Te Pā Harakeke:

Educational Success and Kōhanga Reo

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

at

The University of Waikato

by

HOANA MCMILLAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2024

Abstract

He aha te mea nui i te ao?
What is the most important thing in this world?

Exploring the meaning of educational success in an indigenous context is a challenging task. Success has come to be promoted as narrow forms of academic success. However, "academic success" does not adequately take into account the knowledge, values, and beliefs of Indigenous peoples that stem from their unique ways of living and being in the world. Indigenous language immersion settings, such as kōhanga reo (Māori immersion "language nests" for children from birth to six years old in Aotearoa New Zealand), have emerged in response to the desires of Indigenous peoples to retain their knowledge, language, and culture.

This study contributes to the debate about the nature of educational success by examining multi-generational whānau (family) views of educational success in kōhanga reo. It also explores the contributions of kōhanga reo to the educational success of whānau. The study explored the lived experiences and views of educational success across five whānau spanning three generations: kaumātua (the grandparent generation who helped to set up kōhanga reo), mātua (the parent generation and first graduates of kōhanga reo), and mokopuna (children of the mātua and grandchildren of the kaumātua generations). Data for the kaumātua and mātua generations was collected through the Māori cultural practice of wānanga, and the Mosaic approach was used with mokopuna to provide a number of tools for them to express their views of educational success. The data gathered was then represented as multi-generational pūrākau (a Māori form of storying) to ensure the narratives relating to educational success remained intact and culturally valid.

The findings of this research show the meaning of educational success for the three generations in kōhanga reo was associated with Mana Reo (the power of language), Mana Tangata (the power of people), and Mana Whenua (the power of the land). In addition, kōhanga reo has championed the educational success of the multi-generational whānau by providing strong support for the Māori language, whānau transformations, and wellbeing. The influence of kōhanga reo has led to many outcomes showcasing the educational success of mokopuna and whānau who are learning, using, sharing, and protecting te reo Māori. All three generations

value whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, and actively look for opportunities that lead to positive outcomes in their homes, schools, and wider communities.

There are many implications for whānau, kōhanga reo, Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, the education sector, and policy makers. Foremost is reaffirming the message that identity, language, and culture matters in discussions relating to educational success. With each generation, whānau are unlocking new dimensions of, and pathways to, educational success linked to Mana Reo, Mana Tangata, and Mana Whenua. The kōhanga reo model, as a unique indigenous model, plays an important role in unlocking pathways to educational success now and in the future through its unwavering commitment to the cultural socialisation of whānau.

He Mihi – Acknowledgements

He mihi aroha tēnei ki tōku pā harakeke nā ratou ahau i tautoko kia tutuki pai i tēnei rangahau. Mei kore ake koutou, kua kore tēnei tuhinga. Kī mai koe ki ahau “he aha te mea nui o te ao?” māku e kii atu, “he tangata, he tangata, he tangata”.

Nō te wā o te takurua i timata ai au i tēnei tuhinga. E ngau tonu ana te makariri ki tōku tinana i ahau e oti ana i tēnei hīkoi roa. I te ahunga o Matariki ki te rangi ka hoki ōku mahara ki a rātou kua whetūrangitia. Ko ōku mātuā kēkē ērā i ngaro atu ki te pō i te wā o tēnei tuhinga, ko te mate kōwheori te take. E moe i tō kōrua moengaroa, waiho mai i a mātou te whānau hei kawe i ōu wawata ki te ao.

Me mihi ka tika ki ngā kaumātua, ngā mātua, me ngā mokopuna i whai wāhi atu i tēnei rangahau. Ki ngā kaumātua nā koutou i takahi i te huarahi kia puawai ko te kaupapa o te kōhanga reo, e kore a mihi e tīpoko. Ki ngā mātua o tēnei rangahau, otira ōku hoa kua noho pūmau ki te kaupapa o te kōhanga reo, ki te reo Māori, me ōna tikanga, e poho kereru ana ahau ki a koutou. Ki ngā mokopuna, ko ētahi he pēpi noa iho i taku tūtakinga tuatahi ki a koutou, ā, kua whai huruhuru koutou ināianei hei manu pīrere o te kōhanga reo - “Whaia i te iti kahurangi ki te tuohu koe me he maunga teitei”.

Ka tahuri aku mihi ki a koe Margie nāu anō i whakatō i te kākano o te rangahau ki roto i ahau. Ka maumahara tonu ahau ki te wā i oti au i taku tuhingaroa mō te tohu paerua me tō whakahau i ahau ki te whakaaro ake mō te tohu kairangi. Kāore au i whakapono i taua wā ka taea e au. Kāore tonu au e whakapono ana kua ea. Nei rā te mihi nui ki a koe i noho mai hei pou whakawhirinaki māku mai i te timatanga o tēnei tuhinga tae noa atu ki te mutunga. E kore koe e warewaretia.

Ki a koe Rihara. He hokinga mahara ki te āhua o tō whakahoki kōrero mai ki aku tuhinga. Kāore koe mo te haehae kupu. I te timatanga, he ohorere nōku ki tēnei ahuatanga ōu, nā wai rā, nā wai rā ka waia au ki tēnei ahuatanga. Kua whai oranga nui ahau, kaua ki roto anake i tēnei hīkoi, engari ki roto hoki i te ao o te mahi. Kāore e ārikarika ngā mihi ki a koe.

He waimārie hoki au i a koe Kimai kōrua ko Bronwen. Ko tō kōrua hari me te koa he āwhina nui hei hiki ake i te wairua. He karu hou, he kitenga rerekē kia tutuki pai i tēnei mahi. E kore ngā tai o mihi e mutu.

E tika ana me mihi hoki ki te pā harakeke i tautoko ā pūtea nei i ahau kia oti pai i tēnei tuhinga. Ko tā Te Poari o te Kōhanga Reo tērā, ko Te Rūnanga o Ngai Te Rangi hoki. Ka kore ahau e wareware ki aku wāhi mahi, ki Toi Oho Mai Institute of Technology i mua, me te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. Me mihi hoki ki te kupenga o Mai ki Waikato i whakarite i ngā wānanga tuhituhi. Mei kore ake ngā wānanga ka kore ngā mahi e tutuki i ahau.

Ka kore hoki au e wareware ki ōku hoa. Ki a koe Sue i whakawātea i a koe anō kia hīkoi tahi tāua i te ngahere me te whakarongo ki ahau e kōrero ana mō ngā wahanga o taku rangahau. Ka nui te aroha ki a koe e hoa. Ki a Rawhia, Roberta me Paula, ōku hoa mahi i te wā i Toi Ohomai ahau, tēnā rawa atu koutou mō tō tautoko i ahau. E kore e ea i te kupu tā koutou whakapono i roto i au. Ka kore au e wareware ki a koe Sharyn, tōku hoa mahi ki te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. Ko koe tērā i waea mai i ngā ata, i ngā pō ki te kōrero, ki te whakarongo. He koanga ngākau, he pikinga wairua ngā hua. Tēnā rawa atu koe e hoa! Ki a koe hoki Nigel i noho mai ki tōku taha ki te kōrero mo ngā rautaki rangahau – Ahakoa he iti, he pounamu.

Ka tahuri te tai o ōku mihi ki tōku whānau. Ki taku tuakana Tiria e mōhio nei e te katoa ko te māmā tuarua o aku tamariki, me taku iramutu Kamorah. Nā kōrua i whakawātea i ahau i ngā ata, i ngā ahiahi pō kia aro tahi ahau ki taku tuhinga. E tika ana te kōrero, ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini.

Ki tōku māmā Leah, he ōrite te mihi ki a koe. E hia kē ngā wā waea atu au ki a koe ki te tiki i aku tamariki mai i te kura, ki te tiaki i a pēpi Hoana. Waimārie ahau i a koe māmā, ko koe tēra i reira i ngā wā katoa. Nāu anō i whakatō ki roto i ahau ko te aroha ki te kaupapa o te kōhanga reo. Ahakoa tō kuia, ka manawanui ahau ki tō kaha ki te tautoko i ngā whānau o ngā kōhanga reo huri noa i te rohe. Ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hāpai ō ki muri.

I te wā i tata mutu au i tēnei tuhinga i hoki ahau ki te moutere o Matakana ki te taha o tōku pāpā a Kelly. Ko te take, kia mahue mai i aku tamariki ki te kāinga kia wātea ai te hinengaro, kia ngāwari ake te tuhi. Nā tōku pāpā ahau i whāngai ki ngā kai reka o te moana hei oranga tinana, he kaha akiaki hoki i ahau kia tutuki i ngā mahi. Ka nui te mihi ki a koe pāpā.

Ki a koe Mike, te tau o tōku ate. Waimārie hoki au i a koe me tō kaha tautoko i ahau ki te oti i tēnei tuhinga. E rua anake ngā kupu – kua oti!

Ki aku tamariki, ki a Temaea, Ngamatakerewhana, Waiorangi, me pēpi Hoana. Kua wātea a māmāināianei. Kia kaua koutou e wareware ka whai oranga nui ai koutou i te kaupapa o te kōhanga reo.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

***Note** All photographs, drawings, and diagrams included in this research have been used with permission.

Chapter One: Te Pā Harakeke

Hutia te rito o te harakeke
Kei hea te kōmako e kō
Kī mai koe ki ahau
He aha te mea nui i te ao?
Māku e kī atu
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata

I was a young girl when I first began singing the above whakatauki (saying) about the pā harakeke. Unbeknown to me at the time was the powerful symbolism of it within the Māori world and the impact the pā harakeke would have on my life. In the Māori world the pā harakeke is synonymous with whānau (family) and wellbeing. The rito represents the child who is nurtured and protected by the awhi rito (parents), tupuna (grandparents), and extended family (Pihama & Cameron, 2012; Watson, 2020). The pakiaka (roots) connect the pā harakeke to the whenua (land), a reminder to Māori of their hapū (sub tribal grouping) and iwi (tribal grouping) connections and their ancestors who have walked the land before.

Te Pā Harakeke o Nanny Mā

Figure 1. Pā harakeke at Nanny Mā's house.

Hoana Tererewai Pomare is my maternal grandmother and namesake who was affectionately known to her great grandchildren as Nanny Mā (White) because of her fair skin and white hair. Arriving at Nanny Mā's house you would almost always find her in her garden at Tikitere, Rotorua. This was probably due to its size and the mammoth undertaking required to maintain it. Nonetheless, there was no denying that Nanny Mā loved taking care of her gardens, including the pā harakeke growing at the centre of it. Figuratively speaking, she also took care of our whānau in the same way. Nanny Mā's house was a safe haven, somewhere you could go as a teenager when clashing with your parents – no questions asked. By some miracle, she had the ability to make everything right. We learned many lessons from her humble example, including the importance of manaakitanga (ethic of care) and aroha (love), no matter the circumstances.

Te Pā Harakeke ki te Moutere o Matakana

Figure 2. Pā harakeke at Matakana.

My father was born and raised on Matakana Island, a small island off the Tauranga Harbour on the east coast of New Zealand. Our family homestead is located on the corner of Matakana and Tirohanga roads, known to the locals as "Bung's Corner" (my grandfather's nickname). When my father was old enough to leave Matakana Island, he sought an apprenticeship in the South Island of New Zealand. Later he would settle in Rotorua with my mother, where I was born and raised, and continue to live with my own children. Despite growing up as a "townie", I have many childhood memories of visiting my grandparents on the island. Approaching the house back then you would have seen peach trees that stretched the whole length of the property

and be mesmerised by Nanny Ema's shed filled with jars of peaches and feijoas she had preserved. Tucked away in the corner of the yard stood the pā harakeke.

My grandparents passed away many years ago now. Although the peach trees have almost disappeared, the pā harakeke remains. With my father now enjoying retirement on the island, visits to the homestead have become more frequent and the leaves of the pā harakeke are often used to weave putiputi harakeke (flowers made of flax) for our visits to the urupā (cemetery). As the children and I weave, we look out to our ancestral mountain that can be seen in the distance, out towards the ocean. When we are finished, we make the short walk to the urupā on the harbourside of the island, past our ancestral house Te Rangihouhiri, to a small rise known as Ngamatakerewhana, a name shared by my father and son that locates them within the history of our hapū (sub-tribal grouping) and iwi (tribal grouping). Just beyond the rise is the urupā and final resting place of many of my whānau, where the putiputi harakeke are left in remembrance of them.

Te Pā Harakeke o te Kōhanga Reo

Figure 3. My daughter and the pā harakeke at Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa.

The kōhanga reo (Māori immersion language nest) I attended as a child was located in a school hall with bright yellow doors. Just outside the yellow doors was a row of pā harakeke. Although the kōhanga reo has now relocated to a new site across the school car park, pā harakeke can still be found in the grounds. The pā harakeke are a constant reminder of the importance of whānau and the role of kōhanga reo in bringing together whānau from all walks of life. When

my mother found out about kōhanga reo, she also became aware of our kaupapa whānau (whānau involved in the kōhanga reo movement) who shared a common goal to reconnect with the Māori language and culture.

The memories of the pā harakeke in my life resonate with the topic of this study. Like the pā harakeke, this research is about whānau. My recollections of the pā harakeke involved settings where both immediate and extended whānau members were present. This study also involves a range of whānau members spanning three generations. The pā harakeke were located in places where whānau wellbeing was a priority. Similarly, the context for this study is kōhanga reo where whānau come to be culturally socialised in the Māori language and culture. It is for these reasons that the pā harakeke is a fitting metaphor to discuss multi-generational whānau views of educational success in kōhanga reo.

My Pūrākau: Locating Myself in the Research

My pūrākau (or story) begins with my experience as one of the first generation of mokopuna (children) who was fortunate to attend Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa. This was significant as my parents did not speak te reo Māori (the Māori language) having grown up in an era where there was less emphasis on learning te reo Māori and more emphasis on English. In fact, my mother often told me of the opportunities she had to learn French and Latin at school but not te reo Māori. Consequently, the only te reo Māori spoken within my whānau was by my grandparents. With the advent of the kōhanga reo movement, my mother made a conscious decision to send both my sister and me to kōhanga reo as a pathway towards learning the Māori language and re-establishing it in the whānau.

Figure 4. Me (front row, third from left) at Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa.

I was three when the kōhanga reo was established in the old school hall. My maternal grandmother was one of the first kaiako (teachers), and my mother took on the role of treasurer. Upon graduating at five years of age, I continued my education at the nearby English medium primary

school, while my whānau (family) remained at the kōhanga reo. They did so for many years, my mother also working at a regional level to support other kōhanga reo. This has been my most enduring memory of kōhanga reo as a whānau oriented movement where whānau are the drivers of educational success.

When I transitioned to primary school the only provision to support my Māori language development was through a native speaker of te reo Māori, employed by the school to run classes for one hour a week. During my intermediate and high school years, bilingual programmes were offered and I was fortunate that my knowledge of the Māori language developed at kōhanga reo was enough to cope in these settings. As a seventh form student (17 years of age), I enrolled in the first year te reo Māori papers at the University of Waikato along with some of my peers who were also first generation kōhanga reo graduates. I later returned as a full-time student and completed a Bachelor of Arts degree majoring in Te Reo Māori.

Upon completion of my degree, I pursued a teaching career within the secondary school system and graduated as a specialist teacher of te reo Māori and Japanese. Later, I transitioned to the primary school sector to teach alongside my sister in full Māori immersion classes. I returned to university in 2012 to pursue a Master of Education, focused on educational leadership and Māori communities' involvement in their children's schooling. After graduating I was appointed as a lecturer in the Early Childhood Programme at Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology (formerly Waiariki Institute of Technology), where I stayed for five years before taking up my current lectureship position at the University of Waikato. One thing that is clear to me is that te reo Māori has been a prominent feature in my educational success and the key to many career opportunities thus far.

When I started this doctoral research journey I was a mother of two. My daughter Temaea was six and my son Ngamatakerewhana was four. During the life of this research, Waiorangi and pēpi (baby) Hoana were also born. My children represent the second generation of mokopuna in my whānau to have attended kōhanga reo. Furthermore, our connection to the kōhanga reo kaupapa (movement) is made more significant by the fact that we have all attended the same kōhanga reo – Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa – albeit a generation apart.

There are many reasons why I have chosen to send my children to kōhanga reo. The most important reason is that they too would have the opportunity to learn through the Māori language as I did and that they would experience life growing up in te ao Māori (the Māori world). As I have observed my children, I have been able to identify the ways in which kōhanga reo has helped socialise them in Māori ways. The following recollections come to mind.

One day as my children and I travelled to town, we entered into conversations about the seasons. Upon looking at the trees I asked my daughter Temaea, who was four at the time, "What happened to the trees?", to which she replied, "Kei te moe ngā rākau" (the trees are sleeping). Intrigued by what I considered a very "Māori" response, I enquired again as to when the trees might wake up. She then replied, "Kia mahana haere" (when it gets warmer). As a parent this was particularly significant for me as it illustrated my daughter's ability to interpret the world around her from a Māori perspective, where it is normal for the natural world to take on human-like qualities. The practice of interpreting the world around her in this manner was also one that was encouraged at kōhanga reo.

Another memory was of a kōhanga reo trip to Manutuke, Gisborne on the east coast of New Zealand, where I had the opportunity to observe my son and his skills in mau taiaha (the art of taiaha). As I observed my son assuming various stances with his taiaha (a long wooden weapon) and making facial expressions, it occurred to me that as a parent it is not enough for my children to know their culture, but they must also be able to live their culture in order to contribute to, and participate in, the wider Māori world.

Figure 5. Ngamatakerewhana mau taiaha.

In addition to being socialised in the Māori world, I wanted my children to do well academically, particularly in respect to literacy and numeracy. I believe this was strongly connected to my experiences as a teacher. However, a year into working on my research, this perspective changed dramatically, triggered by the closure of the Māori immersion unit my daughter Temaea had been attending in an English medium school. As a parent I was faced with making one of the most difficult decisions I have encountered yet – whether I should shift my daughter to an English-speaking class within the school or pursue other Māori immersion alternatives. Rather than disrupt her academic year with a further change of school, I decided to leave her in the English-speaking class – a decision I would later regret. I will never forget how I felt as I sat in this English-speaking class, tears welling up with the realisation that this was not what I wanted for my children. In that moment I knew my deepest desire as a Māori parent was that my children would be staunch speakers of the Māori language. It is for this reason my school-aged children now attend kura kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion schooling).

My kōhanga reo experience with my two youngest children has continued to strengthen my views of educational success, which include those of my whānau, through an observation process known as mātai mokopuna (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018). Mātai mokopuna empowers whānau to recognise the mana (enabling power) and holistic development of our children, the realisation of which encourages their success in life. At Te Kōhanga Reo o Rotokawa, whānau gather alongside kaiako to share and make sense of observations made at kōhanga reo and in the home. This has been an important process for our whānau, especially my husband, who is of white Canadian descent. With the support of the kōhanga reo whānau, he is beginning to think, talk, and interpret educational success through a Māori lens.

With two generations having attended kōhanga reo, obvious changes have begun to occur within our whānau. As a mother, I have experienced proud moments, such as being able to converse with my children in the Māori language – an experience that I was not fortunate to share with my mother during my own upbringing. My children talk and fight with one another in the Māori language, and the sound of haka (traditional Māori song and dance) regularly fills our home. When we attend events which require a formal pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony), I see my children are comfortable in these surroundings, even more so than myself. Experiences such as these capture the ways my children have been successfully socialised in te ao Māori (the Māori world).

I have also observed the ways in which my children, although still relatively young, are supporting others to navigate te ao Māori. My youngest children have adopted a teaching role where te reo Māori is often their first choice of language when conversing with their father, forcing him to seek out explanations that aid his own understanding. Temaea supports her cello teacher, who is undertaking initial teacher training, by engaging in conversations at the beginning of each lesson. She also reminds me of the need to "whakanikoniko i te reo" (to embellish the language), offering a range of alternative kupu (words) and phrases in return.

While my season as a parent of kōhanga reo mokopuna has almost come to an end, my involvement in the kaupapa (movement) as whānau will continue in a number of ways. In my spare time, I enjoy giving back to the movement by working alongside the kaiako (teachers) at Te Kōhanga Reo o Rotokawa as we wānanga (discuss) ways of supporting the educational success of our mokopuna and whānau. In 2021, I was elected as a representative for Te Kōhanga National Trust,[1] which has given me the opportunity to contribute to the success of kōhanga reo at a strategic level. One day, in the distant future, I hope to return to kōhanga reo with my grandchildren to witness the ongoing transformation of our whānau.

I have also chosen to research within kōhanga reo. It has been a challenging space to navigate as a Kaupapa Māori researcher employed at a university, where Māori have traditionally been misrepresented by the academy (Bishop, 1995; Pihama, 2016; L. T. Smith, 1999). My experience is similar to that of other Indigenous scholars employed at universities who have spoken of conflicting feelings and compromised connections with their family and Indigenous community (Greenwood et al., 2008). I have reflected on this conundrum many times during the course of this study and have come to accept this "outsider" positioning, knowing the university space can also be used to challenge dominant discourses that oppress Māori, including those that impact on kōhanga reo.

My pūrākau raises pertinent points which I sought to examine as part of this research in relation to kōhanga reo and its influence on multiple generations of whānau and mokopuna. At a basic level I wanted to learn about whānau views of educational success, their experiences of

[1] The national body delegated to act on behalf of all kōhanga reo.

kōhanga reo, and the impact of this experience on their lives. The multi-generational nature of this research added complexity as I sought to compare the experiences of each subsequent generation and how whānau views of educational success have developed over time.

Research Questions and Rationale

There are two major questions explored throughout this thesis.
The first:
What is educational success to multi-generational whānau in kōhanga reo?
And second:
What contributions has kōhanga reo made to the educational success of the whānau?

Understanding the experiences of multiple generations of whānau within kōhanga reo and their interpretation of educational success is important for several reasons. Traditionally, Māori have been considered disadvantaged and have not done well within the "mainstream" education system (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). As such, researching the success of mokopuna who have been educated in a "Māoristream" Māori-driven organisation, through a Māori model of success, helps to assess the benefits of a kaupapa Māori-based education. This is of particular significance not only in Aotearoa New Zealand but also internationally to other Indigenous groups concerned with language revitalisation, including efforts during the early years.

To date there has been little formal documentation tracking kōhanga reo graduates (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). This thesis reports on a completed study into the lives of graduates, mokopuna (children at kōhanga reo who are yet to graduate), and their whānau, across three generations, and their success throughout life. This thesis also explores the role of kōhanga reo in providing a Māori education to successive generations of young New Zealand children.

Thesis Structure

The first chapter has introduced the pā harakeke as the metaphor woven throughout this research. It has located me as the researcher within the research topic where my pūrākau has been shared and connections are made to the overarching research questions. The significance of the research for kōhanga reo, early childhood education for Māori, both within New Zealand and for Indigenous peoples internationally, is outlined in the introduction.

Chapters Two and Three review the body of literature that informed my study. Chapter Two reviews literature relating to how Māori have viewed educational success over significant time periods, including Māori society, pre- and post-European arrival, and transformations across the 1970s, 1980s, and the 21st century. Chapter Three gives an overview of kōhanga reo and literature on the role of whānau as drivers of educational success.

The research methodology and design form the basis of Chapter Four. It explains how the research is underpinned by kaupapa Māori theory including kōhanga reo ways of knowing and being, and the influence this had on the selection of research tools. The methods employed in the research include wānanga, and the Mosaic approach. Pūrākau was also used as a Māori method of storying to represent whānau views of educational success and the contribution of kōhanga reo to the educational success of whānau.

In Chapter Five the multi-generational pūrākau of the five whānau who participated in the research are presented. Each of the multi-generational pūrākau consist of the lived experiences of kaumātua (the grandparent generation), mātua (the parent generation), and mokopuna (the grandchildren). Whānau views of educational success are brought to the fore along with their experiences of kōhanga reo. A summary of key findings across the multi-generational pūrākau is provided.

Chapter Six and Seven provides a discussion of the findings captured in the multi-generational pūrākau relative to the questions this research sought to address. Chapter Six discusses the meaning of educational success to the multi-generational whānau, and Chapter Seven discusses the contributions of kōhanga reo to the educational success of whānau.

The final chapter provides a conclusion to this thesis. The implications of the research findings for key stakeholders, including whānau, the kōhanga reo movement, policy makers, and Indigenous people, are discussed. The limitations of this research are outlined in relation to time, location, and language. Recommendations for further research involving whānau are made.

Chapter Two: Te Pā Harakeke, the Flaxbush, and Somewhere in Between

He Kupu Whakataki – Introduction

The title of this chapter was inspired by an address given by Margie Hohepa (2014) entitled *Tiakina te Pā Harakeke* in which she compared the pā harakeke to the flaxbush. While some might consider pā harakeke to be a direct translation of the word flaxbush,[2] Hohepa uses the two words to illustrate the impact of colonisation on whānau Māori. The pā harakeke represents whānau grounded in their Māori language, culture, and identity versus the flaxbush where the English language and western ideals prevail. Chapter Two begins by examining the pā harakeke in traditional Māori society. The impact of education and achievement upon Māori language, culture and knowledge, and consequent changes to the pā harakeke is explored. The final discussion clarifies attempts by Māori in more recent years to reclaim a way of life that maintains the pā harakeke while living in a Western world.

Te Pā Harakeke Meets the Western World

Within traditional Māori society, the pā harakeke as a representation of whānau Māori formed the basis of a much larger network of people. The pā harakeke consisted of tamariki mokopuna (child generation), mātua (parent generation), and kaumātua (grandparent generation) who lived together alongside other clusters of whānau as a hapū (sub tribal grouping). Life itself revolved around the wellbeing of the hapū and the pā harakeke functioned together for this purpose. The pā harakeke and hapū were also part of a wider iwi (tribal grouping) network providing an additional layer of support for all (Jenkins et al., 2011; Metge, 2004b; Walker, 1990).

The inner workings of the pā harakeke involved parents completing physical tasks to sustain the family, male and female roles complementing each other. Men fulfilled roles such as hunting, fishing, preparing the ground for cultivating crops, carving, and building. As women were the whare tangata (child bearers), they took care of the somewhat less strenuous tasks, such as the gathering and preparation of food, and weaving (Jenkins et al., 2011; Metge, 2004b;

[2] Flax and harakeke are from different families. Flax is a plant of the Linaceae family, and harakeke is from the Hemerocallidaceae family. Harakeke was translated to flax because it looked like flax to Tauiwi (European settlers).

Pere, 1994; Reilly, 2004). While parents attended to these roles, kaumātua were charged with the task of caring for and helping to educate the mokopuna (Hemara, 2000; Walker, 1990).

Children had an important role in the pā harakeke as they held spiritual connections to the atua (Māori deities), thereby possessing unique abilities. According to Barlow (1991), children would receive special mana (power of the gods) through the ritual of "tohi", signalling the child was to be educated in the knowledge and craft of that atua (Mead, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2009; Royal, 2007). For instance, children who showed an interest in weaving would be dedicated to atua such as Hine-te-iwaiwa, those with prowess in fishing would be linked with Tangaroa, while others with strengths in agriculture would be encouraged to follow Rongo and Haumia (Mead, 2016). The tohi imposed a level of responsibility on the child to use the knowledge and skills he or she acquired for the wellbeing of the whānau, hapū, and iwi (Barlow, 1991; Hemara, 2000; Jones et al., 1995).

The intergenerational transmission of Māori knowledge and skills is an important feature of traditional Māori society. When the time was considered right parents passed their respective skills on to their children (Hemara, 2000). Kaumātua facilitated hui (gatherings) to disseminate hapū knowledge, including genealogy, history, and cosmogeny (Pere, 1994). Children attended hui with their parents and were permitted by kaumātua to ask questions and express their views (Hemara, 2000; Jenkins et al., 2011), strategies which supported the child's developing knowledge of kawa and tikanga (customary systems of values and practices).

According to their whakapapa (genealogy), level of intelligence, and commitment to learning, adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 were chosen to attend wānanga. Whare wānanga (places of higher learning) were designed to ensure the transmission of Māori knowledge. Esoteric knowledge, such as whakapapa, waiata, karakia, and kōrero tawhito (iwi history), was passed on through the whare wānanga (Hemara, 2000). While the whare wānanga were not open to all, those who attended did so with the support of their iwi. Other whare wānanga, such as whare pora (house of weaving), whare takaha (house of fowling), whare rēhia (house of recreation), and whare pūrākau (house of histories and biographies), were also established to support the intergenerational transmission of more secular knowledge necessary for the pā harakeke to thrive.

Knowledge within the pā harakeke was extended further as trade opportunities arose with the early explorers, sealers, and whalers. Northern Māori chiefs and their hapū provided food and water to the early explorers James Cook and Jean-Francois Marie de Surville as they arrived on New Zealand shores in 1769. When sealers began to arrive as early as 1791, followed by whalers in 1827, Māori increased produce for trading (O'Malley, 2012). As Māori came to understand the new technology the visitors brought with them, they sought other materials, such as iron, nails, and chisels, to make manual tasks easier, along with blankets, guns, tobacco, and agricultural products.

A number of Māori journeyed beyond the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand in search of materials and knowledge that might benefit their iwi. One of the earlier documented trips was that of a Northern chief named Ruatara who left for London in 1805 with the hopes of meeting King George III. While the trip did not result in meeting the King, Ruatara did find himself on a ship with Samuel Marsden who took him to his home in Parramatta for nine months where Ruatara was able to learn the English language and new agricultural techniques (O'Malley, 2012).

Ruatara's friendship with Marsden also led to an invitation for the first Pākehā families to live amongst Māori. The move was strategic for Ruatara's people of Ngapuhi so a school could be established and run by Thomas Kendall, and to ensure ongoing development and trade (Jones & Jenkins, 2008). At the same time, Pākehā presence within the community was at the behest of Māori and could be terminated at any point. For Ruatara, enabling his people to pick up the skills of literacy would lead to enhanced mana at an individual level and for the iwi (tribal grouping), as clarified by Jones and Jenkins (2011) in the following statement:

> It was a matter of introducing to his people not something they would *receive* so much as something he would help them *harness,* to command their own destiny and master their affairs in the modern world – the basis of mana. (p. 76)

Trade and contact with Pākehā was very much controlled by Māori at a time when the pā harakeke thrived.

Additional gains for Māori came when the first book documenting the Māori language was published. Prior to arriving in New Zealand, Thomas Kendall had been charged with the task of preparing a booklet detailing some words and phrases in the Māori language (Jones &

Jenkins, 2011). While the booklet would be an integral stepping stone to allow Pākehā to converse with Māori in their native tongue and vice versa, it would also benefit Māori further by advancing opportunities for reading and writing in the Māori language. Kendall sought the support of a young chief named Tuai who had some knowledge of the English language, to work collaboratively on the booklet. *A Korao no New Zealand; or the New Zealander's First Book: Being an Attempt to Compose Some Lessons for the Instruction of the Natives* was published by Samuel Marsden in December 1815 and used by Kendall at the school (Jones & Jenkins, 2011)

When a schoolhouse was eventually built and opened in 1816, it did not interfere much with Māori priorities. Māori children would attend school when it did not clash with their life and commitments to the pā harakeke. Adult whānau members also attended the schools alongside their children. Teachers noted reasons for absence including work in the sweet potato garden, receiving moko kauae (tattoo on the chin), on a journey of some sort, and what teachers interpreted as being idle (Jones & Jenkins, 2011). Māori would attend if food was made available at the school and for as long as the lessons captured their interest. The relaxed attitudes of Māori was more frustrating for the teachers given their established views and expectations of schools as an institution for learning (Jones & Jenkins, 2011). Māori, for their part, had no prior experiences of Pākehā schools nor expectations and were not bound in any way to engage with the teaching.

As Māori interactions with Pākehā increased within the hapū and abroad, so too did their understanding of the Pākehā missionaries who had come to live amongst them, their religion and cultural practices. Accounts of Titere and Tuai, who followed in Ruatara's footsteps by travelling to England in 1818, provide insights about the instruction they received in catechism, scripture, and the saviour Jesus Christ. But the Christian God clashed with atua Māori, and the teachings enforced a level of behaviour, such as no tattooing, which did not align with the Māori reality. A year later, the duo returned to New Zealand and prepared themselves for re-entry into a Māori society where the Christian values had little impact on their belief systems (Jones & Jenkins, 2011; O'Malley, 2012).

Meanwhile Māori took on board the notion of acquiring literacy skills with great vigour and right up to 1835 were eagerly building their own schools. Prior to 1828, the missionaries had been confined by Hongi Hika and his predecessors to settlement in the north and for the benefit

of their own iwi. When Hongi died in 1828, there was not the same hold on the missionaries which resulted in other mission settlements and schools being established around New Zealand. With more schools and printed materials, more Māori were able to hear about the Christian God leading to the first full convert in 1825 (O'Malley, 2012). Pākehā missionaries aimed to Christianise Māori, eradicate their primative and savage behaviour, and civilise them through the adoption of Pākehā ways. Subdued in earlier years, these goals now gained momentum (Jones & Jenkins, 2008).

The rights of Māori to exercise control over their lives was not completely overrun by the missionary agenda. The 1835 signing of *He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni: The Declaration of Independence* between a group of chiefs and the British Crown declared that Māori would not give decision making powers to anyone else (Mutu, 2004). The terms "mana" and "kingitanga" were used in the declaration to represent the sovereign power and authority of Māori (Skerrett, 2012). But Māori were willing to offer friendship and protection to British settlers in New Zealand in exchange for protection against any threats to their independence (Department of Internal Affairs, 2017a; O'Malley & Harris, 2017). The declaration sent a clear message of Māori desires to remain in control of their destiny.

The declaration was followed shortly thereafter by the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi – a formal treaty between the British Crown and some of the paramount Chiefs within New Zealand. In the Māori version, Māori agreed to the establishment of kāwanatanga or British governance while retaining tino rangatiratanga over their land, villages, and all things valued (Orange, 2021). However, the English version claimed Māori ceded sovereignty to the Crown (Department of Internal Affairs, 2017b). Some chiefs abstained from signing the treaty because they maintained they were at risk of losing their mana and land (Collins, 2010; Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Orange, 2013; Walker, 1990). Other chiefs signed the treaty in the hope that Pākehā would honour the terms agreed upon (Belgrave, 2005; Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Jenkins, 2000). Regardless of whether chiefs signed the treaty or not, they did so with a view to maintaining their mana and tino rangatiratanga.

It is clear that within traditional Māori society and the early European settlement period that Māori lives revolved around the wellbeing of the pā harakeke. The intergenerational transmission of Māori knowledge and skills was paramount in order for children to continue caring for and contributing to the pā harakeke in their adult years. Encounters with early

explorers, whalers, and sealers provided new opportunities to enhance the mana of whānau, hapū, and iwi. The decision to allow Pākehā settlement in Māori communities along with their technology and knowledge was a calculated decision driven by Māori tino rangatiratanga over their lives. While Māori were introduced to the Christian God and new concepts such as schooling, the Pākehā world was for the most part viewed through a Māori lens for the benefit of the pā harakeke. The next section outlines how the pā harakeke would undergo change as a result of the assimilative period of the 1840s–1930.

Te Pā Harakeke is Compromised

After the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/ The Treaty of Waitangi the British set out to establish settler governance which compromised the pā harakeke. An advisory Executive Council and a Legislative Council were created to ensure ordinances and political decisions were enacted (Keenan, 2012). For Māori, this marked the beginning of a transition of change with devasting and long-lasting effects.

> Māori people were forced to live by rules not of their own making. These rules condemned us to a defeated life. The destiny of the Māori people was altered. From a people secure in their own sovereignty, our people were forced to accept the white will over their own, and to accept the power of white sovereignty. (Huata, 1984, p. 14)

The pā harakeke came under attack as Pākehā laws stripped iwi of their land and enforced a way of living of that did not involve the hapū. In 1844, a British Parliamentary Committee introduced taxes to all Māori land that was uncultivated, where non-payment resulted in the confiscation of land (Keenan, 2012; Orange, 2020). The 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act also allowed Māori land to be confiscated as punishment for engaging in war (Orange, 2020). Further devastation came in 1865 when a new system of land ownership was introduced under the Native Land Court which stipulated individual land ownership rather than collective tribal ownership (Keenan, 2012). The territorialisation of Papatūānuku (mother land) impacted on the ability of whānau Māori to live and thrive together (Skerrett, 2014b), and was in itself a direct violation of the promises made in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The introduction of Pākehā law also resulted in legislation impacting on mission schools. The mission schools had previously focused on teaching literacy and messages of the Christian God through the Māori language. In contrast, the Native Trust Ordinance 1844 stipulated, amongst other things, instruction in the English language in order for mission schools to receive state

subsidies (Barrington, 2008; Benton, 1981; Jones et al., 1995; Moon, 2019; Simon, 1998a; Walker, 1980). The Education Ordinance of 1847 followed shortly thereafter, accentuating the edict for instruction in the English language (Tomlins-Jahnke & Warren, 2011; Walker, 1990). However, progress on the assimilative agenda was slow, and the closure of mission schools due to land wars meant a new schooling system could be established. The change was significant because the new system would be driven by the aspirations and control of the Crown.

The Native School system was designed to civilise Māori more quickly by eliminating the Māori language. In 1867 the Native Schools Act was passed, which stipulated any instruction in the Māori language was to be replaced with English (Barrington, 2008; Durie, 1998; Jones, 1995; Lee & Lee, 1995; Simon, 1998b; Simon & Smith, 2001; Simon et al., 1995). Once Māori children were Europeanised, the vision of one schooling system for all could be achieved (Barrington, 2008). Focusing on the youngest members of the pā harakeke meant the intergenerational transmission of the Māori language would cease.

The Native School system also created an illusion that the schools were still under the influence and control of the pā harakeke. Like mission schools, the 1867 Act required Māori to provide land if they wished to establish a school in their community (Barrington, 2008). However, a key difference was that the schools were to be administered by the Department of Native Affairs (Walker, 2016). Initially, a Committee of Management with a Māori majority was responsible for all inquiries about each school, but in 1879 Native Schools were transferred under the Department of Education, resulting in a change to School Committees. Later, the 1880 Native Schools Code limited Native School Committee powers where Māori were not able to control finances or make teacher recommendations, appointments, and dismissals (Simon & Smith, 2001). These actions further reduced the scope and decision-making power of the pā harakeke that is integral to the wellbeing of the hapū. It forecasted the racist colonial underpinnings that would hinder Māori educational success within the Aotearoa New Zealand education system for years to come (Skerrett, 2014b).

Another feature of the Native School system was to produce working-class Māori which resulted in policies that limited opportunities for Māori. The Native Schools system restricted most Māori to primary schooling with only a few chosen to attend denominational run Māori boarding schools (Simon & Smith, 2001). The restriction remained in force right up until 1941

when secondary schooling was made available to all children (Simon & Smith, 2001). In addition to the barriers in schooling, pressure was also placed upon teachers to abide by the policies set out by the state in the Native Schools Code discouraging any teaching of an academic curriculum to Māori. Written accounts of the time show the determination of the Government to enforce this policy; for example, the 1906 inquiry by the Department of Education officials into the practice of John Thornton, Headmaster of Te Aute College, who had been successful in preparing Māori students to sit examinations for university entrance (Walker, 2016). Pressure was subsequently placed on Thornton to shift from an academic to an agricultural based curriculum and while Thornton did not concede, his successor did (Simon & Smith, 2001).

In spite of this agenda, Māori academics, many of whom were fortunate to learn under the tutelage of Thornton, had begun to emerge from the colonially introduced Pākehā schooling system designed to produce working class Māori (Barrington, 2008; Jenkins, 2000). In 1893, Apirana Ngata became the first Māori university graduate, signalling Māori were capable of achieving within a western schooling system. The success symbolised a new way for the pā harakeke to provide for the wellbeing of the hapū within the Pākehā world.

Meanwhile, these early Māori academics could see the impact of two competing value systems and encouraged Māori to consider the place of Pākehā value systems in Māori lives. For example, although Ngata encouraged Māori to learn English, he also came to realise how important it was for Māori to retain their traditional knowledge and values as evident in the now often quoted whakatauākī (saying):

> E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tō ao
> Ko tō ringaringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei oranga mō tō tinana.
> Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga o ō tipuna hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga.
> Ko tō wairua ki te Atua nāna nei ngā mea katoa.
>
> Grow tender shoot for the days of your world.
> Turn your head to the tools of the Pākehā for the wellbeing of your body.
> Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a crown for your head.
> Give your soul unto God the author of all things.

Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck), another academic of the time, placed emphasis on the importance of retaining Māori identity at the risk of having "nothing" (Sorrenson, 1986). This suggests that while some Māori saw a place for Pākehā knowledge, it was also thought that the mana of Māori would be diminished if they failed to retain their traditional knowledge and values.

Changes to the pā harakeke began to emerge in the early 1900s across generations of individual whānau. Amongst the older generation there was a realisation of the importance of retaining Māori knowledge and values, while amongst the younger generation, who had themselves experienced the western schooling system, there was greater emphasis on Pākehā knowledge and values. Edwards (1990) provided an example from her childhood in the 1920s when she reached school age:

> My grandmother didn't want me to go to school because she thought that once I went to school and the other children too that we would lose our own language. The old people would not then have any mana over their children or grandchildren. (p.26)

In another account, Metge (2015) provided excerpts of interviews with 39 Māori who grew up in rural communities during the middle of the 20th century. One of the interviewees, Sonny Huia Wilson, who grew up in an urban setting, also identified the conflicting views of his grandmother and mother:

> My grandmother went further than that. None of her children went to school at all, from the eldest to the youngest of seven kids. My mother, being a little bit forthright and a little bit stubborn, wouldn't have all of this, so she made sure to send my brother and me to school … She was dead against the idea … So Mum argued, and she turned round and said to her mother, very respectfully mind you, 'Whether you like it or not, my son's going to go to secondary school.' And she argued and argued and cried, and at the end my grandmother gave in. (pp. 238–239)

Like Edwards (1990), the above account identifies the tensions that existed with the pā harakeke, particularly between generations.

In summary, up until 1840, Māori were the dominant group in population numbers and in terms of the control of the country. Māori wanted to learn to read and write to increase their knowledge, and to be able to move and trade further with the wider world. After Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori tino rangatiratanga was undermined and the British, who had grown in numbers, set about establishing systems including law and order and schooling systems that

privileged Pākehā. While the Pākehā agenda was said to improve Māori lives by making Māori more like British subjects, there were also limitations on what Māori experienced within the Pākehā controlled system. Māori came to realise they had to learn the English language in order to survive but were divided in their views of Pākehā ways taking over Māori forms of knowledge. Some, mainly older Māori, wanted to maintain life within, and the priorities of the pā harakeke and hapū.

Te Pā Harakeke Transitions to the Flaxbush

Following the 1930s, Māori communities faced further challenges to their traditional value systems, including the important role of the pā harakeke in working together for the hapū. The advent of World War II (1939–1945) resulted in many Māori families losing their young men to war who would have otherwise taken on leadership roles within Māori communities (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In addition, some veterans impacted by the war were not able to return to their communities and those who did were likely to have found their land had been taken and leased to Pākehā (Taonui, 2012). The disconnection from ancestral lands diminished Māori identity and with it, Māori cultural patterns and lifestyle (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Māori were also increasingly moving to the city in pursuit of employment, further educational opportunities, and new experiences (Metge, 2004a; Walker, 1990). As a result, the pā harakeke weakened, and was focused more on individualism, Pākehā knowledge, and Pākehā opportunities.

The impact of colonisation on the transmission of the Māori language was also visible by the 1950s. Oral evidence presented during a Waitangi Tribunal hearing[3] for the *Te Reo Māori Claim* signalled that by 1953 the number of children speaking te reo Māori as their first language had reduced to 26 percent (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). One of the consequences of this was that Māori ability to maintain traditional knowledge and practices became increasingly compromised.

Within the political arena Pākehā continued to make plans to improve Māori lives. In 1960, Walter Nash, the Prime Minister of the time, commissioned a review of educational and social inequalities experienced by Māori (Johnston, 1998; Macfarlane, 2015). The findings were published in the *Report on Department of Māori Affairs with Statistical Supplement* (Hunn, 1961), more widely known as the Hunn Report, which identified three distinct groups of Māori.

[3] Evidence presented by Professor Bruce Biggs.

The groups included those who had embraced Pākehā value systems, those who had adopted some, and those who remained committed to traditional ways of life. In doing so, the latter were referred to as "living a backward life in primitive conditions" (Hunn, 1961, p. 16), a view which was consistent with Pākehā mentality and the desire to improve Māori lives. But it also suggested that Māori could not thrive without Pākehā intervention. To remedy the situation, the report recommended a racial policy that would see the full integration of Māori into Pākehā communities, an approach that was no different to the assimilative agenda.

The suggestion of a full integration policy reiterated the desire of one schooling system for all, controlled by Pākehā. Ironically, the rationale for the change was to improve the division between Māori and Pākehā relations caused in part by the dual schooling system in operation at the time. Māori were able to attend Native Schools or public schools. Native Schools, by Pākehā design, delivered a curriculum focused more on manual labour whereas public schools could provide Māori with greater opportunities to experience the full scope of the curriculum. Beyond the claims of division, the shift would further relinquish the small influence and control of the pā harakeke.

Importantly, the Hunn Report catapulted discourses about Māori achievement into the spotlight. Māori were labelled as underachievers. The pā harakeke and cultural ways of being were considered the root of the problem rather than acknowledging any failure of the system. Māori were seen to be lacking in knowledge, life experiences, and motivation. Consequently, education was considered the key to improving outcomes for Māori in areas such as housing, health, and employment (Hunn, 1961). An outcome of the report was the establishment of Māori preschools to improve the educational success of Māori (McDonald, 1973).

In the period 1930–1960 Pākehā value systems had penetrated Māori ways of life. Many whānau were living as flaxbush Māori, away from their hapū. Māori knowledge and language integral to maintaining a Māori way of life and a Māori identity were being eradicated. The education system, which had played a key role in the civilising mission, now turned its attention to improving the educational success of Māori. In doing so, the portrayal of Māori as underachievers was a direct attack on the mana of mokopuna and whānau.

Te Hokinga ki te Pā Harakeke

The 1970s signalled a period of further transformation for Māori, but this time the change was driven by Māori desires to fight for their language, land, and culture. Dr Richard Benton, who surveyed the health of the Māori language from 1973 to 1978, showed a new generation of children where English had become the primary language of the home (Benton 1991/1997). This generation of Māori experienced first-hand the disconnectedness from their Māori language and culture (Harris, 2004; Ka'ai, 2004; Moon, 2013; Te Kōhanga Reo Trust, 1984). Moon (2013) captured the impact of such loss as explained by Donna Awatere Huata, who had joined one of the Māori activist groups of the period known as Ngā Tamatoa – The Young Warriors:

> We were the first generation that really lost it all … the loss of land that we all had; the cultural links that we were all by that stage losing. We were so aware of what we had lost, and in the losing of it was that rage that we didn't want to lose it … (p.192)

The sentiments echoed traditional Māori value systems and were significant because it was a view held by a group of Māori who, for the first time, knew what it felt like to be without their Māori language and culture.

Māori took many actions during the 1970s to reaffirm the importance of Māori value systems, spurred on by radical movements across the globe. For example, the civil rights movement in the United States saw African Americans fight for social justice through non-violence and passive resistance (Hawksworth, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012). At the same time, anti-Vietnam War movement protests against the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War were happening. Feminist movements were also pushing for workplace equality (L. T. Smith, 2012).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori actions included a petition to Parliament signed by 33,000 people and presented by Ngā Tamatoa in 1972 seeking the right for students attending New Zealand schools to study te reo Māori (Ngā Tamatoa & Citizens Association for Racial Equality, 1974). The success of the petition led to the offering of te reo Māori as an option in primary schools and the strengthening of its presence in secondary schools. The Government provided additional support by introducing a one-year training course for native speakers of te reo Māori in order to create a teacher workforce capable of meeting the demand. The impact

on the pā harakeke was such that many Māori were now able to begin reconnecting with the language.

Māori land marches (hīkoi) and land occupations also followed. In 1975 Māori marched 1,000 kilometres to Parliament in Wellington under the leadership of kaumātua Whina Cooper in protest of the ongoing loss of Māori land (Harris, 2004; Taonui, 2012; Walker, 1990). Upon arrival a Memorial of Rights signed by over 60,000 people was handed to the then Prime Minister Bill Rowling, outlining Māori desires for all statutes that could lead to the alienation and confiscation of Māori land to be repealed and for confiscated land to be returned. Importantly, the hīkoi had a unifying effect for many Māori and showed the significance of whenua (land) to the identity and wellbeing of Māori.

One of the most memorable land occupations was at Bastion Point in Auckland in response to government subdividing and selling 24 hectares of land. The land had been gifted by local iwi Ngāti Whātua for defence purposes with the understanding that it would be returned once it was no longer needed, which did not occur. The land occupation began in January 1977 and ended in 1978, lasting a total of 506 days (Harris, 2004). Later, a claim lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal, a standing commission of inquiry funded by the Government and tasked with addressing Māori treaty-related grievances (Waitangi Tribunal, 2023), acknowledged the loss suffered by Ngāti Whātua in terms of their whenua and mana (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016). The occupations wielded further support for traditional Māori value systems, including the importance of whenua and the mana of people.

Māori also sought other ways to encourage the tino rangatiratanga of the Māori people. By the late 1970s, under the Department of Māori Affairs, the Tū Tangata programme was established which built on the momentum gained through political activism. The Tū Tangata programme was underpinned by three philosophical beliefs as recorded by kaumātua Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, who was working for the Department at the time:

> E kōrero nei tatou mō te tū tangata o te tangata' ['we're talking about people standing tall'], . . .if we could touch the lives of our people in a positive way to say, 'you're okay', we could harness their talents, so 'whakawhāiti' … if we do that, then we get back to the wellbeing of our people, tāu rourou, taku rourou, ka ora ai te iwi. (Tawhiwhirangi, 2003, p. 97)

Whānau Māori across the country could develop initiatives that supported Māori cultural and economic advancements to be funded by the Department. The success of the programme was an example of Māori ability to step up and take charge of their lives.

Wānanga whakatauira (conferences for all ages) and hui kaumātua (conferences for elders) were also established under the Department of Māori Affairs. The gatherings were held at various locations around the country where Māori leaders could challenge policy makers regarding Māori values, cultural and economic issues, and community development. With growing concern for the state of the Māori language, the hui played a key role in the birth of the kōhanga reo movement (Fleras, 1983; Royal Tangaere, 2012; Walker, 1990).

Kōhanga reo operated along the same lines as the Tū Tangata programme whereby Māori were encouraged to work together to save the Māori language. Kaumātua (elders) were tasked with teaching te reo Māori to mokopuna. Parents played a supportive role, driven by their own experiences of language loss.

> Why did we want Te Kōhanga Reo for our children? Why?
> Because we didn't have the language;
> Because we had this burning ache in our hearts;
> Because we were hungry for the language;
> Because it was ours; and
> Because if it died, we died as a people.
> (Royal Tangaere, 2014, p. 205)

The outcome was a grassroots movement that thrived under the absolute control and direction of Māori (Tawhiwhirangi, 2003).

As the first kōhanga reo mokopuna approached the age of formal education, parents wanted their children to continue to be immersed in the Māori language and culture. However, most had little choice but to send their children to English medium schools. Concerns arose when parents could see their children were losing their Māori language abilities. Dissatisfied with the option of English medium schooling, kōhanga reo parents created alternative solutions for their children to enable their ongoing success within te ao Māori (the Māori world).

Kura kaupapa Māori was a pathway developed initially outside the state education system that allowed kōhanga reo mokopuna to continue their education in te reo Māori. Māori knowledge

and culture and the important role of whānau were also considered integral to the education of mokopuna within these settings (Macfarlane, 2015; G. H. Smith, 1995; Tocker, 2015; Waho & Walker, 2015; Walker, 1990). The development of *Te Aho Matua* (Te Aho Matua, 2008), the guiding philosophy of kura kaupapa Māori, protects the mana of Māori children by establishing key priorities in order for Māori to experience educational success. These priorities include:

- Te Ira Tangata (the physical and spiritual development of children)
- Te Reo (the development of language, foremost te reo Māori, English, and respect for all languages)
- Ngā Iwi (creating strong links between one's own whānau, hapū, iwi, and other iwi)
- Te Ao (aspects of the Māori world and beyond)
- Āhuatanga Ako (principles of teaching which support mokopuna success, such as karakia, the involvement of kaumātua, and extensions to the environment, such as the marae)
- Te Tino Uaratanga (attributes of and skills of graduates), such as te tū pakari/to be confident and te ngākau mahaki/to be humble.

Te Aho Matua also acknowledges other opportunities for educational success that exist within the local and global communities but not at the expense of Māori knowledge and culture.

Outside of the kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa movements, Māori continue to draw attention to the importance of Māori tino rangatiratanga. In 1984 Māori activist Donna Huata's publication entitled *Maori Sovereignty* reminded Māori that the fight for tino rangatiratanga is ongoing. Huata argued against a focus on grievances as Pākehā had previously taken advantage of the manaakitanga extended by Māori. For this reason, Huata suggested Māori time would be better spent in understanding the mechanics of whitestream systems (Huata, 1984). Within the context of education, it could look like understanding policies or regulations better to overcome the hold on Māori tino rangatiratanga, and then harnessing this knowledge and power to support the educational sucess of Māori.

Other Māori were willing to trust in Pākehā systems to protect Māori knowledge underpinning educational success. For example, in 1985 the *Te Reo Māori Claim (Wai 11)* was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal, claiming the Crown had neglected to protect the Māori language

(Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Kaumātua and Māori language activists, educationalists, and broadcasters shared their experiences of loss and the lack of support received for the language. The recommendations that came from the claim led to a number of positive outcomes, including the 1987 Māori Language Act where te reo Māori became an official language. These actions catapulted te reo Māori into the consciousness of all New Zealanders. The decision was significant as it signalled the Government had failed to support the Māori language and educational success of Māori children.

There were other wins, including the recognition of the Māori language as a taonga. The claimants leveraged the promises made under article two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi whereby Māori were guaranteed tino rangatiratanga of their taonga. Without the Māori language, Maōri cultural practices would cease to exist, and Māori would be at risk of losing their identity. The outcome meant that for the first time, the Māori language as the ancestral language of Māori was formally recognised as a taonga (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986), a decision which strengthened the positioning of te reo Māori as necessary to the wellbeing of the pā harakeke.

The claim also drew attention to factors that had impacted on Māori ability to thrive and the challenges to Māori sovereignty. First, Pākehā were most likely to occupy positions of power. Second, while policies may have been developed with the intentions of supporting Māori, the enactment of policies at lower levels, and within different spaces, was not guaranteed. For example, within the education sector Māori language support was increasing but this only occurred with the support of Pākehā principals. Māori working within broadcasting were often prevented by those above them from reporting on Māori content and using the Māori language. Actions such as these were barriers that prevented Māori from prospering, and for these reasons the Tribunal encouraged policy makers to address the issues of implementation, procedures, and attitudes (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). As with all recommendations made by the Tribunal to the Crown, there were and are no guarantees that they will be accepted and enacted, meaning Māori cannot rely fully on the Crown to deliver better outcomes for Māori. However, Māori tino rangatiratanga and an understanding of the mechanics of whitestream systems can, as suggested by Huata (1984), hold the Crown accountable.

The 1970s to the 1980s was a period in which the country saw expressions of Māori tino rangatiratanga come out in full force. Some Māori took to their feet in protest, while others were prepared to take on the system which for so long had stifled the Māori language and

culture. In the minds of Māori, the whenua, Māori language, culture, and identity were valued and worth fighting for.

Te Pā Harakeke: Educational Success

The beginning of the 21st century provided Māori with the opportunity to talk explicitly on the topic of educational success. At a Māori gathering to discuss the state of Māori education, Dr Mason Durie spoke to three educational goals (Durie, 2001). Goal one – To live as Māori, identified the importance of an education like that received in kōhanga reo, in preparing Māori children to participate in the Māori world. For this reason, access to the Māori language, culture, marae, the land, and its many resources was considered necessary for children to experience educational success. This goal reaffirmed the significance of Māori actions to fight for their land, language, and culture. Goal two – To actively participate as citizens of the world, echoed sentiments expressed in the kura kaupapa Māori philosophy about preparing mokopuna for experiences beyond the pā harakeke. Goal three – To enjoy good health and a high standard of living, recognised the interconnectedness of educational success to employment, income, and health.

A number of strategic plans were subsequently developed which gave greater visibility to Māori views of educational success that are inclusive of Māori language, knowledge, and culture. In 2002 the strategic plan *Pathways to the Future: Ngā Huarahi Arataki* was released (see p. 32 for further discussion in relation to the impact on kōhanga reo), and although te reo Māori was not a primary objective, the plan did focus on how the early childhood education sector might recognise and respond better to the needs of whānau Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). The plan reinforced the important role of the pā harakeke in supporting the educational success of Māori (Skerrett, 2014b).

Another example is the 2008 government strategy *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Success Strategy 2008–2012* (Ministry of Education, 2008). The strategy was significant in that it acknowledged identity, language, and culture as necessary if Māori are to "experience success as Māori". But it also highlighted the inequities within the education system which prevented Māori from experiencing educational success. The admission itself was a clear shift in thinking of Māori as the problem. The strategy focused instead on a system wide transformation which would involve changes in behaviour, attitudes, and expectations

about Māori, and acknowledgement of the importance of working in partnership with whānau, hapū, and iwi.

While the intentions of *Ka Hikitia* were clear and there had been pockets of success, overall, progress was slower than expected due to a range of contributing factors. For example, one of the earliest reports on the implementation of *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Success Strategy 2008–2012* (Ministry of Education, 2008) outlined that not all kaiako and leaders in the sector viewed the strategy as relevant to their work (Goren, 2009). This concern was echoed in an evaluation report by the Education Review Office entitled *Promoting Success for Māori Students: School's Progress* (Education Review Office, 2010a), which noted that not all educators were meeting their professional responsibilities to support the educational success of Māori. Similar findings were also evident in the evaluation of early childhood services (Education Review Office, 2010b), thus highlighting the challenges of transforming the system and shifting attitudes and behaviours to improve Māori experiences of educational success.

As a follow on from the 2008 strategy, *Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013–2017* (Ministry of Education, 2013a) was developed with a view to increasing the pace of transformation and addressing the areas of concern. Two key priorities were identified: the first was quality provision, teaching and leadership, and effective governance; and the second reiterated previous messages about the importance of partnering with whānau, hapū, iwi, and other Māori organisations. The priorities would provide the backbone to zoom in on the ways the system was supporting the educational success of Māori, including a specific focus on the integration of the Māori language across all sectors. Goals were subsequently developed to help measure the progress in each area while acknowledging the need for increased resourcing.

Notwithstanding the earlier challenges relating to implementation, the updated strategy was not exempt from additional criticism. For example, Skerrett (2014a) discusses *Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013–2017* (Ministry of Education, 2013a) and the lack of clear links between the expectations for high-quality early learning environments for Māori children and the Māori language. Overall, *Ka Hikitia* was destined for failure because the strategies relied upon educators with sound understanding of te reo and tikanga Māori to help realise Māori aspirations for their children.

Outside of educational policy, Māori continued to theorise about educational success. For example, interest in hapū and iwi development led to the creation of a framework to support Māori achievement. In 2008 *Ka Awatea* was launched to explore how Te Arawa (a tribal network) define success, the conditions that promote success, and ways in which success is enacted (Webber & Macfarlane, 2020). The findings of this study reaffirmed the importance of mana in the lives of Māori as an enabling power to achieve educational success. For this reason, Mana whānau, the support from whānau; Mana ūkaipō, a sense of belonging; Mana motuhake, a sense of identity and embedded achievement; Mana tu, a sense of courage and resilience; Mana tangatarua, navigating success in many worlds, were all considered necessary to achieve educational success. While the framing of the support derived from mana is specific to the project, the underlying beliefs can be linked back to traditional Māori society and the role of whānau in supporting the wellbeing of the pā harakeke.

Concerns for mātauranga Māori that is pivotal to Māori experiences of educational success were raised as part of a 2011 claim to the Waitangi Tribunal known as the *The Indigenous Flora and Fauna and Cultural Intellectual Property Claim (Wai 262)* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The claim covered many areas of mātauranga Māori, such as the Māori language, arts, flora and fauna, and rongoā Māori (Māori medicine). Māori wanted the ability to exercise their tino rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga (guardianship) rights to ensure the taonga would remain for future generations. Interestingly, issues which have plagued Māori educational success throughout time were raised again as part of the claim, including the challenges between Crown-Māori partnership. Policies and support for the Māori language were also found to be inadequate and, in some instances, designed without input from Māori. Māori language strategies were deemed to be lacking in substance and vague, as noted previously by Skerrett (2014a).

Tau Mai Te Reo (Ministry of Education, 2013b) followed *Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013–2017* (Ministry of Education, 2013a) as a cross-agency education strategy focused on strengthening the Māori language. One of the guiding principles is the recognition that the Māori language is a taonga guaranteed under Te Tiriti o Waitangi and that the Ministry of Education, as a government agency, has an obligation to protect it. Additional principles acknowledge the Māori language as fundamental to Māori identity as well as New Zealand

identity; that learning te reo Māori is a lifelong journey and the normalising of it in social settings is important. Finally, working in partnership with Māori by building strong relationships between children, whānau, and kaiako is required if we are to succeed in elevating the status of the language (Ministry of Education, 2021).

Like *Ka Hikitia, Tau Mai te Reo* provides further validation of the importance of the pā harakeke along with te reo and tikanga Māori, bringing traditional Māori value systems into view for all. However, one criticism is that the policy stopped short of positioning both the Māori and English languages at the centre of the curriculum (Skerrett, 2012). This is a significant failure as it signals the ever-present colonial influence and power over what is truly valued in the education system. It also raises doubt about whether Māori can truly experience "educational success as Māori" in a whitestream education system with colonial roots.

While the implementation of Crown policy has been lacking in some areas, Māori, on the other hand, have been committed to forwarding the Māori agenda, including views of educational success. Jennifer Martin's doctoral research focused on gathering past and present ākonga (student), whānau, and kaiako experiences of educational success within kura kaupapa Māori. Martin's (2013) findings were not new in terms of identifying the importance of te reo Māori, tikanga, and whānau. But the research did build on Māori views of educational success by discussing ways in which ākonga were drawing on and upholding these core aspects within their community. Ākonga were committed to speaking te reo Māori and were able to express their thoughts freely and confidently. The ākonga also adopted traditional understandings of whānau by being there for each other when needed. Importantly, ākonga knowledge of tikanga meant they were able to carry out Māori protocols, such as those associated with tangihanga (funeral ceremony) by taking on kaikaranga (caller), kaikōrero (speaker), and ringawera (kitchen hand) roles. These findings capture the very essence of educational success dreamed of by Māori, for Māori.

Tocker's (2014) doctoral research followed shortly thereafter and added additional insights about living as Māori through the experiences of kura kaupapa Māori graduates that is consistent with life in the pā harakeke. The graduates identified the importance of the Te Aho Matua principles in helping them to live as Māori outside of kura kaupapa Māori. Māori values such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga were lived and expressed in many social circles enabling the graduates to connect with their tuakiri Māori (Māori identity) as a normal way of

life. The graduates also acknowledged their responsibility in using their knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori to support whānau, hapū, and iwi, and the potential to take on leadership roles as required. None of the success would have been possible without the involvement of whānau.

In 2020 the most recent addition to the *Ka Hikitia* strategies was released entitled *Ka Hikitia, Ka Hāpaitia* (Ministry of Education, 2020a). The strategy maintains focus on the importance of tuakiritanga (identity), encompassing the Māori language and culture, and with whānau as necessary components to educational success for Māori. In what appears to be the ultimate showdown to eliminate the barriers Māori face in achieving educational success, the strategy pivots slightly and focuses on the issues of racism and discrimination with the goals of elimination and prevention. Māori rights to tino rangatiratanga within education, and at all levels, is deemed necessary if Māori are to fully experience educational success within a Pākehā system. By acknowledging that Māori are not a homogeneous group, the strategy makes way for many Māori expressions of educational success.

Concerns about the implementation of *Ka Hikitia* have not dissipated over time and there is reason enough to be cautious about the impact the strategy can have moving forward. For instance, *Ka Hikitia, Ka Hāpaitia* (Ministry of Education, 2020a) asserts that Māori children have a right to educators who are equipped with the correct knowledge and skills, including that of the Māori language. But this relies heavily on initial teacher education providers to produce fluent speakers of the Māori language and an education system where te reo and tikanga Māori is prioritised through ongoing funding for teachers to engage in professional development.

Recognition of the challenges in addressing racism and the inequities within the education system that may prevent Māori from achieving educational success also prompted the release of *Te Hurihanganui: A Blueprint for Transformative System Shift* (Ministry of Education, 2020b). The document outlined six key principles, some of which featured in previous strategies, such as the importance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, and the important role of whānau. But the strategy also focused on the need to create space for the Māori language and culture to be acknowledged, suggesting that if these are not planned for, they will not come to fruition. The importance of understanding the mana of children through Māori cultural narratives was another principle considered necessary to help combat negative discourses about

Māori. One of the greatest challenges in realising the aspirations of the strategy will be the need for all to commit to the vision of transformation.

In the 21st century there has been better investment in Māori achieving educational success as Māori. Policies acknowledge the importance of Māori identity, language, and culture as educational success, which is reminiscent of the pā harakeke of old. In doing so, Māori are in a better position to give back to pā harakeke. But the implementation of policy has been problematic, suggesting that to succeed as Māori within a whitestream system is challenging and is not guaranteed. In order to improve Māori experiences of educational success, a systems transformation is required which involves many factors, including acknowledgement of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the promise of Māori tino rangatiratanga.

He Whakarāpopototanga – Chapter Summary

Throughout time Māori have undergone significant changes to their way of living which has impacted on priorities and the quality of life they have experienced. The pā harakeke of old provided a solid foundation for whānau to prosper. Whānau were part of a bigger hapū and to a lesser extent, iwi network who worked together for the good of the collective. The Māori language and cultural practices informed every aspect of their lives and was protected by ensuring the intergenerational transmission of knowledge. Māori were the architects of their own destiny, a recognition of their tino rangatiratanga and ability to make decisions and take calculated risks to enhance the mana of the people.

The arrival of non-Māori people to Aotearoa brought opportunities such as trade, literacy, and technology for Māori. But Māori taking of these opportunities for the betterment of the pā harakeke and hapū were gradually eroded by the completely opposite goals of settlers to colonise the Māori natives. The implications for the pā harakeke was the loss of whenua, and Māori language and culture. Schools were targeted to help assimilate Māori more quickly by demanding instruction in the English language only.

Over time the pā harakeke and hapū were replaced with the flaxbush, which is a metaphor for whānau Māori living a life that mirrored Western ways. As Māori land was taken, many Māori were forced to find work in the city away from their hapū communities. The change was significant as it meant Māori no longer had access to the additional support systems that once

enabled them to thrive. A further blow to the pā harakeke was that many Māori children could no longer speak te reo Māori, signalling the success of the Western schooling system in driving the assimilative agenda. The state of Māori health, housing, employment, and education signalled to Pākehā that Māori were not thriving, yet Pākehā chose to place the blame squarely at the feet of Māori. Once again, the colonial schooling system was seen as the answer to the challenges facing Māori and, for the first time, Māori opportunities for educational success were on terms defined and administered by Pākehā. The concept involved Māori gaining a better Pākehā education to improve the quality of their lives.

Of greater concern to a new generation of Māori was that they were at risk of losing their identity, having already lost the language and ability to understand cultural practices. Additionally, this generation did not share the belief that their fate, and that of their children, rested solely within the Pākehā education system. Māori responded by looking for opportunities to lead them back to the warm embrace of the pā harakeke and hapū, where Māori once thrived. Transformative movements, such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, have been instrumental in assisting whānau with this return. In doing so, Māori have unequivocally determined that valued outcomes for Māori are linked to the Māori language, culture, and identity, which is now recognised in educational policies and research. The next chapter focuses on the role of kōhanga reo in supporting whānau transformations.

Chapter Three: Te Hokinga ki te Pā Harakeke

He Kupu Whakataki – Introduction

The title *Te Hokinga ki te Pā Harakeke* signals whānau Māori returning to a way of life which involves the whānau collective and where te reo and tikanga Māori knowledge are valued. Doing so is a complex process that involves whānau "confronting the consequences of colonisation and moving on" (Hohepa, 2014, p.2). Kōhanga reo is a ground-breaking Māori language movement that has supported whānau ability to move on and has led to other Māori initiatives, including kura kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion schooling at primary level) and wharekura (Māori immersion schooling at secondary level). It also paralleled the emergence of the first contemporary whare wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions) (Johnston & Johnson, 2002). Furthermore, kōhanga reo has been recognised internationally by other Indigenous groups concerned with language revitalisation (Johnston & Johnson, 2002). This widespread influence highlights the importance of ongoing research relating to kōhanga reo so other Indigenous groups can continue to learn from the experiences of one of the most successful language revitalisation movements.

Chapter Two provided a rationale for my research by exploring the pā harakeke, Māori value systems, and the introduction and subsequent framing of educational success for Māori. Māori language, culture, and identity are fundamental to the wellbeing of the whānau, hapū, and iwi and inform Māori views of academic achievement. Chapter Three begins by discussing the ways kōhanga reo has supported pā harakeke to develop while keeping Māori concepts and values alive, and the challenges of doing so within a whitestream system. The latter part of the chapter considers kōhanga reo related research which focuses predominantly on the experiences of mokopuna (the term used within kōhanga reo when speaking of children).

Te Pā Harakeke and Kōhanga Reo

The pā harakeke is an important feature of kōhanga reo. Whereas the pā harakeke has come to represent the child (te rito), parents (awhi rito), grandparents (tupuna), and extended whānau, the kōhanga reo movement has relied upon the collective efforts of many whānau. For this reason, the pā harakeke referred to within kōhanga reo shares some similarities with traditional Māori society where groups of whānau lived and worked together within their hapū (sub tribal)

boundaries. As many whānau no longer reside with their hapū, a key difference is that the pā harakeke that operates within kōhanga reo brings together whānau with shared interests rather than only shared genealogies. In the statement below, Royal Tangaere (1997b) explains how the maximum potential of the pā harakeke can be realised when the whānau work together for the benefit of the collective:

> To be a true whānau whether we are referring to blood ties or to common interest groups there must be collective responsibility and accountability of the members of that whānau to support one another, to listen, to work for the common good of the whānau, to empower one another and to learn together with humility and a lot of aroha *(love)*. (p. 42)

The first gathering of pā harakeke in connection with kōhanga reo occurred because of concerns for the dire state of the Māori language. In the late 1970s, under the direction of the Department of Māori Affairs, whānau gathered at hui kaumātua (conferences for elders) and wānanga whakatauira (conferences for all ages) to discuss matters of urgency for Māori (Douglas & Barrett-Douglas, 1983; Fleras, 1983; Royal Tangaere, 2012; Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). The survival of the Māori language was a top priority which led to the development of kōhanga reo. The vision of kōhanga reo involved children being immersed in the Māori language from the time they were born: "Whānau ana te tamaiti, me rarau atu, whakamau ki te ū, kei reira ka timata i te kōrero Māori" (Government Review Team, 1988, p. 18).

As a Māori inspired solution, the vision of kōhanga reo brought with it the opportunity to renew hope and belief in the pā harakeke as the authors of their own destiny. The impact of colonisation devastated many Māori communities through the loss of land, language, and culture. But the momentum gained through protests in the 1970s and political activist groups like Ngā Tamatoa encouraged Māori to assert their tino rangatiratanga (Government Review Team, 1988). A bonus was the success Māori had experienced under the Tū Tangata programme (see Chapter Two) in creating and driving initiatives that improved the wellbeing of Māori communities (Tawhiwhirangi, 2003, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). Kōhanga reo was an extension of this programme and Māori ingenuity.

Making space for all whānau to contribute and participate in kōhanga reo was an important consideration. Kaumātua were needed to assist with te reo and tikanga Māori. Most parents in the 1980s could not speak te reo Māori but there were other ways they could contribute to the movement, such as cooking and cleaning and providing resources and administrative support.

Kōhanga reo also gave parents the opportunity to learn te reo Māori alongside their children (Fleras, 1983; Government Review Team, 1988; Hohepa, 1993; Kohanga Reo Trust, 1984; Mitchell et al., 2006; Royal Tangaere, 1992, 1997a, 2012; Te Kōhanga Reo National Wananga, 1983). Hapū, iwi, and the wider communities were a necessary part of the solution as kōhanga reo were to be established on marae and in churches, schools, and community halls (Royal Tangaere, 1997b).

With little funding, pā harakeke were encouraged to be resourceful in finding ways to make kōhanga reo operational. The operational costs involved securing buildings, hiring and paying staff, along with day-to-day costs, and providing opportunities for whānau development (Douglas & Barrett-Douglas, 1983; Government Review Team, 1988). For their part, the Government supported kōhanga reo with a five thousand dollar establishment grant through the Department of Māori Affairs (Government Review Team, 1988; Royal Tangaere, 1997b). While the grant was not substantial enough to ensure the ongoing operation of kōhanga reo, donations from whānau, along with hapū and iwi supplements, helped in meeting any shortfall. Whānau voluntary work and resources also aided the cause (Government Review Team, 1988). In return, Māori retained tino rangatiratanga, their autonomy over the movement.

As the movement gained momentum, the pā harakeke was wary of increased intervention by the Government, resulting in the desire for a national body to help protect it. In 1982 Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust was established, and formalised in 1983, consisting of whānau appointed representatives and Māori leaders to act as caretakers (Government Review Team, 1988; Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). The Trust was delegated responsibility to engage with government departments on behalf of all kōhanga reo, including the Department of Māori Affairs who supported the development and running of kōhanga reo, the Department of Labour where sponsorship could be accessed for Trust programmes, and the Department of Education in cases where kōhanga reo were interested in receiving childcare subsidies. The Trust began building an infrastructure to support kōhanga reo operations (Government Review Team, 1988; Waitangi Tribunal, 2013).

The first documents developed by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust to support whānau were *Te Peka Matua* and the *Whānau Learning Syllabus,* known within the movement as the ‘Red and Blue Books’. *Te Peka Matua* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1983a) formally outlined the objectives of the movement. The Māori language was and continues to be the primary focus

along with the right of mokopuna to grow within the safety of whānau, hapū, and iwi. Inspiration to help realise these objectives stemmed from the Māori concept of tino rangatiratanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi whereby Māori are guaranteed undisturbed rights and control of their whenua, kāinga, and all taonga. Coming together to wānanga (discuss) and learn about tino rangatiratanga was a key action and one which would help whānau understand the significance of their role within the movement.

Opportunities to wānanga came in the form of the *Whānau Learning Syllabus* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1983b). The syllabus consisted of five modules broadly focused on strengthening understanding of the Māori language, culture, and values. For example, one module gave whānau the opportunity to wānanga about the Māori language, including its role within kōhanga reo; Māori oral traditions, such as karakia, mihimihi, whaikōrero, and waiata; and Māori perspectives on language development. Another module focused on spirituality, where whānau could wānanga about Māori origin stories, whakapapa, and the arrival of missionaries and Māori prophets. A key outcome of the syllabus was that whānau were culturally socialised in Māori ways of knowing and being, an important foundation to understanding tino rangatiratanga and taking control of Māori lives.

Additional layers of support for the delivery of the syllabus and the overall development and operations of kōhanga reo were accessible at a district level. The Whānau Learning Training Unit provided opportunities for whānau to experience the *Whānau Learning Syllabus* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1983b). The District Taurima Teams provided extra advocacy and support services to kōhanga reo. A District Representative was also appointed by the people as a direct link to the Trust (Government Review Team, 1988).

As pā harakeke developed in strength, whānau also found ways around government legislation which had the ability to impact on kōhanga reo priorities. For example, the Social Welfare Act 1960 stipulated that where more than three children were being cared for by someone other than a parent or guardian, then a licence to operate was required (Royal Tangaere, 1997b). Many kōhanga reo resisted because they would be subject to the Child Care Centre Regulations (1985) administered by the Department of Education, which did not take into account Māori knowledge and cultural practices (Government Review Team, 1988; Royal Tangaere, 1997b). The strategy employed by pā harakeke involved whānau staying with their children so the kōhanga reo could not be held to ransom in any way.

Within two years of the establishment of the first kōhanga reo at Pukeatua Marae, Wainuiomata in April 1982, the number of kōhanga reo had increased to 210. By 1988 more than 8,000 Māori children were attending kōhanga reo (Government Review Team, 1988; Irwin, 1990; Te Kōhanga Reo Trust, 1984; Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). Between 1989 and 1993 the number of enrolments continued to grow with an increase of more than 1,400 children a year. By 1993 half of all Māori children enrolled in early childhood services were attending kōhanga reo (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013).

As the number of kōhanga reo increased so did government interests in the movement. In 1988, kōhanga reo was included in the *Education to be More* (Meade, 1988), a Government initiated report on early learning services. While the report itself acknowledged that kōhanga reo was foremost a Māori language movement and should be treated as such, the group responsible for the report also determined kōhanga reo was offering an early learning service.

> We support Māori control over the development of kōhanga reo. We also support the development of a partnership between early childhood care and education field and kōhanga reo, so that the early childhood service aspect of kōhanga reo can be effectively acknowledged. In saying that, we do not expect the government to begin treating Te Kōhanga Reo soley as an early childhood service. (Meade, 1988, p. 39)

Although the Meade report did not make any recommendations on kōhanga reo, it linked the unique Māori learning initiative with early childhood care, thus enabling administrative and operational expectations to be imposed on kōhanga reo in the same way as other early learning providers. The report made recommendations to the Government to improve the administration and operations of all early learning services and in doing so offered some insight about the ways kōhanga reo might be impacted by any changes. The recommended administrative changes would require all early learning services, including kōhanga reo, to develop a charter system to receive government funding, and be subject to regulatory reviews so a national standard of quality could be achieved. Teaching qualifications were deemed necessary to improving quality amongst services and while the expertise of kaumātua as kaiako was acknowledged, the suggestion set a precedent that would impact on future kōhanga reo (see page 40 & 46). Mindful of the potential impacts for kōhanga reo, the working party responsible for the report urged the Government of the need to be flexible and consider the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in the development of any national guidelines.

Before five: Early childhood care and education in New Zealand (Lange, 1988) was the Government's statement of intent which followed and largely accepted the recommendations in the *Education to be More* report. The statement confirmed the Ministry of Education as the new administrative body to be established and a separate Review and Audit Agency to monitor early learning services. The explicit reference to the sensitivity required of the Review and Audit Agency when dealing with kōhanga reo showed the Government was aware of the possible challenges that might arise as a result of the relationship. Emphasis on the Treaty of Waitangi being reflected in the national guidelines signalled some hope that Māori ways of knowing and being would be acknowledged. But the focus on land, buildings, and curriculum were enough to indicate clashes with kōhanga reo objectives involving the Māori language and whānau development.

In the same year the first government review of kōhanga reo prepared by representatives of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, the Deparment of Māori Affairs, the Department of Education, and independent reviewers was released. The purpose of the review was to clarify the goals and objectives of kōhanga reo within the wider context of the Māori community, ascertain the role and commitment of whānau, and determine the extent of government support. The findings were published in the *Report of the Review of Te Kōhanga Reo* (Government Review Team, 1988) and showed pā harakeke were committed to kōhanga reo and supporting the Māori language. Government funding made meeting the objectives of kōhanga reo easier, but the support was not considered enough to show commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Māori language.

The end of the decade was the key juncture which brought the wave of change for kōhanga reo. State structure reforms in 1990 meant the Department of Māori Affairs was dissolved. Up until this point, the Department of Māori Affairs had full control of the main funding to support kōhanga reo, and kōhanga reo operations were not subject to a licence (Royal Tangaere, 1997b; Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). Dissolving the Department of Māori Affairs meant oversight of kōhanga reo was transferred to the newly formed Ministry of Education and along with it the ability to impose restrictions on funding and operations. The move was devastating for Māori because in previous decades, the Department of Education as an agent of the Government had been responsible for the near loss of the Māori language.

The change was not the first time Māori tino rangatiratanga had been trampled on within a whitestream system. In fact, the move mirrored the assimilative agenda which had led to previous system overhauls where Māori authority was diminished (see Chapter Two for further discussion). It was clear to the kōhanga reo whānau that there would be continual challenges to their tino rangatiratanga as the Government was determined to create one education system for all. The rights of pā harakeke to maintain full control of kōhanga reo was to be an ongoing battle.

It was not long before new guidelines came into force under the Ministry of Education. From 1990, kōhanga reo were required by the Education Act to operate with a licence (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). The licensing criteria outlined in the 1990 Early Childhood Regulations paid specific attention to operational matters including management, staffing, standards of care, and the curriculum. But the criteria did not adequately reflect nor value the philosophy of kōhanga reo and its adherence to Māori traditions and concepts as was recommended in the *Education to be More* report and the Government *Before Five* statement. For example, the curriculum was focused on developmentally appropriate activities whereas the priority in kōhanga reo is the development of the Māori language. The licensing process referred to early childhood qualifications which are not relevant to kōhanga reo. Overall, the licensing criteria benefited the English medium agenda and were not supportive of kōhanga reo priorities.

Māori ability to assert tino rangatiratanga was further reduced because of the regulations and licensing criteria. The fact that the Secretary of Education could grant, refuse, reclassify, or suspend licensing indicated that power and control of kōhanga reo sat with the government body. While consultation with Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust about kōhanga reo at risk of losing their licence was encouraged, the regulations stipulated it was not necessary by law. It meant a kōhanga reo could be shut down by the Government at any time. The absence of any reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi was a further sign that the Ministry of Education of the time was not focused on partnering with Māori. Aside from the direct mention of kōhanga reo, the Education (Early Childhood Centres) Regulations (1990) failed to recognise Māori as a people, being relegated to representation as “the culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand” (p. 1521).

In 1990 the Ministry of Education published the *Early Childhood Education Charter Guidelines: Statement of Desirable Objectives and Practices* (Ministry of Education, 1990) commonly referred to as DOPs. The statement was part and parcel of the charter requirements

focused on raising the national standard of quality provision which outlined ways responsibilities could be met. For example, the curriculum should give children the opportunity to know who they are, and to build relationships with others. The developmental needs of infants, toddlers, and young children and integrated care and education was also an important focus. Children were to experience planned and spontaneous activities both indoors and outdoors with opportunities to encourage gross and fine motor play. The picture of what a curriculum should look like was a stark contrast to the reality and purpose of kōhanga reo, where the primary focus is the Māori language and cultural knowledge. DOPs was therefore another document which added to the raft of requirements being imposed on kōhanga reo and did little to prioritise the Māori language and culture.

During this period of change, Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust continued to support kōhanga reo whānau by developing their own qualifications. In 1992 a three-year qualification for kōhanga reo kaiako (teachers) named *Te Tino Rangatiranga Whakapakari o Te Kōhanga Reo* was launched that focused on whānau and mokopuna development, and te reo and tikanga Māori. The qualification created kaiako (teachers) versed in Māori ways of being who provided positivity and strength for the kōhanga reo whānau. Two additional courses were established – *Te Ara Tuatahi Whakapakari o Te Kōhanga Reo* (TA1) and *Te Ara Tuarua Whakapakari o Te Kōhanga Reo* (TA2) – to support families in their own Māori language development (Royal Tangaere, 2012; Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board, n.d).

The ensuing years brought changes to government policies which discouraged active whānau participation in kōhanga reo and further dismantled the important role of the pā harakeke as drivers of educational success. Changes to the 1994 Child Care Subsidy meant kōhanga reo whānau who were receiving a government benefit could claim nine hours subsidy per week rather than the previous 30 hours per week, forcing some whānau to withdraw from kōhanga reo (Royal Tangaere, 2012). Furthermore, the 1996 Ministry of Education Quality Funding policy did not acknowledge the strength of whānau, which might be understood as the pā harakeke, as a measure of quality (Royal Tangaere, 2012). Quality was reflected instead through conditions relating to western understandings of learning and development, communication and consultation, and effective operation and administration (Ministry of Education, 1998).

In 1995 the Trust produced *Te Korowai* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995), a charter agreement with the Ministry of Education on behalf of all kōhanga reo. *Te Korowai* was a direct response to the Ministry of Education's *Statement of Desirable Objectives and Practices* (Ministry of Education, 1990), but it was also a strategic move to ensure kōhanga reo remained in operation. While the process still required kōhanga reo to develop an individual charter, it would mean the Trust could play a supportive role without interference from the Ministry of Education. Whānau would agree to uphold the objectives of kōhanga reo which built on those previously identified in *Te Peka Matua* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1983a), and with the agreement in place, kōhanga reo could receive maximum funding (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013).

Overtime the objectives that were introduced in *Te Korowai* have developed into the esteemed "pou", the four pillars that prop up all kōhanga reo and the movement. The first pou focuses on the Māori language which is to be the only language spoken in kōhanga reo: "Ko te reo Māori anake i roto i te kōhanga reo ia rā, ia rā" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995, p. 3). Parents are encouraged to learn te reo Māori alongside their children. Kaumātua are recognised for the language expertise and support they can provide to mokopuna and whānau, and for this reason they are to occupy a special place in kōhanga reo. By learning the Māori language, mokopuna and whānau gain understanding about tikanga and all aspects of the Māori world.

The second pou acknowledges the important role that whānau play in kōhanga reo: "Kei te whānau te tikanga ara ngā whakahaere, ngā whakanekeke me ngā tikanga" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995, p. 3). All whānau should feel welcomed and a sense of belonging in kōhanga reo. Whānau are encouraged to support and uplift each other, to learn and grow together. Decision making is the responsibility of the whole whānau.

Accountability captures the essence of the third pou: "Kia tika, kia pono" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995, p. 3). Tika can be understood as correct or right, and pono to be honest. Whānau are encouraged to recognise and uphold their responsibilities to the following groups:

- Ki tō tātou atua
- Ki ō tātou tūpuna
- Ki ō tātou whānau, hapū, iwi
- Ki a koe anō, tētahi ki tētahi

- Ki ō tātou mokopuna
- Ki te kāwanatanga

(Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995, p. 3)

Accountability to mokopuna, whānau, hapū, and iwi, to each other and our ancestors are amongst the groups for whom families must consider.

The final pou stipulated that there was to be no smoking in kōhanga reo: "Kaua e kai paipa i roto i te kōhanga reo" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995, p. 3). Whānau were encouraged to learn about the harmful impact that smoking could have on one's health, and to be open to discussions about other health related issues that could result in diabetes, obesity, and heart disease.

Government's assertion of control over kōhanga reo continued to increase through the mid 1990s with the development of an early childhood curriculum *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996b). The curriculum was an additional step that forced kōhanga reo into the same space as the early childhood sector. Commitment by the lead co-writers Dr Margaret Carr and Dr Helen May to acknowledge the Te Tiriti o Waitangi meant a collaborative effort with kōhanga reo was inevitable. After approaching Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, Tilly Reedy and Dr Tamati Reedy were also appointed as co-writers of the document. The partnership resulted in gains for kōhanga reo by ensuring *Te Whāriki* grew out of Māori principles (Royal Tangaere, 2012). Importantly, acknowledgement of the autonomy of kōhanga reo was achieved through the inclusion of a section of the curriculum designed by kōhanga reo for kōhanga reo, which was not a direct translation of the English version (Ministry of Education, 1996b). At a political level, *Te Whāriki* was groundbreaking because of its recognition of Te Tiriti and te reo Māori (Te One, 2013).

While the 1996 *Te Whāriki* was revolutionary because it was the first bicultural curriculum in New Zealand, the published version was received with disappointment from the Trust. Arapera Royal Tangaere, who was working for the Trust at the time, explained the reason for this response was directly related to the absence of information about *Te Tauira Whāriki,* specifically the matrix which showed how to "weave the essential elements and characteristics of the child with the environment" (Royal Tangaere, personal communication, March 28,

2024). Royal Tangaere was tasked by the Trust to engage with the Ministry of Education to advocate for the inclusion of all of *Te Tauira Whāriki* but the response from the Ministry was that there was no sound research to support the matrix (Royal Tangaere, personal communication, March 28, 2024). Consequently, many kōhanga reo chose to use the version of *Te Whāriki* appended to the Trust charter document, *Te Korowai* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2020). Importantly, the outcome reflected the ability of the Ministry of Education to assert authority over kōhanga reo.

An update of the *Early Childhood Education Charter Guidelines: Statement of Desirable Objectives and Practices* (Ministry of Education, 1996a) also occurred alongside the development of the early childhood curriculum. The move was largely one to make the language in the statement consistent with the curriculum. The updated version referred to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the important place of Māori as tangata whenua (people of the land). The acknowledgement was significant in terms of upholding the promises made to Māori in Te Tiriti o Waitangi and growing support for the Māori language and culture. But this did not necessarily translate to support for kōhanga reo.

Reports on kōhanga reo continued to focus on a bias towards a Pākehā agenda and making comparisons with what was being done in early childhood services. In 1997, the Education Review Office published the report, *What counts as quality in kōhanga reo* (Education Review Office, 1997). The report acknowledged mokopuna were successfully learning the Māori language but kaiako were criticised for not exposing children to developmentally appropriate activities. The report went so far as to suggest kōhanga reo teachers should learn about early childhood education theory and practices. Whānau participation in kōhanga reo was noted, but in some cases more help was considered necessary to manage expenditure, budgets, and monitoring of health and hygiene practices. For all the good that was said about kōhanga reo, it was quickly undone by judgements based on early childhood standards that portrayed kōhanga reo in a negative light.

Following the report on kōhanga reo, *Quality in Action*: *Te Mahi Whai* (Ministry of Education, 1998) was published, which provided examples and reflective questions to help services implement the DOPs. A positive aspect of the document is that it acknowledged kōhanga reo, the role of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and *Te Korowai* (the charter for kōhanga reo). The document went further to make specific links between the DOPs and the principles of Te

Korowai. For example, the focus on learning and development could be discussed in relation to te reo and tikanga Māori, and whānau could use the topic of assessment and evaluation to discuss their own commitment to kōhanga reo. Nonetheless, the fact remained that the indicators and focus on quality were not driven by kōhanga reo priorities and no number of connections could justify this otherwise.

The onslaught of government policies did not deter Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust from maintaining a proactive role in supporting the objectives of kōhanga reo and establishing a new strategic directive involving purapura (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1999). The purapura concept brought together clusters of kōhanga reo within the same area to strengthen whanaungatanga and understanding about the movement. Kōhanga reo whānau were encouraged to determine the frequency of gatherings and ways in which the purapura could share their skills and expertise with each other. For example, offering support in relation to te reo Māori, the kōhanga reo curriculum, encouraging accountability from whānau, and in meeting regulatory requirements. The directive was a further extension of pā harakeke that existed within each kōhanga reo.

At the turn of the century Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust turned its attention to the government from whom they sought greater accountability. In 2000 the Trust met with the Minister of Education expressing a desire for a direct line between the Trust to the Crown, and to voice concerns about property funding (Royal Tangaere, 2012). As a result of the meeting a Crown–Trust working group was established and chaired by high court judge Sir Rodney Gallen (Royal Tangaere, 2012). A report entitled *Relationship Between the Crown and Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust* (Gallen, 2001), more commonly referred to as the Gallen Report, made several recommendations to government ministers which included a tripartite partnership between the Trust, the Ministry of Education, and Te Puni Kōkiri. The recommendation was significant as kōhanga reo had previously flourished under the Department of Māori Affairs but struggled when kōhanga reo was shifted to the Ministry of Education. The regulations had also been a sore point for kōhanga reo for some time, as they detracted from kōhanga reo priorities. An additional recommendation of the report was that any changes to the regulations needed to be made in conjunction with the Trust. But this was not the first time recommendations of this kind had been made to the Crown to no avail. A process for future funding to kōhanga reo was also considered necessary to help maintain buildings, Māori language, and resource development.

The Government response to the report was slow, as their attention was more focused on their next strategy to impact on kōhanga reo, a 10-year plan *Pathways to the Future: Ngā Huarahi Arataki* (Ministry of Education, 2002). Like previous strategies, a focus on quality was a top priority. Parental engagement along with a new goal of increased participation in early childhood education were also key features. The inclusion of kōhanga reo meant early childhood objectives were once again unfairly imposed on the movement.

The strategy undermined kōhanga reo operations by continuing the rhetoric that quality services comprised of registered teachers who held an Early Childhood Education qualification. This had been an ongoing issue for kōhanga reo as the kōhanga reo kaiako qualification[4] was not recognised by the Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (Royal Tangaere, 2012). The focus on qualifications inferred children would have a greater chance at achieving if they were to attend a service with qualified teachers. For this reason, the emphasis on qualifications was viewed as a calculated attempt to increase Māori participation in English medium settings only (Skerrett, 2012).

An additional fallout from the strategy was the divide created between whānau-led and teacher-led services (Skerrett, 2014a). Kōhanga reo was classified as a whānau-led service, where parents are responsible for mokopuna teaching and learning as opposed to a teacher-led service by certified teachers. The strategy proposed lower funding for whānau-led services, effectively lowering the status and remuneration of kōhanga reo kaiako. This made it difficult for kōhanga reo to retain whānau as kaiako (Royal Tangaere, 2012) and, in turn, support mokopuna Māori language and cultural development.

In 2003, the tripartite partnership recommended as part of the Gallen Report was actioned with all parties agreeing to some shared objectives. For example, all children were entitled to support during their foundational years so they could be successful in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds. This necessarily meant support for the Māori language and the important role of whānau. In doing so, the belief was that a strong nation could be created, and the promises of Te Tiriti o Waitangi upheld. An additional win for kōhanga reo was that early learning requirements were to be established from a Māori lens. The government focus on quality within

[4] Te Tino Rangatiranga Whakapakari o Te Kōhanga Reo.

kōhanga reo also featured in the agreement along with the need to strengthen pā harakeke in the process (Tripartite Relationship Agreement Between Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and the Ministers of Education and Māori Affairs ("Ministers"), 2003). The partnership started out with some promise of change, but it failed to meet the expectations of the kōhanga reo whānau and little progress was made.

While the overall intent of the relationship failed, some progress was made in terms of how kōhanga reo were reviewed. In 2005 the Education Review Office published the *Evaluation Indicators for Education Reviews on Kōhanga Reo* (Education Review Office, 2005) developed alongside Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. The partnership ensured a Māori lens was applied to evaluation indicators that helped make judgements about the quality of mokopuna experiences in kōhanga reo. Broadly speaking, the evaluation indicators considered the right of Māori children to live and experience success as Māori, including the importance of te reo and tikanga Māori. Within the kōhanga reo context, the indicators were set out under the taumata whakahirahira (cultural settings) (see pp 64–65 for explanation) and took into account the spiritual, physical, intellectual, and emotional development of mokopuna. For example, under Mana Whenua mokopuna are given opportunities to become familiar with their ancestral settings. Some indicators of mokopuna achieving in this area is that they might demonstrate an ability to care for the land (spiritual), talk about their marae and pepeha (intellectual), demonstrate understanding of tikanga and kawa (tinana), and show they feel that they belong (whatumanawa). The indicators themselves were supportive of the kōhanga reo philosophy, but one anticipated challenge was the ability of reviewers to recognise other avenues for mokopuna achievement.

As relationships with the Education Review Office improved, the commissioning of a costing review on the Trust's financial administration in 2006 further strained relationships with the Ministry of Education. The review itself suggested a misuse of government funds, but the findings suggested otherwise, and the Trust's management of finances was approved. The Trust used the review to show that government funding was insufficient to cover the services offered, and although this was the case, there were no strong statements about insufficient funding made in the final report. The review did, however, identify the source of tensions between the Ministry and the Trust, where the former was focused more on regulations and the latter was

focused on language acquisition, Te Tiriti, and maintaining tino rangatiratanga (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013).

The challenges with the Crown did not detract the Trust from launching *Te Ara Tuāpae* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2006), the 25-year strategic plan. The plan outlined three key priorities that reaffirmed the important place of the pā harakeke within the lives of kōhanga reo mokopuna. The first priority, "Ko te whakamana i te mokopuna me te whānau" (empowering the mokopuna and whānau), challenged whānau to envision new ways of working together to enhance wellbeing. The second priority, "Ko te whakamana i te reo me ngā tikanga" (empowering te reo and tikanga Māori), encouraged whānau to consider ways of building on their own Māori language and cultural capabilities and those of the whānau collective. Lastly, "Ko te whakamana i te kaupapa o te kōhanga reo" (acknowledging the objectives of kōhanga reo), involved whānau thinking about ways in which to both strengthen and promote the movement. Not surprisingly, the strategic plan did not reflect early childhood and government priorities, which only added to growing tensions between the Trust, kōhanga reo whānau, and the Government.

Whānau and government tensions that had been rising since 1990 were brought into the public forum when an independent report commissioned by the Minister of Education was released in 2011. *An Agenda for Amazing Children* (Ministry of Education, 2011) included a review of government investment in early childhood education. The Government sought recommendations for changes to funding at the most effective cost possible. The support of the government for priority groups including Māori was also a key focus. An outcome of the review was the recommendation for a better return on government funding by investing more money in high performing services. But the report also went further by suggesting that the quality measures for kōhanga reo needed improvement. One might interpret this as a deliberate act to question the ability of kōhanga reo to provide a quality education for mokopuna. Regardless of the true intention, the recommendations had the potential to result in less funding for kōhanga reo and discourage new whānau from joining the movement.

Interestingly, the report also included recommendations for parents to take on a more active role in the learning and development of their children. Early childhood services were encouraged to develop as community hubs who could respond to the needs of their local

community. Further recommendations included the promotion of leadership across early childhood services rather than a top-down approach. Kōhanga reo were already excelling in these areas with the involvement of pā harakeke, hapū, and iwi. Purapura throughout the country were in operation, with kōhanga reo sharing skills and expertise to forward the movement and achieve better outcomes for children. In short, kōhanga reo were operating at a level well in advance of the sector without due recognition.

The review was the final straw in what was an ongoing attempt to stifle kōhanga reo. Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust responded by lodging *Te Kōhanga Reo Claim (WAI 2336)* with the Waitangi Tribunal (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). On the 25th of July 2011, kōhanga reo whānau from around Aotearoa New Zealand gathered to deliver the claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. The act was significant as it signalled the strength of the collective and the belief of whānau in the ability of kōhanga reo to support the educational success of mokopuna. Kōhanga reo believed the Crown had not upheld the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in particular, support for the kōhanga reo movement and its role in protecting the Māori language and culture. A direct outcome of these actions resulted in strained relationships between kōhanga reo and the Crown.

The Tribunal concluded that over the years kōhanga reo whānau had suffered prejudice from the Crown. While the Crown acknowledged it had a role to play in protecting Māori tino rangatiratanga and taonga, it had done little to meet the obligations relative to kōhanga reo. Evidence presented during the hearing endorsed kōhanga reo as "the very best climate" for Māori children to learn the language due to the high level of immersion during infancy (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013, p. 75). But government policies and funding had not valued the important role of kōhanga reo. Consequently, the Tribunal urged the Crown to govern in a way that does not undermine the rights of Māori; for example, allowing kōhanga reo to develop a regulatory framework of their own rather than imposing a system on the movement. The Tribunal also suggested joint research between the Crown and kōhanga reo to explore the long-term impact of kōhanga reo on the educational success of Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). The Tribunal's decision showed that, among other things, the government had been guilty of stifling whānau attempts to assert educational success for themselves.

The National Party-led government of the time were not willing to act on the Tribunal recommendations until governance issues involving Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust were

addressed. This response put further strain on the relationship between the two parties and resulted in a five-year time period where there were no negotiations (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, n.d). However, the opportunity to ensure better alignment between government policy and the kōhanga reo kaupapa (movement) did arise.

In 2017 the New Zealand early childhood curriculum *Te Whāriki* was revised. This process gave birth to *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* (Ministry of Education, 2017), designed by kōhanga reo, for kōhanga reo. The document clearly outlines kōhanga reo perspectives on learning, development, and assessment, and the important place of whānau in this process. Importantly, the *Te Tauira Whāriki* matrix which was excluded from the first publication was also included. However, the positioning of *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* on the flipside of the early childhood curriculum framework was a point of frustration for the Trust because some might assume (and have assumed) the two sides are a direct translation. The ripple effect is the ongoing danger of becoming swept up in early childhood conceptualisations of achievement.

The refresh of the curriculum coincided with the launch of an evaluative report by the Education Review Office on achieving successful outcomes in kōhanga reo. The report named *Hauhaketia ngā Taonga Tuku iho kia Puāwai ai: Unearth our Ancestral Treasures so that we may Prosper* (Education Review Office, 2017) was developed once again in conjunction with Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. Eleven high performing kōhanga reo with a four yearly review turnaround time formed the sample group. The report looked at how children are nurtured in relation to each of the taumata whakahirahira (cultural settings) and the role of whānau in supporting kōhanga reo operations. The findings were reported under each taumata whakahirahira; for example, Mana Tangata where mokopuna were supported by kaiako to share their whakapapa and stories about their whānau. Whānau were also present and pro-actively supporting the mokopuna learning programme, while kaiako modelled positive ways to interact with others through the Māori values of aroha and manaaki. Overall, the nature of the report portrayed kōhanga reo as spaces where mokopuna can thrive.

Actions by the 2019 government led by the Labour Party indicated some willingness to acknowledge the earlier findings made by the Waitangi Tribunal and a show of renewed support for kōhanga reo. The announcement of a 32 million dollar increase of funding meant additional support towards overall operations, including the retention of whānau as kaiako. A new strategic plan for early learning called *He taonga te tamaiti – Every child a taonga*

(Ministry of Education, 2019) was launched in the same year. In it, kōhanga reo are recognised for their contribution towards protecting the Māori language and culture and in providing opportunities for Māori children to experience success as Māori. To this end, the Government has committed to creating a sustainable funding model alongside the Trust. While it is positive to note that Te Tiriti o Waitangi remains visible in this strategy and that the Government acknowledges Māori tino rangatiratanga, it is disappointing that this right is not extended to kōhanga reo autonomy of the kaupapa.

In 2022 new pressure between the Trust and the Labour government emerged after the suggestion of legislation to grow Māori medium education and kaupapa Māori services. The proposed legislation would introduce a regulatory framework with the aim of creating an education system where Māori can be confident in being Māori and have confidence in the educational services they attend. But this was met with resistance by the Trust who cautioned that such legislation could lead to the homogenisation of kaupapa Māori movements with Māori medium pathways in English medium schools. The preferred option was a parallel pathway managed by Māori, for Māori (Perry, 2022).

While the fight for tino rangatiratanga is ongoing, the movement continues to push forward. In 2022 it celebrated 40 years since the establishment of the first kōhanga reo and as part of efforts to mark the event, a revised edition of Te Korowai was released. The publication, entitled *Te Korowai: Pono ki te Kaupapa, Puna ko te Reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022), reaffirmed the four pou of kōhanga reo as:

> Te Pou 1: Ko te reo Māori anake i roto i te kōhanga reo
> Te Pou 2: Ngā whakahaere a te whānau
> Te Pou 3: Kia tū tika, kia tū pono ki te kaupapa
> Te Pou 4: Te whaioranga, te whakatūpato me te taiao

The most noticeable change is the way in which the fourth pou has evolved as a holistic focus on wellbeing and health and safety. The pou acknowledges the importance of caring for the hinengaro (cognition), wairua (spirituality), and tinana (physicality) of mokopuna. Whānau are encouraged to do all they can to ensure kōhanga reo are smoke-free, alcohol-free, and drug-free, where healthy eating is promoted, and verbal and physical abuse is not tolerated so that mokopuna can grow and thrive.

The literature reviewed has shown that the kōhanga reo movement has and continues to be undermined. Māori academics such as Arapera Royal Tangaere and Mere Skerrett have attributed the constant attack on kōhanga reo to New Right ideologies that focus on individualism and competition. Under this regime government intervention is minimal and, therefore, support for kōhanga reo has and always will fall short of what is needed (Royal Tangaere, 1997b; Skerrett, 2001). This is true when one considers the amount of funding kōhanga reo has received since its inception. Skerrett has gone so far to accuse the hands-off approach by the government as institutional racism, preventing kōhanga reo from accessing the resources and support it requires to grow and thrive. The New Right approach reinforces the dominant culture by insisting on one system for all, and kōhanga reo is made to fit into the whitestream system (Royal Tangaere, 1997b; Skerrett, 2001).

While the kōhanga reo movement has experienced many economic and political struggles, it has contributed to the restoration of pā harakeke, working together to enhance the mana and wellbeing of the collective. These conditions have enabled te reo and tikanga Māori to flourish once more.

Research Involving Kōhanga Reo and Educational Success

Kōhanga reo-related research projects highlight a wide range of ways kōhanga reo has supported the educational success of mokopuna. Mokopuna language and cultural socialisation, transitions to school, and the role of the whānau in supporting mokopuna and vice versa have been areas researchers have focused on. While many of the projects are small scale observational projects, together they offer insights into how educational success is understood and achieved through kōhanga reo.

Māori Language and Cultural Socialisation

There is a corpus of research projects recognising the success of kōhanga reo in supporting the development of Māori language and culture. Hohepa's (1990) research project was one of the earliest located specifically in kōhanga reo. It was significant in that it focused on the practices within kōhanga reo that supported mokopuna language acquisition. The investigation involved the observation of three children in one kōhanga reo over a four-week period. Māori cultural routines and activities such as inoi (prayers), mihimihi (greetings), and te wā kai (mealtime),

accompanied by cultural practices such as whanaungatanga, tuakana-teina (younger/older sibling relationship), and āwhina (support), provided mokopuna in the study with meaningful opportunities for predictable language use and cultural learning. Hohepa found language focusing strategies, such as modelling, questioning, and prompting, were also used by kaiako to support language development. Based on these findings, Hohepa contended that cultural socialisation and language learning are inextricably intertwined for achieving success.

Royal Tangaere's (1992) research (also published in Royal Tangaere, 1997a) offered different insights into the success of mokopuna by exploring their ability to transfer language routines from kōhanga reo to the home. The research focused on Royal Tangaere's observations of her daughter who she found successfully teaching te reo Māori within their home of competent and developing Māori language speakers. The recordings of the language used at home had some connection to the language routines learnt at kōhanga reo. This is important as it suggests the achievement of mokopuna in Māori language and cultural development can support successful learning for whānau. It also reflects positive outcomes for the pā harakeke in kōhanga reo that is about whānau and intergenerational learning together, not just success for the individual.

Royal Tangaere's subsequent doctoral research (Royal Tangaere, 2012) extended on her masters, involving four children, their whānau and kaiako in two kōhanga reo. The research produced further examples of mokopuna successfully acquiring, using, and socialising in the Māori language. Importantly, the research involved a new generation of whānau and kaiako who appeared to be in a stronger position as a collective to support the Māori language development of mokopuna through their own ability to converse in the language. Examples of mokopuna, whānau, and kaiako interactions also appeared more complex. This itself is a significant feature of the research as it signals the success of kōhanga reo whānau in terms of their own Māori language development, the success of kōhanga reo in providing language programmes for whānau, and, in some cases, success in relation to the intergenerational transmission of the Māori language as mokopuna of kōhanga reo.

Additionally, Royal Tangaere (1992, 2012) argued that successful language acquisition is reliant on support from both kōhanga reo and the home, and, for this reason, she viewed kōhanga reo and the whānau as one. She also recognised both Māori and non-Māori influences that exist beyond these settings that could potentially impact on mokopuna language development. For example, government policies that do not support the development of Māori

language and cultural initiatives. These ideas form the basis of Royal Tangaere's model, termed the *Sociocultural Ecology of Whānau Development* (Figure 6), which depicts the mokopuna, whānau, and kōhanga reo within the same microsystem influenced by two different exosystems – the exosystem Māori and the exosystem non-Māori.

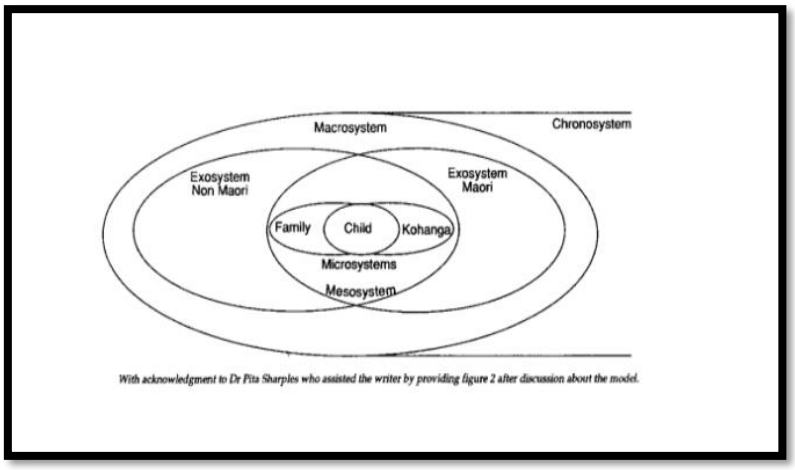


Figure 6. Royal Tangere's model of Sociocultural Ecology of Whānau Development.

Complementary to Hohepa and Royal Tangaere's findings on the importance of Māori cultural routines and teaching strategies, Skerrett's (1995) research focused on kaiako use of scaffolding during karakia (prayers) and mihimihi times. The project differed to previous research because of the relatively larger number of child participants. Through the viewing of video recordings, Skerrett (1995) observed 12 children from the same kōhanga reo practising these cultural routines. The results showed kaiako were successfully scaffolding mokopuna understandings of te reo Māori through verbal and non-verbal cues. In doing so, the study offers yet another useful perspective in terms of how kaiako were supporting mokopuna experiences of success.

As well as being interested in Māori language development, Skerrett's (2003) doctoral research considered what is necessary to achieve the revernacularisation – the return of te reo Māori as an everyday language. Three children were observed in a single kōhanga reo over a 12-week period. The findings highlight mokopuna as developing bilinguals, successfully using the Māori language for a wide range of purposes, such as how to negotiate, express ideas and feelings, and to make predictions. Skerrett asserted mokopuna ability to reflect and express

their thoughts in te reo Māori were integral steps in strengthening mokopuna identity and their desire to live as Māori. Both steps were also considered necessary to realise the revernacularisation of the Māori language.

The important role of kaiako featured again in Skerrett's findings, adding to the body of research about effective practices that support language development. Kaiako noticed mokopuna interests and used these to encourage conversation in the Māori language. Listening, documenting, and supporting mokopuna to find solutions to language related problems were additional features of kaiako practice. Working in small groups alongside mokopuna created intimate opportunities for constructive discussions in and about the Māori language. Thoughtful considerations were given to Māori language experiences which could easily be transferred to the home. Kaiako also built connections with other Māori language communities as an additional resource to support mokopuna language use and were pro-active in strengthening their own Māori language skills and knowledge of second language learning. These findings are significant as they speak to the expert skills of kaiako working in kōhanga reo that enable mokopuna to achieve educational success.

Skerrett's project also captured the long-term effort required by whānau to maintain inter-generational kōhanga reo views of educational success, albeit in relation to te reo Māori. Whānau and kaiako at the kōhanga reo were committed to speaking the Māori language so mokopuna could be exposed to new vocabulary and language structures. In adopting a no compromising te reo Māori stance, the whānau and kaiako created a safe space for mokopuna to learn and grow as Māori.

In a later chapter publication, Skerrett (2017) draws attention to another aspect of her doctoral research about the importance of Māori language print literacy. Skerrett found that it is important for mokopuna to have both oral language experiences and opportunities to read and write in the Māori language. The outcome was the development of *Te Arapū Māori – The Māori Alphabet* by kaiako at the kōhanga reo but this was not without resistance from policy makers and the Ministry of Education. Nonetheless, the move was ground-breaking as there had been no prior attempt at developing an alphabetic tool for kōhanga reo. The move created new ways for mokopuna to experience the Māori language.

A large-scale project entitled *Te Rerenga a te Pīrere: A Longitudinal Study of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori Students* (Cooper et al., 2004) attempted to chart the written and spoken Māori language skills of mokopuna who were about to, or had just, transitioned to school. The participants involved 111 children, 33 of whom were mokopuna from nine different kōhanga reo. Phase one provided the baseline data from interviews with 12 kōhanga reo kaiako, 13 kaiako mātua (supervisors), and 32 kōhanga reo parents in addition to older school children, their parents, and teachers. Interviews were also held with the 33 mokopuna accompanied by six tasks covering areas of literacy, numeracy, and tikanga Māori.

The baseline data supports the important influence kōhanga reo can have on mokopuna achievement. The research found 50 percent of kaiako together with 42 percent of kaiako mātua were fluent in te reo Māori and capable of supporting both mokopuna and less competent teachers to successfully build on their Māori language use. In contrast, mokopuna were found to experience less support for Māori language development within the home where 49 percent of whānau acknowledged their Māori language abilities were limited to basic words and sentences. Consequently, mokopuna language of preference was English. The project and its intended longitudinal nature did not appear to have been continued. This study may have otherwise offered valuable insight into mokopuna success over time.

The Centres of Innovation Programme was developed to showcase innovative teaching and learning practices and to help improve the overall quality of early learning services. Te Kōhanga Reo o Pūau Te Moananui a Kiwa was selected by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust to build on an area of innovation (Education Counts, 2021), and details of the project were reported in the study by Pohatu et al. (2006). Kaiako were initially interested in understanding how they could enhance te reo Māori learning within their kōhanga reo, strengthening the Māori identity of mokopuna and preparing mokopuna for life's journey. However, as the research project evolved, it became more focused on the Māori language because of the needs of the whānau. Observations of mokopuna,[5] and the surveying of whānau[6] and kaiako,[7] was undertaken on two separate occasions. This baseline data revealed the majority of parents either considered themselves learners or having very little knowledge of the Māori language.[8] In

[5] A maximum of 45 during the life of the project.
[6] Fifty-eight parents in the first survey and 62 parents in the second survey.
[7] Seventeen kaimahi in the first survey and 13 in the second.
[8] In the first survey 23 classed themselves as still learning and 21 with very little knowledge. In the second survey 21 parents classed themselves as still learning with 23 as having very little knowledge.

contrast, kaiako language abilities in this kōhanga reo were a mixture of fluent[9] to developing. Mokopuna observations also found a reliance on kaiako modelling of language and a lack of spontaneous conversation by mokopuna. Kaiako therefore recognised the importance of their own ongoing development to the success of mokopuna and whānau. Wānanga (discussions) were held in response to the baseline data and five principles were identified that support language development. These principles were tiaki (trusteeship), pupuri (ownership and appropriate use of knowledge), tohutohu (roles of responsibilities), arataki (valued and respectful guidance), and tautoko (whānau and community support), and it was felt that the more these principles could be activated together, the greater the possibility of success.

Whānau Participation

Two research projects have focused on the pā harakeke – whānau participation within kōhanga reo (Edmonson, 1984; Kohu, 2006), one focusing on parents, the other focusing on kuia (women elders). Both projects identified the importance of whānau participation and growth towards successful outcomes for mokopuna.

Edmonson (1984) was a researcher who was not directly involved in the kōhanga reo movement and wanted to learn more about it. Observations of the day-to-day programme of one kōhanga reo were conducted followed by interviews with parents of eight children attending the kōhanga reo. The findings identified the reasons parents chose kōhanga reo for their children, including seeking the opportunity to learn the language, building their identity, linking to their Māori heritage, and developing awareness of other cultures. One of the positive findings was the greater engagement of parents in learning te reo Māori. Eight of the 16 parents were involved in Māori language learning or expressed the desire to learn the language alongside their children.

Edmonson's research is significant, as it gives some indication of parent and caregiver aspirations and what they considered important to their child's success – namely Māori language, culture, and identity. The research also reiterates the important influence of whānau in the educational success of their children by demonstrating commitment to their own Māori

[9] Four kaimahi said they were fluent or could speak for long periods on the first survey with six saying they could use different words and sentences. The second survey three kaimahi said they were fluent, two maintained they could use different words and sentences. Other kaiako not included in these statistics were less fluent.

language development and, in turn, the objectives of kōhanga reo. These are important considerations of my research in terms of whānau aspirations and the contributions of kōhanga reo to the educational success of the whānau.

Looking beyond the perspectives of parents and caregivers, Kohu (2006) focused on the important role of kuia (women elders) in supporting the success of kōhanga reo. The research involved interviews with eight kuia associated with different kōhanga reo in the same tribal area. The findings acknowledged the positive influence of kuia in supporting mokopuna language and cultural development. The findings also highlighted kuia concerns for ongoing whānau commitment to the kaupapa of kōhanga reo including attendance at monthly hui-ā-whānau (gathering of families), maintenance of kōhanga reo, providing support for kaiako, and their own language and cultural development. Importantly, the project found the need for ongoing whānau and kuia support to ensure the ongoing advancement of kōhanga reo objectives.

Apart from Kohu's research, I did not locate any other research that specifically focused on the role of kuia in supporting educational success. Yet kaumātua (elders) are important to the kōhanga reo kaupapa and gaining their perspectives is warranted, particularly in terms of their observations over time and their experiences and the wealth of knowledge they bring to the kaupapa of kōhanga reo. My research complements that of Kohu (2006) as it includes kaumātua perspectives on educational success.

Transitions

A growing body of research relates to the success of mokopuna upon transitioning from kōhanga reo into the formal education setting. Katene (1992) conducted research on the academic and social impact of bilingual policies on mokopuna transitioning from kōhanga reo to bilingual classes in English mainstream schools.[10] Nine schools participated in the study, including 352 children, of whom 256 had previously attended kōhanga reo. Interviews with kaiako, principals, and Māori whānau members revealed that none of the kōhanga reo graduates required remedial reading assistance or additional support services. The evidence showed mokopuna were reading English texts more than two years above their chronological reading

[10] Bilingual education in this project referred to instruction in Māori and English and did not stipulate the amount of each language spoken.

ages and above that of their monolingual peers. Few mokopuna were identified as having behaviour problems and whānau maintained a strong presence within the schools.

The research raises significant issues relating to educational success and the difficult decision parents are often faced with in choosing a school for their children upon transitioning from kōhanga reo. Achievement in English medium schooling is highly valued in wider society, resulting in the potential for kōhanga reo whānau to feel that their children are disadvantaged by attending kōhanga reo. This research provides evidence that this is not necessarily the case and that kōhanga reo mokopuna are at an advantage and also capable of succeeding in English medium schooling. My research offers additional insights as to how mokopuna have experienced success beyond kōhanga reo, where some mokopuna may have continued on to Māori medium education and others, to English medium schooling.

Similarly, Rona's (2015) research (also published in Rona & McLachlan, 2018) dealt with transitioning students; however, she was particularly interested in the biliteracy development of kōhanga reo mokopuna, spurred on by her own concerns as a mother of children learning in te reo Māori with English as their first language. Like Ka'ai's study undertaken over 25 years earlier (see below), Rona (2015) focused on the transition of three kōhanga reo children to a range of settings, including a bilingual and an English medium class, along with a new entrant class in a kura kaupapa Māori. Kaiako and whānau from each context were interviewed. The research found that across the three classes both English and te reo Māori were used in order to create understanding and meaningful contexts for mokopuna development. Whanaungatanga was also identified across the three settings as a key element in promoting successful literacy experiences for mokopuna.

The research provides further insights about parent aspirations for mokopuna transitioning to school, and the factors that impact on whānau choice. Location and the availability of services are key considerations for whānau. One of the three families who participated in Rona's research had no other choice but to choose mainstream schooling. Another whānau wanted their children to be confident in navigating both the English and Māori worlds. While the whānau may have chosen different schooling options, they all recognised the importance of the Māori language as key to successful participation in the Māori world. Perhaps this was as a result of their own Māori language experiences and involvement in kōhanga reo. The different

reasons that inform whānau choices signal the complexity of transitions from kōhanga reo to school, and discussions relating to educational success.

Māori Pedagogical Practices

Other research has raised the importance of Māori pedagogical practices to support successful transitions and achievement. Ka'ai (1990) observed three children from different kōhanga reo during their transition process – two to bilingual classes and the other to an English medium class. The findings of the project support the presence of Māori pedagogical practices inherent within kōhanga reo, including whanaungatanga, aroha, manaaki, and tuakana-teina. However, the success of the students was negatively affected upon transitioning to school, as none of the classrooms included tuakana-teina exchanges between kaiako and mokopuna. While whanaungatanga was evident in the bilingual units, it did not present as often as occurred within kōhanga reo.

The most recent research on transitions by Hohepa et al. (2017) was a collaborative project undertaken by kaiako-researchers from a kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, alongside researchers from the nearby university. Interviews and whakawhiti kōrero (discussions) were held with parents and mokopuna involved in the transition process. As with Ka'ai (1990), Hohepa et al. (2017) found that whanaungatanga was an important step of the transition process. Additionally, the practice of pōwhiri (welcoming ceremonies) acknowledged the formal handing over of mokopuna and whānau to the care of the kura. Given the collaborative nature of the research project, the kaiako from the kōhanga reo and kura (school) observed each other to understand how they could align and support practices in both settings, including the sharing of learning and assessment information. Opportunities to co-develop and teach across settings strengthened whānau and mokopuna connections.

Both research projects by Ka'ai (1990) and Hohepa et al. (2017) identified a key message evident throughout kōhanga reo related research where Māori pedagogical practices provide effective conditions for kōhanga reo mokopuna success in any education setting. My research looked at how Māori pedagogical practices featured in the experiences of three generations of whānau and subsequently their success, along with their views of success.

He Whakarāpopototanga – Chapter Summary

Kōhanga reo were established in response to the loss of the Māori language. The loss was so great that it required the collective efforts and determination of Māori to ensure its survival for future generations. The revival of pā harakeke working alongside each other with the support of hapū and iwi enabled Māori to harness their greatest potential. Māori were invigorated, yielding power from the pā harakeke to install a sense of belief that together, anything was possible.

The humble beginnings of kōhanga reo meant whānau could have absolute control or tino rangatiratanga of kōhanga reo and its objectives in relation to educational success. These objectives aligned strongly with traditional Māori values and practices and included the importance of whānau, the notions of accountability to the collective, and wellbeing, in addition to the Māori language. In acknowledging these objectives, kōhanga reo provided optimum conditions to enhance the mana of each mokopuna and whānau and enable them to thrive.

Over time, governments have increased their influence over kōhanga reo, stifling the growth of the movement and its objectives. Policies have emphasised best outcomes based on Western ideals, enforced by a regulatory framework with a mandate for kōhanga reo to comply or risk closure. Concentrated efforts to frame quality alongside teacher qualifications have contributed to a view of kōhanga reo as not having the capabilities to support mokopuna to be academically successful. Insufficient funding over the years has created issues relating to kaiako retention and the upkeep of buildings. These challenges have contributed to the steady decline of kōhanga reo numbers along with mokopuna enrolments. A major implication is that the Māori language and culture is overlooked in favour of Western standards and views of educational success.

Despite the ongoing challenges experienced by kōhanga reo, the movement has maintained focus on its own objectives to better Māori lives. The Māori language and cultural practices have been embedded in the ethos of kōhanga reo for mokopuna to experience and learn. Mokopuna are supported by skilled kaiako who are fluent in the Māori language and able to inspire the youngest of minds to stand proud in their identity as Māori. In return, mokopuna are giving back to the pā harakeke by taking their knowledge of the Māori language and culture

into their homes. Whānau sit alongside their children in the Māori language journey. The success of the kōhanga reo model based on Māori cultural practices has proven equally important to the educational success of mokopuna as they transition to school. As such, kōhanga reo is providing mokopuna with the best possible start to their formal schooling.

Chapter Four: Tiakina te Pā Harakeke

He Kupu Whakataki − Introduction

Over the years I have come to appreciate the tikanga (cultural practices) of *Tiakina te Pā Harakeke,* which can be defined as caring for the pā harakeke (flaxbush). For example, one of the most important tikanga is that the rito (middle shoot symbolising the child) should never be cut, as doing so would hinder the growth of the plant and its ability to flourish (Pihama & Cameron, 2012). Like the tikanga required to care for the pā harakeke, there are also tikanga and important considerations to be made when conducting research with Māori. Chapter Four outlines the tikanga and considerations made as part of this research. It begins by discussing the rationale for choosing Kaupapa Māori theory as the methodological framework underpinning this research and the significance of it to my research with multi-generational whānau (families) in kōhanga reo. I discuss the tikanga followed to ensure ethical considerations were met and the way Kaupapa Māori theory influenced my choice of research methods, the presentation of findings, and analysis.

Methodology Framework

Choosing an appropriate methodology is important to any research project. Implicit in the selection process is a theory or body of knowledge and principles to help guide the design, the methods, and the interpretation of findings (Porsanger, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2012). Careful consideration of the suitability of the methodology for participants can influence the outcomes and help ensure the validity and reliability of information received (Kovach, 2021; L. T. Smith, 2012). My beliefs and experiences will also factor into the way the methodology develops.

For many Indigenous peoples, problematising methodology and research in general is the influence of the West. Western theories of empiricism and positivism based on scientific knowledge has led to the development of quantitative methodologies aimed at discovering the truth based on observation and measurement (L. T. Smith, 2021; Tocker, 2002). The researcher is deemed to be objective but as Māori experiences have shown, this is difficult to achieve. Māori were observed through a Western lens and labelled as savages who were not capable of having their own knowledge systems or the ability to make sense of the world around them (L. T. Smith, 2012).

Indigenous peoples have responded by developing their own research methodologies. Indigenous scholars like Linda and Graham Smith (New Zealand) and Margaret Kovach (Canada) are amongst a growing number of researchers helping to advance Indigenous methodologies. There has been a deliberate attempt to place Indigenous epistemologies (ways of knowing), ontologies (ways of being), and axiologies (values and value judgements) at the centre of the research (Porsanger, 2004; Smith et al., 2016; L. T. Smith, 1999). By drawing on Indigenous theories, approaches, and methods, the research space becomes more respectful, ethical, and culturally acceptable (Kurtz, 2013; Porsanger, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2021).

The pā harakeke, which is the metaphor that has been woven throughout this research, is a significant symbol of the Māori world. By choosing the pā harakeke, I have signalled the importance of Māori knowledge to this research project, a decision which is also reflected in my use of Kaupapa Māori as the body of knowledge that grounds this research project.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori theory emerged from kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori initiatives of the 1980s, a connection that could not be ignored given the context of my research. Developed by Māori, for Māori, kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori symbolise one of the greatest transformations showcasing Māori self-determination and struggles to reclaim control over their lives, language, and culture. They were, and continue to be, sites of Māori resistance to Western norms, and offer a blueprint to support the ongoing transformation of Māori communities. This blueprint has helped in shaping Kaupapa Māori theory as a powerful tool for use within the research academy.

Kaupapa Māori theory positions Māori knowledge at the heart of Māori transformations. According to Pihama (2016), “what we consider to be Kaupapa Māori is not new. It is ancient. It is of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. It is of Aotearoa. It is of our tipuna” (p. 111). When our ancestors came from Rangiatea, they brought with them their own knowledge systems, and after settling in Aotearoa in a new environment, with new challenges, they continued to develop this unique body of knowledge (Nepe, 1991; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). At its core is the

importance of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in understanding how Māori view, operate, and make sense of the world (Nepe, 1991; G. H. Smith, 1997).

Critical theory has been a useful ally in the development of Kaupapa Māori theory because of its focus on uncovering structures that disempower marginalised groups. The work of critical theorists such as Paulo Freire (1972) have made important contributions to this field of thought by offering what G. H. Smith describes as theoretical tools to help Indigenous groups understand the process of colonisation (Kovach, 2009). However, it is also important to note that critical theorists were themselves influenced by Marxism and social theories about society (G. H. Smith, 1997). For example, Marxist theorist Antonia Gramsci (1971) drew attention to the notion of "hegemony", positing that within any class-based society, the practices and beliefs of the dominant culture could be found woven into the fabric of society (Thompson, 2017). This means the working class and other marginalised groups like Māori are indoctrinated to believe that in order to fit into society they must think, behave, and follow the ways of the dominant group (G. H. Smith, 1997; Thompson, 2017). A point of contention amongst critical theorists was the fact that social theories were more philosophical and did not identify a process for transformation (G. H. Smith, 1997).

Critical theory has since made its own unique contributions to the development of Kaupapa Māori theory through the change process known as transformative praxis. Drawing on the work of Paulo Freire (1972), G. H. Smith explains the three key concepts associated with transformative praxis, including conscientisation, the analysis and de-construction of hegemonic practices; resistance, the collective will to make change; and transformative praxis, the act of bringing about change (G. H. Smith, 1997, 2000). Rather than viewing these understandings in a linear way, G. H. Smith (1997) argued that within the Māori world they are part of a cycle providing multiple entry points for whānau to become involved in the reflective and transformative change processes.

In the case of kōhanga reo, the near decimation of the Māori language meant Māori were committed to finding their own solutions to ensure its survival and resisting as much as possible any reliance on the state. The process of establishing and maintaining kōhanga reo was not easy and resulted in the conscientisation of Māori as to the structural impediments that exist within state systems. Yet, despite the struggles faced by Māori, transformations occurred through establishing and resourcing kōhanga reo in places such as marae (a traditional Māori

housing complex), churches, and other buildings that were fit for purpose. Once established, more Māori throughout New Zealand quickly became swept up in the wave of transformation and the political struggles involved in revitalising the Māori language (G. H. Smith, 2000, 2005).

While there are some mutual connections between Kaupapa Māori theory and critical theory as acknowledged above, a key difference lies in their respective origins. As mentioned previously, Kaupapa Māori theory stems from mātauranga Māori of spiritual and physical origins and is located within the history and experiences of Māori (Mahuika, 2008; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2001, 2010; G. H. Smith, 1997), whereas critical theory originated from the Frankfurt School (Bronner, 2017; Thompson, 2017). This difference is useful in understanding criticisms that critical theory has failed to provide the theoretical support needed to help marginalised groups achieve their emancipatory goals and the reason localised theories are needed (G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999).

The experiences of Indigenous researchers can also be helpful in distinguishing between the support Kaupapa Māori theory can provide in comparison to critical theory. For example, Kovach (2021) describes her experience as a doctoral student grappling to find a methodology with an epistemology and axiology that was suitable to work with Indigenous people about Indigenous culture. Forced to consider constructivist and transformative methodologies, Kovach was acutely aware that a western influenced framework would also mean applying a western lens to the analysis. In reflecting on the dilemma, Kovach (2021) explains, "Western conceptual framing would take me down a road, but to a different destination than my research purpose intended" (p. 50). The same could be argued in terms of the use of critical theory as a framework for researching with Māori and arriving at a destination that has not been informed by a mātauranga Māori lens, history, and experiences.

Through his examination of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, G. H. Smith (1997) identified six key principles and intervention elements of Kaupapa Māori theory which are specific to Māori transformations or Kaupapa Māori Praxis:

i) **Tino rangatiratanga (control over one's own life and cultural wellbeing) –** Within kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa, Māori are in a position to make decisions that reflect their cultural, political, social, and economic aspirations.

ii) **Taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations where Māori language, knowledge, culture is taken for granted)** – Māori language, knowledge, culture, and values are the norm within kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, thereby promoting the importance of Māori identity.

iii) **Ako Māori (the recognition of culturally preferred pedagogies)** – Kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori use Māori teaching and learning strategies which resonate with Māori communities.

iv) **Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga (the negative pressures of socio-economic positioning are alleviated)** – Māori ideologies of the whānau collective working together are used within kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori to reduce social and economic obstacles.

v) **Whānau (a collective responsibility is promoted)** – The whānau collective is also expected to actively participate within kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori for the benefit of all children.

vi) **Kaupapa (commitment to a collective vision)** – Both kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori have visions that strongly assert Māori political, cultural, economic, and social aspirations.

Since G. H. Smith's (1997) research, Kaupapa Māori theory continues to evolve as Māori researchers make their own unique contributions to advance this space. For example, Jenkins' (2000) doctoral research added theoretical understandings of "aitanga" to describe Māori and Pākehā relationships. Lee (2009) developed pūrākau as a way to convey the lived experiences of Māori. Tocker (2014) used Te Aho Matua, the guiding principles of kura kaupapa Māori, as a theoretical basis for her research. In following in the footsteps of these researchers, I could see a place for kōhanga reo ways of knowing and being in this research (discussed in detail below).

Conceptualisations of Kaupapa Māori theory have provided a powerful platform for Māori to think and talk differently about issues that impact on their lives. Policies and practices (including research as discussed later in this chapter) are being critically analysed, challenged, and re-aligned with Māori ways of being and doing (L. T. Smith, 1999). Changes are occurring not only at a national level but also in small whānau based communities. For example, kaiako at Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa were dissatisfied with the way in which early childhood assessment practices had influenced expectations within kōhanga reo. This led the kaiako to reflect on traditional Māori practices of conveying knowledge that could inform the development of their own assessment approach. In doing so, the kōhanga reo returned to the Māori practice of wānanga in order to make learning visible in a Māori way (McMillan, 2020).

The power of Kaupapa Māori theory also lies in its ability to connect with a wide range of Māori identities. Māori are not a homogenous group and have been impacted differently by historical and societal issues (Awanui, 2015; Kukutai & Webber, 2017; McIntosh, 2005; Penetito, 2011). A prime example echoed throughout this research is the loss of the Māori language as a result of colonisation. Consequently, in New Zealand today there are groups of Māori with varying language abilities. Data collected in 2021 by Statistics New Zealand showed 23 percent of the Māori population spoke the Māori language as one of their first languages, with an additional 34 percent of Māori having some ability to converse in the Māori language (Statistics New Zealand, 2022). Other examples of diverse Māori identities include Māori who live within their tribal areas and have strong hapū and iwi connections, and those Māori who do not, or Māori who come from whānau with a number of other ethnic links – the possibilities are endless. The emancipatory nature of Kaupapa Māori theory means there is a place for all.

Kaupapa Māori Research

The research arena is a space where Māori have historically been misrepresented and disempowered (Pihama, 2016; L. T. Smith, 1999). They have been observed and interpreted through a western lens, portrayed as uncivilised and inferior, with little regard for Māori knowledge, language, and culture (Pihama, 2016; L. T. Smith, 1999). For example, European explorer Abel Tasman's observations of Māori led to their portrayal as savages and his claiming the "discovery" of New Zealand. Scientific research involving the measuring and weighing of skulls led to claims about the smaller capacity of the primitive Māori mind in comparison to the developed European mind (L. T. Smith, 1999). Within contemporary society, research of Māori communities has often been about problem labelling and resulted in few benefits for Māori. These, and many other experiences, have contributed to research being described as "one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (p. 1) and has fuelled Māori reluctance to participate in it (L.T. Smith, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori research is a direct challenge to the way in which Māori have been researched in the past and is part of the ongoing struggle towards Māori self-determination over their lives. It involves Māori communities taking control of all aspects of the research process and

conducting research that leads to transformative outcomes for Māori (Pihama, 2016; L. T. Smith, 1999). Māori language and cultural practices are a central feature of this process.

L.T. Smith (1999) outlines questions researchers should ask of themselves and which I found useful to ensure my research aligned with the objectives of Kaupapa Māori research described above.

Who defined the research problem? For whom is the study relevant? What are some of the likely positive outcomes from this study?

The research problem is one that is connected to my lived experiences growing up as a Māori child in New Zealand in an education system where educational success is strongly linked to academic success. For example, in senior secondary school there was an expectation to study certain subjects in order to gain university entrance, and if you could not meet this expectation then there were alternative classes available to you. These classes were known to all the students as the "cabbage classes" and where Māori were perceived to be "less able".

In researching whānau views of educational success within kōhanga reo there are benefits for Māori, including the opportunity to define educational success for themselves. Whānau are able to share the ways in which kōhanga reo supports their educational success from a uniquely Māori position. There are also likely benefits for other Indigenous groups to connect with Māori experiences and supports for educational success.

What processes are in place to support the research, the researched, and the researcher?

The methodology for this research was underpinned by Kaupapa Māori, especially kōhanga reo ways of knowing and being. The methods drew on Māori cultural practices in order to collect and convey information in culturally appropriate ways. Kōhanga reo practices were also an important consideration. Tikanga Māori acted as a guide to ethical practices that protect Māori communities (Pihama, 2016)

As a Kaupapa Māori researcher, I have come from the kōhanga reo community, and because of this I can be considered an "insider" or someone who is closely connected to the movement. This means I have a vested interest in the research and a responsibility to ensure positive

outcomes for the kōhanga reo community. One of the challenges of being an insider is the constant need to think critically about research processes. My supervisors were Māori, and/or spoke te reo Māori, and/or had a strong understanding of te ao Māori. The goals of Kaupapa Māori research played a key role in helping to critique the way in which information was gathered, interpreted, and portrayed.

The kōhanga reo whānau (families) were involved in as much of the research as practically possible. For example, they were able to share their lived experiences and check that these were authentically portrayed in the research. Participants also had the opportunity to contribute to the research in te reo Māori, which is significant, as the language is described as the key to truly understanding Māori practices, thoughts, and aspirations.

To whom is the researcher accountable?

As a researcher entering the kōhanga reo space, there are different levels of accountability. This includes accountability to Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust at the national level, through to individual kōhanga reo, and to the whānau participants (explained in detail below). As a member of the kōhanga reo community, I carry a responsibility to the participants to provide feedback during and after the research is completed. Upon completion of the research, a copy of the research was returned to each of the groups and the research outcomes shared.

These initial considerations presented a strong rationale for proceeding with the research. This next section describes the processes followed as the project commenced.

Kaupapa Māori Ethical Research Protocols

Whilst this project aligned to western ethical practices reflected in the processes of gaining ethical consent at the University of Waikato, aligning to Kaupapa Māori research practices requires additional measures of the researcher. L. T. Smith (1999) outlines seven tikanga Māori to guide the ethical practices of Kaupapa Māori researchers, five of which were particularly relevant to this research as explained below.

Kanohi kitea/Manaaki ki te tangata (The seen face/care of people) – Kanohi kitea emphasises the importance of the researcher's commitment to the community, while Manaaki

ki te tangata involves being a generous host and taking care of participants. I am an active member of the kōhanga reo community and am frequently seen at kōhanga reo hui a rohe (regional meetings). I made initial contact with the kōhanga reo and participants by phone and in some cases via online media and/or e-mail. Once contact was made, I arranged a visit kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) so I could meet and talk with the participants in person. A shared kai was provided before any data gathering as this is how Māori manaaki one another. This helped me get to know my participants and help them feel at ease about the research process.

Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (Do not trample on the mana of people)/Aroha ki te tangata (Love for people)/Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero (Look, listen, then speak) – The mana or prestige of a person is extremely important within te ao Māori. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata means one should not trample on the mana of others. Each participant held valuable information relevant to the research and was considered an expert in their own right. Throughout the research process I was conscious of how I could uphold the mana of my participants and show respect for them (aroha ki te tangata). Listening (whakarongo), observing (titiro), and asking questions (kōrero) only when clarification was needed was one strategy. Another strategy was the acknowledgement that information shared by the participants was considered a taonga, a sacred gift to be cared for by those to whom it was shared and entrusted. In this case their knowledge was gifted to me as a researcher to share their taonga in the hope that others could learn from their lived experiences.

I was also wary that kōhanga reo is not a space that all researchers are able to access. It is a privilege for those who are trusted, and I was mindful to proceed with caution. Pohatu (2004) described this from a cultural perspective using the concept of āta, which focuses on gently engaging in relationships with people, kaupapa, and environments accompanied by heightened notions of respect. Although my research was primarily interested in the experiences of kōhanga reo whānau, these whānau also belonged to kōhanga reo that are cared for by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. This meant proceeding with respect for the Trust's role as caretakers of the kaupapa and seeking their endorsement to enter the space as a researcher. I met with the kaiwhakahaere (manager) of the Waiariki/Tūwharetoa district office employed by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust as a mark of respect and to inform and gain support for the study. This was well received by the kaiwhakahaere, who not only showed support for the study but also the process which followed.

Kōhanga Reo as the Research Site

Researching in kōhanga reo involves a context concerned with transforming Māori lives. Whānau send their children to kōhanga reo where the curriculum *Te Whāriki a te Kōhanga Reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018) is underpinned by principles that seek to aid mokopuna growth. These principles include whakamana, the empowerment of the mokopuna; whānau tangata, the important role of whānau, hapū, iwi; ngā hononga, fostering positive relationships; and kōtahitanga, holistic development which aligned closely with the Kaupapa Māori ethical protocols adhered to as part of this research. The principles are further developed through exposure to five cultural settings: Mana Atua, Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata, Mana Reo, and Mana Aotūroa. In order to uphold Māori aspirations reflected in *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo*, I also considered ways the research could provide specific opportunities for mokopuna exposure to each cultural setting.

Mana Atua recognises the divine qualities of each mokopuna and the creation of an environment where these can flourish – "Kia mōhio ki te whakapono, wairua, aroha, manaaki, whakakoakoa, whakahirahira" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 16). Opportunities for mokopuna to enhance their divine qualities occurred throughout the research process. For example, mokopuna were able to develop confidence or māiatanga as they spoke about drawings and photographs they had taken (explained in more detail below). The mokopuna could also learn from others involved in the research, including myself as the researcher and the way I extended manaakitanga towards them.

Mana Tangata refers to the complex nature of relationships that mokopuna must learn to navigate – "Ka mōhio ki ōna whakapapa, ki te pātahi o te whānau, ki ōna hoa, whānau whānui, ki ōna kaumātua, ki a Ranginui me Papatūānuku" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 18). The ability to forge strong connections provides optimum conditions for the development of confidence and positive self-esteem. Throughout the project mokopuna were able to talk about their whānau, friends, and kaiako at kōhanga reo. Some mokopuna who were attending school visited their old kōhanga reo as part of the project and were able to rekindle connections with their former kaiako. I was also a new face to some mokopuna which presented the opportunity to form a new connection.

Mana Reo highlights the importance of te reo Māori in conveying the thoughts, tikanga, and aspirations of Māori and reflects the numerous ways that mokopuna give expression to their ideas – "Kia mōhio i te rangatiratanga, i te tapu me te noa o tōna ake reo. Kia matatau te tamaiti ki te whakahua i te kupu. Kia mōhio ki tōna ao, te ao Māori" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 20). Mokopuna had the option of conversing with me in te reo Māori throughout the research process.

Mana Whenua fosters belongingness through connections between the mokopuna and the land – "Kia mōhio ki ōna tūrangawaewae, ki ōna marae, ki ngā pepeha o ōna iwi. Kia mōhio ki te mana o ngā awa, whenua, o ngā maunga. Kia mōhio ki te manaaki ki te tiaki whenua" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 22). Before asking any questions relating to the research topic, I asked each mokopuna if they knew their pepeha (tribal saying) and could share it with me. Mokopuna were also able to talk about their kōhanga reo as a place that contributes to their sense of belonging.

Mana Aotūroa is the explorative and sense making process of the world and all that is in it – "Kia mōhio he wairua tō ngā mea katoa: te whenua, te moana, te ao whānui, ngā whetū, te hau, ngā rākau, ngā ngārara" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 24). The opportunity for mokopuna to take photographs of items they liked in their home and at kōhanga reo and then talk about these provided opportunities for exploration and sense making to occur.

Participants

The participants in this research involved three generations of whānau: grandparents, parents, and children. I was reluctant at first to involve children (under the age of five) because of my perception that the research processes might be too challenging for them. However, I came to the realisation through feedback from colleagues that children could offer different perspectives on the value of kōhanga reo, and so I included them in the study. Postmodern discourses and research approaches supported this action where children are viewed as capable contributors (Baird, 2013; Clark, 2001; Clark et al., 2005; Ministry of Education, 1996b; Thomson, 2008; United Nations General Assembly, 1990).

Working with three generations was complex and required the use of specifc terms to identify each generation. Kōhanga reo identifies children currently attending as mokopuna, and

graduates as manu pīrere, symbolising birds that have left their respective kōhanga reo (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, n.d). However, some of the participants already had two generations of manu pīrere (graduates) in their whānau. Consequently, the decision was made to distinguish between the three generations using the terms kaumātua for the grandparent generation, mātua for the parent generation, and mokopuna for the grandchildren generation.

The following criteria were used to identify five multi-generational whānau as potential research participants:

1) The whānau included members who attended kōhanga reo during 1982–1987 when kōhanga reo were first established.
2) The whānau included members who were parents of a mokopuna attending kōhanga reo.
3) The kōhanga reo was within the Waiariki rohe (district).
4) There was a mix of genders across the mātua (parent generation).

Process Towards Seeking Multi-generational Participants

As a manu pīrere, my peers and their families were my potential participants. The challenge was locating my peers and establishing whether they met the criteria above. The easiest place to start was to approach my peers whose children attended the same kōhanga reo as my son. This resulted in two whānau agreeing to participate in the research. Another of my peers was identified at the 30-year celebration of my son's kōhanga reo where registers of children who had attended since its establishment were made available for viewing. I happened to connect with this participant at a kura reo (Māori immersion course) run by the kōhanga reo tari ā rohe (regional office). I also created a post on my Facebook page which led to the final two participant-whānau taking part.

The Participants and Their Kōhanga Reo

The five whānau in this project were from four kōhanga reo in the Waiariki rohe. One of the whānau had two mokopuna attending two different kōhanga reo because they were respectively devoted to specific age groups (under 2's, and over 3's). All of the kōhanga reo and whānau participants consented to being named.

Table 1. Whānau Associated with Each Kōhanga Reo

Name of kōhanga reo	Name of whānau
Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa	Te whānau Nuri
	Te whānau Haimona
Te Kōhanga Reo o Pīpīwharauroa	Te whānau Webster
	Te whānau Mihaka
Ngā Mōkai-a-Koko Kōhanga Reo	Te whānau Mason
Pukeroa Oruawhata Kōhanga Reo	Te whānau Mason

Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa is located on the outskirts of Rotorua and was established in 1984 in the Rotokawa Primary School hall before being relocated to its current site bordering the school grounds (L. McMillan, personal communication, March 13, 2018). The kōhanga reo has been recognised twice nationally as category winners of the Prime Minister's Education Excellence Awards for Teaching and Learning (2019), and Leadership (2017). Most of the 20 mokopuna enrolled at this kōhanga reo have links to the local hapū Ngāti Uenukukōpako.

Te Kōhanga Reo o Pīpīwharauroa is a marae based kōhanga reo established in 1984 (L. McMillan, personal communication June 13, 2018) that is licensed for 40 mokopuna. Many whānau who attend and work there have links to another tribe, Ngāi Tūhoe, and because of this the Tūhoe dialect is a feature of the kōhanga reo.

Nga Mōkai-a-Koko Kōhanga Reo is a small kōhanga reo located in a village that is also a popular tourist attraction. Physical and natural resources, such as the marae, hot pools, and river, are nearby. Most of the 15 mokopuna will transition to other kōhanga reo on their third birthday.

Pukeroa Oruawhata Kōhanga Reo is licensed for 34 mokopuna and is located on the premises of a local primary school. It was established in 1973 when it began operating out of a classroom in the school grounds and was relocated to the current building in 1991. A unique feature of this kōhanga reo is that mokopuna are 3–5 years old. They also make regular appearances at the local schools' kapa haka festival (performing arts festival) held annually.

Research Methods

The methods employed in this research drew as much as possible on Māori cultural practices, including those used in kōhanga reo. Wānanga were used to gather data from adult participants. It was a challenge to find a Māori inspired research method suitable for working alongside child participants. In dealing with this dilemma, I was reminded of the words of Linda Smith.

> Decolonization does not mean and has not meant the total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centring our concerns and our world views, and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes. (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 39)

I applied the same thinking in choosing the Mosaic approach as a useful alternative. Pūrākau was the final method drawn on to represent the data gathered.

Wānanga

Wānanga is a research method that has been used by Māori researchers because of its cultural significance (Lee-Morgan et al., 2019; Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020; Smith et al., 2019). Wānanga involves engaging in purposeful dialogue and is a practice deeply embedded within the history and whakapapa of Māori (Hemara, 2000; Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020). For example, one of the first wānanga involved the children of Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatūānuku (Earth mother) who spoke about life in the cramped and dark space between their parents, and which ultimately led to their separation and the creation of life (Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020). The following whakapapa depicts this creation of life, and the inclusion of wānanga as part of the process signals the importance of it to Māori:

Te Pū

Te More

Te Weu

Te Aka

Te Rea

Te Waonui

Te Kukune

Te Pupuke

Te Hihiri

Te Mahara

Te Wānanga

Wānanga has remained a prominent practice within Māori society, including kōhanga reo, where it is used as a method to discuss the learning and development of each mokopuna (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018). Kaiako and whānau observe the mokopuna, te mātai; reflect on their observations, te pūmahara; and make sense of their observations through wānanga. The wānanga provides the opportunity to share thoughts and ideas and ask and answer questions, "E meatia ana he wānanga nā te mea kei te wherawhera whakaaro, kei te whakaputa kōrero, kei te kohikohi māramatanga mā te patapatai me te tuku kōrero" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 32). Wānanga can occur between kaiako and individual whānau members, te wānanga mātātara; between kaiako, te wānanga matawhāiti; and with all kōhanga reo whānau, te wānanga matawhānui (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018).

This emphasis of wānanga as a practice within kōhanga reo also supported its use as a relevant tool within this research. Participants engaged in a similar process of te mātai, pūmahara, and wānanga as they reflected on their observations and experiences in kōhanga reo and made sense of these through the wānanga process. The nature of wānanga within kōhanga reo is also flexible as evident in the types of wānanga that take place. The wānanga mātātara especially does not stipulate a group environment is required given whānau make-up might include a single parent and the kaiako (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018). This meant wānanga as a method in this research could be used with individual participants or couples.

Wānanga Process for Participants

The wānanga to generate the research data looked different for each whānau. Some whānau had two kaumātua participating in the research and others had only one. This was also the case for the mātua generation. For some whānau, both generations were present in the same home when each of the mātua and kaumātua wānanga took place, but this was not the case for all. The wānanga with the kaumātua were scheduled to take 30–40 minutes, whereas two separate wānanga scheduled for 45–60 minutes were held with each mātua. A greater length of time

was necessary to include kai (food), “a cuppa” (cup of tea), and to answer research related questions. I was aware of the time demands imposed on participants but also recognised the need to foster whanaungatanga with the participants so they too felt comfortable with the wānanga process.

The Mosaic Approach

The Mosaic approach (Clark, 2001; Clark & Moss, 2011) was used to capture the voice of the mokopuna, some of which had graduated kōhanga reo and some of whom were still attending. Inspired by the innovative early childhood practices developed in the Italian city of Reggio Emilia and the notion of “the hundred languages of children”, the approach combines tools, such as photography, child conferencing, and questionnaires, to help create the image of the child’s world (Baird, 2013; Clark et al., 2005; Edwards et al., 2011; Einarsdottir et al., 2009). Appreciating the child’s voice aligned well with the kōhanga reo curriculum which recognises the mana of mokopuna (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018). The taumata whakahirahira (cultural setting) Mana Reo acknowledges that there are many ways for children to express themselves. I considered tools which resonated with Māori cultural practices to help piece together mokopuna views of educational success and the contribution of kōhanga reo. Wānanga, mātai mokopuna, and photographs and drawings were decided upon as the most useful tools. I have already explained the significance of wānanga to Māori and in kōhanga reo. Matai mokopuna is also a living practice within kōhanga reo where whānau observe mokopuna. Photographs and drawings can be linked to toi Māori (Māori art forms). Traditional Māori artforms like whakairo (carving) have played a significant role in the transmission of Māori knowledge. New approaches to toi Māori have emerged over time, including painting and print making that offer alternative ways for Māori to convey important messages (Mahuika, 2012; McMillan et al., 2023).

Where possible the wānanga with mokopuna took place at the kōhanga reo they were attending or had attended. When this was not possible it was held within the homes of the mokopuna and were 30–45 minutes in length. Whānau members were present at all of the wānanga except for Te Whānau Nuri, where the three siblings were comfortable to come with me to the kōhanga reo. The wānanga involved mokopuna responding to questions about kōhanga reo, their interests and future aspirations, followed by the opportunity to take photographs of things that interested them around the kōhanga reo and/or the home using a device that had been provided.

The mokopuna helped with the interpretation of the photographs by selecting and explaining their favourites, which were then compiled into a booklet for them to keep. Drawings were also created during the wānanga as an additional way to share what they wanted to do when they were older. The mokopuna were able to talk about their drawings and while the drawings were not always relevant to the research, they were appreciated and acknowledged as relevant for them in that moment. A copy of any drawings was also made for the mokopuna to keep. Mātai mokopuna were conducted for children still attending kōhanga reo during their morning/afternoon routines and a written account of what was seen and heard was made. This was the only tool (see explanation for the Mosaic approach) used to capture the voices of the youngest participants (one year of age) to ensure their space was respected and protected by me as an unfamiliar face. The tools provided a variety of ways to capture mokopuna voices according to their individual preferences or best fit.

The data gathered from the wānanga and tools used as part of the Mosaic approach provided what Kovach (2021) refers to as an "opening" (p. 166) to create stories that privileged the voices of the whānau in this research. Whānau voices are privileged when their stories are not fragmented through the selection of bits of data that are a part of a bigger story. The representation of data through indigenous methods of storying is one avenue to achieve the holistic representation of whānau voices.

Pūrākau

Within the Māori world pūrākau has emerged as a method of storying. In her 2008 doctoral study entitled *Ako: Pūrākau of Māori Teachers' Work in Secondary Schools,* Kaupapa Māori researcher Jenny Lee described the use of pūrākau in research as an act of decolonisation that connected Māori to their cultural traditions. Pūrākau offer legitimate ways to capture the lived experiences of Māori, creating new knowledge outside of hegemonic influences (Lee, 2008, 2009). Whānau, hapū, and iwi have ownership of the pūrākau which emphasise close relationships between participants and the Kaupapa Māori researcher. Use of the Māori language is also encouraged (Lee, 2008). These explanations of pūrākau as a method resonated with the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory that framed this research by encouraging Māori control over their lives and the privileging of the Māori language and culture.

Pūrākau also have the potential to contribute to the overall wellbeing of Māori communities, which is an additional feature of Kaupapa Māori theory. Traditional pūrākau make important contributions to Māori communities through the preservation of ancestral knowledge and the lives and worldviews of Māori ancestors (Lee, 2008; Orbell, 1992). Pūrākau were detailed accounts of important events and often included underlying messages as identified and interpreted by the listener (Hyland, 1997). Within traditional Māori society, pūrākau were passed down from generation to generation in an effort to retain this knowledge (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; King & Goff, 2010).

Other Indigenous cultures also place similar emphasis on storying as a means of preserving knowledge and worldviews. For example, First Nations stories in Canada, where my husband is from, talk about the "coyote" who was a well-known trickster and who learned lessons the hard way (Archibald, 2008). In these stories the coyote got into trouble when it lost its links with traditional cultural teachings. The underlying messages derived from these stories stress the importance of family, community, nation, culture, and land. Recollections of stories shared with Phillips and Bunda (2018) by Aboriginal relatives focused on genealogy and the importance of relationships. Dankertsen (2022) also discusses accounts of Sami storying which serve as a constant reminder of one's connections to the land and their ancestors.

Each participant in this research had their own pūrākau to tell in relation to their views of educational success and experiences of kōhanga reo. A first attempt at writing a pūrākau for each participant was made by using as much of the information possible from the wānanga and tools used as part of the Mosaic approach. Some of the participants chose to share parts of their wānanga in te reo Māori while others chose to speak in English. Direct quotes by participants were written in the same language used by them in the wānanga and were accompanied with translations. Lee (2008) also chose to acknowledge the presence of her voice in the portrayal of the pūrākau through the use of italics. This practice resonated well with me and my desire to remind readers that the pūrākau in this research have been co-constructed from the wānanga and data gathered using the Mosaic approach, through my eyes as the researcher. For this reason, pūrākau in this research were written in italics. Direct quotes from participants were not italicised to acknowledge their voice.

Multi-generational Pūrākau

The pūrākau of each participant was combined with other members of their whānau to form a multi-generational pūrākau that enabled the telling of complex stories of generations of whānau over time. Once a draft of the multi-generational pūrākau had been constructed, I visited each whānau so they could check the accuracy and interpretation of it. The adult participants were provided with a copy of the multi-generational pūrākau to read and were invited to make any corrections or comments to their own contributions and the summary. Where possible, I tried to organise for all three generations to be present in the one home. When this was not possible, I arranged a suitable time to meet with participants individually. In some cases, participants requested I leave their copies with their whānau members, and I returned at a later date to collect the copies so any changes could be made. Most corrections made by the adult participants related to names that were misspelt, or minor adjustments that were made to English translations of the Māori language. This signalled to me that whānau were happy with the way their lived experiences had been captured and reported.

I also wanted the mokopuna (children) to know what I had written about them. While the adult participants were reading through the multi-generational pūrākau, I read the section developed from the information they provided to the mokopuna and noted their responses. I used their non-verbal as well as verbal responses to help gauge their level of approval of what had been written; for example, a smile indicated to me that the mokopuna were happy with what was written. On one occasion I was able to read between the lines when a mokopuna smiled knowing she could in fact speak te reo Māori even though at the time she said she couldn't. This was noted in her section of the multi-generational pūrākau. At the end of my visit, I left a copy of the audio file from the wānanga with each whānau.

After visiting the whānau, a final version of the multi-generational pūrākau was developed. No additional information was added to the multi-generational pūrākau checked by whānau. However, threads of information that would help identify whānau views of educational success and the influence of kōhanga reo over time and across generations were identified and organised in a systematic way. For this reason, a decision was made to focus specifically on the kaumātua participants and their child and mokopuna (grandchildren) who attended or were attending kōhanga reo. As the final version of the multi-generational pūrākau came together, it didn't seem right to translate whānau voices, especially the one adult whose wānanga was

completely in te reo Māori because some meaning would be lost. Consequently, the decision was made that a translation of quotes in te reo Māori would not be provided. The notations before and after would offer the necessary insight to understand what was said.

Choosing to represent the data gathered as multi-generational pūrākau also created several challenges. Writing for three generations meant I was limited by the amount of detail and whānau voice I could include without making the multi-generational pūrākau too cumbersome to read. As a result, an unforeseen outcome is that whānau voices were often silenced. To overcome this challenge, whānau voices have been woven throughout each of the discussion chapters (Chaper Six and Chapter Seven). While this might be considered the introduction of new data, it is also old in the sense that the original data from the wānanga were used to craft the multi-generational pūrākau. Hence, any representation of whānau voice in the discussion chapters can be connected back to their individual stories. Whānau names have been included in the discussion chapter for this purpose.

Data Analysis

Once the final version of the multi-generational pūrākau were developed they were analysed. I applied a mixture of inductive and deductive reasoning to the analysis. An inductive approach was used to identify whānau views of educational success by looking for patterns and themes in the data (Drew et al., 2008; Proudfoot, 2023). A process of coding data was used to filter the data in order to focus on the information that could best address the research problem (Newby, 2013). According to Newby (2013), coding can be both factual, by highlighting facts, or descriptive, by highlighting situations and events. I used a combination of both to generate codes that could help me answer the research question.

The coding of data was an iterative process. I read through the multi-generational pūrākau many times throughout the course of the study, and I used different strategies to help make sense of the data. For example, early on I used Post-it notes to filter the information from the five multi-generational pūrākau. I found that in doing so I could see at a glance some of the broad themes across the multi-generational pūrākau. In a later attempt I highlighted in different colours the descriptions of educational success. I also wrote comments on the side that included potential codes. I then took the codes I created and grouped the data from across the multi-generational pūrākau. The more I revisited each multi-generational pūrākau the more refined

the codes became. Photographs of the different coding processes have been included in the appendix.

I also applied a Kaupapa Māori theoretical lens to the analysis of the multi-generational pūrākau. This meant bringing a Māori way of thinking to the analysis that is relevant for Māori. Kovach (2021) adds that Indigenous researchers who use indigenous theory will look for patterns in the data that are relevant to their communities. As a research project involving whānau in kōhanga reo, *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018) provided useful guidance about the things that matter most within this context.

A deductive approach was used to evaluate the contribution of kōhanga reo to the educational success of whānau. According to Drew et al. (2008), deductive analysis involves using codes from existing theory. I chose the kōhanga reo theoretical framework, "Ngā Pou Matua o Te Kōhanga Reo" (see Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022, p. 9) because of its alignment to whānau views of educational success. A bonus is that the framework also represents the philosophy of kōhanga reo. I analysed the multi-generational pūrākau using the codes from the framework to identify any contribution made by kōhanga reo.

Through these approaches to data analysis, I was able to answer the questions underpinning the research from a unique Māori perspective.

He Whakarāpopototanga – Chapter Summary

The main purpose of this chapter was to explain the methodological design of this research and the methods used. Kaupapa Māori theory, including kōhanga reo ways of knowing and being, has formed a key focus of this research. The deliberate selection of wānanga to gather data and the use of pūrākau to represent the data made sure the multi-generational whānau experiences of educational success remained culturally intact. The analysis of the data using a Kaupapa Māori lens and a kōhanga reo framework means the patterns that are identified to answer the questions underpinning this research are those that have relevance first and foremost for the kōhanga reo and wider Māori community.

Chapter Five: Te Tipu o te Pā Harakeke

He Kupu Whakataki – Introduction

Te Tipu o te Pā Harakeke refers to the growth of the pā harakeke. This chapter introduces the multi-generational pūrākau for the five whānau and the growth and development of their views of educational success over time.

Te Whānau Nuri

The Nuri whānau members who took part in this research are Nanny Mere and Koro Ran (Ranea), Kaihau, one of their three children, and three mokopuna (Kaihau, Meri, and Tiria) who also attended kōhanga reo.

Nanny Mere and Koro Ran's Story

Nanny Mere grew up with her father's people of Ngāti Hokopū, a sub-tribe of Ngāti Awa, in a little village on the outskirts of Whakatāne known as Piripai. She also has affiliations to Ngai Tūhoe, Te Whānau ā Apanui, Ngāti Maru Tuahu and Te Arawa. Koro Ran is one of six children and grew up in the nearby town of Ōpōtiki. He affiliates to Te Whānau ā Apanui, Whakatōhea and Te Arawa.

Both Nanny Mere and Koro Ran came from whānau with speakers of te reo Māori. Koro Ran's grandmother was a fluent speaker but would only speak Māori to those who could not converse in English. Koro Ran remembered his grandmother telling his mother not to speak te reo Māori, signalling her opinion that it was more important for the whānau to learn English. Consequently, when Koro Ran was young he shied away from learning the Māori language. Nanny Mere also shared this experience of her native Māori-speaking parents discouraging the use of te reo Māori in the whānau.

When Nanny Mere and Koro Ran had children of their own in the 1980s, before kōhanga reo were established, they sent their eldest child to a kindergarten at a local church. The kindergarten was well resourced but "it was missing the Māori language". *Unlike their parents,*

they wanted their children to be successful in both English and te reo Māori, so they began exploring other options, including kōhanga reo.

In 1984 Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa was established. Nanny Mere described this kōhanga reo as "kia ngāwari" *(of simple origin), where the parents drove the kaupapa (movement) and fulfilled numerous roles, including kaiako recruitment and the provision of resources. Nanny Mere laughed as she recalled her favourite book* Kimi and the Watermelon *(Smith, 1983) going to kōhanga reo and never coming home. Attendance at monthly hui whānau was also a regular occurrence.*

Nanny Mere and Koro Ran's desire for their children to speak te reo Māori remained a priority after their children left kōhanga reo. However, the absence of Māori bilingual schools meant they had to find alternative ways to support them. This included throwing out the TV for three to four years and seeking support from whānau so that te reo Māori could become the language spoken in the home. It wasn't until the children reached high school that they were able to join a full immersion unit in te reo Māori. Nanny Mere and Koro Ran's commitment to te reo Māori reflected their belief that the language was an indicator of their children's educational success.

Overall, Nanny Mere and Koro Ran had enjoyed their journey within kōhanga reo and the "golden nuggets" or success experienced as a result of it. Kōhanga reo provided the Nuri whānau with a Māori language and cultural base to navigate life including the importance of whānau Māori working together as a collective. Kōhanga reo "helped our [own] children to develop, kōhanga gave us time to develop*". Watching their mokopuna also attend kōhanga reo and hearing them converse in te reo Māori and other languages, waiata (sing), and participate in ahurei (festivals) added to their nuggets of success.*

Kaihau's Story

Kaihau is Nanny Mere and Koro Ran's second child and mother to Waimanea, Kaihau, Meri, and Tiria. Kaihau attended Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa when it opened in 1984 during a period when kura kaupapa Māori were still being established. She remembered the kōhanga reo situated in the Rotokawa School hall, kuia who were also her kaiako, and parents who often stayed with their children, including her mother. Children played in the pā harakeke outside the kōhanga reo, and trips were taken to the local marae to help with the tāniko panels.

She believed her parents sent her there to develop her Māori identity, language, and culture, and understanding of whānau Māori. The positive experience cultivated Kaihau's desire to return to kōhanga reo with her own children so they too could learn te reo Māori as she did, away from the influence of Pākehā worldviews.

Kaihau was encouraged to return to Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa as a parent by the licensee who was also one of those first parents involved in the kōhanga reo. The decision to return with her three youngest children opened pathways for learning about Māori societal relationships, particularly tuakana-teina relationships (the older children caring for the younger children). When Kaihau's youngest child, Tiria, turned five, Kaihau decided to keep her at the kōhanga reo instead of sending her to the kura kaupapa Māori her siblings were attending. The kōhanga reo was begininng a transition-to-school programme, established by one of the kaiako, that focused on numeracy and literacy. Kaihau believed the programme, which promoted a supportive reo Māori immersion learning environment, would build Tiria's number and letter knowledge thus preparing her well for school.

Whānau participation in kōhanga reo was a role Kaihau took seriously and involved her attending all the hui whānau, working bees, fundraising, and haerenga (trips). Kaihau believed the commitment encouraged whānau to be more actively involved in their child's development and learning within kōhanga reo and provided opportunities to be socialised in Māori ways. She recollected a trip to the North which was well attended by whānau and where the whānau "left as a whānau unit and stayed as a whānau unit". *As well as keeping her financial contributions up to date, Kaihau volunteered once a week as a kaiāwhina (helper) in the kitchen and with mokopuna. Being part of the kōhanga reo was a two-way relationship.*

In Kaihau's eyes, the educational success of her children has stemmed from their ability to participate in the Māori world, including waiata (sing) and korikori tinana (dance). When the three children left kōhanga reo, they transitioned to kura kaupapa Māori, an option that would not have been possible were it not for their Māori language development at kōhanga reo. Kaihau also acknowledged the huge support of her whānau.

Kaihau, Meri, and Tiria's Story

Kaihau, Meri, and Tiria are Kaihau's three youngest daughters who all attended kōhanga reo. During the wānanga they demonstrated a high level of fluency in te reo Māori as they spoke

about various topics. Meri (7 years) enjoyed talking about everything, including her rabbit that had passed away, Christmas presents she had purchased, and sports she enjoyed playing. Tiria (5 years) was excited to talk about her trip to the hospital and demonstrated her ability to sing and count in te reo Māori. Kaihau (8 years) reminisced on her time at kōhanga reo, including one of the kaiako who had dressed up as Hana Kōkō (Santa Claus).

Overall, the children exhibited a strong sense of pride in being Māori as reflected in their continual use of te reo Māori and indepth discussion about their totally "Māori" world. Kaihau remarked, "Ka pai ki ahau ki te kōrero Māori i te mea he pai te Māori ki ahau arā mai i te Māori ahau arā he Māori ahau." *Similarly, Meri explained already knowing how to speak Māori and having a desire to learn the English language because she didn't know how to be Pākehā. The inference here is that Meri already knew how "to be" Māori.*

The children were given devices to capture photographs of things they liked, indicating what they valued and offering insights into their developing views of educational success. Kaihau and Meri's developing views of educational success were connected to te ao Māori. Both girls were interested in Māori cultural artefacts. Kaihau took photographs of carvings and piupiu.

Figure 7. Kaihau's photographs of Māori cultural artefacts taken at the kōhanga reo.

Figure 8. Meri's photographs of Māori cultural artefacts taken at the kōhanga reo and piupiu at her home.

Meri also took photographs of piupiu and was able to explain some of the process of piupiu making out of dried flax and that piupiu making is hard work.

As the children spoke about their photographs, it was evident they valued their whānau, especially Nanny Mere and Koro Ran, their mother Kaihau and their elder sister Waimanea. Waimanea played the guitar for the children and spent time teaching Kaihau how to play the guitar and Meri how to play the ukulele.

Figure 9. Meri's photographs of her sister Kaihau, Koro Ran, and the guitar.

When speaking of her plants she had grown at home, Meri remarked, "Ka be proud tōku nanny i ahau." *They also acknowledged the role Koro Ran played in supporting them to speak Māori in and around the home.*

Figure 10. Meri's photographs of her plants.

When asked about their future aspirations, Kaihau stated she would like to work at Waiariki Institute of Technology (now known as Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology/Te Pūkenga in Rotorua) and be a chef like her mother, making biscuits and cakes. Meri was too tired to

comment on this; however, Tiria, who was five years old, thinks she might like to become a policewoman one day.

Te Whānau Mihaka

The members of the Mihaka whānau in this project were Nanny Rotu, her son Hoani, and Kahotea, one of Hoani's children.

Nanny Rotu's Story

Nanny Rotu grew up in a rural settlement on the outskirts of Rotorua, amongst her people of Ngāti Pārua and the wider tribal community of Ngāti Pikiao. She attended English medium schools, and although she came from a family where both her mother and father could speak te reo Māori, like Nanny Mere and Koro Ran in the first pūrākau, they chose not to speak it to her. Nanny Rotu believed this was because her parents were punished for speaking it and didn't want the same to happen to their children. After her schooling Nanny Rotu worked for a short time before marrying her husband who was also from the Ngāti Pikiao community, and with whom she had four children. Nanny Rotu attended playcentre with their two eldest children, which was a natural decision in a small community where choices were limited. While at playcentre, Nanny Rotu's aunties taught her how to support the learning and development of the children.

Nanny Rotu's involvement in kōhanga reo was unintentional at first. Her father was serving on the local Māori Affairs Trust Board and was instrumental in ensuring kōhanga reo within the Rotorua district came to fruition. As a result, a kōhanga reo had also been established in the rural community where Nanny Rotu lived. During this time, she was still involved in playcentre, which prompted those at the kōhanga reo to ask her father why she had not taken her children to the kōhanga reo. With questions being raised in the community about her absence from kōhanga reo, Nanny Rotu decided she would go and look at the kōhanga reo but wasn't convinced enough to join, as the structure was quite different from playcentre. She returned to playcentre for a short time before realising she possessed skills that could support kōhanga reo to flourish and made the decision to leave.

When Nanny Rotu began her journey within kōhanga reo, she had little knowledge of te reo Māori. However, with the support of the kuia, her understanding improved and before long, the songs she learnt in te reo Māori in her youth began to make sense. Nanny Rotu acknowledged the support of her kuia to rediscover her reo Māori and described this as her best experience.

Nanny Rotu also recognised the kuia for their role in teaching the parents about manaakitanga. Kōhanga reo had few resources in the early years and the kuia would take things from their homes. Seeing this made the parents do the same, with Nanny Rotu donating tea towels and clothing. In addition, Nanny Rotu observed the kuia and their patience when working alongside the mokopuna.

Over the years Nanny Rotu went on to fulfil a number of roles within kōhanga reo. She began as a mother supporting and learning alongside her children. Later, she took up the role as secretary, and then as chairperson, which lasted for 19 years before leaving the kōhanga reo.

Nanny Rotu's main aspirations for her children going to kōhanga reo was to be able to kōrero Māori, socialise with others, and experience the same whanaungatanga (relationships), manaakitanga (care), kōtahitanga (togetherness) she had experienced as a mother. She believed her children had achieved these aspirations. The importance of the Māori world in Nanny Rotu's life informed her view of educational success involving te tino rangatiranga o te iwi Māori (Māori sovereignty) and ensuring te reo Māori flourishes. For these reasons she appreciated the hard work of those families who fought to establish kōhanga reo. The kōhanga reo movement is now supporting Nanny Rotu's mokopuna, her pride and joy.

Hoani's Story

Hoani, Nanny Rotu's youngest child and now father to five children, attended kōhanga reo during the early 1980s. The kōhanga reo was located on school grounds and run by kuia, mothers, and relatives, making it difficult for Hoani to distinguish between the actual kaiako. He remembered their efforts in teaching the mokopuna about the local history, marae visits to tangihanga (funerals), hura kōhatu (unveilings), and rā whānau (birthdays), and supporting mokopuna to learn through tākaro (play). It was not until Hoani was older that he came to understand this method, which he described using the whakataukī or proverb, "Mā te whakaatu ka mōhio, mā te mōhio ka mārama, mā te mārama ka mātau" *(By discussion comes understanding, by understanding comes light, by light comes wisdom). The kaiako did not tell the mokopuna what to do, they modelled and encouraged them to learn by exploration. He stated,* "Ko te ao Māori katoa tērā, he ringa raweke, ehara i te iwi whakarongo. He iwi raweke ka taea te whāwhā."

When Hoani left kōhanga reo he attended an English medium primary school where there was no opportunity for Māori language learning until the arrival of a Māori principal who exposed the students to te reo and tikanga Māori on the marae. When Hoani reached high school, he joined a bilingual class; however, his interest in te reo Māori was overshadowed by his interest in girls. Fortunately, participation in kapa haka and visits to the marae ensured te reo Māori remained a focus. By the time Hoani went to university he had developed a greater appreciation for the language, choosing an initial teacher education programme in te reo Māori where he met, and was inspired by, graduates of wharekura (secondary school run on Māori principles) and their commitment to the language. After university Hoani relocated to the South Island where there were fewer speakers of te reo Māori and a greater emphasis on Māori language revitalisation. Consequently, when Hoani became a parent he returned to kōhanga reo with his own children to show support for the Māori language whilst also driven by his positive childhood experiences.

Hoani enrolled his children at Rangiora Kōhanga Reo, where whānau participation was expected and highly supported by parents. Non-working parents spent two days a week helping to cook, clean, and speak te reo Māori to the mokopuna while working parents, such as Hoani, committed to one day a week. Parents also contributed to fundraising based on their strengths and skills. For example, some parents were able to gather seafood while others were skilled in pig hunting, making raffles a good fundraising option. In 2011 Hoani returned to Rotorua where his aunty persuaded him to take his children to her at Te Kōhanga Reo o Pīpīwharauroa. As Hoani was working, his partner had taken on the role of attending hui whānau, but when the opportunity arose, he would visit the kōhanga reo to provide a male presence to mokopuna. This kōhanga reo also attended shows and encouraged trips as a means of bringing the whānau together. They enjoyed an annual trip to a large swimming complex where whānau ate and played together. The trips were at no cost to the parents and inclusive of all family members.

Hoani is grateful for his time spent in kōhanga reo, especially as he came from a home where te reo Māori was not spoken. He acknowledges the role of kōhanga reo in supporting his Māori language development and strengthening his Māori worldviews; for example, distinguishing between the whānau as a collective and Pākehā perceptions of whānau and individualism. Hoani expressed his understanding in the following way, "Ko te ao Pākehā ko au, ko au, ko au, ko māmā, ko pāpā koina noa, ko te ao Māori ko au, ko ia, ko tātou, ko awa ko Papatūānuku, ko wai atu, ko wai atu, ko aha atu, ko aha atu." *Kōhanga reo had also taught Hoani to manaaki*

tangata (care for people). Now that Hoani was able to speak te reo Māori, he made sure to use it in his home.

As a parent, kōhanga reo supported Hoani's aspirations for his own children to learn te reo Māori. As a result, his children can now do many things in the Māori language, including fight, complain, and cry. His hopes for his youngest child Kahotea, who was still attending kōhanga reo, was that he would grow strong in his Māori identity, language, and culture, to support whānau, hapū, and iwi. Hoani felt kōhanga reo will provide Kahotea with the experiences needed to build capacity in these areas and will open pathways to future opportunities. These aspirations mirror Hoani's views of educational success as knowing one's Māori identity in order to provide direction in life, "ki te kore koe e mōhio ko wai koe, nō hea koe, ēra momo kua ngaro".

Kahotea's Story

Kahotea was 11 months old and happy and content at kōhanga reo. He had a special bond with his Nanny who he would awhi (hug) and kihi (kiss), and to whom he relied on to model actions to waiata (songs), and support for te reo Māori. Observations of Kahotea showed he understood the routines and Māori language he heard in and around the kōhanga reo. The morning routine started with karakia, which Kahotea could pre-empt, folding his hands ready to start. A similar process occurred during waiata time, where Kahotea motioned the correct actions ahead of time, whilst also looking to the tuakana (older children) in front of him for support. Aside from participating in kōhanga reo routines, Kahotea frequently chose to play with the poi and demonstrated his ability to swing and hit them. These observations indicate that kōhanga reo was providing him with many opportunities to be culturally socialised in te reo and tikanga Māori, thus forming a solid foundation from which to build Māori perspectives of educational success.

Te Whānau Haimona

The Haimona whānau members who participated in this research are Nanny Carol, Hilary, who is one of Nanny Carol's four children, and Heeni, one of Nanny Carol's mokopuna.

Nanny Carol's Story

Nanny Carol was born in Rotorua and grew up in a small Māori community on the outskirts of the city known as Mourea. Mourea is home to Nanny Carol's people of Ngāti Pikiao. Although she has spent most of her life living amongst her Ngāti Pikiao whānau, she also affiliates to Ngāti Whakaue, another prominent Te Arawa tribe.

Nanny Carol grew up in a home where there was little emphasis on speaking and learning te reo Māori. Like the first generation of the other whānau in this research, the absence of te reo Māori was influenced by her father, who was not allowed to speak it growing up. Despite this, as a child, Nanny Carol spent a lot of time at her local marae, where te reo Māori was dominant. For this reason, Nanny Carol described her relationship with te reo Māori as a jigsaw puzzle which required assembling, especially when she later had children.

Nanny Carol's children attended the local playcentre, as there were few alternatives in her small community. She enjoyed this period, but the advent of the kōhanga reo movement presented a new option for her to access te reo Māori. At first, Nanny Carol was apprehensive. "I wasn't against it. I just needed to know what it looked like." *Her decision to join the kōhanga reo movement was influenced by the trusted people within her community and by Nanny Carol's aspirations for her children. She wanted her children to be* "truly bilingual" *and knew it would be easier for them to learn the language at a young age. The thought of her children not knowing their own language saddened Nanny Carol and reminded her of her own experience. Choosing kōhanga reo would help realise her aspirations for her children and fill a missing piece of her puzzle.*

Nanny Carol's daughter Hilary attended Ohau Kōhanga Reo, which began in a classroom at a local school. She acknowledged that with kōhanga reo being newly established at the time, there was room to improve the overall management. However, having previously been accustomed to Pākehā systems not necessarily suited to Māori, Nanny Carol was slow to make

judgement. She focused instead on the wairua or spiritual nature of kōhanga reo. "The reo was beautiful and the āhua [way of being] was lovely."

The most immediate change brought about by Hilary's attendance at kōhanga reo was the need for Nanny Carol to draw from and develop her own knowledge of te reo Māori. She found the kōhanga reo approach to Māori language learning non-threatening and related to everyday life. Her motivation for learning was for her children. She thought, "I better start using it [the Māori language] because my kids are there [at kōhanga reo] and I want to be able to support them."

In Nanny Carol's eyes, Hilary's greatest achievement was in giving birth and raising her children. Hilary's ability to use her knowledge of the Māori world to help others also stood out to Nanny Carol. She recalled a time when Hilary was working at the hospital in a unit specifically tasked to provide support for Māori and how Hilary used her knowledge of the Māori language and culture to help the inpatients.

Nanny Carol was fortunate to see the remainder of her children and some of her grandchildren attend kōhanga reo. Not only had her participation in kōhanga reo led to an increase of Māori language speakers in her whānau, it had also led to a journey of self-discovery of what it meant to be Māori. She explained, "We grew up trying to find out how we fitted, now they [her grandchildren] will grow up knowing this is where they fit." *For Nanny Carol the last piece to her puzzle and the key to educational success was about being Māori and being proud of it.*

Hilary's Story

Hilary is the oldest living sibling in her family and has four children with her partner Nepia. Hilary believed there were two reasons her parents sent her and her brothers to kōhanga reo – to support the kuia who were rallying whānau to join kōhanga reo, and to learn te reo Māori. The latter was something that Hilary's parents were unable to assist with themselves as they had limited ability to converse in the Māori language. It is for this reason Hilary maintained had she not attended kōhanga reo she may not have been successful in speaking te reo Māori today.

Hilary was near school age when she began kōhanga reo and had few recollections of this time except for the memory of being in a cold room filled with te reo speaking kuia. After kōhanga reo she went to an English medium school where te reo Māori was not an option until she reached Year 7 (11 years old), and although it was an option at high school, Hilary chose not to study it. As an adult speaker of te reo Māori, Hilary's attitude towards te reo Māori had come full circle, and she now recognised the importance of speaking it to ensure its survival. After school she worked for a short period at the kōhanga reo her daughter was attending, and then at the hospital as a support person for Māori patients. Both these roles required Hilary to draw from her knowledge of te reo Māori developed during her time at kōhanga reo and briefly during her formal schooling. Hilary considered this ability to converse with others as an indicator of educational success. She added, "I've been successful in learning it and keeping it alive."

Hilary always wanted her own children to attend kōhanga reo and learn te reo Māori. However, her work commitments meant that kōhanga reo was not an option, so their two older children attended daycare. Changes in Hilary's work commitments meant she was able to send Heeni, the second youngest, to kōhanga reo. Hilary chose Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa instead of the kōhanga reo she attended as a child because of the association her family had since developed with this kōhanga reo. Hilary's uncle had sent his children to Rotokawa and her first cousin was a kaiako there. This experience enabled Hilary to see the difference kōhanga reo could make to the lives of her children, and it drove her desire for the baby of the family to join Heeni when she is old enough to attend. With the support of her brother, Hilary and Heeni speak te reo Māori to each other and in the home.

Hilary tried hard to meet her commitments to kōhanga reo by attending working bees, fundraisers, monthly hui whānau, kōhanga reo trips, and initiatives. A hangi fundraiser was a highlight for Hilary as she witnessed the strength of the whānau network as nurtured through kōhanga reo. Her experiences at noho marae (visits to traditional Māori housing) also fostered her connection to other whānau. Another benefit of kōhanga reo is the exposure of mokopuna to their elders, and Hilary tried hard to take her kuia with her to the kōhanga reo to continue the tradition of multiple generations being involved in the education of the mokopuna. "It's just what I remember too is having the kuia around."

Hilary believed kōhanga reo had been instrumental in developing her daughter Heeni's Māori identity, knowledge, and ability to participate in the Māori world.

"I think what Māori are, is what you live in kōhanga."

For Hilary, kōhanga reo provides opportunities to learn about whānau, manaaki, pono, awhi, te reo, and tikanga Māori, and as a result, Heeni is able to recite karakia, say her pepeha, and understand the significance of tangihanga, and Māori protocols.

Hilary hopes that Heeni will maintain her knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori developed at kōhanga reo and share this knowledge with her own children as she has done with her father and siblings. She also hopes Heeni will be an active and respectful member of her community and a role model for others. Above all, being happy and achieving the things Heeni wants most in life are important to Hilary.

Heeni's Story

Heeni was four years old when the wānanga took place at her kōhanga reo. We began by talking about whether or not she enjoyed going to kōhanga reo and if she could speak te reo Māori, to which Heeni replied, "Kāo." *Interestingly when asked if she spoke Māori to her mother, her response was,* "Rāua ko pāpā. Ka taea e pāpā te kōrero Māori." *This signalled to me that Heeni is indeed able to comprehend and speak te reo Māori (and seemed to enjoy it). While Heeni's responses during the wānanga indicated a dissatisfaction in speaking te reo Māori and attending kōhanga reo, my observations during my second visit to see Heeni captured a different story.*

When I arrived to observe Heeni during the morning programme, Heeni appeared to be sad. It was the Thursday of the first week back after the holidays and she was sitting on the knee of one of the kaiako who was giving her an awhi and a mirimiri (massage). Before long, Heeni was happy and comfortable in her surroundings, listening and participating in mihimihi. Heeni conversed in te reo Māori without hindrance as she responded to questions about the change in seasons and appropriate clothing. During the morning programme Heeni also led some of the waiata, a role she fulfilled with much confidence. She understood what she was singing,

her actions corresponding with the meaning of the words, using pukana (facial expression where eyes are dilated) to express her emotions.

Heeni's developing views of educational success were not only influenced by opportunities to be socialised in te reo Māori, but also experiences that fostered manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. I observed Heeni in the outdoors, raking the leaves and using the wheelbarrow to return some twigs to the garden. When I asked Heeni why she put the twigs in the garden, Heeni explained, "Nā te mea ko tērā te wāhi tika." *The outdoors also provided a rich environment for Heeni to interact with children of all ages and gender by joining in on play, sharing toys, and problem solving. Inside, Heeni enjoyed being read to by both the kaiako and the rōpu pakeke (older group). Together they re-enacted the story of* Hohepa te Pūru (Yates, 1986) *with Heeni volunteering to be Hohepa and sharing her part with confidence*. "Ko koe hei hoa mōku – *Will you be my friend?"*

When Heeni is older she would like to write and to ride horses. She frequently visits the farm with her whānau, where she has three horses, her favourite horse being Danny.

Figure 11. Heeni's drawing of herself and whānau (family) at home.

Figure 12. Heeni's drawing of her hōiho (horse).

Together, these insights show how important life is as a young Māori child and the important role of kōhanga reo in supporting Heeni to participate in the Māori world. At this stage, it is exactly the world her whānau want for her.

Te Whānau Webster

The Webster whānau members involved in this research project are Nanny Jos (Jocelyn), Kimiora, one of her four children (all of whom attended kōhanga reo), and three of her grandchildren, Tawhao, Wepiha, and Hinengākau (Kimiora's children).

Nanny Jos's Story

Nanny Jos was born in her mother's tribal community of Rūātoki, where speaking te reo Māori was a normal way of life. Her father was from Waihau Bay in Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and like many parents of this generation, he was punished for speaking te reo Māori. When Nanny Jos was young her family moved to Rotorua and although her mother could speak te reo Māori, the influence of the English language in schools and the wider community meant it became a priority. This transition was difficult for Nanny Jos, but as she became more proficient in the English language, she chose only to speak English. The only time she would speak te reo Māori is when she returned to Rūātoki to her grandmother for the school holidays. Later, the opportunity to attend Queen Victoria Māori Girls Boarding School in Auckland provided Nanny Jos with a new educational experience where te reo and tikanga Māori was valued. Overall, Nanny Jos's childhood experiences are unique in comparison to the other kaumātua in this research, as she was fortunate to be born into a Māori speaking community and had the support of her reo speaking grandmother.

Nanny Jos and her partner had four children who all attended kōhanga reo. Her eldest son Kimiora was four and attending kindergarten when the first kōhanga reo was established in Rotorua. Nanny Jos's aunty was one of the kaiako and persuaded her to have a look. She recognised kōhanga reo was a good kaupapa, especially having observed the children listening and speaking Māori and the contribution this could make to revitalising the language. Nanny Jos and her partner decided to send Kimiora to that first kōhanga reo, but she also continued sending him to kindergarten two days a week because he liked it better.

During those early years Nanny Jos described kōhanga reo as "very rugged, very humble". *This was because kōhanga reo received little if any financial support from the government to purchase resources. She believed the lack of government intervention reflected a belief that*

kōhanga reo would not thrive. "Pākehā kept saying it was never gonna live, and Māori were tenacious because it belonged to them."

According to Nanny Jos, whānau were welcome to stay at the kōhanga reo, and those who stayed were nearly always offered employment, which was the case for Nanny Jos. As an employee she was able to view first-hand the routines within kōhanga reo and the way te reo Māori was taught to children, including the use of waiata. During her time in kōhanga reo, Nanny Jos was also fortunate to have good role models. Fundraising was something Nanny Jos did not enjoy but many of their whānau were pohara (poor) and there was a need to purchase food for mokopuna and to keep them warm in the building. The fundraisers typically included hangi, sausage sizzles, and raffles, and, regardless of her dislike of fundraising, Nanny Jos recognised "it benefited the kōhanga kids in the long run".

When Kimiora graduated from kōhanga reo, Nanny Jos wanted him to continue to learn te reo Māori. Kura kaupapa Māori were newly established and experiencing some teething issues, so she made the decision to send Kimiora to an English medium primary school and intermediate. Following intermediate Kimiora entered a unit at the local high school which had a strong emphasis on te ao Māori, including study of te reo Māori. After high school he attended university and completed a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Te Reo Māori. During this time, he was employed by the university to teach te reo Māori and also worked alongside his brother in prisons, teaching prisoners about their identity as Māori and to speak te reo Māori. Later, Kimiora attended what is known as Te Panekiretanga o te Reo – a language academy that fostered te reo Māori oratorical skills and became the Head of the Māori Department at a local high school.

Nanny Jos felt kōhanga reo provided Kimiora with the grounding in te reo Māori necessary to pursue different avenues in the Māori world. Kōhanga reo fostered Kimiora's desire to give back, as Nanny Jos explained, "He was giving back what he was sort of learning throughout his life and with that good grounding of kōhanga." *She added,* "He loves it at [the high school], giving back to those Māori children that don't know who they are." *Kimiora had also been supporting his Ngāti Manawa relatives to learn how to whaikōrero (oratory). These examples were strong indicators to Nanny Jos of Kimiora's educational success and the important role of Māori identity in preventing titaha or losing one's way, "*you know you're Māori, haere tonu

[*keep going*]". *Nanny Jos also acknowledged the importance of whānau, specifically her mokopuna who were her pride and joy.*

Kimiora's Story

Kimiora, Nanny Jos's first child, is married with a blended family. The two eldest children are from Kimiora's previous relationship, and the younger two children are from the second.

When reflecting on his time spent at kōhanga reo, Kimiora recalled the distinct smell of the kōhanga reo, eating instant pudding, and the sound of kaiako calling, "Whakapai whakapai whakapai tamariki mā whakapai." *He believed his mother and father sent him to kōhanga reo to learn about te reo and te ao Māori (the Māori language and world). He also remembered his father telling him that he had never learnt to speak te reo Māori because he was never exposed to it. It is for this reason his father wanted him and his siblings to learn the language. Kimiora remembered the experiences of his father which drove his own desires to protect the Māori language.*

Kimiora felt attending kōhanga reo and learning te reo Māori had offered many benefits. It had opened many pathways for him, including allowing him to compete in kapa haka competitions and travel the world at no personal cost. This success he attributes to kōhanga reo. "It all comes from te reo and the base of the reo that I got from kōhanga."

Choosing kōhanga reo for his children was made easy because his mother, sister, kuia, and aunty were working in kōhanga reo. For Kimiora, it was "just a way of life". *While Kimiora was aware of kindergarten and puna reo options for his children, he believed there was something special about kōhanga reo.* "It just has a little bit more mana." *Kimiora also associated kōhanga reo with the concept of whānau, explaining,* "It takes a village to raise a child" *and that within society kōhanga reo is a good way to do this. Kimiora was aware of the need to commit his time to supporting his children's kōhanga reo; however, his time was limited due to his work commitments. He and his partner would attend hui whānau when possible and supported other kōhanga reo events when they could.*

Kimiora's greatest aspiration for his daughter Hinengākau was that she identifies as Māori, develops a good Māori language base, and level of social competency. After six months at

kōhanga reo, Kimiora was already observing Hinengākau's use of kupu (vocabulary) and comprehension of te reo Māori increasing. Kimiora had similar aspirations for his two boys, Tawhao and Wepiha, who have now left kōhanga reo. He believed that as a result of attending kōhanga reo both boys were able to karakia, kōrero (speak), and waiata in te reo Māori, resulting in a high level of self-confidence. An occasion that stood out to Kimiora is when his second eldest son Wepiha was interviewed at a kapa haka festival. He was at kōhanga reo at the time and was asked what he wanted to be when he was older to which he replied, "Batman." *While this response was amusing to the audience, Kimiora recognised his son's confidence and ability to stand in front of people. After leaving kōhanga reo, Tawhao and Wepiha attended Māori immersion classes at the primary school located on the same grounds as the kōhanga reo due to its close proximity to whānau. Tawhao went on to attend an accelerate class at an intermediate school which Kimiora felt would challenge him academically. It was during this time that Kimiora also observed Tawhao's confidence to take on key roles relating to kaupapa Māori (Māori related topics) – something in which kōhanga reo had made a large contribution. No matter their pathway in life, Kimiora hopes his children will be happy and fulfilled.*

Tawhao, Wepiha, and Hinengākau's Story

Tawhao (12 years) didn't remember a lot about his time at kōhanga reo, but he did remember performing at the local kapa haka festival. Performing was something that Tawhao enjoyed. "I loved kapa haka. I still do. I always wanted to be the leader." *Tawhao also remembered going out on trips to the museum and collecting leaves around the kōhanga reo. Wepiha (6 years) remembered more of his time at kōhanga reo, including his kaiako and some of the things he used to do, such as reading and singing. He recalled the songs* "Kia ora tamariki mā tamariki mā", "Toia", *and a tribal proverb* "Te Arawa te waka, Tamatekapua te tangata". *He also remembered the dress up clothes and wearing a Batman costume, playing outside, sleeping, and eating bread, Weetbix, and biscuits. Wepiha enjoyed going to kōhanga reo because his nanny and aunty worked there.*

Hinengākau was 18 months old when I observed her at the kōhanga reo during their morning routines. She seemed happy in her surroundings, smiling often as confirmation. She showed an awareness of the routines; for example, when it was time for karakia she would prepare, her head down and hands together. Hinengākau seemed to enjoy waiata time and was attentive as she watched the tuakana, kaiako, and kuia as they modelled the actions and words. She also

demonstrated her knowledge of kupu (words) such as awhi and aroha, ua maturuturu (rain), pūngāwerewere (spider), haere atu hoki mai (go away and come back), and huna (hide) by signalling the appropriate actions – often before the line had been sung. Hinengākau danced freely with the kuia, kaiako, and other mokopuna, and seemed to love playing with the poi.

My conversations with Tawhao and Wepiha indicate they both value te reo Māori. Tawhao enjoyed learning te reo Māori, a process which occurred more easily for him through waiata, and also contributed to his future aspiration to travel the world like his family for kapa haka. Wepiha enjoyed speaking the Māori language for a number of reasons relating to his Māori identity, "na te mea he Māori ahau, na te mea ka kōrero Māori ki roto i tētahi karaehe Māori, na te mea ka taea te mahi i ngā haka me ngā waiata me ngā kēmu Māori". *Hinengākau was fortunate to have access to many opportunities that supported her Māori language development and cultural socialisation through kōhanga reo. These opportunities have the potential to influence Māori views of educational success. Outside of kaupapa Māori, Tawhao wanted to be a professional athlete, such as a basketball player and a chiropractor, and viewed educational success as achieving one's goals. When Wepiha is older, he would like to be a policeman to capture* "baddies".

Te Whānau Mason

Members of the Mason whānau who participated in the research included Nanny Harete, her daughter Sherri and four mokopuna (Tyson, Dante, Devan, and Mason).

Nanny Harete's Story

Nanny Harete was born and raised in Rotorua and affiliates to Te Arawa, Tūwharetoa, and Ngāti Porou. Like the other kaumātua Nanny Harete's parents were also native speakers of te reo Māori, yet they would not speak it to their children, preferring them to gain a Pākehā education. The impact of this decision meant Nanny Harete and her siblings grew up unable to speak their Indigenous language.

As an adult Nanny Harete and her partner had four children but only two attended kōhanga reo. Her eldest son was already at school when kōhanga reo was established, and her eldest daughter only spent several months at Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa before starting school. Her third child did not attend kōhanga reo, as he was raised by Nanny Harete's mother. However, her youngest daughter Sherri spent the most time at kōhanga reo.

Nanny Harete became involved in kōhanga reo by luck, as a result of an employment opportunity rather than her own experiences with te reo Māori. Seeking a job, she had registered at the Labour Department, which then contacted her about a position that was available at Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa. With Nanny Harete working there, it was natural for Sherri to attend. Like Nanny Rotu (Te Whānau Mihaka) and Nanny Carol (Te Whānau Haimona), Nanny Harete had also attended playcentre with her older children and brought her knowledge of the playcentre set up to kōhanga reo, suggesting age appropriate grouping and activities. However, Nanny Harete recalled kōhanga reo had other priorities, including the Māori language. Nanny Harete was often reminded of this by the kuia who spoke of the need to speak te reo Māori to the children at home, something Nanny Harete found difficult because she was still learning herself.

Nanny Harete was always involved in fundraising at kōhanga reo, especially when they renovated their building. She attended monthly hui whānau where she could ask about Sherri's progress. It was also during one meeting that she listened to parents' encouragement to send

Sherri to the nearby kura kaupapa Māori. This hui convinced Nanny Harete to keep Sherri in Māori medium education through primary school.

Nanny Harete believed that kōhanga reo has been a major contributor to Sherri's ability to converse in the Māori language and her understanding of the tikanga and kawa of the marae. Attending kōhanga reo also helped Sherri to cope with the expectations of kura kaupapa Māori. Looking back, Nanny Harete wished all of her children had been educated through kōhanga reo.

Nanny Harete also wanted Sherri to do well academically for two reasons, the first being that at the end of high school she would be able to get a job. The second reason is that she would be able to continue her higher education at university if she wanted to.

Sherri's Story

Sherri was born in Rotorua. On her father's side she affiliates to the Ngapuhi tribe of Matarāua the hapū being Ngai Tawake. As Sherri has grown up in Te Arawa she also considered herself from Te Arawa. When this research project commenced, Sherri and her partner had four children who have all attended kōhanga reo.

Sherri struggled to remember her time at kōhanga reo but remembered going to Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa in the school hall and shifting to Te Kōhanga Reo ki Ōhau which was based in an old classroom. She recalled the kuia speaking te reo Māori all the time. As a young child this seemed "growly" *but as an adult Sherri explained this as strict but caring. Sherri also recalled the kuia cutting fingernails, toilet training, and focusing on overall hygiene.*

Sherri believed the reason her mother sent her to kōhanga reo was to learn te reo Māori because she had been of the generation that missed out. Sherri felt she had achieved her mother's aspiration. "I can speak Māori and I speak Māori to my kids and it's a part of me and it will always be a part of me." *Sherri credits kōhanga reo for many of her achievements in life. Having graduated from kōhanga reo her knowledge of te reo Māori meant she was able to continue on to kura kaupapa Māori and converse in te reo Māori with her father. As an adult Sherri's knowledge of te reo Māori had also led her to her current profession as a kaiako in kōhanga reo.*

Sherri was of the opinion the outcome for her would have been very different had she not attended kōhanga reo. "I wouldn't appreciate the reo that I have if I didn't go to kōhanga." *When she met her partner and had children, they lived abroad for a short period of time, leaving her disconnected from the language and culture*. "I didn't speak it [te reo] because I didn't have anyone to speak it to or converse with, so I sort of did keep it hidden from everybody around me." *The disconnection resulted in Sherri feeling lost, and it was only when she returned to New Zealand, where she could speak te reo Māori, that she felt more complete.*

Sherri's family returned to New Zealand when her eldest child Tyson was four and a half years, which meant he only attended kōhanga reo for a short period of time. Dante was two, Devan was a baby, and Sherri was also pregnant with her youngest child Mason. By the time Sherri began working as a kaiako at Ngā Mōkai-a-Koko, Mason was born and both he and Devan attended kōhanga reo alongside her. When Devan turned three years old, he transitioned to Pukeroa Oruawhata Kōhanga Reo.

Sherri chose kōhanga reo for her children because she wanted them to have the same experience that she had as a child. Sherri's perspective was that kōhanga reo was her first and only option. She also felt that kōhanga reo would help support her children to develop their knowledge of who they are and where they are from.

In her role as a parent, Sherri attended hui whānau and contributed to discussions relating to finances and the curriculum. She appreciated the ability to have her say and the opportunity to be involved in her child's learning. She also enjoyed the strong presence of whānau, stating, "We are not related in any way, but we feel we are because of that bond. Kōhanga reo brings that togetherness with everybody."

Sherri acknowledged the role of kōhanga reo in developing her children's knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori and preparing them for life beyond kōhanga reo. Through their kōhanga reo experiences, her children would have the opportunity to attend kura kaupapa Māori, understand tikanga of the marae, and be able to converse with their grandparents in te reo Māori. Sherri believed this knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori would act as an anchor for her children to hold on to when they are older and lead to new opportunities regardless of whether they stayed in Māori medium education. She was already seeing the ways her children were achieving through their Māori language base. For example, Tyson was acting as a Māori

language expert for his class. Overall, Sherri viewed her children's happiness as the true measure of their success. Although Sherri wanted her children to attend kura kaupapa Māori so they could continue building on their Māori language and cultural skills developed at kōhanga reo, this was not always possible given the differing views between her and her husband. Dante's short time spent in kōhanga reo (1 month) also left Sherri feeling like he might not cope at kura kaupapa Māori, and for these reasons she made the decision to send him to an English medium primary school. Tyson also attended the same school because he wanted to be with his brother. Sherri feels fortunate that she can support them with the Māori language at home.

Dante, Tyson, Devan, and Mason's Story

Dante (8 years) and Tyson (7 years) could not recall much from their time in kōhanga reo. Dante remembered going swimming at the pool located on the school grounds, and Tyson remembered the kaiako, who were avid hockey players, running hockey sessions for the children. Both Dante and Tyson enjoyed going to kōhanga reo because there were a lot of toys to play with alongside friends. Although they did not remember a great deal, both Tyson and Dante knew the primary reason their parents sent them to kōhanga reo was to learn te reo Māori. Tyson didn't think he had achieved this aspiration of his parents because he understood more than he could speak. Dante described being able to speak te reo Māori "a little bit" *but also acknowledged other reasons his parents sent him to kōhanga reo, which included gaining a good education and* "to do other things like art". *He felt kōhanga reo had supported him to do these things because he could draw pictures, spell, and write well.*

Figure 13. Devan's photographs of carvings.

Devan (4 years) was attending Pukeroa Oruawhata Kōhanga Reo, and Mason (2 years) was attending Ngā Mōkai-a-Koko Kōhanga Reo. There were many aspects of te ao Māori (the Māori world) in and around kōhanga reo that Devan enjoyed, including objects which

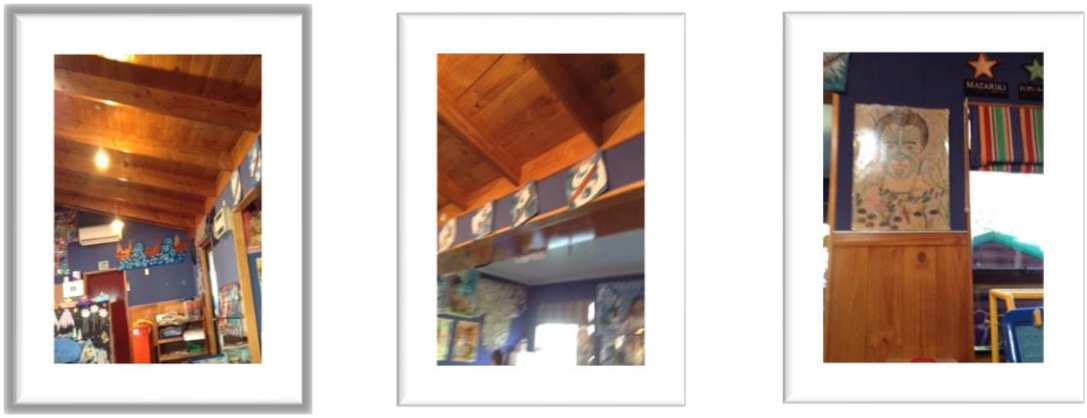


Figure 14. Devan's photographs of traditional Māori canoes, Māori patterns, and Tānemahuta.

reminded him of ngā atua – the gods. In particular, he made reference to the atua Papatūānuku and Tānemahuta.

He spoke enthusiastically of his participation in their kōhanga reo Matariki whakaari (a play celebrating the Māori New Year), where he delivered his part "Ko Rongomātāne ahau, ko au te atua o te kai".

Devan enjoyed creating dinosaurs from Lego and playing with dinosaur action figures, whilst engaging in creative dialogue with other children. Mason enjoyed playing with the playdough, creating sea food, while singing Matariki songs.

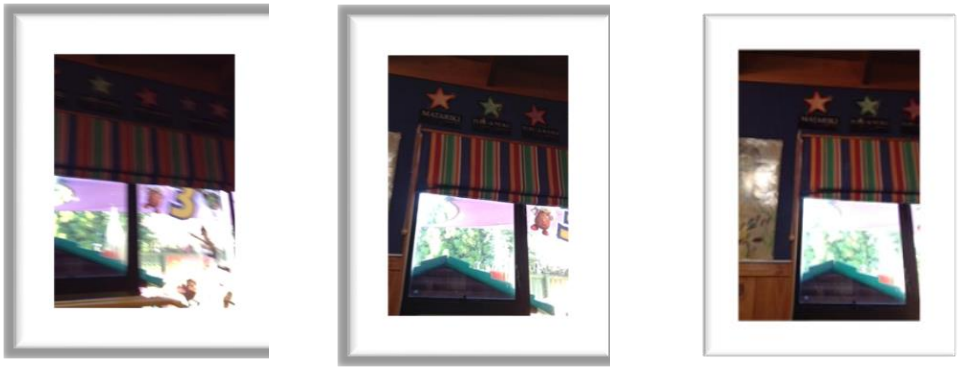


Figure 15. Devan's photographs of the cluster Matariki.

Observations of Devan and Mason showed them actively participating in kōhanga reo routines, including karakia and waiata. Devan seemed to also enjoy the maramataka, where he contributed to discussions about the huarere (weather), naming and pointing to the corresponding winds.

Figure 16. Devan's photographs of the huarere (weather) display.

Mason appeared to enjoy whakatau (settling period), where mokopuna were given a pēpi (baby) to manaaki, and pānui pukapuka (book time), where Mason listened to the reading of Te taniwha me te poraka *(Mahuika, 1986) repeating keywords such as taniwha, poraka, and uakaka.*

Tyson and Dante's developing views of educational success include te ao Māori. Reflecting on his Māori language use, Tyson enjoyed singing songs at school, including the national anthem. His desire to speak te reo Māori stemmed from his identity. "Cos it's part of New Zealand … and I'm a little bit of Māori." *Dante acknowledged his excitement for the language when sharing his news of his mother's commitment to start speaking more Māori to him. Both boys had been recognised for their Māori language abilities at school with Dante being invited to participate in the senior kapa haka group and Tyson being appointed to the role of Māori language advisor for his class. When they are older Tyson would like to continue speaking Māori and do kapa haka like the adults he has watched on TV and play basketball and league. Dante's initial response was to be an astronaut and make discoveries in space. After overhearing his brother, he too would like to continue speaking te reo Māori, do kapa haka, play league and pursue a good career aided by attending a good high school.*

Figure 17. Tyson's kapa haka drawing and his photographs of league clothing.

Figure 18. Dante's drawing of himself as an astronaut and doing kapa haka.

Dante and Mason's experiences demonstrate the many ways they are socialised in te reo and tikanga Māori through kōhanga reo, and also the important role of whānau Māori in their educational success. This was clearly evident when Mason turned three and transitioned to Pukeroa Oruawhata Kōhanga Reo (the same kōhanga reo that Devan was attending) and where the tuakana (older children) played an integral role in helping him adjust to new routines. During the morning programme I observed Mason watching and listening to the tuakana as they responded to the roll call so that when Mason's turn arrived, he could confidently reply, "Kei konei ahau" *(I am here). A similar process occurred as the mokopuna sang their himene (hymn) and waiata, making it possible for Mason to join in. During karakia Mason also looked intently at one of the kaiako for guidance and later sat comfortably with one of the kuia (who was also a kaiako) as they coloured pictures and spoke about clothing. Like the other mokopuna in this research, the strong emphasis of te reo and tikanga Māori, coupled with the strong presence of whānau in kōhanga reo, can have a profound effect on their lasting views of educational success.*

He Whakarāpopototanga – Chapter Summary

The five multi-generational pūrākau highlight important findings relating to the development of whānau views of educational success – *Te Tipu o te Pā Harakeke* – and the contributions made by kōhanga reo. All of the five multi-generational pūrākau showed whānau views of educational success, including the importance of Māori identity, language, and culture.

The impact of kōhanga reo on whānau experiences of educational success differed for each of the three generations according to their personal experiences, motivating factors, and social and political contexts. Most of the kaumātua across the pūrākau could not speak te reo Māori as young parents and were therefore committed to establishing kōhanga reo for their children and subsequent generations. The kaumātua also benefitted from kōhanga reo by being able to learn the Māori language alongside the children and through active participation in the day-to-day operations which resulted in greater understanding of what it means to be whānau Māori.

Most of the mātua attended kōhanga reo when kura kaupapa Māori and Māori immersion units were still being established. While they followed different educational pathways, they were successful in developing and maintaining te reo Māori, which led to many vocational opportunities later in life. They returned to kōhanga reo as parents because of their positive experiences when they attended kōhanga reo as mokopuna themselves. Mātua knowledge of the Māori language and culture enabled them to support their children and make valued contributions to the wider community.

The mokopuna have a strong sense of being Māori. They have been fortunate to experience kōhanga reo that are well established and supported by two generations of whānau. Although some mokopuna have chosen different educational pathways, they have been successful in promoting te reo and tikanga Māori in their school setting.

This chapter has presented the multi-generational pūrākau of five whānau involved in kōhanga reo in order to capture their lived experiences and views of educational success. The next chapter discusses key findings emerging out of this study in relation to their views of educational success.

Chapter Six: Te Whiri Taura Harakeke

He Kupu Whakataki – Introduction

One of the aims of this research was to explore the meaning of educational success for whānau involved in kōhanga reo. The concept of educational success through academic achievement was introduced and imposed on Māori as part of the colonial based education system. This view of educational success has impacted negatively on many Māori children and their families. With no consideration of the impact of colonisation, laws and policies, the first report on the socio-economic development of Māori (Hunn, 1961) labelled Māori students as underachievers. Māori culture and values – the pā harakeke – were seen as the cause. This narrow view of educational success has impacted negatively on many Māori children and their families. A Māori lens has been implemented by Māori academics and researchers (Durie, 2003; Martin, 2013; Webber & Macfarlane, 2020) in their responses that challenge Western views of educational success through a Māori lens. My research contributes to this space.

This research has given whānau in kōhanga reo an opportunity to express their views about educational success. I interviewed three generations of the pā harakeke: kaumātua (grandparent generation), mātua (parent generation who were the first kōhanga reo graduates), and mokopuna (children of the mātua and grandchildren of the kaumātua generations). A total of five multi-generational families, who were connected through their involvement in kōhanga reo, shared their views of educational success.

My exploration of the views of three generations of the pā harakeke makes this research unique. Most research on kōhanga reo has concentrated on mokopuna experiences of the Māori language and culture (Cooper et al., 2004; Hohepa, 1990; Pohatu et al., 2006; Royal Tangaere, 1992, 1997b, 2012; Skerrett, 1995, 2003). However, these older studies signal a gap in this research space, as many of these mokopuna are now likely to be parents and have their own children attending kōhanga reo as did the mātua in this research. Mokopuna transitions from kōhanga reo to kura (school) (Hohepa et al., 2017; Ka'ai, 1990; Katene, 1992; Rona, 2015) have also been an area of interest, providing important insights into the lives of mokopuna after kōhanga reo. My research adds the lived experiences of two generations of mokopuna who have transitioned from kōhanga reo to kura. Edmonson (1984) and Kohu (2006) were the only studies I located that were dedicated to capturing the experiences of mātua and kaumātua

respectively. Notably, all of the projects have focused on a specific generation of the pā harakeke, whereas this study brings together the lived experiences of kaumātua, mātua, and mokopuna.

Chapter Five introduced the reader to the pūrākau of the multi-generational whānau, their stories about educational success, and the contributions of kōhanga reo. This chapter discusses the key findings that emerged from the analysis of the multi-generational pūrākau to answer the research question:

What is educational success to multi-generational whānau in kōhanga reo?

Whānau voices are deliberately woven throughout the discussion to honor the participants who were unintentionally silenced in crafting the multi-generational pūrākau. Statements made as part of the wānanga are included to provide further insights about the key findings which are not visible in the multi-generational pūrākau because of space constraints.

Weaving Together Whānau Views of Educational Success

In keeping with the metaphor of the pā harakeke, I have used the analogy of weaving a taura harakeke (flax rope) to symbolise the act of drawing together the findings of this research to explain educational success. My analysis of the multi-generational pūrākau showed recurring themes relating to te reo Māori (the Māori language), whānau (family), the Māori cultural practices of whanaungatanga (relationships) and manaakitanga (ethic of care), wellbeing, and Māori identity. These are also important themes in *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018). They can be grouped according to the cultural settings: Mana Reo (the power of the Māori language), Mana Tangata (the power of people), and Mana Whenua (the power of the land) as explained in detail below.

As a research project involving whānau in kōhanga reo, it seemed appropriate to draw on the cultural settings to help make sense of the findings. The representation of the taura harakeke below shows three strands which symbolise the grouping of ideas relating to Mana Reo, Mana Tangata, and Mana Whenua. The three distinct colours within each strand symbolise the different generations.

Figure 19. A representation of the taura harakeke in this research.

Each strand is made of many tiny fibres which is symbolic of the fact that the multi-generational whānau saw educational succcess as many things associated with Mana Reo, Mana Tangata, and Mana Whenua. For example, the families identified numerous achievements connected to the Māori language, from using it, to recognising its value, and the need to protect it.

Like the taura harakeke, the multi-generational whānau in this research considered educational success as a phenomenon that is connected to and experienced by the whole whānau. Kaumātua and mātua spoke about the achievements of their own children, but the kaumātua were equally proud of their mokopuna. This way of thinking is in line with the Māori saying, 'Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takimano', which means success does not belong to the individual alone, it belongs to all.

In weaving together whānau views of educational success it became clear that members of the different generations in the multi-generational whānau shared some core beliefs. This is significant given the historical divide which was created amongst whānau Māori because of colonisation. Edwards (1990) and Metge (2015) showed the generational differences in what Māori families valued in the 1900s. However, my research has shown that since Māori transformations of the 1970s and through interventions like kōhanga reo, generational views are now becoming more aligned.

My research also highlights a connection between the Māori language and changes to whānau beliefs. Māori academic Rawinia Higgins has explained that it takes one generation to lose the Māori language and another three to reclaim it, "Kotahi noa iho te whakatipuranga ka ngaro te reo, e toru ngā whakatipuranga ki te whakarauora anō i te reo" (Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori, 2019). In a similar way to the loss and reclaimation of the Māori language, it has taken the

multi-generational whānau three generations to strongly align their world to life in the pā harakeke.

When the three strands are woven together they create a strong representation of the meaning of educational success to the multi-generational whānau but without each strand the taura harakeke would not be possible. For this reason, the individual strands that help explain what educational success is for the multi-generational whānau are an important focus.

Mana Reo

> Kia mōhio i te rangatiratanga, i te tapu me te noa o tōna ake reo. Kia matatau ki te whakahua i te kupu. Kia mōhio ki tōna ao, te ao Māori (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 20).

In *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018), Mana Reo is translated to mean the "power of the Māori language". The aspiration for mokopuna is that they develop an ability to understand and communicate in te reo Māori and by doing this they gain access to the Māori world. It is also hoped they will grow to recognise the sacredness and importance of the Māori language and other languages.

The multi-generational pūrākau showed that at a fundamental level every generation acknowledged the ability to understand and use the Māori language in some way as a sign of educational success. The kaumātua shared the achievements of their adult children which included securing employment where te reo Māori was used in the workplace. In Nanny Carol's story (Te whānau Haimona) she spoke about Hilary's job at the local hospital, and Nanny Jos (Te whānau Webster) described Kimiora's work in the prisons:

> *Watching her [Hilary] being able to walk with [te] ao Māori and use her reo and knowledge of te ao Māori that for me was enough payback at that level. She was able to be a go-between [for] her bosses and what our people needed in hospital.*
>
> *He [Kimiora] was living in Auckland and that was his job to teach prisoners who they are and te reo and so he was giving back what he was learning throughout his life.*

Many mātua became teachers, which is significant, as Skerrett and Ritchie (2021) point out the ongoing concerns for the state of the Māori language and the pivotal role of teachers in its revernacularisation. These findings are similar to those identified in earlier studies by Martin

(2012) and Tocker (2014) who, in documenting the lives of kura kaupapa Māori graduates, many of whom were graduates of kōhanga reo, noted their use of the Māori language to support successful careers. Some of the graduates in those studies were television presenters, actors, doctors, lawyers, and educators, occupations where the Māori knowledge and culture permeated their work. Both Martin (2012) and Tocker's (2014) studies support the sentiments shared by Sherri (Te whānau Mason) and Kimiora (Te whānau Webster) who were confident that if their children pursued te reo Māori it would support their career pathways.

Like the kaumātua generation, mātua stories showed how their children were applying their knowledge of te reo Māori. In the first statement below, Hoani shares that his youngest child understands Māori songs. The second statement explains how his older children fight, complain, and cry in the Māori language.

> *Mō taku pōtiki, kāore anō ahau kia kite i te puāwaitanga i tōna reo nā te mea he reo tāna engari he reo kāore i te mārama a pāpā. Kāore a pāpā i te mārama ki tōna ināianei, engari e mārama ia ki te reo Māori. Wehi ana katoa ia ki ngā waiata Māori.* (Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka)

> *Ka taea te whawhai i roto i te reo Māori, te amuamu ki roto i te reo Māori, te tangi i roto i te reo Māori.* (Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka)

Mātua stories also touched on what was happening outside of the home, including the way children were using their knowledge of the Māori language at their schools and in their classrooms.

> *When Tyson left Pukeroa to go to Lynmore he had an advantage. His teacher called him the Māori advisor in his class. She would say Māori words but would ask Tyson "Am I saying it right?" "How do you say that in Māori?" and Tyson would be like the go to person for that so that was pretty cool for him.* (Sherri – Te whānau Mason)

> *So, he [Tawhao] is in the group for the Māori prefects. If any Māori things needs to be done at [the school] then he's the one that leads them … he's the one that does the whaikōrero, does the wero, does all those things*. (Kimiora – Te whānau Webster)

Developing understanding of the Māori language and then using it to support others is consistent with Barlow's (1991) explanation of the way traditional Māori society knowledge was used for the benefit of the collective. It is also a practice that enhances the mana of the

individual and whānau. Consequently, responding to opportunities that support others in their Māori language journey is an additional sign of educational success.

The mokopuna generation were not explicitly asked about their views on educational success but were invited instead to comment on a range of topics, including their feelings and experiences of the Māori language. For the three mokopuna who either attend kura kaupapa Māori or a full Māori immersion class in an English medium school, the Māori language was a part of everyday life. This was the same for the five mokopuna attending kōhanga reo. The three mokopuna involved in English medium schooling enjoyed using te reo Māori when the opportunity arose to use it.

The mokopuna described ways they were drawing on their knowledge of the Māori language by participating in waiata (song) and haka (traditional Māori dance). Whitinui (2010) describes the importance of kapa haka as the opportunity to connect with the Māori language and culture in a way which also supports the wellbeing of individuals. Kapa haka supports individuals to bring important stories and histories to life through the art of physical expression while also preserving these for future generations.

The value placed on the importance and sacred nature of the Māori language was made clear in the multi-generational pūrākau. For the kaumātua generation, their experiences were influential in shaping their appreciation for the language. Kaumātua stories about life growing up in New Zealand during the late 1950s and early 1960s showed there were no meaningful opportunities to learn the Māori language at home or at school. Home life mirrored the flaxbush concept where the English language was encouraged and family members who were native speakers refused to speak the Māori language to their children because of their anxiety that it would not lead to educational success.

> *My grandmother spoke Māori. She would only speak Māori to those who could speak Māori ... my nan said to my mum, "Don't speak Māori."* (Koro Ran – Te whānau Nuri)

> *I can remember my mum when I was younger saying to me "kōtiro" and I was thinking what's that Mum, yet they spoke te reo Māori around us but not to us. I think they might have been that same generation that got smacked and weren't allowed to do it and so they didn't want to kōrero Māori because it could happen to us.* (Nanny Rotu – Te whānau Mihaka)

> *My father, I never knew he could speak Māori until I was an adult because he was from a generation that was not allowed to speak Māori. I heard him speaking at a hui we were at, and I was like, is that my father? I didn't realise it was him speaking Māori.* (Nanny Carol – Te whānau Haimona)

> *My mother was a native speaker. She didn't want to teach us te reo. We had to learn it by being at the marae. She told us we had to go and get a Pākehā education, [and] that's what we did.* (Nanny Harete – Te whānau Mason)

This result is consistent with the assimilative agenda. Much of what was happening in the homes of the kaumātua as they grew up, in terms of the English language, was consistent with their schooling experiences and the way the Māori language was not valued in society.

The absence of opportunities to learn the Māori language inevitably led to a disconnection between the kaumātua and the Māori language itself. Kaumātua described feeling whakamā (embarrassed) and confused in situations where they could not fully participate because of their lack of proficiency in the Māori language. Koro Ran's story (Te Whānau Nuri) captured the way he shied away from the Māori language.

> *I had an opportunity to learn Māori when I was young but I was too whakamā, too shy.*

The implications for individuals with limited understanding was evident in Nanny Rotu's story (Te Whānau Mihaka) and her experiences of learning waiata (songs).

> *We had this rōpū, the Ohau Māori Youth Club. Our parents, our kuia, our koroua composed waiata and at that time we just sung the waiata. We didn't know what we were singing about.*

When the kaumātua became parents, their own experiences fuelled their desire for change.

> *I decided when my kids were young … I'm gonna change this.* (Koro Ran – Te whānau Nuri)

> *I wanted them to have our own [language] … and not to feel like we felt as adults that we had missed something.* (Nanny Carol – Te whānau Haimona)

All the kaumātua generation wanted their children to learn te reo Māori and the establishment of the kōhanga reo movement made this a reality. Kaumātua stories showed their ongoing support for the Māori language by choosing bilingual, rumaki (Māori immersion classes in English medium schools), or kura kaupapa Māori for their children when these options became available.

Like the kaumātua generation, mātua stories conveyed their appreciation for the Māori language. The experiences of their own parents played an important role in contributing to this view.

> *She [Sherri's mum] couldn't speak Māori. She was the generation that missed out or her parents didn't speak Māori to her as a child.* (Sherri – Te whānau Mason)

Hoani expressed sadness that his parents were beaten for speaking the Māori language at school.

> *Ka aroha ahau ki ōku mātua i tō rātou whakatipuranga. Ko tērā te whakatipuranga i patua. Kōrero Māori ki te kura, patua.* (Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka)

Kaumātua experiences resulted in mātua support for the Māori language, including kōhanga reo.

The experiences of the kaumātua and mātua generations in this research highlight an important task that lie ahead for pā harakeke, which is remembering the struggles of the kaumātua generation and their parents. The personal stories of language loss told by the kaumātua generation are living proof of the ways Māori lives, values, and identities were negatively impacted when Western value systems were forced upon them. It is crucial that future generations understand the significance of choosing Māori immersion options for their children to ensure the vitality of the pā harakeke. G. H. Smith (1997) refers to the process of conscientisation whereby individuals are aware of the influence of hegemonic practices on their lives. The choice is more than access to the Māori language. It is political and a deliberate show of Māori self-determination.

Beyond the experiences of their immediate families, Kaihau (Te whānau Nuri) had encountered kaumātua within the community who had also experienced language loss. For Kaihau the "Pākehā" language (English) had impacted on the wairua (spirituality) of these kaumātua and their way of thinking. This experience influenced Kaihau's view about the importance of the Māori language.

The significance of the Māori language to the mātua generation also resulted in desires to protect it. The stories of three mātua conveyed their desire to ensure the survival of the Māori language.

> *Sceptics out there are saying that Māori is going to die, the language is going to die so you know I want to be one of those who is trying to keep it alive.* (Kimiora – Te whānau Webster)

For Hoani (Te whānau Mihaka) and Hilary (Te whānau Haimona), this desire developed later in life.

> *Back then we were just kids, and I didn't really understand the importance of it. As you grow older, and you hear it's one of the languages that could be dying out you think it's a part of me and we need to make sure it stays alive*. (Hilary)

Hoani went further to explain that if the Māori language died, then Māori as a people would cease to exist, and therefore the language must be cherished.

> *E kii ana, ki te kore te reo ka kore he Māori na reira me maimoatia tātou i te reo Māori.*

The impact of language loss for Māori is clearly explained in the following words by the Waitangi Tribunal (1986, p. 7) in which the death of the Māori vernacular is likened to that of the moa: "Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro taua, pera i te ngaro o te Moa." Overall, the loss and the possibility of the loss of the Māori language played a pivotal role in kaumātua and mātua appreciation for it.

Mātua love for te reo Māori was further strengthened by the knowledge that the Māori language was necessary to understand and participate in cultural practices, such as those that occur on the marae. Both Sherri (Te whānau Mason) and Hilary's stories (Te whānau Haimona) outlined the role of the Māori language in supporting their own children to understand ceremonies and protocols, such as tangihanga and pōwhiri. Hilary's observations of her daughter Heeni in comparison to her other children who could not speak te reo Māori was a poignant reminder of the sense of belonging and connection that can come through understanding the protocols of the marae. This is consistent with explanations by Barlow (1991), and Karetu and Milroy (2018) in which they clarify that the Māori language provides access to the Māori world, enabling individuals to make sense of their history and cultural practices, and convey their thoughts and aspirations in an authentically Māori way.

Another important result of this study is that although the families valued the Māori language, they also thought it was beneficial to learn other languages. This finding is in line with the guiding principles of documents like *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* and Te Aho Matua adhered

to by kura kaupapa Māori. In both documents the sacred nature of languages is supported, and children are encouraged to be successful in all languages: "He tapu ngā reo katoa. Nō reira, me whai koha te hunga o ngā kura kaupapa ki ngā reo katoa" (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736). Kaumātua were driven by desires to give their children the ability to navigate both the English and Māori worlds. Nanny Carol's story mentioned the words "truly bilingual".

> *I wanted them to be bilingual because the world we live in there are all sorts of languages.* (Nanny Carol – Te whānau Haimona)

> *Success is the complete package, to be confident in who she is both in English and Māori. And a bonus – Spanish.* (Koro Ran – Te whānau Nuri)

While te reo Māori was most important to the mātua, they were also supportive of their children in learning other languages. This is evident by the fact that mokopuna from four of the five multi-generational whānau were enrolled at English medium schools. Kimiora (Te whānau Webster) was not concerned about the impact of an English medium school on the Māori language abilities of his children as he had a similar schooling experience and could still speak Māori. According to Hill (2016), whānau who transition their children from Māori medium to English schools must continue to find ways to nuture te reo Māori as this may not always be guaranteed at the schools. Considerations should also be given to the age in which children transition. In Kimiora's case, he attended a high school where he could continue learning te reo Māori, important factors which aided the retention of his Māori language abilities. Sherri (Te whānau Mason) was more anxious, but her story captured the way she is willing to go the extra mile to support her children at home.

> *When I sent them to a mainstream school, I thought I'll make up for that loss by speaking Māori at home.*

Sherri's commitment to supporting her children reaffirms the place of the Māori language in the lives of the multi-generational whānau and their increased ability to provide Māori language support of their own. This is further illustrated by Sherri's situation (Te whānau Mason), where her father, whom she discovered later in life was in fact able to speak Māori, together with her stepfather, assisted Sherri in meeting her Māori language goals for her family. Like Sherri, other mātua stories showed how they were able to access additional help from whānau, like Kaihau's father (Te whānau Nuri) who was a constant driving force, and Hilary's younger brother (Te whānau Haimona).

Hoani's story (Te whānau Mihaka) mentioned his desire to speak te reo Māori in the home and as a result, his partner had spent some time researching strategies that could help strengthen both the Māori and English languages in their home. The outcome was an approach that focused on having one parent committed to speaking each language.

> *Te nuinga o te wā he kāinga kōrero Māori tō mātou kāinga. I rangahaua taku hoa wahine i tētahi mea hei whakapakari i te reo Pākehā me te reo Māori i roto i tō mātou whare. Ko au te kaikōrero i roto i te reo Māori anake ki ngā tamariki. Mēnā hiahia te kōrero i te reo Pākehā me tuhi anake. Ko tāna, ko te kōrero reo Māori ngā tamariki ki taku hoa wahine, ka whakautu i te reo Pākehā.*

This is also significant as it shows the additional steps mātua are willing to explore to support the development of te reo Māori and other languages. O'Regan (2018) suggests a similar approach to improve Māori language usage within the home through purposeful and deliberate planning and seeking new opportunities for Māori language growth.

One of the mokopuna also saw value in learning additional languages. Meri's story (Te whānau Nuri) showed she wasn't interested in speaking te reo Māori because she had already acquired the ability to do so and for this reason when asked what language she wanted to learn, Meri responded with the English language.

> *Pākehā, nā te mea kāore au i te mōhio ki te be Pākehā*.

Meri also enjoyed learning Spanish, which is a compulsory subject at the kura kaupapa Māori she was attending. Studies by Chibaka (2018) and D'Angelo (2023) both highlight the metalinguistic and cognitive benefits of multi-lingualism.

Appreciation for the importance of languages is a view held by prominent Māori leader Sir Apirana Ngata, as he encouraged Māori to equip themselves with the English language. Supporting their children to learn other languages was also about giving children choices that would enable them to take control of their lives. This result matches the earliest decision to allow Pākehā settlers into Māori communities so the English language could be taught, and to give Māori tools to determine their own destiny (Jones & Jenkins, 2008).

Mana Tangata

Kia mōhio ki ōna whakapapa, ki te pātahi o te whānau, ki ōna hoa, whānau whānui; ki ōna kaumātua; ki a Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 18).

In *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga* Reo (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018) mokopuna are supported with cultural learning experiences that develop their knowledge of whakapapa, the importance of whānau, the collective and its wide expanse. Mokopuna are encouraged to strengthen relationships, whanaungatanga; and care for others, manaakitanga.

The multi-generational pūrākau showed the way the families associated educational success with whānau. In the kaumātua stories, mokopuna were the greatest indicators of their children's success.

> *I'm happy with the mokopuna he has produced for me for us to look after.* (Nanny Rotu – Te whānau Mihaka)
>
> *His family, his mokos, those are his best [achievements]. I have eleven all up. He has four, two boys and two girls.* (Nanny Jos – Te whānau Webster)
>
> *[Hilary] has just given birth to her last child, the greatest achievements in her life.* (Nanny Carol – Te whānau Haimona)

This is not uncommon within te ao Māori with authors such as Walker (1990) and Jenkins et al. (2011) documenting the importance of children within traditional Māori society. Important knowledge was passed down to the children who were the future hunters and gatherers that contributed to the livelihood of the community. In turn they were considered taonga or prized possessions.

The stories of the mokopuna also showed their appreciation for whānau. Eight of the 12 mokopuna (Heeni, Dante, Devan, Kaihau, Meri, Tiria, Tawhao, and Wepiha) spoke about significant relationships in their lives, which almost always included their immediate family. However, the wide expanse of the pā harakeke is most visible in the recollections of the mokopuna from Te whānau Nuri. Meri and Tiria mentioned their mother, siblings, cousins, auntys, uncles, and grandparents. Kaihau (Te whānau Nuri) went so far as to take a photo of the neighbour's house because a relative resided there. In sharing her pepeha, Kaihau acknowledged her tribal connections and links to the land.

> *Kia hiwa rā, kia hiwa rā kia hiwa ra ki tēnei tuku, kia hiwa rā ki tēnā tuku, kia tū, kia oho, kia mataara. Ko Tarawera tōku maunga, ko Te Arawa tōku waka, ko Ngāti Hokopu te iwi, ko Kaihau tōku māmā, ko Hori tōku pāpā, ko Rania rāua ko Mere ōku kaumātua, ko Waimania tōku tuakana, ko Tiria rāua ko Meri ōku teina nō reira tēnā koutou tēnā koutou katoa.*

While I was the researcher on the project, I was connected to their pā harakeke through their kōhanga reo experience, calling me "aunty" even though we do not have any genealogical connections. In Māori communities, the use of the terms like whaea, aunty, matua, kuia, koro, indicate respect (Nepe, 1991), and are vital to maintain respectful relationships as part of the pā harakeke.

The realisation of the power and importance of whānau was another way the multi-generational understood educational success. Koro Ran's story (Te whānau Nuri) conveyed the importance of whānau and working together. These comments referred to a time in his daughter Kaihau's life where she experienced her own personal challenges and sought to overcome these without the support of the wider whānau. A change in thinking resulted once more in the whānau working together to raise their tamariki and mokopuna (children/grandchildren).

> *The mothers [Kaihau and her sister] are just realising the benefits of the whānau working together. They are re-establishing themselves and have[re] set themselves for their whānau.*

The mātua generation shared much of the same feelings about the importance of whanau. Kaihau's story reciprocated her father's feelings about whānau. The benefits of returning to the warm embrace of the pā harakeke is that the whānau are now helping to raise her children.

> *I was clever. I allowed the whānau to help raise the kids, because it takes a hapū to raise a family.*

Jenkins et al. (2011), Metge (2004b), Pere (1994), Walker (1990), and Hemara (2000) wrote about the importance of whānau, hapū, and iwi relationships. Māori communities thrived through the cultural practices of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. Pihama et al's (2015) study involving the pā harakeke highlights the weakening of the whānau unit because of colonisation and is a reminder of the success of traditional Māori child-rearing practices through collectively raising, nurturing, and protecting the mokopuna.

The stories of the remaining four mātua (Hilary, Sherri, Kimiora, and Hoani) considered the wellbeing of their whānau, and more specifically their children, as a priority. Perspectives of wellbeing included happiness in achieving individual pursuits in life.

> *It's whatever they are doing that makes us proud and makes them fulfilled. That's success.* (Kimiora –Te whānau Webster)

According to Hemara (2000) and Jones et al. (1995), the wellbeing of whānau is a key feature of educational success within te ao Māori. Māori education models, such as *Te Wheke* (Pere, 1991) and *Te Tauira Whāriki* (in Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018), also place emphasis on the whatumanawa (emotional) dimension of wellbeing.

Whanaungatanga, or the ability to foster relationships within the hapū and iwi communities, was a further indicator of educational success for the multi-generational whānau. The stories of three of the 12 mokopuna (Heeni, Kaihau, and Meri) identified situations where relationships were strengthened. For example, Heeni (Te whānau Haimona) recollected memories of time spent with the whānau at the farm riding horses. Kaihau (Te whānau Nuri) described the way she was supported by her elder sister Waimanea to play the guitar.

> *He pai ki ahau te takaro i te rakuraku … ka whakaako a Waimania i ahau me Meri ki te tākaro i te rakuraku me te hukalele.*

Meri (Te whānau Nuri) expressed appreciation for the way Koro Ran supported the whānau in their Māori language journey.

> *Ka 'teach' koro i ahau, tōku māmā, tōku whānau katoa.*

These examples highlight the importance of whanaungatanga to the mokopuna generation.

The cultural practices of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga go hand in hand, by building and then nurturing relationships. The kaumātua viewed the ability to look after their whānau, hapū, iwi and wider communities as highly important. In addition to the examples of mātua using their Māori language to support others, Nanny Jos's story (Te whānau Webster) described the way Kimiora was giving back to the community by sharing his knowledge of whaikōrero.

> *He goes and helps our Ngāti Manawa relatives. He had a wānanga just on the weekend helping them out with whaikōrero, even teaching them. He's giving back to people that have given to him so all good, I'm proud of everything.*

The ability to give back to hapū and iwi communities also resonated with four of the five mātua generation (Kaihau, Kimiora, Sherri, and Hoani).

> *Being there for your whānau when they need a bit of awhi, all of that stuff is important to us to make our whole whānau successful. They might be having some hard times so you just help them out so they get through the other side.* (Hilary)

The notion of giving was an important practice within traditional Māori society. For example, the practice of ohaoha saw the equal distribution of resources amongst communities to ensure needs were met (Pere, 1994). The giving of knowledge in such a way parallels this behaviour with the same purpose.

When Hilary was asked about other ideas relating to success, she elaborated further that she hoped Heeni would be a good Māori citizen and could envisage her having an active role on the marae (traditional Māori housing complex). Durie (2001) created a framework of educational success for Māori in which he discussed the importance of "living as Māori" and "being active citizens of the world". By having access to the Māori world, including language, culture, marae, resources, whānau, and kaimoana (seafood), Māori will have the tools to participate as citizens of the Māori world and beyond (Durie, 2001).

Fortunately for Kaihau, the kura kaupapa Māori her children attended held these cultural practices in high regard, with her children being recognised for their expressions of manaakitanga. Kaihau also observed occasions when her children extended manaakitanga to others within the kura context; for example, when Kaihau (Kaihau's daughter) cared for one of the kōhanga reo mokopuna who had recently transitioned to school. Such expressions of manaakitanga also lead to the enhancement of the individual's mana (Pere, 1994).

Mana Whenua

Kia mōhio ki ōna tūrangawaewae, ki ōna marae, ki ngā pepeha o ōna iwi. Kia mōhio ki te mana o ngā awa, whenua, o ngā maunga. Kia mōhio ki te manaaki, ki te tiaki i te whenua (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018, p. 52).

Mana Whenua as explained in *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018) encompasses knowing one's tūrangawaewae (place where one has rights to stand), connections to their lands, mountains and rivers. This explaination of Mana Whenua encompasses many aspects of Māori identity, a complex notion referred to by Māori to convey their positioning in the world through connections to whakapapa, land, Māori knowledge, language, and culture (Kukutai & Webber, 2017; Penetito, 2011; Rameka, 2016; Stevenson, 2004; Te Huia, 2015). For many Māori, colonisation impacted negatively on their connection to the land and its resources as well as the language and culture.

The results of this study showed the multi-generational whānau associated knowing who you are and that you belong as important aspects of educational success. Both Nanny Jos and Nanny Carol's stories referred to the importance of identity.

> *You know you're Māori, haere tonu. If you don't know your identity that's when we sort of titaha and that gets a bit hard.* (Nanny Jos – Te whānau Webster)
>
> *We grew up trying to find out how we fitted, and now they [her grandchildren] will grow up knowing this is where they fit*. (Nanny Carol – Te whānau Haimona)

In Nanny Carol's experience her inability to understand what was happening on the marae created a disconnect between her sense of identity and place within the Māori community. It was the Māori language that was needed to help create a sense of membership and belonging, sentiments also expressed by Moeke-Pickering (1996). Nanny Jos's expression of "titaha", a sense of being unbalanced, was similar in nature, as she felt without strong Māori identity individuals were at risk of becoming lost as illustrated by Nanny Carol's experience.

For Nanny Rotu, the association of educational success with Māori identity also included Māori retention of their tino rangatiratanga shifting from an individual focus to that of the collective.

> *Success for me is retaining our own tino rangatiratanga, te iwi Māori and ensuring te reo Māori is going to flourish.* (Nanny Rotu)

Tino rangatiratanga is arguably synonymous with the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between groups of Māori and the British government, which guaranteed Māori tino rangatiratanga over their whenua (lands), kāinga (homes), and taonga (something highly valued, like the Māori language). Loosely translated, tino rangatiratanga is referred to as self-

determination, and as Toki (2017) explains, is the right of Indigenous peoples to take control of their economic, social, and cultural development.

The mātua expressed similar sentiments to the kaumātua in terms of the importance of Māori identity. Hoani (Te whānau Mihaka) stated on several occasions the notions of knowing oneself to avoid becoming lost or venturing onto paths that are not productive.

> *Ki te kore koe e mōhio ko wai koe, nō hea koe, ērā momo, kua ngaro.*
>
> *Kia mōhio ia ko wai anō ia kia kaua e ngaro, kia kaua e taha ake ki huarahi kē.*

There is much associated with the phrases "Ko wai koe? Nō hea koe?" When Māori are asked these questions, what generally follows are our genealogical connections to our maunga (mountains), awa (rivers), or moana (oceans), waka (canoes), and our people (hapū/iwi). As Seed-Pihama (2017) explains, these connections link Māori to all those who have gone before, to our history and narratives of our people, and is a strong reminder that in knowing these links we are not alone. It is for reasons such as these that Kimiora (Te whānau Webster) viewed educational success in the following manner.

> *Success is identity, whakapapa, iwi, hapū, marae, waka, that's success.*

The Māori language experiences of the mātua generation were key to strengthening their sense of Māori identity. Hilary (Te whānau Haimona) and Sherri (Te whānau Mason) described the language as being a part of them.

> *It's a part of me and we need to make sure it stays alive.* (Hilary)
>
> *I can speak Māori, and I speak Māori to my kids and it's a part of me and it will always be a part of me.* (Sherri)

The mātua, with their good grounding in the Māori language and culture, were comfortable in navigating the Māori world. They are part of the new generation of Māori described in other studies by Martin (2013) and Tocker (2014) who know their whakapapa and can stand in the Māori world.

In Sherri's story (Te whānau Mason) her account of living abroad and feeling disconnected and lost when she was not able to communicate in the Māori language is an example of the intimate relationship between language and identity.

> *It's very important to me my reo. There was a period of time in my life where I didn't speak it because I didn't have anyone to speak it to or converse with, so I kept it hidden from everybody around me at the time. So that was the time I had moved to Australia. Looking back now I did feel like I lost a little bit of a part of me while being in Australia not being able to speak te reo Māori. Now I feel somewhat complete because I can speak with people, and I speak to my kids, and I don't feel ashamed.*

Hoani (Te whānau Mihaka) also emphasised the importance of this relationship by stating that without the language, the identity of Māori would cease to exist (see page 120). It is a similar message reverberated throughout time by Māori chiefs and prominent leaders, such as Te Rangi Hiroa, who expressed that if Māori lose their identity we risk having "nothing" (Sorrenson, 1986).

As he reflected on his aspirations for his daughter, Kimiora mentioned another positive outcome in claiming one's Māori identity, where an individual no longer needs to live up to the expectations of other competing systems.

> *I just want her to identify herself as being Māori and proud to be Māori, and then she can achieve as Māori.*

This is an important point in supporting Māori to overcome the pressures of Western expectations of academic success. By claiming to be Māori, we position ourselves in a world where Māori knowledge and values count. By owning this position, we claim our tino rangatiratanga and free ourselves from the grip of the coloniser, to be who we want to be and who our tipuna knew we could become. These sentiments are in line with authors such as Barlow (1991) and Mead (2016), who acknowledge the mana potential that exists within each of us. By asserting our tino rangatiratanga we can succeed in any way we determine worthy of recognition.

The stories of the mokopuna in this research show they were proud to claim their Māori identity. Four of the 12 mokopuna (Wepiha, Kaihau, Dante, and Tyson) acknowledged the importance of their whakapapa (ancestral roots) as reflected in the popular response, "I am Māori". In addition, five mokopuna (Kaihau, Meri, Devan, Kororia, and Kahotea) conveyed

their interest in their Māori identity by playing, drawing, or taking photographs of Māori artefacts at kōhanga reo or in the home. Mokopuna were interested in piupiu (a Māori garment made of flax), carvings, poi (a light ball on a string), and pictures of atua (Māori deities). The visual representations within the environment had a profound impact on mokopuna identity and therefore their educational success.

He Whakarāpopototanga – Chapter Summary

This chapter has raised some important messages about the meaning of educational success to the multi-generational whānau in this research. Educational success is associated with outcomes and expressions relating to Mana Reo (the power of language), Mana Tangata (the power of people), and Mana Whenua (the power of the land).

The Māori language was valued by the multi-generational whānau who acknowledged all things relating to Mana Reo as worthy achievements. For the kaumātua generation this included the ability of their children to use their knowledge of te reo Māori to give back to whānau, hapū, and iwi. Like the kaumātua generation, the mātua are proud of the ways their children are using their knowledge of the Māori language, especially in schools. The mokopuna are learning te reo Māori and using it to participate in the Māori world. The Māori language journeys of the multi-generational whānau has culminated in a desire to ensure its survival for future generations.

The multi-generational families recognised the significance of the pā harakeke. By acknowledging Mana Tangata, whānau worked hard to nourish the pā harakeke so the whole family could thrive. Remembering the importance of mokopuna as the future of the pā harakeke and uniting families to help overcome challenges were key foci for the kaumātua generation. Concern for the wellbeing of others was also a top priority where the kaumātua and mātua generations observed their children sharing their knowledge to help hapū and iwi, as well as in their school communities and workplaces. The mokopuna generation were building strong bonds with whānau.

Knowing one's Māori identity was deemed necessary to navigate life successfully. The mokopuna generation were learning about their Māori identity through Māori artefacts in the environment. The mātua generation signalled the importance of knowing their tribal links and

landmarks, an outcome of Mana Whenua. The Māori language was also considered vital to strengthening ones Māori identity and to gain access to the Māori world. Through an unwavering commitment to being Māori, kaumātua felt families are better positioned to assert their tino rangatiratanga, the right to take control and make decisions about their lives.

These messages convey all that is important to the multi-generational whānau at this point in time. The representation of these messages through the analogy of weaving together taura harakeke (flax rope) has shown the way that the views of each generation have become more aligned over time. The Māori language has played a significant role in reconciling whānau beliefs about what is most valuable in life. The next chapter explores the contribution of kōhanga reo to the aspirations of the multi-generational whānau.

Chapter Seven: He Puāwaitanga Harakeke

He Kupu Whakataki – Introduction

He Puāwaitanga Harakeke is the blossoming of the kōrari flowers that signifies the health and growth of the pā harakeke. Parallels can be made between the kōrari and the way whānau flourish when immersed in the kōhanga reo kaupapa (movement). In Chapter Six, the whenu or strands of Mana Reo (the power of the Māori language), Mana Tangata (the power of people), and Mana Whenua (the power of the land) were used to bring together the meaning of educational success for the multi-generational whānau. In this chapter I discuss the ways kōhanga reo supported the multi-generational whānau to help realise their dreams and aspirations for the Māori language and culture, whānau, and their Māori identity. In doing so, I draw on "Ngā Pou Matua o Te Kōhanga Reo" (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022, p. 9) which embody the philosophy of kōhanga reo. They are:

Te Pou 1: Ko te reo Māori anake i roto i te kōhanga reo ia rā, ia rā (The Māori language is the only language to be spoken in kōhanga reo)
Te Pou 2: Ngā whakahaere a te whānau (Whānau Governance)
Te Pou 3: Kia tū tika kia tū pono ki te kaupapa (Accountability
Te Pou 4: Te Whaioranga, te Whakatūpato me te Taiao (Wellbeing and Health and Safety)

By grounding the discussion in relation to the pou of kōhanga reo I am acknowledging what is valued in the kōhanga reo space. The pou also provide a useful framework for understanding my participant's experiences, agendas, and aspirations. Hence, the pou are used to structure the discussion of the findings in this study to address the research question:

What is the contribution of kōhanga reo to the educational success of whānau?

In this discussion of findings, I have been careful not to constrain my analysis to asking if and how the pou were reflected in my data and consequently the multi-generational pūrākau I composed. I have been alert to times when participant commentary extended beyond what is currently written about the pou in *Te Korowai: Pono ki te Kaupapa, Puna ko te reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022). In being alert to expansive possibilities, I acknowledge my findings as a point in time and that the pou have also evolved as outlined in Chapter Three.

Te Pou 1: Te Reo Māori Anake i Roto i Te Kōhanga Reo

-E taea ana ngā mātua te ako i te taha o ngā mokopuna
-He uara nui tō te kaumātua i roto i Te Kōhanga Reo
-Ko te reo me ngā tikanga te tūāpapa o Te Kōhanga Reo
-Ko te reo kia tika, ko te reo kia rere, ko te reo kia Māori
(Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022, p. 8)

An interpretation:
The Māori language and culture are at the heart of the kōhanga reo philosophy and, as such, it is the only language to be spoken in kōhanga reo. Mokopuna (the term used in kōhanga reo when referring to children) are immersed in a Māori language environment which has a high degree of accuracy, enabling mokopuna to become fluent speakers who can articulate their ways of knowing and being as Māori. It is hoped that parents will walk alongside their children in the Māori language journey. Kaumātua are acknowledged and valued for their Māori language expertise and support that they can provide to mokopuna and whānau.

E Taea Ana ngā Mātua te Ako i te Taha o ngā Mokopuna

In this study, all but one of the six kaumātua had limited understanding of the Māori language but in joining kōhanga reo, they had the opportunity to learn with their children. The importance of learning together is explained by Royal Tangaere (2014), who described the home as the ūkaipō (source of sustenance) for the language, suggesting that without any Māori language at home, mokopuna would struggle to retain their Māori language abilities. Not all of the kaumātua stayed at the kōhanga reo with their children and those who did were mostly whānau who were employed there like Nanny Harete (Te whānau Mason), Nanny Rotu (Te whānau Mihaka) and Nanny Jos (Te whānau Webster). Apart from Nanny Jos, who could already speak te reo Māori, Nanny Rotu and Nanny Harete were simultaneously working and learning about the Māori language. Nanny Rotu's story (Te whānau Mihaka) provided insights about immersion in the kōhanga reo environment, which was safe and supportive, and where mistakes were expected.

> *We didn't have any reo at all, but I was very appreciative of the kuia that were there to support our reo. We had a lot of laughs because our reo was upside down, inside out; however, they were able to put us on the right pathways and correct us. They would*

> *have their laughs, but it wasn't as though it was like it was a whakaiti laugh, we would laugh together. It was a good way of learning*.

Nanny Carol (Te whānau Haimona) had also made observations of the nature of language learning in kōhanga reo which she described as non-threatening and relating to everyday life.

> *I enjoyed the way they used everyday life experiences, whether it was coming for a kai, everything was used as an opportunity to get the reo. It wasn't a sit behind the desk and learn your abc's. I didn't want that. I wanted them to learn it in a natural way.*

Parents who could not stay with their children found other ways to develop their Māori language skills, like Nanny Carol did in her story.

> *The most instant impact was that I had to start remembering how to greet in Māori and use the words that I knew but never used. So that was the first thing I remembered … I better brush up on my reo. I better start using it cos my kids are there, and I want to be able to support them. It made me start to use the basics.*

The mātua generation were the first mokopuna of the multi-generational whānau to learn te reo Māori at kōhanga reo. All have retained their Māori language abilities which meant there wasn't the same need as the kaumātua generation to learn te reo Māori at kōhanga reo. In saying this, the stories of Hilary (Te whānau Haimona) and Sherri (Te whānau Mason) show the way that like the kaumātua, they were also employed at the kōhanga reo. A key difference is that they were there as competent Māori language speakers to teach mokopuna.

Some of the mātua volunteered at their kōhanga reo creating additional opportunities for teaching and learning. For example, Hoani's story (Te whānau Mihaka) captured the way he would go to kōhanga reo with other parents in lieu of paying fees. Once at the kōhanga reo they were expected to complete a few tasks, including speaking te reo Māori to mokopuna. Kaihau's (Te whānau Nuri) story also mentioned her voluntary work although her experience was slightly different in that she enjoyed listening and learning from the mokopuna.

> *I get to listen to kids speak te reo. They also help me with my own reo. A little four-year-old correcting a 34-year-old. That's awesome.*

As Māori language speakers, the mātua generation were in a strong position to provide support for the ūkaipō or home environment. Hoani (Te whānau Mihaka), Sherri (Te whānau Mason), and Hilary's stories all mention efforts to speak te reo Māori to their children.

The kaumātua generation had little to no knowledge of the Māori language but when they joined kōhanga reo, most made a concerted effort to learn te reo Māori. While kōhanga reo provides access for both mokopuna and whānau to develop their language skills, the individual circumstances of the kaumātua generation dictated whether they could attend alongside their children. If whānau chose to stay and learn te reo Māori, they were welcomed and supported with a safe environment to learn naturally. Learning te reo Māori in a natural way was an emphasis of the movement where the language was to be "caught not taught" (Tawhiwhirangi, 2014, p. 101).

In the Māori language ako can mean to both learn and to teach which encapsulates the shift that occurred between generations because of kōhanga reo. Instead of relying on kōhanga reo to learn the language, the mātua generation were encouraged to return and share their knowledge of te reo Māori. The combined experiences of the kaumātua and mātua generations indicate there are many ways to walk alongside mokopuna in their Māori language journey.

He Uara Nui ngā Kaumātua

When kōhanga reo were established, kaumātua who were raised in te reo Māori were relied upon to be the teachers (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). Many of the stories of the kaumātua generation acknowledged the presence of kuia (female elders) in kōhanga reo. For Nanny Jos (Te whānau Webster) the kaiako was her aunty, while at Nanny Carol's (Te whānau Haimona) kōhanga reo they were trusted members of the community.

> *I liked the people who were talking about being the tutors and I trusted them. That's what it really came down to for me. Aunty Rangi, she is just a beautiful person, and I knew she would look after our babies.* (Nanny Carol)

In some cases, kaumātua like Nanny Mere (Te whānau Nuri) also found themselves in a position where they needed to find kuia who were prepared to teach.

> *We were looking for a kaiako, so we approached Takirirangi Clarke, and she said she could only help for out for a short while, so she came out. And then we went and got Aunty Millie King and then your grandmother, Nan Pomare.*

As well as providing support for the Māori language, Nanny Rotu's story explained how kuia supported mātua development of tikanga Māori, such as manaakitanga.

All the stories of the mātua generation included memories of kuia. Both Hoani (Te whānau Mihaka) and Kimiora (Te whānau Reo) remembered the kuia who ran the kōhanga reo. For Sherri (Te whānau Mason) and Hilary (Te whānau Haimona) it was the reo speaking kuia that stood out in their recollections of kōhanga reo. Hilary's story also showed the way the influence of these kuia was so profound, that when she became a parent at kōhanga reo, she wanted to take her own grandmother there to ensure an intergenerational influence on Māori language learning was maintained.

The stories of the mokopuna generation, especially those still attending kōhanga reo, captured the presence of kuia. The kuia at Kahotea (Te whānau Mihaka) and Hinengākau's kōhanga reo (Te whānau Webster), who were also the kaiako, supported the mokopuna through modelling language and actions to waiata. In Mason's story (Te whānau Mason) he spent time talking to one of the kuia about clothing.

It is clear from these findings that kuia play an important role in kōhanga reo as experts of the Māori language. All three generations recalled the presence of kuia as kaiako; however, their roles were not strictly limited to teaching te reo and tikanga Māori to mokopuna, which is similar to Kohu's (2006) findings. Across all three generations in this research are different examples of the influence of kuia on mokopuna, whānau, and kōhanga reo. For the kaumātua generation this also included support for their own Māori language and cultural development. The mātua generation signalled the benefits of having kuia to help run kōhanga reo and as a source of inspiration. The absence of koroua in this study indicates an area which, if addressed, could provide additional support for kōhanga reo. Based on the findings, the ongoing presence of kaumātua can also be ensured with the help of whānau who actively seek their presence.

Ko te Reo me Ngā Tikanga te Tuapapa

The multi-generational pūrākau highlight the way te reo and tikanga Māori was the foundation for all learning in kōhanga reo. All the kaumātua spoke about the Māori language as a key focus. Nanny Carol (Te whānau Haimona) and Nanny Jos's (Te whānau Webster) stories conveyed their reactions to hearing the Māori language. In her story, Nanny Carol described it as "beautiful", whereas upon hearing the children speak the Maōri language, Nanny Jos was touched and convinced kōhanga reo could make a major contribution towards revitalisation efforts. The wānanga with Nanny Jos also provided further insights about the one teaching

strategy which impressed her the most and that was the use of waiata to teach mokopuna. While there was much talk about the Māori language, the opportunity to develop understanding of tikanga Māori did not go unnoticed by the kaumātua. For example, in Nanny Mere and Koro Ran's (Te whānau Nuri) story they described an emphasis in kōhanga reo on whānau development, and Nanny Rotu (Te whānau Mihaka) also spoke about her experiences of whanangatanga, manaakitanga, and kōtahitanga.

The ability of the mātua generation to speak te reo Māori is a testament to the commitment of kōhanga reo towards the language socialisation of mokopuna. Additional evidence of cultural development at kōhanga reo is visible across the mātua stories; for example, opportunities to visit marae (Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri, and Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka), attend hura kōhatu and tangihanga (Hoani), and to learn about tāniko (Kaihau). Hoani's story also mentioned the way he was taught to manaaki others and develop Māori worldviews, including whānau connectedness.

Mātua observations of their own children provided further insights into the ways kōhanga reo supports mokopuna. Kaihau (Te whānau Nuri) and Hilary (Te whānau Haimona) specifically mentioned the opportunities for their children to learn about whanaungatanga, tuakana-teina relationships, and manaaki. Pono (honesty) was also noted in Hilary's story as well as the role of kōhanga reo in helping her daughter understand tangihanga protocols.

The mokopuna generation who were still attending kōhanga reo were regularly immersed in cultural routines such as karakia, mihimihi, and waiata. These practices gave mokopuna the opportunity to be exposed to complex language. For example, in Devan's story (Te whānau Mason) mihimihi time also involved conversations about the weather. Along with the other children, he had learned about different ways to describe the wind, such as hau raki (northerly wind), hau tonga (southerly wind), and hauāuru (westerly wind). Without any prompting Devan was able to offer an additional term, hau rāwhiti (easterly wind). In Hinengākau's story (Te whānau Webster) her morning routine at kōhanga reo is written about including waiata time which showed the introduction of complex language like 'ua māturuturu' which means to trickle, referring to a light rain.

The findings across all three generations show the way kōhanga reo has consistently focused on the Māori language and culture with favourable outcomes. The cultural routines of karakia, waiata, and mihimihi has been a feature of kōhanga reo since the establishment of the movement. An emphasis on whānau, and tikanga, such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga, have also been encouraged. These results are in line with previous studies by Hohepa (1990), Royal Tangaere (1997a, 1997b), and Skerrett (1995), where cultural practices and routines have been identified as successful approaches to language and cultural development because they provide regular opportunities for predictable language use.

Te Pou 2: Ngā Whakahaere a te Whānau

-Me whai wāhi te whānau katoa ki roto i ngā whakahaere o Te Kōhanga Reo kia kapi ai ngā kaupapa katoa, mai i te Tūtohinga ki te ūkaipōtanga o te kōhanga reo
-Me ako te katoa i ngā āhuatanga e pā ana ki Te Kōhanga Reo
-Whakanuia te tangata i ngā wā katoa
-Me āwhina tētahi i tētahi
-He wāhi e tino rangona ana te tūrangahakoa inā uru atu te tangata ki roto i te kōhanga reo
(Te Kōhanga National Trust, 2022, p. 8)

An interpretation:
There is room for everyone in kōhanga reo. All who experience kōhanga reo will feel welcome and uplifted. Whānau learn about the kōhanga reo kaupapa, help each other, and work together to ensure operations are successful.

Te Tūrangahakoa o te Tangata

The multi-generational pūrākau showed whānau were key to positive initiations into the movement. Many of the kaumātua expressed uncertainty about joining a movement that was new and which they knew little about.

> *At the time nobody really knew what it meant. To be honest it was just this Māori thing that was going to start up. I think the words that remain in my head at the start were Māori language nest. I wasn't against it, but I needed to know what it looked like.* (Nanny Carol)

Complicating the decision to choose kōhanga reo was the fact that all the kaumātua were already involved in other educational services, such as playcentre and kindergarten as documented in their stories. These services were familiar to the kaumātua and had resulted in positive experiences for their children. The findings mirror what was happening for Māori in terms of participation in early childhood education that had been growing since the 1960s. In some cases, preschools were established and driven by Māori in their own communities and were considered outstanding (McDonald, 1973).

The stories of Nanny Carol (Te whānau Haimona), Nanny Rotu (Te whānau Mihaka), and Nanny Jos (Te whānau Webster) show the way kuia and other extended whānau played a key role in helping kaumātua rise above their challenges. Nanny Jos's (Te whānau Webster) story captured the invitation of her aunty, which was an important factor in her decision to choose kōhanga reo.

> *My aunty was one of the first kaiako here in Te Arawa and she got a job at Koutu Kōhanga Reo. My aunty kept talking about going to kōhanga reo and so I said, "I might as well come and have a look", and I put him in, and it was just like that.*

Mentioned earlier in this chapter is Nanny Carol's decision (Te whānau Haimona) to choose kōhanga reo because of kuia who were trusted members of the community. This is consistent with the way in which Māori have described kuia as "the trusted link that provide security and serenity" (Nepe, 1991, p. 26), and "the soul of the whānau" (Royal Tangaere, 2012, p. 131). Other parents driven by the same desires were also influential in supporting parents to choose kōhanga reo.

> *A couple of parents in this area at the time, me, a couple of cousins, Maryanne Rangihau, Cheri Tait, Norma MacFarlane, Leah McMillan started to think about establishing a kōhanga at the Rotokawa Primary School.* (Nanny Mere – Te whānau Nuri)

Once the kaumātua had chosen kōhanga reo, it was a decision that brought much happiness to their lives. Across the kaumātua stories are examples of the ways whānau thrived because of kōhanga reo. In Nanny Rotu's story (Te whānau Mihaka) she spoke about rediscovering her Māori language at kōhanga reo as "her best experience". Like Nanny Rotu, Nanny Carol (Te whānau Haimona) experienced a similar journey of self-discovery and what it meant to be

Māori. For Nanny Jos (Te whānau Webster), there was an excitement because kōhanga reo belonged to Māori.

The mātua generation were slightly different in that they had experienced first-hand the benefits of being educated in a kōhanga reo environment surrounded by whānau. All of the Mātua stories capture their memories of kuia who were also their kaiako, and the parents. The positive experiences of the mātua meant they were more determined to choose kōhanga reo and showed this conviction, like Sherri (Te whānau Mason) did in her story by making statements to the effect that kōhanga reo was their "only choice". But the mātua also faced challenges of moving between cities, which meant the decision was not so much whether one should return to kōhanga reo, but in finding one that met mātua needs. In Hoani (Te whānau Mihaka) and Kaihau's stories (Te whānau Nuri), an invitation from whānau (a kuia who was a kaiako, and a first parent) made the choice easier. Whānau working in kōhanga reo also influenced Hilary (Te whānau Haimona) and Kimiora's (Te whānau Webster) choice of kōhanga reo.

> *I taku hokitanga mai i mate taku pāpā kātahi ka kite i a taku whaea kēkē a Raiha me te harikoa ki waku tamariki me te kii 'Mauria mai au tamariki ki te kōhanga'.* (Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka)
>
> *When I came back to Rotorua with my three little kiddies I kind of slipped in there because my mum knows your mum and I just volunteer at the kōhanga and just help out when I can.* (Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri)
>
> *I've been through kōhanga, my brothers and sisters have been through kōhanga. My mum works in a kōhanga, my sister works in a kōhanga now, my kuia worked in a kōhanga, my aunty and them work in a kōhanga reo across the road. I suppose it comes back to that kōrero it takes a village to raise a child because of how society is at the moment that's the best way to go down that path is going to a kōhanga and you are lucky if you have whānau in that kōhanga that run them. It's a great way for our kids to get to know their great grandmother Nanny Raiha and her to get to know them.* (Kimiora – Te whānau Webster)

The stories and wānanga with mokopuna showed the way they were supported by whānau. The mokopuna (Tyson – Te whānau Mason, Tiria and Meri – Te whānau Nuri, and Tawhao – Te whānau Webster) often described their kaiako as their whānau by using terms such as aunties and the more commonly used terms "whaea" and "matua". According to G. H. Smith (1995), whānau terms are used within kaupapa Māori settings to help families care for one another and take on shared responsibilities. Within peer groups, children are brothers and sisters. Using the

terms “whaea’ and “matua” is also to do with respect, especially in addressing “kuia” because of their knowledge and understanding of tikanga.

By observing the youngest participants in this research, I was able to see first-hand the ways in which the mokopuna experienced the support of whānau. The kaiako were very kind and caring. Their experiences are consistent with recollections from earlier kōhanga reo graduates who spoke about the caring nature of kuia, the aroha they received by way of ako (to teach), tiaki (to look after), awhi, and pā i te kiri (to massage skin) (Peters, 2022). Kohu (2006) relates how kuia would inspire the confidence of mokopuna through awhi and manaakitanga. The significance of these practices is explained by Pere (1994) as an important dimension of aroha, the ultimate key to the “survival and true strength of whanaungatanga” (p. 6).

The experiences of the multi-generational whānau provide important insights about the care and support they received when they were considering kōhanga reo. The kaumātua generation were brought into kōhanga reo by individuals already involved in the movement. These individuals were known to the kaumātua and trusted members of the community. Like the kaumātua, the mātua generation also experienced the support of whānau during their initiation back into the kōhanga reo kaupapa. The mokopuna experienced the same love and support as from whānau, especially kuia, as they navigated life at kōhanga reo.

Me Ako te Katoa e Pā Ana ki te Kaupapa

Kaupapa, as explained by G. H. Smith (1997), refers to a collective philosophy which outlines the direction and goals of Māori initiatives. He goes further to explain that the vision will likely involve conscientisation, resistance, and praxis. In this research, the kaumātua encountered many challenges in joining kōhanga reo, including the act of decolonising the Māori mind. The experiences of the kaumātua at other learning services meant they had been exposed to western ideas about how kōhanga reo should operate. Nanny Harete (Te whānau Mason), Nanny Rotu (Te whānau Mihaka), and Nanny Carol (Te whānau Haimona) all mentioned their individual struggles relating to the structure of programmes or philosophies of teaching and learning. The Government Review Team (1988) reported similar results, where parents viewed kōhanga reo as operating like kindergarten and playcentres leading to the statement, “Parents needed to be deprogrammed before they could take part” (p. 24).

The stories of the kaumātua generation showed they were open to learning about kōhanga reo ways of knowing and being and were willing to contribute where they could. This is evident in Nanny Carol's story (Te whānau Haimona), where she spoke about being slow to make judgements.

> *I only had Pākehā systems to reference so had to learn that it wasn't like that. Don't use Pākehā systems to judge their [the kōhanga reo] system off and it took me a while to recognise that, no, you're expecting them to run this ship like a Pākehā would, like a kindergarten.*

A change in mindset and desire to support kōhanga reo to flourish was also evident in Nanny Rotu's story (Te whānau Mihaka).

> *I thought I could go back to the kōhanga reo and support the kaupapa. A cousin and I went back there because she was also skilled in planning and resources as well.*

Kōhanga reo were still relatively new when the kaumātua joined the movement, and so they were learning about the kaupapa at the same time Māori were building it from the ground up. When speaking about "the kaupapa", in kōhanga reo it is generally understood to mean "the pou" of kōhanga reo, but these were not formally recognised until *Te Korowai* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 1995), the Trust charter, was published some years later. Nonetheless, the stories of the kaumātua generation captured the way they lived and breathed the kaupapa. For example, Nanny Jos's (Te whānau Webster) story spoke of the need to fundraise so mokopuna could have a warm building to meet in (Te Pou 3/Te Pou 4). *Kimi and the Watermelon* (Smith, 1983) was the name of the book in Nanny Mere's story (Te whānau Nuri) which she sent to kōhanga reo as a resource to help inspire mokopuna minds (Te Pou 3/Te Pou 4).

Other opportunities to learn about the kaupapa was through osmosis. Nanny Rotu's story (Te whānau Mihaka) provided an account where she watched kuia taking tea towels into kōhanga reo and responded by doing the same (Te Pou 1). Three of the kaumātua (Nanny Harete – Te whānau Mason, Nanny Rotu –Te whānau Mihaka, and Nanny Jos – Te whānau Webster) were employed at the kōhanga reo, and two mātua, Nanny Mere (Te whānau Nuri) and Nanny Harete (Te whānau Mason), spoke about attendance at hui-ā-whānau (gathering of the whānau). An example of learning about the movement at hui-ā-whānau is evident in Nanny Harete's story where she spoke about it as a space, where she could learn about her daughter's language development (Te Pou 2).

The ways the mātua learnt about the movement was slightly different to the kaumātua generation. The mātua generation were products of the kaupapa and had first hand experience of the Māori language as the only language to be spoken in kōhanga reo. Two of the mātua (Hilary – Te whānau Haimona and Sherri – Te whānau Mason) had experience working in kōhanga reo as kaiako and another two volunteered (Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka, and Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri). Hoani, Kaihau, and Hilary also discussed other opportunities to be involved in the movement through excursions, fundraisers, and working bees.

All of the mātua stories indicated that they were aware of their responsibilities to attend hui-ā-whānau (Te Pou 2) even though not all of the families could make it. Only one of the five mātua stories (Sherri – Te whānau Mason) identified some of the roles and responsibilities of whānau at the hui, which included contributions to curriculum planning and finances. In addition, only one of the mātua, Hilary (Te whānau Haimona), explicitly mentioned "the pou". Kaihau (Te whānau Nuri), whose child was attending the same kōhanga reo as Hilary, opted instead to speak about her "obligations".

> *We have obligations as whānau, we have obligations to the kōhanga reo. When your child signs up to this kōhanga you agree to attend all the hui. You also agree on going [on] trips with the kōhanga which is explained in the policies.*

The experiences of the mātua generation suggest that there is some room for improving understanding of the kaupapa across kōhanga reo so whānau and mokopuna can experience the full benefits of pā harakeke working together. This is in line with Kohu's (2006) findings drawing attention to the issue of whānau commitment. The findings intimate that in isolated kōhanga reo there is some good progress being made where parents are speaking the language of kōhanga reo. The data must also be interpreted with some caution as the mātua were not explicitly asked about "the pou".

Looking across the kaumātua and mātua generations, there are some differences and similarities in terms of whānau encounters with the movement. A key difference is that kaumātua had previously experienced other early learning services, and their transition into kōhanga reo required a complete shift in thinking. The challenge of building kōhanga reo from the ground up is an additional struggle the mātua generation did not experience, but, as explained by G. H. Smith (1997), it was one which supported kaumātua conscientisation and

awareness of the wider political landscape. Based on both the kaumātua and mātua experiences, an effective pathway to learn about kōhanga reo ways of knowing and being was by being immersed in the day-to-day operations.

Me Āwhina Tētahi i Tētahi

"Me āwhina tētahi i tētahi" is about whānau caring and looking after each other. The results of this study showed that within kōhanga reo, concern for one another was intimately linked to understanding the collective nature of whānau Māori. The kaumātua generation were brought together through fundraising ventures. Two of the five kaumātua stories (Nanny Jos – Te whānau Webster, and Nanny Harete –Te whānau Mason) mentioned specific fundraisers. It is also likely other kaumātua were involved in fundraising activities, like Nanny Mere (Te whānau Nuri), because she was a parent at the same kōhanga reo as Nanny Harete. In Nanny Jos's story, fundraising was needed to provide food and warmth for mokopuna, whereas in Nanny Harete's story whānau were fundraising for a new building.

The need to fundraise is consistent with the testimonies gathered as part of the *Government Review of Te Kōhanga Reo* (Government Review Team, 1988) that showed fundraising was both common and a necessary action during the establishment phase. The act of working together for the good of the collective is reflective of the Māori saying "nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou ka ora ai te iwi", which emphasises the contributions of pā harakeke to the wellbeing of the whānau (Tawhiwhirangi, 2003).

Opportunities to develop as a whānau through fundraising was also evident in two of the five mātua stories (Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka, and Hilary – Te whānau Nuri). While the fundraisers were for a specific purpose, the mātua chose to talk about the way the fundraisers strengthened the collective. In Hoani's story the ability to draw on the skills of each whānau created a sense of belonging, whereas Hilary's story showed pā harakeke working together in a way that mirrored living as Māori in traditional communities.

> *When we did the hangi that was cool. All the whānau had their jobs. We all sat down and had kai after. We [Hilary and her whānau] did the hangi stuff but the prep and that the parents and the whānau did. We just cooked and served which is good because it's times like that parents should be there to support.*

Excursions were an additional way to help strengthen whanaungatanga and were most popular amongst the mātua generation. Three of the five mātua stories (Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri, Hilary – Te whānau Haimona, and Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka) mentioned excursions which included visits to marae, Māori places of significance, and leisure and entertainment activities such as waterparks and ice-skating shows. Hilary found the excursions to tribal landmarks useful in making whakapapa (genealogical) connections with other whānau.

> *I enjoyed visiting the marae as part of the tūrangawaewae [kaupapa]. Not only our ones around here but we went to Matata and to Matakana. That was cool, getting to see where the kids are from and making that cos we didn't realise that some of the whānau were from the same marae as us so making those connections.*

The result matches the findings in Shaw and McMillan (2023), where visits to tribal landmarks increased the desires of whānau involved in kōhanga reo to connect with others. Kaihau's story (Te whānau Nuri) showed slight differences to Hilary's experience in that the trip to the North, where whānau travelled, slept, and ate together, and cared for one another's children gave her a greater sense of being whānau. This suggests that creating a sense of whānau is as much about what whānau do together as it is about the places that whānau visit. Additionally, whānau in this study (Kaihau and Hoani) were enabled to attend the excursions, as the kōhanga reo covered expenses for the trip. G. H. Smith (1997) has written extensively about the way kōhanga reo supported whānau to rise above the challenges they may be facing within their homes. In Hoani's story, he also mentioned the ability to take his school aged children.

> *Hei whakanui i te tau ka haria ngā tamariki ki Splash Planet ki Heretaunga ki reira kai ai, tākaro ai. Ia mutunga tau mēnā kei reira tō tamaiti ka utua mō to tamaiti, ka hoatu wētahi mea moni, penehini kia tae atu ki reira. Ka utua ngā mātua mēnā hiahia te kauhoe i te taha o ā rātou tamariki. Ko te kōhanga ka utua ngā tamariki e kuraina me ō ake tamariki e hiahia te haere.*

These findings show how over two generations, the kōhanga reo kaupapa has supported whānau Māori to care for and develop as pā harakeke. Fundraising was a common theme between the kaumātua and mātua generations, but for the kaumātua this developed out of a need so kōhanga reo could continue to operate. Excursions have since developed in popularity amongst the mātua generation to make meaningful connections with each other, including whakapapa connections. While fundraising and excursions appear to be effective approaches to bringing whānau together, not all kaumātua and mātua who participated in this research spoke about fundraising or opportunities to go on excursions. A future action might be to ensure

these initiatives are a regular practice in every kōhanga reo because of the benefits for pā harakeke.

Me Whai Wāhi te Whānau Katoa

In kōhanga reo, whānau have many roles and responsibilities, as explained by Royal Tangaere (2014), "We are the managers, the employers, the users, the workers, the teachers and the learners" (p. 205). This chapter has previously explained the way all but one of the kaumātua had limited understanding of the Māori language, and therefore kōhanga reo gave kaumātua in this research the opportunity to learn and be inspired. Kaumātua stories (Nanny Mere – Te whānau Nuri, Nanny Rotu – Te whānau Mihaka, Nanny Jos – Te whānau Webster, and Nanny Harete – Te whānau Mason) showed the way they participated as users, teachers, workers, and employers. Nanny Rotu's story showed how she began as a mother and over 19 years, she also assumed the roles of secretary and chairperson. Like Nanny Rotu, Nanny Jos's journey in kōhanga reo also changed with time, having started out as as the cook and later becoming a kaiako, a role she continues in. Nanny Harete's roles and responsibilities were less complicated as she became a kaiako for a short time, and another of the kaumātua, Nanny Mere, helped with recruitment.

As employers and managers of kōhanga reo, hui-ā-whānau are an important forum for the pā harakeke to wānanga (discuss) operational matters and hold each other accountable. As explained in *Te Korowai: Pono ki te kaupapa, Puna ko te reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022) and *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018), strategic planning; curriculum, including the Māori language; finances, and health and safety are issues of importance. All whānau are expected to participate and make decisions together. Nanny Mere (Te whānau Nuri) and Nanny Harete (Te whānau Mason) were the kaumātua who remembered attending hui-ā-whānau but as the first parents, it is highly possible that all kaumātua were present at the meetings at some point. Nanny Mere's view was that hui-ā-whānau was an important space to connect with other whānau.

> *People [would] go to meetings, that was really to catch up with everyone.* (Nanny Mere – Te whānau Nuri)

> *I think monthly initially, and then we met fortnightly thereafter.* (Nanny Mere – Te whānau Nuri)

Nanny Harete (Te Whānau Mason) saw hui-ā-whānau as a space she could learn about her child, and her story also touched on the opportunity to learn from the experiences of other whānau members.

> *We had whānau meetings once a month. You had a meeting where parents could say something – my child is doing this and this. The parents would be asking questions of the supervisor. I was told Sherri was one of the first [children] that started to kōrero at nine months old to her Nanny Waitangi.*

The mātua generation were involved in the kaupapa in similar ways. Two mātua (Sherri – Te whānau Mason, and Hilary – Te whānau Haimona) followed in the footsteps of the kaumātua by becoming kaiako at the kōhanga reo although Hilary was only there for a short time. Kimiora's story (Te whānau Webster) noted his service as chairperson, but it was Kaihau's trip to the North (Te Whānau Nuri) that is written about in her story which showed a new way of conceptualising the role of whānau as leaders. The trip affirmed Kaihau's place amongst her kōhanga reo whānau.

> *On this trip I was the chief cook. I kind of fell into the cooking role. In the kitchen was my forte. The other parents took my kids so that I could get the meals done which was really neat.*

All the mātua generation were aware of their responsibilities to attend hui-ā-whānau. Sherri (Te Whānau Mason) was the only mātua to offer insights about the meetings.

> *I attend all the meetings and can be involved with the running of the kōhanga reo, like it's kōhanga reo is awesome in that way that parents can contribute to your kōhanga reo in terms of finances and what the kids are learning, and parents have their say and I have my say in terms of what is happening in kōhanga reo.*

Sherri's story also showed evidence of her understanding about whānau decision making.

> *Being involved in your child's learning, you have that whānau connection with other whānau. The other child's parent, we are not related in any way, but we feel we are because of that bond kōhanga reo brings, together with everybody. In terms of that we are there as parents, but we all make decisions together. It's like we are whānau. That's what I love about kōhanga reo, that we all come together like we are a family even though we are not actually related.*

Nearly all of the kaumātua generation were involved in some capacity within kōhanga reo. One of the interesting features of the kaumātua generation is that they have tended to stay longer in the movement. The roll-on effect of kaumātua participation in kōhanga reo meant an ongoing cycle of development. This is important because it suggests there are many opportunities for

growth within the movement. The longer whānau stay in kōhanga reo, the more likely they are to take on new roles. Kaumātua roles typically involved themselves as users, learners, workers, teachers, and employers within the movement.

For the mātua generation their roles and responsibilities were mainly as users, teachers, and employers. Kaihau's experience showed how new innovations, like excursions, gave her the opportunity to take the lead. The importance of enabling everyone to shine is a message shared by Tawhiwhirangi (2014), where whānau must feel needed. Leadership roles are therefore opportunities for whānau to feel empowered and to take control. An example is the work by whānau at Te Kōhanga Reo ki Rotokawa to create their own approach that makes visible the learning and development of mokopuna (McMillan, 2020). The approach named *Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho* involves *all* whānau meeting to wānanga about the progress of mokopuna as opposed to an individual approach. During Covid this same whānau worked together to produce artwork in support of their developing knowledge of the kōhanga reo curriculum (McMillan et al., 2023).

The experiences of the kaumātua and mātua generations tell us more about the way kōhanga reo whānau have consistently assumed various roles and responsibilities since the establishment of the movement. There have also been some generational shifts, where the mātua as graduates of kōhanga reo are no longer reliant on the movement to learn te reo Māori as did the kaumātua. It is unclear as to how involved the current whānau are in decision making processes. The varied explanations about hui-ā-whānau across generations suggest there is some work to do to so whānau are better informed about their responsibilities.

Te Pou 3: Kia tū Tika, Kia tū Pono ki te Kaupapa

-Ngākautia:
-Tō tātou atua
-Ā tātou mokopuna
-Ō tātou tīpuna
-Ō tātou whānau, hapū, iwi
-A koe anō, tētahi ki tētahi hoki
-Me whakaaro anō hoki te taha pūtea mai i te Kāwanatanga
(Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022, p. 8)

An interpretation:
"Tika" and "pono" are Māori terms that convey the sentiments of being honest and true to the kaupapa. This involves accountability to the atua (Māori deities), mokopuna, our ancestors, whānau, hapū, iwi, to our ourselves, and to the Government.

Accountability is inextricably linked to whānau actions and their engagement in the kaupapa, which I have discussed previously. For this reason, I have chosen to write a holistic summary which captures kaumātua and mātua accountability based on the findings of this research.

The stories of the kaumātua generation showed the way they worked tirelessly for the kaupapa. The kaumātua took care of mokopuna needs by ensuring they were fed, clothed, and had warm buildings to meet in which were adequately resourced. Some of the kaumātua actively sought ways to strengthen their Māori language so they could support their children at home. Whānau accountability to each other was reflected differently in the stories of the kaumātua generation. Some of the kaumātua met their commitments to each other by sharing and giving resources and fundraising for the benefit of all mokopuna. Other kaumātua attended hui-ā-whānau and took on roles and responsibilities, while some volunteered their time for the kaupapa. The challenges of establishing kōhanga reo meant the kaumātua had a greater awareness about government responsibilities and its potential impact on the kaupapa. Nanny Jos's story (Te whānau Webster) mentioned a lack of support from the Government. In contrast, Nanny Rotu's story (Te whānau Mihaka) showed her appreciation to all those who fought to establish kōhanga reo.

Unlike the kaumātua generation, the mātua generation can all speak te reo Māori and some have chosen to speak the Māori language to mokopuna at home. Others attend kōhanga reo as volunteers, and as kaiako, where they provide another layer of Māori language support for mokopuna. While the mātua do not need to contribute resources to kōhanga reo in the same way the kaumātua did, most valued coming together as a whānau through fundraising and excursions. Opportunities to take on leadership roles as whānau has been a new development experienced by the mātua generation. Like the kaumātua generation, some, but not all, attend hui-ā-whānau. While not all take on formal roles and responsibilities, there is evidence of them finding other ways to contribute to the kaupapa, including voluntary work.

Over two generations there is some consistency between the ways kaumātua and mātua are meeting their obligations, such as support for the Māori language, coming together as pā harakeke, and stepping up to take on whānau roles and responsibilities. However, the findings of this research show there is still room for improvement in these spaces. Less is known about the support iwi provide for kōhanga reo. According to *Te Korowai* (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022), it is the responsibility of iwi to provide resources for hapū and whānau: "Ko tā te iwi he kōkiri, he whiriwhiri, he kimi rauemi mā te hapū me te whānau" (p. 8). There was also an absence of discussion about the government in mātua stories, suggesting the need to create awareness about Māori struggles involving the government. No reference to atua was made in either the kaumātua or mātua stories, which opens the door to conversations about how whānau can show their accountability to the atua through their involvement in kōhanga reo.

Te Pou 4: Te Whaioranga, te Whakatūpato me te Taiao

Tauiratia ngā whanonga e ora pū ai te hinengaro, te wairua, te tinana, o te mokopuna, engari me whakatūturu te tohu manaaki rangatira.

Whakaahuru mōwaitia te ahurea o Te Kōhanga Reo:
-Kia ngākau māhaki
-Kia pai te wairua o te kōrero
-Tiakina ngā mokopuna i runga i te rangimārie
-Whāngaihia ki ngā kai e tika ana
-Kia auahi kore
-Kia tupeka kore
-Kia hiko kore
-Kia rauhea kore
-Kia waipiro kore
(Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022, p. 9)

An interpretation:
Model behaviour that supports mokopuna intellectual, physical, and spiritual wellbeing.

Taha Tinana

Kaumātua stories (Nanny Rotu – Te whānau Mihaka, and Nanny Jos – Te whānau Webster) which have been referred to throughout this discussion have shown the way Māori as the drivers of kōhanga reo took care of the physical needs of mokopuna by providing shelter in the form of buildings to meet in, food, clothing, and warmth. The kaumātua did what they could to support the mokopuna in an environment where financial backing from the Government was limited. These accounts of the kaumātua generation are consistent with the findings of the Government Review Team (1988), where whānau Māori also reported making up for any difference, a practice associated with "aroha" because government resources were inadequate. In my research, Nanny Harete's story (Te whānau Mason) also showed the way mokopuna physical needs were met through a range of activities over and above the cultural learning experiences identified in this research. These activities included walks to the paddock near kōhanga reo and ensuring mokopuna had sufficient sleep.

Many of the mātua generation (Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri, Hilary – Te whānau Haimona, and Sherri – Te whānau Mason) remembered the kōhanga reo buildings they went to as children. The recollections captured in their stories envoked images of the simplicity of buildings, which included school halls (Hilary, Kaihau, and Sherri) and classrooms (Sherri). Other memories were of a tiny kitchen (Kaihau) and a cold building (Hilary). Of the mātua generation, Kaihau remembered the most about the ways they used to keep active at kōhanga reo.

> *There used to be this big, huge tree that we used to play around and hang around. There used to be pā harakeke around it as well and we used to get the branches and sweep around it like it was our whare.*

Some of the wānanga with mokopuna (Tiria, Meri, and Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri, and Tawhao and Wepiha – Te whānau Webster) were held at the kōhanga reo they attended, which gave mokopuna opportunities to reminisce.

> *I so miss ahau i tēnei kōhanga na te mea ka taea te takaro* (Meri – Te whānau Nuri)

Playing with big blocks outside, swimming, and hockey were amongst the physical activities identified in mokopuna stories (Dante and Tyson – Te whānau Mason). Tiria (Te whānau Nuri), one of the mokopuna who was still attending kōhanga reo, took photographs of the things she

liked, which included the papa tākaro (playground) and the pahikara (bikes). The indoors also provided opportunities for mokopuna to improve their physical skills through arts and crafts. Drawing, writing, and colouring were amongst the opportunities afforded mokopuna as documented in their stories (Tyson – Te whānau Mason, and Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri).

Overall, the results are interesting because they show the way the kaumātua generation were heavily involved in providing for the physical needs of mokopuna, but this did not feature prominently in mātua experiences. The most likely reason is that kōhanga reo are now established and better resourced than when they started out. However, the issues relating to government funding and property raised by the kaumātua generation have continued to plague the movement since it was brought under the Ministry of Education. As noted in the Waitangi Tribunal (2013), "The shortfall of investment in kōhanga reo capital maintenance and development has led to a depressed building stock" (p. 238). The roll-on effect has been the inability of some kōhanga reo to meet the regulations imposed and provide a safe physical space for mokopuna.

The mātua did not remember a lot about their participation in physical experiences while at kōhanga reo. In contrast, the mokopuna gave many examples of opportunities they had to be active. Taha tinana, as explained by Pere (1991), includes the ability to "develop agility, dexterity, rhythm, coordination, balance, harmony, poise, stamina, and the sheer joy of being human" (p. 24), which is consistent with mokopuna experiences in this study. Overall, the findings paint a positive picture as to the ways mokopuna have experienced taha tinana in kōhanga reo.

Taha Hinengaro

According to Pere (1994), hinengaro focuses on cognitive abilities, such as thinking, recognising, remembering, and knowing. This study showed the way kaumātua were concerned about the development of the hinengaro by making sure there were sufficient resources available to stimulate mokopuna minds.

The stories of two mātua (Sherri – Te whānau Mason, and Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri) showed an interest in the ways kōhanga reo were supporting mokopuna for school. In Kaihau's story

she mentioned a transition-to-school programme run by one of the kaiako at the kōhanga reo focused specifically on nurturing Māori literacy and numeracy skills.

> *Whaea Tiria taking that extra time with her reading, her writing, her spelling. She's more confident now. She will grab a pen and paper and write, and she will do her name and numbers, and just wants to sit down and do her mahi with the kids. Before, she didn't want to she was just put off, but now she wants to sit down and do her mahi kāinga with the others. So kōhanga sends her back a mahi kāinga book as well, which is good because now I can trust that she will go to kura and know she will enjoy it after kōhanga.* (Kaihau, Te whānau Nuri)

There are many examples in the stories of the mokopuna generation and their ability to engage their cognitive abilities. For example, Tiria (Te whānau Nuri) was able to recall the song she learnt at kōhanga reo about the colours of the rainbow, and both Heeni (Te whānau Haimona) and Devon's (Te whānau Mason) participation in whakaari (plays) indicate their ability to step up and say their parts. The two youngest mokopuna, Kahotea (Te whānau Mihaka) and Hinengākau (Te whānau Webster), showed their understanding of te reo Māori as they anticipated actions to waiata.

These findings show the vested interest of kōhanga reo in nurturing the cognitive abilities of mokopuna. But they are also interesting because key advocates for the kōhanga reo movement have made it clear that kōhanga reo is not a preparation for school (Tawhiwhirangi, 2003). The data must therefore be interpreted with caution given the greater emphasis in kōhanga reo on Māori language and whānau development. In saying this, Māori researchers like Skerrett (2017) advocate that children should also have a range of ways to experience the Māori language.

Taha Wairua

Wairua can be interpreted as spirituality, and beliefs about spirituality guide the way one interacts with the environment (Pere, 1991). Based on the comments of the kaumātua generation, kōhanga reo invoked a strong sense of wairua, as the kaumātua generation spoke about it with great reverence. In the stories of Nanny Carol (Te whānau Haimona), Nanny Mere (Te whānau Nuri), and Nanny Jos (Te whānau Webster), phrases and words like "the ahua was lovely", "ngāwari", and "humble" were used to describe the feeling of being in kōhanga reo. Nanny Mere and Koro Ran's story (Te whānau Nuri) also went further to talk about the way kōhanga reo inspired the whānau to conquer their challenges.

> *That's what kōhanga gives us, not just the inside help. You know you need people to help.* (Koro Ran – Te whānau Nuri)

Closely linked to the inspiration and reverence for kōhanga reo was the influence of the people. Nanny Rotu's story (Te whānau Mihaka), mentioned previously, showed the support of a kuia in helping her learn the Māori language. Nanny Jos (Te whānau Webster) referred to the kuia as role models.

> *We have been very fortunate to hit good role models from kōhanga right the way through, like Nanny Biddy here. We have been very fortunate in that respect that we have got role models that the kids and even myself can say "explain to me".*

These results are in line with Royal Tangaere (2012) who states that kōhanga reo is about the "health, educational, cultural, and spiritual development of the whānau" (p. 206). This suggests that the journey to learn the Māori language is a spiritual journey for it connects us to our ancestors, connects us to our whenua, and affirms our identity as Māori. This is not to say that the mātua and mokopuna did not experience spiritual development, but that the loss of the Māori language for the kaumātua generation was more profound.

Ko te Kōhanga Reo Hei Tuapapa

While te reo and tikanga Māori form the basis of learning at kōhanga reo, it is also a foundation for life. This was particularly important to the kaumātua generation because they were still developing their knowledge of te reo Māori. Nanny Jos (Te whānau Webster) was the only kaumātua who had grown up with the language, but her story showed the way she relied on kōhanga reo because te reo Māori was not necessarily the language used in their home.

> *It was like a grounding for him [Kimiora]. I mean sure we got it [the Māori language] around us, but he wouldn't have heard it all the time when we were at home.*

Nanny Mere's (Te whānau Nuri) story also recognised the gravity of the situation for mokopuna transitioning from kōhanga reo to school given the lack of Māori language pathways within the education system at the time.

> *It was a foundation really because there was a gap from kōhanga reo until primary school, until they went up to high school.*

For this reason, Koro Ran (Te whānau Nuri) thought about kōhanga reo not only as a place to access the Māori language and culture, but where mokopuna are given a chance to create a Māori language and cultural base regardless of whether they choose English or Māori medium schooling.

> *Kōhanga plays a massive roll. Kōhanga gives the kids a proper base to work on regardless of whether or not they stay in the world. It gives them opportunity. I think the kids have a place in their culture and their language.*

Parents in Royal Tangaere's (2014) study expressed similar sentiments: "At the end of the day he is able to hold onto his reo and tikanga while following his own road" (p. 211).

Like the kaumātua, Kimiora (Te whānau Webster) viewed kōhanga reo as providing a Māori language and cultural foundation that he had been able to draw and build upon throughout life.

> *The knowledge I know is because of that base that comes from kōhanga reo.*

In his story, Kimiora referred to the way knowledge of te reo Māori supported his ability as an adult to participate in kapa haka competitions and eventually perform abroad. Like Kimiora, Sherri (Te whānau Mason) had a similar outlook, where she referred to kōhanga reo as an anchor. Sherri also made additional comments about the role of kōhanga reo in shaping her children.

> *Kōhanga reo is like the critical years of a child's life where they are learning, so kōhanga reo would mould him into a person as he gets older. Shaping the person that he will become.*

The significance of these comments are explained by Skerrett and Ritchie (2021), where language influences our knowledge and behaviour. This shaping of mokopuna is reflected further in Hoani's experience of kōhanga reo. He recalled the way in which he was taught, which was patterned after Māori ways of doing and being. Consequently, these teachings have remained with Hoani in his adult life.

> *Ko te whakamāramatanga o te kaiako, he rerekē tōnā whakamāramatanga. I tutuki pai wērā kaiako i taua whakatauki, "Mā te whakaatu ka mōhio, mā te mōhio ka mārama, mā te mārama ka matau". Ko te ao Māori katoa tērā he ringa raweke ehara i te iwi whakarongo, he iwi raweke, taea te whāwhā.*

For these mātua, the Māori language was intimately connected to Māori knowledge and cultural values, which prepares mokopuna to live as Māori.

> *It's not just speaking reo, its teaching them how to live in te reo, how to live as Māori, like they do maara kai, things our people did. They actually do that at kōhanga.* (Kaihau – Te whānau Nuri)

> *Koirā taku waimarie mō taku tamaiti i te kōhanga. Kei reira katoa wērā pūkenga ki te whakaako i te reo, ki te whakaako i ngā tikanga, ngā kawa.* (Hoani – Te whānau Mihaka)

These sentiments are also reflected in Hilary's story (Te whānau Haimona), where she described kōhanga reo as a place where you learn to live as Māori.

The findings of this research support the way te reo and tikanga Māori play an important role in living as Māori. Both the kaumātua and mātua generations recognised by learning to live as Māori while at kōhanga reo, the mokopuna would have the necessary foundation to navigate life as adults. This is similar to research by Martin (2013) and Tocker (2014), where, like the mokopuna in this research, graduates of kura kaupapa Māori who have been educated in accordance with Te Aho Matua were able to take their knowledge and teachings with them to inform their adult lives.

Before concluding this discussion, I wish to acknowledge some of areas of the pou which did not feature in this discussion. They may be useful for whānau and kōhanga reo to consider as specific foci moving forward. This includes Pou 1: Ko te reo kia tika, ko te reo kia rere, ko te reo kia Māori and Pou 2: Whakanuia te tangata i ngā wā katoa.

He Whakarāpopototanga – Chapter Summary

The lived experiences of the multi-generational whānau in this research provides many insights about the way kōhanga reo support families to blossom. Participation in kōhanga reo gave the families one of the most precious gifts, the gift of the Māori language. Mokopuna were fortunate to experience a Māori language environment where Māori cultural practices, including karakia, waiata, and mihimihi, are normalised. Kuia who are skilled in the Māori language and tikanga were present to share their expertise. The excitement of mokopuna learning the language becomes a family affair as parents and caregivers commit to undertaking their own Māori language journey.

Kōhanga reo can transform whānau from flaxbush living, used in ths research as a symbol for western ways of knowing and being, to the pā harakeke, where the Māori world is embraced. When the families began their journey in kōhanga reo, their lives mirrored the flaxbush, influenced by the English language. Surrounded by the aroha and tautoko (support) of the pā harakeke, the kaumātua made one of the toughest and most rewarding decision of their lives, to choose kōhanga reo. Establishing kōhanga reo was hard in the sense that there was very little money, but the struggles brought the kaumātua together. Fundraising was common and it continues to be a feature of kōhanga reo that connects families. Excursions is a newer practice amongst the mātua generation, where whānau can form meaningful relationships.

Opportunities to take on roles and responsibilities in kōhanga reo encourage whānau to assert their tino rangatiratanga. By joining kōhanga reo, the multi-generational whānau in this study became part of a movement designed by Māori, for Māori. The families were active in kōhanga reo by volunteering their time and talents. Hui-ā-whānau was an important space for the multi-generational whānau to meet and wānanga. The outcome is that the families were prepared to step up and advocate for the Māori world, for whānau, for mokopuna.

The wellbeing of mokopuna and whānau is also an important focus of kōhanga reo. As well as cultural learning experiences, mokopuna are given opportunities to strengthen their tinana (physicality) and hinengaro (cognition). These dimensions contribute to the holistic development of the mokopuna, which includes a focus on wairua (spirituality) and whatumanawa (emotions) (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2018). For the kaumātua in this research, participation in kōhanga reo signalled a spiritual and healing journey to overcome the trauma caused by colonisation. Importantly, the journey that begins in kōhanga reo is a life-long journey. Kōhanga reo ways of thinking and being enable mokopuna and whānau to navigate the complexities of life as Māori.

The next chapter will discuss the implications of this research for whānau, kōhanga reo, Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, the education sector, and policy makers.

Chapter Eight: Tui, Tui, Tuituia

He Kupu Whakataki – Introduction

The metaphor of the pā harakeke has been an important feature of this research, focusing on the meaning of educational success for multi-generational whānau and the contributions of kōhanga reo to this success. I used pā harakeke to convey key messages from the literature, and in doing so I was able to identify a gap in kōhanga reo related research involving whānau and their views of educational success. The idea that there are tikanga (cultural practices) associated with pā harakeke was useful to explain the way this research was carefully designed, grounded by kaupapa Māori theory and kōhanga reo ways of knowing and being. I chose to use the analogy of weaving together a taura harakeke (flax rope) to share whānau views of educational success because of the way the experiences of one generation had an impact on the next. For the whānau in my study, educational success encompasses Māori expressions of Mana Reo (the power of language), Mana Tangata (the power of people), and Mana Whenua (the power of land). I have used the kōrari flowers inside the pā harakeke to represent the way kōhanga reo supported the multi-generational whānau to blossom.

As I conclude this thesis, I draw inspiration from the metaphor of the pā harakeke for a final time as I consider the implications of this study. As the kōrari flower blossoms from within the pā harakeke, the tūī birds gather to drink nectar, transferring pollen from one flower to the next, "Ka tau a Tūī ki te ngongo, arā, ko te marea, te tāhuhu, ko wai, ko wai, ka hora te reka o ngā pua ki te ao, tui, tui, tuituia" (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 3). Like the tūī birds who spread the sweetness of the nectar, this chapter looks at how the findings of this research on educational success and kōhanga reo can support whānau, kōhanga reo, Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, the wider education sector, and the Government. I highlight a range of issues relating to the Māori language and culture, whānau, and growth. I also discuss the implications of undertaking a research project with young Māori children and multiple generations of whānau and the contribution this makes to the advancement of research methods and processes. The limitations of this study and recommendations for further research are also discussed. I conclude the chapter by sharing some personal reflections on this doctoral journey and the future of kōhanga reo.

Ngā Putanga o Tēnei Rangahau

Why did we want Te Kōhanga Reo for our children? Why?
Because we didn't have the language;
Because we had this burning ache in our hearts;
Because we were hungry for the language;
Because it was ours; and
Because if it dies we died as a people.
Who could imagine an existence with no Māori language?
Who would care for my ancestral meeting house?
Who would care for our land, our sea, our mountains, our rivers?
Who would call my ancestors to come for me when I lie in state?
WHO? WHO?

Why should you choose Te Kōhanga Reo for your children? Why?
Because we have the language;
To soothe the aching hearts of our parents;
So they will never have to go without our language again;
Because it is ours;
Because it is alive, and we are alive as a people;
We no longer have to imagine an existence without the Māori language.
We will care for our ancestral meeting houses;
our lands, seas, mountains and rivers.
We will call to our ancestors when your time has come
We will! We will!

He aha i mātātupu ai te hiahia o te kākano i roto mai i ou tamariki?
Kua ora te reo i a tātou
Kia mamahu te ngākau o te pēperekōu
Kia kaua e auau i te matemate-ā-one o te reo
Ko au ko te reo, ko te reo ko au
Kua ora te kākano, kua ora te kōpuni kauika
Kua tawhiti areare te pōhewatanga o te korenga o te reo
Ko au hei kumanu i taku whare, i taku marae
Te whenua ki te moana tae rawa ki ngā maunga, ki ngā awa.
Mā wai te reo karanga ki ngā piki kōtuku?
Māku! Māku e kawe! Māku e tō!
(Written by Arapera Royal Tangaere[11] and adapted by Hoana McMillan & Temaea Teaeki)

Whānau

The passages above relate the main reason many families, including the multi-generational whānau in this research, have chosen kōhanga reo for their children, and that is so they could

[11] The first passage written by Arapera Royal Tangaere was part of a key note speech presented in 2004 at the Aboriginal Languages Conference: First Nations National Council, Quebec, Canada. It was subsequently included in Royal Tangaere's (2012) doctoral research entitled *Te Hokinga ki te Ūkaipo: A socio-culutural construction of Māori language development: Kōhanga Reo and home* and appears again in Royal Tangaere (2014) as part of the chapter publication *Te Hokinga ki te Ūkaipo: Constructions of Māori language Development.*

learn the Māori language. A key finding arising from this study is that the lives of three generations of whānau have been transformed as a result of this decision. For the graduates of kōhanga reo, the foundation they gained has created a strong sense of Māori identity and a base for them to experience educational success in the Māori world and beyond (see also Martin (2013) and Tocker (2014)). The experiences of the multi-generational whānau offer some useful guidance for whānau who wish to embark on a similar journey of transformation in kōhanga reo. Whānau must:

Remember the purpose of kōhanga reo

The Māori language and culture are the priorities for whānau in kōhanga reo. Kōhanga reo is not a preparation for school, it is a preparation for life (Tawhiwhirangi, 2003). Mokopuna are immersed in the Māori language and a way of living that values people and what it means to be Māori. Whānau also need to remember that kōhanga reo were established in response to the near death of the Māori language, a direct result of colonisation. Choosing kōhanga reo is about more than the Māori language. It is a political decision. For this reason, whānau ought to learn about the history of kōhanga reo, the struggles of the first parents (who were the kaumātua in this research) and the collective efforts and determination of Māori to truly appreciate the significance of the movement.

Be ready to take part in the journey

Kōhanga reo is a place for the whole whānau to learn and grow together. The findings of this study concur with Royal Tangaere (2014) that whānau must commit to learning te reo Māori with their children so they have support for the language at home. A willingness to be active in the movement, which includes regular attendance at hui-ā-whānau (a monthly gathering of whānau), is also necessary to help make decisions about kōhanga reo. Where possible, whānau are encouraged to spend time at kōhanga reo to support the learning and development of mokopuna and to take on additional roles and responsibilities. By doing so, whānau assert our tino rangatiratanga and right to care and make decisions for our children, “Kei te whānau te tikanga, te atawhai me te manaaki i te mokopuna” (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2022, p. 8). A strong whānau presence ensures kōhanga reo remains in the hands and control of Māori.

Kōhanga Reo

As kōhanga reo celebrates 40 years of operations, the findings of this research show the movement is in a strong position moving forward. Based on my findings I suggest that kōhanga reo should continue to do the following:

Focus on Māori cultural routines and pedgogical practices

My findings are that the use of Māori cultural routines, such as karakia, mihimihi, and waiata, make a significant contribution to language and cultural development. This is consistent with previous research on kōhanga reo (Hohepa, 1990; Royal Tangaere, 1992, 2012; Skerrett, 1995). Kaiako should draw on these cultural routines and other teaching strategies to support both oral and written literacies in te reo Māori.

Māori cultural and pedagogical practices also warrant similar attention. Kaiako need to prioritise whanaungatanga amongst mokopuna. Tuakana-teina relationships provide mokopuna with an additional layer of support for the Māori language and in navigating day-to-day life in kōhanga reo. It is vital that kaumātua have an ongoing presence in kōhanga reo because of their Māori language and cultural expertise and the support they can provide to mokopuna and whānau. Parents and caregivers should be encouraged to attend kōhanga reo so mokopuna can feel the full impact of pā harakeke working together as a collective. It is also vital that kaiako continue to show Māori expressions of aroha, awhi, manaaki, and mirimiri so our mokopuna know they are loved and valued.

Create opportunities to bring whānau together

Kōhanga reo must keep finding ways for whānau to connect. When whānau are connected, they are more likely to shift from being concerned for their own children to thinking about the pā harakeke and how whānau can work together for the good of all mokopuna. Initiatives should provide opportunities for whānau to talk, to eat together, and to learn more about each other. Excursions and fundraising are two examples of initiatives that emerged from this research which encouraged whānau to align their way of thinking with the pā harakeke. When considering appropriate initiatives kōhanga reo must be careful not to burden families by incurring costs or excluding other members of the immediate family.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust

Findings indicate there are strategic and research related objectives Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust need to consider. The Trust should:

- *Develop a communication and recruitment strategy*

Given the benefits identified in my study, the Trust should consider ways to make information about kōhanga reo readily accessible. There must be a range of platforms and options available for whānau to learn about the movement, including community meetings and other face to face gatherings. Individuals who are known and trusted members of the community could feature in the strategy. Mokopuna stories of educational success, which span two generations, and the stories of how whānau lives have changed as a result of kōhanga reo, should be shared widely.

- *Share the experiences of the movement with others*

It is incumbent on the Trust to continue sharing the journey of the kōhanga reo movement with other Indigenous peoples in acknowledgement of our shared struggles and as a sign of solidarity. Kōhanga reo is one of the oldest language immersion programmes for children under five years of age. With three generations of whānau having experienced kōhanga reo, the movement is a valuable source of knowledge about longer term and multigenerational impacts. Johnston and Johnson (2021) outline the kinds of questions that can be useful to consider when looking to establish a language immersion programme:

-Who would be the teachers?
-What kind of role could the parents of the children play?
-What sought of pedagogy is going to be the most effective?
-What would the movement credit as the key components of their success?
(pp. 108–109).

Te ao Mātauranga

The findings of this research offer the education sector a living model of "Māori enjoying and achieving educational success as Māori" (Ministry of Education, 2008, 2013a). Kaiako, schools, and early learning services need to:

Acknowledge the ways Māori are achieving

Kaiako can provide greater recognition to the ways Māori children are succeeding in the Māori world. Some examples from this study include the way mokopuna can waiata and mihimihi and offer support for others who are learning te reo Māori (Mana Reo – the power of language). Showing an appreciation for whānau, caring for and nurturing others (Mana Tangata – the power of people) are equally important achievements which should be acknowledged. Likewise, the efforts of children to connect with their Māori identity and whakapapa (Mana Whenua – the power of the land) should be acknowledged because of their importance in navigating life as Māori now and in the future. By acting on opportunities to acknowledge Māori expressions of educational success, kaiako are enhancing the mana of mokopuna.

Challenge the role of whānau in education

The sector is encouraged to re-envision the role of whānau in education. Whereas government reporting once labelled whānau as the cause for Māori underachievement (Hunn, 1961), this study has shown that with the support of pā harakeke, mokopuna thrive. If services want to make a genuine difference in the lives of Māori children, then it is essential that they create a culture where whānau are valued. The presence of kaumātua in schools and early learning services should be normalised. Whānau must be given opportunities to connect with each other so children can experience the full effect of pā harakeke in operation. Educational services must also relinquish some of the power that rests with kaiako to allow whānau to make decisions for their children in recognition of Māori tino rangatiratanga.

Te Kāwanatanga

It has been 11 years since the *Te Kōhanga Reo Claim* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013), where the Waitangi Tribunal acknowledged the prejudice the movement has suffered at the hands of the Crown. Based on the findings of this study it would benefit the pā harakeke if the government were to:

Raise the profile of kōhanga reo

It is crucial that the government acknowledges its failure to act on the Tribunal recommendation to research the benefits of the kōhanga reo model. In the absence of any action

by the government, my study highlights some of the valuable contributions the kōhanga reo movement has made to the lives of three generations of whānau. The government has a responsibility to engage with this research so that the Crown is better informed about the success of kōhanga reo. The insights that can be gleaned from this research should be used to raise the profile of kōhanga reo and ensure the alignment of government policy with the aspirations of kōhanga reo whānau. Lastly, the government, through the Trust, must ensure ongoing research is undertaken and made available to all New Zealand families.

Te ao o te Rangahau

I have learnt some valuable lessons during this study, which add to advancements in the research space, more specifically research with young children and working with multiple generations of whānau.

Continue to advance research with young Māori children

Māori researchers can do more to involve young Māori children in research, especially those under the age of five. In this research I was attracted to the Mosaic approach and was able to bring together tools to give mokopuna a voice. A key difference as a kaupapa Māori researcher working with Māori children was my desire to use tools like mātai mokopuna and mahi toi which are culturally located within the Māori world. I suggest that by choosing tools that are significant to Māori, we are piecing together mokopuna voices in an authentically Māori way.

Understand the challenges of working with multiple generations

A key feature of this research was in working with three generations of whānau which was both a privilege and a challenge. My experience can help other researchers navigate the complexities of working with multiple generations. I suggest a two-tiered approach to presenting research findings which contradicts traditional practices, but which I deem necessary. The first step is to convey the research findings in a way that allows readers to appreciate the growth and development of each family over time. I chose to convey the findings in this research by crafting multi-generational pūrākau, an action which also prevented the fragmenting of family stories. The second step involves looking across each generation (i.e., the grandparent generation and then the parent generation) to identify key findings and then

stepping back to see which findings are shared between generations to proceed with the discussion.

Limitations of the Research

One of the limitations of this research is that the kōhanga reo and whānau who participated in this research were from one rohe (region). While one whānau lived in Australia for a period of time and another in the South Island of New Zealand, the majority of whānau only experienced kōhanga reo in the central North Island. This difference in experiences was especially obvious to the whānau who lived in the South Island, where they recognised the Māori language was stronger in the central North Island. This suggests that exploring kōhanga reo and whānau experiences in different geographical locations could result in views of educational success that were not visible in this research.

I am also aware of the expectations at doctoral level to situate one's research within the international context. My research does not meet this expectation and may be perceived by some as a limitation. I offer the following explanation to readers, which I have alluded to at different times throughout this research: kōhanga reo is one of the oldest and most well-documented Indigenous language immersion programmes for children five years and under. I had difficulty locating literature about similar programmes, a challenge which was also identified over 20 years ago by Johnston and Johnson (2002).

Another limitation of this study is that it is written in the English language. In my ideal world, I would have written this thesis in te reo Māori as an act of decolonisation and to align this research with kaupapa Māori and kōhanga reo ways of knowing and being. The reality is that there was simply not enough time. I have chosen instead to begin this thesis in te reo Māori, acknowledging the pā harakeke who have made this research possible, and end it with the kōhanga reo anthem.

He Kōrero Whakakapinga – Final Thoughts

It is my hope that the findings of this research touch the lives of all who have not chosen kōhanga reo as a pathway to educational success for their children. The pūrākau of some of the kaumātua generation remind me that choosing kōhanga reo is not always an easy choice. The kaumātua sacrificed the familiarity and traditions of playcentres and kindergartens to venture

down an uncertain path while simultaneously building the kōhanga reo movement from the ground up. This leap of faith has led to the transformation of many Māori families throughout Aotearoa New Zealand.

When I embarked on this doctoral journey, accounts of the kōhanga reo movement and its impact on the educational success of multiple generations of whānau existed only in the lives and memories of those who have experienced it. The multi-generational pūrākau from this research are now available to all to help demystify how parents and children have fared by choosing kōhanga reo.

The multi-generational pūrākau also serve as a reminder to us all that kōhanga reo were created by Māori, for Māori, and symbolise our struggle for self-determination and the hopes for a better future. We must never forget the injustices suffered by our people and the colonial influence that continues to shape Māori experiences of educational success in Aotearoa New Zealand. While there has been much talk of an education system which supports Māori success as Māori, the reality is that the system has not delivered for Māori (Skerrett, 2012). At a policy level, we have been told that Māori have rights to decision making at all levels (Ministry of Education, 2020a), yet the government has not been willing to cede control of kōhanga reo. The contradictory nature of what is said and done does not reflect a genuine desire to support Māori to achieve educational success on their own terms and in their own way. In contrast, this research has shown that Māori have thrived when wrapped in the warm embrace and security of the pā harakeke. By choosing kōhanga reo, we join the same struggle as our ancestors who fought for the right to maintain our language, culture, and identity. In the words of the kōhanga reo anthem:

Kua tipu rā hei oranga
mō te iwi Māori
Mā te matua i te rangi
hei ārahi i te kōhanga
Nō reira mauria mai
ngā tamariki ki Te Kōhanga Reo.[12]

[12] A song referred to as the Kōhanga reo anthem and composed by Kohi Coleman and Tunisia Keelan.

References

Archibald, J. (2008). *Indigenous storywork: Educating the heart, mind, body, and spirit.* University of British Columbia Press.

Awanui, T. (2015). Kia aha te Māori kia Māori ai? Perspectives towards Māori identity by Māori heritage language learners. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *44*(3), 18-28.

Baird, K. (2013). Exploring a methodology with young children: Reflections on using the mosaic and ecocultural approaches. *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood*, *38*(1), 35-40.

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*. Oxford University Press.

Barrington, J. M. (2008). *Separate but equal?: Māori schools and the Crown, 1867-1969*. Victoria University Press.

Barrington, J. M., & Beaglehole, T. H. (1974). *Maori schools in a changing society: An historical review.* New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Belgrave, M. (2005). *Historical frictions: Māori claims and reinvented histories*. Auckland University Press.

Benton, R. (1981). *The flight of the Amokura.* New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Benton, R. (1997). *The Maori language: Dying or reviving*. New Zealand Council of Educational Research. (Original work published, 1991). https://www.nzcer.org.nz/news/te-wiki-tuawha-richard-benton-s-maori-language-dying-reviving

Bishop, R. (1995). *Collaborative research stories: Whakawhanaungatanga* [Doctoral thesis, University of Otago]. https://ourarchive.otago.ac.nz/handle/10523/531

Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education*. Cengage Learning.

Bronner, S. (2017). *Critical theory: A very short introduction* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/ 10.1093/actrade/9780190692674.001.0001

Chibaka, E. F. (2018). Advantages of bilingualisum and multilingualism: Multidimensional research findings. In B. S. Chumbow (Ed.), *Multilingualism and bilingualism*. IntechOpen.

Clark, A. (2001). How to listen to very young children: The mosaic approach. *Child Care in Practice*, *7*(4), 333-341. https://doi.org/10.1080/13575270108415344

Clark, A., & Moss, P. (2011). *Listening to young children: The mosaic approach* (2nd ed.). NCB.

Clark, A., Moss, P., & Kjørholt, A. T. (2005). *Beyond listening: Children's perspectives on early childhood services*. Bristol University Press.

Collins, H. (2010). *Ka mate ka ora!: The spirit of Te Rauparaha*. Steele Roberts.

Consedine, R., & Consedine, J. (2012). *Healing our history: The challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Penguin Books.

Cooper, G., Arago-Kemp, V., Wylie, C., & Hogden, E. (2004). *Te rerenga ā te pīrere: A longitudinal study of kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori students*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

D'Angelo, F. (2023). *Teaching and learning third languages*. Multilingual Matters.

Dankertsen, A. (2022). "It's more like it doesn't even exist": Stories of hauntings as a way of resisting colonial elimination of Sámi presence. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *18*(3), 335–343. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/11771801221117549

Department of Internal Affairs. (2017a). *He Whakaputanga/The Declaration of Independence, 1835*. Bridget William Books. https://doi.org/10.7810/9781988533032

Department of Internal Affairs. (2017b). *Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi, 1840*. Bridget William Books. https://nzhistorycollection-bwb-co-nz.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/collection-books/9780947518998

Douglas, E. M. K., & Barrett-Douglas, R. (1983). *Nga kohanga reo: A salvage programme for the Maori language*. ANZAAS Congress.

Drew, C. L., Hardman, M. L., & Hosp, J. L. (2008). *Designing and conducting research in education*. Sage.

Durie, A. (1998). Emancipatory Maori education: Speaking from the heart. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *11*(3), 297-308. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908319808666558

Durie, M. (2001, August 9). *A framework for considering Māori educational advancement.* Paper presented at the Hui Taumata Mätauranga, Turangi/Taupo.

Durie, M. (2003). A framework for considering Māori educational advancement. In *Ngā Kāhui Pou: Launching Māori Futures* (pp. 197-211). Huia. (Original work presented, 2001). https://canvas.manukau.ac.nz/courses/26983/files/1204670/download?verifier=ZZrFLF2WDlRXseLMOhZaQr7FBFlRF2bcXBdyMFVS&wrap=1

Edmonson, K. (1984). *Piritahi Te Kohanga Reo: Maoridom in microcosm*. Carrington Technical Institute.

Education (Early Childhood Centres) Regulations, (1990). http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/num_reg/eccr1990415/

Education Counts. (2021). *Centres of innovation*. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/ECE/22551

Education Review Office. (1997). *What counts as quality in kōhanga reo?*

Education Review Office. (2005). *Evaluation indicators for education reviews in Kōhanga Reo*. https://ero.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2021-04/Evaluation%20Indicators%20for%20Kohanga%20Reo.pdf

Education Review Office. (2010a). *Promoting success for Maori students: Schools' progress*. Education Evaluation Reports.

Education Review Office. (2010b). *Success for Māori children in early childhood services*. https://ero.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2021-05/success-maori-ece-may10.pdf

Education Review Office. (2017). *Hauhaketia ngā taonga tuku iho kia puāwai ai: Unearth our ancestral treasures so that we may prosper*. https://www.ero.govt.nz/publications/unearth-our-ancestral-treasures-so-that-we-may-prosper-2018/

Edwards, C., Gandini, L., Forman, G., & S.R.L., R. C. (2011). *The hundred languages of children*. ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Edwards, M. (1990). *Mihipeka: Early years*. Penguin.

Einarsdottir, J., Dockett, S., & Perry, B. (2009). Making meaning: Children's perspectives expressed through drawings. *Early Child Development and Care*, *179*(2), 217. https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430802666999

Fleras, A. (1983). *Te Kohanga Reo: Preparation for life or preparation for school: A preliminary report on the organization, objectives and implication of Maori language nests*. Department of Māori Affairs.

Freire, P. (1972). *Cultural action for freedom*. Penguin.

Gallen, R. (2001). *Relationship between the Crown and Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust*. Ministry of Education.

Goren, P. (2009). *How policy travels: Making sense of Ka Hikitia - Managing for success: The Māori education strategy 2008-2012*. https://www.fulbright.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/axford2009_goren.pdf

Government Review Team. (1988). *Government review of Te Kohanga Reo: Ripoata o te whakamatau o nga mahi a Te Kohanga Reo*. Government Printer.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. Lawrence and Wishart.

Greenwood, M., de Leeuw, S., & Fraser, T. N. (2008). When the politics of inclusivity become exploitative: A reflective commentary on Indigenous peoples, indigeneity, and the academy. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *31*(1), 198-207.

Harris, A. (2004). *Hikoi: Forty years of Māori protest*. Huia.

Hawksworth, R. (2010). *The civil rights movement* [Online video]. Kanopy Streaming.

Hemara, W. (2000). *Māori pedagogies: A view from the literature*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Hill, R. (2016). Transitioning from Māori-medium to English: Pursuing biliteracy. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 51*(1), 33-52.

Hohepa, M. (1990). *Te Kohanga Reo hei tikanga ako i te reo Maori* [Master's thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/2935

Hohepa, M. (1993). *Preferred pedagogies and language interactions in Te Kohanga Reo*. Research Unit for Maori Education.

Hohepa, M. (2014, February 10-11). Te hokinga ki te pā harakeke. Tiakina te Pā Harakeke: A Knowledge Exchange Symposium on Māori Childrearing, Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development, Hopuhopu, New Zealand.

Hohepa, M., Paki, V., Peters, S., Gilbert, T., Hawksworth, L., Olliver, D., Anderson, T., & Hakaraia, T. (2017). *Riariakina ō rongo hirikapo: From kōhanga reo to kura*. http://www.tlri.org.nz/sites/default/files/projects/TLRI%20Summary_Hohepa%28v4%29.pdf

Huata, D. (1984). *Māori sovereignty*. Broadsheet.

Hunn, J. K. (1961). *Report on Department of Maori Affairs: With statistical supplement, 24 August 1960*. Government Printer.

Hyland, Q. R. (1997). *Pakiwaitara: Myths & legends of the Māori*. Reed.

Irwin, K. (1990). The politics of Kohanga Reo. In S. Middleton, J. Codd, & A. Jones (Eds.), *New Zealand education policy today: Critical perspectives* (pp. 110-120). Allen & Unwin.

Jenkins, K. (2000). *Haere tahi tāua: An account of aitanga in Māori struggle for schooling* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/710

Jenkins, K., Harte, H., & Te Kahui Mana Ririki. (2011). *Traditional Māori parenting: An historical review of literature of traditional Māori child rearing practices in pre-European times*. Te Kahui Mana Ririki.

Johnston, B., & Johnson, K. A. (2002). Preschool immersion education for indigenous languages: A survey of resources. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 26*(2), 107-123.

Johnston, P. (1998). *He ao rereke: Education policy and Maori underachievement: Mechanisms of power and difference* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/2194

Jones, A. (1995). *Myths and realities: Schooling in New Zealand* (Vol. 2). Dunmore Press.

Jones, A., & Jenkins, K. (2008). Invitation and refusal: A reading of the beginnings of schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand. *History of Education*, *37*(2), 187-206.

Jones, A., & Jenkins, K. (2011). *He kōrero: Worlds between us - First Māori-Pākehā conversations on paper*. Huia.

Jones, A., Marshall, M., Matthews, K. M., Smith, G. H., & Smith, L. T. (1995). *Myths and realities: Schooling in New Zealand* (Vol. 2). Dunmore Press.

Ka'ai, T. (1990). *Te hiringa taketake: Mai i te kohanga reo i te kura: Maori pedagogy: Te kohanga reo and the transition to school* [Master's thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/5984

Ka'ai, T. (2004). Te mana o te reo me ngā tikanga: Power and politics of the language. In T. Ka'ai, J. Moorfield, M. Reilly, & S. Mosely (Eds.), *Ki te whaiao: An introduction to Māori education and society* (pp. 201-213). Pearson Education.

Karetu, T., & Milroy, W. (2018). Ko te reo Māori te tatau ki te ao. In R. Ka'ai-Mahuta, D. Mahuta, J. Moorfield, H. Kelly, & T. H. Mason (Eds.), *He kupu tuku iho: Ko te reo Māori te tatau ki te ao* (pp. 1-8). Auckland University Press.

Katene, N. (1992). *Kohanga Reo: Let's celebrate*. Department of Education, Victoria University.

Keenan, D. (2012). 'Separating them from that common influence' - The dissolution of customary authority 1840-1890. In D. Kennan (Ed.), *Huia histories of Māori: Ngā tāhuhu kōrero* (pp. 132-162). Huia.

King, D. N., & Goff, J. R. (2010). Benefitting from differences in knowledge, practice and belief: Māori oral traditions and natural hazards science. *Natural Hazards and Earth System Science*, *10*(9), 1927-1940. https://doi.org/10.5194/nhess-10-1927-2010

Kohanga Reo Trust. (1984). *Te Kohanga Reo Trust Incorporated*.

Kohu, J. (2006). *The role of kuia in kōhanga reo: An affirmation to their value in the transmission of te reo and tikanga Māori* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Waikato.

Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*. University of Toronto Press.

Kovach, M. (2021). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts* (2nd ed.). University of Toronto Press.

Kukutai, T., & Webber, M. (2017). Ka Pū Te Ruha, Ka Hao Te Rangatahi: Maori identities in the twenty-first century. In A. Bell, V. Elizabeth, T. McIntosh, & M. Wynyard (Eds.), *A Land of Milk and Honey? Making Sense of Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 71–82). Auckland University Press.

Kurtz. (2013). Indigenous methodologies: Traversing indigenous and western worldviews in research. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *9*(3), 131-156.

Lange, D. (1988). *Before Five: Early childhood care and education in New Zealand*. Government Print.

Lee-Morgan, J., Muller, M., Seed-Pihama, J., & Skipper, H. (2019). *Tukua ki te ao: Progressing the normalisation of te reo Māori in organisations*. https://www.waikato.ac.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/503829/Tukua-ki-te-Ao.pdf

Lee, H., & Lee, G. (1995). The politics of Māori education: History, policies, conflicts and compromises. *Waikato Journal of Education, 1*, 95-117.

Lee, J. (2008). *Ako: Pūrākau of Māori teachers' work in secondary schools.* http://www.rangahau.co.nz/assets/lee_J/leej2008_phd.pdf

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI review,* (2), 1-12. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/view/242/268.html

Macfarlane, A. (2015). Restlessness, resoluteness and reason: Looking back at 50 years of Māori education. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *50*(2), 177-193. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-015-0023-y

Mahuika, K. (1986). *Te taniwha me te poraka*. Te Ropu Mahipukapukapura, Te Tari Matauranga.

Mahuika, N. (2012). *'Kōrero tuku iho': Reconfiguring oral history and oral tradition* [Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato]. https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/items/92f7f78f-0da8-47b3-ba6d-ee6d1c290a9a

Mahuika, N., & Mahuika, R. (2020). Wānanga as a research methodology. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *16*(4), 369-377. https://doi.org/10.3316/informit.579504057727730

Mahuika, R. (2008). Kaupapa Māori theory is critical and anti-colonial. *MAI review, 3*, 1-16.

Martin, J. (2012). He kura huna - Māori expressions of educational success. *Te Kaharoa, 5*, 109-118. https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v5i1.99

Martin, J. (2013). *He kura-hapainga, he kura-waka, he kura-korero, he kura-huna, he kura-kura.* [Doctoral thesis, Auckland University of Technology]. https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/items/069d3e1f-55f7-4ab6-911b-4f503286981e

McDonald, G. (1973). *Maori mothers and pre-school education*. NZCER.

McIntosh, T. (2005). Māori identities: Fixed, fluid, forced. In J Liu, T McCreanor, T. McIntosh, & T. Teaiwa (Eds.), *New Zealand identities: Departures and destinations* (pp. 38-51). Victoria University Press.

McMillan, H. (2020). Mana whenua/Belonging through assessment: A kōhanga reo perspective. *Early Childhood Folio*, *24*(1), 15-20.

McMillan, H., Shaw, T., Patu, H., Parekura, A., Tihema, J., Urlich, V., & Shaw, K. (2023). Making sense of Te Whāriki a te Kōhanga Reo through toi Māori: A whānau

approach. *Early Childhood Folio*, *27*(1), 9-15. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18296/ecf.1116

Mead, H. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Huia.

Mead, H. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values* (2nd ed.). Huia.

Meade, A. (1988). *Education to be more: Report of the Early Childhood Care and Education Group*. Government Printer.

Metge, J. (2004a). *A new Māori migration: Rural and urban relations in northern New Zealand*. Athlone Press.

Metge, J. (2004b). *Rautahi: The Maoris of New Zealand*. Routledge.

Metge, J. (2015). *Tauira: Māori methods of learning and teaching*. Auckland University Press.

Ministry of Education. (1990, December 6). *Early childhood education charter guidelines: Statement of desirable objectives and practices*. New Zealand Gazette. http://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/nz_gazette/1990/213/5.pdf

Ministry of Education. (1996a). *Early childhood education charter guidelines: Statement of desirable objectives and practices (Revised)*.

Ministry of Education. (1996b). *Te Whāriki: He whāriki matauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa = Early childhood curriculum*. Learning Media.

Ministry of Education. (1998). *Quality in action = Te mahi whai hua : Implementing the revised statement of desirable objectives and practices in New Zealand early childhood services*. Learning Media.

Ministry of Education. (2002). *Pathways to the future = Ngā Huarahi Arataki: 2002-2012: A 10 year strategic plan for early childhood education*.

Ministry of Education. (2008). *Ka hikitia managing for success: The Māori education strategy, 2008-2012*.

Ministry of Education. (2009). *Te whatu pōkeka: Kaupapa Māori assessment for learning early childhood exemplars*. http://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Early-Childhood/TeWhatuPokeka.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2011). *An agenda for amazing children: Final report of the ECE taskforce*.

Ministry of Education. (2013a). *Ka Hikitia - Accelerating Success 2013-2017*. http://www.minedu.govt.nz/theMinistry/PolicyandStrategy/~/media/MinEdu/Files/TheMinistry/KaHikitia/KaHikitiaAcceleratingSuccessEnglish.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2013b). *Tau mai te reo: The Māori language in education strategy 2013-2017*.

Ministry of Education. (2014). *Rukuhia raranghia: Aromatawai position paper*. https://tmoa.tki.org.nz/Mataiako/Rukuhia-Rarangahia

Ministry of Education. (2017). *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo*. https://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Early-Childhood/Te-Whariki-a-te-Kohanga-Reo.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2019). *He taonga te tamaiti – Every child a taonga strategic plan for early learning 2019 draft for consultation*. https://conversation.education.govt.nz/assets/ELSP/Early-Learning-Strategic-10-Year-Plan.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2020a). *Ka Hikitia - Ka Hāpaitia*. https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/overall-strategies-and-policies/ka-hikitia-ka-hapaitia/

Ministry of Education. (2020b). *Te Hurihanganui: A Blueprint for Transformative System Shift*. https://assets.education.govt.nz/public/Documents/our-work/Te-Hurihanganui/f-MOE19458-Te-Hurihanganui-Blueprint-Full-PRINT.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2021). *Tau Mai Te Reo - The Māori Language in Education Strategy*. https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/overall-strategies-and-policies/tau-mai-te-reo/tau-mai-te-reo-the-maori-language-in-education-strategy-english/

Mitchell, L., Royal Tangaere, A., Mara, D., & Wylie, C. (2006). *Quality in parent/whānau-led services: Summary report*. Ministry of Education.

Moeke-Pickering, T. (1996). *Māori identity within whānau: A review of literature*.

Moon, P. (2013). *Turning points: Events that changed the course of New Zealand history*. New Holland.

Moon, P. (2019). 'To teach the natives English': James Pope's 1880 native schools code. *History of Education*, *48*(5), 591-606.

Mutu, M. (2004). The humpty dumpty principle at work: The role of mistranslation in the British settlement of Aotearoa. 'He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni' and 'The Declaration of Independence'. In S. Fenton (Ed.), *For better or for worse: translation as a tool for change in the Pacific.* (pp. 11–36). St Jerome.

Nepe, T. (1991). *E hao nei e tenei reanga, te toi huarewa tipuna: Kaupapa Maori - An educational intervention system* [Master's thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/3066

Newby, P. (2013). *Research methods for education*. Taylor and Francis.

Ngā Tamatoa, & Citizens Association for Racial Equality. (1974). *Te reo Maori: Maori language and the N.Z. Education Department*.

O'Malley, V. (2012). *The meeting place: Māori and Pākehā encounters, 1642–1840*. Auckland University Press.

O'Malley, V., & Harris, A. (2017). *He Whakaputanga: The declaration of independence, 1835*. Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o Te Kāwanatanga. https://nzhistorycollection-bwb-co-nz.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/collection-books/9781988533049

O'Regan, H. (2018). Kotahi mano kaika, kotahi mano wawata - A thousand homes, a thousand dreams. In L. Hinton, L. Huss, & G. Roche (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language revitalization* (pp. 107-114). Routledge.

Orange, C. (2013). *The story of a treaty* (2nd ed.). Bridget Williams Books.

Orange, C. (2020). *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Bridget William Books.

Orange, C. (2021). *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Bridget William Books. https://doi.org/10.7810/9781988587189

Orbell, M. R. (1992). *Traditional Māori stories*. Reed.

Penetito, W. (2011). Kaupapa Māori education: Research as the exposed edge. In J. Hutchings, H. Potter, & K. Taupo (Eds.), *Kei tua o te pae hui proceedings - The challenges of kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century* (pp. 38-43). New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Pere, R. (1991). *Te wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom*. Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand.

Pere, R. (1994). *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Maori tradition*. Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust.

Perry, J. (2022, February 10). Government's “new dawn for Māori education” rejected by educators. *Te Ao Māori News*. https://www.teaomaori.news/governments-new-dawn-maori-education-rejected-educators

Peters, K. N. (2022, November 20). *Waka Huia - Kōhanga Reo Pt 1 full episode*. [Video]. You Tube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kurhk_vqRa0

Phillips, L. G., & Bunda, T. (2018). *Research through, with and as storying*. Routledge.

Pihama, L. (2001). *Tīhei mauri ora. Honouring our voices: Mana wahine as Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/1119

Pihama, L. (2010). Kaupapa Māori theory: Transforming theory in Aotearoa. *He Pukenga Kōrero - A Journal of Māori Studies*, *9*(2), 5-14.

Pihama, L. (2016). Positioning ourselves within kaupapa Māori research. In J. Hutchings & J. Lee-Morgan (Eds.), *Decolonisation in Aotearoa*. New Zealand Council of Educational Research.

Pihama, L., & Cameron, N. (2012). Kua tupu te pā harakeke: Developing healthy whānau relationships. In *For Indigenous Minds Only - A decolonization handbook* (pp. 225-244). SAR Press.

Pihama, L., Lee, J., Te Nana, R., Campbell, D., Greensill, H., & Tauroa, T. (2015). Te Pā Harakeke: Whānau as a site of wellbeing. In R. Rinehart, E. Emerald, & R. Matamua (Eds.), *Ethnographies in Pan Pacific Research: Tensions and Positionings* (pp. 251-264).

Pohatu, H., Stokes, K., & Austin, H. (2006). *Te Ohonga Ake o Te Reo - The re-awakening of Māori language : An investigation of kaupapa-based actions and change*. Ministry of Education.

Pohatu, T. W. (2004). Āta : Growing respectful relationships. *He pūkenga kōrero: A journal of Māori studies*, *8*(1), 1-8.

Porsanger, J. (2004). An essay about Indigenous methodology. *Nordlit*, *8*(1), 105-120. http://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/906/article.pdf.?sequence=1

Proudfoot, K. (2023). Inductive/deductive hybrid thematic analysis in mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Method Research*, *17*(3), 308-326.

Rameka, L. (2016). Ngā tuākiri o te tangata: Being Māori in early childhood education. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, *46*(1), 104-114.

Reilly, M. (2004). Whanaungatanga - Kinship. In T. Ka'ai, J. Moorfield, M. Reilly, & S. Mosley (Eds.), *Ki te whaiao: An introduction to Māori society* (pp. 61-72). Pearson Education.

Rona, S. (2015). *An exploratory study: Māori children's bi-literacy experiences moving from a kōhanga reo setting to a kura kaupapa Māori, bilingual, and mainstream education setting* [Master's thesis, Massey University]. https://mro.massey.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10179/8326/01_front.pdf

Rona, S., & McLachlan, C. (2018). Māori children's biliteracy experiences moving from a kōhanga reo setting to a kura kaupapa Māori, bilingual, and mainstream education setting: An exploratory study. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *53*(1), 65-82.

Royal Tangaere, A. (1992). *Language transference from Te Kohanga Reo to home: The roles of the child and family* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Auckland.

Royal Tangaere, A. (1997a). *Learning Māori together: Kōhanga reo and home*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Royal Tangaere, A. (1997b). Te Kohanga Reo: More than a language nest. *Early Childhood Folio*(3), 41-47.

Royal Tangaere, A. (2012). *Te hokinga ki te ūkaipō - A socio-construction of Māori language development: Kōhanga Reo and home* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/2292/13392/whole.pdf?sequence=2

Royal Tangaere, A. (2014). Te hōkinga ki te ūkaipō: Constructions of Māori language development. In R. Higgins, P. Rewi, V. Olsen-Reeder, & Ngā Pae of te

Māramatanga (Eds.), *The value of the Māori Language: Te Hua o te reo Māori* (pp. 205-222). Huia.

Royal, T. C. (2007). *The purpose of education: Perspectives arising from mātauranga Maori*. Ministry of Education.

Seed-Pihama, J. E. (2017). *Ko wai tō ingoa? The transformative potential of Māori names* [Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato]. https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10289/11310/thesis.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y

Shaw, T., & McMillan, H. (2023). Finding ourselves: E hoki koe ki ō maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tawhirimātea. *Early Childhood Folio, 27*(2), 9-12. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18296/ecf.1123

Simon, J. (1998a). Anthropology, 'native schooling' and Maori: The politics of 'cultural adaptation' policies. *Oceania, 69*(1), 61-78.

Simon, J. (Ed.). (1998b). *Nga kura Māori: The native schools system 1867-1969*. Publishing Press Limited.

Simon, J., & Smith, L. T. (Eds.). (2001). *A civilising mission?: Perceptions and representations of the New Zealand native schools system*. Auckland University Press.

Simon, J. A., Jenkins, K., & Matthews, K. (1995). *The native schools system: Nga kura Māori no nga ra o mua: Research project progress report 1994*. University of Auckland Research Unit for Maori Education.

Skerrett, M. (1995). *Language scaffolding on a kōhanga reo* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Auckland.

Skerrett, M. (2001). The rise and decline of Te Kohanga Reo: The impact of government policy. In J. Ritchie, A. Parsonson, T. Karetu, N. Te Uira, &, & G. Lanning (Eds.), *Te Taarere aa Tawhaki* (Vol. 1, pp. 11-22). Waikato Print.

Skerrett, M. (2003). *Kia mate ra ano a tama-nui-te-ra: Reversing language shift in kohanga reo* [Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato]. https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/14051

Skerrett, M. (2012). Policy and inhibiters of bicultural/bilingual advancement. In J. Ritchie & M. Skerrett (Eds.), *Early childhood education in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 35-55). Palgrave Macmillan.

Skerrett, M. (2014a). Crown breaches, neoliberal reforms, and radical pedgogy. In J. Ritchie & M. Skerrett (Eds.), *Early childhood education in Aotearoa New Zealand: History, pedagogy and liberation* (pp. 56-71). Palgrave Macmillan.

Skerrett, M. (2014b). Kaupapa Māori early childhood care and education. In J. Ritchie & M. Skerrett (Eds.), *Early childhood education in Aotearoa New Zealand: History, pedgogy and liberation* (pp. 10-32). Palgrave Macmillan.

Skerrett, M. (2017). Te Kōhanga Reo: Early childhood education and the politics of language maintenance in kōhanga Aotearoa New Zealand -A personal-political history. In L. Miller, N.Barbour, C. Dalli, & C. Cameron (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of early childhood policy* (pp. 433-451). Sage.

Skerrett, M., & Ritchie, J. (2021). Te rangatiratanga o te reo: Sovereignty in indigenous languages in early childhood education in Aotearoa. *Kōtuitui, 16*(2), 250–264. https://doi.org/org/10.1080/1177083X.2021.1947329

Smith, G. H. (1995). Whakaoho whanau: New formationsof whanau as an innovative intervention into Maori cultural educational crises. *He Pukenga Kōrero - A Journal of Māori Studies*, *1*(1), 18-36.

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Maori: Theory and praxis* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/623

Smith, G. H. (2000). Maori education: Revolution and transformative action. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *24*(1), 57-72.

Smith, G. H. (2002). *The development of kaupapa Maori: theory and praxis* (Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. Auckland, New Zealand).

Smith, G. H. (2005). Beyond political literacy: From conscientization to transformative praxis. In F. Bodone (Ed.), *What difference does research make and for whom?* (pp. 29-42). Peter Lang.

Smith, L., Maxwell, T. K., Puke, H., & Temara, P. (2016). Indigenous knowledge, methodology and mayhem: What is the role of methodology in producing indigenous insights? A discussion from Mātauranga Māori. *Knowledge Culture*, *4*(3), 131-156.

Smith, L., Pihama, L., Cameron, N., Mataki, T., Morgan, H., & Te Nana, R. (2019). Thought space wānanga: A kaupapa Māori decolonizing approach to research translation. *Genealogy*, *3*(4), 74.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. University of Otago Press.

Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies* (2nd ed.). Otago University Press.

Smith, L. T. (2021). *Decolonizing methodologies* (3rd ed.). Bloomsbury.

Smith, M. (1983). *Kimi and the watermelon*. Puffin.

Sorrenson, M. P. K. (Ed.). (1986). *Na to hoa aroha - From your dear friend: The correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck 1925-50*. University Printing Services.

Statistics New Zealand. (2022). *Te Reo Māori proficiency and support continues to grow*. https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/te-reo-maori-proficiency-and-support-continues-to-grow/

Stevenson, B. (2004). Te Hoe Nuku Roa: A measure of Māori cultural identity. *He Pūkenga Kōrero : A Journal of Māori Studies, 8*(1), 37-46.

Taonui, R. (2012). Māori urban protest movements. In D. Keenan (Ed.), *Huia histories of Māori* (pp. 229-260). Huia.

Tawhiwhirangi, I. (2003). Iritana Tawhiwhirangi. In P. Diamond (Ed.), *A fire in your belly - Māori leaders speak* (pp. 73-109). Huia.

Tawhiwhirangi, I. (2014). Kua tū tāngata e! Moving a critical mass. In R. Higgins, P. Rewi, V. Olsen-Reeder, & Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (Eds.), *The value of the Māori language* (pp. 33-52). Huia.

Te Aho Matua. (2008). *Official version of Te Aho Matua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori and an explanation in English. Supplement to New Zealand Education Gazette, 32.* Department of Internal Affairs. https://www.dia.govt.nz/pubforms.nsf/NZGZT/Supplement_TeAho32Feb08.pdf/$file/Supplement_TeAho32Feb08.pdf

Te Huia, A. (2015). Kia aha te Māori kia Māori ai?: Perspectives towards Māori identity by Māori heritage language learners. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology 44*(3), 18-28.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (1983a). *Te Peka Matua*.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (1983b). *Whānau learning certificate syllabus*. Unpublished internal document.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (1995). *Te Korowai*.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (1999). *Recommending a strategy for Purapura*.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (2006). *Te Ara Tūāpae 2008-2033.*

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (2018). *Te Whāriki a Te Kōhanga Reo*. https://www.kohanga.ac.nz/te-reo/te-whariki-a-te-koohanga-reo

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (2020). *Wererou Te Whāriki Tuatahi*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DIca3jDUvrI

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (2022). *Te Korowai: Pono ki te kaupapa, puna ko te reo.*

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. (n.d). *Te Kōhanga Reo.* https://www.kohanga.ac.nz

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board. (n.d). *Te Ara Tuatahi me Te Ara Tuarua mo Te Reo Maori o Te Kohanga Reo - Te Pukapuka whakataki ma nga kaiawhi (Handbook for Kaiawhi).*

Te Kōhanga Reo National Wananga. (1983). *Te putea whakawhaiti tino kaupapa i whanau mai i Te Kohanga Reo Wananga, 3rd, 4th August 1983*.

Te Kōhanga Reo Trust. (1984). *Report of the Kohanga Reo National Wananga*.

Te One, S. (2013). The context for Te Whāriki: Contemporary issues of influence. In J. Nuttall (Ed.), *Weaving Te Whāriki*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori. (2019). *E whitu ngā kaupae ki te angitū reo Māori*. https://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/seven-steps-to-te-reo-success

Thompson, M. J. (2017). *The Palgrave handbook of critical theory*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Thomson, P. (2008). Children and young people: Voices in visual. In P. Thomson (Ed.), *Doing visual research with children and young people*. Routledge.

Tocker, K. (2002). *He hua pai ta te kura kaupapa Maori* [Master's thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/3304

Tocker, K. (2014). *Hei oranga Māori i te ao hurihuri nei. Living as Māori in the world today: An account of kura kaupapa Māori* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/22755

Tocker, K. (2015). The origins of kura kaupapa Māori. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *50*(1), 23-38.

Toki, V. (2017). Māori seeking self-determination or tino rangatiratanga? A note. *Journal of Māori and Indigenous Issues,* (5), 134-144.

Tomlins-Jahnke, H., & Warren, K. T. (2011). Full, exclusive and undisturbed possession: Māori education and the Treaty. In V. Tawhai & K. Gray-Sharp (Eds.), *'Always speaking' – The Treaty of Waitangi and public policy* (pp. 21-33). Huia.

Tripartite Relationship Agreement Between Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and the Ministers of Education and Māori Affairs ("Ministers"). (2003). https://www.beehive.govt.nz/sites/default/files/27%20-%20Kohanga%20Reo%20Agreement%20document.doc

United Nations General Assembly. (1990). *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1990*. https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text#

Waho, T., & Walker, A. (2015). Te Kura Kaupapa Māori 1985-2012. In R. Higgins, P. Rewi, & V. Olsen-Reeder (Eds.), *The value of the Māori language: Te hua o te reo Māori* (pp. 169-179). Huia

Waitangi Tribunal. (1986). *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori Claim*. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_68482156/Report%20on%20the%20Te%20Reo%20Maori%20Claim%20W.pdf

Waitangi Tribunal. (2011). *Ko Aotearoa tēnei a report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity*. Legislation Direct.

Waitangi Tribunal. (2013). *Matua Rautia: The report on the kohanga reo claim: Pre-publication*. https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/news/wai-2336-matua-rautia-report-on-the-kohanga-reo-claim-2/

Waitangi Tribunal. (2016). *Resolving the grievances of the past.* https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/publications-and-resources/school-resources/orakei/resolving-the-grievances-of-the-past/

Waitangi Tribunal. (2023). *About the Waitangi Tribunal*. https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/about/

Walker, R. (1980). *Nga Tamatoa*. Maori Organisation on Human Rights.

Walker, R. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu mātou: Struggle without end*. Penguin.

Walker, R. (2016). Reclaiming Māori education. In J. Hutchings & J. Lee-Morgan (Eds.), *Decolonisation in Aotearoa* (pp. 19-38). New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Watson, A. M. (2020). Pā harakeke as a research model of practice. *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work*, *32*(3), 30-42.

Webber, M., & Macfarlane, A. (2020). Mana tangata: The five optimal cultural conditions for Māori student success. *Journal of American Indian Education*, *59*(1). https://doi.org/10.5749/jamerindieduc.59.1.0026

Whitinui, P. (2010). Indigenous-based inclusive pedagogy: The art of Kapa Haka to improve educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *International Jounal of Pedagogies and Learning*, *6*(1), 3-22.

Yates, P. (1986). *Hohepa te puru*. Te Ropu Mahipukapukakura, Te Tari Matauranga.

Glossary

Āhuatanga Māori	Māori ways of being
Ākonga	Student
Aroha	Love
Atua	Māori deities
Awa	Rivers
Āwhina	Support
Awhi rito	Parents
Haka	Traditional Māori song and dance
Hapū	Sub-tribal grouping
Hīkoi	March
Hui	Gatherings
Hui kaumātua	Conferences for elders
Hui-ā-whānau	Gathering of families
Inoi	Prayers
Iwi	Tribal grouping
Kai	Food
Kaiako	Teacher
Kāinga	Homes
Karakia	Prayers
Kaumātua	Grandparent generation/elders
Kaupapa	Movement
Kaupapa whānau	Whānau involved in the movement
Kawa	Lore
Kōhanga reo	Māori immersion “language nests” for children from birth to six years old
Kuia	Women elders
Kupu	Words
Kura	School
Kura kaupapa Māori	Māori immersion schooling
Mana	Enabling power/Power of the gods/Prestige
Mana Reo	Power of the language

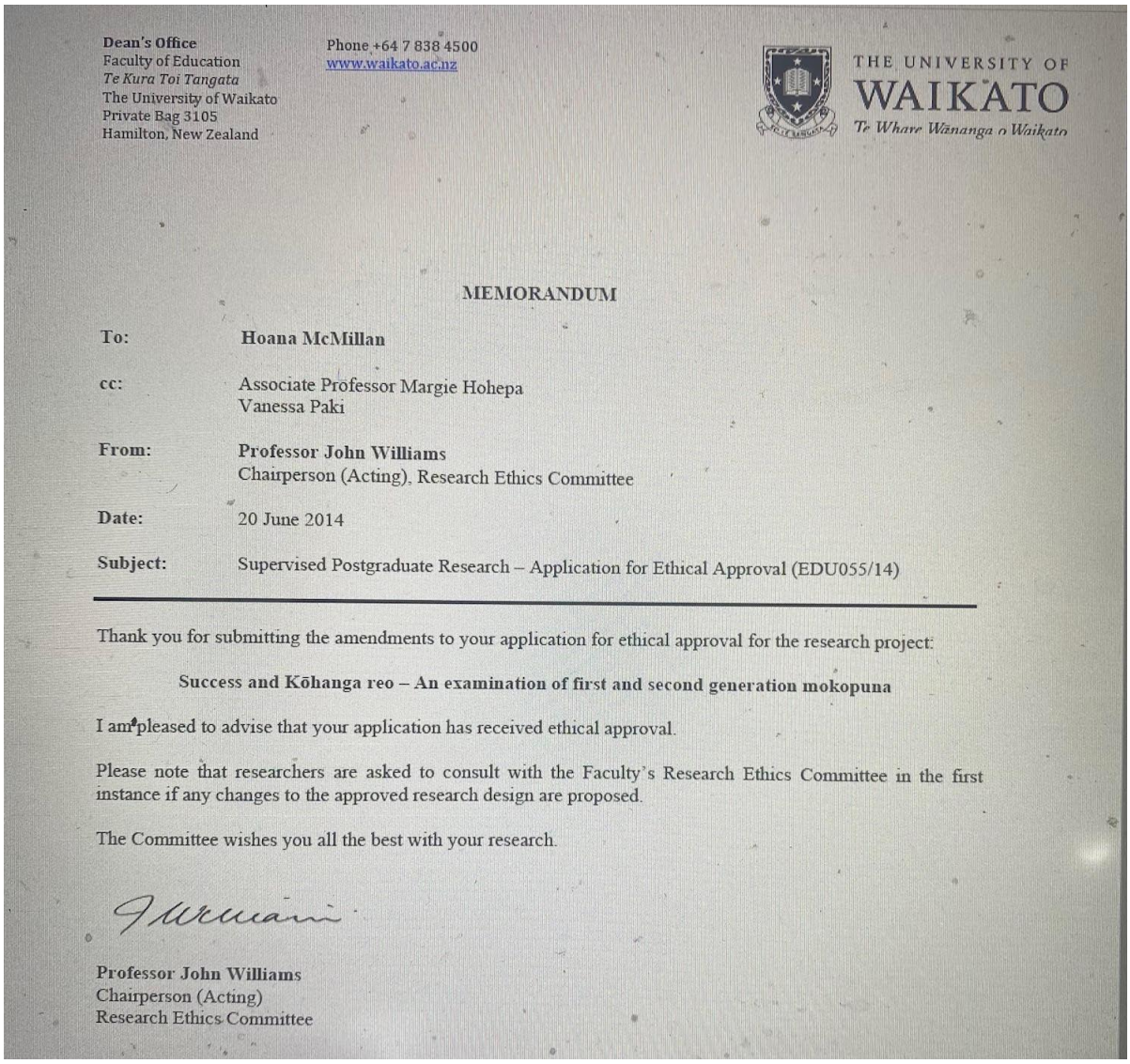
Mana Tangata	Power of the people
Mana Whenua	Power of the land
Manaaki	Care
Manaaki(tanga)	Ethic of care/Taking care of one another
Mana Māori motuhake	The spirit of Māori autonomy
Marae	A traditional Māori housing complex
Maramataka	Calendar
Mātai mokopuna	Observations of children
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mātua	Parent generation/parents
Mihimihi	Greetings
Moana	Oceans
Mokopuna	Children (attending kōhanga reo)/ Child generation
Pakiaka	Roots
Pā harakeke	Flaxbush/representation of whānau
Pākehā	British settlers
Papatūānuku	Earth mother
Pēpi	Baby
Pepeha	Tribal sayings
Pou	Pillar
Pōwhiri	Welcoming ceremony/ceremonies
Pūrākau	Story/Narrative
Ranginui	Sky father
Rito	Middle shoot symbolising the child
Tangihanga	Funeral ceremony
Taonga	Prized possession/valuables
Taonga tuku iho	Treasures passed down
Tapu	Prohibition
Taura harakeke	Flax rope
Tā moko	Traditional Māori tattoos
Te ao Māori	The Māori world
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te wā kai	Mealtime

Tikanga	Customs/Cultural practices
Tino rangatiratanga	Chieftainship/Control over one's life
Tohi	Māori ritual
Tuakana-teina	Younger/older sibling relationship
Tuakiri	Identity
Tupuna	Grandparents
Urupā	Cemetery
Wairua	Spirituality
Wānanga	Discuss
Wānanga whakatauira	Conferences for all ages
Wero	Challenge during a welcoming ceremony
Whakatauki/Whakatauākī	Saying
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whānau	Family
Whānau whānui	Extended family
Whanaungatanga	Relationships/Relationship building/ Building and maintaining relationships
Wharekura	Secondary Māori immersion schooling
Whare wānanga	Place of higher learning/ Māori tertiary institutions
Whenu	Strand
Whenua	Land
Whiri	Plaited designs

Appendices

Ethical approval

The following e-mail was received on 20 June 2014 containing approval of my ethics application.



Dean's Office
Faculty of Education
Te Kura Toi Tangata
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4500
www.waikato.ac.nz

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

MEMORANDUM

To: **Hoana McMillan**

cc: Associate Professor Margie Hohepa
Vanessa Paki

From: **Professor John Williams**
Chairperson (Acting), Research Ethics Committee

Date: 20 June 2014

Subject: Supervised Postgraduate Research – Application for Ethical Approval (EDU055/14)

Thank you for submitting the amendments to your application for ethical approval for the research project:

Success and Kōhanga reo – An examination of first and second generation mokopuna

I am pleased to advise that your application has received ethical approval.

Please note that researchers are asked to consult with the Faculty's Research Ethics Committee in the first instance if any changes to the approved research design are proposed.

The Committee wishes you all the best with your research.

Professor John Williams
Chairperson (Acting)
Research Ethics Committee

I also requested an extension to the ethics approval which was confirmed on the 28 April 2020 and outlined in the email below.

PVC's Office
Te Wānanga Toi Tangata Division of Education The University of Waikato Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand
Phone +64 7 838 4500
www.waikato.ac.nz

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

MEMORANDUM

To: Hoana McMillan

cc: Dr Richard Hill

From: Dr Noeline Wright
Co-chair Division of Education Research Ethics Committee

Date: 28/4/2020

Request for Extension to Research Ethics Approval – Student (EDU055/14)

Thank you for your request for an extension to the ethics approval for the project:

Success and Kōhanga reo – An examination of first and second generation mokopuna

It is noted you intend to contact the participants to:

1. gain consent to use any data gathered to prepare papers and conference presentations deriving from the research. This includes a) any drawings, b) any photographs taken by children at home or at the kōhanga reo, and c) any data from the interview/child conferences
2. gain consent to use photographs and drawings of children in my thesis
3. check with whānau and individual kōhanga reo to ensure that the chosen photographs/drawings are appropriate for use in publications. To do this, whānau/kōhanga reo may be contacted through social media, e-mail, and phone calls and text message and they will be provided with the copies of the photographs/drawings.

I am pleased to advise that this extension has received approval.

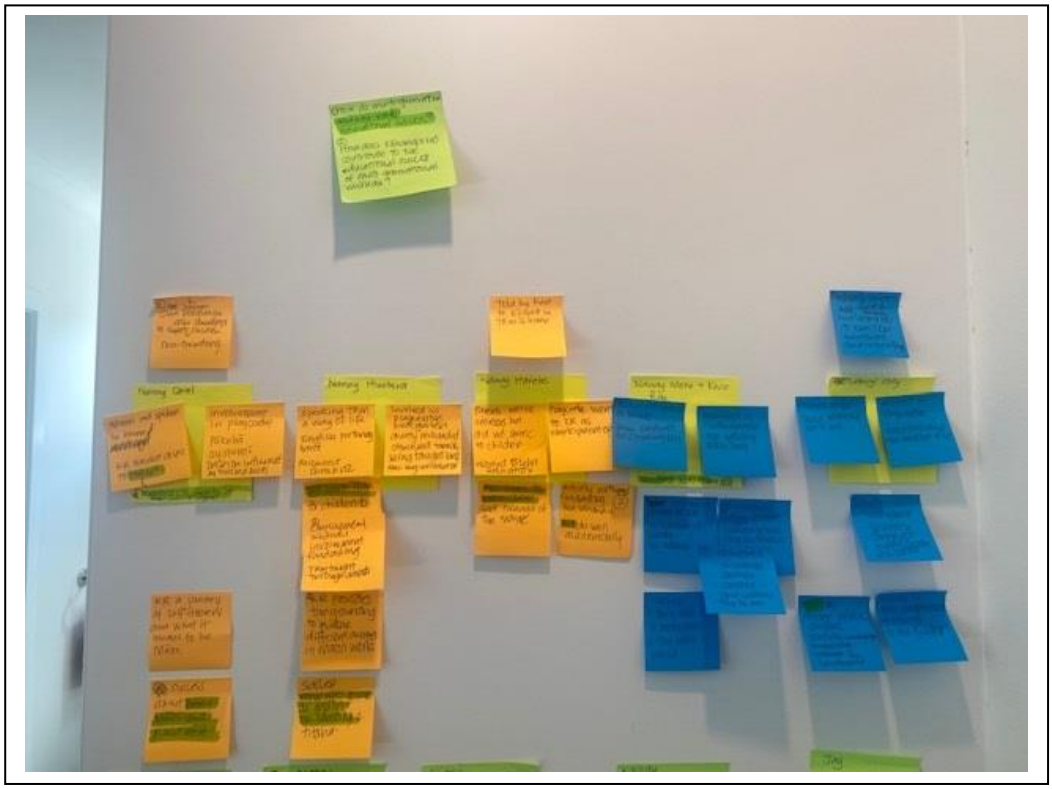
Please note that researchers are asked to consult with the Division's Research Ethics Committee in the first instance if any further changes to the approved research design are proposed.

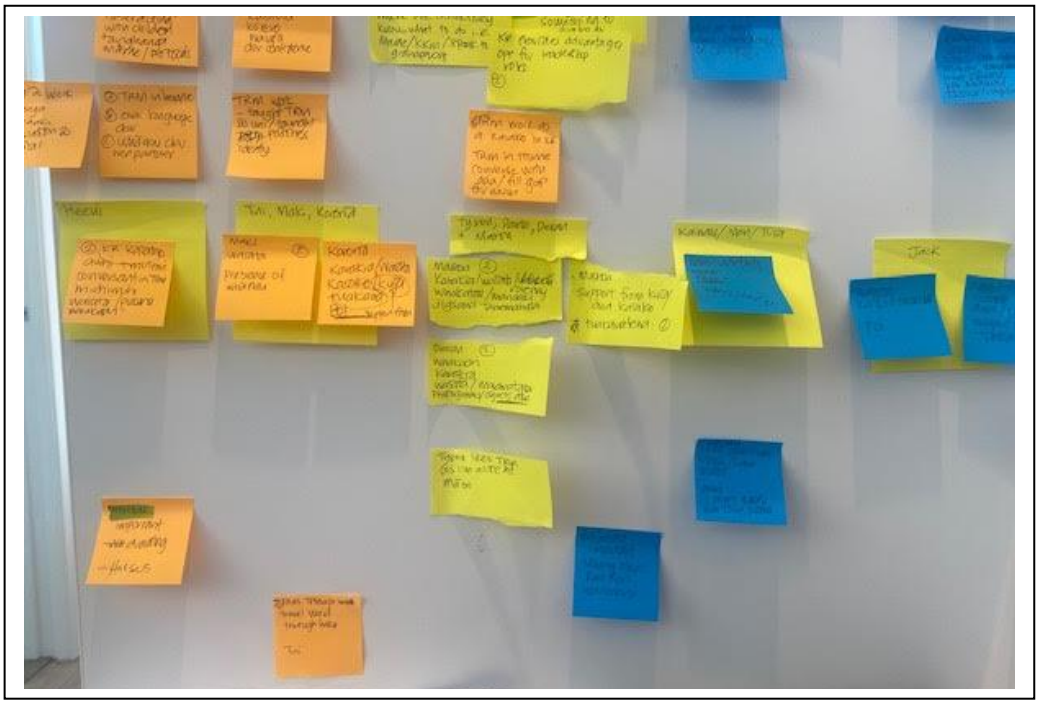
The Committee wishes you all the best with your research.

Dr Noeline Wright
Co-chair Division of Education Research Ethics Committee

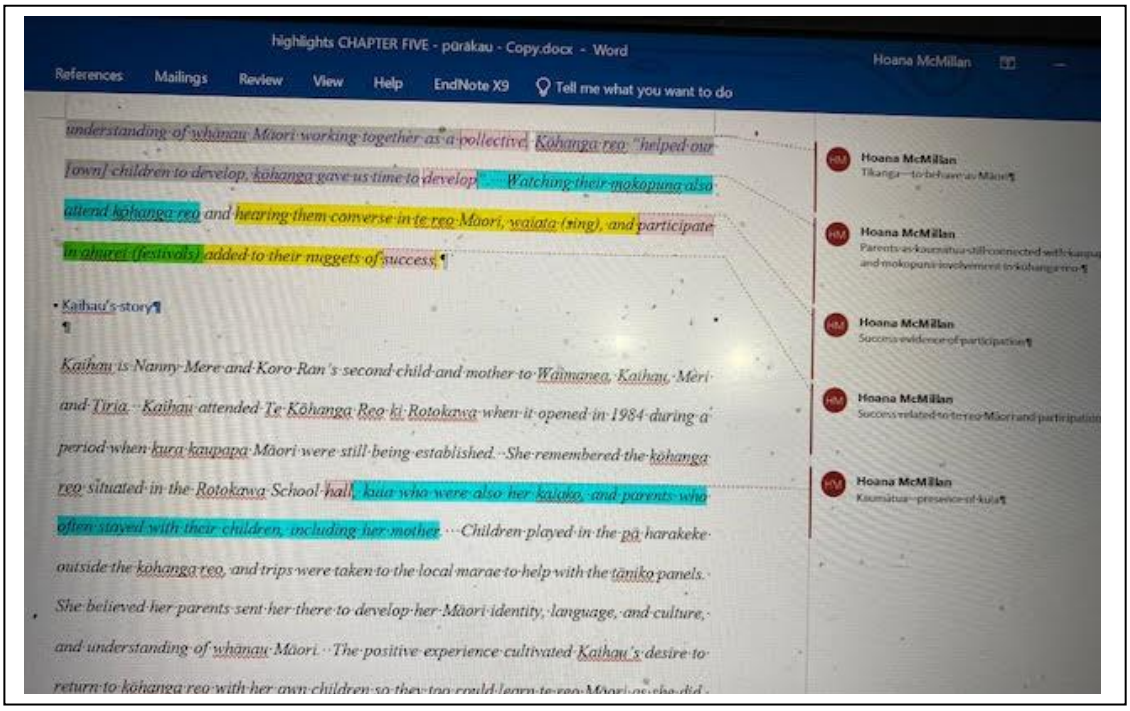
Coding example

An example of coding – 8th November 2020





Example of coding - 24th May 2021



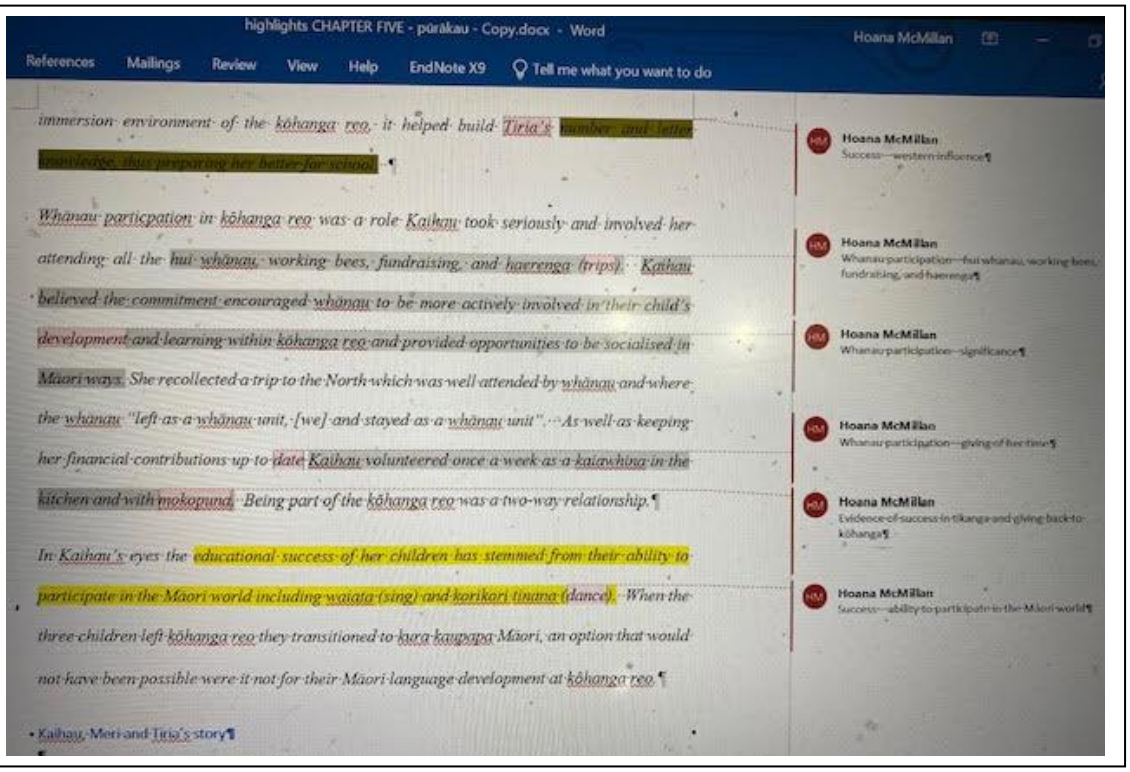


Table constructed