

Ngā Whakakitenga a Te Kura Roa: Whaihua

**Te Reo Māori
me te Whānau
Pūrongo 3**

Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder

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This report is part of a series

Pūrongo 1: He Whenua Haumako – Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Ataarangi

Pūrongo 2: Te Kōrerotia o te Reo Māori

Pūrongo 3: Te Reo Māori me te Whānau

Pūrongo 4: Te Reo Māori me te Hapori

Pūrongo 5: Te Reo Māori me te Wāhi Mahi

Pūrongo 6: Te Reo Māori me te Tuakiri ā-Motu

Pūrongo 7: Te Reo Māori me ōna Ratonga



He Karanga

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

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

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

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

Nā mātou, iti nei, nā,

Te Kura Roa

Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder

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

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

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

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

He Mihi

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

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

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Professor Emeritus Bernard Spolsky	Professor Michael O'Reilly
Professor Paul Tapsell	Dr Te Wharehuia Milroy
Dr Timoti Karetu	Te Ripowai Higgins
Professor Piri Sciascia	

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

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Whānau Members: A Snap Shot

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

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

¹ L2ers is a linguistic term for second language speakers. An L1er would be a native speaker.

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

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

Te Reo Māori and The Whānau

This section outlines questions relating to language use by the whānau. Questions covered here include:

- *Number of Māori speakers in the home*
- *Perceived household proficiency*
- *Whānau reception to speaking Māori*
- *Pressure of English on whānau*
- *Impact of te reo on whānau development*
- *Māori language benefits, and*
- *Māori language goals for the whānau.*

Key findings include:

- *Most whānau have 0 to 2 speakers in the home*
- *Most whānau members are somewhat fluent, have begun to learn or are fluent*
- *Most speak Māori sometimes, or all the time*
- *There is markedly more use of Māori by whānau when at kōhanga and kura*
- *Children can be the most receptive and least receptive to Māori*
- *Most whānau don't remain in Māori in the presence of non-speakers*
- *Increase in language use amongst whānau is due to participation in and with te reo Māori and,*
- *An overwhelming personal benefit for using te reo is the personal fulfilment that it brings.*

Many of the questions pertain to intergenerational transmission, which is a key objective of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, the initiatives in which this research was located. Intergenerational transmission, its relationship to these initiatives and how it is used in these reports is discussed in Pūrongo 1: He Whenua Haumako – Te Kōhanga Reo me Te Ataarangi.

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

Māori Speakers in The Home

Ascertaining just how many Māori speakers there are in a household is not easy. One in five New Zealanders speak Māori, and 2.6% of all Māori “speakers use te reo Māori as a primary language in the home.”² Secondly, the notion of what constitutes a whānau is “complex” and multifaceted.³ Therefore, what might constitute a household and its participants, is fluid in te ao Māori. Some people still live on the marae, and thus might live with any number of people. Hence, it was no surprise when responses exceeding 100 were received for this question. In order to bring some kind of statistical order to the responses, the following graph illustrates households with zero to ten speakers:

² Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015: 75

³ Walker, 2014

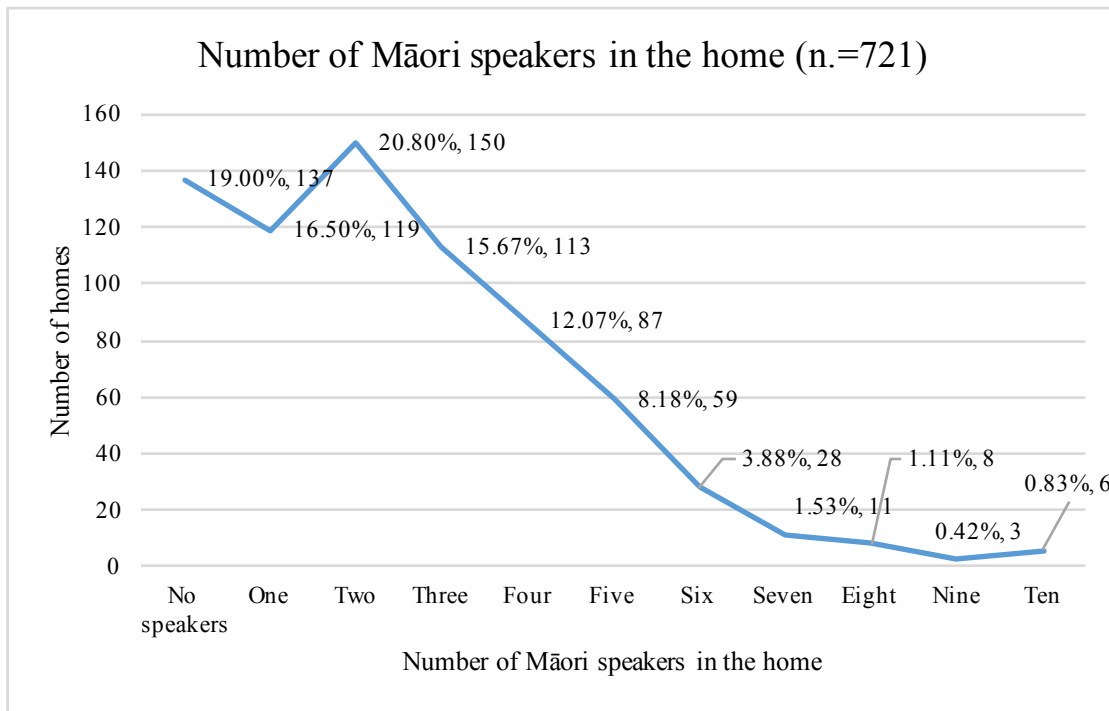


Figure 1. Number of Māori speakers in the home.

The active Māori speaker population generally has two people in the home that speak Māori (n.=150). Though not a high number, this figure is important in that it is the absolute minimum number by which any communication (and thus intergenerational transmission) in Māori is possible. 113 homes have three speakers and 87 have four speakers. A small number have more than five speakers. These are positive figures, in that of 721 participants (and thus homes, potentially), 465 homes are capable of intergenerational transmission. While a small number, it is positive to speculate about the possible exponential impact 465 homes could have for the language as those children grow up.

The converse side to these numbers is the relatively large number of homes that have just one speaker, or no speakers at all. In either category, the Māori language cannot really be present in the home as even those who have one speaker in the home will not be in the position to hold conversation – who will that one speaker talk to? 265 homes of this kind means that there are active, receptive speakers of Māori for whom Māori language in the home is not possible. This is likely to have an impact on intergenerational transmission, and the home as a language domain.

Our participants also gave information about the Māori proficiency of their households (Figure 2, below):

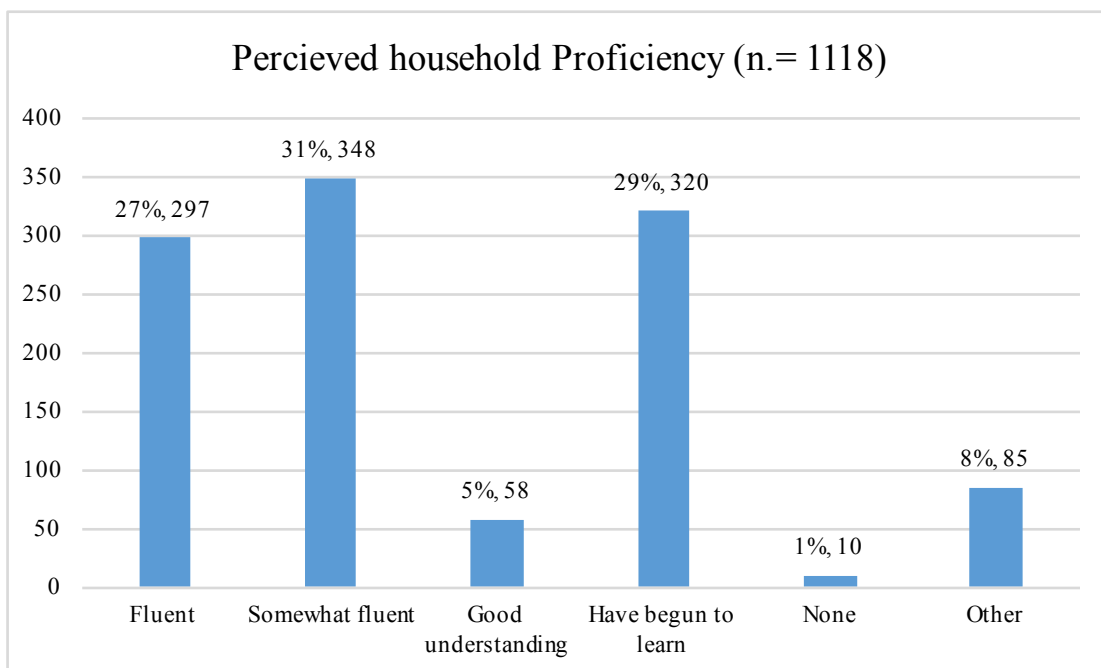


Figure 2. Percieved household proficiency.
Total exceeds survey population due to multiple responses.

By far the majority of whānau members were noted as being fluent or somewhat fluent. This is a fantastic testament to the active speaker population because home users are very proficient in te reo Māori. A very large cohort (29%) have just begun to learn. This is also positive, indicating an emerging group of speakers. Only a small portion had no proficiency.

Added to speaker populations and proficiency is whether whānau actually speak Māori. There is a common adage in Māoridom that te reo must be spoken ‘i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa’ in order for it to survive. Our active speakers do not necessarily follow this trend (Figure 3, below):

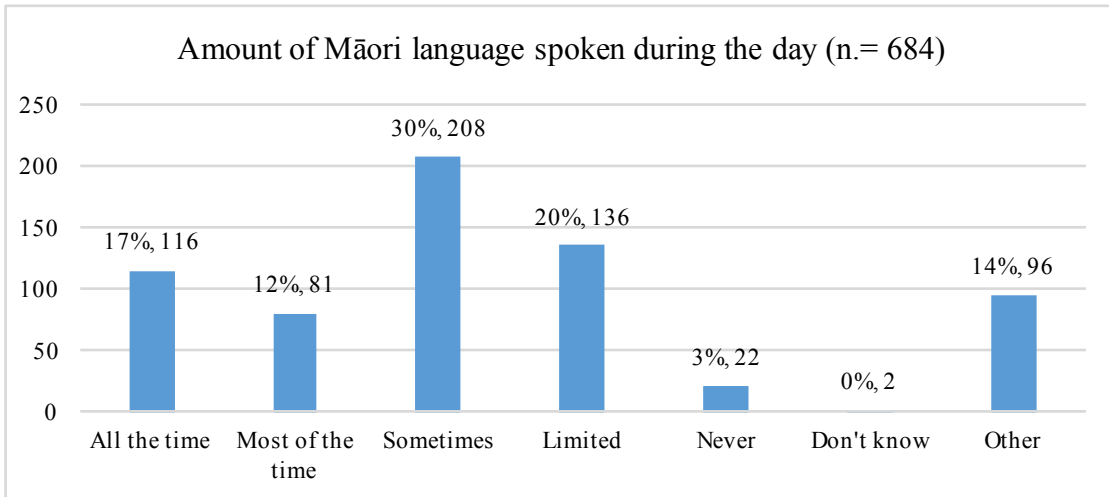


Figure 3. Amount of Māori spoken during the day.

Just 17% use te reo Māori all the time, and 12% use it most of the time. The largest group use te reo sometimes (30%). This is not necessarily indicative of a group of people that couldn't use te reo all the time, but that they function as a bilingual family – they need both languages to survive, so they do so. A further 20% use te reo Māori to a limited amount. A positive outcome is that only 3% of homes never use te reo. This means that there is at least some Māori language in most homes, even if only a few words.

Not every participant provided a linear, comparable answer like those above. These responses were recorded as an 'other' response firstly, and then analysed separately. This analysis is given in Figure 4 below:

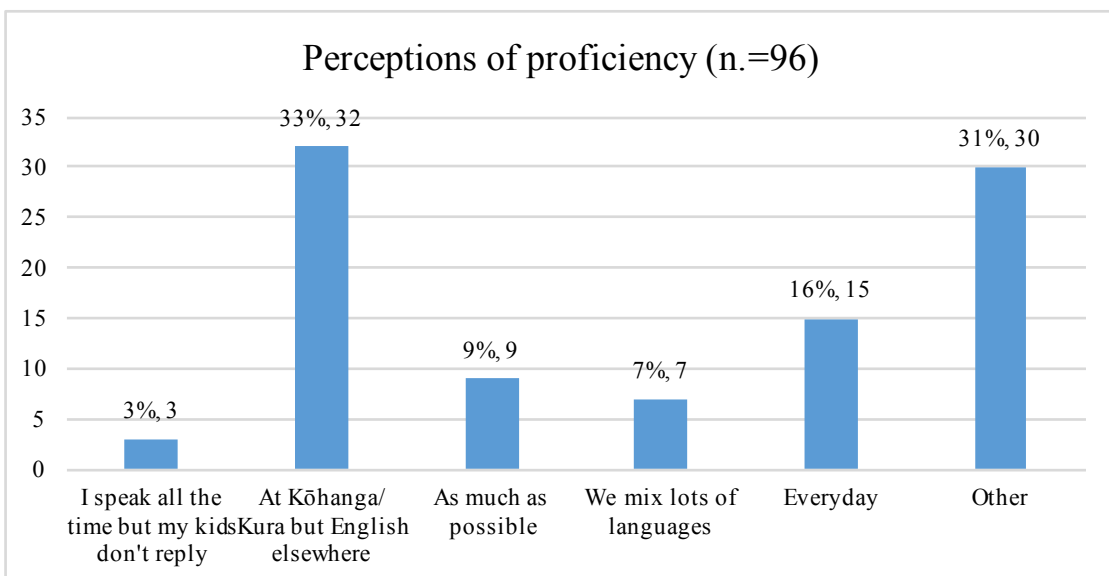


Figure 4. Perceptions of proficiency.

Many of these participants noted that they always used te reo Māori at kōhanga or kura, but used English elsewhere. This supports the idea that for active speakers language initiatives are often the language hubs, the only place where language is really accessible. Several participants also mentioned they used the language every day, though did not identify how much. Others use te reo as much as possible, again a testament to living life as a bilingual. Others mix lots of languages at home. A small amount also note that they speak all the time to their kids, but their kids don't reply. This feeling is also confirmed in Pūrongo 2: Te Kōrerotia o te reo Māori. Though a small number, the topic is worth attention in the future in terms of intergenerational transmission.

Whānau Reception To Speaking Māori

A total of 594 whānau members answered the question “Who is more receptive to speaking Māori?” Some gave multiple answers. Some of the responses given were not family members. In order to provide a clearer picture of the family, such responses were removed. The following responses are given in Figure 5:

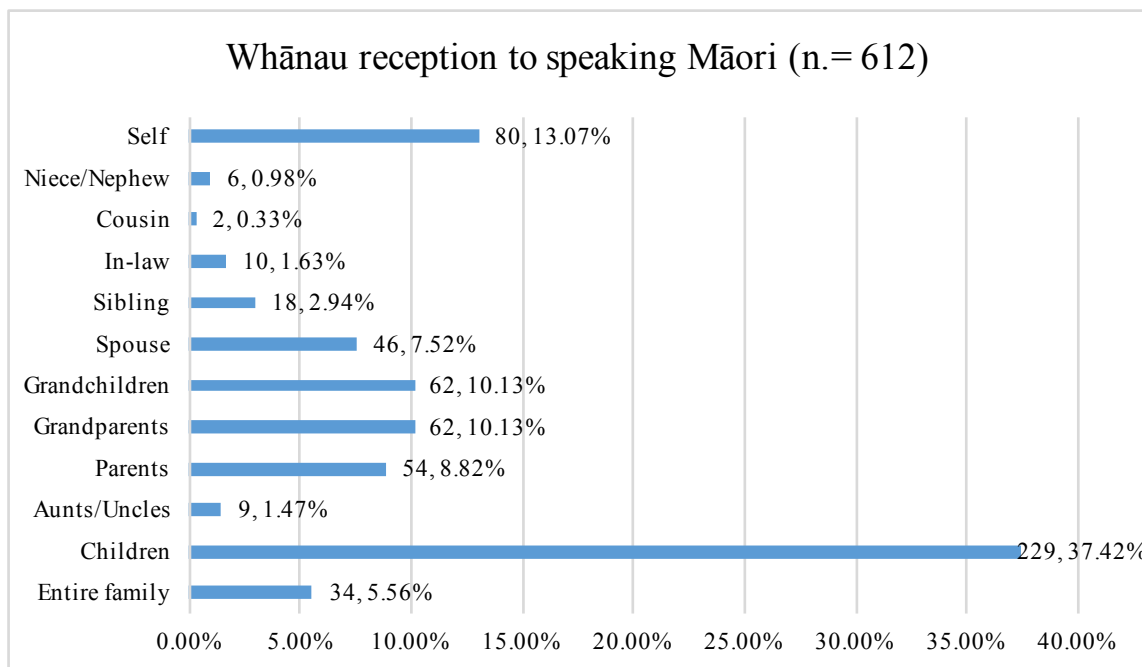


Figure 5. Whānau reception to te reo Māori.

13.07% of whānau members said they were the most receptive family member to speaking Māori. However, an overwhelming proportion of participants (37.42% n.=229) noted that children are the most receptive to speaking te reo Māori, as observed in the following:

- *Ko maua ko taku pōtiki, katahi ano kua puta i te Kōhanga Reo, kei te kaha tonu ia ki te kōrero māori*
- *Ko te pōtiki te mea kaingākau nei o te katoa. Ko ērā atu ka whakamahara ki a rātou ki te hoki ki te reo Māori, i te mea, ētahi wā ka tere huri ki te reo Pākehā*
- *Our babies in Kohanga are the ones most receptive.*

These results suggest some reception to te reo Māori across the generations, but the impact of children in home language use cannot be understated, embodying the whakataukī given by Sir James Hēnare at the Hui Whakatauirā in which Te Kōhanga Reo was born: ‘whānau mai ana te tamaiti, whakamaui ki te ū, kei reira ka timata ki te kōrero Māori.’

Other family members are also highlighted by participants as the most receptive to speaking Māori. 10.13% (n.= 62) note grandparents are the most receptive to speaking Maori. Kaumātua and kuia continue to be a driving force of te reo and

tikanga Māori, ensuring that the intergenerational transmission (explored below) is maintained. This is reflected in the following exemplars:

- *Ko nga kaumatua nga kuia, nga pakeke o toku ake whānau, aku whānaunga tata i tupu tahi ki ahau mai i toku hau kainga. [The old men, the old women, the elders in my own family, my close relations I grew up with at home]*
- *Ko ngā kaumātua me te hunga i tupu ake i waenganui i a rātou [The elders and those who grew up with them]*
- *Mātou ngā pākeke. Ka kī mai ngā tamariki kā pirangi ki te kōrero, waiata, pānui i te reo Pākehā. Tino pai rawa te pouaka whakaata ahakoa kāore mātou e whakaae kia mataki atu. “Nickelodeon, Dora, Ngā mea tamariki” [Use, the adults. The children tell us they want to talk, sing and read English. Television is great although we don’t let them watch it “Nickelodeon, Dora, the kids programmes”]*
- *Ngā kaumatua o tō mātou kāinga / Ngā tamariki o TKK Māori o Pukemiro kei Kaitaia [The elders at home/ the children of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Pukemiro in Kaitaia].*
- *Ko maua ko taku hoa tane kei to maua kāinga, engari kia haramai te whānau katoa ko ā maua mokopuna e kaingakau ana ki te korero [Myself and my partner at home, but when the family comes it’s our grandchildren that love to speak].*

Grandchildren are also viewed by 10.13% (n.= 62) to be receptive to speaking Maori, as presented in the following examples:

- *Ko taku moko tuatahi nā te mea i noho tata ia ki ahau. [My first grandchild because they are close to me]*
- *Grandson who attends Kohanga.*
- *Ko ngā tamariki / mokopuna o Te kōhanga reo me tōku tungane hoki [The children / grandchildren of the kōhanga reo and my brother too].*
- *Nga tamariki / mokopuna [the children/grandchildren] & matua [parents] who want the best for the next generation.*

A slightly smaller group of whānau members (10.15%, n=54) noted that parents are the most receptive to speaking Maori. Formerly many Māori parents stopped speaking te reo to their children at a time where English was favoured as the dominant language.⁴ Despite the dominance of the English language, parents have embraced and encourage te reo Māori to raise levels of communication within the whānau and the wider community as the following responses show:

- *My father is passionate about Te Reo*
- *Mother will give it a try*
- *ko te mama ko au [I’m the mother, it’s me]*
- *Tōku pāpa, māmā [My Dad, Mum].*

Parallel to a parent’s receptiveness to speak Māori is the receptiveness of their partner or spouse to do so. In some instance they are not receptive at all (explained below) but in some, they are. 7.52% (n= 46) of our whānau members noted that their spouse had an understanding of the language which assisted their receptiveness to speaking te reo as illustrated below:

*I would say my husband because although he has limited reo, he understands what people are saying in short sentences
My partner. The kids have an understanding of the reo but only speak back to us in Pākehā.
Taku hoa rangatira [My partner]
My husband who is fluent*

The role of spouses in Māori language development in the home has received little attention in the literature to date. We can likely infer, however, that spouses play a large role in the power dynamics of language in the home. The more positive they are about te reo Māori, the easier it will be to use te reo Māori in the home, even if they aren’t a strong speaker themselves.

⁴ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2015

Whānau Resistance To Speaking Māori

The following analysis discusses the findings of 552 of our active speakers who answered the question “Who are the most resistant to speaking Māori at home?” Some gave multiple answers. Many of the responses given were not able to be identified as family members. In order to provide a clearer picture of the family, such responses were removed. The kinds of whānau members that could be identified are shown in the following graph (Figure 6):

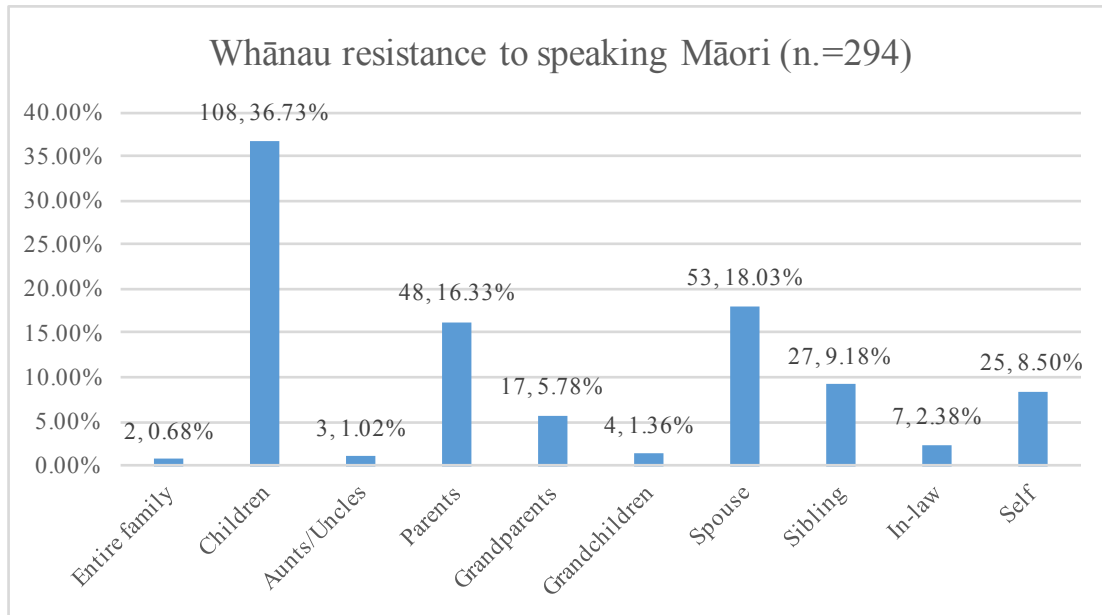


Figure 6. Whānau resistance to speaking Māori.

It is interesting to observe that the majority of responses (36.73%, n=108) indicate children are the most resistant to speaking Māori at home. The responses were predominantly in reference to young adults, often including some kind of age indicator:

- *Ko ngā taiohi (14-18 pea ngā tau) [the teenagers (14-18 years maybe)].*
- *te hunga tamariki 14ys ki te 20yrs [the childhood group 14yrs to 20yrs]*
- *To me these would be our teenage tamariki that have not been taught the kaupapa*
- *ngā taiohi - ngā mea kei te kura tuarua [the teens, the ones at secondary school]*

Other participants expressed statements that showed rangatahi were not concerned about speaking the language at home, although they have te reo Māori experience. This concern highlights a proportion of youth who are able use te reo Māori to communicate on a daily basis but do not see how it contributes to what they are doing or why they need to use the language all the time.

- *...ko ngā tamariki e haere ana ki te kura e hōhā ana ki tā tātou reo, koinā tā rātou i kī mai! [the children going to school are fed up with speaking our language, that's what they say!]*
- *I tipu taku tama i roto i te reo, engari ināianei e hōhā ana ia, ā, kua kaha tana kōrero Pākehā. Kei te pai tērā ki ahau, ko te mea nui ki a ia te reo [My son grew up in Māori, but now he's had enough, he speaks lots of English That's okay by me, the main thing is he has te reo].*
- *My 19, 16 and 13 year old who are all āhua matatau [quite proficient] but don't value their reo as much as I would like. I have to encourage and end up moaning at them to āwhina [help]. Very frustrating!!*
- *Taku tama i roto i tētahi karaehe reo rua. Nō te mea he āhua māngere a ia. Tino ngāwari te reo tauwiwi ki a ia [My son in a bilingual unit. Because he is a bit lazy. It's so easy to him to speak English].*

Possibly the most important reason that rangatahi are resistant to speaking Māori is the ‘cool factor’. Dr Hinurewa Poutu’s recently completed doctoral research concludes that the best way to make this group of speakers use more Māori is to make it “cool”.⁵ That is, to get buy-in from this generation we have to find ways of making te reo Māori appeal to them, in so much that our rangatahi feel compelled to use the language more.

Earlier it was mentioned that spouses might play an important part in language use dynamics in the home. The following responses highlight that for 18.03% (n=53) of our whānau members, their spouse presented resistance to speaking Māori at home. Examples of this resistance appear to stem from an inadequate level of te reo Māori to the perception that one personally lacks the ability to converse with someone of a higher level of language competence:

- *My partner, but really he’s come along way considering no Māori language from him - if you’re lucky a ‘Kia ora’ is the most Māori [he will say]*
- *Ko taku tāne, engari ētahi wā kei te puta mai ētahi kupu Māori ki ana mokopuna [my husband, but sometimes he uses some Māori words with his grandchildren].*
- *My partner he’s still learning*
- *Tāku hoa tāne engari he tino kaha ia ki te ako, kāore ano kia puta te reo, i haere ia ki te Wānanga o Aotearoa mō ngā tau e rua [my husband, but he’s working hard to learn, he hasn’t yet spoken, he went to Te Wānanga o Aotearoa for two years].*
- *Ko taku hoa rangatira, i te mea he reo kē tōna e akona ana. Ahakoa tērā, ka ngana tonu ia te kōrero i te reo Māori [My partner because they are learning another language. Despite that, they still try to speak Māori].*
- *Taku hoa rangatira, engari he ngākaunui ia ki tō tātou ao Māori, kei te ako tonu [My partner, but they love the Māori world, they’re still learning].*

In addition to the above examples, participants are aware that their spouse or partner may also experience a sense of embarrassment associated with their ability or inability to speak Māori. Once seen in a negative light it can be hard to change these perceptions especially for a generation of Māori with deeply entrenched experiences where children were once punished for speaking Māori. This can cause people to develop a resistance to moving forward as illustrated in the following:

- *tōku hoa tāne, i runga i tana whakamā. Ko ia tētahi i tupu ake i te wā i wepuhia ōna mātua ina kōrero rātou i te reo. [my husband, because he’s embarrassed. He was one who grew up in the time his parents were beaten for speak the language].*
- *my husband - shy*
- *Partner. Because he’s shy and doesn’t know as much as we do.*
- *Tōku tāne - kāore e tino rata ana ki te kōrero Māori ki ahau, nā te whakamā pea [my husband. He doesn’t like speaking Māori to me, perhaps out of embarrassment]*
- *Ko tōku Māmā, i ētahi wā ko tōku Pāpā hoki. Āhua whakamā rāua ki te kōrero nā te mea e whakaaro ana rāua, e hē ana ā rāua kōrero. Koia rā te tino take [My Mum, sometimes Dad too. They’re a bit embarrassed to speak because they think they’re wrong. That’s the main reason].*

The effects of this experience have trickled down to future generations out of fear that their children would also be punished and therefore a disconnection to the language was created. This resulted in further repercussions such as partners who have knowledge of te reo but do not see the value of speaking the language, opposing the value of te reo Māori use within domestic and societal environments.

- *Husband doesn't try*
- *Ko tōku hoa tāne. He hāhi anō tōna. [My husband. He is of another religion]*
- *Kōtahi noa iho, ko ia te hoa rangatira o tōku māmā, nō tāwāhi ia [Just one, the partner of my mum, they're from overseas]*
- *Ngā hoa tāne o aku tamāhine [the husbands of my daughters]*
- *Taku hoa rangatira ahakoa i tipu a ia i te reo Māori, he maumau wā te ako i te reo Māori, tōna whakaaro [my partner even though they grew up in Māori, they think it's a waste of time to learn Māori]*
- *Tōku tāne, engari he pai ki a ia te mātaki atu ko te whakaata Māori [My husband, but sometimes he likes to watch Māori TV].*

Although the role of spouses in Māori language use in the home is not well studied, it is acknowledged that partners play a huge role in linguistic rule negotiation in other languages, and that a power imbalance or shift can affect language use in the home.⁶ Alternatively, when a language is instituted from the start of a relationship a positive reaction can result.⁷ This evidence shows the importance of the spouse in household use. Likewise, parents, caregivers and guardians are the most influential within the home, having the ability to create a supportive environment that encourages speaking te reo Māori. However, 16.33% (n=48) of participants indicated that parents are resistant to speaking the language. This could be a direct cause or a coincidence of the observations experienced in the responses above concerned with spouses.

As a side, it must also be noted that in most of these responses, men are noted most frequently. This would seem to suggest that male partners may struggle more with being receptive to te reo Māori. This is a subject for future attention, given that most of our Māori language speakers and learners are female.

2.72% (n=27) suggested that their siblings are the most resistant. In some cases a sibling may have knowledge of te reo Māori but prefers to communicate in English implying that social situations are influenced by English as te reo Māori is not required. This could complicate their perceptions and attitude towards things Māori and emphasises their position as passive contributors to the language. Whānau members also said that their siblings were resistant due to their age making it hard to see te reo Māori in a constructive manner.

For 25 people (8.5%), they themselves are the most resistant. This indicates that even some of our most active speakers still face challenges in their everyday use of Māori.

Lastly, grandparents, although very receptive for some whānau, are resistant to te reo Māori in others (5.78%, n.=17). In-laws, aunts and uncles each represent a small amount of resistance. A small number note the whole family are resistant. A very positive result is the very small number of grandchildren who are resistant to speaking Māori, just 1.36% of whānau.

This question drew a number of answers that show just how complex resistance to speaking Māori can be. One key conclusion that can be drawn from this set of data is that whānau and whānau households face different challenges and enjoy unique achievements in language use. They are not all the same – the biggest language champion in one whānau might be a sibling. In another whānau, siblings might be the least receptive. This is the reality of our homes, and it is important to assume that whānau will respond to these challenges and achievements in their own way. For this reason, language initiatives aimed at the home domain need to be flexible, versatile and able to be tailored to each whānau. A one-size-fits-all model may not provide families with what they need in their own spaces.

⁶ Piller, 2002: 140

⁷ See Christensen, 2001: 159.

Whānau Participation In Language Initiatives

As noted earlier, active Māori language users are involved in a range of different Māori language initiatives. Participants were asked about those initiatives that encourage language use in the home. An incredible amount of initiatives are identified here:

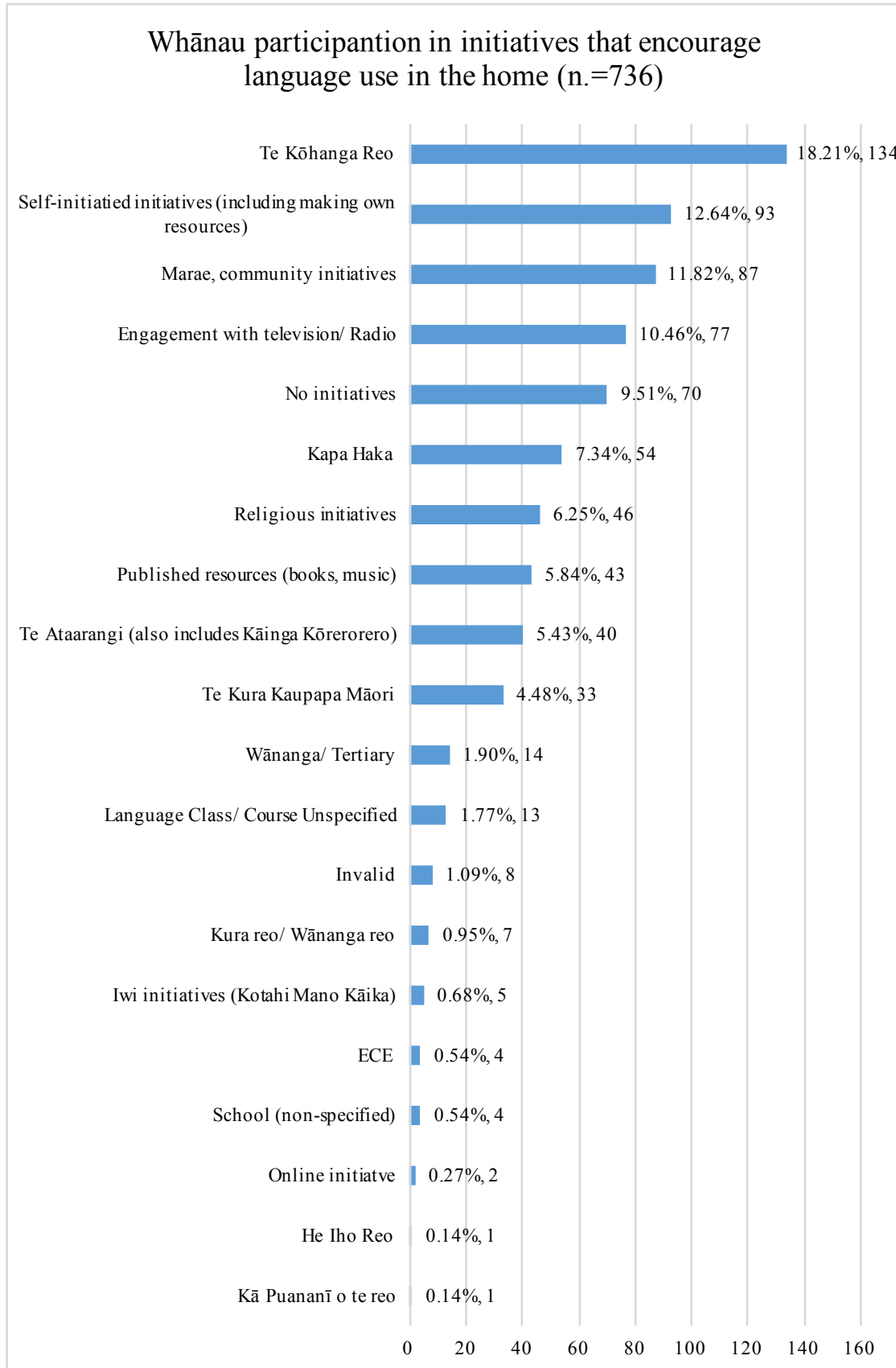


Figure 7. Whānau participation in initiatives that encourage language use in the home.

By far the most popular initiative is Te Kōhanga Reo (18.21%) though this is not at all surprising as the surveys were conducted partly through the Te Kōhanga Reo. Interestingly, the largest non-Te Kōhanga Reo cohort initiate their own initiatives through making their own resources and the like. Further research could try to ascertain why existing initiatives do not cater for these people, and how these people could be better supported to share ideas and to limit unnecessary duplication of similar resources. Some (11.82%) are involved in marae and community initiatives and 10.46% engage with television and radio. 9.51% are not involved in any initiative.

Pressure of English on Whānau

There are any number of factors that contribute to the use of te reo Māori. Since all Māori speakers are bilingual,⁸ it has been difficult to ascertain exactly how to go about implementing more Māori language in the daily lives of speakers. Participants were queried about what makes them switch to English or not. In particular, non-speaker presences and public domains were examined. “The maintenance of customary languages like Māori is acquiring greater immediacy around the globe as the negative consequences of ‘language space’ erosion are more readily comprehended”⁹ The presence of language in a given domain has long been viewed as critical in determining the health of a language in that space. In the home, success in creating healthy intergenerational transmission largely depends on the presence of English, Māori and other languages, and how whānau deal with the presences of those languages. In the Māori language literature, knowledge of the presence of language in the home is referred to as critical awareness.¹⁰ The ability of household members to determine how much English and Māori is in the home at a given time, and take steps to enable the use of Māori to a level they are happy with, is the cornerstone of critical awareness. Despite its importance, there is little research to aid whānau members along this journey. Our participants were asked in what situations do they default to English with other whānau members:

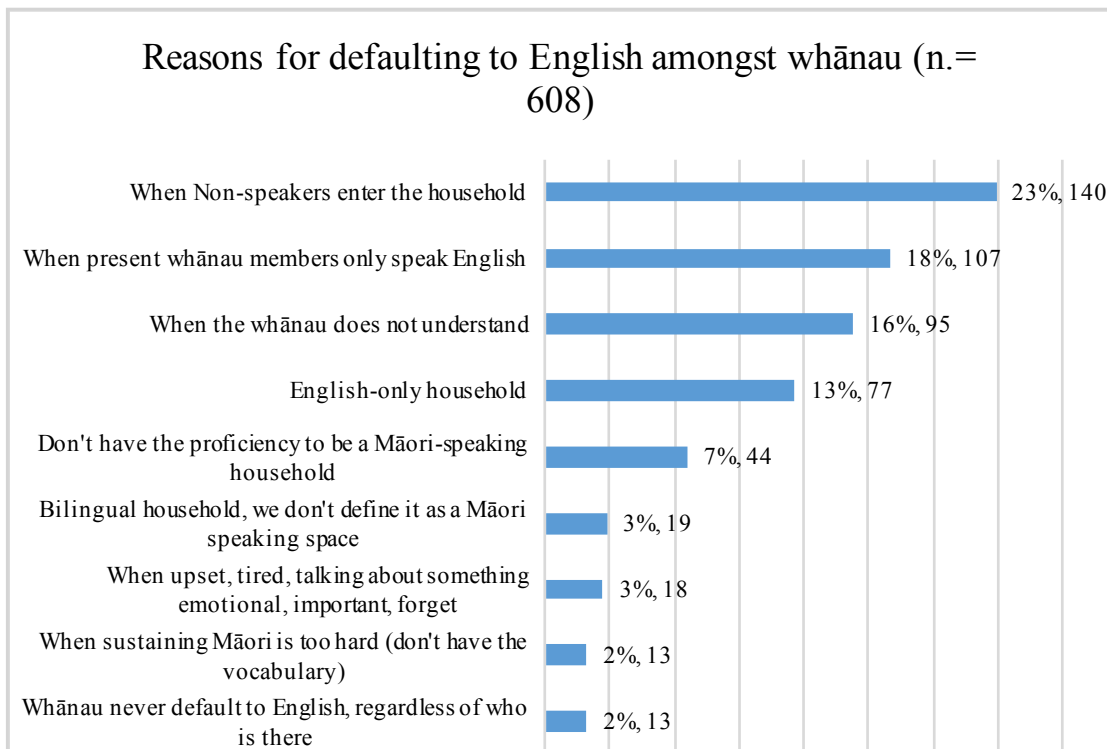


Figure 8. Reasons for whānau defaulting to English.

⁸ Chrisp, 2005: 155

⁹ O'Regan, 2012: 298

¹⁰ Chrisp, 1997

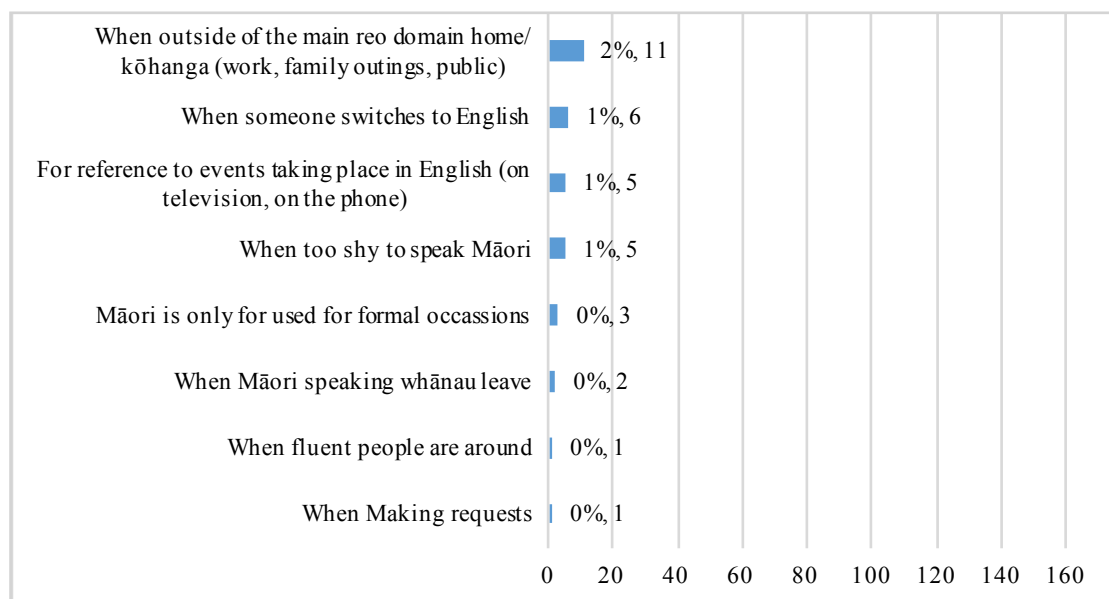


Figure 8 (Continued). Reasons for whānau defaulting to English.

There seems to be an overwhelming agreement that non-speakers entering the household causes a shift from Māori to English (23%). Added to this is the 18% who noted that they default to English because other whānau members only speak English. These two ideas essentially result in the same thing – whānau resort to English when non-speakers are present. Separating these two ideas is important. Firstly, there is a perception that Māori-speaking whānau all speak Māori. This is not true. Secondly, there is a general perception that non-speakers are ‘outsiders’, such as manuhiri to the home. While this is true to some extent, there is a general attitude within the revitalisation community that if you want to limit English in your household, you simply need to remove English visitors from the equation. While this is possible for some, for others, these ‘outsiders’ are actually whānau members present within the home, they are not external to the home or strangers. Some families (16%) switch to English when a whānau member does not understand. They may have a developing proficiency or may not speak Māori at all. Many whānau (13%) noted they were purely English-speaking at home, there was no Māori there. Similarly, a further 7% do not have the proficiency for maintain a Māori language home.

A small number of people noted some other most interesting reasons for resorting to English. 3% maintained they were a bilingual household. They had no intention of being a Māori-only household and thus ‘defaulting to English’ was not actually a variable one could measure. These whānau were happy with their bilingual language use. This contrasts the general ideal in revival of ‘i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa’, and is an aspect worthy of further study – if nothing else, we should be revitalising a language to create homes happy with their level of language use, whatever that may be.

Another 3% note that they switch to English when they are tired, upset, or are talking about something emotional or important. They may also simply forget. Factors at play here involve the fact that when people are emotional, they are likely to resort to the language that allows them to convey those emotions easily, without the added anxiety or forming sentences in a language they are not as familiar with. This is the same for someone who is too tired to speak what may be their second language, or forgets to speak their second language -the language in which they may relax will be the one used. Likewise, important topics are expressed in English for some whānau. This is crucial because it shows that for these people, English is still the language for expressing things that ‘really matter’:

- *Ka huri rātou ki te reo kē i ngā wā hikaka ana te tangata ki te whakaputa ona ake whakaaro [they turn to another language when they are eager to express their thoughts]*
- *Kei puku te rae ka huri ki te reo Pakeha na te hiahia e kore rawa te tuku tere i te reo Maori [when angry they speak English because they want to quickly express something they can’t express quickly in Māori]*

- *Mainly when we are relaxing at home and listening to what every body been doing during their day (School, Work ect)*
- *Only when important situations crises require clear explanation*
- *Tautohe, Whakatoi [Fights, joking arounf]*
- *When I don't understand to frustration point*
- *When not full capacity to express in Maori.*
- *When they are frustrated with each other. My tamariki.*
- *When they think you need to know something*
- *When we are tired it doesn't come naturally*
- *When we forget that we should be speaking te reo Maori. English comes more naturally because it is our first language and we forget to speak Maori.*

This should not at all be seen as an indictment of these whānau, or as citing their weaknesses. This is not the goal. However, in the goal to create more Māori-speaking homes it is no longer enough to ignore the realities whānau operate in and chastise them for not speaking Māori. We must better resource their bilingual needs for their day-to-day movements.

Participants were also asked if whānau members speak Māori regardless of who is present (Figure 9). 35.36% asserted that they continued to speak no matter who was with the whānau. Having said that, in the previous question almost all of the participants noted at least some occasions when they defaulted to English when non-speakers were present. Most participants (38.16%) did not continue to speak Māori around others, which indicates that our active Māori-speakers, on the whole, are prepared to switch to English for some situations. 17.93% noted they continue to speak Māori sometimes, or some members continued to speak Māori and some ceased.

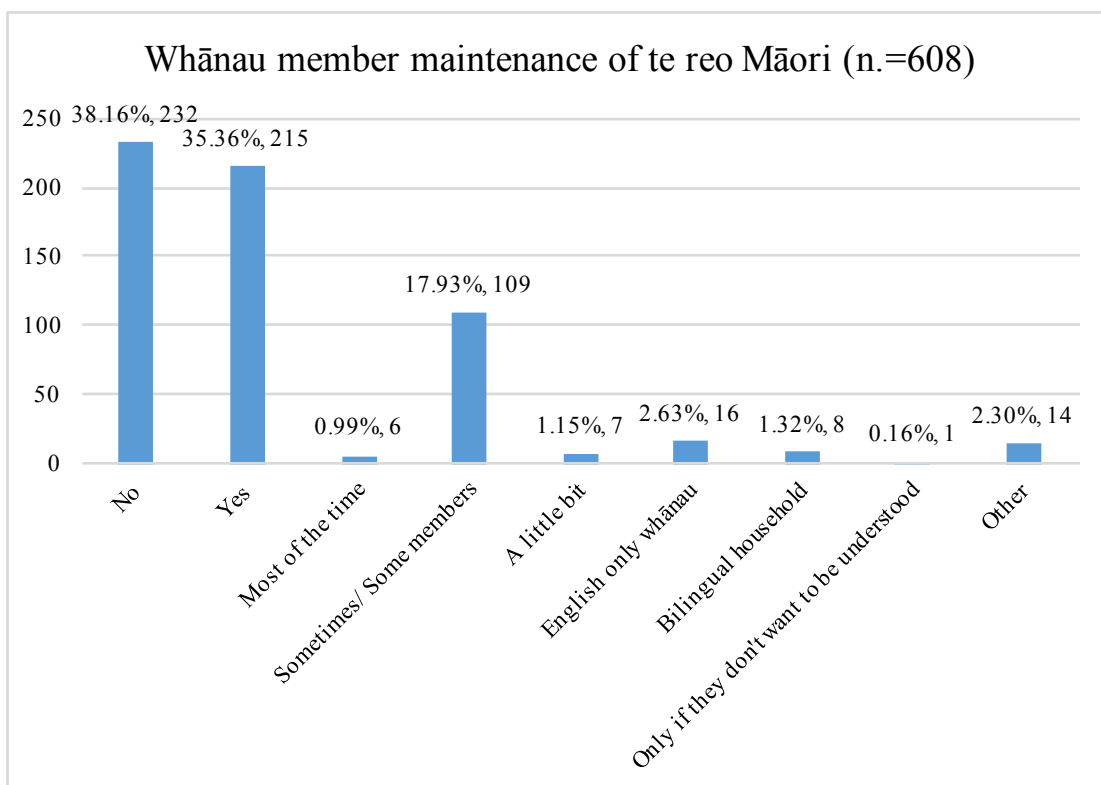


Figure 9. Whānau member maintenance of te reo Māori.

Following on from this, participants who said they did switch to English were asked why they did so (Figure 10):

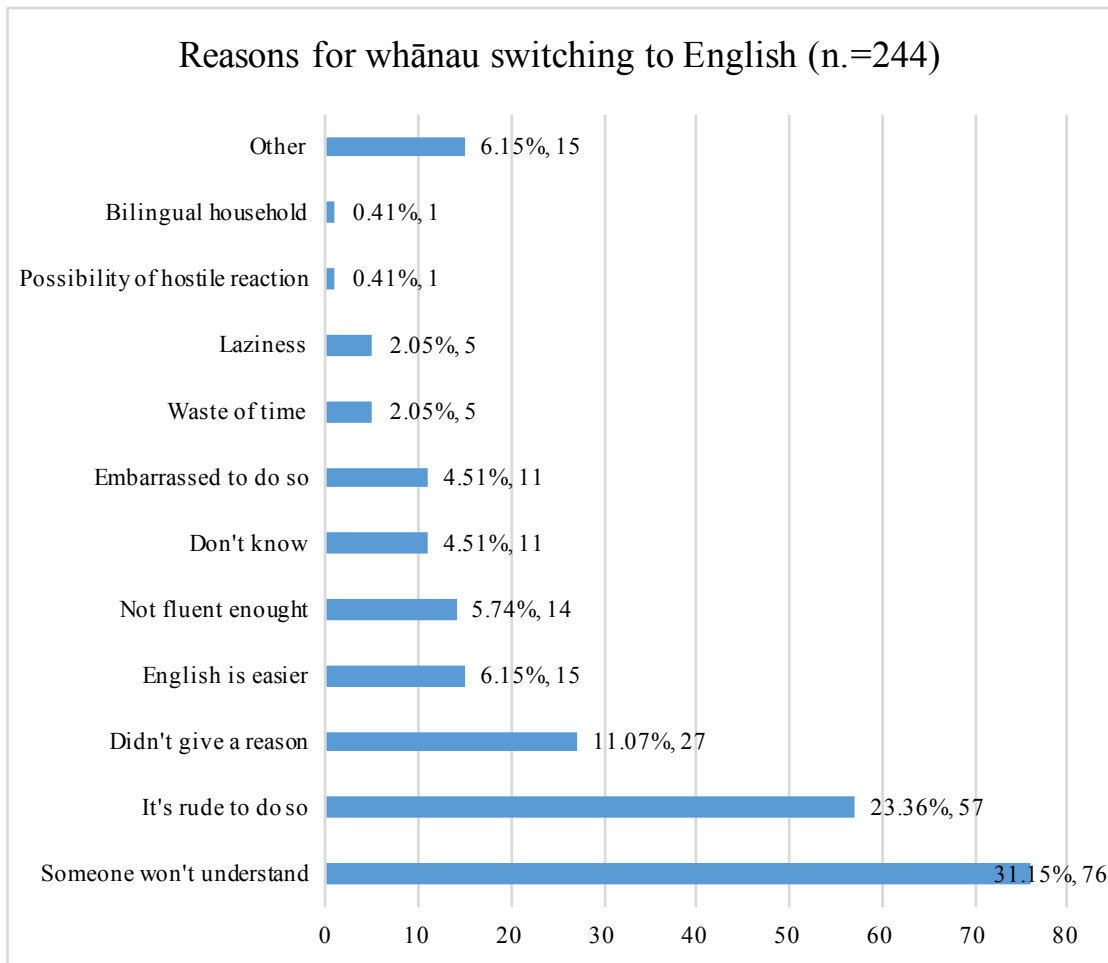


Figure 10. Reasons for whānau switching to English.

31.15% said they were worried that someone would not understand, and a further 23.36% said they thought it was rude to do so. Speech accommodation is an interesting trait to consider. Though not well researched in the literature, it is interesting to speculate as to why Māori speakers here are so considerate of others. One does not necessarily expect the same treatment of English speakers by, say, French speakers in France. Those who said they did not switch to English were asked why they do not. Figure 11 (below) shows the many kinds of responses to this question:

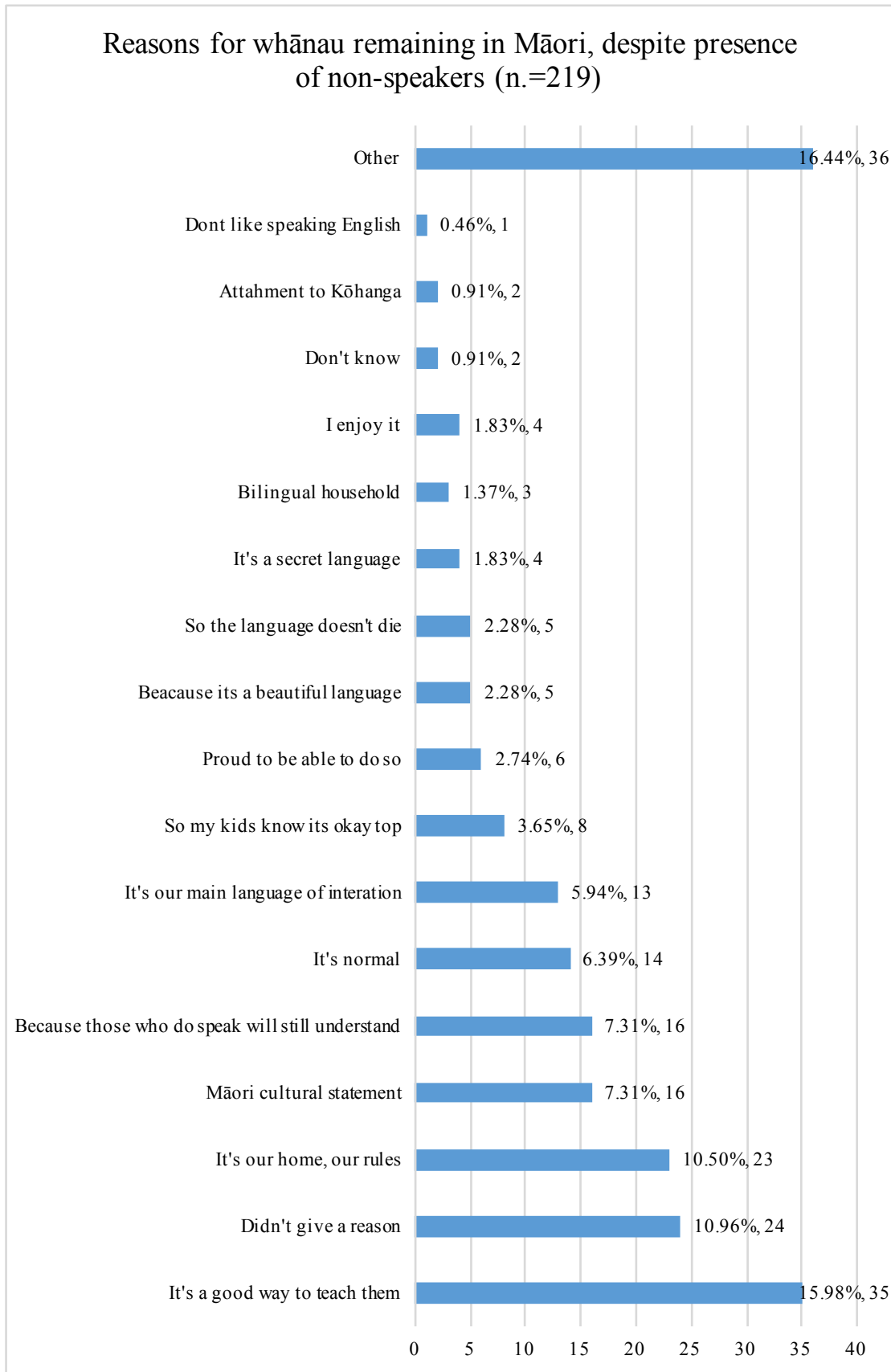


Figure 11. Reasons for whānau remaining in Māori.

Of those who remained in Māori, 15.98% stated that doing so was a good way to teach people who did not speak Māori. Indeed, both Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi are well versed in the success immersion environments can have on language learning. 10.50% note that in their home, their rules applied. Since Māori is the language of that household, others should not expect the accommodation of English. We also asked whānau about their language use outside of the home (Figure 12):

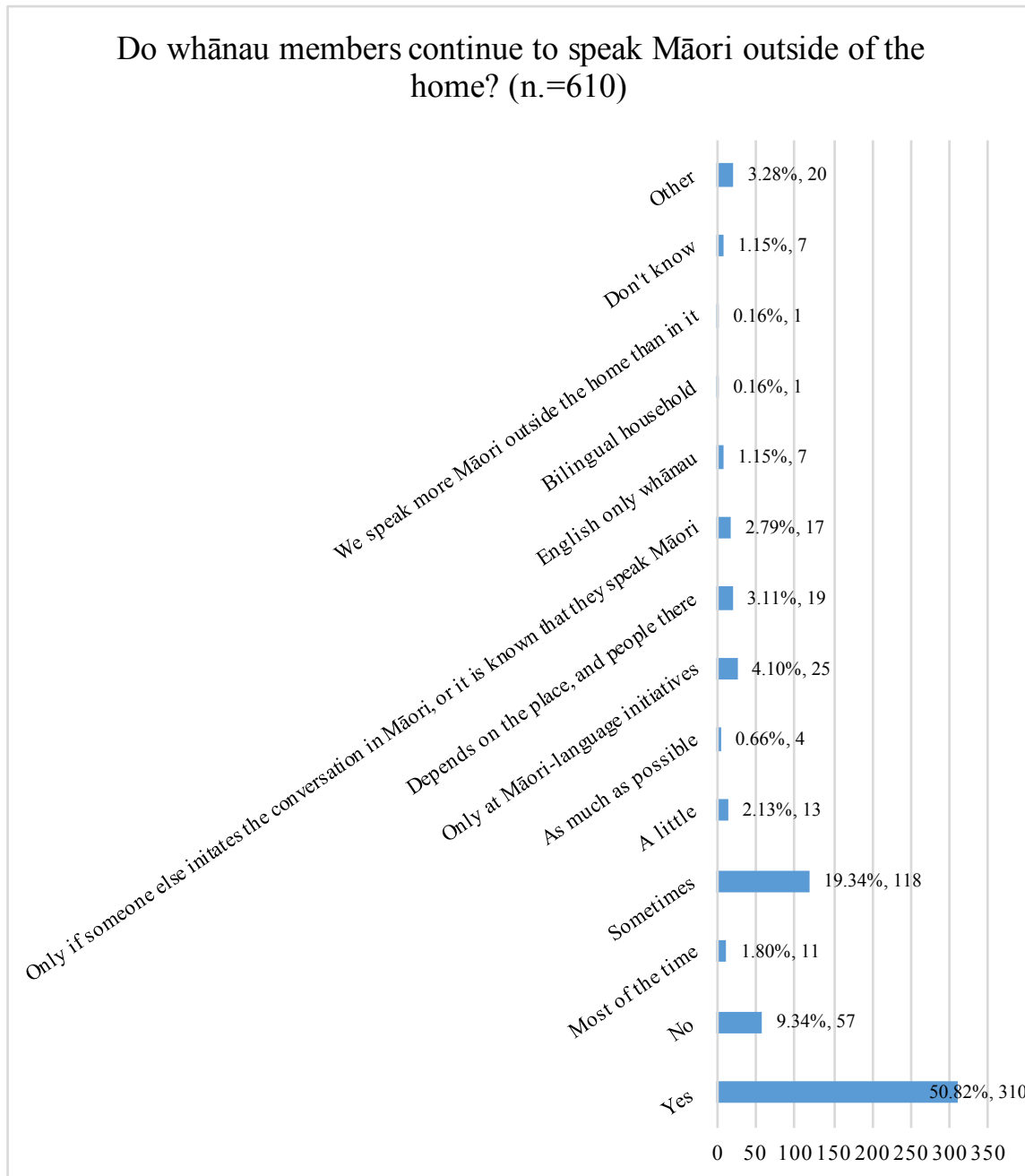


Figure 12. Whānau maintenance of te reo Māori outside of the home.

Over half (50.82%) of the participants state they continue to speak Māori outside of the home. Although this does not mean they are necessarily speaking exclusively Māori outside of the home domain, it is a positive outcome to see the language is not ghettoised to one specific domain. This further suggests the idea of language domains is antiquated and unrealistic for whānau. Just 9.34% say they do not speak Māori outside of the home. This is also positive, given the small number. Other participants provided more than a yes/no answer. 19.34% note they speak Māori sometimes. Given the overwhelming pressure of English outside of the home, sometimes is still a positive result.

Impact on Whānau Development

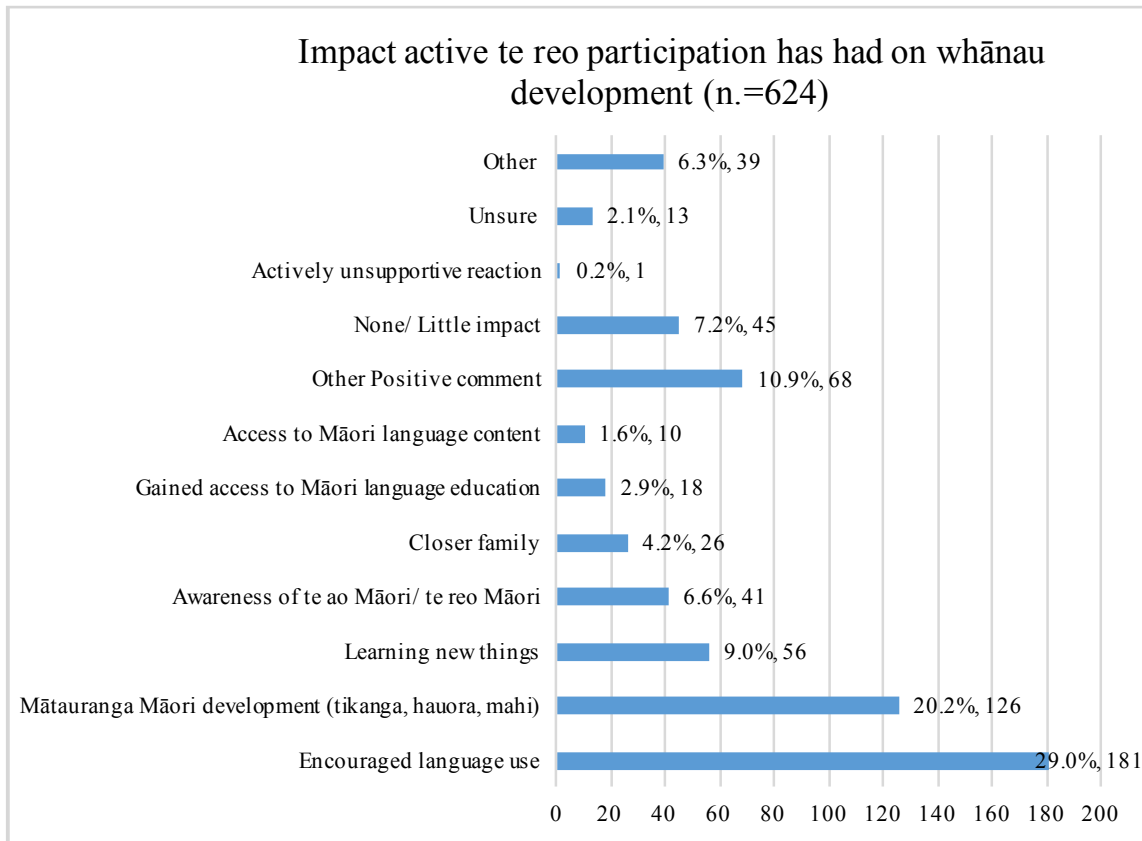


Figure 13. Impact of te reo Māori on whānau development.

For most whānau, the impact of te reo has been positive for whānau development (Figure 13). This is most notably seen in increased language use (29%) and knowledge of mātauranga Māori (20.2%). This speaks to the role of language as a “conduit” for culture (Rewi, 2012: 75). Other whānau have simply enjoyed learning new things (9%). Some appreciated that the whānau had become more aware of te ao Māori and had more critical awareness of Māori language issues (6.6%). For 4.2%, the whānau had grown closer as a result of te reo Māori participation. Others had enjoyed greater access to education (2.9%) and language content (1.6%). 10.9% noted other positives gained. For just 7.2%, participation in te reo Māori had little or no impact. Just one participant had experienced an actively negative reaction from whānau due to te reo participation.

Māori Language Benefits For The Self

Participants almost all said they thought the Māori language provided benefits for themselves as speakers (99.2%). Just 5 people (0.8%) said they could not see such benefits (Figure 14):

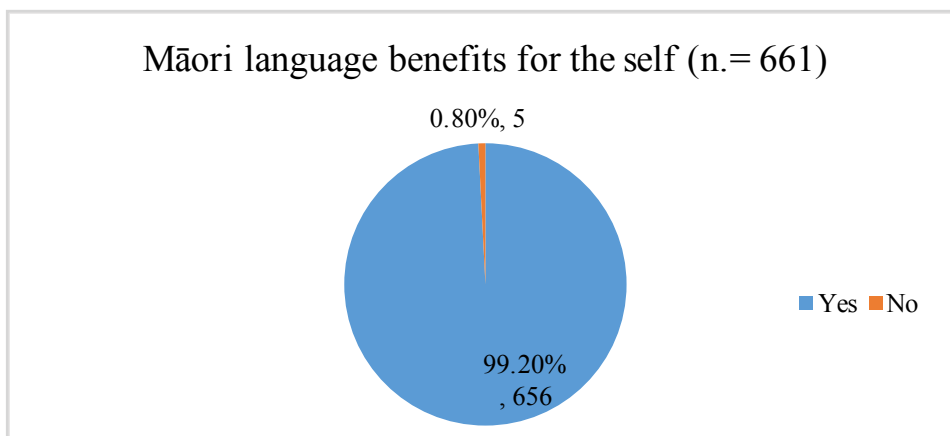


Figure 14. Māori language benefits for the self.

Of those who did note benefits for themselves, many different types of benefits were seen (Figure 15):

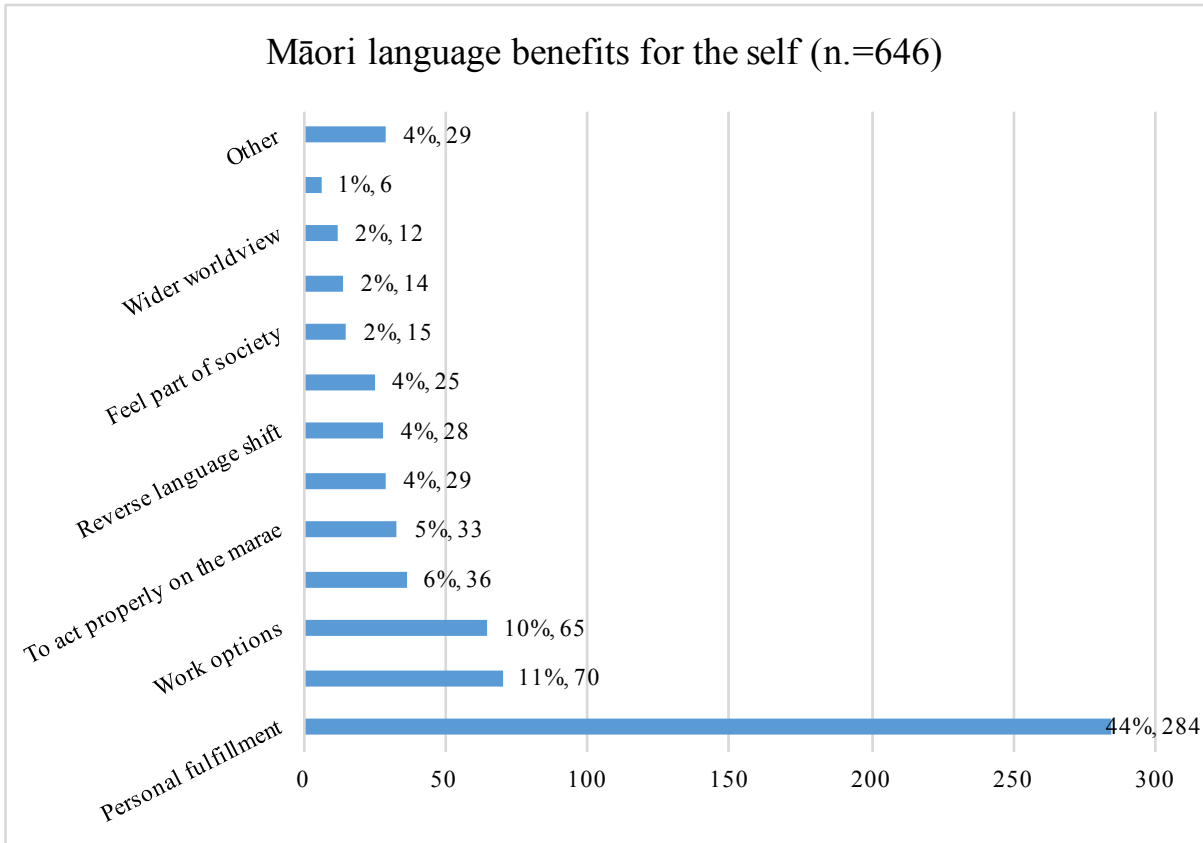


Figure 15. Māori language benefits for the self.

Māori Language Goals For The Self

Participants also overwhelmingly stated they had Māori language goals for themselves (Figure 16). Of 757 participants, just 5% (n.=35) did not have such goals. This is testament to the positive nature of the active speaker in pursuing a language related goal.

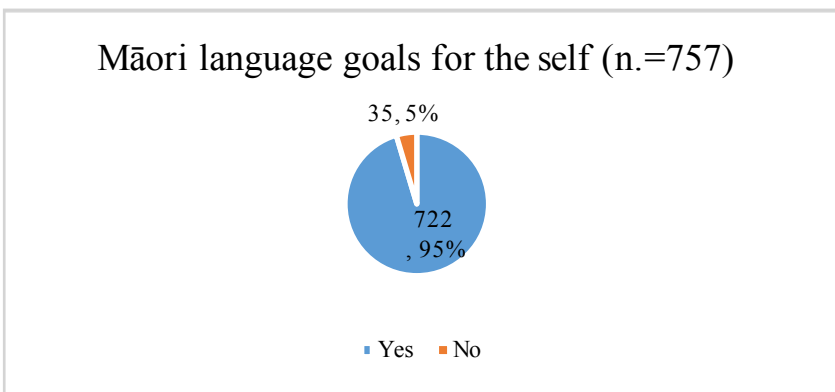


Figure 16. Māori language goals for the self.

Participants were then questioned about what those language goals were (Figure 17, below). While not every participant chose to provide an answer, most participants (52%) indicated their desire to increase their language proficiency. A further 14% wished to achieve some higher learning through te reo Māori. 13% simply wished to use more language than they were using at the time. 8% expressed the desire to teach others and 7% wanted to have a conversation entirely through the medium of te reo Māori. 3% wanted to gain some confidence in te ao Māori and a small amount (1% wanted to do something to retain their ancestral language.

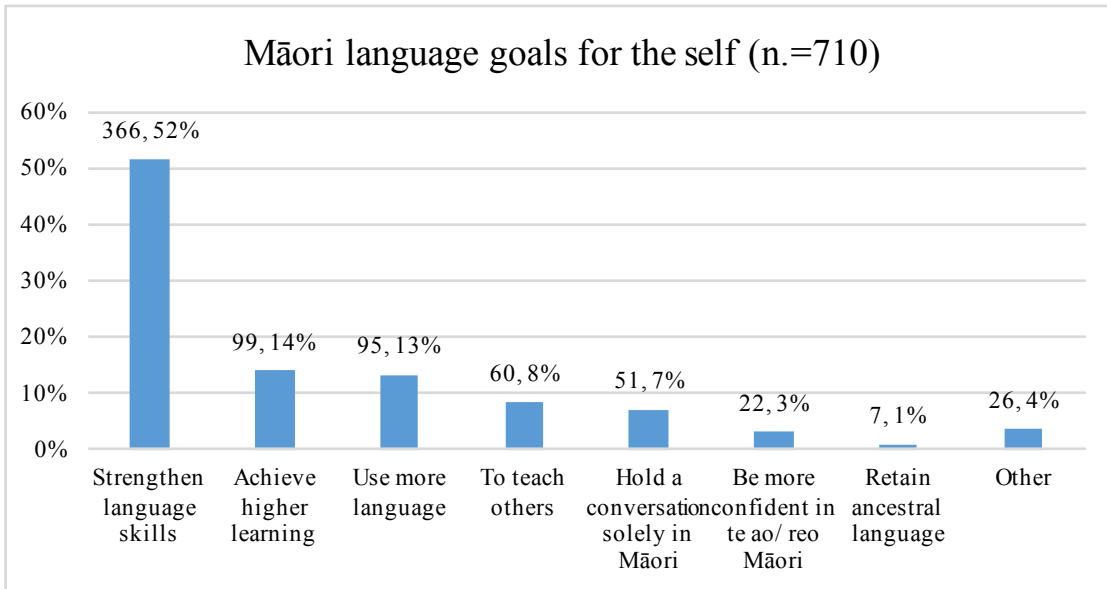


Figure 17. Māori language goals for the self.

Of the 5% who did not have language goals, only 17 provided a reason. A selection of these responses are provided below (invalid responses removed):

- *Kore au i whakaarohia kia mahi ai i nga whaingā [I never thought to make goals]*
- *Because I have very little knowledge of Maori language.*
- *Excuse, too busy. I don't even have time to tiaki myself. there are 3 things that are not on my priority list - ko au, my whanau at home with me and te reo, aue!*
- *I did have but in a bit of a rut at the moment.*
- *Kao. Kua tae atu au ki te taumata e hiahia ana e au [No. I'm at the level I want]*
- *Kua pu te ruha, kua hao te rangatahi. Kai reira ahau i naianei. [An old net is cast aside for a new one. That's where I am now]*
- *Never thought about any.*
- *You know I never really thought about it. Thank you for bringing it to my attention. / I do have one without realising it, to teach would be an aim at the moment*

Some of the participants simply hadn't thought about having language goals for themselves. Others were content with the language proficiency they had already acquired or thought they were too old. Three note that their proficiency wasn't at a level they thought they could realistically have a language goal.

Māori Language Benefits For The Whānau

Participants were also asked if they thought there were benefits for the own whānau. Figure 18 shows that just a few did not believe there were benefits (Figure 18):

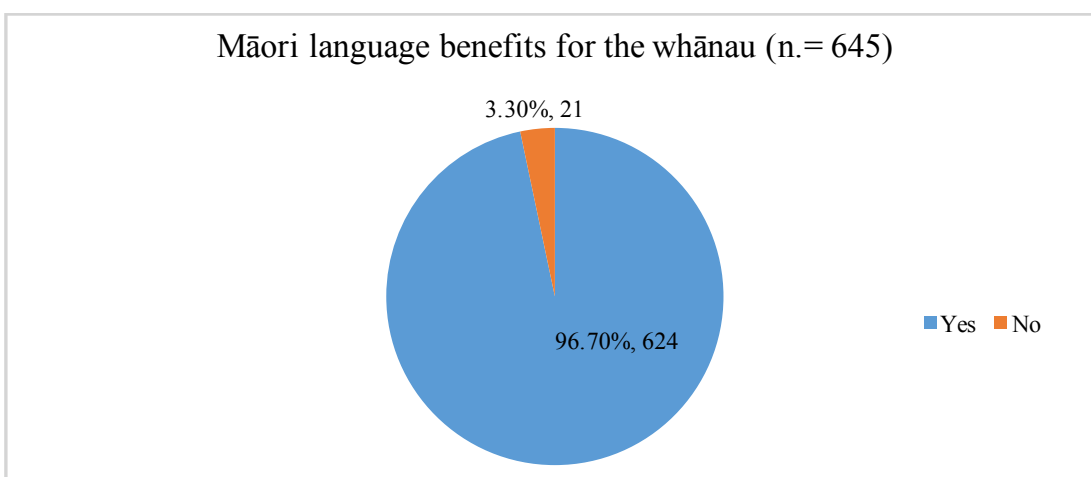


Figure 18. Māori language benefits for the whānau.

96.7% asserted that there were benefits. They were asked what those benefits were. These are listed in Figure 19, below:

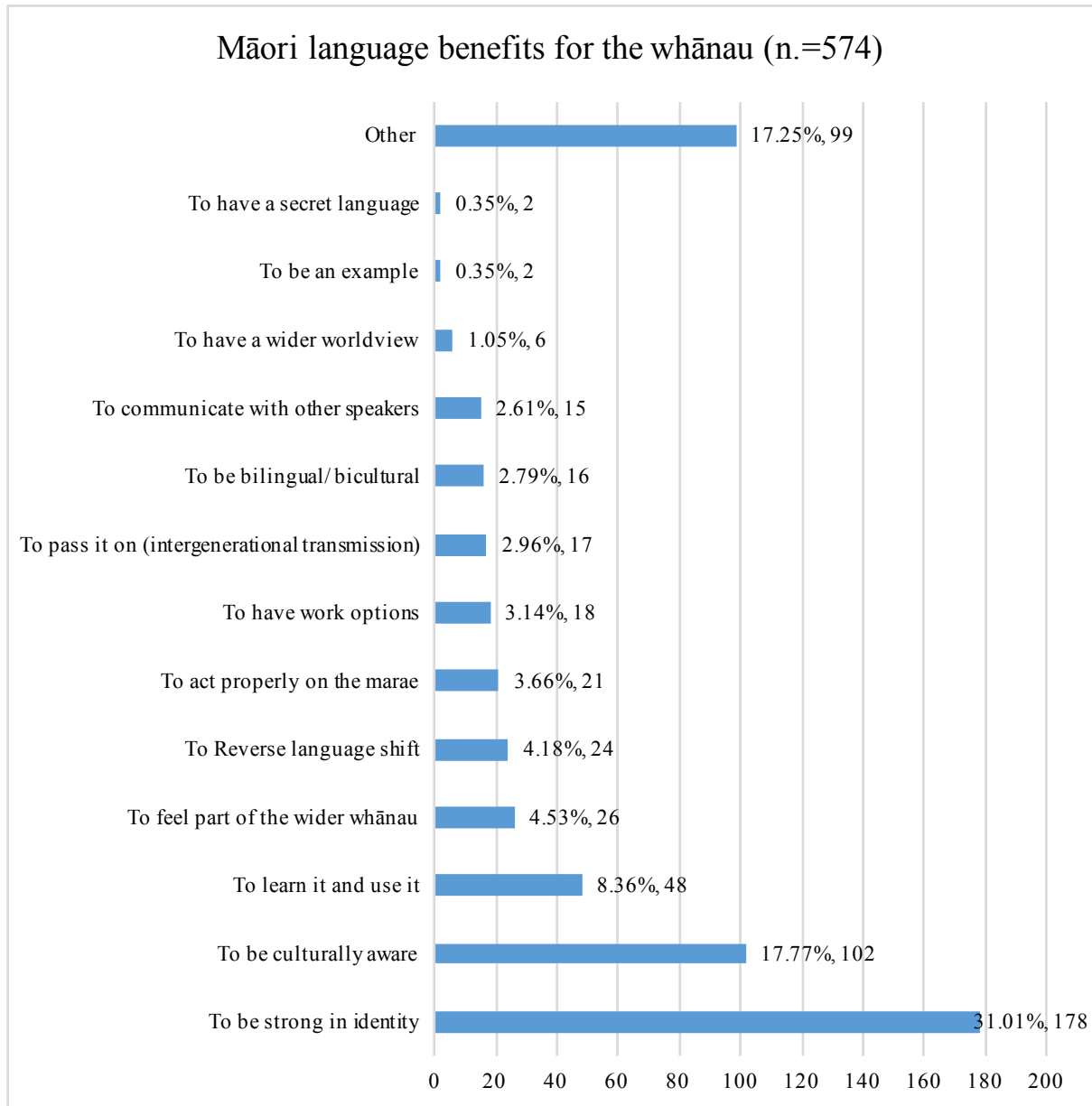


Figure 19. Māori language benefits for the whānau.

For 31.01%, the clear majority, the main benefit for the whānau was to be strong in their identity. For 17.77%, the key benefit was to be more culturally aware as a family. For 8.36%, there was a key benefit in simply using the language. A range of other benefits were also identified.



Māori Language Goals For The Whānau

As with the self, most participants held Māori language goals for their whānau. Only a select few (7%) did not. Figure 20 (below) shows that 93 % had such goals:

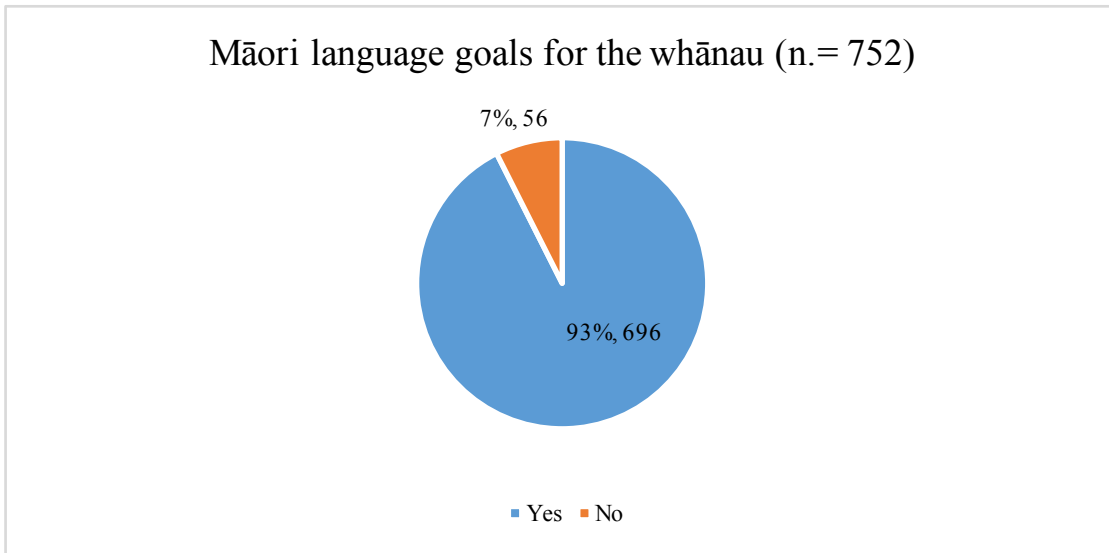


Figure 20. Māori language goals for the whānau.

Of the 696 participants who did have a Māori language goal for their whānau, almost half indicated a desire to have their whānau learn more te reo Māori. As will be explored below, most te reo speakers reside in a home with few to no language speakers. This makes conversation in the home difficult. This is supported by the 16% who wish te reo to be normalised in the home, that is, to be the major language of the home contexts:

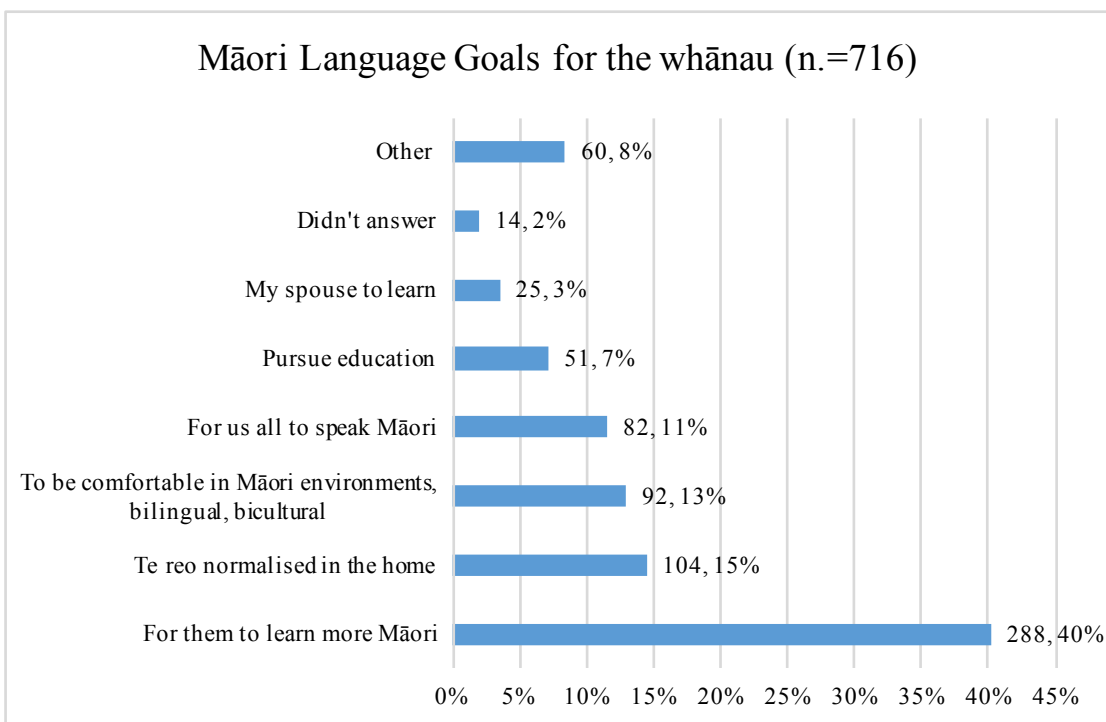


Figure 21. Māori language goals for the whānau.

A further 14% wish their whānau members to be comfortable in both Māori and English language environments, that is, to be bilingual, and 11% wish all their whānau members to speak Māori. A further 7% expressed the desire for their whānau members to pursue some kind of education involving te reo Māori. A few, just 3%, indicated they wished their spouses would learn te reo. Spouses are an important aspect of language in the home that is discussed earlier in this report.

56 participants did not have Māori language goals for their whānau. 42 people provided a reason as to why not (Figure 22):

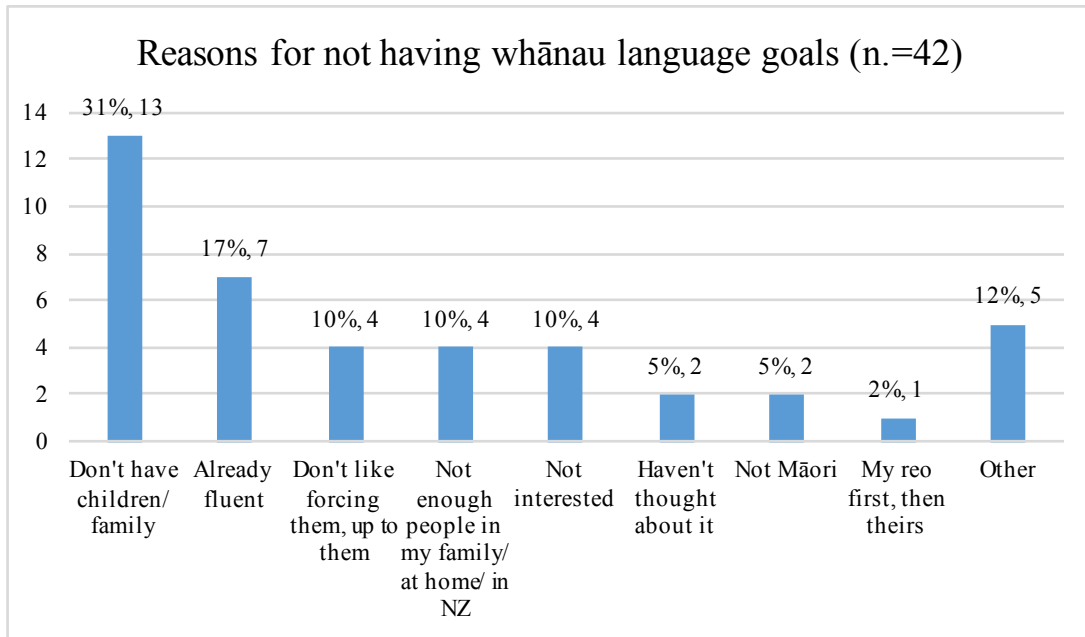


Figure 22. Reasons for not having whānau language goals.

Of these, most (31%) did not have children or family at home in which to engage in Māori language goal-setting. A small number said that their whānau were already fluent and thus did not need goals. This is a positive message for the home context, in that most people who have not engaged in goal-setting simply aren't able to or don't think they need to. If they were able to do, or wanted to, they might settle on language goals. This contrasts with 10% who note their whānau are not interested in te reo Māori, or haven't thought about it (5%). Interestingly, a small number of participants indicated that they had no Māori language goals because their whānau members weren't Māori. This is an interesting perspective, since te reo is the responsibility of all New Zealanders, not just Māori, or Māori speakers.¹¹

¹¹ See Pūrongo 6: Te reo Māori me te Tuakiri ā-Motu for more on te reo Māori and national identity.

Conclusion

The following report has documented the results of Te Kura Roa: Whaihua questions relating to whānau. The key findings are as follows:

- *Most whānau have 0 to 2 speakers in the home*
- *Most whānau members are somewhat fluent, have begun to learn or are fluent*
- *Most speak Māori sometimes, or all the time*
- *There is markedly more use of Māori by whānau when at kōhanga and kura*
- *Children can be the most receptive and least receptive to Māori*
- *Most whānau don't remain in Māori in the presence of non-speakers*
- *Increase in language use amongst whānau is due to participation in and with te reo Māori and,*
- *An overwhelming personal benefit for using te reo is the personal fulfilment that it brings.*

All of these findings have relevance for Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi whānau in that they are all heavily invested in the reinstatement of intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. While there is much success within the initiatives there is still some ground to make in the future, particularly around the presence of non-speakers. It is hoped these findings go some way to documenting the success of our active Māori speakers but also to assisting them plan for the future to make further, targeted gains for te reo Māori.

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Notes



