Māori lens does not accept neo-colonial influences but instead addresses issues of the dominance of power relationships of one over the other. The analysis part of the research must benefit Māori people in principle and practice and acknowledge the current realities of marginalisation, neo-colonialism and the effects of the heritage of colonialism.

L. T. Smith (2005) has a “community up” approach to defining researchers’ conduct with participants using a Kaupapa Māori approach. As an insider researcher, I am part of the community so I followed the set of cultural values outlined by L. T. Smith (1999); aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people), he kanohi kitea (meet face to face), titiro, whakarongo, kōrero (look and listen before you speak), manaaki ki te tangata (hosting and being generous), kia tupato (be cautious), kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample on

the dignity of a person), and kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge) (L. T. Smith, 1999). Cram (2001) further outlines guidelines for researchers to follow alongside each of the values L. T. Smith (1999) has identified in te reo Māori. These values and guidelines are also part of Kaupapa Māori insider research approach.

This research design used technology to communicate with a participant. Online networking sites including Skype™ are a way of connecting Māori across the globe and in New Zealand and cannot be ignored. So the value of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) in research includes technology, as would other aspects of the values referred to above. This aspect has been used in this research as one participant left New Zealand due to the Christchurch earthquakes.

Being Māori does not automatically mean that as an Indigenous person, a researcher will conduct research in a culturally appropriate manner, even when researching their own communities. This is because there are many ways to be Māori and Māori engage with their communities at different levels, apart from the notion that many Māori are colonised. Contemporary Māori diversity is important to consider when understanding the insider research process. Bishop (2005) further proposes a question from an essentialist view as to whether cultural “insiders” might conduct more sensitive research in a more responsive manner than “outsiders”. He argues the essentialist view (specific attributes, characteristics) assumes homogeneity of Indigenous peoples’ lives and ignores the influences of age, class, gender, education and colour among variables that might impact on the research relationship. L. T. Smith (2012) also says there are multiple ways to be an insider researcher and an outsider researcher in Indigenous contexts. Much of the research is being presented from an outsider’s perspective due to the research techniques and methodologies used, particularly research from the academy. The academy has a specific way that research must be presented and one example of this is a doctoral thesis. Pihama

(2010a) refers to Māori academics being “caught in the bind between our communities and the academy” (p. 8). This thesis format is not negotiated with the research participants. In this thesis, I have not asked a community about how or what they would like to be researched, but as an insider community member, I chose my own topic because I am part of the struggle to keep my language alive in my community.

Within the academy, there are knowledge bases that are excluded. Māori academics have to have knowledge of two worlds; that is Western academia and a commitment to research for the Māori and iwi community via a Kaupapa Māori approach. Māori researchers have to work hard at the interface between two worlds as sometimes this could mean that using a Kaupapa Māori approach is at the expense of te ao Māori (Māori worldviews) in the academy.

Justification of selecting an Indigenous narrative approach

To gain access to each participant’s narrative I adopted an interview approach. This method enables the researcher to ask a broad open question or to invite the interviewee to become the narrator (S. Chase, 2005). Narrative as a method allows the researcher to find out about the participants’ life experiences. The strengths of the narrative inquiry process and unstructured interviews are that they recognise people as participants in the research process with varying cultural experiences. Benham (2007) believes there is an Indigenous perspective to narrative. The Indigenous perspective is distinct because it defines ontology and epistemology of a particular cultural group’s way of knowing and being that is formed from historical contexts. Benham says that these practices and protocols predate colonisation and have been diminished due to colonial power; hence, they have undergone redefinition over time (Benham, 2007). A challenge for the researcher is that the tensions produced by forces such as power, political change, complex histories, historical oppression in these narratives reveal interesting questions that may activate processes and

resources that disrupt thinking and assist Indigenous communities. According to Benham (2007) a definition of narrative or stories, is that:

... stories illuminate knowledge in such a way that it connects us to the roots of who we are as individuals and as a community. For native Indigenous people, narratives are evocative accounts of sovereignty and loss, as well as identity and home. They are detailed and contextual, recognizing the importance of community and place (p. 512).

Benham's definition of narrative sums up why I chose narrative storytelling for this research, as my participants are from specific regional, contextual and cultural backgrounds. Their stories are grounded in a desire to establish a Māori identity, that is inclusive of language, in a region that has been colonised. Their stories make visible what has been silenced and unheard and will disrupt thinking and assist the community to understand intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge. The stories from the participants show the different pathways where disruption to thinking occurs.

Benham has suggested an Indigenous narrative analysis working model which is a multilayered approach that provides an in-depth analysis of the data. According to Benham (2007), an Indigenous Hawaiian scholar, this model:

...fundamentally accepts that native/indigenous ethos and eidos have existed and evolved over time in a place based environment. The analytical work of the scholar/researcher, then, is to explore ecological features, (i.e., the physical and organic place), sociocultural features, (i.e., family, culture, politics, economics, education, and spirituality), institutional features (i.e., school systems, communication systems, and judicial systems), and the relationships across all three (p.13).

I have adapted Benham's working model and used the four headings by Benham, outlined in the paragraph above (ecological, socio-cultural, institutional and interrelationships across all three) to formulate a way of organising the narratives for indepth analysis. I have followed this structure to report on the narratives of the participants. The ecological and socio-cultural sections outline the factors that shape and influence language identity. The institutional section draws upon the themes that emerge from ecological and socio-cultural

features in order to examine the relationships between institutions and society. However, the interrelationships section that is outlined in Benham's model is not just about the patterns across the features but is also about the unique lifeways and thoughtways in the field of inquiry. The interrelationships features section inquires into new aspects and theories emerging from the data. This section analyses what participants were saying about their daily lives that shaped language regeneration and language revitalisation. Therefore this section was not just a place to comment about patterns found across the three features but also a place to write about the new/unique occurrences experienced by whānau. Benham says Indigenous narratives are crucial means of telling memories and that collective memory is different from dominant texts. Indigenous narrative is about personal/family and societal healing because this involves knowledge and wisdom. Collective memory makes it possible to recover from generations of oppression and systematic racism (Benham, 2007).

This research is a narrative inquiry that inquires into the emerging themes from the participants. It is an investigation into what the participants were saying in their stories that led to transformation and resistance to policies and the continued complexities and changes of language and identity relationships. This research is about the variety of contexts and voices of the participants. It is an indigenous model and I have adapted Benham's model so that it supports a Kaupapa Māori research approach. This inquiry resulted in a final model that outlines a process for language regeneration which contributes to sustained change and actions for enhancing regeneration practices. This new model called a Whakapapa of Māori/English Bilingualism is outlined and discussed further in the data analysis and final chapters. This model enables indepth analysis examining Māori worldviews of the participants in different times and in different contexts.

This model provides a no one size fits all solution to analysing data and in this research inquiries into the variety of participant narratives where possibilities and approaches to being Māori/ English bilinguals emerge. In this research an indigenous narrative inquiry has enabled ideas to emerge from the context of the participants in the middle rather than from an institution looking outwards. The focus is parental viewpoints. This thesis and model is about the examination of parents views on the relationships between language and identity and the factors that shape and influence language identity. It is a rangatira approach as it originates in the community context and is a whānau approach expressing Māori worldviews. In this research the model demonstrates how difficult the space is and how much negotiation has to occur on behalf of the parents due to the features referred to in Benham's model.

Another definition of narrative is given by S. Chase (2005): "A narrative may be oral or written and may be elicited or heard during fieldwork, an interview, or a naturally occurring conversation" (p. 652). A broad definition of narrative enables the researcher to apply this method to any given moment or situation in the research process when there is conversation or dialogue (S. Chase, 2005). S. Chase (2011) redefined her definition of narrative to include visual images such as photographs, films or paintings which are socially constructed texts that narrative researchers can also interpret. Visual narratives are also ways of constructing storying of people's lives. The narrative definitions referred to by Chase do not include the cultural power struggles of Indigenous groups referred to in Benham's definition of Indigenous narrative inquiry.

Gubrium and Holstein (2001) say the benefits of researching using narrative inquiry enable storytellers to have "troubled identities" (p. 9) as they construct information about their lives, social and cultural histories, and the constraints of their environment and resources. Narrative inquiry is appropriate to use for aspects of identity formation in this research. S.

Chase (2005) has termed this a “sociological approach” to narrative inquiry (p. 659). The narrative inquiry method works well with Kaupapa Māori research methodology because of the collaborative construction of meaning and power sharing. Kaupapa Māori research focuses on maintaining a person’s “voice” as being central to the collection of narrative data rather than the interviewer’s perspective. I will follow the process where interviews are negotiated accomplishments of both interviewers and respondents. The interviewee checks that what has been recorded is correct and the data are co-constructed (Bishop, 1996; Fontana & Frey, 2005).

Part Two: Kaupapa Māori research design

The main data gathering tool in this study is narrative inquiry. These unstructured encounters were both recorded and videoed in a place chosen by the participants. Fontana and Frey (2005) outline steps for completing unstructured interviews used by more traditional Western researchers and these include accessing the setting, understanding the language and culture of the respondents, deciding how to present oneself, locating an informant, gaining trust, establishing rapport and collecting empirical material). Scheurich (1995, 1997) critiques this “how to” type of interview method and says interviewing (and its language) is “persistently slippery, unstable, and ambiguous from person to person, from situation to situation, from time to time” (Scheurich, 1995, 1997, p. 62). The narrative method contains interview prompts to keep participants telling their stories. The prompts employed for this study were dependent upon the person, context, culture and language. So, following aspects of the techniques mentioned above, may be appropriate during the unstructured encounters.

The traditional Western use of interview data suggests that the researcher follows stages of analysis such as those outlined by Miles and Hubermann’s 13 tactics for generating meaning from transcribed data and interview data (cited in Cohen, Manion, & Morrison,

2000, p. 282). The researcher analyses and looks for aspects such as patterns and themes, counts frequencies of occurrence, identifies and notes relations between variables. On the other hand, a Kaupapa Māori research methodology and narrative analysis involves “co-joint reflections on shared experiences and co-joint construction of meanings about these experiences, a position where the stories of the other research participants merge with that of the researcher in order to create new stories” (Bishop, 1996, p. 26). A Kaupapa Māori research approach to narrative acknowledges that it is the storyteller who maintains the power to define what constitutes the story and the truth and the meaning it has for them. Narrative method is a way of validating and legitimating Indigenous knowledges contained in the stories. In his collaborative research stories work, Bishop (1996) took the initial transcribed information to the participants. The participants were given information about the process of telling the research story. Participants were able to go to the researcher with questions or comments that they had reflected on after the interview process.

My key intention was to remain aware of the cultural context of each participant and to be aware of the evolving process of data analysis. There was an awareness of the need to maintain the use of the cultural values and guidelines as outlined previously by L. T. Smith (2012) and Cram (2001), in particular in the sharing of results. According to Bishop and Glynn (1999), under the Treaty of Waitangi, researchers have obligations to honour the principles of partnership, protection and participation. This includes a mutual sharing of research skills and outcomes. Protection (derived from Article Two) ensures that the researcher protects the participants from any negative impact from the findings of the research and keeps certain aspects confidential. Participation (derived from Article Three) guarantees that Māori have the right to participate and enjoy benefits from involvement in the research (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, pp. 197–198). The analysis process to be followed for this study depends on the sociocultural history of the person, their individual perspective of

the world and the context. Bishop further contends that it is important when constructing narratives to paraphrase as little as possible. While Bishop suggests the use of extensive quotations in order to maximise the analysis, voice and experiences, as well as the interactions, discussions and meanings constructed during the interviews, in this study discretion regarding the frequency and quantity of quotations was applied.

Interviews and qualitative methods of data collection

This research uses a range of qualitative interview and narrative techniques with some structured and semi-structured interviews. These are required in order to establish participants' levels of fluency, the age of their children, and other relevant information that may not be contained in a narrative. Fontana and Frey (2005) indicate that there are three sources of common error associated with structured interviews. They are dependent upon whether the interviewer completes the interview using kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) interviews or questionnaires. I used kanohi ki te kanohi as part of the research interview process. Fontana and Frey's (2005) common errors indicate that there could be a "socially desirable" response where the interviewee tries to please the interviewer or, due to a person's limited memory capacity, some relevant information can be omitted. Secondly, the nature of the task, for example the wording of the questionnaire, can cause errors. Thirdly, the communicative style of the interviewer can cause another error in the administrative process. Kvale (1996) refers to the following dynamics to be aware of in the interview process: how to keep the conversation going, how to motivate the participants to discuss their thoughts, feelings and experiences, and how to overcome power issues where the interviewer typically defines the situation, the topic, the conduct, the introduction, the course of the interview, and the closing of the interview (Kvale, 1996). An awareness of the dynamic aspects of the interview process and trialling these aspects are important before the interview process takes place, as well as in the analysis.

In a Kaupapa Māori perspective, the interview would perhaps begin like a hui (meeting) with a welcome, mihi mihi and karakia and finish with another mihi and karakia. The main language used during the interview process was English however there was some use of te reo Māori by the interviewer and the participants. The extent to which these formalities are followed or enacted upon was up to my discretion or that of the participants and their different contexts. The context determined the process. With these aspects in mind, I have videoed the interviews and used a dictaphone. Both aspects are useful in case of technological error and using just the dictaphone alone overlooks the visual and non-verbal aspects of the interview process. Many aspects of language and language responses in a cultural context include visual and non-verbal aspects. Cohen et al. (2000) caution that the different kinds of data recorded in the transcript of the dictaphone need to be included for analysis. These could include aspects such as what was being said, the inflection of the voice (e.g., rising or falling, a question or statement, a cadence or a pause, a summarising or exploratory tone, opening or closing a line of inquiry), emphases placed by the speaker, pauses (short to long) and silences (short to long), interruptions, and whether a speaker was speaking continuously or in short phrases.

In line with Kaupapa Māori research methodology and ethical considerations, whenever possible the contents of the transcribed information was presented back to those being interviewed.

Data collection procedures

My overarching objective for this study was to understand the experiences of parents bringing up their children as Māori, living in Ōtautahi. As a result, I aimed to explore the following broad research question: What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children? I interviewed eight different participants about their own language identities and their children's Māori language

identities. Interviews were held at a place chosen by the participants to fit in with their lifestyle and time schedules. A small monetary koha was provided to the participants for their time given in the interview process. The participants all had children aged from birth to five at the time the interviews were conducted.

Narrative interview questions

The following questions were used as prompts during the interview process:

- I'd like to start by asking you about your experiences of learning te reo Māori in your whānau? (What are your own language learning pathways?)
- What prompted you to start learning?
- Can you tell me about the type of experiences you wish your child/children to have as Māori? (How do you identify yourself/ how do you want your children to identify as Māori?)
- In your language learning pathways what has been most successful for you?
- Can you tell me about the type of decisions you have been making about your child's preschool/school?
- Could you describe in as much detail as possible your understanding about the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori and how this has affected the decisions you make as a whānau and as Māori?
- Is there anything else you wish to share about yourself as a second language learner and the nurturing of your child as Māori?
- Can you tell me how the continued rū whenua have affected your whānau and their te reo Māori identity in Christchurch?

- After reading your transcription of our previous interview, how have any decisions changed or would you like to now add, take out or change?
- Do you have any questions or comments for me now that you have completed this interview?

The last three questions needed to be added because I originally began the interviews at the start of the year 2010. Unfortunately, the process was interrupted by a series of damaging earthquakes from September 2010 onwards. The 2010 September 4 earthquake struck in the middle of the night, but the 2011 February 22 earthquake hit when people filled the offices and cafes of the Christchurch central business district, leading to 184 deaths and damage to buildings and homes. On February 23, 2011, the day following the earthquake, New Zealand Civil Defence declared a state of national emergency. Soon thereafter, the national controller placed a moratorium on social science research until May 1, 2011, in order to protect survivors from additional burdens and to ensure that vital resources were directed towards emergency response only (EERI, 2011). At my place of work, the University of Canterbury, we received many research requests at this time. There was a large contingent of researchers wanting to find out about the effects of natural disasters upon children. The Ministry of Education also had to monitor research as well as protect the children living in disaster zones in Christchurch. Some areas experienced more damage than others, some people left the region, and some people were able to continue living in an area continually rocked by further earthquakes. The community moved into support and survival mode. Research was only delayed during the time of the moratorium. As the earthquake had damaged my own home and I was not sure of the situations of my research participants, I did not continue with my research interview work.

There were another two large and damaging earthquakes in 2011 with large aftershocks continuing for another two years. These aftershocks have now lessened but continue into

2016. As a researcher living in this environment, I was unwilling to continue with the interviews due to the effects upon whānau and their homes for the two years of continuously large aftershocks. This narrative inquiry research continued again at the end of the year in 2012. At this time, I needed to re-interview some of the respondents and added the questions referred to above about the earthquakes and Māori identity. This also offered the interviewees an opportunity to view and discuss their answers from the first interview and to make any adjustments.

The approach I took with this research was a narrative inquiry where I asked each participant about their own whānau and learning experiences alongside developing their children's Māori language identity. After the events of 2010 to 2012, I amended the research to include a new aspect as to how a natural disaster can affect decision making in regard to Māori language use and language identity.

In addition to the interviews, each participant completed a sheet with their contact details and iwi affiliation. Alongside this I asked each person to self-assess their te reo Māori knowledge, in order to gain a range of experiences from people with differing fluency in te reo Māori and a variety of whānau experiences. The self-assessment of each participant's personal level of te reo Māori was carried out according to the criteria used by the 2006 survey on the health of the Māori language final report by Te Puni Kōkiri.

The language skills are:

- speaking (i.e. the ability to convey meaning to others through speech)
- listening (i.e. the ability of the listener to comprehend what others are saying)
- reading (i.e. the ability to comprehend what others have written)
- writing (i.e. the ability to convey meaning to others through writing)

Each participant was asked to place themselves into one of the five proficiency categories by circling the appropriate category of:

- very well (I can talk/understand/read/write about almost anything in Māori)
- well (I can talk/understand/read/write about many things in Māori)
- fairly well (I can talk/understand/read/write about some things in Māori)
- not very well (I can only talk/understand/read/write about simple/basic things in Māori)
- no more than a few words or phrases

(Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006b).

Lastly, participants were asked, “How do you situate yourself on this proficiency category? Why?” so that they had the opportunity to expand on why they had chosen that category. There was one proficient speaker in the *very well* category, three in the *well* category and four in the *fairly well* categories. The New Zealand 2013 Census showed that 11 percent of Māori adults could speak te reo Māori very well or well; that is, they could speak about almost anything or many things in Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). Four of the participants in this study would fit into the 11 percent category. The participants identified themselves as being from a variety of iwi from all over New Zealand and were all living in Ōtautahi. In the 2013 Te Kupenga survey, 89 percent of Māori adults said they knew their iwi. This was the most common aspect of Māori tribal identity or pepeha that Māori knew. All participants in this research knew their pepeha.

Each of the interview audio recordings was transcribed and then examined first as individual responses. The interviews were then examined again and themes were developed according to the individual’s context, choices and experiences of reo Māori.

Analysis was supported with the use of the NVivo (computer software) qualitative tool. NVivo coding was appropriate for this research because as Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014, p. 74) state, it is a way of prioritising and honouring the participants' voices. This type of coding is consistent with Kaupapa Māori research because the participants' voices are the raw data. Their voices contain philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews associated with identity as Māori (Lee, 2009). As such, direct quotes of the participants' narratives are used and emerging themes are developed directly from the raw data (inductive analysis). The prior assumptions in this research come from the theoretical research and theories, or hypotheses identified or constructed by me as an academic researcher. Before perusing the data I read material to understand which theory would best meet the needs of the participants after I had listened to the participants stories. My own research biases and professional background influence the analysis and decision making. I benefit from the results of the research as well as the participants. I have generated coding of the narratives to assist with the analysis of the emerging themes.

Within the transcriptions, for the purposes of anonymity and confidentiality the following conventions have been utilised:

Names: Actual names have been substituted in the transcripts and the data from each participant labelled Participant 1–8 which has been shortened to P1–8 in the dialogues. If the names of the participants' children are referred to in the narrative, then these have also been substituted with P1–8 alongside the substituted child's name and a number. Number one is the first child; two is the second child and so on. An example of this inserted into the text would look like this: P7 substituted name1. Iwi tribal names have also not been used in the narrative but have instead been referred to in the description of the participants.

Insertions into the data: When a name of someone other than the eight participants in the narrative inquiry appears in the transcribing, I have provided an alternative name so as not to interrupt the flow of the narrative. Alternative names have also been provided for schools, institutions, iwi, workplaces or residential areas or countries when referred to in the data.

Description of data: Where necessary, there is a brief discussion about the theme together with some detailing of the context of the data, why the theme was selected and what it determines. There is some linking of the themes across participants because the same semi-structured questions were used in the interview process.

Order of data: The order of the themes is linked to the Benham framework of Indigenous narrative inquiry. This framework is detailed in the next data and analysis chapters. The themes move from history of te reo Māori development in the whānau to their own and their children's Māori identity development. There are the choices the parents make about te reo Māori learning and education and their own career paths and lastly the future and further challenges.

Documentation of themes: The categories used during analysis are not all the themes that were developed but are instead selected as themes because they occur most commonly across the data.

Raw data: The data were collected as transcribed verbatim text, and are examples of the actual language used by the participants. The text has only been adjusted to ensure that it makes sense as written text and does not change the original intent of the narrative.

Researcher: My own comments or where a participant has commented about me and used my name during the narrative conversations have been deleted to ensure the data contains the participants' voice.

Reo Māori: Where the participants used te reo Māori their voices and use of language/s have been honoured in the verbatim transcriptions.

The data

The first approach I used in the analysis of the data was to look at the response of each individual narrative. S. Chase (2005) says interpretation of narrative begins with the narrators' voices and stories and narrative researchers listen first to the voices within each narrative rather than locating distinct themes across each narrative (Riessman, 2008). Hutchings et al. (2012) interpreted their data using a Kaupapa Māori approach of whanaungatanga and the method of kōrero-ā-whānau to uphold the integrity and authority of whānau voices in their research approach. These researchers and others (Benham, 2007; Bishop, 1996; Kovach, 2009; Lee, 2009; L. T. Smith, 2013a, 2013b) all believe that the experiences of Indigenous voice needs to be heard in research as this contains intergenerational ancestral knowledge. Māori worldviews are represented in diverse ways; each narrative is a representation of this diversity of worldview. There has been a tendency in research to homogenise Māori. However, Kaupapa Māori research and Indigenous narrative inquiry privileges the diversity of Māori voice to be heard through pedagogies of storytelling. Hutchings et al. (2012) state that acknowledging whānau voices and experiences recognises their diverse priorities and aspirations. The following section introduces each participant and their context for their story.

Research participants

The eight participants were chosen because of their commitment to te reo Māori in the home, and they all identified as Māori and had been learning, using and/or teaching te reo Māori in the Ngāi Tahu region of Christchurch. It was their choice to participate or not. I know some of the participants as friends or community members and some professionally. Six participants were interviewed in their home environments and two participants were

interviewed at work. The place to be interviewed was chosen by each participant to ensure the participant felt comfortable to share information with the researcher. Narrative interviewing is a collaborative process, therefore the researcher should not be in a dominant position. The individuals concerned came from a range of backgrounds and experiences. I did not collect data information regarding class and economic backgrounds for example qualifications, and income. This information is of a more personal nature and as I am known by the participants in the community, I elected not to report on this as part of the research. I asked for volunteers, and then people suggested suitable friends.

All participants are urbanised Māori who know their whakapapa and speak te reo Māori in their home and/or work environment. In Indigenous narratives there is a pre-existing relationship with the researcher of a history of shared story with one another. As a Māori researcher located in the same Indigenous community, I too share similar intergenerational history of te reo Māori with the participants. The researcher needs to be known by Māori as trustworthy as information provided is of a personal nature and there was a need for the researcher to be committed to reo Māori and language revitalisation.

Kovach (2009) refers to knowing the researcher's self-location and the purpose, reason and motivation for the research that creates trustworthiness. The participants know my background and motivation for completing the research. During the data collection phase, I explained to participants what was going to happen with the data once I had completed the research process. This fits in with a Kaupapa Māori approach to research where research that is completed is for the benefit of the individual and the community as a whole. Therefore, it is a privilege to listen to and know the stories of the participants but also to understand, protect and use community protocol. In this research I live, participate and use and learn te reo Māori alongside the members of this community and have therefore

applied Indigenous research protocols and understand I am answerable to the community I live with and for the outcomes and processes used in this study.

Participant backgrounds

This section introduces each participant in their own unique context because, in narrative inquiry, attention to context is provided at the macro level and not just at the micro level. According to Reismann (2008), narrative researchers “make connections between life worlds depicted in personal narrative and larger social structures, power relations, hidden inequalities, and historical contingencies” (p. 76). The unique contexts of the participants in this research represent many aspects of these life worlds but the meaning of these contexts is made by the whānau living in these situations. I begin with locating my own context for this research and then the participants are introduced.

Researcher – Rachel Martin

I situate myself as part of the research by providing my own background in reo Māori language regeneration. My own son hears te reo Māori from his māmā at the level she knows but also knows that his pāpā is going to te reo Māori classes but speaks English. All other family members speak the dominant language of English. By age five he is already aware that he does not have to speak te reo Māori in many of the domains in his life. When he was at his early childhood centre, he knew that in one space te reo Māori was not spoken by his teachers and in another it was. These language domains were just a part of his life, and the boundaries did not become apparent to him until he started primary school. He attends a bilingual school that has close association with one of his marae. As a whānau we participate in a Puna Reo group which meets once a week and we have attended Kia Kurapa, Kai Tahu kura reo to develop our Ngāi Tahu reo Māori.

Language and cultural loss was significant in our whānau and reo Māori has not been spoken for at least three generations. I am the second oldest family member and the only

family member to continue with language regeneration and use in the home. All family members know their whakapapa. My Pōua, Stanley Rangipoto (Rangi) Martin was in the 28th Māori battalion and a POW in Stalag 383, Germany, in World War II. This period of war not only had a traumatic effect on the life of my own father as he was sent to a boys' home while his father was at war but contributed to the disruption of Māori language across generations. I heard my pōua speaking te reo Māori once when he said a karakia and being told whānau names for our whakapapa knowledge. My father's recollection of language and culture is muttonbirds being sent to my pōua each year and these were kept in the fridge. He was not able to add further information to our whakapapa. We lived in Christchurch and our relations lived further south. The struggle to use and maintain te reo Māori in the home and civic community continues. The intent is to break this cycle so that my son Kahurangi knows who he is, where he is from and can speak his language. My role in this research is to find a successful pathway for my own whānau and the participants for the regeneration of te reo Māori. The strategies that emerge will assist in this journey to becoming successful Māori/English bilinguals.

Participant one – Te Whe

This participant has a commitment to ongoing te reo Māori development for herself and te reo Māori is spoken in the home, school, after school, socially and in the workplace. There is no English spoken in the home and many friends know English and te reo Māori. There are some whānau members who speak English and Samoan. Te Whe is married and her partner speaks Samoan. Both parents are committed to developing both language identities and are using Baker's (2011) One Parent One Language (OPOL) method of language teaching in the home. Te Whe is speaking te reo Māori and her partner is speaking Samoan. Te Whe has experienced intergenerational language loss and understands the importance of endangered language maintenance for te reo Māori via other committed

friends and work environments. Both parents have also ensured that whānau members understand the importance of language regeneration and speaking the endangered languages. Te Whe's own education was in Christchurch but it was not until secondary schooling that participant one became involved in a reo Māori immersion environment. This presented positive Māori identity development but also some dilemmas with her education when Te Whe changed to mainstream in the seventh form (the final year of secondary school).

Maintaining her reo Māori was one of her challenges as she completed high school, went overseas with her husband and then had her own children. It is her children who revitalised her passion for te reo Māori and a great support network that has allowed maintenance of te reo Māori. Te Whe understands the place of English dominance and development when teaching and using te reo Māori in the home. Te Whe is appreciative of the free te reo Māori courses and her jobs for paying for her te reo Māori courses. She makes the most of these opportunities to continue with the development of her own, her children's and her partner's te reo Māori. Her home environment was destroyed during the earthquakes but the whānau were able to maintain their usual routines due to lots of support through te reo speaking friends, her work environment, her children's educational environments and her whānau commitment to te reo Māori.

Participant two – Waa

Participant two Waa is biliterate and bilingual and is a fluent native speaker of te reo Māori. She has a strong sense of Māori identity, and is comfortable in te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. Waa has an awareness that she has been “lucky” to have been brought up speaking te reo Māori and acknowledges her father for making this happen. She has seen others around her struggling to learn te reo Māori and appreciates the strong role models that she has had in the home. This strength has continued into her own home environment.

This normalised, relaxed, but strong attitude to learning and using te reo Māori has been applied to her own children. The children know to answer in te reo Māori if spoken to in te reo Māori and te reo Pākehā if spoken to in English. Supportive whānau and the passing on of intergenerational knowledge have been the key to wellbeing for this participant, which has enabled her to live as Māori. Her passion for teaching and learning te reo Māori has continued into her career. Waa did have some mixed experiences with her Māori identity during her educational experiences in the Ngāi Tahu region of Christchurch. Her strong sense of Māori identity has enabled her to challenge and overcome disparities.

Participant three – Mere

Participant three Mere was encouraged to use te reo Māori by her mother which has influenced her decision making with her own child and as a single parent. Her mother had to learn te reo Māori as an adult and Mere was sent to some educational environments (kōhanga and whānau class) where her Māori identity was acknowledged, but in other educational environments (intermediate and secondary schools), her Māori identity was a challenge because she encountered discrimination.

Mere understands the importance of intergenerational knowledge being passed on and has completed a course about intergenerational language learning. She is using the OPOL method of language learning (Baker, 2011) in the home environment because it is her understanding that English is all around us and can be learnt elsewhere. She wants her child to be comfortable in te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā and to be a part of her child's early childhood education like her mother was able to do for her. Her educational upbringing was in Christchurch. Mere continues to use te reo Māori in her own career development pathway. After the earthquakes, Mere moved to Australia.

Participant four – Rena

This participant is continuing her own learning journey with te reo Māori and enjoys supporting others to begin learning too. She is committed to supporting and helping out at her school's new bilingual unit. Rena speaks as much te reo Māori as she knows in the home environment. Rena highlighted the importance of learning tikanga and practising Māori values alongside te reo Māori. This aspect has become more significant for her because of the series of earthquakes that have put her home and school environment under stress. Since this time, she has spent less focus on learning te reo Māori and more on relationships and tikanga. This was a change of focus for Rena because this participant was interviewed before the earthquakes and then again after the earthquakes. Before the earthquakes she had continued with her reo Māori development and attended some courses about the intergenerational learning and the passing on of te reo Māori. At this time, the main ingredient she feels is needed, in order to pass on te reo Māori intergenerationally, is that you need to create that environment for yourself. And then again later in the interview Rena is still able to state that she understands the importance of te reo Māori in the home but due to the living and education circumstances in Christchurch at the moment, she now has a different focus.

Participant five – Ruhia

Participant five Ruhia is still learning te reo Māori and uses as much te reo Māori as she can in the home environment. This participant understands the importance of intergenerational language transmission because she has lived in a country that does not speak English and was able to speak an international language due to being immersed daily in that language. In the home she speaks te reo Māori to her children and her husband speaks Swiss German. Her first child attends a bilingual te reo Māori early childhood environment. Another reason why Ruhia knows about intergenerational language is

because of her reo Māori speaking friends and her career enables her to use te reo Māori as well as discuss issues or challenges with her clients. Ngāi Tahu also have a website section called Kotahi Mano Kaika where intergenerational transmission information is provided and she has reviewed the material on this site. After the February earthquakes this participant and her whānau unfortunately left the country. They were going to go back to the home country of the father in the near future but this was moved forward after the February earthquakes. Ruhia was interviewed via Skype™ after the earthquakes. There was a real sense of loss of identity and ability to use te reo Māori due to her move overseas.

Participant six – Maraea

Maraea has definite preferences with regard to bringing her children up with a Māori identity due to her own experiences with tikanga and te reo Māori as she was growing up. Maraea prefers quality teaching and educational environments and also quality te reo Māori being spoken to her children at home and in the educational environments. If quality te reo Māori is not a possibility, Maraea prefers te reo Māori not to be spoken in front of her children but proficient English to be spoken instead. Due to distance away from her work environment and location, Maraea does not send her children to reo Māori educational environments. As one of her children spends time with her father away from the home and he does not speak te reo Māori, then time speaking te reo Māori and socialising with other reo Māori speaking children is more important. When it comes to educational choices, it is cleanliness and the safety of her children that she puts first and then te reo Māori. She also wants her children to have positive Māori identity experiences as she herself did not have these when she was younger or when she was at secondary school. Maraea is following a career path where she can support her own iwi with reo Māori development.

Participant seven – Miria

Participant seven Miria has had many experiences learning te reo Māori and had a mother who encouraged her to learn and follow tikanga Māori. Due to these early experiences, Miria has continued learning te reo Māori and also has followed a career path that has enabled her to use te reo Māori. When she had her own children she continued with her own learning of te reo Māori to a higher level and is only speaking te reo Māori to her children in the home. Her partner is also only speaking te reo Māori. Now that she has two children she believes that language transmission in the home is easier because there is another younger member in the whānau to also speak te reo Māori, as well as to explain differing social and conversation level language use. Due to her work experiences, Miria has a strong understanding of intergenerational language transmission and the associated critical awareness of strategies to use with te reo Māori in the home. Miria has surrounded herself with many support people to help with language use in the home and with educational choices. Quality teachers and quality education is important when it comes to making educational choices. This whānau made a matrix for the transition to schooling options. Their top priority was location, friends, nearness of whanaunga, what policies the school had and the reo Māori and funding level the school had. As a whānau, they were very willing to be involved in supporting the school and observed and asked about the educational philosophies of the school.

Participant eight – Ihaia

Participant eight Ihaia is the partner of Miria and he shares the reo Māori and educational philosophies of his partner. He has had an interesting journey with his own te reo Māori identity as he was born and educated overseas. As an adult he came to New Zealand to find out what being Māori meant. He has returned to his marae to find out about this and visited and discussed his whakapapa with whānau and tribal members living in New Zealand.

Now he has completed several te reo Māori courses and believes the best way he learnt was the immersion environment courses that occurred for about nine weeks. He continues to develop his reo Māori at kura reo and has attended all kura reo in one year. Ihaia has also been to courses about using te reo Māori in the home and intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. This commitment has given him strength to use and speak te reo Māori in the home. Ihaia wants te reo Māori in the home to be normal and not something that you have to go away for.

Analysis of the participants

The participants in this research are all committed to language regeneration and find continuing to learn te reo Māori and participating in activities where they can actively increase their knowledge regarding Māori/English bilingualism an important part of developing their language identity. All participants contribute to the research question *What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children?* through their language loss experiences and the wish to develop their own children's Māori identity. Māori language experiences were mostly not available in their own whānau when they were younger and there was a desire to ensure this did not occur for their own children. Colonisation interrupted all of the language pathways for all of the participants. It is reo Māori though that has brought them together again as well as having children of their own. Having children was a motivation for increasing the use of te reo Māori. The commitment to te reo Māori was the source of Māori identity and formed connections and relationships. Attendance at courses and strong critical knowledges meant both fluent and non-fluent speakers were able to begin regenerating te reo Māori in the home. The more fluent speakers had access to speakers and cultural knowledges which gave them strength and dedication even in times of disaster trauma. There were a variety of backgrounds of fluent speakers from a single parent speaking te reo Māori in the home,

both parents, and one where te reo Māori was spoken and another language besides English. These were all successful ways to be Māori speakers. Some participants were more ambivalent about their ability with te reo Māori, but were dedicated to language regeneration until the pressures of traumatic events or daily life experiences overcame the continued commitment required for speaking te reo Māori in the home. This is when those who were more fluent and had whānau members and strong friendships with other reo Māori speakers found the support to continue with te reo Māori. Those with less whānau support struggled. A good measure of the health of te reo Māori is when it is still regenerated during times of disaster. There is strength in being knowledgeable about te reo Māori and the associated mātauranga alongside this. Participants are vulnerable during the pathway to being Māori/English bilinguals. Being part of a civic society means there are difficulties with language maintenance outside the home and reo Māori friendships. Te reo Māori language identities provide the support required for this journey. The participants' stories demonstrate this.

Conclusion

This chapter has established how Kaupapa Māori research methodologies are a way of supporting and advancing structural changes in policies and procedures that guide the research and outcomes for the participants in Indigenous communities. Kaupapa Māori research is about reflecting upon the researcher's position within the research, the relationship with iwi Māori and who defines and benefits from the research according to mātauranga Māori. As a Māori researcher, Kaupapa Māori best supports the research design and the participants that agreed to be a part of this research.

This research acknowledges the approach of Benham (2007) who looked at narrative inquiry and the way researchers can analyse these influences in their research (Benham, 2007). This also concurs with a Kaupapa Māori approach that ensures mātauranga Māori is

privileged in the research process. This research considers linguistic and cultural protocols for interview techniques and choice of interview contexts was indicated by the participants. The data collection procedures were outlined and ethical procedures followed so that the eight participants could not be identified. Themes were generated from the data using a narrative inquiry approach as there is no one size fits all solution to the data analysis that can be applied—instead, the participant voices establish the themes and Kaupapa Māori principles are followed. Part One of this chapter has outlined and described qualitative research methodology and how Kaupapa Māori research is the most relevant approach for this research. Part Two of this chapter demonstrates how Indigenous narrative inquiry and the research design is the most appropriate method for answering the research question, “What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children?” This main research question also examines how intergenerational transmission occurs and how Māori language identities are created within the whānau contexts of Canterbury. The next chapter focuses on the Benham Indigenous narrative inquiry approach and how this is applied to the ecological aspects of participants’ data.

Chapter Four: Ecological features data and analysis

Introduction

In Chapter Three, the eight research participants were introduced within a narrative inquiry method of data collection. This method best captures the diversity of Māori worldviews because it values Indigenous knowledges, Indigenous narratives, and does not homogenise them to fit a Western worldview (Benham, 2007). The overarching question in this research is, “What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children?” Therefore, the aim of this research is to capture and to ascertain the different experiences of the eight participants and to understand their different language identities and aspirations for their children’s Māori language identities. Their narratives provide the insight inherent in a Kaupapa Māori approach (G. H. Smith, 2012). They reveal the daily lived experiences of people and the socio-political contexts that shape their lives in their local environments.

Drawing on Benham’s (2007) theoretical construct, I asked the question, how does this enable me to theorise the narratives that emerged from the data? The construct allowed me to drill down into the narratives to distil meaning whilst simultaneously drawing on the similarities and patterns of change across the participants’ narratives and worldviews. These patterns generated overarching themes. Those themes are explored across this chapter and in Chapters Five, Six and Seven under the following major headings: (a) Ecological features, (b) Sociocultural features, (c) Institutional features and finally, (d) Interrelationships across ecological, sociocultural and institutional features.

Ecological features

This chapter explores ecological features, and presents the data analysis addressing the following question: How do ecological perspectives impact upon language regeneration?

Table 1 maps the data patterns generating the themes presented for discussion. The discussion begins with an overview of the overarching features and then each of the five themes will be discussed in turn.

Table 1. Ecological themes generated from the data

<i>Ecological Features</i>
<i>1. The impact of policy on intergenerational language loss and identity</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The impact of education and English language assimilation policies on loss • Local and hapū language loss • Language identity, whakapapa and loss • Urbanisation and language loss • Collective trauma, soul wounds and loss
<i>2. The impact of trauma stress on language</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stress factors and speaking te reo Māori • Stress and motivation • Stress and dominant language use • Stress of relocating and lorelessness
<i>3. Earthquake disaster trauma - Impact on language regeneration</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resilience to trauma • Flight, fight or freeze • Psychosocial impacts of trauma • School communities and trauma • Safety
<i>4. Globalisation of the space</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International spaces • Economic and civic language spaces • Australia and te reo Māori
<i>5. Critical awareness</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generation reo • Language theories and language loss in the local area • Own children and support • Timeframe and resource inequities • Pressure to speak te reo Māori

For the purpose of brevity, some of the narratives have been selected and shortened to exemplify, for discussion purposes, the development of each particular theme. In the narratives, there are some words in te reo Māori, the meanings of which are available in the glossary. Ecological features include environmental factors that influence worldviews and culturally appropriate language policies and practices (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Pereltsvaig, 2012; Romaine, 2007; Rosenthal, 2014). The ecological perspective allows me to explore the relationships between people and their environments.

Theme 1: The impact of policy on intergenerational language loss and identity

The history of colonisation in Aotearoa has impacted on the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. It has done this largely through public language policies and in terms of te reo Māori these have been called subtractive policies (García, 2009). Subtractive language policies have contributed to intergenerational language shift from Māori to English (Skerrett-White, 2003) which has resulted in Māori language loss. Intergenerational transmission is the key to the survival of languages (Ferguson, 2006; Fishman, 2001). The long term effects of historical trauma, due to colonisation, have disrupted intergenerational transmission of language and culture (O'Loughlin, 2010; Pihama et al., 2014). Historical trauma has contributed to Māori language loss. Theme 1 has five sub-themes (see Table 1), the first one being the impact of policy.

The impact of education and English language assimilation policies on loss

The forced language shift from te reo Māori to English happened via legislation and the key tool that caused this shift was the education system. The Education Ordinance in 1847 stated that English was the medium of instruction (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011). By the 1890s, Education Department policies allowed the use of corporal punishment for any child caught speaking te reo Māori at school. The main aim was to replace te reo Māori with English by the time children left school (E. T. Durie, 1996; M. Durie, 1996). These

policies were successful (Dalley & Keegan, 2012). According to Benton in 1913, “90 per cent of Māori school children could speak te reo Māori, and by 1953 this had dropped to 26 per cent and then by 1975 it was less than five per cent” (Benton, 1979, cited in Mikaere, 2011, p. 81). The Waitangi Tribunal claim 1986 (Wai 11) corroborates that Māori children were being punished for using te reo Māori. The following three narratives show three different ways that educational policies impacted on the use of te reo Māori in schools and in the home.

Example 1a

Ruhia provides an example of the impact of education policy on the use of te reo Māori in schools from the early to mid 1900s when she recalls hearing about her father not being able to speak te reo Māori at school because he was punished for doing so:

P5 Ruhia: Well my father was bought up as a fluent speaker, so for the first eight years of his life he did speak te reo Māori. However, he is from the generation that got the cane and that, so he stopped and he never spoke it again. So much so that he doesn't pronounce Māori words correctly.

Example 1b

Waa’s narrative includes an example of a father who thought that he was benefiting his whānau by not teaching them te reo Māori. This common belief at this time was promoted in schools (Benton, 1981; Holmes, 1984). Policies indicated that learning Māori would affect children’s ability to speak English. Learning another language was seen as a problem (Baker, 2011; García, 2009; Skerrett, 2012). Waa’s father believed via education policies that learning more than one language was detrimental and that you could only learn one language at a time. Parents were convinced that the future lay with the language and education of the Pākehā so some parents did not speak te reo Māori in the home. This was a survival strategy.

P2 Waa: I'm the youngest of four children. My Dad's first language is Māori, he didn't speak Māori to any of the other three. He was then of the belief that some way it would inhibit their ability to learn English which is quite normal for that time.

Example 1c

The result of educational policies meant that Rena learnt English only and some tikanga, despite her father knowing and using te reo Māori.

P4 Rena: ... so I didn't get to learn te reo Māori much but I knew a lot of things, tikaka Māori in the home, they were just a normal part of life, taking your shoes off, listening to your elders when we go to a hui or a tangi, ia wiki, all the time but reo Māori, not spoken at all.

Local and hapū language loss

Language loss in Te Waipounamu is at a critical stage because of the interruption to intergenerational transmission. There are a low number of speakers of te reo Māori and Ngāi Tahu dialect speaking kaumātua. Ngāi Tahu dialect has few speakers of te reo Māori spoken in the home or in civic society which is required for successful intergenerational transmission. Colonisation meant Ngāi Tahu were highly integrated into mainstream English society and they lost their language quickly. The result of this is Ngāi Tahu reo is in the worst state of all tribes (O'Regan, 2012). When Ngāi Tahu intergenerational te reo Māori does not get transferred, then the language is at a language death stage. As mentioned, Fishman's (2001) GIDS for threatened languages refers to stage eight as being the most severely disrupted that is close to language death whilst stage one is the most secure. The GIDS scale puts intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori at stage six which is a pivotal stage for language survival (Skerrett-White, 2003). According to Fishman (1991), stage six is "the normal language of informal, spoken interaction between

and within the family - is crucial to language maintenance" (p .113). Without this aspect, intergenerational transmission or language maintenance is not possible.

Despite the increase of Ngāi Tahu population, there continues to be a low level of reo Māori speakers. Ngāi Tahu is the third largest iwi overall and only 11.2 percent of Ngāi Tahu can hold a conversation in te reo Māori; that is, they know te reo Māori very well to fairly well (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Te Kupenga, the first survey of Māori wellbeing shows that 56 percent of Ngāi Tahu know no more than a few words or phrases (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). In order for Ngāi Tahu to move from an endangered language status close to language death to being a civic language, language loss needs to be acknowledged at the hapū and iwi level in order for growth and development to occur in the home, community and civic society levels.

Example 1d

Ihaia is a product of this critical loss. During his journey of returning to his cultural roots, he also discovered the far reaching effects of public language policies and language loss. Ihaia grew up in Australia and moved back to New Zealand to start searching his whakapapa. He started at Waitangi and finished his language identity journey at his marae. Ihaia went from Waitangi to the South Island in search of his iwi and hapū. He was unable to find out about his pepeha from his immediate family. Instead, he needed to go to wider whānau and it was the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board and marae that were able to assist with his pepeha and whakapapa.

P8 Ihaia: I knew Ngāi Tahu so therefore the Ngāi and the Kai. So he [te reo Māori speaking person at Waitangi] said Ngāi Tahu and I said yeah I think I'm Ngāi Tahu and he said oh what's your mountain and things like that and I didn't have a clue ...he said you should be down at home, you've got to go home to your uncle and you've got to learn all that before you go into the Māori world; you've got to know where you're from. ...I asked

my uncles and, they said oh we don't know. You have to go to Ngāi Tahu Trust Board. There I met Moana Raniera and he rang up his brother Wīwī who was working at the marae. I drove out there and had lunch out at the marae and they kind of showed me around the marae and things. Told me a few things, showed me the mountain and the river...

Language identity, whakapapa and loss

Successful intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori involves the passing of language to whānau, parents and children via the home, school and community (Chrisp, 2005; Fishman, 2001). Not speaking te reo Māori in the home, school and society became the norm by the 1970s because of public language policy. Under duress and stressful social circumstances, many people stop speaking their language as a survival strategy (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Several participants had parents who stopped speaking te reo Māori as a survival strategy because of public language policies. Ihaia demonstrates the result of the loss of language and whakapapa.

The children of these parents have gone about regaining te reo Māori identities in different ways.

Example 1e

Ihaia talks about the process he went through to regain his te reo Māori identity. His narrative begins as one of loss of identity, including whakapapa and pepeha, and unfolds as a journey of how he overcame this sense of loss. Ihaia discusses how stressful it is to be brought up without a language by using the words “identity crisis”.

P8 Ihaia:...I knew I was Māori but that's all, I didn't know where from or the whakapapa, pepeha or anything so for twenty years of my life I had a bit of an identity crisis because of not really knowing who I was... Mum just knew kia ora and a few things like that but that was about it.

Urbanisation and language loss

Urbanisation of Māori from the 1920s onwards due to the employment situation in New Zealand also had a detrimental effect on intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. Up until the Second World War, there were still high fluency levels in te reo Māori in rural, isolated communities (Parliamentary Library, 2000); however, urbanisation and policies of pepper-potting, was the process of placing te reo Māori speaking people amongst Pākehā monolingual speakers, had dramatic effects upon the use and learning of te reo Māori (Dalley & Keegan, 2012). In the 1960s, the Māori population grew and the movement to the cities for jobs increased. This movement was also about land legislation as there was little access to financial support to develop land. About 70 percent of Māori still lived in the country. In the country spaces te reo Māori was still spoken but when the shift into cities occurred, together with other assimilation policies, in particular in education (L. T. Smith, 2001), te reo Māori became the less dominant language.

Example 1f

The following example of intergenerational knowledge and language loss by Te Whe demonstrates how Te Whe identified the shift from country to town as a space where te reo Māori was lost.

P1 Te Whe: ...my mother was the second oldest and she spoke Māori, Māori was her first language until she was seven and she lived in the country. They shifted to town and when they started to go to school you weren't allowed to, so from then on my nana didn't teach them.

Collective trauma, soul wounds and loss

Both soul wounds and collective trauma have been created by long term colonisation (Lear, 2006; O'Loughlin & Johnson, 2010). Chandler (2014) outlines the following stress factors: sleep deprivation, sensory overstimulation and physical discomfort, fear, dread,

ongoing uncertainty, isolation, grief and incessant pressure due to ongoing threats. These stress factors, if not acknowledged or healed, become entrenched and cause trauma. These are referred to as “soul wounds” and a large group of people experiencing the same dilemmas is called collective trauma. Erikson (1976, cited in O’Loughlin & Johnson, 2010) offers the following definition of collective trauma:

By collective trauma, on the other hand, I mean a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communalism. The collective trauma works its way slowly and even insidiously into the awareness of those who suffer from it, so it does not have the quality of suddenness normally associated with ‘trauma.’ But it is a form of shock all the same, a gradual realization that the community no longer exists as an effective source of support and that an important part of the self has disappeared... (pp. 10–11)

Unprocessed collective trauma is continued through the generations unless healing occurs. Trauma can manifest itself through feelings of loss or lack and are not always self-evident (O’Loughlin & Johnson, 2010).

Example 1g

Mere’s narrative recalls the feeling that her Mum had felt aggravated that her parents did not teach them te reo Māori:

P3 Mere: ... there was something missing. She was a bit down on her parents for not ever teaching her.

Theme 2: The impact of trauma stress on language

Disaster trauma, historical trauma and the effects of colonisation cause stress, which in turn affects social-psychological wellbeing and language transmission. Just as colonisation and assimilation policies interrupt language and cause trauma, earthquake disaster also interrupts language (Martin & Skerrett, 2013). The environment is in a constant state of instability. Language learning is affected by the stories and histories that are handed down across the generations (Medley, 2012). Disaster trauma has also created stories.

Christchurch as a region has experienced historical trauma and the associated stress factors of disaster trauma. Families and communities that are stressed due to trauma need time to heal and education will need to consider their learning needs, in particular how this affects the language learning needs of community members in relation to learning te reo Māori. Medley (2012) says that cultural and linguistic teaching approaches are necessary but that it is also necessary to look at the special needs created by learners' past traumas, as children are products of their ancestors' experiences. Historical loss of language means some are more vulnerable and this continues into disaster trauma experiences. This section looks at the different occurrences and types of stress created by trauma and the impact this has had on the reo Māori environment. Four aspects of stress were identified in the narratives. These were the impact of stress factors and speaking te reo Māori, stress and motivation, stress and dominant language use and the stress of relocation. The narratives of the participants refer to living in this trauma environment and how they have or have not maintained their reo Māori identities.

Stress factors and speaking te reo Māori

During crisis situations, stress factors affect primary language orientation. During high times of stress, body functioning changes and the crisis stress factors such as those caused by earthquakes can cause temporary cognitive processing disabilities. Chandler (2014) lists the following disabilities: reaction times can be different; ability to mentally focus can be inhibited; message overloading can occur; and the general command of vocabulary changes in speech processing, which affects the ability to relay messages. Occasional and unpredictable reversion to a person's first language in speaking, hearing, and thinking can occur (Chandler, 2014). For a second language learner in New Zealand whose first language is English, the default would be to English language (the dominant language) or to the first language for bilingual people.

Example 2a

Ruhia provides an example of stress associated with speaking te reo Māori when she recalls why she left Christchurch and what happened with te reo Māori. She discusses how she reverted to English and stopped using te reo Māori due to the stress of the constant earthquakes upon her personal and whānau health. She had the option to move back to Whitirana because this was where her husband originated from, so this was moved forward. Te reo Māori was not a main priority due to the stressful environment and lack of other supportive reo Māori speaking people in the home.

P5 Ruhia: After the February earthquake, I wasn't coping at all with the kids being upset all of the time especially Rawiri [youngest child] and then I made the decision, 'Let's go back now', and during that time, there was only five weeks between that February 22nd earthquake and us moving back here to Whitirana. The reo was going quick and fast. Very very fast in that time because obviously I was so stressed that I was just speaking English the majority of the time. because it's just so hard to keep up if there is no one around you, if you're not in the environment.

Stress and motivation

Stress means learners are less likely to be motivated to learn and speak te reo Māori. Krashen (1981, 1982) proposed that the “affective filter”, comprising the learner’s motivation, self-confidence and anxiety, was the most important factor in second language acquisition. This affective filter acts as a barrier to language learning and when the filter is up during times of stress, the person learning te reo Māori would be unmotivated, lacking in confidence, or concerned with failure. The stress indicators referred to in the previous section by Chandler (2014) would mean that in times of trauma, the affective filter would be up. When the filter is down and the learner is not anxious, they are willing to become a member of the group speaking the language (Du, 2009). The motivation to learn te reo

Māori is to be part of the group speaking the language. Group membership is part of language identity and some learners are “integratively motivated” to learn a language, meaning they feel an affinity for the language and culture. This is similar to intrinsic motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1982).

In contrast, “instrumental motivation” is where people primarily want to learn a language for practical reasons, such as work, overseas travel or institutions where languages are part of the learning requirements. This is similar to extrinsic motivation. It has been shown to be less powerful in language learning success (Rifai, 2010). In times of stress, te reo Māori relationships and collective Māori values, in particular manaakitanga and tikanga, became more important, rather than continuing the journey of using and learning te reo Māori. Collective relationship support is important in times of stress and trauma but in emergency situations it is te reo Māori that gets put on hold.

Example 2b

In these next two examples, Rena reflects on what happened to her motivation for learning and speaking te reo Māori in the home since the onset of the earthquakes. The stress factors referred to in the section on stress factors and speaking te reo Māori by Chandler (2014) are evident in her narratives as well as the return to dominant language use. Rena refers to the feeling of being lost without her te reo Māori identity. For her, the place is lost because the language is not there. She discusses her own health and wellbeing when she says she is “exhausted and worn out” and that she needs to keep using and learning te reo Māori in the home because it will be lost. She creates her own form of resilience by living her Māori values but is also aware she needs te reo Māori.

P4 Rena: Resilience and change are words that I use too commonly. Just when you think you don't have any more you need to create that resilience and respond and you get tired and exhausted and worn out from doing all that... You don't really think about that knock

on effect and I don't really think about it because if I did, I would probably be very depressed... cos you switch off, you're in survival mode and I don't really like to dwell on things too much.

Example 2c

In this example, Rena refers to her ability to continue learning te reo Māori and the stressful environment she is living in. It is here that she shares her own whakataukī to explain about learning and speaking te reo Māori, likening her use of te reo Māori to a kiwi bird with its wings (the kiwi is a flightless bird, so it has wings but they are not used).

P4 Rena: Well not bad, I mean it has come to a halt [reference to learning te reo Māori] ... what all these earthquakes keep reminding me again and again and again is that I can go do all the courses in the world but if I'm not speaking it in the home, if I do not talk it in the home like it's a natural part of who we are, then it will be like the kiwi bird with its wings...

Stress and dominant language use

Support in acquiring new communicative language and vocabulary for traumatic situations and developing supportive relationships during times of stress is required to enable te reo Māori to be spoken in times of stress. Language loss through colonisation has meant that language associated with emotional feelings and trauma have been ignored. Dominant languages and cultural ways of being have been acquired instead to describe the traumatic situation. It is not only language that is lost through colonisation, there is also a lack of cultural knowledge to explain aspects to do with the land and place and space for learning that language. Feelings of sadness, anger and not knowing why this is so, due to stressful circumstances that can only be explained in the dominant language rather than bilingually. When language is learnt in the home or community by emergent bilinguals, the language associated with explaining trauma or language associated with explaining stress has not

necessarily been taught. Explicit learning of language forms in a multitude of contexts is an important part of language acquisition (Ellis, 2006; Gordon, 2011).

Example 2d

Te Whe discusses the need for more te reo Māori knowledge, in times of stress, to talk things through with her children. She expresses her feelings of inadequacy speaking te reo Māori during the stressful times of the earthquakes. Te Whe refers to returning to her dominant language in times of crisis and trauma.

P1 Te Whe: ...That's probably one of my limitations in the reo is being able to expand on it and explain things. I definitely use English commands that sort of thing when I'm busy, tired, or stressed.

Stress of relocating and lorelessness

Language and culture is interrupted through *lorelessness* because in traumatised populations, lore collapses, which causes stress (Atkinson, 2002). Lorelessness refers to a lack of cultural and language identity through not having access to the stories about place and access to the people who are able to explain and tell these intergenerational stories to create safe relationships. Wisdom and knowledge is transmitted through practical teachings across generations (Atkinson, 2002); however, colonisation has interrupted these relationships and traditional knowledges. Earthquake disaster trauma creates further lorelessness due to people relocating to get away from the trauma. The relationships and feelings of safety associated with lore that connect people to a spiritual essence of who they are, in the place and environment they connect with, is lost and without this structure they collapse into *lorelessness* (Atkinson, 2002). Isolation through relocating and the associated stress of this creates further feelings of loss and *lorelessness*.

Ruhia and Rena are emergent bilinguals. They experienced te reo Māori identity loss and feelings of isolation and stress during the earthquake period. When Ruhia left the country

due to earthquake stresses, she had been healing her own knowledge of her whakapapa; however, she is now reflecting on the lorelessness she is now experiencing due to disaster trauma. Ruhia is not able to recall whakapapa and the associated tikanga and stories that make the connections to Māori language identity.

Example 2e

Ruhia refers to these aspects in her narrative when she discusses how the earthquakes had affected her. By this time Ruhia had moved overseas. This narrative demonstrates the feeling of loss that the disaster trauma created and the stresses that caused language and culture not to be used. Ruhia's narrative is also an example of collective trauma as she realises she has lost the support of her reo Māori community.

P5 Ruhia: ... But who am I? What is that to me now? I don't feel very connected to my roots and culture, that was such a journey for me my seven years at home in New Zealand. I actually find it really hard now. There's lots of tikanga that I know the do's n don'ts about for different things but I don't really know the legends and I can't tell them the reason why it is this when it comes to Te Ao Māori and that makes me sad, that I'm not really knowledgeable of my own culture. Becoming connected in New Zealand, I was learning more and feeling more me and now I'm feeling a little bit disconnected.

Theme 3: Earthquake disaster trauma – Impact on language regeneration

The recent devastating Christchurch earthquakes 2010–2012, as well as the continuing earthquakes and rebuild aftermath, have created trauma in the community of Christchurch. Current research suggests this disaster trauma could be intergenerational and research continues in this area (Gluckman, 2012; Liberty, Mutch, & Macfarlane, 2014). Disaster trauma in Christchurch has had a negative effect on using te reo Māori for the emergent bilinguals in this research but has also had a regenerative effect on the reo Māori language landscape. The coming together of the Māori community during the disaster period to

support the Christchurch community using cultural knowledges, values and practices resulted in increased engagement and collaboration between iwi, local authorities and government (Kenney, Phibbs, Paton, Reid, & Johnston, 2015). The draft Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) recovery strategy plan, in consultation with Ngāi Tahu, has asked for the “expression and interpretation of Ngāi Tahu reo (language), kawa (protocol), tikanga (customs), matauranga (knowledge), history, identity, cultural symbols, arts and heritage. This would include te reo Māori signage and markers throughout the city” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011, p. 8). Movement forward with this plan is slow, however this begins the process of returning lore to the land. The participants in this research continue to nurture their own te reo Māori contexts and language environments amongst their own earthquake disaster circumstances.

The *psychosocial* (i.e., psychological, emotional, social and spiritual) effects of disaster trauma require healing before the regeneration of culture and language can occur. Psychosocial support fosters resilience in the community and individual resistance to traumatic events to assist with the resumption of normal life. Iwi Māori have continued to resist colonisation practices in Aotearoa and have found places and spaces to reclaim te reo rangatira and mātauranga Māori to live as Māori. The regeneration of the language space in Christchurch is an important part of this resistance process to trauma but so is the continued learning and speaking of te reo Māori. The long term effects of disaster trauma upon language and children are only just being felt. Some recent research on the language of five year olds in Christchurch schools shows an increase in children entering school with low levels of oral language (Harris, 2013) due to earthquake trauma and stress. Further research is being undertaken in this field. According to Liberty et al. (2014), earthquake disaster trauma can have long term effects on the cognitive, emotional, social, physical and cultural development for children and adults causing post-traumatic stress

disorder due to the stress of home dislocation, insurance battles, job uncertainties, and relationship troubles, all alongside the physical threat of earthquakes (Liberty et al., 2014). These aspects affect language identities. This section focuses on the different reactions and psychosocial aspects of earthquake disaster trauma and the impact this has had on the reo Māori environment. The narratives of the participants refer to living in this earthquake disaster trauma environment and how they have or have not maintained their reo Māori identities.

Resilience to trauma

Emergent bilinguals are vulnerable in disaster situations due to lack of lore and knowledge of language to explain the physical and emotional aspects of earthquake disaster, whereas those with strong use of te reo Māori in the home were able to acknowledge earthquake trauma and had better resilience moving forward with their te reo Māori. Strong bilingual speakers of te reo Māori had strong community support and other te reo Māori role models, enabling a community of support which supports stronger psychosocial resilience. In the next two examples, Maraea and Te Whe recall what their whānau were able to do during the earthquakes.

Example 3a

Unlike those living in other parts of Christchurch, Maraea did not have the stress of being responsible for house or land repairs. She was able to continue with schooling, her usual living arrangements, and use of te reo Māori.

P6 Maraea: Earthquakes haven't really affected us. Just normally speaking, our house is fine, both of the children's schools are fine, where I work is fine, like no earthquake damage, no disruption. If anything it's kind of given us another kaupapa that we can talk about because in terms of an earthquake, we talk about Ruāumoko and all those kind of things. It's actually been a really good opportunity for us – even the other Māori whānau I

know who are speaking te reo Māori in their homes have used it as an opportunity to introduce those stories and actually have an experience of who Ruāumoko is as opposed to reading a book.

Example 3b

Because Te Whe maintained her usual routines during the earthquakes, she also coped with the psychosocial aspects presented by her children, even though she lost her house. She was able to do this because her children's schools were not damaged. The transition to primary school was different, however, due to a house shift. She discusses the home environment and the importance of routine and other reo Māori speaking support whānau during the time of stress which contributed to her children's resilience.

P1 Te Whe: during and after the earthquakes, our children were still going to their Samoan and Māori preschools and the kids weren't too affected by the earthquakes and they just continued to go and were very happy. We didn't notice any changes there with them. The family and our home were affected in that we had to move from our area. ... We were actually progressing with attending whānau hui and looking at house developing and that type of thing.

Flight, fight or freeze

Nathan Mikaere-Wallis (2011) argues that everyone is programmed differently to react during periods of high stress and trauma. These reaction times are termed "flight, fight and freeze". Seventy-five percent of people will freeze in stressful situations, 15 percent will take flight and want to get away from the stressful situation as soon as possible, and 10 percent will fight, that is, they will stay and manage to function to keep themselves and others safe. According to Perry (1999), all areas of the brain are involved in the "fight or flight" response (also known as fight, flight, freeze or acute stress response), enabling individuals to respond quickly to threatening situations. However, because so many areas

of the brain are involved in this response, traumatic events impact the brain in a pervasive and profound fashion. Mere and Ruhia left the country due to the earthquakes and I was unable to complete a follow up interview with Mere. Some of the teachers in Christchurch schools left during the earthquakes. Moving away from the stressful situation was beneficial psychologically for those who left. The next examples illustrate the different reactions of flight, fight or freeze by speakers of te reo Māori to the stress of the earthquakes and what happens to those who stay in the trauma environment.

Example 3c

Miria provides an example of one of her children's teachers leaving and the consequences for those who stayed behind. There is some research that suggests that there are negative long term effects for children if leaving a support network behind (McCrone, 2014). Miria recalls the anxiety that her children felt during the earthquakes and the stress. Miria was able to stay in Christchurch and keep her whānau safe.

P7 Miria:... so we picked out Kura Poikiri [referring to the school she had chosen for her child] and then the earthquakes happened and the ahuatanga o te kura or the reo rua kind of structure changed because of the earthquakes. The school went from three classrooms to two classrooms. One of the teachers was lost. She didn't pass away she just...left suddenly so then it was a redistribution of the classes between two teachers rather than three teachers.

Example 3d

Ihaia discusses what they did about earthquake stress and found that storying assisted with alleviating anxiety. Returning to the place the child associates with the trauma and providing some healing practices through storying related to the environment worked well with his children. Medley (2012) says for healing to begin, victims must live in a safe environment and believe their lives are no longer under threat (Hart, 2007; Yoder, 2005,

cited in Medley, 2012). This is more difficult to complete when there is a period of two years of earthquakes and aftershocks. Therefore, learning stories about the area and the atua, that is, the physical and spiritual aspects of language, are required for explanations of why earthquakes occur and returns lore and traditional knowledges to the land.

P8 Ihaia: ... Not one rū whenua woke them up except the February one. That was when Mahara actually got a bit of anxiety for a few nights, only night things from dreaming... She went back to Kōhungahunga but she didn't want to go back. But tino mōhio inaianei.... so they fully know all about Ruāmoko. Manutiria wrote that little ditty [person who wrote a rhyme about the earthquake] and we taught it.

Example 3e

Ruhia is an example of the flight aspect of stress during earthquake trauma. She left the country due to the earthquakes and had also previously experienced historical trauma. Due to both types of trauma she is now experiencing a significant loss of her Māori identity, including language due to earthquake trauma. She laments the fact that she does not have any speakers of te reo Māori around her now. The land and houses around where Ruhia used to live were significantly damaged. This extract refers to the changes and loss she has experienced because of this.

P5 Ruhia: If you're not in with like-minded people using the same language, it just goes very quickly and it's only now, that I'm making a conscious effort again to just bring back some basic stuff with the children, some basic commands and some small sentences and more kupu so it's good but it's hard, it's very hard work.

Psychosocial impacts of trauma

From a psychosocial perspective, developing self, whānau, community and institutional efficacy is part of the process for recovery and developing resilience from trauma (Britt, Carter, Conradson, Scott, Vargo, & Moss, 2012). These same psychosocial aspects of

resilience reflect the resilience developed by Māori living with the long term effects of colonisation. Returning to normalisation with te reo Māori is part of the recovery process for participants in this research. Children of all ages are strongly affected by the responses of their parents and other caregivers during trauma. “Protecting” children by sending them away from the scene of the disaster, thus separating them from their loved ones for extended periods, can add to the trauma (Gluckman, 2012).

Research completed by Liberty, Mutch and Macfarlane (2014) on the effects of quake stress on five year olds indicates that the long term effects could be serious. The researchers say a generation of children may be carrying around the unprocessed trauma of the Canterbury earthquakes. This is very similar to the long term effects of language loss discussed by O’Loughlin (2009b) where he refers to classrooms being filled with “silent ghosts” (p. 144). He refers to tapping into the unconscious knowledge and ancestral lore to begin the healing process. Sonja Macfarlane (2014) in her research with Libery and Mutch suggests that Māori children are faring better psychologically in regard to trauma of the Canterbury earthquakes because of the closer support of whānau and a spiritual approach that makes more sense to the very young. Macfarlane says the earthquakes are explained to children in a human context, not as a lesson in plate tectonics (Liberty et al., 2014). The participants in this research also discussed with their children the stories associated with Ruāumoko in order to assist their children’s understanding of the earthquakes. The use of Māori values and the collective to provide support demonstrates the importance of language and identity during trauma and healing. The psychosocial impacts of the earthquakes are far reaching, as shown in the following narrative of Ruhia about her children.

Example 3f

Ruhia remained calm during the earthquakes but it is the reactions of her children during the earthquakes and after she left that indicates her children have some of the psychosocial issues referred to above that need to be healed.

P5 Ruhia: Rawiri [son] He was just screaming and holding onto me for dear life and he did that every time we had an aftershock. He was in terror....terrorised. Hana [daughter] was always playing it cool, although when there was an aftershock, she was always screaming and running too. And then when we left [the family moved abroad], anything that is a big banging sound anything that sounds like that, full on thunder, they go into that fright mode. It's scarred them somewhat. Hana started drama last year and they were doing scary jungle noises and with the drums and all of that and all of a sudden, Hana just had a breakdown and no-one could get through to her, or could understand what was going on. I said "Well for Hana, that's a terrifying sound that reminds her of earthquakes".

School communities and trauma

Community wide stressors like earthquakes affect large numbers of people simultaneously which results in a depletion of communal coping resources. This also reduces the community's ability to protect its members. Schools are part of the community support network. Schooling became an important routine during the disaster period after many schools were closed as parents wanted their children to be near each other and to keep a sense of normality. Parents felt the need to protect and have their children nearby particularly during the two years of aftershocks. Forecast changes to schools by the Ministry of Education due to land, earthquake and population change added to the trauma for Te Whe and their communities. Incorrect information about the type of schooling and achievement levels of schools that lost high numbers of children were looked at by the

Ministry. Although there were low numbers of bilingual options for te reo Māori in Christchurch, combining schools was a government money saving venture rather than an interest in maintaining bilingual options.

Example 3g

Te Whe refers to the lack of correct information about schools available to the Ministry. Decisions were based on incorrect information and communities that were already stressed due to the earthquakes found themselves defending their community schools as well.

P1 Te Whe: We've been quite concerned. ERO came through to Kura Kunekune recently and the bilingual unit just shined, but the information they were going on in terms of the merge proposal is old information and very wrong. Wrong about buildings. Wrong about numbers of enrolled students.

Safety

The earthquakes changed the reo Māori environment to one where being close to whānau was the priority rather than bilingual education. The earthquakes changed parents' perceptions about where to send their children to school and included being near your children to keep them safe. The whole ecological environment, that is both physically and mentally, did not feel safe.

Example 3h

Waa was secure in her home environment during the quakes and with te reo Māori because, as she puts it, they have “intergenerational te reo Māori”. The concern for Waa was the physical safety of her children because they were in different schools across town, so during the earthquakes she kept them at home. Waa also recalls what happened with the children at her school during the time of the earthquakes and what parents did. Some children went “up north” to be with whānau but the different ages of family members meant that children went to different schools. Waa knows that there are not many te reo

Māori speaking schools in Christchurch, and recalls that those formerly in reo Māori speaking schools found themselves in English medium schools to be near other whānau members for safety reasons. According to Waa, this was also because some of the older children in whānau were not fluent in te reo Māori. This is another example of te reo Māori not being spoken in stressful situations, and the whānau collective keeping children safe. Bilingual priorities lessen when there is a disaster situation. Te reo Māori is in a constant state of instability in environments dominated by English language.

P2 Waa: We've actually lost quite a few kids to schools in Christchurch just so they can be with their older siblings in case there's another earthquake. Those who have moved away from Christchurch are certainly coming straight back but those that are still in Christchurch, do not want to split families up. ...They have got to do what's right for them. They've got grandparents in the North Island saying 'No, don't take my moko'.

Theme 4: Globalisation of the space

Neoliberalism, or the drive to extend the free market and capital investment into communities previously not administered in this way, and the globalisation of dominant cultural ways of being (Bargh, 2007), have changed Māori worldview spaces. New Zealand as a place was once isolated and remote but now due to globalisation is increasingly interconnected to other languages and places. This changes the space and place for Māori language identity. As one Native American, Darryl Babe Wilson, quoting his aunt Gladys said, “We must know the white [man’s] language to survive in *this* world. But we must know our language to survive *forever*” (Hinton, 1994, p. 234).

Dominant cultural ways of being respond to the economic market which uses a dominant international language—English—at the expense of Māori language. Te reo Māori should be used as a language of the economy. Te reo Māori the Indigenous language has been colonised by English language. Darryl Babe Wilson in the quote above (Hinton, 1994, p.

234) refers to the need to hold onto your own language in a world dominated by the coloniser. The perceived wisdom of the dominant culture into the ways of the free market and capitalism was seen as a way of civilising Indigenous cultures and languages. Māori language was relegated to a secondary position through colonisation but continues to be in this secondary position. Land and culture were often viewed as obstacles in the way of the free market in times of early colonisation and this view continues today (Ritchie, Skerrett, & Rau, 2014). The emerging narratives indicate that being global citizens has influenced the way participants think about the economy, dominant international languages, monolingualism versus bilingualism and the change of spaces to engage their Māori language identity. Going overseas seems to clarify understanding of their own language identity base. This section discusses the changed spaces for learning and using te reo Māori and the influence of globalisation upon Māori language identity.

International spaces

The influences of multilingual and multimodal global communicative network practices around the world (García, 2009) have made New Zealanders aware of the benefits of learning more than one language. In other international countries, speaking and learning more than one language is the norm. Learning another language in the New Zealand education system is not yet compulsory despite te reo Māori being an official language of New Zealand. Some of the participants have lived overseas and been in countries where no English is spoken. This experience has reminded them about the importance of their own culture and language. The next two examples show how knowing and learning other languages has opened participants' minds to the benefits of learning and speaking another language. The influence of international experiences like living overseas for sport or work reasons, power languages in economies, overseas student exchange scholarships and

communication internationally using the varieties of social media are adding to parents' knowledge about the benefits of learning languages.

Example 4a

Ruhia and her husband have lived overseas. Ruhia discusses how her husband felt about learning te reo Māori and she refers to the fact that because he was born overseas he had not been brought up monolingually. His attitude towards languages was different because monolingualism was not his understanding of the cultural way of the world. He already knew about the benefits of learning another language because of his own linguistic experiences. Romanov was happy for his children to be immersed in te reo Māori and he began learning te reo Māori himself.

P5 Ruhia: I generally make most of the decisions about language and education, and I discuss it with Romanov. ... Romanov is from Huiterangi. They have four national languages so he's used to being immersed in a lot of different languages, so to him it's a natural decision and progression for her. He wants her [referring to their first child] to be immersed as much as possible in Māori.

Example 4b

In the next example, Waa discusses her pride in her children being able to speak te reo Māori and learning international languages at school and then being able to use these skills in the global job market.

P2 Waa: Taoka is doing five languages at the moment at Whiringa ki Tawhiti, Japanese, Chinese, Spanish, Māori and English. ... Taoka he has applied for a scholarship for AFS next year. Five months in Japan. His goal is to live in Japan because he creates comics which are inspired by manga which is Japanese comics and he's completed his application and everything so he wants it.

Economic and civic language spaces

Globalisation, specifically power languages in economies, has enabled some of the participants to understand the importance of a language being a civic language (Ritchie et al., 2014; Stephens, 2014a; Tai Ahu, 2012). Being able to use the language of the country in civic and public places internationally, in particular where there is no English spoken, has led to a desire for this to happen in New Zealand. As a civic language in daily use, the language is learnt quickly in order to survive socioculturally and economically. The benefits of being immersed in the language increases the use of the language which supports reo Māori development in the home, school and community. This also maintains the link to language and the environment. Using te reo Māori in the local region means that the local knowledge, including traditional ecological knowledge, is built in to the learning and understanding of the region (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013).

Example 4c

These next two narratives refer to moving overseas because of work commitments and the thinking about learning te reo Māori that started to occur. Te Whe's perspective was that as she immersed herself in the languages of the country she was living in, she lost the reo Māori she had learnt. But as a consequence of this, Te Whe also learnt about the benefits of being surrounded in the language you are speaking. Parents want their children to be global citizens as well as knowing their own language identity.

P1 Te Whe: Eru and I went to live in Wīwī in 2004 so I stopped speaking te reo Māori. I worked out that I had just finished one of the courses at Kuratini when we went over. I was getting to that nice level of feeling like I was getting into some flash Māori some difficult stuff. We went over there and we picked up French and Italian and I never thought I would but we did. That was three years overseas and after learning French and struggling with

that we went over to Italy and picked up that because it is similarly structured. Both come from Latin languages so it was similar. I felt like I had totally lost Māori.

Example 4d

Te Whe comments further about the neglect of Māori language when she learnt the language of the economies she was living in. At the same time though she learnt the importance of an immersion environment for learning languages due to the short time it took to learn a new language.

P1 Te Whe: Just a huge overload in my head. Amazing because by then I'd been studying Māori for roughly ten – twelve years and had only just started getting to a stage where I thought I could have conversations. Whereas when we were in France it only took us six months to get to the same level of proficiency, because we had to.

Australia and te reo Māori

There are many Māori living in Australia. A study completed by Kukutai and Pawar (2013) based on the Australian census information in 2011 showed that, “In 2011, 6.3 per cent of Māori living in Australia spoke te reo at home, slightly higher than the 5.7 per cent recorded in 2006” (p. 8.) This is an additional 2,788 speakers. The number of reo speakers born in New Zealand was higher than Māori born in Australia (Kukutai & Pawar, 2013). Māori living overseas wish to maintain their connection to Māori culture and language identity. Mere has another view about te reo Māori and globalisation which is to take te reo Māori to where the people are. Mere discusses the economic opportunity to use te reo Māori in Australia by starting up her own kōhanga reo.

Example 4e

Mere decided she was going to move to Australia to open a kōhanga because there were so many Māori over there and she enjoyed speaking te reo Māori overseas and saw this as an educational business opportunity. The kōhanga reo model for learning endangered

languages has been used successfully by Hawaiian educationalists (Hinton & Hale, 2001; May, 1999; Nettle & Romaine, 2000) and Mere thought she would be able to do this in Australia.

P3 Mere: There's so many Māori [people] over there and there's going to be a big demand for kōhanga. They only have two hours a week at one place that I know of and I've been researching it hard out, they have kapahaka and community centres and stuff like that, but there isn't an actual kōhanga opened yet. If I can open one and make the world Māori... make the world Māori and start with the kids.

Theme 5: Critical awareness

Critical awareness of language is about understanding the interrelationship of social, political, ecological and ideological aspects of learning a language. Knowing the history of place and the local language learning environment (Pennycook, 2010) is an important part of critical awareness. This assists with understanding Māori language loss and the effects upon the next generations learning te reo Māori. European people colonised New Zealand and therefore changed the reo Māori language environment. Their crops and animals annexed the landscape (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). European diseases also spread amongst the Māori population (Hanham, 2003). This caused a loss of population and Māori reinterpreted traditional belief systems in order to adapt to introduced disease (Hanham, 2003). There was an ecological and biological transformation of the environment. This in turn changed the language environment. Understanding the ecological language impact of this upon language revitalisation in our communities is another important part of critical awareness. Edwards and Ratima (2010, cited in Peters, 2014) argue that “knowing what to do” in terms of language revitalisation and community development is an important part of critical awareness, but there is also a need to “understand the root causes of language loss” (pp.216-217). Critical awareness is the basis of the “Generation reo” programme

developed for Ngāi Tahu iwi (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, 2008a) to encourage families to speak te reo Māori in the home. Knowing how to raise bilingual tamariki and why it is important to do this is the goal for this programme. This programme and resources enable parents to have critical awareness. There are further te reo Māori courses and programmes to understand the root causes of language loss and how Ngāi Tahu reo is mapped onto the land.

This section looks at the strategies and choices that parents made once they had some information in terms of “knowing what to do” about learning languages and concludes with a discussion about local critical awareness programmes. Participants know te reo Māori is endangered and further learning about critical issues enable participants to understand the language learning environment. The need for action, that is getting iwi on board to learn te reo Māori, is a main concern in iwi revitalisation efforts.

Generation reo

The Ngāi Tahu reo development team have held courses about how to raise your child bilingually and have a website that looks at promoting intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, 2008a). Five participants in this research recall and understand the importance of passing on te reo Māori and refer to the information learnt in these courses as important to their understanding of raising their children bilingually (see appendices). They all concur about the importance of understanding “what to do” to raise children bilingually.

Example 5a

Ihaia discusses the importance of te reo in the home in promoting intergenerational transmission.

P8 Ihaia: ... it took one generation with my taua, two generations to lose it so it's just with our own hard work of learning the language; I mean with studies that we know it takes at

least three to get it back. It has to be transmitted in the home, you can't learn just in the classroom. If you don't have the reo in the home it's just too hard to transfer.

Language theories and language loss in the local area

Fishman's (1991) theory of reversing language shift and GIDS for threatened languages is a tool that enabled Ngāi Tahu to identify the severity of language loss and to develop a long term language revitalisation strategy. The next three examples by Miria and Te Whe refer to how critical awareness about intergenerational language loss is learnt and understood.

Example 5b

Miria refers to critical awareness when she discusses the level of language loss that she learnt about. Language theories can be used and applied by iwi in language regeneration. This assisted Miria with understanding how te reo Māori, in particular Ngāi Tahu language, is endangered and some of the strategies being used by Ngāi Tahu to improve intergenerational transmission.

Example 5c

P7 Miria ...So those courses that she did but we did a lot of that stuff with Joshua Fishman it takes one generation to lose it and three to get it back. The majority, Ngāi Tahu have sat between level zero and one.

Next Miria refers to working for the tribe which enabled her to understand local cultural norms, and the local language environment. This environment was an important part of her critical awareness for intergenerational language learning.

P7 Miria: ...I saw the theory behind the intergenerational language transmission and also the mahi required to do that with language. Working for the tribe, I got an inside view and

then realised also that there's actually very few families, there's very few [speaking te reo Māori in the home].

Example 5d

Te Whe refers to another critical awareness strategy and that is talking to friends who have been to courses. Friends encouraged her to complete courses and to continue with understanding critical awareness. The influence of friends and peers is a useful tool in language revitalisation as not all people read about information or access websites. Critical awareness about intergenerational transmission is spread via interpersonal relationships as well as courses discussing the theories. In this way, theory in action is applied in the community and information about intergenerational language transmission is shared beyond the institution. Critical discussions about intergenerational transmission contribute to use of te reo Māori in the home.

P1 Te Whe: ... before we created this Puna Reo I was part of a group called Kāinga Kōrerorero that never eventuated but I was given all these resources and I think they had a lot to do with the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. ... I'm not a reader but the thing is that I'm surrounded by lots of friends that are doing it that have read the stuff, very academic people who are doing, planning and a lot more than me and I am just really picking up through kōrero I am just picking out a few things that they are doing.

Own children, and support

All of the parents in this research know why te reo Māori is endangered but are at different levels of being able to speak te reo Māori in the home. Further support is required when the realities of speaking te reo Māori in the home become apparent. The experience of those already bringing their children up speaking te reo Māori is a valuable resource for those new to speaking te reo Māori in the home.

Example 5e

Miria provides two examples of the support in the following two narratives.

P7 Miria: It wasn't really until we started to have our own family that that's when we thought about transferring the language to be projected to the next generation of our children. At that point I was semi confident at speaking [te reo Māori] in certain situations but it wasn't till I found out we were pregnant having a baby that I learnt more. It was fortunate at the time I had a group of friends of the same mindset that used te reo as well, either using it or in the same situation myself and they were raising their tamariki with te reo Māori...

Example 5f

Miria's narratives illustrate that she understood "the knowing what to do" component of critical awareness but they also demonstrate that she requires more support to implement what she has learnt. Miria also discusses the realities of applying this knowledge in practice. Once someone starts speaking te reo Māori in the home, the next step is the resourcing and support required to continue speaking it daily. Speaking te reo Māori in the home includes critical awareness of place and the Māori language community environment. Miria discusses how she requires some further resourcing to enable this to happen.

P7 Miria: ... Just how to name all the baby stuff and it was like well kupu hou when you go to university all you do is learn how to say how are you, where are you going, what are you doing, what's for breakfast or something but you don't learn how to change a nappy or how do you say this and say that and all this other words. We made a conscious decision, we knew that it would be hard but there were some examples already out there.

Timeframe and resource inequities

Relying on university taught courses alone for second language learning does not assist with learning and teaching te reo Māori in the home and community. Edwards and Ratima (2010), in the Taranaki Trust Language revitalisation strategy report, state that tutored language learning in institutional contexts focuses on individuals gaining credentials within set timeframes (cited in Peters, 2014). Language is not taught in a communicative style. People cannot always adhere to specific timetables for language and critical awareness learning. These courses do not focus on the importance of the whole whānau as a context for language learning but instead the focus is on individuals and the institution as a business environment. When the course stops, so too does the language learning.

Example 5g

Te Whe expressed disappointment when she was not able to complete all aspects of her critical awareness course. Te Whe refers to this when she talks about how much she knows about intergenerational transmission.

P1 Te Whe: I wouldn't say that I understand it [intergenerational language transmission] too much. Eru and I attended an intro session for a course that was going to go over a period of maybe two or three months and we couldn't participate in the whole programme and so just went to the intro and we just took from it, the few things that we could.

Pressure to speak te reo Māori

Some of the participants are living with what Yellow Horse Brave Heart (2009) refers to as “hypervigilance” where the descendants of collective trauma feel the pressure to live under, fix or undo painful pasts. There is a need to compensate or to make up for the collective trauma. Miria hoped that her children would understand why their parents put so much effort into using, speaking and learning te reo Māori.

Example 5h

Miria and her partner were concerned about the impact of pressure to speak te reo Māori and not English in the home, and the effect this was having upon the children. She was however determined to make life better for their own children as they had missed out speaking te reo Māori in the home.

P7 Miria: ...there's a lot at stake and I don't know if the expectations that we put on our kids that we possibly put a lot more pressure on them. I see what other children of the same age are looking like... they've having a bit more fun maybe with some things. But then I know in the long term hopefully they'll look back at it and say hey Mum and Dad made a lot of sacrifices that was their first language.

Critical understanding of the importance of intergenerational transmission was referred to by all participants and their sources included attending courses, readings, Te Puni Kokiri resources, other parents bringing their children up speaking te reo Māori, friends, and viewing material on websites in particular the Kotahi Mano Kaika website and generation reo. These critical resources seem to be a vital component for gaining a good understanding as to why historical trauma and intergenerational language loss occurred and how language is connected to the ecological environment.

Summary of ecological themes

The first part of this chapter has outlined the types of intergenerational loss and the associated aspects of trauma that have influenced the lives of whānau and their decisions to speak te reo Māori. Benham's (2007) model has enabled me to generate themes from the data according to ecological themes. There are overarching themes of loss, stress, trauma and globalisation which are all environmental factors influencing language identities across the generations. Psychosocial aspects have long term effects upon whānau language environments across the generations. In order to move forward in global and economic

spaces, it is important that all whānau members understand how historical aspects impact on their current te reo Māori identities. In light of this data description, I have developed a model to summarise and synthesise these findings, which is introduced in the discussion and analysis section.

Discussion: Ecological features

‘Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori’. The language is the heart and soul of the mana of Maoridom. Sir James Henare (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

Living as Māori means being able to access and use te reo Māori within any context in New Zealand, in order for successful intergenerational transmission to occur. What success looks like will be different for each whānau and each iwi Māori due to the differing experiences of loss and support with revitalisation strategies. The data showed resilience in the face of adversity. Resilience involves continuous change and movement towards having stronger Māori language identities, the final result being intergenerational te reo Māori. The data show that the environment we live in has a direct impact on intergenerational te reo Māori.

In this research I draw together the ways in which participants encountered using, speaking and living with te reo Māori in their daily lives as whānau, hapū, iwi and community members. This analysis looks at what the narratives can tell us about the ways in which language identities are developed and also how ecological perspectives impact upon language regeneration.

The dilemmas and successful strategies that participants used for revitalising te reo Māori in times of trauma were also identified. These strategies promote distinct Māori language and cultural identity. One strategy was discernment which influenced the choices and aspirations which adult participants made for their own whānau. For the purposes of language regeneration, whānau is used here in the broadest sense; whānau connected

through “whakapapa” (genealogy) and “kaupapa” (philosophy). Participants made connections with both their immediate whānau members as well as community and wider iwi members who had a kaupapa of using and learning te reo. This is another strategy - to realign whānau obligations and commitments based on te reo Māori aspirations. Whānau continually realigned themselves between genealogical whānau and philosophical whānau. Exploring the participants’ passion and dedication in the development of their te reo Māori identities in the context of whānau and alongside their children while living in the interface between te ao Māori, te ao Pākehā, te ao whānui (Durie, 2004) is central to this thesis. I argue that the participants’ strategies of resilience and resistance to intergenerational loss and trauma gained strength through building language identities and language relationships in the community and institutions. These help to increase the “mana” or the value of learning and using te reo Māori for intergenerational Māori bilingualism. Participants are shaping a new view of Māori bilingualism, through Māori values of manaaki and mana enhancing practices, in spite of colonisation.

Benham’s (2007) Indigenous narrative analytical model provides a useful tool to explore the relationships between ecological, sociocultural and institutional aspects contained in the data section. It is a useful tool because it provides a framework through which to theorise the features of the intergenerational retention and transmission of knowledge through language. The data themes in this research framework are combined to produce a new model, made up of four distinct parts. Those parts are introduced in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven, culminating in the final, fuller model in the concluding chapter.

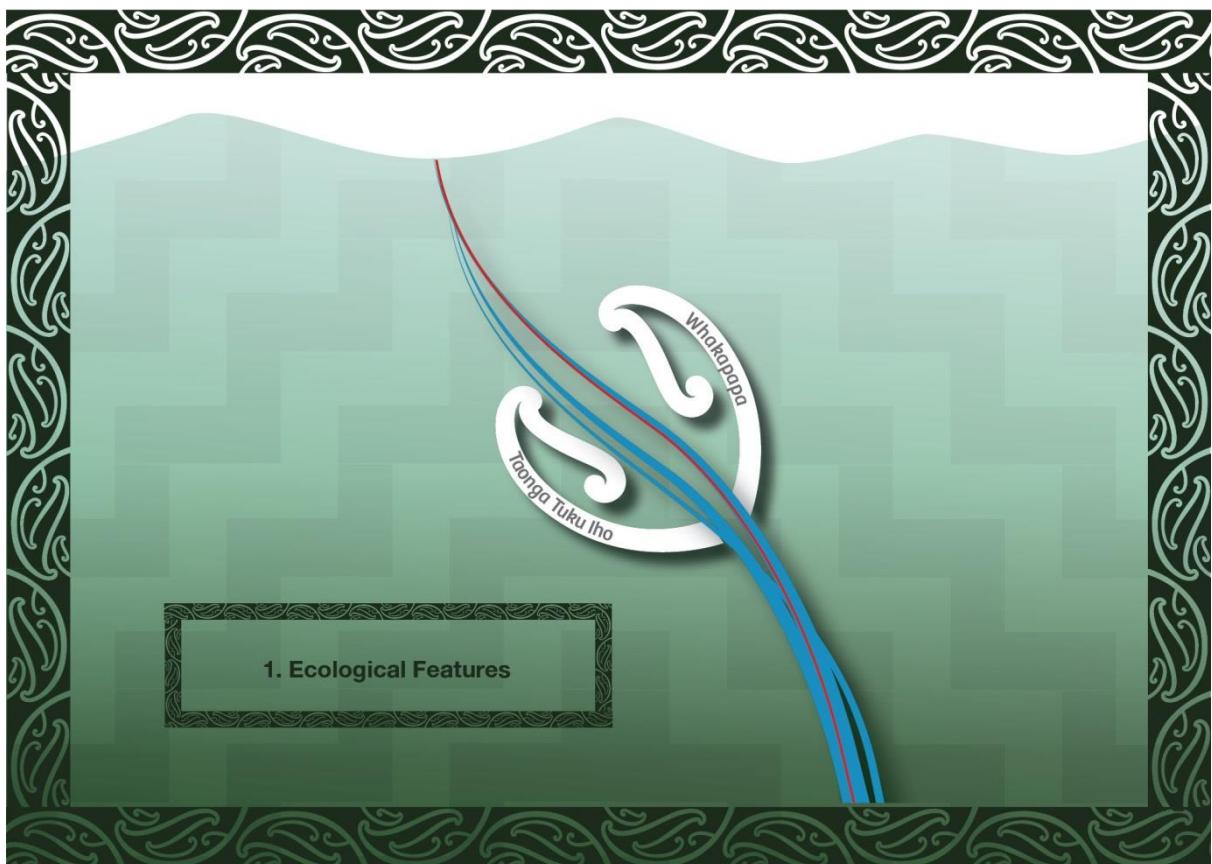
I now introduce the first part of this model (see Figure 2), showing the ecological features which impact upon the nature of language identities and relationships. There are two elements to this part of the model: *Taonga tuku iho* and *Whakapapa*. *Taonga tuku iho* looks at intergenerational trauma and how the participants mediate that trauma.

Whakapapa connects the dots between Māori Indigenous knowledge (centred on land) and its relationship to identity.

Figure 2. Ecological features

Model: Part 1

A whakapapa of Māori/English bilingualism



Ecological features: Taonga tuku iho and whakapapa

In this section, I discuss further the first part of the AWOB model (A Whakapapa Of Bilingualism) and then analyse the five themes generated from the major theme “ecological features”. The ecological features theme looks at the unique way Māori language and cultural identity is established according to historical, critical knowledge and whakapapa aspects in the context of Christchurch. Ecological features are about language relationships to the environment (which includes the psychological, political, economic

and physical) where Māori language is being spoken. Language loss experiences are different across iwi, hapū, whānau and communities. Aspects regarding place and ecology affect language identity development for intergenerational transmission. The land you are living on shapes your worldview and life experiences and is a critical component of language shaping identities. Colonisation therefore is central to the Aotearoa “languagescape” that is language placed onto the landscape.

Ecological features are about the importance of whakapapa, language identities and taonga tuku iho. Unless individuals can access language and cultural knowledge identity, loss will continue (Ngaha, 2014). Iwi Māori are still living in survival mode and unless individuals take the initiative or iwi and whānau members are available to provide this information, then language and cultural knowledge identity is lost for another generation. The identity crisis and loss of knowledge referred to by Ihāia is part of the loss of a link to the concept of whakapapa. Ihāia did not have reo speaking whānau members to assist. Mikaere (2011) says whakapapa contains a comprehensive conceptual framework that enables Māori to make sense of their world. Mikaere further says that whakapapa explains where we have come from and where we are going. Skerrett-White (2003) discusses how this is learned when our tohunga (experts), versed in whakapapa, recite whakapapa: “They whakapapa back to the land and then beyond, to the outer (or inner) layers, histories, knowledges, to the core of creation, te ira, te kore (the void)” (p. 74). Whakapapa provides guidance about how to behave and how we fit into the world around us (Mikaere, 2011; Skerrett-White 2003).

Whakapapa is expressed in te reo Māori in our ecosystems and represents our relationship with land and the environment. Indigeneity is located in both the physical environment and in one’s genealogy which is connected to that place (Benham, 2007). Aotearoa as a place has a language that is associated with the land, indigeneity, spirituality and genealogy.

Genealogy involves the layering, or stacking of one generation upon the other and the intergenerational relationship of language to the environment (Pohatu, 2009). This is the meaning of the word whakapapa and demonstrates the complex layering of the participants' narratives about their ecological connections which reflect a history of colonisation and loss which continues today. Not having this knowledge presents a huge stress and loss to being Māori as expressed in Ihaia's narrative. This loss of whakapapa is a loss of language identity as well as the opportunity to develop Māori bilingualism. The data show that Ihaia intervened in his whānau loss by changing his environment. He can now pass on the information he has learnt about whakapapa to his own children thus breaking the intergenerational cycle of language and cultural identity loss. Ihaia's narrative also demonstrates the importance of hapū language and cultural knowledge. The hapū is a successful strategy for the maintenance of whakapapa knowledge. Whakapapa and pepeha are cultural taonga that need to be preserved and are part of traditional knowledge (taonga tuku iho) which is passed on intergenerationally.

Whakapapa represents a tino rangatiratanga (self-definition and determination) framework (Skerrett-White, 2003). The narratives show that there is a whakapapa of intergenerational language loss due to the many types of losses experienced by participants. These losses form part of self-definition and determination framework as these are part of each iwi history, each whānau history and need to be passed on intergenerationally. This is Māori taking control over their own histories and stories for future regeneration. This resistance to trauma brings strength. This research presents a newly developed worldview of Māori bilingualism which is a Kaupapa Māori approach to Māori bilingualism. Language loss is part of Māori bilingualism today and narratives about loss are also part of Māori strength, resistance and resilience. It is about taking back the power of the history of Māori language to create this strength. These stories are now taonga tuku iho and should not be ignored as

they assist with understanding how language loss has occurred for whānau members. Whakapapa and taonga tuku iho combine to provide a strategy for a language regeneration pathway.

The language relationships expressed in the environment are between ecosystems and human beings. This knowledge system in te ao Māori is encased in whakapapa. Tribal markers are on the land for future generations (Wehi, Whaanga, & Roa, 2009). When the traditional knowledge of meanings behind names in the environment are lost then whakapapa is also lost. Whakapapa is an essential component of te reo Māori. To combat intergenerational loss it is important to create a wider community of leaders and thinkers at all levels of te reo Māori to ensure regeneration of whakapapa and cultural knowledge. If this does not occur then we get perpetrators of another norm and a standardised form of cultural knowledge and the language contained within this norm, instead of the variety of iwi perspectives and language. A variety of leaders to be role models and to motivate emergent speakers of te reo Māori will prevent perpetrators of another norm. Neoliberalism and Western ideologies have created standardisation. This has resulted in one way of being Māori, instead of the variety of ways to be Māori as demonstrated by the participants in this research. When society is regulated, it becomes more stressful for people to swim against the tide of monolingualism. The unique way of being Māori is regulated instead of unregulated. When te reo Māori is in competition with a dominant monolingual, neoliberal market economy, and language has been taken from the environment, this puts stress upon those learning and using te reo Māori in education, home and the community. This stress turns into competition for survival. In this research, the more language loss in whānau, the more difficult it is for participants to maintain use of te reo Māori in all contexts. Some participants found their levels of ability with te reo Māori were constantly being questioned. These participants were products of

intergenerational loss and this questioning created stress instead of movement forward with their language identities. All learners and speakers of te reo Māori are leaders and survivors of intergenerational loss. Loss requires recognition and once recognised, this creates less stress and enables bilingualism to be expressed in more environments.

1. The impact of policy on intergenerational language loss and identity

The deliberate eradication of Māori language as part of the colonial process has impacted on children's language identities in schools and this legacy continues intergenerationally. Language is central to identity construction. It is embedded in ideologies and power relations as identities are not only expressed through language but are constructed by language (Evans, 2015). Te reo Māori enables whānau members to live and identify as Māori. Dr Tamati Muturangi Reedy discussed the importance of language to Māori identity and how this is an integral part of Māori culture in te reo Māori claim Wai 0011 when he said:

...Māori oral literature abounds with expressions of the regard for their language by the Māori people, eg, 'ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori' (The language is the heart and soul of the mana of Maoridom). ... Language, te reo Māori, is an asset in itself not merely a medium of communication ... It is sufficient for me to say that it is inconceivable that Māori people can retain any measure of (their) identity without the language. ... It serves to restore an identity for people who see themselves as Māori and want to be recognised as such (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 43).

The data showed that participants in this research lost this important language identity when parents stopped their children from speaking te reo Māori to avoid being punished at school. Stressful social circumstances and language policies have prevented four participants from passing on te reo Māori intergenerationally. This form of language loss arose from the belief that it would be in the long term interests of Māori to speak English fluently. Even Māori politicians had this view. Early in his career, Tā Apirana Ngata advocated that a perfect command in English was essential and te reo Māori was for

cultural satisfaction (National Library of New Zealand, 1955). Later, Tā Apirana was to emphasise that “the best equipped Māori must be bilingual and bicultural” (Benton, 1981, p. 54).

In some areas te reo Māori was spoken as a language in the home (Dalley & Keegan, 2012) and in other areas this was not (Statistics New Zealand, 2013; Te Karaka, 2012). Some followed Māori leaders of the time and others resisted assimilation. Those children that were successful learnt to differentiate the different language domains. Ngata describes the loss of children’s own tongue and calls the jumping at random from one language to another to express thoughts as grasshopper speaking (Ramsden, 1948, p. 85). However, what Ngata perceived to be a “lack” has become intergenerational. The participants in this research have identified these feelings of “lack” in their whānau. Poor language acquisition of both Māori and English was the result for some Māori children as the English model spoken in the home was poor. Parents were better off not speaking English and leaving English models to be taught in schools. Some participants are descendants of non-speakers of te reo Māori in the home. This creates intergenerational “stress” for those unable to speak the Māori language. Waa experienced “loss” with her father who was a fluent speaker but did not use te reo Māori in the home. He followed the policies of the time with the older children. Later, he changed his mind when he realised that it was up to him to pass on te reo Māori. He was visionary and could see the effects this was having on his whānau. He created a successful pathway for a younger member of his whānau who became a role model for the wider whānau. This strategy of creating a role model, whilst somewhat unorthodox in Māori society, became successful. This is unorthodox because the teina is leading the tuakana. However, this type of role model is portrayed in the narratives of Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. Despite the deficit language policy environment, this father resisted policies and took control of his own environment. This is tino rangatiratanga in

practice where the “power” to go against wider societal policies is resisted at the level of the whānau. Waa now takes a reo Māori leadership position within her whānau.

2. The impact of trauma stress on language

Language loss has meant that emotional feelings associated with language loss and identity may have been suppressed. Identification of loss and then ways of restoring language within whānau is part of a resistance strategy. Mere experienced two types of emotional loss in her narrative in regard to her mother. The first loss is what O’Loughlin & Johnson (2010) calls a “soul wound”. A soul wound occurs when children unwittingly take on board the blank petrified states of their parents and this is passed on intergenerationally (Kaplan, 1996; O’Loughlin & Johnson, 2010). O’Loughlin’s research further identifies that unless trauma is addressed, this continues to move through generations. Fraiberg argues that ruptures like intergenerational trauma due to language loss “in child-rearing practices can be traced to family trauma originating as far back as ten generations” (O’Loughlin, 2012, p. 12). This loss is often not identifiable in whānau members but comes across as a feeling of sadness or anger and not knowing why this is so. Mere’s mother was annoyed that her parents did not teach her te reo Māori. This is a type of loss as Mere’s mother realises that the effective support of the community for learning te reo Māori is no longer available. Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelser, and Sztompka (2004) add a further concept to collective trauma called “cultural trauma” which occurs “when members of a collective feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways” (p.1). Alexander et al. (2004) further argue that collective and cultural trauma is created by society and it is not a natural state. Collective trauma and cultural trauma occurred during colonisation which was constructed by a society in the heart of the Pacific based on something out of

Europe—far from a natural state. Mere knew about these aspects of unnaturalness in her own mother’s life and is beginning to heal this “soul wound” and feelings of cultural and collective trauma by intervention and passing on te reo Māori.

Growing up in a Māori language society where English becomes the dominant language by force, masks the devastation of language loss because communication still occurs. Tammet (2014) says there is nothing worse you can do to a human being than take away their language and ability to communicate and relate to other human beings. With the loss of te reo Māori went the loss of cultural understandings and language identities within communities of iwi Māori. Māori had to develop their own strength and resilience for language to overcome the effects of intergenerational loss.

Acknowledging these losses as part of Māori language identity has strengthened the intrinsic motivation of the participants to learn te reo Māori for themselves. Each of the participants has consciously decided to regain their language and transmit it to their children, regardless of when the loss had occurred in their whānau and irrespective of the reason for the loss. The findings in the first theme of intergenerational loss indicate that loss takes place across one or more generations, and cannot be reversed until individuals acknowledge both their loss and their determination to regain it. The loss does not stop or finish for whānau in each generation: instead, this loss and regeneration occur across the generations. The feelings of loss become intergenerational. Each generation feels the loss anew.

The decision to intervene in the intergenerational loss begins to change the impact of the historical process of colonisation. This decision to disrupt the intergenerational loss empowers their children to have a more powerful, strong healthy and confident Māori language identity than their own parents or grandparents were able to have. The participants’ narratives indicate that these intergenerational stories of loss were also what

motivated them to learn te reo Māori and to continue learning with their children. Looking to the past, to heal the present is an important process for Māori language identity.

Fanon (1963) says the psychological effects of colonialism on Indigenous populations continue even after nationalism is achieved. Therefore, colonialism continues to contribute to the decline of te reo Māori and Māori ideology. Anaru (2011) acknowledges that through Fanon's theories, it becomes clearer that the impacts of colonialism are psychological as much as they are economic, religious and political in nature. To capture those different experiences of loss and ways of being, there needs to be an understanding of this psychological sense of loss and experiences which are different for individuals and individuals within different whānau, hapū, iwi and communities. Those learning te reo Māori and those who begin to create new whānau members (psychological whānau) in different regions around New Zealand need to find out how to support reo Māori growth and to acknowledge the shared identity of language loss. Finding support in areas that have experienced high areas of Māori language attrition through colonisation is more difficult. Creating reo Māori communities is not just for fluent speakers but for speakers on every part of the continuum. What is required in communities that have experienced severe language loss is undoubtedly different to those isolated pockets of the country where the Māori language has remained intact. A well-resourced, well-theorised, well-researched strategy will help. Succession planning and understanding the theory and strategies associated with language learning is paramount not only for economic reasons but for reo Māori sustainability.

3. The impact of disaster trauma on language

The impact of the recent earthquakes had a negative effect on using te reo Māori for some of the participants. The participants in this research continue to nurture their own te reo Māori contexts and languagescape environments in amongst their own earthquake disaster

circumstances. The psychosocial effects of disaster trauma require healing as evidenced by the narratives of Ruhia, Rena and Mere before the regeneration of culture and language can occur. The regeneration of the languagescape in Christchurch is an important part of this process. When Ruhia left New Zealand after the first two earthquakes she felt emptiness and loss. The long term effects of disaster trauma upon her children are only just being felt.

Languages and communication are both affected in times of high stress. Emergent bilinguals in this research did not speak any te reo Māori during disaster trauma emergency situations and participants shared their reasons why and the associated stress symptoms which caused this. Participants resorted to using English. Other aspects of trauma meant the focus was on community values and relationships rather than reo Māori. The community values were expressed by the dominant community. The bilingual participants that were strong in their language identities understood the importance of sharing whakapapa stories (in particular Ranginui and Papatūānuku and their children) about the spiritual connection between land and atua and the associated stories about Ruāumoko. These participants continued to use te reo Māori during times of stress and disaster trauma. Strength in te reo Māori aligns with strength in language and cultural identity. The storying about Ruāumoko assisted children to understand earthquakes by adding a human context and adding a layering of whakapapa regarding the environment instead of a Western scientific approach to earthquakes and why they occur. Skerrett (2014) says this is also an example of critical literacy where storytelling and a song about Ruāumoko provokes a shift in awareness. The shift is from the terror of the earthquakes to respect and seeking to understand the physical environment created by Ruāumoko. These methods link trauma, disaster and language to a place and the environment. Traditional knowledges and stories are shared in a meaningful context and in a meaningful way. The reality of traditional knowledge of the cultural community is shared. Critical literacy is a way of counteracting

lorelessness. Participants in this research used a traditional Māori story about the atua Ruāumoko to explain a current phenomenon that the children had experienced which was relevant to their current lives and experiences. The Indigenous worldview is acknowledged, treasured and shared as a healing process. The connection between land, and language and storying is part of cultural and language identities. Disaster trauma was seen as an opportunity to share Māori knowledges and reo Māori.

Strong social-psychological resilience enables those with strong language identity to use their te reo Māori knowledge to make up songs, and poems about Ruāumoko the atua of earthquakes and volcanoes to enable their children to learn the stories and tikanga associated with earthquakes. Traditional stories explaining the spiritual as well as physical aspects of earthquakes and the support by iwi for language and local knowledge can assist with resilience and have long term positive effects. Speaking te reo Māori enables a strong identity and therefore strong resilience and even in a crisis situation the strength to learn and heal is more probable. Any external elements impact on the ability to reclaim strength, but strong identities enable the energy to carry on.

Stresses and trauma from loss of land and home include changes to the physical environment and the movement of iwi within these environments. Using te reo Māori in usual circumstances with whānau may assist children in stressful situations. The initial research of Liberty et al. (2014) into post-traumatic stress and disaster trauma also supports using traditional stories to promote wellness. In their preliminary findings, Liberty et al. (2014) found that Māori whānau explained the natural phenomena of the Christchurch earthquakes to their children as part of nature, that there was nothing to fear and that it was just Ruāumoko. This settled the children into a state of wellness as advocated by Durie (1982) in his Whare Tapa Whā model of health and wellbeing (Durie, 1998, 2003a). Taha wairua, the spiritual domain, was critical for wellbeing during trauma. I would also add

taha reo-ā-iwi and taonga tuku iho to this health and wellness model because without te reo Māori in all of these aspects then wellness would not be achievable. Liberty and colleagues' (2014) initial research indicated that social support, such as that associated with Māori whānau and iwi during the earthquakes, can promote resilience, reduce symptoms of post-traumatic stress, and have long term protective factors. This research suggests that the use of te reo Māori by social support groups, alongside traditional storytelling or reinstating lore, has promoted a sense of resilience for whānau. In a sense, it is the strength of participants' Māori bilingualism which has provided the support and community of speakers to maintain a Māori language identity. When there is a loss of support and access to storytelling, as is described in the narrative provided by Ruhia, there is a feeling of detachment and sadness. Ruhia left Christchurch after the first two major earthquakes. She had been in New Zealand for seven years.

The feelings Ruhia refers to are also a result of cultural, collective (Alexander et al., 2004), historical (Duran, Firehammer, & Gonzalez, 2008; O'Loughlin & Johnson, 2010; Pihamā, et al., 2014) and disaster trauma (Medley, 2012; Ursano & Norwood, 2003). Ruhia has had the effects of colonisation in her life, which has changed the whānau memories, beliefs and values that she has had access to; this has also impacted and changed her future and her children's language and identity.

4. Globalisation and development of language identity

The data shows that some participants who have been overseas and return to New Zealand are highly motivated to continue their development of te reo Māori and Māori language identity. Some of the participants found that being immersed in another language overseas was motivational for learning te reo Māori when they returned home to New Zealand. Participants lived and worked overseas for a variety of economic reasons. They gained an understanding of a non-monolingual environment and how this would work and how this

could be done in their own linguistic communities. These parents returned to develop their children's Māori language identity in New Zealand and some of their reasons for doing this were because of their overseas experiences. Nettle and Romaine (2000) state that despite globalisation, people everywhere still live their lives in local settings and wish to pass this on to their children. It is the need to develop local identities and language is a part of this distinctive identity.

The connection of language and place has meant that the participants in this research also wished to learn te reo Māori and to return to New Zealand to maintain this. Maintaining use of te reo Māori is harder to do when isolated from a collective group of te reo Māori speakers. Cultural aspects like kapa haka and traditional stories can be maintained in a different country where there are larger groups of te reo Māori speakers as is the case in Australia. But the taonga tuku iho associated with genealogical history and geographical mapping of language onto place is connected with identity, whakapapa and pepeha. These knowledges are not actualised associations until involvement with iwi and hapū. Ihaia moved from Australia to Aotearoa to find out about his whakapapa and language identity and the valuable ecological history that is the connection to place. It is important to acknowledge there are broad ranges of ways that Māori living overseas create and maintain their connections to Māori culture and identity. Te Puni Kōkiri (2012) says that for some, "this will mean actively fostering or maintaining ties to people and place through activities that range from regular trips to New Zealand and sending money back to whānau; to reading Māori newspapers online and participating in social networking sites" (cited in Kukutai & Pawar, 2013, p. 37). This research found that when participants living elsewhere were immersed in another language in education and the community, this motivated them to uplift and maintain their own languages when they returned home. This

aspect is intrinsically motivating for learning te reo Māori which participants discovered while living overseas.

5. Critical awareness

The data show that critical awareness is a successful strategy for intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. Five participants in this research have attended courses to understand the importance of intergenerational transmission of endangered languages and strategies that parents can use in the home. All participants knew or had heard about the Ngāi Tahu strategy Kotahi Mano Kāika for language regeneration in the home. Critical awareness of the theories of language learning is shared and discussed amongst participants as they use te reo Māori in the home. This is when the psychological and philosophical whānau of support is important not only for language use but for motivation, and for knowledge and understanding of language learning strategies. This is another successful strategy by whānau to regenerate te reo Māori in the home. Tribal support with te reo Māori also provides socio-psychological support and the mātauranga to assist with language, whakapapa and cultural knowledges. The funding and continued focus with this is important for intergenerational te reo Māori.

Participants referred to a lack of resources and courses that are timed to suit the requirements of families and work commitments. There is pressure to continue to learn te reo Māori alongside these community and work commitments due to endangered status of te reo Māori and the need to support quality reo Māori in the home. Peters (2014) also found that these were some barriers to continuing to learn te reo Māori and for quality reo in the home. This was a concern for parents. Their strategy was to find support with other reo Māori speaking whānau and to share resources and ideas amongst themselves to relieve some of the pressures. The value and concept of manaakitanga is expressed and lived in

these whānau of support. Critical awareness and support continue to be strategies that are promoted as essential to language regeneration (Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora, 2015).

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to look at ecological features, particularly the way language shapes identity. These themes are shaped according to ecological perspectives from Benham's model of analysis for Indigenous narratives. The data showed that there are a variety of successful strategies that the participants are using for intergenerational te reo Māori transmission. What success looks like for each participant is dependent upon their experiences of language loss and support with language regeneration. Each whānau and iwi Māori is different and their experiences of resilience to assimilatory policies of colonisation practices, of disasters and territorialisation of space directly impact on language revitalisation strategies. Resilience and resistance to historical trauma are maintained in a variety of ways within whānau. The creation of reo Māori role models in each whānau is a successful strategy where whānau members provide leadership with te reo Māori. This supports and motivates other whānau members with resilience.

Building resilience and resistance to colonisation practices is a Māori language strategy. Those with strong language identity were able to use their cultural and linguistic knowledge to resist the pressure and stresses associated with disaster trauma as well as historical trauma. They had a philosophical and psychological reo Māori whānau of support for upskilling their te reo Māori and for using te reo Māori and sharing pūrakau to resist trauma. Those who had less te reo Māori knowledge were not able to share stories or use te reo Māori to support themselves during times of stress. These participants were still on a journey of recovery and resistance to dominant cultural values and language. Looking to the past to heal the present is a part of reo Māori regeneration and for shaping Māori

language identity. There is strength provided for language identities in this knowledge.

This is a successful strategy for intergenerational language.

Connection to place includes connection to language. Some participants lived or worked overseas and they were immersed in other languages and communities. This motivated participants to want to learn reo Māori when they returned to Aotearoa. The importance of language and the place where there are other people speaking the language became even more important when participants had their own children. Most participants had attended courses containing critical knowledges about Māori language regeneration and this supported their commitment to continuing to speak te reo Māori in the home. This knowledge was put into practice with their children. The support from iwi with local language and regeneration courses is also part of a successful strategy for these participants. Well resourced and well researched and theorised strategies based on whānau experiences supports language regeneration.

Chapter Five looks at sociocultural features and provides an analysis of how sociocultural features impact on the daily lived experiences of participants.

Chapter Five: Sociocultural features data and analysis

Language is the most pervasive and powerful cultural artefact that humans possess to mediate their connection to the world, to each other, and to themselves. (Lantolf & Thorne, 2007, p. 201)

Introduction

In Chapter Four ecological features were presented and discussed. This chapter continues to explore the themes from the narrative data and, likewise, further hones in on the narrative voice within the data. It looks at the *sociocultural features* from Benham's (2007) model. As referred to in Chapter Four, Benham's model is a working model in that it also provides a framework for data analysis which enables deep analysis into Indigenous perspectives on the following sociocultural features.

Sociocultural features

In this chapter, the data analysis addresses the following question: How do sociocultural features impact upon language regeneration? Table 2 maps the data patterns generating the themes presented for discussion. The discussion begins with an overview of the overarching feature and then each of the four themes will be discussed in turn (numbering of themes is continuous from the previous chapter's themes 1 to 5, so are numbered themes 6 to 9).

Table 2. Sociocultural features themes generated from the data

<i>Sociocultural Features</i>
<i>6. Racial stereotypes and racial assumptions</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers and the curriculum
<i>7. Relationships</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Puna Reo and other role models • Motivation through positive experiences • Isolation and support
<i>8. Contexts shaping language identity</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whānau and language identity • Barriers and the place of English • Māori language domains • Pride and positive experiences with te reo Māori • Discrimination and te reo Māori in education • Resilience and understanding with an adult lens
<i>9. Politics of using and learning te reo Māori; enhancing or inhibiting language identities</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerns about the domination of English speakers of te reo Māori • English language dominance in schools • Language status in the community • Paying or not paying to learn te reo Māori • Politics of creating your own te reo Māori domains • Levels of te reo Māori acquisition • Maintenance of te reo Māori • Iwi politics support and quality

This section explores some of the sociocultural influences which help to shape Māori language identities. According to Benham (2007), these sociocultural features include how the context you live in influences family, culture, politics, economies, education and spirituality. There are social and cultural circumstances as to how individuals conduct their daily lives. These are interrelated when it comes to developing your language identity. For the purpose of brevity, some of the narratives have been selected and shortened to exemplify, for discussion purposes, the development of each particular theme. In the

narratives, there are some words in te reo Māori, the meanings of which are available in the glossary.

Theme 6 Racial stereotypes and racial assumptions

Stereotypes and assumptions, unless visited and re-evaluated, can remain entrenched and carried unconsciously across generations. Furthermore, Van Dijk (1987) reports that interpersonal communication is a “major vehicle by which stereotypes and prejudices are spread throughout society and across generations” (cited in Bourhis & Maass, 2005, p. 1593). The attitudes of the wider society can become so embedded that those who are the victims begin to believe the attitudes about themselves. Stereotyping has been defined as:

...believing that the characteristics of one person are found in all members of the group to which that person belongs, based on some notion that may or may not have some truth in it. Stereotyping may be about ‘good’, ‘neutral’ or ‘bad’ characteristics. The point is that all stereotypes are untrue. Stereotyping and conditioning may also affect people who are usually the victims of stereotyping themselves, thus demonstrating its ingrained nature (Lane, 2008, pp. 16–17).

The participants discuss these stereotypical attitudes which surface at secondary school and re-assess their assumptions towards being Māori as adults looking back at their secondary schooling.

Example 6a

In this narrative, Maraea explains her secondary school experiences and her previous negative attitude and assumptions about being Māori which she revisited as an adult when she went on a course.

P6 Maraea: When I was pregnant with Rangimarie in 2009 I did a course on relationships and communication and I got to see those things that I saw when I was growing up, about who was in the whānau class, about the kind of people who I saw as being Māori. I made a lot of decisions about what it meant to be Māori and that it meant I had to smoke and drink and fail at school and be aggressive and violent and I didn't really want to do that.

Example 6b

Maraea then refers to some healing practices that occurred when she was an adult and how her second child's Māori identity is benefiting from this. Maraea chose a relationships and communication course to heal her attitudes towards being Māori. She found positive self-identification and continued her Māori language and culture journey as an adult and is involved in Māori social and cultural activities.

P6 Maraea: I kind of had collapsed all of those things together [referring to the decisions about what it meant to be Māori]. When I did the relationships and communications course I got to kind of pull that apart and really embrace being Māori. I saw who I am and got to be me and be Māori just because that's what I am. So when Rangimarie was born it just kind of happened....

Example 6c

Participant four Rena found the same negative attitudes towards whānau groups when she and her husband were at secondary school. Those who were in the whānau group were viewed in a negative way by the rest of the school because “the bad kids” were in this group. Due to this stereotype Rena did not participate in the whānau group at secondary school. Rena had a different approach to re-evaluating her negative stereotypes. As an adult student in a te reo Māori course she discovered that negative stereotyping had affected her attitude to being Māori.

P4 Rena: As an older student at Hāpori Kāreti,... age 18 I learnt about identifying, strongly about being Māori. I'd always known I was Māori but it's been very much perceived in a negative way...But then at about age 18, is when I got my positive reinforcements about being a Māori and that we all don't have to be a statistic. That's when I realised that we all don't have to be a statistic as an unemployed solo mother in jail

selling drugs. The positive reinforcements were started there in terms of hey we can all be a journalist, at varsity.

Example 6d

Mere refers to the importance of understanding and using te reo Māori to being Māori. She discusses the pressure from general society which makes assumptions that, due to the colour of your skin, you must be knowledgeable about being Māori and speaking te reo Māori. Mere's mother was affected by this assumption but she managed to change this state and instead used this to motivate her to speak te reo Māori to her own children for intergenerational purposes. Adults have the ability to resist stereotypes even when they are ingrained.

P3 Mere: ... It was like everyone expected her to speak Māori just because she was brown. And she's like, well I can't speak it and then they say well what kind of Māori are you? Then it kind of played on her head, what kind of Māori am I? I'm not having this for my kids and then she taught us kids.

Teachers and the curriculum

Another aspect of negative stereotyping for te reo Māori and Māori identity occurs for those in school environments where cultural or language needs are not met. This includes both teaching staff and students. In this next narrative a Māori curriculum containing cultural knowledge is relegated to a lower position than an English academic curriculum or Māori academic curriculum position. Robinson, Hohepa and Lloyd (2009) state that school leadership can encourage connections between school, whānau, students, staff and community by ensuring matches between student knowledge (language) to classroom knowledge (curriculum/language of the curriculum) and overseeing what happens to them in the classroom. The educational culture and language of the school needs to match the experiences of the young person. Skerrett (2010a) says a critical point for schools is

acknowledging and valuing the knowledge base of children, parents and the wider whānau. Skerrett further says teachers that worked at relationships and allowed the language and culture of students into the classroom found students responded to their efforts. Relationships are a key to developing knowledge of and respect for individual and cultural identities (Robinson et al., 2009). The stereotypical language of the school affects self-identity in a negative way; however, language used in these relationships also has the ability to rebuild respectful relationships. Teachers understanding the impact of their language and the link to respectful relationships are vital for developing language and cultural identities. This next narrative provides an example of a racial assumption about the purpose and status of whānau grouping within a school.

Example 6e

Rena recalls her husband's experience in the whānau group which is a support group in secondary schools context for Māori students. Rena considers that the reason he did well in this group was for cultural and not academic reasons.

P4 Rena: ..., my ah tāne did it [was at secondary school in a whānau group], he got an A+ only because he could dive for kina and scallops so he got an A+. All the home school kids, all the bad kids did Māori.

Example 6f

Te Whe describes the school curriculum she had experienced when she was in the whānau class, which contained Māori cultural knowledge in the curriculum. This whānau environment supported her Māori identity, and the curriculum areas were relevant to her identity, however these are compared to English medium curriculum.

P1 Te Whe: Because you'd go to everything together, we didn't split off into different modules. Our modules were carving, not cooking, our modules were, weaving, kapahaka

and not PE but we did a bit of PE actually. Not Art or anything like that, we didn't do childcare, or photography those types of things, you did Māori things.

Example 6g

In the next narrative by Te Whe, the Dean and Head of school suggested to Te Whe who had been a successful Māori student from the whānau class that there may be more opportunities in the mainstream part of the school. This occurred in the later part of her secondary schooling. She had developed a strong Māori identity by being part of the school's whānau group and the Māori curriculum areas taught within this environment. In the previous narrative, Te Whe discusses how comfortable she was because Māori activities were a normal component of the curriculum and her identity was part of the curriculum. Te Whe attended the whānau class from Year 9 to 12 (formerly, "third form" to "sixth form" at secondary school). In the later part of her schooling, the English medium part of the school interrupted the whānau environment. The whānau class was perceived as not meeting the needs of students academically, only culturally. This stereotypical belief was held by non-whānau class teachers. They felt that there was more opportunity in the mainstream section of the school, as there was more choice with curriculum areas. This was unfortunately also an example of a school not understanding the identity needs of their Māori students and not acknowledging Māori kaupapa as "academic" curriculum areas. Extra-curricular opportunities in te reo Pākehā were not provided for students who were part of the whānau class. Understanding both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā assists with developing resilience to negative stereotyping and attitudes of the dominant culture.

Te Whe describes how she was approached by the Dean about the change to the mainstream English medium part of the school. She reflects on this in the following extract:

P1 Te Whe: I was going so well through to 6th form that when I got to 7th form Māori under my belt the Head of School, and Dean approached me and said hey, why don't you consider coming to mainstream, there are a few more opportunities. I was a prefect, and they thought a few more opportunities would be good as I had done so well so far. So I discussed this and my whānau class kaiako and a few others and they didn't like the idea. But I decided to and that was the worst thing I ever did, because I suppose I didn't get much guidance. I'd go to a normal form time with people I didn't know and got nothing out of it really. She was really tough my whānau class kaiako. I wasn't allowed to join in on anything; I had to be in it the whole way or not at all.

Theme 7 Relationships

Relationships are key to the development of Māori language identity and the shaping of positive attitudes towards te reo Māori. The need for support networks while speaking and using te reo Māori was referred to by all participants and was a way of dealing with the isolation felt by parents beginning or using te reo Māori in the home. Those with prior experience of doing this, and the knowledges they were willing to share, were a vital component of success and added value to positive attitudes and the “I can do it” approach needed for commitment to learning and using te reo Māori. The following excerpts are examples of these important relationships that occur with the development of te reo Māori. These relationships were not always from immediate whānau members but came from whānau, friends or teacher models instead.

Puna Reo and other role models

All participants, except Mere, are part of a Puna Reo group (local community parent support group) to encourage te reo Māori being used socially. The participants refer to the importance of these support networks for continuing to use te reo Māori in the home.

Example 7a

Maraea discusses the support her Puna group provides for her whānau. Maraea refers to joining a Puna Reo group as positive support for speaking te reo Māori with her children as she was the main person in her whānau speaking and using te reo Māori. Other family members may have limited capacity with speaking te reo Māori so a Puna group provides reo Māori speaking friends.

P6 Maraea: ... So that definitely has been a help, I'm not sure what I would have done without it because it's also given Rangimarie [daughter speaking te reo Māori in the home] a group of friends who speak te reo Māori which is really important for her, that it's not just me although it is predominantly just me.

Motivation through positive experiences

Having others around you who can speak te reo Māori often motivates you to speak more te reo Māori. So te reo Māori speaking friends and connections and the development of these relationships is part of the learning te reo Māori process. According to Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory, there is an autonomous or self-determined way that learners engage with tasks. Deci and Ryan add that, alongside intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (discussed in Theme two stress and motivation) introduced in the self-determination theory, it has been consistently found that people will be more self-determined if:

task engagement supports three fundamental human needs: (a) autonomy (i.e., experiencing oneself as the origin of one's behaviour), (b) competence (i.e. feeling efficacious and having a sense of accomplishment) and (c) relatedness (i.e. feeling close to and connected to other individuals) (Dörnyei, Muir, & Ibrahim, 2014, p. 19).

The autonomy to organise and choice to participate in this group is guided by the group members. The participants in this research were motivated by engaging with other te reo Māori speaking individuals and motivation included participation in cultural and linguistic

tasks. During these tasks the participants experienced something new, gained satisfaction, and stimulation from accomplishing new experiences. These are part of intrinsic motivation, according to Vallerand (1997, cited in Dörnyei et al., 2014). These next narratives provide examples of motivation via the support of the social contact received during participating in te reo Māori activities.

Example 7b

Rena refers to the support that having good reo Māori speakers around you has on the development of your te reo Māori. This provides motivation and confidence with te reo Māori.

P4 Rena: ... You realise you still want to be surrounded by positive people and there are a lot of whānau who te reo wise may not be at that level but whakaaro Māori is beautiful and to gift someone that confidence, “Hey, you can do it”... “ You can do it, you just need to want it ... ”

Example 7c

Maraea discusses being with socially motivating people and says this happened when she was with other reo Māori speakers. A teacher that motivated her, having role models around her and feeling safe were important factors in her reo Māori development. Maraea, whilst still at high school, attended a wānanga and there met one of the teachers who was to have a profound effect on her Māori language learning pathway because she considered her to be a strong role model.

P6 Maraea: Kiri,... she was a really positive role model and someone I just felt really safe with.

Example 7d

Rena also responded positively to having role models in her life who gave her encouragement, which in turn motivated her to use te reo Māori in the home. She had a

great teacher role model, friends who spoke te reo Māori and she found motivation from those wishing to share their experiences.

P4 Rena:there was some nice positive reinforcements for me and then I went on my first Waitangi marae wanaka. That's when I realised hey there are some pretty awesome Māori role models here that I would like to be like. I met some pretty cool activists... I think in terms of learning te reo Māori, I like putting myself into environments where it's good to be around other speakers like the Paraone whānau and the Te Maru whānau. They've been like us, they started somewhere. So it's great to get their encouragement, and motivation i te reo Maori ki ahau.

Example 7e

Miria refers to Puna Reo and relationships as being important factors for using te reo Māori in the home and community. Other factors include knowledge of intergenerational transmission and te reo Māori being an endangered language. Group support gave Miria further confidence to use te reo Māori in the home and having friends with the same mindset enabled Miria to think about raising her child with te reo Māori.

P7 Miria: I had a group of friends of the same mindset that used te reo as well, either using it or in the same situation myself and they were raising their tamariki with te reo Māori. So then they asked the question well, “Why wouldn’t we do that?”

Isolation and support

Isolation from the main centres of colonisation in Aotearoa in the past enabled te reo Māori to be protected and spoken in the home and local area. But with urbanisation in the 1960s came isolation from the communities where te reo Māori was being protected. Ngāi Tahu is a large tribal area and once lands were dispossessed, as Aunty Jane Davis says, “It took just two generations for us to lose our language and even for our minds to be changed. In a way we were like second-rate people in our own country.” (Te Karaka, 2014 p.20) The

effects of isolation via colonisation and urbanisation continue today as evidenced in the 2013 Census, which showed a decrease in the number of Māori speaking te reo Māori by approximately 6,000 speakers.

The support of other speakers around you is necessary when te reo Māori has not been passed on intergenerationally. This creates a new community for language identity. The bonding with other speakers of te reo Māori is a vital component of successful te reo Māori being spoken in the home.

Example 7f

Rena expresses this importance when her child was not accepted into the local bilingual unit alongside others who had attended the local kōhungahunga with her son. She expressed her sense of loss at now finding herself in this context. Rena went to another school and had to start building relationships again. The level of te reo Māori at this school was lower than the parents she had previously associated with. In this sense she was now the tuakana and the other parents were the teina. In her previous associations she was the teina. She has now lost the powerful social context of speakers and role models for te reo Māori in the community context around her that she had developed while her child was in early childhood contexts.

P4 Rena: so I had to let go of the fact that I wasn't going to be with the other whānau. I had built up some relationships with those mātua.

Example 7g

Miria also refers to the strategy of surrounding yourself with other speakers of te reo Māori, especially if te reo Māori is your first language, due to the shortage of these speakers. Parents are left to build these relationships in the community. This develops well if you are a confident speaker of te reo Māori, as in the case of Miria.

P7 Miria: The reality would be to establish good relationships with other children who are able to speak te reo Māori and to bond with those tamariki and whānau with te reo as the first language and if it's only a few, it's better than none. They know that there are other people apart from us that can support them.

Example 7h

Miria also focuses on the choice of school being part of the te reo Māori speaking community. She changed schools to enable this to happen. The reciprocal nature of manaakitanga is an important part of tikanga in Māori and is linked to the reo Māori used and this needs to occur in the school, home and community. Understanding the differing ways children develop bilingually is an important part of teacher and community knowledge. During the enrolment period, one school that Miria wished her child to attend interviewed the children and the parents away from their own contexts and the other school met with the parents in the context of their choice. Schools are an important part of the community and how they support the growth of te reo Māori is linked. Miria reflects on the difference between school philosophies in this next narrative.

P7 Miria: ...I was away somewhere in Wellington, Ihaia went in and checked out the school. They came to our house and talked to us about the school and their values and then they accommodated us. We couldn't get to the school because we were busy so they came here. Then Ihaia went and met some of the other teachers because we didn't know some of the other teachers there at the school and they don't interview the child. They interview the parent or parents.

Example 7i

The strong social network support required for a reo Māori friendly community context needs to be available and when it is not there, anxiety or lack of identity can occur. Te Whe

refers to feelings of isolation in her own schooling experiences where there was no te reo Māori or Māori content.

P1 Te Whe: Me my brother and my sister went to an Anglican school right up to intermediate, and so we were one of very few Māori, maybe five in a school of a couple of hundred. It was in say form one, form two that Māori was starting to be introduced, but up until then there was no mention. There were probably two Māori students that were in my class and other students were part Māori. And they'd like to mention it now and then.

Example 7j

When Te Whe went to secondary school, she went into the whānau class where being Māori was acknowledged and she was safely able to practise her culture. She enjoyed and succeeded at secondary school until she reached seventh form. She felt the feeling of isolation again in the seventh form where the numbers of Māori students had dropped.

P1 Te Whe: ...we started off with a class of about 35 maybe one of the biggest classes, by the time we got to 7th form there were about four of us left.

Example 7k

Ruhia refers to isolation as the feeling of being a “little bit cheated” because she had to learn te reo Māori on her own. She would have preferred to have support from her parents but understands that this was part of their generation and colonisation. Ruhia learnt from her own experiences with her parents and societal attitudes about the importance of wider whānau support.

P5 Ruhia: ... I just feel probably a little bit cheated that my parents, that my mother made me do Māori as a language, but there was no support there for doing it and they could have and I know it wasn't good for them to be Māori in that generation, you know that's where they're coming from.

Theme 8 Contexts shaping language identity

The way a language identity is shaped has changed from being an individual expression of identity to being an expression of the contexts we live in. This perspective on language identity is a more recent phenomenon. Hall (2012) says the more traditional understanding of language users as “unitary, unique and internally motivated individuals” has changed to language users as “social actors whose identities are multiple, varied and emergent from their everyday lived experiences” (p. 44). This section discusses the concept of social actors that influence the expression of te reo Māori, and bilingual language identities, in the contexts of family, school and community. The study of ideas about linguistics allows a deeper evaluation and understanding of language in context. García (2009) argues the study of linguistic ideologies has emerged as a way to look at “the sociohistorical, sociopolitical and socioeconomic conditions that affect the production of social meanings in relationship to languages and discourses” (p. 84). García further says children have multiple opportunities to develop their identities and can have multiple identities in these social contexts according to the conditions that affect the production of these relationships. She also argues that a bilingual identity means children have a greater range of social expression opportunities in the differing social contexts in which they find themselves.

The current socio-historical, socio-political and socio-economic climate in New Zealand is one of unequal language power relations. The language identity development of bilingual children in New Zealand is limited to specific domains within the contexts of school, home and community. In New Zealand, English language is the dominant language in all language contexts; therefore, for many children, te reo Māori has not been developed enough in order for complex language and literacy practices to occur. Consequently, the benefits of bilingualism are not fully achieved due to a monolingualistic language state.

Part of having a bilingual language identity is about being able to access all the social and cognitive benefits that go with “being bilingual” and that is what the participants in this research are striving for. García (2009) says, “As children engage in complex language and literacy practices in two languages, their range of cognitive and social options increase and so do the benefits they obtain from their bilingualism” (p. 106). The participants in this research are continuing to develop their own language identities due to the current and past contexts they have experienced and they strive for changes to these contexts to gain the benefits of bilingualism for their children.

Whānau and language identity

Having whānau members who are bilingual is a privilege that is not available to some participants. Those who have access to te reo Māori have a better understanding, and more access to Māori knowledge, Māori values and Māori worldviews. Mātauranga Māori includes all Māori knowledge systems or ways of knowing, doing and being, sometimes referred to as wisdom (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). This knowledge is accessed in a variety of ways but Māori language, whakapapa and the intergenerational passing on of this knowledge in a caring and respectful manner is important. Access to whānau that have this knowledge enables stronger Māori language identities.

Example 8a

Miria discusses her identities in the context of family. She describes how her own and her mother’s linguistic identities have developed alongside the children. She knows that having a grandparent who speaks te reo Māori is an important role model and is another social linguistic domain for her children’s linguistic development. Miria’s children are making the most of their bilingualism by having access to more opportunities to use and speak te reo Māori as well as access to Māori knowledge, values and worldviews.

P7 Miria: I always knew that we had Māori at home, I learned my whakapapa, I knew what iwi we were, he Māori ahau, on my Mum's side she's Māori and on my Dad's side my birthfather he's Cook Island Māori ... Mum at the time, she only knew a little bit of her te reo ... I've seen Mum grow as well with us and with her mokopuna, so it's great that we have someone else apart from ourselves and our family that is able to kōrero Māori to a certain point, to a certain level which other families don't have.

Example 8b

Te Whe also acknowledges the input of extended whānau on her language identity even though te reo Māori was not spoken at home. Having reo Māori spoken around her has influenced her worldview and cultural development.

P1 Te Whe: I suppose growing up I understood that I was Māori. I understood I was Māori in that at home we didn't speak Māori but four times a year, we'd go back to where my family are from which is the Te Tai Rāwhiti.

Example 8c

Waa provides an example of how cultural aspects, Māori knowledges and worldviews were developed alongside language development in her upbringing. Waa demonstrates what life has been like for someone who has had a parent using and speaking te reo Māori in the home and has had the advantages of bilingual cultural and social development.

P2 Waa: I've never had to fight for te reo because I've always had it around me. I always had Dad. We've never had to fight for anything. Really, really, really, lucky. When I grew up and we'd go home to Taupo, all the other kids were sent out to play. All the ladies were sent into a separate room. I was always called by my uncles to come and sit down with them in the room. So my job was to just sit there and listen for some reason. So it was different. But it didn't bother me, I just sat. We all know our marae, both sides. So, we go

to Kahu's home where his parents live by the marae. We go there every year and in between.

Example 8d

Waa was able to access a good range of social and cognitive language and literacy practices in her own upbringing and acknowledges that she is “lucky” because she knows that other whānau have not had this access to te reo Māori.

P2 Waa: I don't even put myself in a box. I don't think of myself as a first or second language learner. It's just me this strange person. Just lucky.

Barriers and the place of English

There are whānau that are strong in their own identity and include speaking te reo Māori in the home but have partners who do not speak te reo Māori, or do not agree with their child or partner speaking te reo Māori. Whānau have family members that are monolingual speakers and live in a society dominated by English, which influences their worldviews about the importance of language or when language should be spoken. Te reo Māori was replaced with English via colonisation practices (Skerrett, 2007) and this influence is still evident, creating barriers to speaking te reo Māori in the home context.

Example 8e

In this narrative, Mere discusses the difficulties of bringing up her child Tamati speaking te reo Māori when his father Nikau does not agree with speaking reo Māori. This presents as a barrier for Mere and her son's language identity and shows the difficulty for parents when languages and cultures are not part of the dominant culture.

P3 Mere: Because I don't want him to go through the same stuff that I did. There's his Dad. He is real ashamed of being Māori. He says he's Samoan but he doesn't say that he's Māori... And he's ashamed of it, but again this is a lack of knowledge as well. I don't want

that for Tamati, I want him to be proud of his identity in all his cultures, he's Samoan, he's Māori....

Māori language domains

The family domain is a vital place for intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori but there are many variants in the family domain. According to Fishman (1972), domains are “occasions in which one language (variant, dialect, style, etc) is habitually employed rather than (or in addition to) another” (p. 80). Allowing a te reo Māori domain in the home places te reo Māori in a more dominant position than English language. Te reo Māori in the home assists with the possibility of intergenerational language transmission and is a powerful social language revitalisation strategy for parents. The home is a place where informal language is used rather than more formal institutional language, so is an important place for language identity development and opportunities of language use that are different from an educational or institutional environment. The threats to language use in this next example show how societal attitudes to English language dominance affect use of language. The place to use the language needs to be safe.

Example 8f

Mere is concerned about wider societal messages about where “te reo Māori” can be spoken and not spoken. In this next narrative, Mere explains the effect that this attitude is having on her son when she speaks te reo Māori at home. This demonstrates that it does matter about having a partner who understands the importance of speaking te reo Māori. Her son’s father does not want his child to speak te reo Māori so the message that Tamati receives is that you only speak te reo Māori at kōhanga.

P3 Mere: Even when I do speak Māori to Tamati he has said, “Oh don’t speak that” and now ... when I speak Māori to Tamati in front of Nikau, Tamati will say, “That’s my kōhanga’s don’t say that”.

Example 8g

Maraea faces barriers from the wider mainstream of society in terms of her desires for her children to be Māori language speakers, but also from her ex-partner who is a monolingual English speaker. Maraea has to carefully negotiate language speaking domains and education because of her shared access arrangements.

P6 Maraera: And if my daughter's father agreed [discussion is required about whether their daughter attends a school where te reo Māori is spoken] because it's a joint decision for us and I know that as someone we have in the family that doesn't speak te reo Māori he often feels alienated.

Pride and positive experiences with te reo Māori

Personal positive experiences using and speaking te reo Māori is what the participants wish for their children in this research and for the children to be a continual part of the intergenerational transfer of te reo Māori. This has not been the experience for some of the participants. Pride and positive experiences when speaking te reo Māori is the goal. Due to colonisation, assimilation practices and socialisation into dual heritages, there is a reliance on the next generation (Penetito, 2010b).

The Māori values associated with socialisation as a collective have changed to fit in with an individualistic dominant Pākehā society and the younger generations have to take on roles that previously belonged to kaumātua. In an address to the Polynesian society in Wellington in 1947, Sir Apirana Ngata stated that his greatest desire was to revive Māori culture “as a living force in the community rather than as a dead exhibit in a museum” (Ramsden, 1948, p. 85).

The following quote is from an editorial comment in the Dominion about Ngata’s speech which refers to the roles required to maintain te reo Māori.

It is as unfortunate as it is undeniable that as the present-day elders of the race die out, valuable links with the pre-Pakeha days are irretrievably broken and much of the ancient lore handed down orally from one generation to another dies with them. As Sir Apirana pointed out, the responsibility rests upon the younger generation of Maori[s] to maintain their pride of race and to preserve the language of their forefathers. The best that European scholars can do is no adequate substitute for what can be done by members of the Maori race itself (p. 85 *Note: no macrons were used in the original and the letter “s” was added to the word Māori*).

It is the pride aspect that is the most difficult to pass on in a colonised society, especially when there is an older generation that is missing and Māori language and culture have not been passed on as a framework for living. The older generation in the Ngāi Tahu region are often not available for this support due to intergenerational disruption.

Example 8h

Ruhia emphasises the importance of intergenerational transfer and having pride in language and associated cultures as an important part of her philosophy. Ruhia emphasises the importance of positive experiences.

P5 Ruhia: Well I just want them to be proud of who they are and know who they are, know where they come from and I just think that if they can have more reo that what my generation had, then you just have a sense of who you are and you've got that language, no matter what culture you're from and you just have a better understanding. And through having your own language, it's easier to be yourself, to learn other languages and be respectful of other cultures and other nationalities of people. I just want more positive experiences for them.

The participants in this study have moved to a personal positive evaluation of te reo Māori which has given them resilience to use and speak te reo Māori in the home and elsewhere because they understand this importance.

Example 8i

Mere recalls having a personal positive evaluation of te reo Māori in another country with her son Tamati. Mere was proud of being bilingual and being able to continue speaking and using te reo Māori in front of others.

P3 Mere: It will be me and Mum speaking it [in Australia]. And when I move there, I know I'm just going to speak just Māori to him. He is going to learn English from everywhere else so I am just going to speak Māori to him and I already notice you know, when I do go to Australia with him I'm speaking Māori. I'm really proud to speak it over there. I know another language, why not use it in front of them, so people can be like "What is that?" I am real proud of being able to speak another language.

Discrimination and te reo Māori in education

Individual experiences, in particular in education and family, contribute to the different ways and patterns of thinking about our racial identity. Racial identity is “a sense of group or collective identity based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (Helms, 1990, p. 3, cited in Tuckman & Monetti, 2011). Added to this concept is the association of language with racial identity. Racial and language identity affect attitudes and behaviours which in turn affect learning and motivation. Parents teach their children how to cope with racial discrimination (Lacy & Harris, 2010; Steinbugler, 2015), alongside learning about their own language. Parents and teachers as adults also understand their own racial identity development and sometimes apply their own feelings onto a child’s experience (Teach for America, 2011). These identities continue to evolve into adulthood (Steinbugler, 2015). In this narrative, Mere shares her racial identity development in relation to language.

Example 8j

Mere reflects further on why she is proud to speak te reo Māori and why she is so strong about enabling her child to speak te reo Māori in the home. This is because of her own negative experience of being Māori in Pākehā school environments. Mere provides an example of holding onto her Māoritanga during times of discrimination. She says that it was these types of experiences that made her want a different way of life for her own child.

P3 Mere: So it's kind of like everything that's been Pākehā, has always let me down. Even at intermediate I got accused of being racist. My Dad is Pākehā, full Pākehā, I got accused of being racist, just because I said to the lady, "You're not pronouncing the words properly". I had to make a public apology in assembly to my teacher in front of the whole school. I didn't tell my Dad because I was embarrassed. [When I did tell Dad] I said, "I got accused of being racist Dad". He said, "What!" and he went down there and the principal had to apologise to him on the speakers. On the intercoms.

Resilience and understanding with an adult lens

Alongside racial identity, ethnic identity development is established in a person's lifetime through how people learn about their culture from family and community. Ethnic identity development comes from what are established as societal norms; that is, daily behaviours, attitudes and ways of doing things (Chávaz & Guido-Dibrito, 1999). Phinney (1990) says that ethnic groups that belong to non-dominant groups have two conflicts to resolve as a result of belonging in a non-dominant group. The first conflict is resolving stereotypes and prejudicial treatment and the second conflict is about a clash of value systems with the dominant culture as these affect ethnic self-concept. In this next narrative, Mere begins to resolve this conflict as an adult via some critical thinking, support networks and through positive immersion in her own culture, which has enabled resilience and resistance to dominant cultural threats to her self-concept in her language identity.

Example 8k

As an adult Mere was able to look back at these negative experiences and understand how they have shaped her strong te reo Māori identity. Being resilient and having strong parent support, as referred to in the previous narrative, enabled her to develop her te reo Māori further.

P3 Mere: It's quite funny, because you look at it now and all these different changes, it all moulds you. Even though it's things like little things then that's exactly what's got me to where I am now.

Theme 9 Politics of language shaping identities

This section looks at the political context that participants have negotiated for using and learning te reo Māori in the home, school and community. Intergenerational transmission of language use within the local political context has enhanced or inhibited te reo Māori language identities. The way languages are used socially and culturally according to policies and the status of language in the community influences how languages are used in the daily lives of the participants in this research. This affects decisions about when and how te reo Māori is used or not. Irvine (1998, cited in García, 2009) says linguistic ideologies represent the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, in addition to political and moral interests. There are inequities in these political, social and linguistic power relationships resulting in some languages and cultural capital being more privileged than others. Te reo Māori has minority status in these relationships and, since colonisation, English language and culture has become the powerful force politically and economically. In this study, participants recall experiences of inequities in their daily lives. The participants discuss their values, attitudes and beliefs towards te reo Māori and what has either enhanced or inhibited their linguistic identities. The following narratives explore

the participants' feelings about learning te reo Māori, and the socio-political and socio-economic conditions that have influenced these values, attitudes and beliefs.

Concerns about the domination by English speakers of Māori

Due to previous negative experiences regarding colonisation and power relations that are inequitable, there are still Māori who need to be nurtured into a state of wellness with using Māori language. It is not just learning about the language but through the language that is part of being Māori. It is important for New Zealanders as a nation to learn and use te reo Māori, as through learning te reo Māori, knowledges and understandings of Māori culture are deepened. Māori language offers cognitive, educational, economic, social and linguistic benefits for all New Zealanders (Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 7). Use of te reo Māori is part of reviving language and tikanga, and institutions have courses available for all New Zealanders. However, there is also a diametrical opposition to Pākehā learning te reo Māori as by using te reo, Pākehā can then colonise the language and/or further marginalise Māori who do not speak it. Barnes (2013) alerts us to a concern about Pākehā power, privilege and racism as language contains complex cultural ideas and practices which can be misinterpreted if not used in the appropriate context. Barnes is a Pākehā researcher who speaks te reo Māori and he acknowledges that he has benefited culturally and intellectually from this experience (Barnes, 2006). He suggests that Pākehā learners have "a sense of accountability and obligation to Māori communities that generously share their knowledge, time, challenges and encouragement" (Barnes, 2013, p. 8). Furthermore, Mikaere (2011) comments about the role of Pākehā in New Zealand when she says:

When you think about it, there is nowhere else in the world that one can be Pākehā. Whether the term remains forever linked to the shameful role of the oppressor or whether it can become a positive source of identity and pride is up to Pākehā themselves. All that is required from them is a leap of faith. (p. 119)

This requires commitment to building relationships over a long period of time. Emergent bilingual reo Māori speakers are still learning about their own language identity and this is

a sensitive time in regard to racial-ethnic identity development in a dominant cultural environment.

Example 9a

Rena discusses her concern in this narrative about the dominant status of the English language when she refers to the number of English speakers learning te reo Māori being more than Māori knowing their own language. Rena wants to be able to be Māori and learn te reo Māori without having to explain Māori ways of being to Pākehā learners. Rena is concerned that more Pākehā will be able to access learning and speaking te reo Māori than will Māori. This is an example of white privilege and power unconsciously happening in a te reo Māori learning environment. Rena is consciously aware of privilege when she discusses how there are more non-Māori learning te reo Māori.

P4 Rena: ...you can see nowadays there's a load more non-Māori who are learning te reo Māori. So one of the things that has been made quite apparent is that there are gonna be more Pākehā speaking te reo Māori than Māori.....

English language dominance in schools

Robinson et al. (2009) argue that school leadership can encourage connections regarding language diversity of children by ensuring closer pedagogical and philosophical matches between student knowledge, what they bring with them to the school and what happens to them in the classroom. Close connections with whānau brings better understanding about relationships. It is the role of leadership to make the connections between the educational culture of the school and the home (Skerrett, 2010a, p. 25). Ensuring te reo Māori names are spoken correctly, for example, acknowledges the language identity of the person and for the whānau that gave the name to the child. In this next narrative, Waa demonstrates self-advocacy in regard to Māori language status in a school where te reo Māori is

relegated to a lower position of dominance compared to English. Māori often lead the way in establishing relationships.

Example 9b

Waa's narrative provides a different example of the dominance of English language and status. Waa was a speaker of te reo Māori in a dominant English medium secondary school environment. She was determined to change the language status of te reo Māori in her school. She wanted to ensure that te reo Māori was spoken correctly and to have her name pronounced correctly. She led a successful petition in her school which enabled her home language to be spoken at school and led to the appointment of a teacher. Waa was striving for her language to gain status within her school. In this way, she paved the way for other te reo Māori speaking children.

P2 Waa: So Mrs Kaumau Mārō called me Waa right from the beginning and I decided that's what I wanted for everyone else, to get their name said correctly. Kura Tuarua Te Urumanu didn't have any Māori instruction whatsoever so I did a petition around the whole school and then we had Mr Rire [appointed to the school] ...

Language status in the community

The effect of the language status of te reo Māori on the participants' lived experiences in the community cause negative attitudes towards any language use other than that of the dominant culture. May (2012) refers to language being part of a communally shared good; however, when language has been used in widely different ways by individuals, then there is little agreement initially within a language community. So the shared "good" becomes the dominant language and culture rather than the minority language and culture. Being unable to speak a language (in this research, te reo Māori) places restrictions on one's ability to communicate and therefore identify "with those that speak that language and any ethnic and/or national identities with which it is associated" (May, 2012, p. 137).

Example 9c

Miria is concerned that although some adults attended reo Māori educational environments, this did not guarantee use of te reo Māori in the context of the home or community when they had their own children. Miria refers to the issue of te reo Māori being the language of education rather than home and community. She is concerned about this because of the effort it takes to learn te reo Māori and use this in home, school and community environments. She is referring to the language status of te reo Māori in these environments. Without language status in the community, there are Māori language speakers who might not pass on te reo Māori, despite the best intentions of intergenerational revival from their parents.

P7 Miria: I've heard of kids who have been to kōhanga and kura who were having their own kids now but they're not speaking Māori to them. We were just like oh just a waste of their skill and knowledge and they're known as leaders in their field for what they do but their children don't reap the benefits of that from te reo.

Paying or not paying to learn te reo Māori

Te reo Māori lacks language status in New Zealand as a nation state society. Te reo Māori is a taonga and protected under the Treaty but there are inequities in this protection. It is argued here that this should mean equal rights and access to te reo Māori. Rena, on the one hand, was grateful that the wānanga was established as a centre for learning te reo Māori but, at the same time, she was thinking about the dominance of Pākehā language and culture upon te reo Māori. During our discussion, she expressed concern at non-Māori institutional environments charging fees for a language that was endangered due to colonisation but also protected under the Treaty. She did not think charging fees was appropriate, due to the crisis status of te reo Māori.

Example 9d

In this next example from Rena, she comments about being pleased at not having to pay to learn her own language. Learning te reo Māori at the wānanga provided Rena with a unique opportunity which otherwise may not have presented itself. Rena understands the socio-historical reasons for Māori language loss through colonisation and the shift from Māori to English. She fundamentally resists the notion of having to pay an institution in order to assist with reversing language shift through the reclamation of what she considers to be a birth right. Rena willingly participates in these types of opportunities.

P4 Rena: He whakaaro tāku, so I'm not paying some institution thousands of dollars to learn my birth right language.

Politics of creating your own te reo Māori domains

The home environment is a place where you can protect and use te reo Māori. Paying or not paying to learn te reo Māori has far reaching consequences if te reo Māori is not used outside the institution.

Example 9e

Rena's narrative has moved from learning te reo Māori in an institution to referring to her own reo Māori environment over which she has more control. She knows that just learning te reo Māori in an institution is not enough. She is aware that if she does not do something herself about speaking te reo Māori then language will be lost in her whānau.

P4 Rena: I've always had that whakaaro, but now I've had to realise, hey I've got to actually create that environment myself. Yes i te kaika āe, and the reo is not only for me a taonga but if I don't use it I'll lose it.

Levels of reo Māori acquisition

Nation states that have one dominant language do so at the expense of the local Indigenous language (May, 2012). This expense manifests itself in inequality which causes

discrepancies that occur in race, ethnicity, class, gender and language use. This inequality makes its way into the local context of te reo Māori use via the questioning of personal knowledge and level of te reo Māori ability and knowing and understanding tikanga. An individual's ability or lack of ability in te reo Māori generates language ideologies in the local context which question language identity. Te reo Māori is in competition with the dominant nation state views of English language acquisition. This, in turn, creates competition and status within the Indigenous language as te reo Māori competes with English language. The emerging dilemmas for participants in this research were around reo Māori language quality and maintenance and English language level.

Example 9f

An example of the pressure to be able to speak a certain level of te reo Māori is provided by Te Whe, who refers to feelings of frustration when people try to assess levels of te reo Māori, which in turn measures how Māori you are. Te Whe recalls the pressures and stress of identity during her teenage years. Instead of learning and enjoying te reo Māori, there was the added stress of not being “Māori enough” because she could not speak a certain level of reo Māori. She now prefers to focus on improving her reo Māori by speaking te reo Māori in the home, attending reo Māori only educational environments and interacting with supportive reo Māori speaking friends in her local community.

P1 Te Whe...and when I was younger, you know, you struggle with identity and things and struggle with te reo, maybe te reo was the only thing you could offer and you would be strong at it, because people are like, well how fluent are you? well actually I couldn't probably translate that document you know but I have a general understanding, I can relate and it's always about, how much Māori are you? People are trying to measure all the time, what you can do.

Maintenance of te reo Māori

The government and education sectors have responsibilities towards the maintenance of te reo Māori relating to the Treaty of Waitangi and to policies like Te Rautaki Reo Māori—the Māori language strategy (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014), that demonstrate ways te reo Māori is protected. Responsibility for the revival of te reo Māori is shared between iwi, Māori and the Crown and its agents. “Māori language cannot be revived via Māori efforts or Crown efforts alone” (Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 7). Tau Mai te reo document (Ministry of Education, 2013b) demonstrates a way that coordinated efforts regarding Māori language education can provide a potential approach. This approach is expected to lead to better investment in Māori language education by the government. Te Whe refers to how important this investment is in her narrative about maintaining te reo. Without support from iwi, hapū, whānau and community, the maintenance of the use of te reo Māori after educational courses would not be possible. For Te Whe, free courses contribute to this maintenance.

Example 9g

Te Whe, like Rena, also acknowledges how access to te reo Māori for free has enhanced her ability to learn te reo Māori. She recognises that her personal knowledge of te reo Māori would not have developed without this support. Te Whe is aware of government policies and the historical inequities that have occurred with support for learning te reo Māori. She appreciates free te reo Māori courses being available because this has made it possible for her to maintain her language.

P1 Te Whe: Actually I have to probably say that the Wānanga and CPIT, and my jobs when they made these things available to me, because I probably couldn't afford to go and carry on. When they paid for it or made it free or near zero fees, I was able to continue, so

that's massive. Whoever is up the top there, whoever has been pushing those things for us, it's amazing.

Te Whe is interested in how she will be able to maintain language in the home and community which is her day to day reality. Te Whe sees the need for language planning and knows from experience that her mother lost te reo Māori easily. Te Whe needs to know what to do, or to keep doing, to maintain and improve her whānau reo for intergenerational transmission purposes. There are limitations in the future of speaking te reo Māori for her whānau due to the context of Christchurch and other limitations are due to not knowing what to do when her children are older.

Example 9h

P1 Te Whe: ...a lot of this is unplanned and we're very limited here in Christchurch I think, I'm not sure where this is going. I'm not sure where we are going and what I want from it. Because all I know is that the kids need to keep speaking and I do too, we need to keep building on the reo, I can't just give them five years of it and let it go, because they will lose it. My Mum was fluent until she was seven and now nothing, pronunciation was shocking and she is embarrassed. So I'm not sure where it's going but I know I have to stay on top of it. We need to plan a bit better, stay on track.

Iwi politics support and quality

Ngāi Tahu reo Māori that is transmitted intergenerationally does not have the support of a large group of native speakers which makes te reo Māori transmission more difficult. Once iwi support is offered, then iwi need domains where te reo Māori is spoken. Unfortunately for Ngāi Tahu, it is the second language learners who have to intergenerationally transmit te reo Māori due to the lack of native speakers (O'Regan, 2010). O'Regan (2010) is also concerned about the quality of reo Māori speakers transferring language in the home and cites the work of Baker (2004), when she argues that if you cannot speak quality reo Māori

then you may be undermining, rather than helping, your child's language development. Baker (2004) says it is important to keep up with your child's language development. Encouragement to learn te reo Māori alongside your child is a positive strategy for language revitalisation. There are many iwi in other areas in a similar situation due to a lack of proficient speakers, quality teacher training and follow up educational programmes (Skerrett & Gunn, 2011; Te Aika et al., 2009).

Example 9i

Maraea raises a concern about the quality of te reo Māori being transferred in the home.

Maraea argues that the limitation for Ngāi Tahu is the lack of proficient speakers.

P6 Maraera :... Kai Tahu you know like the language in Te Waipounamu and I still have concerns at the moment about the proficiency of te reo Māori that is being transmitted because you can only pass on what you know and there are very few people who have, who are as proficient in te reo Māori as most people are in English.

Example 9j

Bilingual educational options are available in Christchurch but Maraera chooses to not send her child to a kura or bilingual unit. Instead, she prefers to speak te reo Māori in the home due to the lack of quality reo Māori being spoken in schools. From Maraera's personal te reo Māori journey, she thinks that te reo Māori has more status or resourcing in areas where there is a larger Māori population.

P6 Maraera: I don't actually know. I think because I don't know what it's like in other areas, but I know that there are more options in terms of reo Māori stuff in the bigger centres, you know in Wellington and up north as well where there are more proficient speakers.

Example 9k

The following narrative demonstrates how Miria recognises the influence of hapū and iwi politics upon the development of te reo Māori and new users of te reo Māori. Miria refers to how growing te reo Māori as an iwi in the region of Christchurch requires iwi monetary support. She is aware of this difficulty and suggests this will continue to require further investment.

P7 Miria: I think it's going to come down to the pūtea really. That's how much does Ngāi Tahu want to invest.

Summary of sociocultural themes

The first part of this chapter has outlined the types of relationships, contexts and assumptions that have influenced the lives of whānau and their decisions to speak te reo Māori. Benham's model (2007) has enabled me to generate themes from the data according to sociocultural themes. There are overarching themes of racial stereotypes and racial assumptions, relationships, and contexts of language use, which are all factors influencing intergenerational language. The participants have discussed how their prior experiences living and learning in a dominant cultural society have affected their desire to identify and live as iwi Māori. In light of this data description, I introduce Part Two of the model in the discussion section to summarise and synthesise these findings.

Discussion: Sociocultural features

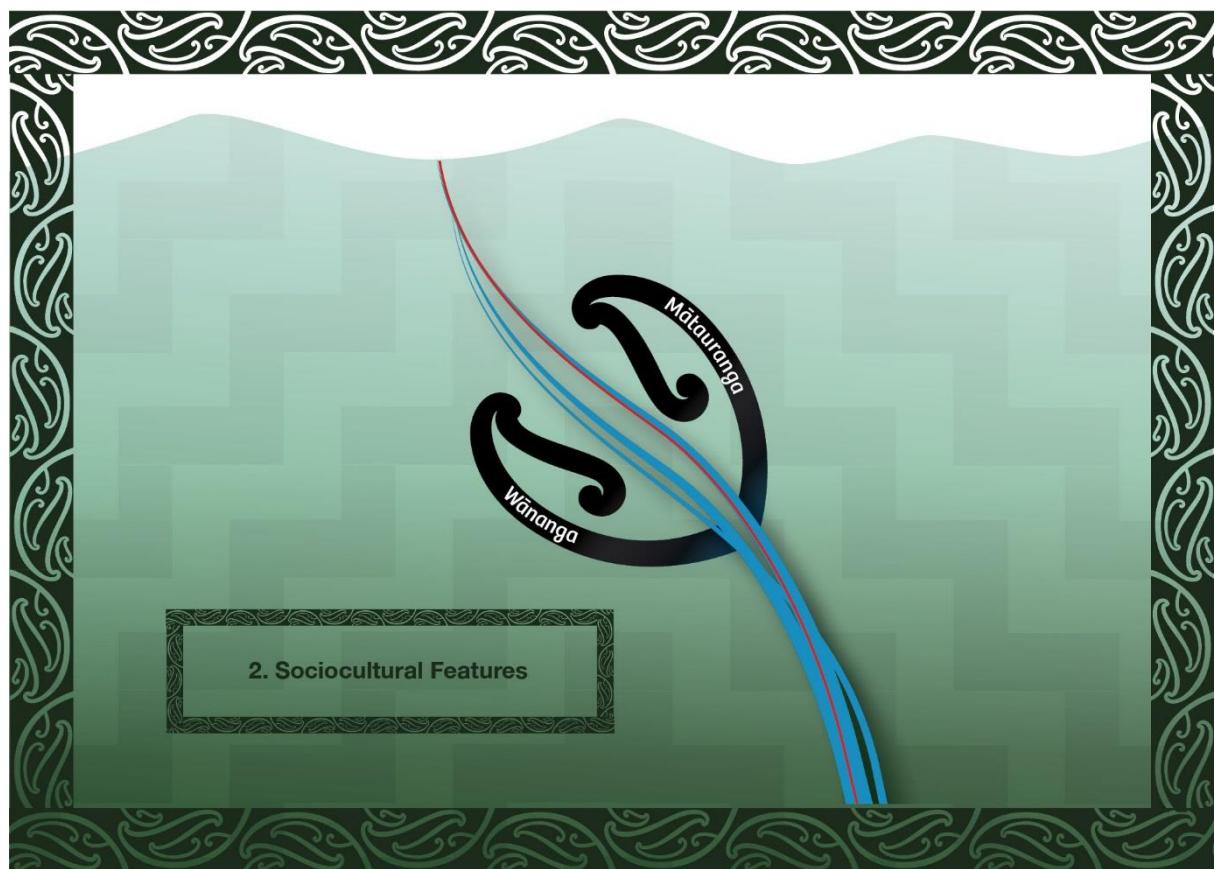
In this chapter, the findings of the sociocultural themes that have emerged from the data are discussed. All the participants in this study have made their decision to bring their children up bilingually. Participants are shaping their Māori/English bilingualism within their daily interactions. This study draws together these views and these have been placed into Part 2 of the model (see Figure 3) to show how sociocultural features have a part in the shaping of contemporary worldviews of Māori/English bilingualism. There are two

elements to this part of the model: *Wānanga* and *Mātauranga*. *Wānanga* is about lifelong education, strength and resilience. *Mātauranga* includes sociolinguistic knowledge with historical reflections and future planning.

Figure 3. Sociocultural features

Model: Part 2

A whakapapa of Māori/English bilingualism



Sociocultural features – Wānanga and mātauranga

In this section, I discuss the features of Part 2 of the model of a whakapapa of Māori/English bilingualism, called the AWOB model. Sociocultural features are about language relationships and the cultural contexts where languages are used and spoken. In this section, I explore how stereotypes and racial assumptions affect language identities which begin when language is spoken from birth. Discussion continues as to how

resilience is developed and the strategies whānau employ to use and maintain te reo Māori in their daily lives. Individuals negotiate complex social identities in and through language by living in the interfaces between te ao whānui (global worldviews) and te ao Māori (Māori worldviews) (Durie, 2004). I would add to this te ao pākehā (Pākehā worldviews), as these views are unique to a New Zealand cultural and colonial identity. It is argued here that in a whakapapa of Māori/English bilingualism, there are government and iwi responsibilities to ensure there is support for bilingualism in all aspects of lifelong education for whānau. This involves understanding the ideologies of dominant cultures and the associated critical knowledges required to understand dominant cultures in relation to languages.

6. Racial stereotypes and racial assumptions

This research shows that parental decision making and understanding of language identity is influenced by participants' experiences of and societal attitudes towards, being Māori at secondary school. These stereotypical attitudes and racial assumptions appear to come to the fore at secondary school as showed in the data from Mere, Rena and Te Whe and are the result of repeated experiences of racism from birth. The long term traumatic effect on language identification indicates racism and stereotypes are also carried across generations. Lane (2008) says specific action is required with children from a young age to develop positive attitudes to differences and unless this occurs, children will also learn racial and racially prejudiced attitudes - just as they are learning the beginning of languages. Lane (2008) further argues that children learn the language being spoken around them as they are immersed in it and they mirror the racial attitudes around them, in the language they speak.

Children learn from a young age about stereotypes and racial assumptions from the environment around them. These stereotypes are deeply ingrained and stereotypical

conditioning may also affect people who are usually the victims of stereotyping themselves (Lane, 2008). So much so that they are not aware of this stereotyping in their own lives or begin to apply dominating or colonising strategies to their own racial identities. This indicates stereotypical attitudes and assumptions are intergenerational, which are a deterrent to language revitalisation.

The data show that participants in this research take on board the racial assumptions of the society they live in. Mere refers to this directly when she discusses her own education where she craved things Māori but was not able to continue with many aspects of being Māori in English medium education due to dominant Pākehā ways of being. Mere acknowledges the influence of socialisation and the environment on her language identity. Mere is also acknowledging the difficulty of living in the space between te ao Māori and te ao whānui (Durie, 2004). Mere was getting stronger in her Māori language and identity but this was not acknowledged in a Pākehā dominated education system. She was able to reflect on this as an adult. Due to her own experiences, she was going to work on resilience training with her child. Lane (2008) reports that children need to learn that racism is not their fault and is not the result of anything they have done. The attitudes and resistance to things Māori in a Pākehā dominated world stopped Mere from wanting to identify as Māori. Enabling her child to understand how society operates would give him strength to survive and be strong in his Māori identity in a Pākehā majority culture.

Some participants were part of whānau classes in mainstream secondary schools which were meant to embrace being Māori in a dual cultural environment. The data show that, instead of embracing Māori culture and language, they had the opposite effect and some participants experienced lower expectations. One student left the whānau group later at secondary school due to negative stereotyping from the English medium part of the school. The whānau curriculum area was viewed as less academic. Māori cultural activities,

knowledge and curriculum were not being valued by the wider school environment and the students themselves compared the Māori curriculum to English medium curriculum. This resulted in negative or racist racial-ethnic identity throughout their education. The data show there were several participants that did not want to identify as being Māori in their lives due to the attitudes they had learnt from the environment around them. Maraea's narrative states sociocultural assumptions about her whānau class due to her experiences of wider societal attitudes about being Māori. This led to her initial denial about being Māori. These stereotypical experiences are historical, caused by colonisation and dominant cultures and need to be healed before forward momentum can occur with regeneration of te reo Māori and language identity.

Participants have to be part of the wider Pākehā dominated society for economic reasons. This means Māori have had to redefine what it means to be Māori as an adult, to develop the skills of resilience and resistance to negative attitudes of the dominant society. The data show that participants did not have this access to critical knowledge when they were young. There was no understanding why their parents were not speaking reo Māori. The history of te reo Māori and the losses, struggles and revitalisation efforts have not been taught in school. Māori have maintained a survival mode to cope with negative attitudes. To have a positive experience in a whānau class; there need to be strong reo Māori identities in the home, resilience to societal racial assumptions, resistance to dominant, nation state educational values and have strong successful role models to counteract the dominant Western models, as well strong support for a Māori curriculum in the wider school environment. These strategies would support successful Māori bilingualism, as referred to in the AWOB model.

Webber (2012a) completed some research on racial and ethnic identity in Māori adolescents in Auckland. She found that racial-ethnic identity is important for Māori

adolescents because it “frames who they are, how they belong and their achievement aspirations” (Webber, 2012a, p. 21). According to Webber, racial-ethnic group pride in who Māori students are assists with resilience and navigating their way through adversity. This navigation occurs according to the strengths and resources available to the adolescent, in his or her family, community and culture (Webber, 2012a). The data indicate that, unless this positive Māori identity is nurtured when Māori are adolescents, then negative stereotypes continue into adulthood. Some participants showed resilience and resistance to this threat as adults, when they became aware of the effect of negative stereotyping upon their Māori identity. Webber’s (2012a) research into racial-ethnic identity in New Zealand refers to a hypothesis called stereotype threat (Steele, 2004). Webber defines stereotype threat as the experience of anxiety or concern in a situation where a person has the potential to confirm a negative stereotype about their social group. Maraea’s notion that being Māori meant violence, smoking, drinking and failing at school affected her first child’s schooling options. She did not want her first child attending a Māori school environment. Maraea changed this assumption after completing a communication course and her second child is being raised bilingually. This research also advocates that this positive Māori identity needs to be nurtured within the whānau at an early age to develop the resilience required as an adolescent.

Webber’s research found that when students are aware of stereotypes, they are more inclined to become that stereotype than they would if the stereotype did not exist. The data show this occurred for the participants when they recalled what had happened to them as young adult learners. Webber concluded that cultural knowledge alongside academic knowledge are equally important in order to safeguard against stereotype threat (Webber, 2012a).

My data support the findings of the participants' narratives in Webber's research. Participants have been affected by stereotype threats. As adults they could look back at their own experiences at secondary school and acknowledge that stereotype threats had been a constant part of their lives. Te Whe made the comment during her narrative that, when she had started discussing her secondary school experiences, this had highlighted and clarified for her what had occurred to her identity during her schooling years. She was not aware of this at secondary school but as an adult she could see that her experiences were particularly unfair and had caused a feeling of failure. The Māori curriculum areas that she participated in were not seen as academic areas or as important components of Māori academia. In this research it can be seen that, Te Whe, Maraea and Rena had succumbed to the stereotypical aspects of the academic performance of Māori. They did not receive any resilience or skill training as young adults and te reo Māori was not a strong component of their whānau upbringing due to intergenerational loss. Training regarding how to be resilient and resistant to racial assumptions and stereotyping will support language regeneration.

The data show that two of the participants were influenced by the stereotype that Māori are more likely to be criminal or violent than Pākehā (Borrell, 2005; McIntosh, 2005; Webber, 2013). Not wanting to participate in things Māori or be Māori was the consequence of these racial assumptions. When Māori contexts are not part of the curriculum, then Pākehā concepts are automatically seen as right or the correct way of being, more so than Māori ways of being. This includes learning about the history of te reo Māori and the effects of this upon language identities. In his doctoral thesis, Manning (2009) looked at how Māori history had been excluded from the secondary school history curriculum. It is lack of Māori curriculum content like this that contributes to students' lack of knowledge and sense of pride in being Māori. When your culture is not part of the curriculum, then the

message is negative. The data show these aspects have led to Maraea and Rena not wanting to be Māori until they participated in their own methods of decolonisation as adults. This is when they were able to counteract racial assumptions. A re-shaping and re-thinking of Māori language identity occurred because participants had children of their own. One key aspect of this re-shaping and re-thinking is the support participants received from other Māori role models and critical knowledge on courses. Creating Māori communities of support was the key to their success. The development of te reo Māori alongside the cultural development was the key to finding resilience strategies as an adult.

Webber's (2011, 2012a) research emphasises the support of whānau which enabled resilience and persistence from repeated experiences with racism, stereotyping and/or discrimination. When these incidences occurred, it was important to disconfirm the stereotype. The data show that the influence and power of positive te reo Māori identity and socialisation begin in the school and home environments and then spread to the community. Positive and active valuing of a language facilitate the growth and development of that language and are key aspects of language revitalisation and intergenerational transmission.

7. Relationships

The data show that participants found their own intrinsic methods of language development in the community and ways of gaining social advantage for their children with other speakers of te reo Māori by participating in Puna Reo groups. Developing groups of te reo Māori speakers that regularly meet is more powerful than what is taught in institutions. These groups use and speak te reo Māori in the community. These speakers are not from the same iwi but are connected by the value and kinship towards te reo Māori. There is a strong intrinsic motivation to also revitalise te reo Māori within their own iwi and hapū.

Ngāi Tahu reo Māori development recognises the need for support when learning and using te reo Māori and the Kotahi Mano Kaika project (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation) assists with initiatives that increase the proficiency and intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori, in particular for the Ngāi Tahu community. Out of these initiatives started the development of Puna Reo (parent based Māori language groups). These groups are made up of parents that speak te reo Māori in the home who wish to connect with other whānau doing the same thing. These groups provide the reo Māori support and associated tikanga required to continue using reo Māori in the home and in the community. The Puna groups speak te reo Māori in community outings and have group members who are knowledgeable about the local tikanga associated with place and provide educational opportunities for the children by including experts from the local area in their sessions.

The data show that all participants except one attended a Puna Reo group to extend their children's use of te reo Māori social contexts. This enables their children's bilingualism to develop in dynamic ways, in order to get the most benefit from their bilingualism, as referred to earlier by García (2009). This also gave parents access to the role models and cultural identity development that their children required to become part of the social group that is resilient and understands the historical loss situation of te reo Māori. The Puna group contained confident reo Māori speakers and was only accessible by invitation. Parents in each group also needed to have matching language philosophies. These parents and children are able to gain the cognitive and social advantages of bilingualism by participating in these groups. There is a powerful social context advantage when you are able to speak te reo Māori and te reo Pākehā. When a language is endangered as in the case of te reo Māori, those who still speak reo Māori are a taonga. It is a privileged position that therefore provides social advantage in te ao Māori.

The data show that parents in these groups exercise tino rangatiratanga as they develop their own frameworks for self-development and use of language in purposeful and meaningful ways, according to their needs. They are also completing succession planning for te reo Māori. Each Puna group has a teina for them to nurture and move forward with their te reo Māori. Rena referred to this as precious knowledge in her narrative and was grateful group members willingly shared this privileged knowledge. Rena's narrative showed that a successful strategy for her was that the group contained learners of te reo Māori who had been through the same experiences as her. There was understanding and knowledge of historical loss and the need for whakapapa and cultural knowledge to be shared alongside te reo Māori. Whānau, hapū and iwi members are not always available to do this. Te reo speakers are also community members and are often called upon in the community to use their knowledges.

The data show that these valuable lived language learning experiences are the strength, resilience and positive attitudes required for maintenance of te reo Māori. The devotion of weekly activities and conversations related to Māori language identity was the most motivating intrinsic aspect of te reo Māori daily use. Some of the participants developed their own emergent bilingual level Puna Reo groups and met with the tuakana group who provided information about how they started and what they have been doing, their motivation and reasoning behind this. This provided a model for the future development of Puna groups. Succession planning is required at all stages of te reo Māori regeneration. The participants all refer to the importance of these support networks for continuing to use te reo Māori in the home. Support at this level of te reo Māori maintenance is valuable.

The power structures are decided by the learners and speakers in Puna Reo groups. This is a self-determination framework and is mana enhancing because the kawa and guidelines are determined by the learners creating the experiences. Stress and anxiety is cleverly

avoided by participation in Puna Reo groups which have a teina to support in amongst speakers of te reo Māori. This tuakana/teina strategy is important for language support. This format uplifts te reo Māori in a supportive whānau reo Māori speaking environment, using Māori values and tikanga. This avoids the concept of whakamā (Mikaere, 2011).

The data show that when there are small numbers of reo speakers or children with a Māori identity, the feeling of isolation or lack of support can be overwhelming. Isolation is a key block and cause of anxiety for emergent bilinguals beginning the journey towards te reo Māori regeneration. The importance of support and the support of whānau while developing your reo Māori identity is also referred to by Webber (2012a) in her study of racial-ethnic identity in secondary students. In her research, the meaning and importance of the students' identities shifted as contexts changed from home to school. The participation of family in cultural traditions and the value placed on Māori language use in the home influenced their racial-ethnic identity socialisation. The main development of this identity came from parents and/or wider extended families. Even if identity is strong in the home, support is still required to develop this identity in schools. Te Whe refers to feelings of isolation when she went to primary school. She knew that she was Māori, however she felt isolated because she was only one of a few Māori students in the school. There was a further feeling of isolation when te reo Māori was used in the classroom due to the lack of bilingualism of other class members. The other students were from the dominant Pākehā culture, therefore despite the passion and commitment of the classroom teacher, the other students did not consider this an important curriculum area.

The data show there is constant pressure to succeed as Māori in a Māori world, as well as pressure to succeed in a Pākehā dominated world where you are isolated from those who have the social and cultural understanding of the importance of Māori worldviews. Te Whe felt the feeling of isolation again in the seventh form where the numbers of Māori students

had dropped, having benefited from the support of the whānau group in the intervening years. This meant that, once again, there was pressure to become part of the English medium curriculum at the expense of her Māori identity and curriculum which she did. Te Whe was strong and one of a few Māori students to get to this stage. Unfortunately, Te Whe started failing in her seventh form year at secondary school due to this isolation and transition to a Pākehā environment and she had to continue to develop her te reo Māori herself as an adult in other institutions. The feeling of isolation moves from the high school experience to the feeling of isolation in the community. Te reo Māori was part of the curriculum at secondary schooling level but not associated with the wider community or the home environment. The data show that Māori/English bilingualism requires nurturing in our communities at all stages of life.

The results from Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 2013 Te Kupenga survey (Te Taura Whiri te Reo Māori, 2014) show that there are fewer Māori speaking te reo Māori in the home due to isolation and negative attitudes towards te reo Māori in the community. The data in my research also argues that isolation and negative attitudes affects use of reo Māori in the home. The 2013 Census reports a decrease in the number of Māori speaking te reo Māori by approximately 6,000 speakers. The Māori Language Commission suggested that the reason for this lower number are people living overseas, fewer enrolments in Māori language institutes and Māori speakers being isolated from other te reo Māori speakers and not having enough places to speak te reo Māori (Hickland, 2014). The data in this research suggests isolation experienced in educational environments in this region contributes to feelings of isolation with using te reo Māori in the community. The isolation factors for Māori increase in community environments and this isolation continues into the job markets now affected by globalisation and neoliberalism factors. Māori are living overseas for economic reasons where te reo Māori is not spoken. The isolation of speakers from

each other has been overcome by the creation of domains for speaking te reo Māori by groups like Puna Reo. This is strategic planning and a successful strategy by Māori speakers to counteract this isolation and is another form of resilience that parents have created to overcome negativity in the community. The formation of strong cultural and language relationships in school and community environments needs to continue into the community to overcome societal pressures of isolation and monolingualism.

8. Contexts shaping language identity

The data show the lived experiences of the learner in school, home and community were the most powerful contexts for making the decision about whether to learn or use a language. The interactions, both positive and negative, that occur in the language learning social environment affect bilingual development as decisions are made about whether a language will be continued to be spoken in the home, school and community. García (2009) believes that when children's language identities combine in the practices they engage in at home, in school, and in the community, bilingualism develops in additive, recursive, or dynamic ways giving children more opportunity to obtain cognitive and social advantages of bilingualism. In the New Zealand context, Te Taura Whiri (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2014) suggests that our communities need to be reo Māori friendly and that the following needs to occur in order for Māori speakers to live and prosper:

- The ability to undertake all schooling in quality immersion settings from preschool.
- Positive attitudes across society about the value of growing and using te reo Māori among speakers and non-speakers.
- Increasing awareness of the need for language transmission, or passing the language to the next generation.
- Growing Māori speaking communities.

- The ability to engage with business and government through te reo Māori.
- Quality broadcasting in radio, media, online.

(Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2014).

These cognitive and social aspects all involve institutions and institutional knowledge, rather than whānau members taking the lead. The data show that it is whānau that decide their needs and they choose what matches their lived experiences. Critical awareness strategies about the need to develop te reo Māori are evident as well as some civic opportunities for speaking te reo Māori. The combination of all of these aspects needs to occur for Māori bilingualism to be intergenerational. Their choices are limited by the contexts referred to above but whānau also decide to go beyond these civic limitations themselves when they have social support. Bilingualism gives them these options, whereas monolingualism does not. Fishman (1994) says people have a sense of moral obligation and responsibility to language and that, in this sense, language is value and kinship-related. Language has given people their love, nurturance and connection. The participants in this study have not been able to rely on whānau members for reo Māori support due to intergenerational loss. The value and kinship towards te reo Māori has developed within te reo Māori speaking contexts. Critical knowledge about reo Māori use and language development is also provided by these peers. Fishman's comments about the value of language and the motivation to speak a language are shared by other New Zealand and international researchers. Language is a vital component of social and language identity relationships (Hiss, 2015; Karan, 2008; King 2009; Ratima & May, 2011; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). The motivation to speak Māori is part of being Māori (Ngaha, 2014; Ruckstuhl, 2014).

9. Politics of using and learning te reo Māori; enhancing or inhibiting language identities

Language boundaries exist when being unable to speak a language means that an individual is restricted in their communication or is unable to identify with those who speak the language and any associated ethnic and/or national identity (May, 2012). Language is a core cultural value and te reo Māori requires a protective boundary around it, in relation to the threat of English as a dominant language and culture. Te reo Māori has been shaped by wider socio-historical/socio-political factors, including discrimination and exclusion (May, 2012). Mere's narrative showed that she created her own language boundary because she wished her son to speak te reo Māori in the home, school and community. However, her partner Nikau found that having Mere speaking both Samoan and te reo Māori languages to be threatening to his own cultural ways of being. Mere wanted to live and be part of the benefits of Māori bilingualism, whereas Nikau wanted to remain a part of the dominant culture and language status. He did not want to speak Samoan or Māori languages. It is easier to maintain a language norm. Khleif (1979, cited in May, 2012) says a blurring of these boundaries would be a threat to a group's existence and, in this case, the language identity that he has created for himself.

Children can understand and identify language attitudes and stereotypes, which in turn create positive and negative evaluations of language identities. Lane (2008) says young children become aware of a hierarchy of languages and learn very quickly "whether their home language is accepted, ignored or even laughed at" (p. 124). Lane further comments that this can interfere with the learning of English as the home language is central to identity. She says belittling a child's language or accent is a powerful deterrent to speaking the language in front of others (Lane, 2008). Mere and Nikau's son Tamati was living with the conflicting views of his parents. On the one hand, he was learning te reo Māori at home and at school with his mother and on the other hand he learnt from his

father that the dominant culture was best. This created language domains and hierarchies for Tamati in relation to speaking te reo Māori in the home. Mere expressed frustration with these restrictions because she is unable to stop it from occurring. Mere has language as a core cultural attitude (Smolicz, 1979, 1993, 1995, cited in May, 2012) due to her personal experiences and upbringing regarding the importance of language revitalisation. The data show that the sharing of te reo Māori for Mere encapsulates an alternative history and the associated political and cultural rights which have been passed on intergenerationally. She is acutely aware of the importance of passing on language identities and is now doing this for her own child. This did not happen for Mere's partner Nikau.

Smolicz and Secombe (1988) differentiate four broad approaches to minority languages that are evident among and within ethnic groups. These broad categories by Smolicz and Secombe link well to the te reo Māori language situation in New Zealand. These comprise:

negative evaluation of the language; **indifference** - seeing no purpose in language maintenance and showing no interest in it; **general positive evaluation** - regarding the language as a vital element of ethnicity but not being prepared personally to learn it; **personal positive evaluation** - regarding the language as a core cultural value and putting this language commitment into practice (Clyne, 1990, cited in May, 2012, p. 143).

The ultimate goal for language revitalisation efforts for te reo Māori would be a transformation for all whānau members to move to a *personal positive evaluation*, as outlined by Smolicz and Secombe (1988). The data in this research show that for this to occur, issues of historical trauma and language loss would need to be addressed, and resilience to negative socio-historical and socio-political aspects and the formation of language social relationships would need to be developed.

Using these broad categories, Mere's partner has a *negative evaluation* of the language and has *indifference* to language development, therefore does not place any importance on

language, whereas Mere has a *personal positive evaluation* to the language and is bringing her child up speaking te reo Māori. The data show these differences in evaluations cause conflict and disruption to participants' positive language identities. Maraea also reflects a *personal positive evaluation* of te reo Māori. Previously she was *indifferent* until she addressed her historical trauma language loss issues and the discrimination that she experienced, which had caused her to exclude te reo Māori. The data show her experiences demonstrate that movement within the broad approaches to language is possible due to critical knowledge and iwi support. Maraea's barrier now is the domains that she has available for speaking te reo Māori to her daughter. Rangimarie has a Pākehā father who does not speak te reo Māori. The educational decisions she makes for her daughter need to take into account his decisions. Much negotiation needs to occur due to his personal feelings about not being able to speak another language.

Monolingualism and monoculturalism are still the norm in many New Zealand families because they have been brought up with English as the cultural and linguistic norm. There is also an English speaking cultural barrier, where speaking another language in front of someone else is considered rude if they do not understand what you are saying. Maraea did not speak te reo Māori in front of her child's father for this reason. She wanted him to feel comfortable and included. Lane (2008) discusses the feelings of alienation felt by some adults when people speak together in a language that others cannot understand because some adults interpret this behaviour as rude. According to each person's personal experiences, there may be strong feelings of rights and wrongs of speaking languages other than English in front of others. Lane says that no language should be forbidden to be spoken and there are times when sharing a language are comforting. She says that alienation occurs when people are anxious about and lack confidence in relationships. Lane suggests sensitivity is required and explanations of what it feels like, from both sides, leads

to better understanding (Lane, 2008). The “rudeness” in this case is part of a Western set of cultural politeness rules. The data show that attitudes towards speaking another language maintains English in a dominant language status and monolingualism as the norm and in this way, a child’s bilingualism is not recognised or valued. In this way Māori/English bilingualism continues to be affected by assimilation policies. Each generation has struggled to be resourced appropriately and accorded Treaty of Waitangi status and equity to ensure intergenerationalism of reo Māori occurs.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the sociocultural aspects associated with language regeneration. The data provided information about how living at the interface impacted upon reo Māori regeneration. Racial assumptions and stereotypes were of particular concern during childhood and secondary school. Stereotypes and racial assumptions about being Māori can remain entrenched and become intergenerational unless they are disrupted. Parents educating their children about racial assumptions and how dominant societies work was a way of building resistance to this. Building support networks around reclaiming language was seen to be a way of disrupting those stereotypes and myths and creating reo Māori speaking support environments.

The data showed that when a language is endangered, those who speak te reo Māori are a taonga and they are important for succession planning purposes and as role models for whānau. Parents are taking the lead in developing their own Māori language groups for themselves and their children to develop their reo Māori. Parents exercise tino rangatiratanga in this process as they create Māori support systems using te reo Māori values of tuakana/teina and social networks for using te reo Māori in the home and community. Parents are leading the way in Māori/English bilingualism.

The data show that when there are small numbers of reo speakers or children with a Māori identity, the feeling of isolation or lack of support can be overwhelming. Isolation is a key block and cause of anxiety for emergent bilinguals beginning the journey towards te reo Māori regeneration. The isolation experienced in education or in regions where there is high language loss contributes to non-use of te reo Māori in the community. The attitudes towards te reo Māori, both positive and negative, that occur in the social environments affect bilingual development, as decisions are made about whether a language will be continued to be spoken in the home, school and community. The contexts for language regeneration need to increase and change can occur with attitudes and use of te reo Māori when critical awareness increases.

In Chapter Six, institutional features are presented, providing an analysis of institutional impacts upon te reo Māori in the home, school and community.

Chapter Six: Institutional features data and analysis

Introduction

In Chapters Four and Five, I presented the themes from the data and explored what the participants' narratives stated about ecological and sociocultural features of learning and living with te reo Māori. In this chapter, I present the emerging themes in participant narratives and then an analysis of this data for institutional features. I continue to drill down into the narratives to distil meaning whilst simultaneously drawing on the similarities and patterns of change across the participants' narratives and worldviews.

Institutional features

The data analysis addressed the following question: How do institutional perspectives impact upon language regeneration? In Table 3, the data patterns across the first part of this chapter are mapped, generating the themes presented for discussion. The discussion begins with an overview of the overarching feature and then two themes numbered 10 and 11 will be discussed in turn.

Table 3. Institutional themes generated from the data

<i>Institutional Features</i>
<p><i>10. Education and Career paths</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economic reasons for learning te reo Māori and the benefits• Working and using te reo Māori• Working and still learning te reo Māori• Te reo Māori valued as a skill• Having children and studying• Education and waiting lists• Purpose and outcome for learning te reo Māori• Economic benefits for the whānau
<p><i>11. Tino Rangatiratanga - Normal and natural</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Te reo Māori in the home• Te reo Māori in the workplace• The future for learning te reo Māori in the home• Normal and natural in the home and school

Institutional features include the ways in which the law, education and the government struggle to change the minority status of te reo Māori. Institutional te reo Māori refers to the way te reo Māori is used as a communication tool in the state and the status of te reo Māori in institutions. May (2012) argues that the “legitimation and institutionalization of a language are the key to its long-term survival in the modern world” (p. 173). May further says the status of language and language change is low for minority languages and that changing the language preferences of the state and civil society would better reflect the cultural and linguistic demographics of today’s multinational states. When cultural and linguistic preferences are reflected in the status of languages then this will assist with change and commitment to Indigenous minority languages.

Transformation and changes to language are shaped from within iwi and hapū environments, in education, the home and community. These changes are debated and planned for in many of the institutions that iwi Māori participate in; however, the contexts

for teaching language in institutions often excludes the home and community contexts where language is used. The following narratives demonstrate the influence this has had upon the participants' language identities, daily lives and how having children has had the role of transforming home practices and is enacting change. As before, for the purpose of brevity some of the narrative quotes have been shortened to ensure that they are pertinent to my discussion and development of that particular theme. In the narratives, there will be some words in te reo Māori and the meanings of these are available in the glossary.

Theme 10 Education and career paths

All participants in this research have studied or learnt te reo Māori in an institution. The narratives in this theme demonstrate the influence institutions have had upon their language identities, and daily lives. The presence of children in whānau has transformed some home practices in regards to continuing to learn te reo Māori, and in particular education has an influence in all aspects of home, school and community living. The most powerful aspect of institutions is their role in the economy of language and culture.

Economic reasons for learning te reo Māori and benefits

Due to the introduction of neoliberal policies in New Zealand in the 1980s and 1990s, "New Zealand moved almost overnight to a user pays, market driven economic system", where welfare systems were pruned and national assets privatised (Carpenter, 2009, p. 3, cited in Ritchie et al., 2014). The value of a language group became associated with the potential capacity for economic development (Ritchie et al., 2014). In this way, te reo Māori and use of te reo Māori have been remodelled to be associated as a marketable commodity. This influence is also evident in education via curriculum documents. For example, the primary English medium education te reo Māori curriculum document, "Te aho arataki Marau mō te ako i te reo Māori – Kura Auraki" (Ministry of Education, 2009) has a specific section on economic and career benefits for learning te reo Māori. This

section states that many civic agencies and courts of law require their employees to have some competency in te reo Māori and there is a growing number of Māori businesses and enterprises where knowing te reo Māori is beneficial. The economic benefits are also part of learning a language for all New Zealanders and teachers (Ministry of Education, 2009). The next narratives discuss how neoliberal policies in New Zealand have affected the reo Māori decisions in educational institutions and the experiences of participants.

Example 10a

Mere discusses her disappointment with her now ex-partner not understanding the benefits of studying aspects of te reo Māori and the benefits of bilingualism for the whole family. This affected her use of te reo Māori in the home. Mere's ex-partner's perception is that the economy gives preference to those with a good command of English language, therefore from his perspective there were no benefits to learning te reo Māori at all. He was not willing to challenge or transform this status. Mere had a positive outlook and understanding of the economic need to learn te reo Māori as well as maintaining her bilingualism.

P3 Mere: ... he's never been supportive of me being in Māori studies. ... He was always like where's that going to get you. ... I said I'm studying I'm young it's going to get me somewhere I just don't know where yet. I'm just going to. He knew I was having Tamati, I just said my son is going to be speaking fluent Māori and that's it. He would argue it, no he's not, where's that going to get him?

Working and using te reo Māori

The economic need associated with learning te reo Māori has created linguistic capital. In Aotearoa, emergent bilinguals and bilinguals have linguistic capital according to the past and present language status of Māori and English. When language is used for economic profit, then language can be viewed as more worthy of acquisition (Nettle & Romaine,

2000). Being bilingual in the workforce is gaining more economic prominence. Bilinguals need linguistic functionality alongside their linguistic capital in order to maintain a “diglossic relationship”. A diglossic relationship is a term used to refer to “functional specialization between languages so that the language used within the home and in other personal domains of interaction between community members is different from the one used in higher education such as government, media and education” (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, p. 30). When this relationship is stable, each language has its own functions and space. Te reo Māori does not yet have a stable equitable relationship with English. In this research, Te Whe devises her own set of linguistic capital and linguistic functions when she deliberately chooses domains that enable her to speak te reo Māori. She is affirming her diglossic relationship. She is in a workplace where the linguistic functions are often determined by the institution. She is also beginning to challenge the economic power balance of language as this is currently based on dominant language speakers and worldviews.

Example 10b

Te Whe discusses the need for being able to do something economically with her reo Māori. She chose to work in te reo Māori friendly environments where she was able to converse with other te reo Māori speaking people. She believes having people around her who share the beliefs that Te Whe has about the importance of Māori identity and speak te reo Māori is an important part of her life as well as having this as part of her daily work routine and skill set.

P1 Te Whe: Being able to do something with the reo, I'm in an environment now where now and then I can have conversations with people and I'm now able to pass it on to my children and I'm really aware even in the job I'm doing at the moment, that it's something

that is useful and I didn't know that it would be. It's a skill and something that people are looking for, it's an edge you know when you are looking for jobs or whatever.

Working and still learning te reo Māori

Languages are in competition with one another for speakers and functions (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). When one language encroaches on the economic domain controlled by the other, then the balance of power between groups speaking these languages shifts. Continuing to learn te reo Māori encroaches upon the time and space for using English and the domains required for using te reo Māori increases.

Example 10c

In the next two examples, Maraea and Te Whe make reference to the difficulty of working and still learning te reo Māori. Maraea is not able to continue to use and speak te reo Māori during her work hours; instead she has to do this in her holiday and own whānau time. Te Whe is able to speak te reo Māori during work time but also has to use her own holiday time to develop te reo Māori. Maraea does appreciate her own iwi and workplace providing money towards her own iwi reo development. Te Whe was able to also participate in a local reo Māori development led by Ngāi Tahu iwi, even though she is not Ngāi Tahu. As participants' te reo Māori improves, te reo Māori courses are more difficult to find and attend during work time. The Te Kupenga survey (2013) showed that participants who spoke te reo Māori very well and fairly well only spoke te reo Māori some or none of the time in the workplace (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b, p. 12).

P6 Maraea: ...and they [referring to iwi provider] provide ongoing support even now for reo Māori study and kura reo and things like that which is really great but just the reality of working is when you're trying to do this.

Example 10d

P1 Te Whe: ... I went to Kura Reo Kai Tahu at the beginning of the year this year which was lovely because I'm not Kai Tahu so that was good to be invited. I was able to attend that, I also could do reo at work but it's a matter of whether it will fit into my work hours.

Te reo Māori valued as a skill

Workplaces that recognise te reo Māori as a valuable skill will pay for employees to attend professional development to continue with learning te reo Māori. This demonstrates a commitment to the continued development and the economic value of having good speakers of te reo Māori on the team. Linguistic momentum requires commitment to bilingualism, and valuing te reo Māori as a part of the New Zealand economy. Economic power is maintained by dominant cultural language speakers in society. The places where te reo Māori is spoken in the workspace are limited.

Example 10e

Te Whe discusses how she has always worked in an environment where her employer has paid for her to attend te reo Māori classes. This is where she feels valued as a te reo Māori speaker and learner. Te Whe felt that workplaces that either used or encouraged use of te reo Māori were the places that she chose to work but were also the most successful way of learning te reo Māori.

P1 Te Whe: I think I went back in the evenings to CPIT when I was working, it was partly, because I worked at Work and Income NZ and I think that I was recognised as, a Māori rep, it was a skill the fact that I had Māori and I had been working in community groups prior to that, getting my work experience up. So they basically paid for it. They sent me as PD [Professional development]. So I used that, I jumped on that. I'd go into a class just like Te Ara Reo and I'd already have the knowledge, a very sound knowledge through school and so certain things would be very easy to me and come into a night school with

people who are just starting out. So Te Kakano 1 and 2 were six month things, and I did it because it was paid for and I just kept doing it. So work paid for the first couple ...

Having children and studying

Information provided in the 2013 Census and te reo Māori findings in the Te Kupenga survey indicate that there is a strong relationship between the use of te reo Māori in the home and whānau. Forty-six percent of Māori with children in their household spoke some te reo Māori inside the home, compared with 23 percent of those without children in the home (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Having children and institutions that maintain culturally and linguistically appropriate courses also enable parents to maintain their bilingual identities and to continue with their careers. Participants are balancing the political and economic power bases with language spaces educationally, in the home, iwi, hapū and in communities.

Example 10f

Mere demonstrates that when the educational institution has courses that are culturally relevant to the participants, they stay longer and complete their careers with te reo Māori alongside whatever they do. Mere shares her enjoyment at being at an institution where she could learn and be Māori and, at the completion of her degree, have a career where she could speak te reo Māori daily. Having a child and wanting to continue with speaking te reo Māori caused a different dilemma. Mere had to change careers to suit having a child as well as her language needs.

P3 Mere: I decided I was going to go to polytech to do one year Māori, do my diploma in Māori and then go to broadcasting school. I ended up doing the one year Māori, getting comfortable, loving it and staying there for another two years. So I did three years doing Māori and did one year doing Māori Performing Arts. But in the Māori performing arts one I only stayed there like three months because I got pregnant with Tamati. It changed,

... well, I can't be an actress being a Mama. Not yet. Not in the next few years. Then it comes to me being here at Kōhungahunga.

Education and waiting lists

Due to a shortage of quality reo Māori speaking early childhood centres in areas where parents live, there are waiting lists. This limits access to quality childcare. Choices are further limited if you wish your child to speak te reo Māori in an educational institution due to the small number of quality options available. Bilingual education might not be an option that is available or possible in Christchurch. Skerrett (2016) states that Ka Hikitia (Ministry of Education, 2013a) has a major flaw with separating two focus areas about access to quality Māori language education and participation in quality early learning. Skerrett (2016) says these foci should be combined to say, “All learners should have access to, and participate in, high quality Māori language education in high quality early childhood education and care settings” (p. 63). The educational aspirations outlined in documents produced by the Ministry of Education, like Tau mai te reo (Ministry of Education, 2013b) and Ka Hikitia (Ministry of Education, 2013a), are not yet attainable due to Māori language not being the dominant language of education or a compulsory part of all education. There is slow movement towards high quality Māori language and high quality early childhood options. This is also despite Treaty of Waitangi educational policy promises of students having access to acquire te reo Māori. The reality is different from the rhetoric.

Example 10g

Mere refers to the dilemma of the availability of quality options. When she started looking for te reo Māori education services, she knew she had to enrol her child promptly after birth in order to attend a Māori speaking environment and to avoid long waiting lists.

P3 Mere: Tamati was six months old when I came to enrol him here, he got in a year later, there's the big waiting list.

Example 10h

Ruhia was interested in participating in a te reo Māori environment because she was still learning te reo Māori herself. Getting her child into a school environment that spoke te reo Māori was the most important aspect due to the waiting lists at two of her local school environments. The options are limited and the choices of schools available need to suit the values and philosophies of the parents.

P5 Ruhia: ...I just knew from the moment that I found out I was first pregnant that she would go to either kōhangā, or be in a bilingual or if she was lucky enough to be in a total immersion environment and we were lucky to get on the waiting list at Kōhungahunga. She started there just before she turned two, so she's been going for nearly two years, which is fantastic... I knew that she would be in a Māori preschool environment and yes of course you have to think of schools already because it's what Christchurch is like, isn't it? It's so specialised, there's not that many options available, the waiting lists are very long now and you have to get in very quickly, so we're very interested in Kura poikiri, Bilingual unit. I haven't put her on the waiting list and I am going to do it. ... There's another school Kura Reporepo and they've got a new bilingual unit in there which I will look into as well, because I've heard that the principal is fantastic and very pro-Māori, so we will see.

Purpose and outcome for learning te reo Māori

Fishman (2001) states that there needs to be a perceived usefulness of the language for social development in order for speakers to continue using the language. Te reo Māori needs to be seen as part of the labour market and part of the local labour market for school leavers. Parents want the best for their children and if language is not perceived as useful for social and economic advancement, then they may not transfer te reo Māori in the home

or intergenerationally. Te Whe and Waa showed that because their own experiences were negative, they chose to bring their own children up speaking te reo Māori. However when parents experiences were negative then language was not transferred to avoid ridicule or abuse.

Example 10i

Understanding the importance of te reo Māori as part of language identity for whānau members, as well as the economic use of learning te reo Māori in institutions, was referred to by Te Whe and Waa. Te Whe could see the importance of continuing to learn te reo Māori and shared her thoughts about what happened to her classmates from secondary school who stopped using or having te reo Māori in their lives. Te Whe felt it was important to share the benefits of continuing to learn te reo Māori with whānau and the outcome of this is using te reo Māori in the community. It was not about the pathway of learning te reo but the outcome of all the learning along the way.

P1 Te Whe: I could say while I didn't have much of an outcome at school academically, and to go on to further academic study, I don't regret that one of the only things I took out [from secondary school] was Māori and followed on. If I compare with other friends that haven't gone on and used it, it's like, why did you start? So, when I see people that I studied with at Kura tuarua, and they're not passing it on I'm really, really proud that what I did then is of use now. That actually it's not the pathway, that's the outcome.

Economic benefits for the whānau

Some iwi Māori students study particular topics in institutions in order to give back to their communities. This is a Kaupapa Māori approach to learning where there is a reciprocal approach to learning because of whānau, hapū, iwi and community obligations. In some instances, this approach is compromised, as expressed by Ritchie et al. (2014), who note that the “individualism of neoliberalism directly contravenes the collectivism of te ao

Māori, as expressed through Māori values of whanaungatanga (relationships, connectedness), aroha (the reciprocal obligation to care, respect), utu (reciprocity), and manaakitanga (generosity) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship of the earth)” (p. 121). Ritchie further refers to capitalist enterprise and economic benefits disguising colonial assimilation practices. The economy prevents the application of principles of Māori values in society as well as in our institutions.

Example 10j

Waa discusses how learning te reo Māori, and Māori content in an institution, benefits the whole whānau. Waa has older and younger children. She is happy that her older son is considering a career that can support the whole whānau as well as his use of te reo Māori. Her son Tipene has been brought up speaking te reo Māori and intends attending an institution to become a lawyer. The economic benefit of this is that he is not just learning in an institution to earn a degree for a career but his degree will potentially benefit the whole whānau. Whānau land had been taken and Waa felt that knowledge about how to get this back would be appropriate and useful for the whānau, so approved of her son becoming a lawyer. Reciprocity is an important part of reo Māori relationships.

P2 Waa: the only pre-requisite for becoming a lawyer is making sure that he does Māori Land Court as well because that will come in real useful in our family.

Theme 11 Tino Rangatiratanga – Normal and natural

The aim for speakers of te reo Māori is to have te reo Māori spaces throughout their daily lives and to increase their linguistic functionality. This would mean te reo Māori is spoken in many and varied domains in people’s day to day associations. The research participants want te reo Māori to be a normal and natural part of their own and their children’s lives. Currently, te reo Māori does not have norms as the benchmarks are still being set as iwi Māori are in revitalisation and recovery mode. In this section, I begin to explore what a

healthy language would look like as well as establishing norms for intergenerational Māori. This would mean te reo Māori would be used in the home, education and community for all the associated institutional systems (for example, communication, political and judicial systems) and would be used in times of trauma as well as in times of wellness. Being able to use te reo Māori in times of disaster would be a key indicator as to the health and wellness of te reo Māori in institutional environments and civic society because this would mean te reo Māori is being used in policy and practice in the local context.

I am using the words “normal and natural” in this section to refer to tino rangatiratanga. Natural and normal is perceived differently in the English language through a Pākehā worldview. The words “normal and natural” indicate that there is one normality, as in the colonising monolingual English language used to mould the nation state of New Zealand. The historical background of a New Zealand nation state promotes the idea that there is one norm and one dominant way of thinking and believing (May, 2012). There is also a Kaupapa Māori approach which reflects that there are many different ways to be Māori and therefore there will be differing realities, differing norms and language needs for different iwi and hapū. Kaupapa Māori practice and tino rangatiratanga include the space to learn, teach and reflect in a Māori way, with Māori values and through te reo Māori. This includes self-definition and self-decision by Māori, in Māori, for Māori (Skerrett-White, 2003). Therefore, in this section, when participants refer to normal and natural, this is from a Māori perspective or use of the term tino rangatiratanga. Six of the participants wish to have te reo Māori as a natural expression of their culture and an environment where speaking te reo Māori feels just as normal as speaking English.

Te reo Māori in the home

Te Rautaki reo Māori, the 2014 Māori Language Strategy (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014) outlines the government's approach to supporting the revitalisation of Māori language. One of the results areas is to increase the use of te reo Māori among whānau Māori and other New Zealanders in the home. However, the booklet produced does not provide any targets or indicators as to how this will happen nor what should be done to provide movement towards te reo Māori being a living language in daily use. Te reo Māori in the home is a key indicator of the health of the Māori language and vital to intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. The following two narratives illustrate the idea of normal use of te reo Māori in the home. Rena discussed the concept of “normal” when asked about the type of experiences she wanted for her children and Mere used the word “normal” when she talked about intergenerational transmission. Both of these concepts link to iwi strategies like Ngāi Tahu’s Kotahi Mano Kāika project (Te Karaka, 2002) and Ngāti Porou’s iwi reo strategy and Māori Language Strategy 2014 (Te Puni Kōkiri), which demonstrate the important influence that these types of strategies are having on normalisation of intergenerational transmission and use of te reo Māori in the home.

Example 11a

Rena understood the importance of speaking te reo Māori to her children on a daily basis in a place she could have control over and that was in the home. Rena has attended courses on intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. She knows that in that environment, it was up to her to speak te reo Māori in order for that to be considered a “normal” part of the day.

P4 Rena: So, I'm having to create positive experiences for them but making it as extremely normal as possible so that we don't have to do, a special thing, like going outside the home to do so, to get that kei roto i te kaika....

Example 11b

Mere referred to learning about intergenerational transmission in a course which in turn has helped her understand how to make te reo Māori a natural part in the home. Mere has the support of her mother to speak te reo Māori to her son, which assisted with te reo Māori being spoken in further parts of her child's daily interactions. Mere also worked in an environment where te reo Māori was spoken daily. These reo Māori speaking domains all assist with te reo Māori becoming normalised.

P3 Mere: Well I did an essay on it [intergenerational transmission], so I should know a lot about it. It plays a huge role in what becomes normal and right and part of what you see as being comfortable when teaching your child.

Te reo Māori in the workplace

Higgins, Rewi, and Olsen-Reeder (2014) argue it is important to shift away from the notion that te reo Māori is only for Māori within confined domains of society. Higgins et al. (2014) acknowledge that te reo Māori is a living language to be used in all spheres of society. Promoting bilingualism should not just be restricted to the domain of the home. The government legislation supporting te reo Māori in the workplace in 2016 is the Māori Language Act 2016, (te reo Māori was first made an official language of New Zealand in 1987), and te reo Māori is a taonga protected under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi. Use of te reo Māori in the workplace is related to neoliberalism, which determines whether te reo Māori is promoted or used as the market decides the need. The Crown and iwi Māori have obligations to protect and use te reo Māori, however it is also a community responsibility. Te reo Māori in the workplace is based on individual responsibilities, rather than policies. It is workplaces that interpret the Treaty partnership, policies and relationships and decide whether to implement or use te reo Māori.

There are no indicators or targets for work environments. Participants in this research have found their own ways of supporting te reo Māori in the work environment. The following narratives are a discussion between Ihaia and his partner about normalising te reo Māori at work.

Example 11c

Ihaia refers to the work environment as being an important part of his and his partner's whānau day. He noticed that when his partner moved from a daily reo Māori speaking work environment to a new work environment, where te reo Māori was not spoken, that the level of te reo Māori being used changed. In order to survive and have good use of te reo Māori, te reo Māori needs to be spoken daily, even at work.

P8 Ihaia: So when she was at the iwi work environment with Whaimana, Rākau Mangamanga, and Paora you would speak Māori all the time, but as soon as they started working for a Pākehā organisation your language just changed.

Example 11d

During the interview process when Ihaia comments about this happening in the work environment, Miria also acknowledges how quickly te reo Māori disappears when it is not part of the normal day. Miria decided she would partner with the other reo Māori speaking people at her work environment to increase the use of te reo Māori being spoken. She had not thought about the consequences of this until it was discussed further in her interview. Speaking only te reo Māori to her colleague was a great te reo strategy she could use at her work environment to maintain te reo Māori as part of her day.

P7 Miria: It's amazing isn't it how quick it can go. So maybe I should talk to Anika. I should only speak Māori to her....We do actually do this like when we're just us in the room we do, just both of us ...

The future for learning te reo Māori in the home

Speakers of te reo Māori do not want barriers like low status of te reo Māori and lack of respect for the language, due to colonisation factors, to hinder the social advancement of their children. Fishman (2001) states that parents do not want their children to be held back because they speak another language besides English in the home. Lingusitic capital in one dominant language should not be a hindrance. Due to inequities in the economic domain, one language is dominant over the other. In this next section, Ihaia and Miria discuss their own cultural norms and how these are viewed via other cultural groups and norms. Some participants in the research did not want their children to have to go through what they have had to do to learn te reo Māori. Ihaia and Miria talked about what they would like to see happening in the future for te reo Māori. They did not want their children to have to go through what they needed to do to revitalise te reo Māori and to make it a natural part of their lives.

Example 11e

In the first example, Ihaia is referring to being able to write te reo Māori at an academic level, something which he feels is not able to be accomplished in the home. In the second example, Miria discusses further about what te reo Māori might look like as a normalised language.

P8 Ihaia: ... it's just natural that they don't have to go to all these classes and stuff even though they've still got to learn structures we're probably not the best ones to teach them grammatically correct things.

Example 11f

P7Miria: Yes. I don't know if it's achievable, but to have te reo as a normalised language within the household, within the community and within the town. I don't know that in the current state and I don't know whether in the future that Christchurch will ever be that.

But if you had levels of dreams that would be the ultimate so they could go to the local dairy and could say kia ora you know pirangi au, that would be the ultimate.

Normal and natural in the home and school

Te reo Māori strategies need to take into account the various domains that whānau Māori encounter in their daily lives to ensure the realities of society and the people within it are promoting rather than limiting te reo Māori use. Te reo Māori is never restricted to the home, as daily decision making made in the home is also affected by wider societal and environmental influences. Higgins et al. (2014) argue that te reo Māori should be part of Article 3 of the Treaty rather than just Article 2 as a taonga where promotion of the language is part of the citizenship of New Zealand. Spolsky's (2004) research supports this concept when he says, "The ideological status of each language usually reflects its status in the wider community" (p. 29). It is harder to normalise te reo Māori in society when the wider community environment is monolingual. There is a bilingual Māori community but language use favours English.

Te Whe provides three aspects of intergenerational te reo Māori in the home: your own whānau upbringing, schooling and home experiences. Te Whe discusses what is needed around you, what you need to say and tikanga required for te reo Māori to be a normal and natural part of the home environment. This home environment then leads into making educational choices and Te Whe discusses how this occurred for her when she was growing up. In the examples below, she expresses the need for "normalisation" of te reo Māori in four different ways. The first is about school choices for her children, the second about how in her extended whānau environment this was just the norm, the third is how tikanga and te reo Māori were part of the norm in her own schooling and fourth is te reo Māori at home. In the last example in this section, Waa has had te reo Māori in the home since birth. She refers to the importance of having an environment in te reo Māori rather

than specific domains, and time in te reo Māori to allow the natural progression and flow to live as Māori in society.

Example 11g

Te Whe's first example shows that making school choices includes educational environments where there are other parents that are making the same decisions about using and speaking te reo Māori. Te Whe has surrounded herself with reo Māori speaking people and therefore the educational choices that she has made are about these natural progressions too. The progressions she refers to are surrounding yourself with reo Māori speaking people as well as educational decisions to continue with use of te reo Māori. The progression was to follow the reo Māori speaking parents she knew.

P1 Te Whe: I didn't really know any of the other whānau at Kura kūnekune and it was a natural progression to go to Kura Poikiri from Kōhungahunga but by then my son had changed to Kōhungahunga rua because those children were going to Kura kūnekune and had a natural relationship there so it was quite natural.

Example 11h

Example two demonstrates that Te Whe's choice to speak to reo Māori comes from the fact that reo Māori was spoken all around her when she was younger.

P1 Te Whe: I understood I was Māori in that at home we didn't speak Māori but four times a year, we'd go back to where my family are from, which is Te Tai Rāwhiti. It was all around us, it was just normal, natural you know.

Example 11i

In example three, Te Whe finds that the safety and resilience required to be Māori are more difficult when you experience group mores that are not your own and are the nation state norms. Tikanga and speaking te reo Māori at school were the norm for Te Whe and she wants that norm to be available for her own children.

P1 Te Whe: so it's important for us for them to be in an environment where it's normal to do karakia to sing waiata Māori, to hear other people speaking Māori and to speak with others in Māori, and have the odd few outings that are based around tikanga, that again is normal. Because my experience at kura tuarua is that going to a tangi of somebody I didn't even know, but to support them was just natural, we could just do that... everything became normal. ...Whereas we just adapted, it just became so normal. You know your role in those types of things as well, so we want that for our children.

Example 11j

Waa has had te reo Māori in the home as a natural part of the home environment since her own birth. All of her children's experiences contained te reo Māori. Waa refers to experiences needing to be in te reo Māori rather than certain time periods in te reo to make te reo Māori a natural part of the environment. Waa is living these choices and choosing how to live her life as Māori, in Māori, and if these experiences are not available in her current environment she chooses to go where these experiences are available. She moves between te reo Māori and te reo Pākehā with confidence and resilience. Knowledge and use of te reo Māori as a natural part of her life has enabled her to do this. Waa's other whānau members were not taught te reo Māori. Waa's father realised the damage that was done to te reo Māori when he had not passed on te reo Māori so he made sure he spoke te reo Māori from birth to his last child. So when Waa says she is "really, really, really lucky" she is acknowledging her father's fortitude and aptitude to do something that was not the norm at the time. Waa's own children have benefited from this and the legacy will be passed on intergenerationally.

P2 Waa: Te reo Māori is, just normal a natural part of the environment.... I've never had to say speak te reo Māori because it is endangered. Never growled them. It's never been a fight for te reo. I've never had to fight for te reo because I've always had it around me. I

always had Dad. We've never had to fight for anything. Really, really, really, lucky. ... Yeh, it's just the way we do things. It's all about experiences, just the way we're talking, it's natural, it's not about how much time you're doing it.

Summary of institutional themes

In this chapter, I reviewed the themes presented in participant narratives that relate to institutional environments and how these impact across all whānau members' daily lives when using and learning te reo Māori, in the home, school and community. Institutions play an important role in the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Working and learning in environments that use te reo Māori was an important outcome for parents and children and ensured te reo Māori was a normal and natural part of their daily lives. It is the daily environment created for using te reo Māori that is important for societal language status and intergenerational transfer of te reo Māori. The ability to make choices and having economic advantages from knowing another language is making te reo Māori normal. Participants know the benefits of intergenerational language—it is continued support with the implementation of this that is required. In this next section, I provide an analysis of institutional features and how the implications of these features affect the use of te reo Māori as a living language.

Discussion: Institutional features – Haumanu and hauora

In this section of the chapter, I look at the institutional features and the themes that have emerged from the data. The daily use of te reo Māori in communities and educational institutions where te reo Māori is part of the citizenship of New Zealand is vital to the normalisation of te reo Māori as a living language. This has implications for parents, educationalists and institutional environments. When participants know about their histories of language loss and whakapapa, they are able to begin their language journeys to resist dominant cultural values. The economic use of te reo Māori and the value of te reo

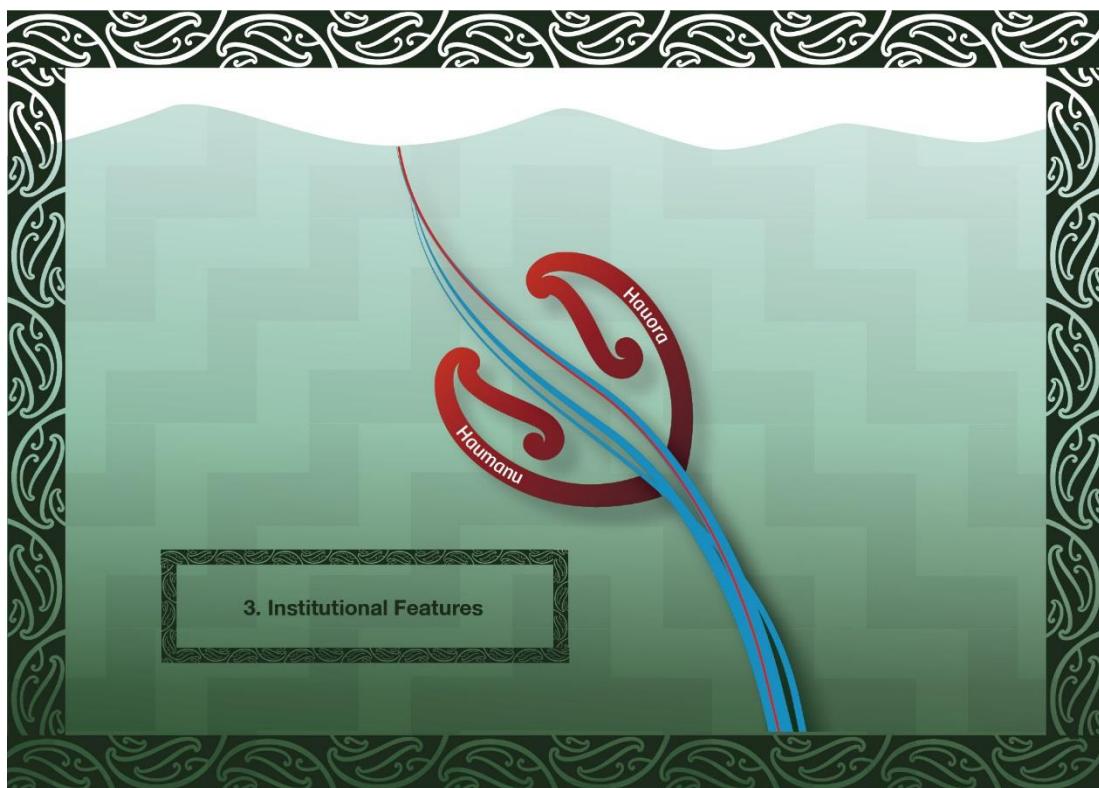
Māori in society affects language revitalisation efforts. This section analyses and looks at how the sociocultural and ecological features are part of the impact upon institutional features and vice versa and how this has affected the participants in this research. This analysis provides some implications for the regeneration of te reo Māori. These combine to produce differing outcomes for Māori/English bilingualism.

The third part of this model (see Figure 4) is now introduced, showing the institutional features which I have called *Haumanu* and *Hauora*. *Haumanu* highlights some institutional responsibilities for restoring the health and sustainability of te reo Māori with implications for parents, teachers and children. *Hauora* reflects the current status and wellbeing of te reo Māori in local contexts.

Figure 4. Institutional features

Model: Part 3

A whakapapa of Māori/English bilingualism



In this section I discuss further the institutional features of the AWOB model and then analyse the two themes numbered 11 and 12. Institutional features relate to the participants' strategies for regeneration and health of Māori language within their whānau and the implications of these aspects for parents, teachers, hapū, iwi, leaders in te reo Māori and institutions. This section acknowledges the powerful influence of institutions and their place in the economy and in the revitalisation of languages. Institutional features are the third aspect from Benham's (2007) model. There are government, hapū and iwi leaders with reo Māori revitalisation responsibilities and the critical knowledge that is required in all institutional environments about their vital role in this process. This section offers some strategies which have been developed from the participants' narratives.

10. Education/Career paths

The powers of education and policies within institutional environments have far reaching outcomes for use of te reo Māori. These educational environments and policies produced within these institutions need to address the aforementioned ecological and sociocultural features to assist with successful intergenerational transmission. Due to the endangered status of te reo Māori, institutions provide support to speak te reo Māori in the home and community. Māori speakers continue to question how te reo Māori is being looked after and seek Māori language status in institutional environments where English dominates. This lack of status is an inhibitor for Māori language use and identity. Pākehā language learners already have status due to being part of the dominant culture and language in institutions.

The national language by default in New Zealand is English (Ministry of Education, 2007), which advantages some individuals and groups at the expense of others. English is the high status language. English language is not legislated as an “official” language, however it is described as a de facto official language or lingua franca due to widespread use (Hōhepa,

2015). May (2012) refers to the work of Fernand de Varennes on the influence of the nation state and English language dominance upon the political decision making. De Varennes (1996) noted that when a nation state shows preference towards some individuals on the basis of a single language for state activities then it is not a neutral act:

1. The state's chosen language becomes a condition for the full access to a number of services, resources and privileges, such as education or public employment...
2. Those for whom the chosen state speech is not the primary language are thus treated differently from those for whom it is: the latter have the advantage or benefit of receiving the state's largesse in their primary tongue, whereas the former do not and find themselves in a more or less disadvantaged position.... Whether it is for employment in state institutions...or the need to translate or obtain assistance.... a person faced with not being able to use his primary language assumes a heavier burden (cited in May, 2012, p. 162).

When whānau members are faced with decision making about education and studying at institutions they are not really making choices based on their own personal wishes and belief systems about passing on te reo Māori intergenerationally. The heavier burden is that their cultural and linguistic identities are superseded by the economy and state. Māori have to follow Western guidelines and rules set by institutions. Whānau are instead taking on the requirements of the nation state and therefore the dominant cultural belief systems and needs of this state. Institutional racism—that is, cultural dominance by the high status group and language—is one of the consequences faced by Māori in institutions that are required to put the economy first. Classes for a small number of te reo Māori speakers are not economically viable. The emergent bilinguals in this research needed to search for courses that moved them beyond beginner status and for courses that taught te reo Māori for use in the home. The economic and historical contexts of these institutions mean that institutional racism towards te reo Māori is passed on intergenerationally.

Barnes et al. (2012) discuss the negative mass media representation of Māori, which in turn impacts on Māori/Pākehā relations. Barnes et al. (2012) say that, from earliest contact,

Māori have been depicted negatively by European observers (Belich, 1996; Salmond, 1997; Ward, 1839, cited in Barnes et al., 2012), as uncivilised, savage, violent, ignorant and indolent (Belich, 1996; McCreanor, 1997; Salmond, 1991, cited in Barnes et al., 2012). Māori have historically been seen this way and colonisation has ensured that Pākehā ways were the norm. Pākehā talk and media discourse about Māori and the Māori world continue to represent Māori in this way (Barnes et al., 2012). McCreanor (1993) reviewed Māori and Pākehā relations via public submissions by Pākehā individuals to the Human Rights Commission. The main issues outlined then are the same issues referred to by Barnes et al. (2012). Barnes et al., argue that colonisation works on a hierarchy of cultures from tribal/primitive at the bottom to sophisticated global/capitalist at the top. Lane (2008) also refers to children learning a hierarchy of language from an early age. My own son at age four asked if “Māori were New Zealanders” and when I said, “Yes,” he asked, “Why don’t New Zealanders speak Māori?” Māori culture and language is seen as primitive, irrelevant and inadequate in a modern context. Barnes et al. (2012) counteract these historical Pākehā assumptions, by decolonising these and re-storying them. The data showed in Chapter five that Maraea went on a communication course where she was able to re-story her racial assumptions. These re-storying techniques for stereotypical assumptions are useful for educationalists as they decolonise the assumptions for teachers and the media representations of Māori.

The data show that students studying to be teachers need to visit these assumptions in their training. Rena and Maraea were influenced by Pākehā societal attitudes and media depictions of Māori in society in secondary school. The assumption was that Māori culture is inferior to Pākehā culture in the curriculum. McCreanor (1993) refers to this as a Pākehā ideology of Māori educational performance and further says that unless this ideology can be adjusted then Pākehā will never be able to take up the partnership proffered in the

Treaty of Waitangi. This has implications for te reo Māori regeneration. Rena and Maraea took on board these racial assumptions and stereotypical conditioning, subsequently becoming victims of the stereotyping themselves (Lane, 2008; Webber, 2012a).

The government's political agenda about economical school sizes and types of schools with particular numbers of students, affects where schools are built and where monetary services are put into te reo Māori. It is up to the regions to question how these policies are put into practice. The data show that the shortage of early childhood and after school care environments that speak te reo Māori in the Christchurch region means parents have had to make compromises in order to survive in the Christchurch economy and regional state. There is the nation state that imposes hidden political agendas towards te reo Māori and then there are the political agendas for each regional area. The data show that the services to promote the continued use of te reo Māori in people's daily lives are limited to whether you are able to travel to a certain side of town or the number of people wishing to have te reo in education. Miria refers to these aspects in her narrative discussion about early childhood schooling choices. She chose her early childhood centre based on discussion with her peers who had already started the reo Māori journey with their own children and how far away the centre was from her work and home. Being close to a centre was important for picking up sick children as well as school drop offs and pick ups. The data showed some parents were not able to access te reo Māori early childhood bilingual education until a space became available due to huge waiting lists. Māori living in the regions continue to question the way resourcing is allocated to te reo Māori; unfortunately, the state is slow to react.

Immediate whānau are not as influential in the decision making process of speaking te reo Māori as te reo Māori speaking friends and wider whānau are. The data showed that their experiences were highly valued by those beginning the reo Māori journey that involves

institutional knowledges. When language is lost across generations within whānau, it is wider hapū and iwi language and knowledges that support regeneration of te reo Māori.

There is also a continued shortage of quality te reo Māori teachers in the early childhood, primary and secondary sectors. This is not new information (Hōhepa, 2015; Kāretu 2008; Te Aika et al., 2009). Managers at these educational institutions have resorted to training their own teachers as there is no training centre in the South Island.

Language about the local environment and local dialect is often missing from the content of formal educational courses and is a critical aspect of language learning and knowledge. Fishman (2001) argues further that learning ancestral languages in formal educational contexts has a negative impact on tribal dialects. This is due to a standardised reo Māori and this often does not include local cultural norms or the local language learning environment. A cultural norm for learning te reo Māori needs to be avoided and the contexts and place where language is learned taken into account. White and Rewi (2014) refer to a standardised Māori language form as a further colonising agent because of the way there is a dominance of this standardised form over dialects. Ngāi Tahu has developed local wānanga called “Kia Kurapa” for developing reo Māori for those speaking at the beginning to intermediate level and Ngāi Tahu Kura reo for intermediate to fluent level speakers where the Ngāi Tahu dialect is promoted. These wānanga develop local knowledge and contextually based reo Māori and culture associated with place. The activities also support what Mutu (2005) says when she discusses how important learning pepeha is to identity formation and what occurs when there is intergenerational transmission disruption of this knowledge. It was the role of kaumātua in regions to ensure that the historical knowledge was accurate and the resources were available for the children. In the region of Christchurch, there are not enough kaumātua left with this knowledge. Mutu (2005) says identity development is defined genealogically, with key

historical aspects and geographical markers in tribal areas. These geographical locations that define iwi tribal territories are all around the country. The usual hapū and iwi intergenerational links have been lost in tribal areas like Ngāi Tahu. Due to the loss, accurate knowledge transmission has to be recorded for future generations and wider social support.

The data show that participants in this research attended Ngāi Tahu wānanga or benefited from participating in reo Māori groups funded by Ngāi Tahu, such as Kia kurapa and Ngāi Tahu kura reo referred to above. Unfortunately, the Ngāi Tahu wānanga are not enough but they are a start. These wānanga are a crucial component for language learning, and iwi living in Christchurch also learn their tribal dialect and historical links by participating in these. Both aspects are important components of language identity. The data show that once te reo Māori speaking participants in this research attended these wānanga, the reality was different in their regular reo Māori speaking lives and homes. It is reo Māori speaking friends that they associate with who are the ones that increase the use of te reo Māori. Place based te reo Māori is knowing your region and the language mapped on to the land. The participants that attend Puna Reo begin their sessions with whakapapa knowledge and visits to local areas in order to regenerate this knowledge within their whānau. All participants have critical knowledge about language learning and understand the importance of these connections from attendance at courses and reo Māori wānanga provided by Ngāi Tahu iwi. The data show there is a shortage of knowledgeable people to fulfil these roles, however, so it is parents that are left searching for this information themselves, and to follow up aspects learnt at these wānanga.

11. Tino Rangatiratanga – Normal and natural

Institutions that need more Māori speaking employees need to step up in regard to employees that speak and use te reo Māori. Holmes (2013) reports that their research into

te reo Māori in the workplace highlights the very limited extent to which Pākehā understand how Māori values influence and are included in ways of talking at work (Holmes, 2013). Acknowledgement of this skill set is a step towards valuing te reo Māori as a living language. It is a move towards making te reo Māori a civic language and acknowledging the official status of te reo Māori in New Zealand. The data show that the participants all recognise the need for having te reo Māori as part of their child's education and their workplace. The participants that had worked overseas returned to New Zealand to ensure te reo Māori was part of their child's education and found new work roles that encouraged the use of te reo Māori. Being able to speak te reo Māori during the day is part of the growth that needs to continue with their language identity. Participants deliberately chose places of work where speaking te reo Māori was considered part of the workplace objectives or core business promoting Māori values and goals. Languages need to adapt to newly emerging functions which are associated with another language in order for them to be used. If workplaces do not use te reo Māori then this adds to the dilemma of te reo Māori only being spoken by a small elite group. This is not a useful strategy for growth of te reo Māori to occur in the region of Christchurch.

Whānau Māori have a sense of obligation to te reo Māori because of the spiritual dimension of language and living as Māori. There is a reciprocal nature to whānau, which is called whanaungatanga where obligations to whānau, a sense of belonging and kinship rights are shared for the benefit of whānau. When research is undertaken it is to benefit Māori or the Māori community, or because whānau Māori have been consulted about their research expectations. When a career is chosen by whānau, it is to support whānau to live as Māori (Durie, 2011). The participants in this research have talked about the daily realities of living as Māori and this is about having control over their own destinies instead of having to fit into the institutional systems. Skerrett-White (2003) interprets "to live as

Māori” as “being able to have access to a Māori world — access to language, culture (including tikanga), marae, whānau and resources such as land and kaimoana” (p. 44). Durie’s model referred to previously is not just an educational framework but a way of life for whānau. Durie refers to being Māori as a Māori reality and that this reality should be available in institutions.

Māori are shaping their own realities within the confines of institutions that are based on Western philosophies and English language. This is a new way of being Māori that current institutions are not yet recognising. Penetito (2010b) suggests that information should be more like the way institutional marae and Māori medium schooling information is shared. Mediation processes between institutional life and the values and reality of individual life for Māori would be more familiar, and hence Māori would feel “more in control of their own destiny” (Penetito, 2010b, p. 125). There are not enough Māori institutions. So the outcome of learning te reo Māori is limited because there are limited institutions prepared to promote, use and speak te reo Māori to a level where te reo Māori can be used conversationally.

The data show that due to a lack of state resources for maintaining te reo Māori in the community and home, participants need to have their own personal forms of motivation for continued use of te reo Māori. Waa, Te Whe, Mere, Rena, Miria and Maraea have had a combination of instrumental and integrative motivation in their lives through education, work, friends and whānau to sustain the use of te reo Māori in their lived experiences. King’s (2009) research suggests that Māori adults are more integratively motivated to learn their heritage language as it is a link to the past and the traditional ways of their tipuna (ancestors). Others are not so lucky to have both of these motivating factors in their daily lives. Having te reo Māori as part of the daily routine is an important aspect for language maintenance. All participants had integrative motivation to continue learning te reo Māori

to pass on intergenerationally to their children. In order though for this to continue to happen, iwi monetary support for te reo Māori acquisition is required, as well as government support for growth in te reo Māori in the workplace.

The data show participants were concerned about the future use of te reo Māori and how growth in te reo Māori could be supported. The current situation of the language learning environment still seems to be a lack of freely available resources for parents in the home. The participants were all supported by Ngāi Tahu funding to further their understanding of language in the home. Whānau also have varying ways of doing this in the home due to the differing intergenerational situations, their iwi support, and local language learning environment. Once the decision is made to speak te reo Māori in the home, then this is when strong reo Māori speaking support networks need to be available. Tuakana/teina support will grow even more speakers. Promotion of te reo Māori as an endangered language and the benefits of being bilingual still need to be part of the local language environment for all parents in New Zealand. Continued effort with critical awareness is an ongoing requirement for language revitalisation as well as for use as a living language. Parents now need to rely more on written resources rather than people resources to ensure critical knowledge continues for the future generations. Maraea laments in her narrative about the lack of current resources available for parents in the home. Parental resources for the home are still being designed and produced and are often not freely available. Ngāi Tahu educational groups are starting to put together resources for schools but there is still a mistrust of the use of taonga tuku iho (ancestral treasures handed down) being used by non-Māori or a sense of whakamā by those who are Māori attempting to pass on this information due to lack of knowledge. Care needs to be taken about how knowledge is shared as Māori are not the majority culture or the decision makers where this information

is being shared. Two participants were concerned about their lack of knowledge in regard to stories and cultural knowledges they needed for te reo Māori regeneration.

The data show participants wish for te reo Māori to be a part of their daily lives, that is in the home, school and communities they participate in. There was concern that te reo Māori for the home was not available in more institutions and that te reo Māori classes would continue to be supported and provided for free. This enabled more of the participants' access to reo Māori. Institutions understanding the long term effects of historical intergenerational trauma for educational practices is part of a decolonisation process and part of a reo Māori learning programme. Medley (2012) endorses teachers understanding the concept of trauma in education when he says that not only is it important to have culturally and linguistically responsive teaching approaches but teachers also need to discourse about the special needs of learners' past traumas. The language identity of learners and the history and stories associated with the learners' past need to be placed into the classroom environment. It is about the context of place where the language is learnt and the associated histories of the learners that affects the current learners' environments.

Medley (2012) says:

Young learners are not disembodied cognitive devices for processing language input, but persons with histories. They are the products of what they have seen, heard, smelled, touched, acted on, and been subjected to—as well as the products of their ancestors' experiences. Through stories passed down over generations, they have absorbed and processed interpretations of who they are, how they have become what they are, and what they have the potential to become. Their personal histories have profoundly affected their psychological states and their stakes in the classroom. (p. 112)

It is not just about teachers but all institutional environments understanding the stories and histories associated with places where te reo Māori is spoken. Institutions are part of the language speaking environment. These stories need to include historical events and stories of resilience, resistance and healing. The way a culture works together to support these

legacies and taonga tuku iho is also crucial to intergenerational transmission of language. The language identity of children is affected by identity of the caregivers whose identity is developed by those before. Acknowledging a whakapapa of language in institutional environments supports language regeneration.

This research acknowledges that trauma is linked to language identity which was changed historically when language was taken away due to colonisation. This has implications for parents, communities and those working in educational institutions. Weaver and Braveheart also contend that historical trauma “distorts Indigenous identity, self-concept and values” (Weaver & Yellow Horse Brave Heart, 1999, p. 22). The historical circumstances surrounding the speaking of te reo Māori can cause intergenerational trauma. Not being able to verbalise and account for a feeling is unprocessed trauma that needs to be understood as part of a healing process. O’Loughlin (2009b) refers to this absence as lack when he says:

Children who have had their experience of their histories foreclosed will live with lack, but are likely to be unaware of the causes of the absence within. Therefore, in addressing the needs of such children we need to figure out how to engage with the unconscious knowledge in their lives. Classrooms are filled with silent ghosts – silent spectral realms of unanchored anguish and lost possibility. Teachers need to be taught how to go beyond imparting inert, dominant culture cognitive knowledge, and should be prepared to engage children in emotionally and imaginatively liberatory pedagogy rooted in ancestral lore but widening to a future of healing and possibility. (p. 144)

Furthermore, O’Loughlin argues that due to the socio-political contexts children are born into, they may inherit intergenerationally transmitted individual or communal trauma (O’Loughlin, 2009b). Not all iwi Māori will suffer from unprocessed historical trauma but the effects of assimilation processes across time will have been a part of all iwi Māori contexts. Mere would have lived with her mother’s unprocessed trauma and this would have been transferred to her intergenerationally if her mother had not decided to change the feeling of “something missing”. Understanding these experiences provides opportunities

for changing the next generation's attitude towards learning te reo Māori and understanding language identity. This enables a transformation process to occur. Unless parents, teachers and communities understand the processes of historical trauma upon iwi Māori feelings of loss, and something missing, transference of this trauma will occur which will affect language identity development and learning in the classroom. If not acknowledged, unconscious trauma will continue to be transmitted across the generations.

In the first part of this chapter, the narratives showed how participants' main goals for their whole whānau, iwi and community was to make speaking te reo Māori a normal and natural part of their daily experiences. The concept of normal and natural in this research means *tino rangatiratanga*. *Tino rangatiratanga* recognises control for speaking and using te reo Māori is with, by and for Māori in a bilingual environment. This means that a Māori worldview is paramount. Penetito (2010b) says the Māori child learns in educational environments about what it means to be Māori and also what Pākehā think it means to be Māori. The Māori child is socialised in the family and in another direction in schools with little or less cultural value and learns he or she is not equipped with the "right norms and values" (Penetito, 2010b, p. 94). Māori are developing their own bilingual social advantages that Pākehā social norms do not have. Now the focus is on what it means to be Māori with a Māori worldview of bilingualism and the normalisation of bilingualism in a community currently dominated by Pākehā worldviews. The participant narratives discussed what their norms were for Māori bilingualism. Some of the participants' understanding of having te reo Māori as a norm in their lives comes from iwi strategies and responses to the differing language contexts.

In the Ngāi Tahu tribal region of Christchurch there is an iwi reo strategy called "Kotahi mano kāika, kotahi mano wawata" (see Chapters One and Two) or one thousand homes, one thousand aspirations. This strategy aims to increase the knowledge of the importance

of te reo Māori and the benefits of raising children bilingually. All of the Ngāi Tahu participants in this research had registered to do this. Therefore, they had the critical knowledge about the importance of intergenerational transmission and making te reo Māori a norm in the home. There are a variety of iwi, and consequently dialects, in the tribal region of Christchurch and whānau have varying needs for language use and strength with Māori language identity. It is this variation that needs to be considered not only in tribal plans but also in the Māori Language strategy 2014 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014). These strategies exclude educational environments, work and civic environments but include community and the home as part of their daily associations. Te reo Māori speakers are not just associating with their own iwi due to language loss as there is a lack of available speakers. Instead, participants are associating with Māori language speakers. Te reo Māori in the civic community still needs to be part of norms processing.

Bourdieu's (1990) concept of "habitus" explores how members of a social group come to acquire, through socialisation, their ways of viewing and living in the world. Bourdieu's concept is now explored to show how the participants in this research have developed their sense of a bilingual norm. There are four main ways habitus emphasises ethnicity as a social method. The first aspect Bourdieu calls "bodily hexis" (Bourdieu, 1990, cited in May, 2012). These are the things that you do at the level of the unconscious and mundane and comprise of things like language use, dress, diet and customary practice. Habitus refers to what is shaped by the objective social and cultural conditions which surround the hexis. Language use is lived out implicitly as a result of historical and customary practices (May, 2012). This research includes how historical trauma and loss have influenced the daily lived experiences which create the norms discussed by the participants.

The second way habitus is explored by Bourdieu suggests that individuals and groups operate strategically within the constraints of a particular habitus but that they also react to

changing external conditions, economic, technological and political (May, 2012). In this research, it is the local environmental conditions that have changed due to disaster trauma and the changing way Māori have adapted to language loss and institutional policy development. Miria was able to operate strategically in her new work environment because of the cultural and linguistic norm that had been established in her first work environment. She had established a norm of speaking te reo Māori daily in her first work environment. Therefore, she took this same strategy to her next environment even though daily speaking te reo Māori did not occur. Habitus therefore is also continually modified by individuals' experiences of the outside world.

The third aspect of habitus explores the active presence of past experiences which normalise cultural and linguistic practices but there is also potential for transformation and change. Once participants have established their own linguistic and cultural norms and feel safe, then exploring beyond the home and community to ensure that past negative experiences are not repeated becomes the new norm.

The fourth dimension of habitus is the interrelationship between individual action and group values and beliefs. (May, 2012). The participants in this study moved from individual whānau speaking te reo Māori in the home to developing more opportunities for their children to speak te reo Māori when they created Puna Reo groups. Habitus is all about developing your own set of cultural norms which these participants have been able to do.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus refers to the physical embodiment of cultural capital. Cultural capital is required to establish linguistic norms and the participants in this research wished to create their own Māori/English linguistic norms. According to Bourdieu ("Cultural Capital Pierre Bourdieu", n.d) there are three concepts of cultural capital, embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Knowledge and language is embodied cultural

capital; material items like luxury cars are objectified cultural capital; and institutionalized cultural capital refers to credentials and qualifications and these can be exchanged for economic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). These three forms of cultural capital have established a dominant cultural way of being in a New Zealand civic society and our education systems have espoused these various forms of cultural capital. The participants in this research are establishing their own linguistic capital and cultural capital norms in order to counteract the dominant way of being established by a New Zealand civic society.

Some participants in the research did not want their children to have to go through what they have had to do (see the stereotypes section in Chapter Five) to learn te reo Māori, so therefore had the opportunity to create a new norm. This refers to the active presence of past experiences which is part of the cultural and linguistic norm of “habitus”. Ihaia and Miria talked about what they would like to see happening in the future for te reo Māori and what they did not want their children to have to go through. This was prevented by making te reo Māori a natural part of their lives. Ihaia wants to move his children further than he has gone with te reo Māori when he discusses the need to be able to write te reo Māori at an academic level, something which he feels is not able to be accomplished in the home. This is also allowing his children to gain the most benefit of their bilingualism. Miria discusses further about what te reo Māori might look like as a normalised language as she did not experience this growing up. She refers to the fourth aspect of habitus when she refers to other cultural group norms as affecting what the future of te reo Māori would look like.

Professor Mason Durie’s visions for Māori education (Durie, 2001b), to live as Māori, to actively participate as citizens of the world and to enjoy good health and a high standard of living, also reflect the daily norms and habitus required for te reo Māori. Te Puni Kōkiri and Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori (2003) have attempted to include some goals to ensure

te reo Māori reaches “the ultimate state” which are the words used by Miria to refer to a bilingual norm. In 2003, the goal by Te Puni Kōkiri was that by 2028 the Māori language will be valued by all New Zealanders. Miria in her narrative argues that the current state of society does not reflect these goals or norms and they will not be achieved unless attention is paid towards growing te reo Māori as a civic language. Te reo Māori is not the language of choice for most Māori speakers engaging with the Crown (Stephens, 2014a). Furthermore, if it is not the language of choice by the Crown or in policies and education, then it cannot be the language of choice when going to the shop, because te reo Māori is not normalised. The whole “cultural capital” of Māoridom is not the “norm” and is therefore not valued and will not be valued by New Zealanders until it is part of habitus.

Te Whe has surrounded herself with reo Māori speaking people and participates in reo Māori environments. In her narrative, Te Whe referred to what is needed, in regard to te reo Māori and tikanga required, for te reo Māori to be a normal and natural part of the “habitus” home environment. This leads into educational choices and how this occurred for her when she was growing up. The educational choices that she has made are about natural progressions and choices that most of the parents make that are striving to include te reo Māori in their lives. Her choice to speak to reo Māori comes from the fact that reo Māori was spoken all around her when she was younger. This forms part of her past experiences that she brings into action in the present day part of habitus. Te Whe has demonstrated how her cultural norms have been developed and how these have so far been kept within the safety boundaries she has created with her own whānau. Safety norms are an important aspect of her new experiences with a daily te reo Māori environment because her norms of a Māori way of being were interrupted when she was growing up. Te Whe has recreated these for her own whānau and in a sense is healing the soul wounds previously created and experienced by her immediate whānau.

In a sense, Te Whe is referring to the true meaning of tino rangatiratanga. Skerrett-White (2003) refers to this definition of tino rangatiratanga:

Tino rangatiratanga in this sense is an ability to control the way the world enters into our minds, bodies and daily lives, that is to make sense and meaning of the world at the individual level and at the cultural level, and mediated from a given position that is Māori. It is self-identification at the personal level and self-determination culturally. It is an ability to think critically and respond collectively in order to mediate external influences and the rate of change which impacts upon our lives and resources. (p. 73)

Te Whe has been able to control how te reo Māori is part of her daily experiences as well as those of her whānau. She has been able to make the choices for her bilingualism and has made these occur, rather than being restricted by dominant Pākehā worldviews. Te reo Māori has a long way to move forward if it is to become the normal and natural part of daily lives that the participants strive for. This is a possibility but only if there are strategic actions to go alongside the goals and, as Wai 262 discusses, te reo Māori becomes part of the Crown's language (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Parents can make choices in the home, and make some choices about education and surround themselves with te reo Māori speakers. If te reo Māori is truly an official language of New Zealand then it would be normal to go to the shop and speak te reo Māori. Torres (1984) describes linguistic normalisation in the Catalonian context as "a process during which a language gradually recovers the formal functions it has lost and at the same time works its way into those social sectors, within its own territory, where it is not spoken before" (cited in May, 2012, p. 262). This is the pathway that te reo Māori speakers are striving for. As Penetito (2010b) advocates, in regard to education matters, we need to strengthen each other's culture and tikanga first, before there will be momentum forward and changes in society in a negotiated space. Tangata Māori want to be treated as equals in all aspects of society. The same applies to equality for te reo Māori. Choices and pathways are needed to suit the lived experiences of iwi and hapū to strengthen te reo Māori. Torres (1984) suggests the

pathways need to suit the territory where reo Māori has not been spoken before. Then there might be forward momentum with making te reo Māori a normal and natural part of the New Zealand nation state.

Conclusion

The analysis section of institutional features has provided an overview of the effects of te reo Māori in the economy and how understanding the importance of intergenerational transmission and acknowledging historical trauma has implications for all institutions and their role in the revitalisation of te reo Māori, nationally and regionally. Understanding the implications of these aspects assists te reo Māori language use in the home, school, iwi, hapū and community. The data show that those who can speak te reo Māori are highly valued by parents beginning the Māori language journey. Their experiences were vital support for motivation and access to knowledge about reo Māori in the home and support with choosing educational environments.

These knowledgeable people enabled the sustained use of te reo Māori in their lived experiences. It is te reo Māori speaking friends that assist with language regeneration. Unfortunately, there is a shortage of reo Māori speaking people, therefore there is a lack of te reo Māori parental support available. Parents were also making conscious choices about choosing work environments as well as educational environments in order to normalise te reo Māori in the home, school and community. A tino rangatiratanga approach to language regeneration means parent voices and approaches to language regeneration become the norm in a civic society.

Chapter Seven: Interrelationships – ecological, sociocultural and institutional features data and analysis

Introduction

In Chapter Six, I presented the themes from the data and explored what the participants' narratives stated about institutional features of learning and living with te reo Māori. In this chapter, I look at the interrelationships across the ecological, sociocultural and institutional features, presenting the emerging themes in participant narratives and then an analysis of this data. I further continue to explore the narratives to distil meaning whilst simultaneously drawing on the connections across the participants' narratives and worldviews.

Interrelationship features

This chapter explores the interrelationships features and presents the data analysis addressing the following question: How do interrelationships across the features impact upon language regeneration? Table 4 maps the data patterns across the second part of this chapter generating the themes presented for discussion. The discussion begins with an overview of the interrelationships and then the final theme number 12, the value of te reo Māori, will be discussed.

Table 4. Interrelationships across the features, themes generated from the data

<i>Interrelationships - Ecological, Sociocultural and Institutional Features</i>
<i>12. The value of te reo Māori</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Maintenance and value of te reo Māori for the home• Educational options• Quality and quantity of te reo Māori• Bilingual education transition options - choices for parents• Assessment of bilingualism• Resources• The future of te reo Māori

The interrelationships across ecological, sociocultural and institutional features (Benham, 2007) in the participants' narratives create the place and space for te reo Māori. Benham refers to needing to explore an overlap across these features because it is a combination of all of these features rather than one aspect that influences participants' lives in narratives and provides depth to the analysis. This produces relational connections and disconnections that are unique to an Indigenous worldview. It is also where transformational practices occur. In my research, this refers to the place of te reo Māori in this region and in society as a whole. It is the systems created within ecological, sociocultural and institutional features that influence the future of te reo Māori in our society and the ability of iwi Māori to transfer te reo Māori intergenerationally.

Theme 12 The value of te reo Māori

Maraea and Miria found that they needed to prove to themselves and to their children that te reo Māori is valued, as the society they live in does not present te reo Māori as valuable. Their parents had not passed on te reo Māori but ecological, sociocultural and institutional contemporary systems, available to emergent speakers of te reo Māori, enabled the value of te reo Māori to be passed on due to the passion, resilience and resistance of these participants. Despite the societal dilemmas, these participants went to educational institutions and found their own supportive networks and speakers of te reo Māori. The language environment in the region of Christchurch has very limited places to learn and speak te reo Māori for parents to choose from. The social report (2016) produced by the Ministry of Social Development says that, "Māori who live in areas with a higher proportion of Māori residents were most likely to be able to hold an everyday conversation in the Māori language" (Ministry of Social Development, 2016, p. 181). Christchurch has a high number of Māori people but the 2013 Census revealed only 12 percent of the 41,910 Māori in Canterbury could hold a conversation in te reo. There is a spread of speakers

across the region. Parents have had to create their own language spaces to be Māori speakers and find each other in order to speak te reo.

Example 12a

Maraea explains the important influence of having your own institutional and social resources around you to support the use of te reo Māori for adult learners, and for the home environment. She demonstrates how to do this for her own whānau.

P6 Maraea: I mean to this day I still go to kura reo, I go to wānanga, at work I'm part of the tuakana reo group, we've joined kapa haka as a whānau and all of those things have really helped because the children get to see and participate in things Māori. For myself I get exposed to te reo Māori a lot. My children and I get a lot of different avenues to participate in and they get to see te reo has value.

Maintenance and value of te reo Māori for the home

Social, cultural, educational, intellectual and spiritual values associated with learning te reo Māori enable people to feel valued and their status is raised when their abilities in te reo Māori are recognised and respected by others (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). When Māori worldviews are enriched and enhanced in the home, connections are made to Māori ancestral heritage. It is respect and acknowledgement of this cultural heritage that is required outside of the home environment. Participants in this section discuss how they maintain the use of te reo Māori outside institutional use.

Example 12b

In this example, Miria discusses the importance of secondary school and then the next institution as adding to her knowledge of te reo Māori. She discusses further how she maintains and values te reo Māori in the home and creates whānau reo Māori spaces. This knowledge led to te reo Māori being important in the home.

P7 Miria: I went to Ti kouka kura tuarua. And from there I went to university and was taking a couple of reo papers as fillers for my main degree. I really enjoyed those te reo papers, the history and the reo and so in the second year I changed my degree from Parks & Recreation to te reo, to Māori. ... then just by accident through the work that I worked in which was education and tertiary institutions I gained information about intergenerational language. When we started to have our own family that's when the thought of transferring the language to the next generation came about.

Example 12c

Discussion then recommenced about the best strategies for continuing to learn te reo Māori and using this knowledge in the home. The support to maintain use of te reo Māori in the home came from other participants in the courses or from members of the Puna Reo group. It was the extended networks of support that added to the quality of reo Māori being used in the home.

P7 Miria: ... so it's going to an immersion [environment] it doesn't have to be a kura reo as such, just three days, two days dedicated to te reo, but that it's coming back to your normal home to your kāinga and then knowing that you have a group or a subset of people that you can go back to and talk about and wānanga about those things.... so having a subset of friends that if I'm unsure or don't know how to convey my message in the right words I know that I can now call about a dozen people and go oh now that's good pātai e hoa, no I don't know the word for that or yeah that's something that we need to talk about at our next hui or something, oh blah, blah, blah knows that because they did some research on that so it's like having those extended networks of different levels of reo.

Educational options

Educational opportunities are also influenced by the place and space where te reo Māori is spoken. One of the barriers in education identified by participants is the lack of quality reo

Māori speakers and trained teachers employed in schools and early childhood settings in the region of Christchurch (Te Aika et al., 2009). Policies challenge teachers to learn and use te reo Māori in their classrooms, whereas teachers challenge the national education system to provide high quality professional learning programmes and classroom resources (Stewart, 2014). Educational decisions by participants are made according to all three features from Benham's model, ecological, social and institutional. The region where the participants in this research are living, limits options due to travel limitations and accessibility to quality te reo Māori programmes in quality early childhood centres. Choosing te reo Māori and early childhood together has meant compromises to opportunities and limitations due to time away from work to travel to pick up children.

Example 12d

Waa discusses how some whānau members from one of the wharekura Māori secondary schools in Christchurch have to do their training and degrees in a North Island institution because this is where there is a university that has Māori kaupapa and degrees in te reo Māori.

P2 Waa: we've got a couple of whānau members doing the one in Wānanga Raukawa (TWOR). We've got six graduates this Saturday at TWOR with their diplomas in Mātauranga Māori and that's kids – Wharekura kids.....

Having quality options close to where you live is important for parents. Working parents do not want to have to travel too far to pick up children or to have to travel to different schools for different aged siblings. For these parents the early childhood options in Christchurch for te reo Māori are limited. Maraea, Rena and Miria discuss in their narratives the early childhood options available in the region of Christchurch and the choices they made to suit the needs of their whānau. Part of this discussion included why they did not choose kōhanga reo as an option.

Example 12e

Maraea states that she chose a local early childhood option because she did not want another stress in her working life. Maraea did not send her children to te reo Māori early childhood environments, instead she just spoke te reo Māori in the home.

P6 Maraea: Oh I have found since starting work that not having the quality options close by with te reo Māori for pre-schooling just adds another layer of stress to working ...

Example 12f

Rena started her children at a kōhanga reo environment because of the reo Māori immersion environment. Later she chose a kōhungahunga (bilingual early childhood centre) closer to where she lived, due to work commitments. At the kōhanga environment Rena said that it was sometimes difficult because she did not agree with some of the teaching strategies and philosophies associated with the way the kōhanga operated. The kōhanga was run according to the whānau attending and teaching at the kōhanga but Rena also felt that when she had time it was a great way of learning te reo Māori.

P4 Rena: ... it is all down to the whānau that run the kōhanga at the time and you might not agree with some of their whakaaro, or philosophy on how things should run so it's a difficult thing trying to try and change. It's very ingrained, so you need good whānau.... You've got to have a real good kōhanga. It's a lot of commitment, and I would have learnt heaps but then there were a lot of things I didn't agree with. It was also hard to fit in with work. And life, fitting it in? Oh...oh...I'd come home completely exhausted. I chose to stay and also Kauri was still in kope during the day. I was passionate about learning and that was part of my learning or getting the reo started i te kaika.

Example 12g

Rena changed over to a kōhungahunga where she did not need to stay during the day as she had work commitments and her family grew. She also makes reference to the opportunities that non-Māori early childhood centres have available to suit working parent hours.

P4 Rena: Oh, loved it because it suited our lifestyle and there are the matua, we all work but why can't we have our cake and eat it too. Other non-Māori get that so why can't we. So, Kōhungahunga was, is, has been a fantastic option for us.

Example 12h

Miria went to the same kōhungahunga as Rena. This kōhungahunga was close to where these parents lived and worked. Miria looked at kōhanga as an option but could not spare the time away from work to be there and also shares that they had to change nappies as this was not completed by kōhanga staff.

P7 Miria: Oh kōhanga, it didn't really fit into working parents. You had to be matua awhi and kōhanga was only from nine to three, they don't change nappies and you had to be there. So that's why and how we came to be at Kōhungahunga and through knowing Areta. Arapeta was there and so Areta was the one that took us to Kōhungahunga and introduced us to the whānau there. [This early childhood centre was new].

Quality and quantity of te reo Māori

The road to language acquisition and proficiency is always under construction which means that there will always be a need for continued professional development (McKenzie & Toia, 2014). The government promotes strategies to revitalise te reo Māori as well as raise the quality of mainstream education and to support the growth of high quality Māori medium education and Māori involvement in education (McKenzie & Toia, 2014). Continued growth and development in te reo Māori requires quality professional development programmes for teachers and parents in all institutional environments.

Example 12i

Miria's partner Ihaia discusses the decisions they had to make due to the quality and quantity of te reo Māori being spoken during the day at kōhungahunga. The more fluent te reo Māori the parent could speak, the more important the quality and quantity of te reo Māori spoken at the educational centre was for their child.

P8 Ihaia: Oh Iwikau went to Kōhungahunga until he was three and then we split it. He went for two days to kōhanga reo and three days at Kōhungahunga and I don't know if that was probably the best decision or not but we just wondered about Kōhungahunga. We felt it wasn't the teachers, but it was our thoughts about was there enough language being spoken inside the centre. I mean if the kids haven't got reo at the home it's quite hard for them to speak it i ngā wā katoa. They'll learn words and they'll learn songs and they'll learn but as soon as they get in the playground, that's one thing about kōhanga reo when we went there is that when they went out into the playground they were still speaking reo as well.

Bilingual education transition options – Choices for parents

Durie (2003, cited in Skerrett, 2012) argued that the shift in institutions needed to change from strong loyalties to institutions to strong loyalties to students. In this way the strength of bilingualism across domains and institutions would be about the success of the students across sectors and not about the institution. The participants in this research showed that transitions from one educational sector to another to maintain their child's bilingualism was of concern. The transition of most concern was at the secondary school level. There were many dilemmas to overcome and decisions that parents needed to make to ensure their child's language was valued.

Example 12j

Ihaia states that the most difficult transition to combat is secondary school. There are some bilingual options available at early childhood and primary levels, but as yet there are no bilingual education options available for students at English medium secondary schools, only kura kaupapa and one new bilingual pā school being developed. The future of education in the Christchurch region is discussed by Ihaia and Miria.

P8 Ihaia: ...One thing as you know after intermediate there's no bilingual education, there's kura kaupapa but even in the schools that have some Māori teachers and things there is nothing much. People go to high school and then they go to varsity, they've got the reo and then they carry on and do varsity papers.

Example 12k

Miria comments here about the difficulty Māori speaking students in English medium settings have due to the need to complete separate te reo Māori classes in another institution at secondary level. In Christchurch students attend classes at the University of Canterbury but there are age restrictions and transport issues for some students. Also the reo Māori information provided in another institution does not include NCEA level Māori curriculum support for secondary school students. Miria comments about how this strategy is another dilemma that Māori students have to overcome when she also acknowledges that reo Māori speaking students have to attend two institutions to gain te reo Māori qualifications.

Miria: But it's still a foreign environment for them...They're still mixing with adults. You've got like your 13 year old going to a uni class. And it's that different type of teaching.

When there are no options available at all then parents are left to be advocates for their children's Māori language identity in a language environment dominated by English. This

is when participants in this research change from valuing te reo Māori, to teaching their children, to resistance and resilience in a Pākehā dominated environment, in order to be successful. Quality is not the issue; instead, survival becomes prominent, as reflected previously in the narratives about the participants' own secondary school experiences.

Assessment of bilingualism

García (2009) says there is a difficulty with offering fair and equitable assessment for bilinguals because of the interrelationship between language proficiency and content proficiency. According to García, content proficiency is related to subject matter knowledge and therefore focusing on language errors should take second priority. She says formative assessment is the most important for emergent bilingual students where assessment *for* the learning is prioritised over the assessment *of* learning (García, 2009). Children who are bilingual need assessment tests that recognise the bilingualism of the student. An example of the lack of information re bilingualism assessment is schools completing English normed assessment on children who are speakers of te reo Māori only. Some children are learning English at school because te reo Māori is the language in the home.

Example 12l

Ihaia recalls what happened to their te reo Māori speaking child at an English medium school that had a bilingual unit attached. Iwikau was in a bilingual classroom. The Ministry of Education calls this type of school environment kura reorua (Teachnz, 2016).

P8 Ihaia: [referring to bilingual education options] ... even 50/50 would have been great, ... We were there because we wanted te reo first and then, once you do the Māori then you can do English but they do it the other way round. They do the majority English and then at the end they do a little bit of Māori that's what it felt like to me. So when Iwikau started doing homework and it was all in English and we're saying oh where's the Māori

homework and then the six year old test came up, he said why isn't it in te reo, why can't we have it in te reo. I mean even though you're proficient in te reo Māori you're looking at English ... We told you [the teachers] when he started at the school that he's only learned te reo, he's only spoken te reo, he's written in te reo at kōhanga ...

Some schools have a focus on measuring how much te reo Māori a child has to protect the levels of te reo Māori being spoken in the school environment. This is to ensure children entering the school will be able to maintain and use a certain level of te reo Māori. However, the schools are using Pākehā tools and English medium “national standards” to measure children against a Pākehā norm rather than the skill of being bilingual in te reo Māori and English bilingual education setting.

Resources

Parents bringing up their children speaking te reo Māori do not often have access to the variety of great resources that are available in educational settings. Resources have been allocated according to government language policies like the 2003 Te Puni Kōkiri Māori language strategy targeting the revitalisation of te reo Māori. In 2003, there were five primary goals to achieve by 2028 regarding proficiency, increasing domains, high quality Māori language education, support for iwi dialects and value and protection of te reo Māori. According to Higgins et al. (2014) a literature analysis shows that due to limited funding there has been inequitable distribution across these Māori language goals and therefore the goals are unlikely to be achievable. Many Māori have adhered to or been affected by these initial goals and revitalisation strategies. To increase the use of te reo Māori in the home, parents need access to quality resources in te reo Māori. The internet provides resources, however parents need to be able to access or print these off for use in the home. There are many resources available in English medium for parents.

Example 12m

Maraea refers to these limitations and asks for more parental resources (not just websites) to be able to enjoy using te reo Māori in the home.

P6 Maraera: We are constantly looking for really great te reo Māori resources like puzzles and books, a variety of really beautiful things that we don't have to always make ourselves. We do make a lot of stuff ourselves; it would be nice to have some options. It seems like a small thing but when you look at it via the lens of trying to revitalise a language than yes that would be helpful.

The future of te reo Māori

So what does normal look sound and feel like when the environment, the institutional and the social situations all come together for a whānau? What does it look and sound like when there is no stress of being a statistical label or proving yourself to non-Māori? What would it look and sound like when understanding the importance of intergenerational transmission and passing this information on to your children is understood and practised by a large number of people? This research supports whānau having three generations of te reo Māori in the home and in a civic society which will be the beginnings of te reo Māori being in a state of healthiness and not endangerment. You need three generations of reo Māori speaking whānau who have successfully participated in the home, school and community and used te reo Māori as a living language.

Example 12n

Waa sums up what normal looks like for her in a simple sentence when she describes te reo Māori in her whānau.

P2 Waa: ...it's there. It's strong. That's what I mean, we're very lucky. So, we've got three generations. Yay!

Summary: Interrelationships themes

So far, this chapter has outlined the types of interrelationships across ecological, sociocultural and institutional aspects for participants. The participants' narratives show that the quantity and quality of educational options has affected the bilingual choices parents can make. Educational choices are also limited by the knowledge of educationalists in institutions, government institutions and their policies regarding their approaches to bilingual language teaching and learning and use of te reo Māori as a living language. Parents are still in survival mode overcoming access barriers to reo Māori domains and educational environments and finding places where te reo Māori is valued. The combination of interrelationships shows that the future of te reo Māori is dependent upon critical knowledges and understanding of the implementation and realities of these aspects to improve intergenerational knowledge of te reo Māori among whānau, iwi and hapū and all of New Zealand.

Discussion: Interrelationships across sociolinguistic features (ecological, sociocultural and institutional) –Whakatipuranga and ohooho

In Chapter Six, there was discussion of how institutions impacted on the language identities of the participants. Institutions were seen to be culpable and instrumental in language loss. So too do they have a place in language regeneration but, as the data showed, more was needed in terms of learning language in purposeful and functional contexts through daily lived experiences rather than in institutions. In this way, te reo Māori becomes a valued, normal and natural way of life.

In this chapter, the data show the interrelationships across all of the features (ecological, sociocultural and institutional) and the importance of valuing and learning te reo Māori for the future. The themes developed from participants' narratives indicate both successful strategies and possible dilemmas regarding speaking te reo Māori in the home, school and

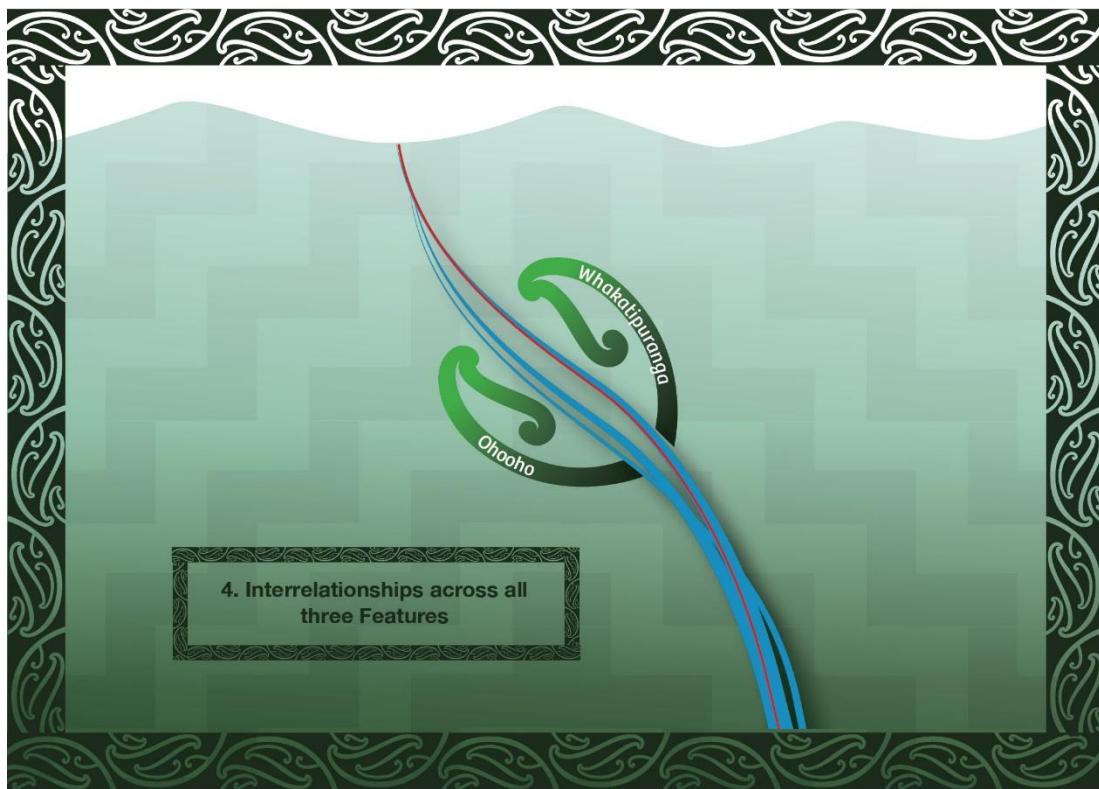
community. Revitalising te reo Māori in these environments is often a difficult experience for new parents and for those without wider reo Māori whānau support. It is the determination, resistance and resilience demonstrated in the participants' narratives that need to be shared with future generations and iwi wanting to revitalise te reo Māori within homes, schools and communities. However, the way that participants have partaken in their te reo Māori journey and either halted or continued it needs further explanation. The next section of this chapter provides an analysis of the theme for interrelationship features. This emergent theme number 12 can assist with future te reo Māori planning for bilingual practices and provide support for more emergent bilinguals and bilingual parents to learn and speak te reo Māori with their children.

The following section also introduces the final part of the model (see Figure 5). This part examines the interrelationships across all three sociolinguistic features (ecological, sociocultural and institutional). They have been defined as *Whakatipuranga* and *Ohooho*. *Whakatipuranga* is the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori as a living language across three generations and *Ohooho* is valuing te reo Māori as a civic language enabling Māori to live as iwi Māori.

Figure 5. Interrelationships across sociolinguistic features

Model: Part 4

A Whakapapa of Māori /English bilingualism



The last part of this model of a whakapapa of Māori/English bilingualism (AWOB) in Figure 6, shows that the most important aspects in the participants' narratives are the value and use of te reo Māori in the wider community as well as the home, whānau, iwi and hapū. It is a combination of these aspects that enable te reo Māori to be a living language. These are now discussed in this final section of analysis of the data.

Theme 12 The value of te reo Māori

The effects of the language status of te reo Māori on the participants' lived experiences in the civic community causes dilemmas towards any language use other than the dominant culture and English language. According to Pennycook, "The notion of shared norms and mutual understanding is based largely on monolingual speech contexts in which a commonality of expression and experience is assumed" (A. Pennycook, personal communication, February 26, 2015). In a monolingual society which promotes a norm, Williams (2010) says the economy and national and global political systems and processes influence the value and long term viability of minority languages, and their community of

speakers. Te reo Māori, despite being made an official language of New Zealand in 1987, does not have the same status as English, the established unofficial majority language of New Zealand. English language became the language of trade and the economy in colonial New Zealand. Te reo Māori was the first language of trade (Peters, 2014). Globalisation has established English as a world language due to other countries, in particular America, continuing to use English as the language of the economy and as a national state language.

In the nation state of New Zealand, English language is legitimised and institutionalised as a civic language maintaining its dominant use (May, 2012). Pennycook (1994) further argues that this dominance threatens the viability of Indigenous languages. The dominance of English language and English being the language of the economy means that the participants in this research have experienced the associated dilemmas that go with this situation when they use their te reo Māori in the community. Te reo Māori is the Indigenous low status language and English is the civic language which is an obstacle to social mobility. For Māori, there are significant inequitable gaps, in comparison to Pākehā New Zealanders, that remain in areas of health, knowledge and skills, employment, standards of living, cultural identity, and social connectedness (Marriott & Sim, 2014). These gaps all affect social mobility and therefore the bilingual language capability of iwi Māori. Fishman (1991) also discusses the issue of social mobility and the low status of minority languages, by saying this dilemma is:

either to remain loyal to their traditions and to remain socially disadvantaged (consigning their own children to such disadvantage as well), on the one hand; or, on the other hand, to abandon their distinctive practices and traditions, at least in a large part, and thereby, to improve their own and their children's lots in life via cultural suicide (p. 60).

Participants in this study chose not to abandon their language and culture and have strategies to overcome this *cultural suicide*. The data show that understanding how dominance works in society has enabled the participants to grow strong in their own

language identities and to overcome these obstacles. Involvement in iwi and Puna Reo group activities maintains the strength of cultural and linguistic traditions. All participants have worked hard to maintain bilingualism and biculturalism alongside their children and continue along a bilingual continuum of maintaining and using reo Māori. For Mere, Miria, Maraea and Waa this started with their own parents being involved in te ao Māori and taking their children with them as part of the learning process. By doing this, parents model the importance of learning and using te reo Māori, effectively being role models for their children.

An unequal society is clearly evident for Māori in the education system. A study by Gordon (2015) shows that a market choice model movement in education since 1989 means that decile one (a ranking system for funding) schools are smaller and contain more Māori and Pasifika students than decile 10 schools. Middle class parents are shifting students to higher decile schools (Gordon, 2015) that become higher economic social status schools. Social status enables high income parents to move, and live closer to decile 10 schools. This occurs despite reports stating that decile one schools are successful. This means that middle class, dominant culture parents in many instances are therefore not associating with Māori and Pasifika populations. Dominant language status supports monocultural, and monolingual economic status. The normalising of education continues to support a monocultural, monolingual curriculum and schooling. The participants in this research continue to challenge education systems that favour this type of schooling. The value of a bilingual, bicultural education is not yet valued in society and education systems in New Zealand and as shown in the research by Gordon are supported by decile ranking systems and educational market choice policies that allow inequities to continue.

The Waitangi Tribunal Report Wai 262 (2010) provides a local context for te reo Māori in New Zealand and reflects the context for the participants in this research. This report

discussed the decline of te reo Māori and says that more than 170 years after the Treaty, “We still seem to bear the burden of mutually felt attitudes from our colonial past, with Māori feeling that their culture is marginalised, while non-Māori fear that Māori will acquire undeserved privileges at their expense” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, page x). These stereotypical thoughts have been passed on intergenerationally. As Pennycook (2010) alludes to, it is these stereotypical aspects and the construction of place that need to be solved alongside language regeneration. The Wai 262 report refers to government policies and practices that have not assisted with the re-vernacularisation of te reo Māori. It is the colonial past context, alongside current laws and government policies, that has influenced the attitudes and politics towards te reo Māori as an official language of New Zealand. The current laws and government policies do not advocate partnership; instead, Māori have been left marginalised without having control of their own assets or being able to control key aspects of Māori culture (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Therefore, there is a continued sense of grievance and a limited way that Māori can contribute to the national identity and New Zealand’s economy (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010).

Rena recalls the stereotypical aspects associated with identifying as Māori which stopped her from learning te reo Māori and being Māori. This was associated with what Fishman terms as *social disadvantage*. Rena was raised in a geopolitical period where learning another language was seen as a problem rather than a resource (Ruiz, 1984). A nation state where one language was spoken was the aim in this period and bilingualism was seen as a problem to this aim. This ideology also influenced societal attitudes towards te reo Māori and therefore those who identified as Māori. This attitude remains in New Zealand society today. Skerrett (2012) compares the geopolitical stages for te reo Māori with three language orientations in education espoused by Ruiz (1984) with García’s (2009) geopolitical changes. The first orientation was that language was seen as a problem in

New Zealand during the period from 1900 to the 1970s, therefore speaking Māori language was a problem and monolingualism was the norm, as referred to above. During the 1970s and 1980s, due to changes in education like the kōhanga movement, language orientation started to change and speaking one's own language was seen as a right. The last language orientation we are currently experiencing is where languages are seen as a resource. The political influences of the time in New Zealand towards te reo Māori as well as the educational beliefs influenced the attitudes and beliefs of the whole of New Zealand society. The cultural and linguistic identity of being Māori was relegated to a lower status in comparison to English language and English monolingualism in a nation state advocated as the norm. Even though the geopolitical periods are changing, the norm for New Zealand language in the community remains the same despite research stating bilingualism has cognitive, social and economic benefits.

The shift in learning and using te reo Māori occurred in the 1980s and 1990s which was a period of language rights and changes to the way te reo Māori education was delivered. There were more options available for parents to educate their children in te reo Māori. This was the period where growth occurred with kōhanga and kura kaupapa (Skerrett, 2012). The first kōhanga was established in 1982 in the Wellington region of Pukeatua, and the first kura kaupapa was established in 1985 at Hoani Waititi marae. It was not until 1990 that kura kaupapa was included into legislation and became a legitimate state schooling option (Pihama et al., 2004). During this time an individual's right to use and learn his or her home language was becoming recognised as a basic human right (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). This is later demonstrated in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2008) Article 13 No. 1:

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies,

writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. (p. 7)

Globally, the right to have Indigenous languages as part of intergenerational transmission and the local environment were recognised and there was also a shift in understanding the importance of bilingual and intercultural education as a key element for promoting social equality (Skerrett, 2012). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People has further articles which establish the right to Indigenous language education. The data show it was during this geopolitical stage that many of the participants' parents began understanding the long term effects and consequences of language loss. Rena's mother's response was to begin a kōhanga reo in her garage and she sent her child to a primary school that had bilingual education. Miria's and Maraea's mothers started learning and improving their knowledge of te reo Māori. The changes that these mothers made enabled their children to aspire to learning and using te reo Māori. All of these emergent solutions are factors influenced by early language policies which, according to García (2009), grew out of new nations' attempts at decolonisation. The participants' parents used these transformative strategies and started decolonisation processes themselves. They modelled this for their children. The participants in this research are the results of the start of these practices. This has now emerged as the development of a new Māori/English bilingualism.

Te reo Māori is moving through the stage of language as a right to language as a resource. Emergent bilinguals are bringing up their children to take advantage of language being a valuable resource. According to García (2009), there are three aspects of language policy that have been implemented in order for this language development to occur:

1. Corpus planning: changing the form of the language itself through standardization (standardizing language forms), graphization (developing a writing system), modernization (coining new words and terms).
2. Status planning: modifying the status and prestige of the language.

3. Acquisition planning: developing new users of the language.

(p. 85)

These policies have been attempted in New Zealand. For example, Te Taura Whiri (1987) was established for Corpus planning; te reo Māori was made an official language to improve status; and iwi language planners established pathways for growing learners of te reo Māori. Status planning and the prestige of the language changed the way people acquired the use of te reo Māori. Policies that focused on the prestige of the language meant that the focus changed to the quality and acquisition of te reo Māori. The movement forward with status and acquisition planning policies has not yet worked. The data in this research indicates that this aspect can be supported with resilience training, understanding historical loss and trauma and whānau, iwi and hapū leading the way in communities themselves. The new Māori Language Act 2016 wishes to involve iwi in the decision making process for moving forward with te reo Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016a). Including whānau voice will also be key in this process.

Pennycook (2010) says, “the focus for languages should not be on the language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction” (p. 16.6). When a fluent speaker of Māori is unable to use their language due to the community and societal status of a language, then the systems approach to learning a language does not work. Looking at local social practice of where the language is used will be the key to change.

The emerging narratives in this research demonstrate how political funding factors, policies and the lack of status of te reo Māori have impacted on the daily experiences of participants. Te Whe laments how she is continually asked about the language fluency aspect of her Māori language identity. Statistics New Zealand research has added to this social stigma as its research asks for te reo Māori levels and the number of reo Māori language speakers at each level, under the guise of future planning. These are politically

motivated research opportunities and are related to economic planning rather than for the advancement of te reo Māori. The purpose of this measurement of Māori language levels is for government funding for government departments. There is no choice for Māori participants in these surveys, as they are compulsory. So far, this Statistics New Zealand research knowledge has not benefited or assisted Māori with intergenerational te reo Māori transformation or with making te reo Māori a civic language. However, this information does tell language planners about the number of fluent speakers, often to the detriment rather than the benefit of those learning. Instead, this creates stereotypes and whakamā among whānau. A change in the types of questions asked would assist with the status of te reo Māori. Attaching a measurement level of learning and using te reo Māori has the effect of focusing on a negative stereotype for language identity. The focus should be on valuing the pathway and journey towards learning te reo Māori. The implication for Te Whe was that she was not Māori enough because she is not fluent in te reo Māori. Stating levels of te reo Māori does not assist with whānau intergenerational language planning nor does this shift the focus to reo development. The focus is on the ability of Māori to uptake their own language (negative blame and stereotype), instead of the environment that created that level of reo Māori and the transformation required to change this.

Recently, the University of Auckland funded research for a new measurement of Māori identity and cultural engagement (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; Sibley & Houkamau, 2013) because they wanted to have quantitative information by Māori and for Māori populations. If the purpose of identifying stereotypical information is for improving the status and place of te reo Māori in society and the contexts where te reo is used, then this will benefit Māori language identities. However, if statistics are collected which create pressure and stress for emergent bilinguals, then statistics do not benefit te reo Māori across the generations. The aspects that do this are whānau role models which provide stories of success and role

modelling in the communities. This in turn changes attitudes and is a more successful approach. More useful information for planners would be to find out how many te reo Māori speakers are making a shift in their te reo Māori development and how they go about doing that. Currently, there is less interest in statistical information about language as a local practice and how social interactions affect language development.

According to the 2013 statistics of Ngāi Tahu reo Māori speakers, most Ngāi Tahu are at the intermediate level or lower. This type of statistic indicates concern for the quality and status of te reo Māori in Te Waipounamu. It is an example of a statistic that indicates a deficit view of Ngāi Tahu reo Māori development instead of the strategies that Ngāi Tahu iwi are completing to increase their bilingualism. Maraea referred to the Ngāi Tahu reo situation in her narrative when she expressed concerns about the proficiency of te reo Māori being passed on intergenerationally due to the low numbers of speakers. She was referring to herself as well as educationalists.

Moving iwi to being able to speak higher levels of te reo Māori requires high investment and status not only from the nation state but the iwi themselves. If Ngāi Tahu investment remains in economic growth only, then it is iwi health and language status that suffers. Language identity is connected to health and language status. The nation state is not providing the support required for language growth and development (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). This is not new information and there are examples provided in the Wai 262 report of concerns expressed about the quality of reo Māori programmes in education (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 28). The influence of the media, research and literature by Māori or non-Māori leaders upon popular opinion has future consequences for the health and development of te reo Māori.

Māori parents want quality reo Māori programmes in schools too. When negative aspects about quality Māori education are reported, parents begin to doubt the quality of Māori

curriculum and schooling. The value and benefit of Māori language education comes into question instead. The focus should be on ways Māori language education is succeeding and how quality education is accessed. The focus also needs to change to how a Māori worldview of bilingualism is progressed and developed. In this research, the most important aspects for Maraea when choosing education for her children were proximity to where she worked, safety, and quality education. Maraea investigated Māori educational options near her home and found that the level of reo that their staff had was less than the level of reo she spoke at home. She chose English medium education for her child instead of Māori education because of the quality of the te reo Māori education near where she lived. Parents in kura kaupapa want their children to have access to dominant languages for social and economic purposes as well as te reo Māori (May, 2011; Penetito, 2010b). More research needs to be provided so that pride in learning and using te reo Māori is established as an advantage socially and economically.

According to Tawhiwhirangi (2014), eminent Māori leaders need to be mindful how their guiding visions for te ao Māori are worded. She provides the well known example of Sir Apirana Ngata when he was at Wharekāhika addressing Ministers of Education and education officials and said, “I want you people to teach my people English, English and more English”. At the time, te reo Māori was safe. His vision was actually the opposite of what it appears, as he wished Māori to retain te reo Māori and learn te reo Pākehā. The elders and the government that were listening unfortunately went in a different direction (Tawhiwhirangi, 2014). Timoti Kāretu, a current leader in te reo Māori development, has a strong viewpoint about maintaining quality reo Māori. Quality reo Māori needs to be developed but that quality needs to be placed back into society and Māori communities. Creating those communities should not be for the elite speakers only; there should be communities at all levels moving through continually. Succession planning is paramount

not only for economic reasons but for reo Māori development. It is important to create a wider community of leaders and thinkers that do not all just agree, otherwise we get perpetuators of another norm. Neoliberalism creates standardisation. When society is regulated, it becomes more stressful for people to swim against the tide: more English, more one way of being. Māori research for, with and by Māori creates a future that moves forward with Māori bilingualism for all.

The social and political influence upon language as a local practice means that, in the region of Christchurch, there are no reo Māori speaking universities, training centres for teachers or bilingual secondary schools. There are also only two kura kaupapa Māori schools and one school beginning the process of moving into bilingual secondary education. Schools are part of a neoliberal state and are run within a business model that needs to be economically viable. It is these educational institutions that Māori experience when attempting to develop their te reo Māori.

Economic development takes precedence over Indigenous endangered languages and language revitalisation strategies. The Hawaiian language is endangered like the reo Māori. In the main island of Hawaii, an immersion Hawaiian language school was proving popular with the community because they had created competition. The school would only accept those speaking reo in the home. The shortage of reo speaking places created competition to get in and therefore created more of a need to speak Hawaiian in society. This community had a school that went from early childhood through to tertiary education. This gave the region of Hawaii excellent options for developing quality education.

The participants in this study are unable to participate in this type of situation and did not call for a competitive approach but instead were adept at creating opportunities. The participants share their concerns about what they will do with their children once they get to secondary schooling as there is only one bilingual high school underway and no others

available in Christchurch. Miria and Ihaia reflected on what happens in the region of Christchurch. Ihaia was aware that there were kura kaupapa options but not bilingual education. There was the isolation of Māori students in English medium secondary schooling and, as Miria discussed with her partner, the way secondary schools were meeting the needs of some te reo Māori speakers was to send them to tertiary Māori language sessions to get qualifications. She did not think it was beneficial for the younger students to be mixing in with adult learners in an environment that did not know the learners.

To get the most benefit from Māori bilingualism and maintain it, bilingual secondary school options need to increase. The data show some parents sent their children to university to gain qualifications as a way to maintain bilingualism. Waa was able to enrol her children in a North Island wānanga and they completed courses via distance and attended classes in the school holidays.

The goal of intergenerational te reo Māori is Māori/English bilingualism. This requires commitment from iwi, hapū, whānau, communities, institutional and government support to regenerate te reo Māori to a level that enables equity of language use in daily lives. There are public and personal domains for language use which maintain formal and informal use of language. The ability to be bilingual means language use in all aspects of society. A successful model for regeneration is one where all whānau are given the opportunity to learn and use te reo Māori. In situations where language loss has been occurring over several generations and intergenerational language development has been severely undermined (Hōhepa, 1999), succession planning within whānau, hapū, iwi and community is required. Where there is limited access to native speakers within whānau or hapū then reliance on educational institutions has occurred. This has limited the range of

communicative language practices which are required to maintain the variety of language needed for reo Māori survival.

Schools are a major contributor to the acquisition and development of Indigenous languages, and make a huge contribution to bilingualism. Māori parents instigated kōhanga reo programmes and were the major force behind the continuation into Māori medium education options. This is the home and community having input into educational provisions for the betterment of bilingualism. Fogwill (1994) suggests three types of Indigenous language interventions required in schools for Canadian languages.

First a new schooling system must provide an education that meets the cultural and linguistic needs of children and their families in each community. The community school must become part of the traditional passing of the culture and the language from one generation to the next.

Second, the damage and loss from the past must be undone. The adults, especially the young adults, must be provided with an opportunity and a reason to recover their language and culture. People need to see some value and to have the opportunity to integrate the traditions of the past with the life of the present and the future.

Third, the languages must not be relegated to languages of the past alone, because if they do they will die with the elders and their way of life. The language must become the living languages of the present, as comfortable and as expressive with computer technology and legislative writing as they always have been with the knowledge and wisdom of the land.

(cited in Hōhepa, 1999, p. 60)

These interventions are still relevant today and reflect the findings in this thesis. Schools in New Zealand need to meet the cultural and linguistic needs of children and the damage and loss from the past needs to be acknowledged, and restored (and “restoried” for success) and language valued to ensure regeneration continues. Unless this occurs, loss, racial assumptions and historical trauma will continue to be carried across generations. A constantly changing world needs to continue to recognise the value of te reo Māori.

“Metrolingualism”, the term coined by Pennycook (2010), provides an understanding of the ways in which languages need to be understood in terms of the local perspectives of the users, and the different struggles to represent language in one way or another. The social practices associated with developing te reo Māori in the community of Christchurch and the way parents ensure use of quality te reo Māori in their communities means the benefits of bilingualism are becoming evident. The participants in this study demonstrate the struggles associated with language use in the community and in their own whānau. These struggles are related to the policies in place and these participants have shown how they overcome these in their daily lives.

The combination of the language environment, the socio-political structure and institutions have created educational environments that are competitive and often do not suit the realities of the lives of our Māori parents. So the participants in this research make the best of what is available, even if it compromises some of their educational belief systems. Those working in the educational systems have to try to train their own teaching staff or have to train elsewhere in order to achieve a natural and normal te reo Māori environment. The quality and quantity of te reo Māori spoken is debated in educational and academic circles and, according to Skerrett and Gunn (2011), quality is not a universal concept but is instead based on value and culture. Notions of quality in early years schooling is “relative, perspectival, locally constructed and complex” (p. 72). Māori speakers continue to attain quality language acquisition dependent upon the environmental situation caused by the colonisation process.

Kāretu (2008) refers to returning to the wisdom of our ancestors in regard to quality and being “the best” and not allowing a “near enough is good enough syndrome” (p. 93). Understanding education processes, being critically aware and not accepting low levels of te reo Māori, is what some of the participants spoke of. The participants transform their

own lives and are change agents in their own home environments. This is maintained by surrounding themselves with other likeminded reo Māori speaking people in order to achieve and strive for quality reo Māori environments despite what the language environment is like. This is what makes these participants successful.

The most important aspect for valuing te reo Māori in the home for some of the participants is surrounding themselves with other reo Māori speaking whānau, especially if there are no te reo Māori speaking family members. This strategy, in combination with continuing to learn te reo Māori at a higher level, requires a lot of time and dedication in a contemporary society. This is even more difficult to do in a region that does not have a high density of te reo Māori speakers.

Te reo Māori was diminished by iwi Māori moving during the trauma of the earthquakes. This also occurred during urbanisation in the 1960s when iwi Māori moved to the cities for economic reasons. There was pepper-potting then amongst Pākehā families (living beside non-speaking te reo Māori people to assimilate) and it is interesting to note that we still have areas of pepper-potting of Māori language speakers today as well as during the trauma of the earthquakes. The land ecological features, and sociocultural features upon the land influence how languages are maintained and established. Whole residential areas have changed as people moved out of the east of Christchurch to populate north Christchurch. To overcome the dilemma of low density areas of Māori language populations, we need more domains in the community where it is usual to speak te reo Māori. There is further research (Ahu, 2012; May, 2012; Stephens, 2014a) that says that te reo Māori needs to be a civic language so that te reo Māori can be used in the community. In this way, te reo Māori would continue to be a language of the economy without being subject to market forces. Imagine if you could only do business with Ngāi Tahu if you spoke te reo Māori. We would also have more bilingual teachers. The current situation is

that we need teachers who know what to do with generations of children coming to school who can already speak and write in te reo Māori. There will be a larger generation of children coming through who will already be bilingual.

Those who have access to te reo Māori have a better understanding, and more access to Māori knowledge, Māori values and Māori worldviews. The data show participants are making the most of developing a bilingual identity. Having pride in te reo Māori is a key motivator for speaking te reo Māori in any domain. This was a key recommendation from Sir Apirana Ngāta and Sir James Carroll, when they said that “pride in your race and holding fast to your Māoritanga” (Ramsden, 1948, p. 37) was a way of doing this. Te reo Māori, not te reo Pākehā, enabled this, alongside te reo Pākehā. Ngāta and Carroll alerts us to the importance of being Māori and having Māori bilingualism. Later on, Professor Mason Durie’s visions for Māori education (Durie, 2001a) also signal the importance of language and culture.

Māori whānau today are still aiming for these visions and values about being Māori to live by and these have been discussed by many Māori academics (Durie, 2001a; Penetito, 2010b; Ramsden 1948). They all include Māori language. Participants in this research are looking for more support with reo Māori in the home and in the community. Critical knowledge about language in the home has ensured that participants in this research know it is not just up to education. However, critical knowledge does not include how to be resistant to the negative attitudes in the community. In this research, Waa’s children are bilingual and she has not had to encourage them to use te reo Māori. They have experienced both te reo Māori and English languages growing up. Both parents are Māori and the children know both marae and the associated kawa alongside their language identities. Waa has also ensured that her own children have access to the cognitive and

social benefits of bilingualism like she did when she was brought up. These children have pride in speaking te reo Māori.

Mere too has pride in speaking te reo Māori and is also teaching her child about pride and resilience to negative attitudes to things Māori in the community. Historical discrimination has long term effects and the need for continual recognition of the educational benefits of learning languages is required in the community. The attitudes held by members of the community, in particular towards education, contribute to the achievement and experiences of Māori adults. School, whānau and community experiences are intergenerational. Te Whe did not have access to the cognitive and social advantages of bilingualism early on in any aspects of the community but is ensuring that her children have these opportunities. Māori bilingualism represents a form of resilience and skill training by parents to overcome the barriers that are put in place by society.

Ka oi Ruaumoko, ka piri a Waitaha Despite the heaving earth, we (Cantabrians) unite together. (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011)

Ngāi Tahu composed this whakataukī to commemorate the changes in the Christchurch community due to the earthquakes that occurred. This whakataukī is found in the initial 2011 Ngāi Tahu CERA Recovery Strategy report for Christchurch. Maruhaeremuri Stirling questions the Christchurch community as a whole when she asks, “How are we maintaining the life force for Papatūānuku? Her uri Rūaumoko is giving us a message” (Stirling, 2010). What is Rūaumoko telling us? The same can be said of te reo Māori in the environment. As the land changes, so to do the opportunities for te reo Māori. The earthquakes in Christchurch are seen as a unique opportunity to recreate Christchurch and Ngāi Tahu has been given a prominent role in that rebuild process. It is seen as a chance to build a city with a strong recognition of the mana whenua of local hapū, Ngāi Tūāhuriri. So what will te reo Māori look like in this opportunity to rebuild, as this is part of the life

force of Papatūānuku? This opportunity to rebuild Christchurch needs to include a Māori language environment. There are some future wishes that the participants have alluded to in their stories of living in the current rebuild and in their stories prior to the rebuild. The participants in this study have alerted us to the difficulty of finding other te reo Māori speakers in their community. The data show there is still a lack of good information available for parents, whānau and teachers.

The dominant language maintains the dominant space in education. The data show that in the Christchurch community, research participants have found themselves in the situation of having to prove how engaged they are in Māori communities in order to be in a reo Māori speaking educational environment. Participants' reo Māori levels are questioned along with their involvement in their Māori community before they can begin their language learning journey. It is not only language identity but their whole cultural way of being that is questioned. Developing linguistic and cultural capital creates stress for our children. They are being measured against other children when speaking their heritage language. I am not sure that schools understand the effects of this competition and have the resources available to value bilingual children and home languages. Nor do our schools have access to appropriate professional development to support language revitalisation as a community. Unless te reo Māori is valued as a living language in a variety of domains, stress is created for those who choose to be bilingual speakers via constant measurement of language identities and lack of choice regarding schools.

Valuing te reo Māori is about valuing all aspects of language in the home, school and community. Barlow (1991) describes how te reo Māori is "sacred because it was given by the gods so that the Māori people would be able to know the will and power of those higher beings. As with all other living things, language also has a mauri - a life force or living vitality; it has a spirit that gives it a unique structure and function" (Barlow, 1991,

cited in New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2014, p. 6). Waa's own whānau demonstrated this spirit and sacredness. During the writing of this thesis, Waa's father, who gave her so much and acknowledged her reo Māori in a time when most others ignored the importance of language, passed away. His legacy continues in the dedication that the whole whānau have with supporting each other and valuing their sister's knowledge of te reo Māori. This legacy has been passed on to her own children. Children have a spiritual and cultural consciousness (O'Loughlin, 2012) that is always there and calls to you as an adult and comes to the fore when you have your own children. This helps us imagine a better future world where the educational statistics have turned from Māori being the tail to being the lead. The data show that whānau should not have to make sacrifices to learn and use te reo Māori.

So when creating a new Christchurch, it is hoped that part of the rebuild includes language revitalisation and the creation of more bilingual schools, in particular secondary schools and university environments that have te reo Māori options. It is hoped that Ngāi Tahu reo is put back on the landscape and that, when you come to Christchurch, you know who the local iwi are. It is hoped that te reo Māori becomes a civic language so that Māori parents are not the only ones who have to constantly create opportunities where their children can value their own language. A living language that is passed on intergenerationally is the ultimate goal, as outlined in the final part of the model. Intergenerational te reo Māori involves normalisation of te reo Māori and valuing te reo Māori use in society. According to Higgins et al. (2014), normalisation is where, "the language is alive across pockets of society. There is language choice within communities and institutional environments" (p. 30). The model of a whakapapa of Māori/English Bilingualism (AWOB model) indicates that this is the aim for bilingual parents bringing their children up with a Māori identity.

Valuing bilingualism in our society means that a pathway forward for te reo Māori bilinguals would be an easier one.

Conclusion

In this section, the analysis of the relationships across all three features shows that in order for te reo Māori to be valued across society, it must become a civic language. This research has shown how political funding factors, policies and the lack of status of te reo Māori have impacted on the daily experiences of participants. Status and acquisition planning policies have not yet worked, so participants have obtained critical knowledges about understanding how dominant societies work. This has enabled participants to grow strong in their own language identities and to overcome these obstacles.

Parents continue to lead the way forward for Māori bilingualism. The participants in this research have aspired to learning and using te reo Māori which in turn, has enabled their children to learn te reo Māori. In this research, mothers are leading the way. This research shows it is still difficult in this region to find other te reo Māori speakers in the community. Lack of good information about bilingualism is not available for parents, whānau and teachers.

This research shows that pride in speaking te reo Māori creates more speakers and more opportunities and spaces for te reo Māori. Those who have access to te reo Māori have a better understanding, and more access to Māori knowledge, Māori values and Māori worldviews. Communicative language practices are an important part of this access. Where there is limited access to native speakers within whānau or hapū, then reliance on educational institutions has occurred which in turn limits communicative language practices. Instead, participants have created their own spaces for te reo Māori where Māori language as a living language is valued. Participants are making the most of developing bilingual identities, however proficiency with te reo Māori continues to require support.

Having a bilingual continuum of continuous movement with reo Māori is motivating for participants rather than attending to labels of reo Māori levels. Levels indicate a negative lack of progress for participants and stereotype language identities. There are opportunities within current Māori bilingual strategies to establish a new norm for bilingualism. The next chapter concludes the findings of this research from the data and analysis chapters.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

He manga-ā-wai koia, kia kāore e whitikia?

Is it a river that cannot be crossed?

(Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 94)

Introduction

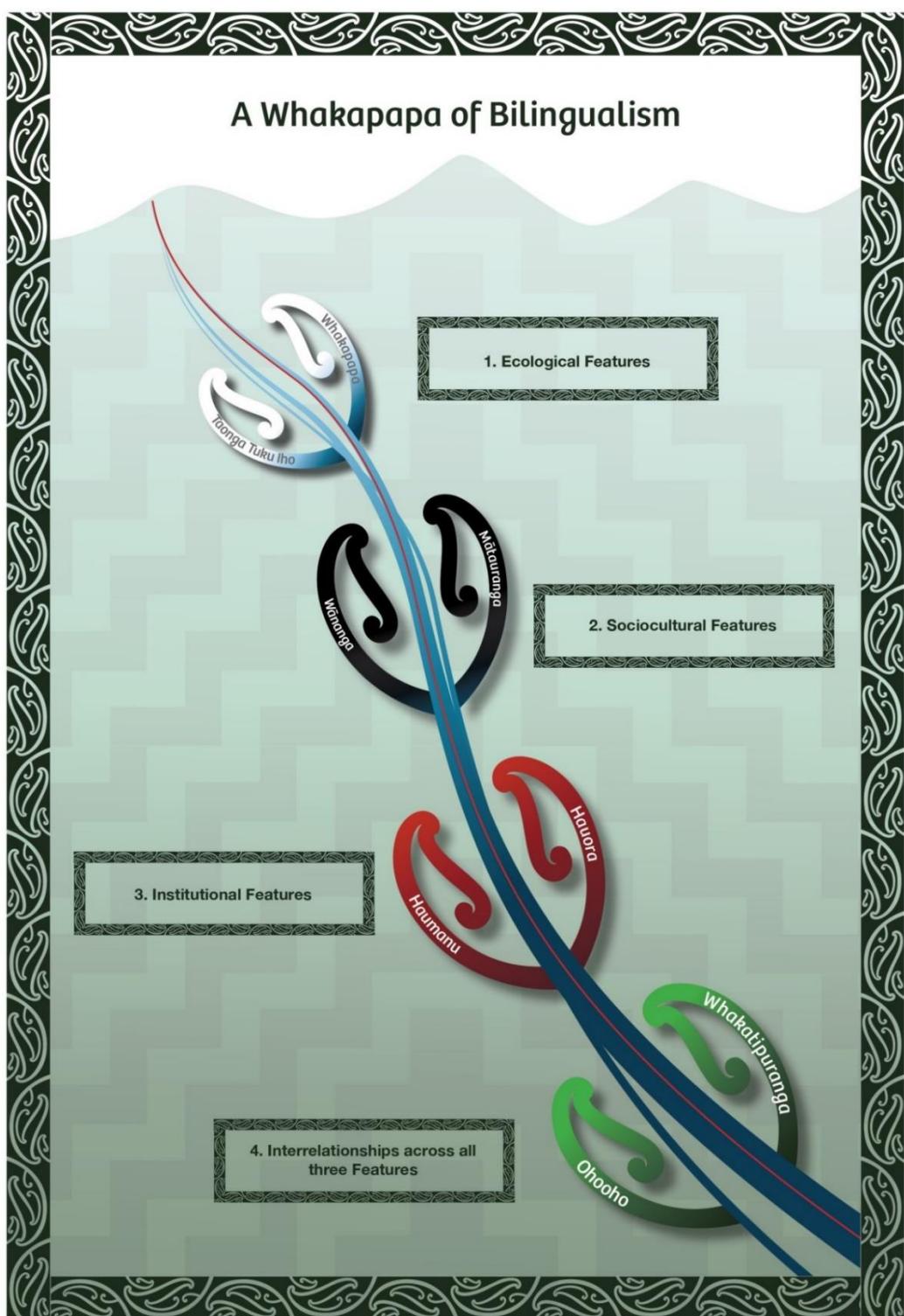
The overarching question in this research thesis is, “What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children?” The findings of this doctoral research have been placed into a working model based on the narrative inquiry framework outlined by Benham (2007). This provides a useful tool to explore the relationships between ecological, sociocultural and institutional aspects contained in the data section. This also provides a framework through which to theorise the features of the intergenerational retention and transmission of knowledge through language. The data themes in this research framework are combined to produce a new model, made up of four distinct parts. Those parts were introduced in Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven culminating in the final, fuller model in this chapter. This model “A whakapapa of Māori/English bilingualism” is based on a Kaupapa Māori perspective which acknowledges that there are diversities within the knowledges and experiences of whānau, hapū, iwi. This means that there is more than one way to be Māori, and that the historical, socio-economic and political contexts of Aotearoa and the associated socio-psychological aspects have been recognised, to form a working model for Māori/English bilingualism in the region of Christchurch. This model recognises the unique ways that whānau Māori progress along the journey towards bilingualism. The whakataukī at the outset of this chapter speaks to the issue of navigating rivers. It asks a rhetorical question in that the implication is that every river can be crossed in one way or another, with whatever

supports and resources. According to Mead and Grove (2001), the question is used to respond to someone who protests at the difficulty of a venture. But when crossing streams, the more in the party, the more strength there is for crossing, and for supporting those who may slip or fall. It is drawn on here as an analogy of the journey of language regeneration, that it is not insurmountable. You can start the journey at any point in this model. This is reflected in the complete model (see Figure 6) which depicts pathways towards Māori/English bilingualism. Each part of the model can stand alone, however they all interact and are equally important. All of the features—ecological, sociocultural, and institutional—and the associated aspects from the participant narratives combine to provide direction for navigating Māori/English bilingualism. While sometimes there might be a focus on a particular aspect within the model, an important part of a language strategy is to combine all the features of the whole model as this is where transformative practices occur.

The major findings from the narratives encompassed into each part of the model are now presented. Finally, some judgments are made drawing the study to a conclusion.

Model: A Whakapapa of Māori/English Bilingualism

Figure 6. Interrelationships across all three features



Ecological features

Whakapapa and Taonga tuku iho

The narratives from Chapter Four demonstrated that intergenerational loss and trauma have occurred in the environment across time and space. The different types of loss and trauma show that the repetition of trauma across generations, either in the form of socio-historical loss, collective trauma or disaster trauma, interrupt relationships to cognition and distinct worldviews. These then contribute to feelings of isolation through loss of language/s, cultural dissonance and spiritual demise. Place and environment are central to Indigenous people. Colonisation is harmful, as it affects the socio-psychological wellbeing of those who have been colonised (Duran et al., 2008; Pihamo et al., 2014). Understanding of the effects of historical trauma is an important step as it is a vital part of the healing process.

Psychosocial support fosters resilience and resistance and without this the long term effects of trauma will continue to be felt across the generations. Children are the essence of their ancestors' experiences. Acknowledging historical loss and trauma and providing socio-psychological support to understand these aspects is a major finding of this research and a vital component of language regeneration. Understanding and support then can act as a counter-balance to the harm caused by colonisation. Some participants demonstrated resilience to disaster trauma and those with strong understanding of language cultural storytelling and critical knowledges were resilient and maintained use of their language even during times of disaster. Some participants gave up their language during this period of disaster trauma. Unaddressed trauma can become compounded over the generations.

Traditional sharing of knowledges, and understanding connections to the land is part of the healing process. Looking to the past, to heal the present is an important process for Māori language identity. The AWOB model includes whakapapa and taonga tuku iho as vital components of a language regeneration. It is important to continue to look at our own

Māori ways of being and healing via Māori values and community support. The answers in the environment are in our stories and values and history being shared and taught and used in our communities and education services.

Sociocultural features – Wānanga and mātauranga

The sociocultural features from Chapter Five refer to the importance of developing and maintaining linguistic knowledges and relationships in meaningful contexts. Learning te reo Māori is a struggle and often means having to confront deficit, stereotypical racial assumptions. The narratives from the participants demonstrated how they resisted stereotypical views through pulling together as smaller units of Māori speaking communities providing manaakitanga. Isolation caused by the loss of te reo Māori creates isolation from Māori worldviews. This isolation can lead to, perhaps inadvertently, taking on the negative associations and assumptions about being Māori.

Lack of critical knowledge about linguistic and cultural identities provides a barrier to language learning. The narratives showed that commitment to Māori language learning also builds critical awareness, and support for one another. The sense of pride of being Māori and being able to speak te reo Māori meant that differing worldviews and values are often being compared and contrasted cross-culturally. The participants created their own Māori language communities of support, which increased their use of te reo Māori in their daily lives. However, the data showed a gap, in terms of access to information about bringing their children up bilingually. They look to the role models already provided. The importance of succession planning is related to leadership development within our communities and valuing parents' experiences of Māori/English bilingualism. This is a successful way to strengthen Māori language identities.

Institutional features – Haumanu and hauora

The institutional features from Chapter Six show that all participants were part of an institution at various stages of their lives and their narratives identified strategies used to support te reo regeneration. The data show that the regeneration of te reo Māori is happening at the whānau and community levels, from ideas generated by whānau members. The participants all knew about the importance of education in te reo Māori and intergenerationally transferring te reo Māori. It was shown that knowledge gained through community institutions, including iwi, contributed to their developing critical consciousness. This critical knowledge is vital information when whānau members have children and further increased the desire to speak te reo Māori. Further, the data showed that being part of an institutional programme also provided the much needed support networks. Whilst this finding in terms of wider support networks was positive, it was also found to be a difficulty in terms of maintaining the momentum in the home, especially when not all whānau members were either speakers or learning. So, sometimes the disconnect between learning te reo Māori in a course and transferring that to the home was brought into sharp relief.

Further supports are needed and it was found that where able, maintaining community support and socialisation networks in te reo Māori creates a sense of whanaungatanga and increases the use and value of te reo Māori. This means a large commitment in terms of time and resources.

Interrelationship across all three features – Whakatipuranga and ohooho

The interrelationships across all three features from Chapter Seven show that the realities of participants do not match the political and economic outcomes of the contexts in which participants live. Te reo Māori is valued in differing ways in education and the workplace,

which impacts upon bilingual practices. The findings showed that as parents obtained critical knowledges about their bilingual situations, as well as the bilingual needs of their children, the systems and community contexts often did not support those needs. It seems that institutional supports were out of step with community needs, particularly in education. Parents are having to make their own decisions about bilingualism for their children in the home, in the absence of experienced role models. Critical knowledge regarding bilingualism and intergenerational transmission is a vital link in the ever-changing contexts in which we live. There is further research required about quality education and quality te reo Māori programmes and monolingual, dominant cultural expectations. Whānau have had to make compromises in educational decisions regarding the quality and quantity of services available to meet the needs of bilingual whānau, due to the long term effects of deficit political decision making. The findings showed that the defining of quality and quantity is made by the political decision makers and not by iwi, hapū, and whānau as community members.

The final goal of the AWOB model is intergenerational Māori bilingualism. The effects of the relationships between ecological, sociocultural and institutional features determine how te reo Māori speakers learn and engage with each other in the cultural and physical environment with its resources. These relationships are the key to resistance strategies and the survival of te reo Māori. It is not just one factor that influences how te reo Māori regeneration will take place, but the unique way that parents survive and resist the multitude of dilemmas experienced in reality to make te reo Māori a living language in the home. The interrelationship of all the features enables transformative practices to occur in the lives of the participants. The data show that when language is valued by the participants and supported in the home, school and community, it is passed on. This is despite the constant interruptions to language regenerative practices and economic

development taking precedence over cultural and language practices. This makes having a Māori language worldview and identity, as described in this research, unique. The future direction of te reo Māori needs to focus on the environment where language is used and the social interactions within these contexts. Language does not just occur in isolation in one context or environment.

Participants in this research value te reo Māori because of their language histories. A finding of this research is that language histories need to be acknowledged and taught in our educational and institutional environments. Alongside this, speakers of te reo Māori need to know and understand about Pākehā ideologies to understand how to resist intergenerational racial assumptions and stereotyping. My own history was one of cultural and linguistic language loss. Language is about whakapapa and knowing who you are and where you come from to create your language identity. This research acknowledges that loss of land for Ngāi Tahu and other iwi Māori has led to loss of language and intergenerational knowledge of culture and reo Māori. The connection of land to language and knowledge of the history of this has led to the intrinsic motivation to complete this research. It is hoped the findings contained in this thesis and knowledge of how to interrupt language loss will benefit te reo Māori regeneration. The participants in this research also have intrinsic motivation and self-determination. It is these aspects which give them the strength, resilience and resistance to enable te reo Māori to be a part of their contemporary lives. This research has shown that strength, resilience and resistance enables participants to be successful with their reo Māori/English bilingualism. Understanding and teaching this is part of intergenerational knowledge of language identities. Allowing tamariki to gain the benefits of their bilingualism should be the aim for all in New Zealand society. The participants have demonstrated that those who know te reo

Māori and culture are more resistant to trauma, stereotypical situations and are more likely to use te reo Māori in the community.

Conclusion

Puritia tāwhia kia ita. Te mana tipuna. Te mana whenua. Te mana tangata.

Hold fast and firm. To my inherited authority. To my right to this land. To my freedom and right to self-determination. (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2001, p. 2)

Becoming bilingual

Skilled and experienced Māori/English bilingual parents living with the struggles associated with the political, educational and social environment of the region have demonstrated successful language regeneration strategies. We all experience the language learning journey in different ways, due to the variation of language loss and trauma and knowledge of whakapapa contained within our whānau environments. The key is to acknowledge our own stories of loss and whakapapa first, to legitimatise and enable strength for the reo Māori journey. Ngāi Tahu te reo Māori speakers are few but growing due to past and current efforts by Ngāi Tahu te reo Māori planners (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, 2016b). This research set out to delve into the language learning experiences of whānau on a Māori/English bilingual journey and many of the participants have benefited from Ngāi Tahu reo regeneration activities. Our institutions have not served Ngāi Tahu iwi well, as historical knowledge of language and colonisation has not been a part of the education system. Information about Māori/English bilingualism in the home is not part of our civic society. How is information on bilingualism—its advantages, accessibility policies, current practices in education, and choices for whānau—disseminated? Agencies of the Crown do not provide information about how to raise your child bilingually nor direct you to places where you can find out further information in regards to bilingual education. Even iwi-wide, there is little information and/or resources. Experiences of friends and relatives remain as the space where

knowledge is obtained. It is argued here that this should be available prior to birth. This means prioritising targets. It is also important that leaders in bilingualism infiltrate dominant monolingual institutional environments. Community social practices in a civic society have a huge influence over the wellbeing, education and upbringing of Māori children.

Future direction

This research has highlighted some future research practices for Māori/English bilingualism. There are differences in bilingual pathways due to whānau historical knowledges of language; ways of connecting those who are currently participating in te reo Māori regeneration; ways technology enhances reo Māori regeneration practices; ways and choices of supporting bilingualism in the workplace; and ways te reo Māori is regenerated in other areas of Te Waipounamu due to colonisation and loss of Ngāi Tahu reo Māori. Many Ngāi Tahu members have received tribal support. Giving back to your community is an important part of the regeneration of te reo Māori and members could be asked to participate in this way or specific jobs created for and by parents to lead the way, as occurred with the beginning of the kōhangā reo movement. It is about the values of reciprocity and not monetary or economic value. Valuing and enabling opportunities for knowledgeable whānau members to support the regeneration of te reo Māori needs further investigation.

The reason for completing this research was due to concern for the poor state of te reo Māori within my own iwi and to further explore how te reo Māori was being regenerated by parents living in the region of Christchurch. Succession planning for Ngāi Tahu needs to also involve those in the middle of the reo Māori journey who can in turn support those who are beginning. The continued development of quality fluent speakers will remain a vital component for Ngāi Tahu reo regeneration; however, movement forward with more te

reo speakers is also vital. It is the development of reo speaking relationships that are important to maintain this continuous movement forward. Māori/English bilingualism has many and varied pathways and is dependent on the context of intergenerational regeneration as well as the contemporary context. Māori parents, whānau and other community members have played crucial leadership roles in this regeneration.

The type of policies required for language regeneration in a civic society come from Māori views and terms of Crown and Māori Treaty relationships. Policies are required that honour Treaty relationships and that are inclusive of iwi Māori aspirations. A constitutional transformation is necessary. At the moment, Māori fit into Western structural conditions, which continue to be negotiated, debated and will not reach transformation until the above aspects are considered. The Treaty of Waitangi is part of our law and breaches of it continue in the way institutions enact policies that implement the principles of the Treaty. The structural conditions required to address this means that a whole transformation of societal practices is needed. Variations in iwi Māori ways of respondin, need to be acknowledged and institutional changes are required to meet community needs.

The language policy space required is a civic space where it is normal and usual to speak and use te reo Māori in the home, school, iwi, whānau, hapū, government and community. It is a space that is only measured by a continued journey along the path of bilingualism. This space is not measured by corporate government funding spaces or just determined by one way of being Māori. If this space is determined in this way, then this is a normalizing of what it is to be Māori, when in reality there are differing norms. Aotearoa me Te Waipounamu currently has governance but not rangatiratanga practices; therefore it has nationhood policies with nationhood values and norms. The creation of more rangatiratanga practices will open up more Māori spaces. It is in these places that there will

be more Māori spaces for using te reo Māori and creating linguistic and cultural capital norms for Māori /English bilinguals. Policies need to incorporate the centre space which is where parents are; because it is the community members and their relationships across the ecological, socio-cultural and institutional spaces that transform language practices. A type of structural change in the workplace could be the inbuilt expectation and commitment that all staff both local and new to New Zealand use te reo in all workplaces.

The government is spending money on revitalising te reo Māori across the civic space; therefore, those that are using te reo Māori are becoming experienced practitioners. It is these experienced parents that need to work with the newer speakers in the civic space. This is succession planning in action and uses language planning aspects outlined in the AWOB model. This is where the realities of society are enacted and defined and where policies are resisted. However further research is required in regard to long term structural changes and language regeneration policies to support the various ways of being Māori. The limitations of my research is that it has a small sample size and was only conducted in the Canterbury. Further research into the differing regional and iwi ways of language identities is required. Further research is also required into inequalities of linguistic and cultural capital due to a neoliberal environment. May (2012) argues that the linguistic market, such as the civic culture of the nation state, is based upon the distribution of linguistic capital. This distribution “is closely related to the distribution of other forms of capital” (May 2012, p. 164). Te reo Māori is a non-dominant, endangered language and care needs to be taken in a changing linguistic market to ensure access to Māori/English bilingualism is available to all. Currently, access is dominated by Western worldviews of socially and politically constructed power.

There is further research required about quality education and quality te reo Māori programmes and monolingual, dominant cultural expectations. Education programmes

need to teach about contexts of historical loss and colonisation and understanding these in relation to te reo Māori identities. Whānau have had to make compromises in educational decisions regarding the quality and quantity of services available to meet the needs of bilingual whānau due to the long term effects of political decision making. The defining of quality and quantity is made by the political decision makers and not by iwi, hapū, and whānau as community members. The limited number of educational choices available for te reo Māori further limits whānau opportunities to make use of their bilingualism.

Economic and political decision making about the place and space for te reo Māori in institutions does not provide for regeneration and quality of te reo Māori. As a consequence of this, low numbers of reo Māori speaking people and the low status of te reo Māori in society occurs. Te reo Māori is relegated to useful if there is an economic value attached. Further research is required regarding the value of te reo Māori in the workplace in a neoliberal society. The skill sets of bilinguals are not yet acknowledged and this research showed participants chose work environments where they could use their te reo Māori. This area requires further research investigation as to how bilingualism can be supported in all work environments.

The value of Māori as a social practice is a vital component of intergenerational te reo Māori. It is the social relationships that people have to maintain and develop to be lifelong learners of te reo Māori that need to be valued as part of the bilingual process in a civic society. There is further research required in this area and further investigation required into the ways that technology is part of the practice for regeneration of te reo Māori.

This research asked, “What emerges from the narratives as Māori parents seek to revitalise Māori language with their children?” The narratives tell the story. The participants in this research have developed critical knowledges, produced reo and Māori identities, resisted

stereotypes, defied dominant monolingual practices and rearranged their new identities so their children do not have to go through what they did. This is a dawning of a Māori way of being and living with Māori bilingualism in the interface between te ao Māori, te ao Pākehā and te ao whānui (Durie, 2003b). In this respect, this thesis is a contribution in terms of general knowledge of Māori/English bilinguals when the environment they live in is affected by colonisation practices resulting in historical intergenerational losses and trauma. It is important to not underestimate the long term effects and power of colonisation and intergenerational trauma upon the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. Furthermore, that the *interface* that participants live in is not merely a product of the education system and nor is it confined to matters of education, but is the culmination of the features referred to in the AWOB model.

The major premise that has emerged from the narratives and the thesis question in regards to ecological perspectives is that, in the face of the onslaught of colonisation, Māori have survived and our language identities heal us. It is Māori language that is the basis of our health and when our language is healthy, then our identities are healthy, therefore our whānau, hapū and communities will be healthy, which is good for all New Zealanders.

The major premise that has emerged from sociocultural perspectives and the thesis question is that when participants support each other and share their differing whānau experiences, these experiences and relationships build strategies to resist dilemmas like isolation, stereotypes and racial assumptions. The participants created newer, stronger ways of being Māori/English bilinguals through these relationships and used Māori values to support each other as “philosophical and psychological whānau” for reo regeneration.

The major premise that has emerged from institutional perspectives and the thesis question is that participants’ experiences of Māori/English bilingualism in the home are highly valued. Their critical knowledges are highly valued due to the lack of critical knowledge

and support for reo Māori in the home in the wider Christchurch area. It is these critical knowledges that motivate participants to regenerate te reo Māori in the home. Whilst institutions and the economy are an important part of the regeneration process, and this is where participants learn critical knowledges about bilingualism, it is whānau voices and sharing of Māori/English bilingualism experiences that are the crucial aspects for supporting language regeneration.

The major premise that has emerged from the interrelationships across all three perspectives and the thesis question is that those who have access to te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori are on the continuum of language and identity health. Te reo Māori creates pride and value in identifying as Māori in a civic society. Value and support for te reo Māori in a civic society is also required for healthy language use and transformation across the generations.

This study has shown that there are many and varied ways to be Māori/English bilinguals. There are differing histories of loss and trauma but strength comes from renewal of te reo Māori and re-storying the histories so that intergenerational loss and trauma is disrupted. Instead, there are stories of resistance and strength within whānau, iwi and hapū, according to shared Māori values of tino rangatiratanga, whanaungatanga, whakapapa and te reo Māori. The successful pathways for language regeneration will be different for each whānau, iwi and hapū and community. It is knowledge of these pathways expressed in the AWOB model and aspects shared by the participants in this research that ensures te reo Māori is passed on intergenerationally across a civic society. This research has shown how the bilingual participants successfully manage the tides of change in the face of adversity. It speaks of the power of whānau engaged in te reo Māori. This is the power of rangatiratanga and whānau practices giving effect to the Treaty. This is a new dynamic way to be Māori/English bilinguals in a contemporary society.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Description of the project

PhD research: How do parent/s who are themselves second language

learners and speakers of te reo Māori nurture their children as Māori?

The focus of this research is investigating the ways in which parent/s, who are second language learners of te reo Māori nurture their children as Māori. This research will take place in the Waitaha region of Te Wai-pounamu. The investigation will include understanding how parent/s develop a sense of Māori identity in their preschool children and what they do to impart their knowledge of te reo Māori. The research will examine the various strategies, concepts and understandings that parent/s have about their own language learning of te reo Maori and how they then use te reo Māori with their preschool children, the Māori language educational choices that parent/s make for their children and the experiences that they encounter.

The study aims to explore the following broad research question: How do parent/s who are themselves second language learners and speakers of te reo Māori nurture their children as Māori?

Methodology and Method

This is a qualitative research project using a kaupapa Māori research methodology. That means the context will determine the process. Any study in a ‘mana whenua’ context is best achieved by researchers who are themselves positioned within that context. Thus the research is linked to community and is accountable to community –whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider educational context. This is a Māori-centred research approach that produces findings that are relevant and meaningful to the researched, i.e., to whanau Māori. It is argued by Māori that research should be about the advancement of the people whose lives are directly affected by the research. Therefore, accountability to the research community

should be an integral part of any research process. The research will use a range of qualitative interview (semi structured) and narrative techniques. I will use video to record the interviews whilst also taking notes. These will be transcribed.

Participants

Parent/s from eight whānau (which may include extended whānau who have significant role in the child/children's life), from local Māori networks and/or my son's preschool environments will be invited to participate in this study. There will be a maximum of twelve participants from those eight whanau. An initial hui will overview the project. After initial introductions this hui will be for about one hour. Those interested will be invited to participate in one-to-one semi-structured interviews, which will be recorded with the use of video, dictaphone and my notes. Pseudonyms will be used for participant interviewees in the transcripts as well as in the doctoral thesis and in any subsequent published works. The transcripts (along with a copy of the individual videos) will be returned to the participants as their record of the interview. Participants can choose if they wish to add or delete comments or correct the transcripts. The analysis of the interviews and findings will be included in a doctoral thesis and may be reported at any relevant conference presentations and subsequent published works as part of College PBRF requirements.

Appendix Two: Information for participants

PhD research: How do parent/s who are themselves second language learners and speakers of te reo Māori nurture their children as Māori?

The aim of this research is to investigate the ways in which parents who are second language learners of te reo Māori nurture their children as Māori. This information will provide some evidence and a theoretical base for the development of doctoral thesis for the University of Canterbury.

The research is being carried out by Rachel Martin and is being supervised by Dr Mere Skerrett Senior supervisor, and the second supervisor is Dr Gina Colvin from the College of Education at the University of Canterbury. You will have been approached by me initially with a view to your participation in this research. I am now formally inviting you to participate in hui (as individuals and/or clusters of parents/or a whānau person nominated by you as significant in your child's life) with semi-structured interview questions or personal narrative i.e. 'kaupapa' for discussion. Your participation in this project is entirely up to you. The length of the interview will be for one hour. This will be a video recording and notes taken throughout the interview by the researcher. There will be approximately twelve participants. There will be a group preliminary hui for participants for about an hour where we will come together for kai and mihihi, to discuss the research and involvement in this research process. This will be video recorded.

The individual or group hui/interviews will focus on semi-structured interview type questions as well as interview questions using narrative techniques (see page three).

In individual or group hui you may stop the semi-structured interview or narrative at any time or ask for something to NOT be video recorded. In individual or group hui you may also ask for something to be 'off the record' or removed at any time. You may also withdraw from the project at any time.

The individual or group interview/hui will be video recorded and typed up. The typed version of the individual or group interview/hui will be returned for comment or if you wish to alter or correct anything. All typed-up interviews will be prepared using pseudonyms for people and places. This will ensure that your confidentiality is protected. It is University research policy that all interview transcripts are securely stored and then destroyed after five years.

Analysis of the group or individual interviews will be included as part of my doctoral thesis and any subsequent works that may be published from this. I may also use excerpts from the interviews to illustrate key points in the thesis. The results may also be written up for presentation at conferences and for publication in national or international journals and magazines that are read by whānau as well as professionals. All participants will receive a copy of the individual or group video recordings and transcripts from the data collection phase as well as the final thesis. Participants at any time may ask for additional information or results from the study.

If you agree to take part in the research, please sign the consent form and return to us at hui. If you have any questions about this project please contact one of us at:

Rachel Martin College of Education University of Canterbury Private Bag 4800 Christchurch 8041 Email: rachel.martina@canterbury.ac.nz	Dr Mere Skerrett College of Education University of Canterbury Private Bag 4800 Christchurch 8041 Email: mere.skerrett@canterbury.ac.nz	Dr Gina Colvin College of Education University of Canterbury Private Bag 4800 Christchurch 8041 Email: gina.colvin@canterbury.ac.nz
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If you have any complaints about the project, you may contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee; see contact details below.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and considering participating in this project.

Rachel Martin
University of Canterbury College of Education

Appendix Three: Participant consent form

Participant Consent Form

PhD research: How do parent/s who are themselves second language learners and speakers of te reo Māori nurture their children as Māori?

I agree to participate in the research. I have read and understood the information given to me about the research project, and what will be required of me.

I understand that anything I say during the group or individual interview/hui will be treated as confidential. No findings that could identify me will be published. All writing will use pseudonyms.

I understand that participation in this project is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time. If you choose to withdraw, I (the researcher) will use my best endeavours to remove any of the information relating to you from the project, including any final publication, provided that this remains practically achievable.

I understand that in individual or group hui I may stop the semi-structured interview or narrative at any time or ask for something to NOT be video recorded.

I understand that video will be used to record interviews and notes will be recorded by the interviewer throughout this process. A copy of the video will be given to participants.

I understand in individual or group hui I may also ask for something to be ‘off the record’ or removed at any time.

If you have any complaints about the project, you may contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury, Educational Research Human Ethics Committee; see contact details below.

Name: _____

Email: _____

Address: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Please return this consent form to

Rachel Martin

College of Education

University of Canterbury

Private Bag 4800

Christchurch 8041

Email: rachel.martin@canterbury.ac.nz

Appendix Four: Semi-structured interview questions, personal details

One form per participating whānau member

Ingoa/Name:

Wāhi Noho/Address:

Waea/Waea Pūkoro/Phone: Day Evening

Imera/Email:

Ngā iwi Māori/Iwi affiliation:

Tokohia ngā tamariki/Number of children:

E hia ūna tau/Age of children:

E hia ūna tau i ako i te reo māori/ Number of years learning te reo Māori:

Personal level of te reo Māori self assessed according to the criteria used by the 2006 survey on the health of the Māori language final report by te Puni Kōkiri.

The language skills are:

- speaking (i.e. the ability to convey meaning to others through speech)
- listening (i.e. the ability of the listener to comprehend what others are saying)
- reading (i.e. the ability to comprehend what others have written)
- writing (i.e. the ability to convey meaning to others through writing)

How do you situate yourself on this proficiency category? Why?

Place yourself into one of the five proficiency categories:

- very well (I can talk/ understand/read/write about almost anything in Māori)
- well (I can talk/understand/read/ write about many things in Māori)
- fairly well (I can talk/understand/read/write about some things in Māori)
- not very well (I can only talk/understand/read/write about simple/basic things in Māori)
- no more than a few words or phrases.

Interview Questions Narrative Techniques

I'd like to start by asking you about your experiences of learning te reo Māori in your whānau? (What are your own language learning pathways?)

What prompted you to start learning?

Can you tell me about the type experiences you wish your child/children to have as Māori?

(How do you identify yourself/ how do you want your children to identify as Māori?)

In your language learning pathways what has been most successful for you?

Can you tell me about the type of decisions you have been making about your child's pre-school/school?

Could you describe in as much detail as possible your understanding about the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori and how this has affected the decisions you make as a whānau and as Māori?

Is there anything else you wish to share about yourself as a second language learner and the nurturing of your child as Māori?

Can you tell me how the continued rūwhenua have affected your whānau and their te reo Māori identity in CHCH?

After reading your transcription of our previous interview, how have any decisions changed or would you like to now add anything else?

Do you have any questions or comments for me now that you have completed this interview?

The main role of a narrative interviewer is to remain a listener, abstaining from interruptions, occasionally posing questions for clarification, and assisting the interviewee in continuing to tell his or her story.

1. This project has received ethical approval from the University of Canterbury, College of Education Ethical Clearance Committee.

2. Complaints may be addressed to:

Dr M. Morton, Chair, Ethical Clearance Committee

College of Education, University of Canterbury

Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH

Telephone: (03) 364 2987