The revitalisation roles of Māori-medium whānau

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BRADEN BRYANT

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ABSTRACT

For over a century and a half, te reo Māori (the Māori language) has suffered from linguistic marginalisation, causing significant language shift to English, and, with it, generations of Māori who are unable to speak their indigenous language. While efforts since the 1970s to rebuild te reo Māori have primarily focused on educational initiatives such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa, there is now a move to shift the revitalisation strategy towards encouraging te reo Māori use in the home, and to rebuilding the language intergenerationally. Unfortunately, little is known about whānau perceptions regarding te reo Māori revitalisation, which is what this research investigates.

This research investigates five whānau who have committed their children to Māori-medium education. It aims to understand what influenced their decision-making around Māori-medium and what they see as the key benefits for their children. It also looks at what whānau consider to be obstacles regarding their use of te reo Māori, and at their commitment to Māori-medium education. Finally, this research aims to uncover how whānau perceive the wider revitalisation effort, and their roles in it.

The qualitative method of semi-structured interviews was used to conduct this research. The conversational nature of this method gives whānau the freedom to express their beliefs, while remaining on the main themes of this study. As the participants and themes of this research are Māori, the study used Kaupapa Māori theory and principles to guide it. This supported the overall aim of aligning with Māori aspirations, and safeguarding participants from exploitation.

This research found that perceptions of whānau often reflected the extent to which they had been affected by intergenerational language shift. Whānau still highly affected by language shift, and whose te reo Māori is less normalised in the home, prioritised te reo Māori learning at school as the key benefit of Māori-medium education. This group also faced more opposition to their Māori-medium choices

from friends and whānau, and perceived their revitalisation roles to be more concerned with the immediate whānau. By contrast, the whānau who had managed to regenerate te reo Māori in their homes to a greater extent placed more emphasis on tikanga and values as benefits of Māori-medium education. They identified opposition from friends and whānau as a barrier to their promotion of te reo Māori, while also identifying their own subconscious lapses into English as a major barrier to maintaining normalised te reo Māori environments for their children. Finally, they perceived their revitalisation roles as revolving around normalising te reo Māori for their whānau and for their communities. They played important roles in establishing language domains for further use of what is their home language.

This small study shows the importance of understanding the perceptions of those who are central to the regeneration of te reo Māori because they are the key agents of successful change, and have the attitudes and skills to do so. A larger study would provide more data to support the formation of new language revitalisation strategies.

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CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

Background

Many indigenous groups around the world are attempting to revitalise their languages. A common theme among them has been the process of colonisation, where their languages have been marginalised as their colonisers have sought to control their resources. In some cases, indigenous groups have been overtly repressed through warfare, genocide, or population expulsion (Fishman, 1991), while in other cases indigenous groups have been repressed through policy aimed at assimilation and the devaluing of culture and language. Some, like the native speakers of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, have been exposed to both kinds of repression.

A central mechanism to causing language shift in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been education policy. From the mid-19th Century, European colonists used education policy as a means to reduce the status of te reo Māori (Barrington, 2008). The enforcement of English-only school policies inculcated in the Māori people the idea that English had a higher value than their native language. This led to mass social change, which affected not only their language but also their traditional ways of life (King & Filer, 2007). Māori were persuaded that the English language, not te reo Māori, was the future, associating it to better standards of living, better employment, and better prospects for their children.

The land loss that occurred alongside this process exacerbated the process of language shift from te reo Māori to English. Such was the impact, that by the 1930s te reo Māori use had become increasingly confined to the home, church and marae (O'Regan, 2012), and by the 1970s was found to be endangered (Benton, 1997).

The resurgence that began in the 1980s saw the establishment of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura, adult learning, iwi radio stations, and recognition of te reo Māori as an official language of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ka'ai, 2004; Walker, 1990; Harris,

2004; Hinton, 2001). Importantly, again Māori children were growing up learning te reo Māori.

The percentage of te reo Māori speakers continues to fall, from 25% to 21% of Māori between 2011 and 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). While education initiatives have been successful in producing new speakers, the lack of gains at the home and community levels indicates that revitalisation strategies have not been completely effective. Intergenerational language transmission (ILT) is not easily achieved when it faces multiple barriers (Maxwell, 2014). The dominance of English in almost all aspects of society in Aotearoa/New Zealand means that parents who are trying to raise te reo Māori-speaking children are constantly faced with English, and only rarely with te reo Māori. Maintaining te reo Māori within these whānau becomes even harder when parents are themselves te reo Māori second-language learners.

There is now an increased emphasis on the importance of normalising te reo Māori in homes and communities as a way of encouraging and facilitating the transmission of te reo Māori from parents to their children, and supporting the work of the Māori-medium establishments. There have also been calls for greater input into developing a revitalisation strategy by those who are 'on the ground', such as whānau, communities, hapū, and iwi (Reedy, Dewes, Maxwell, O'Regan, Papa, Shortland, & Waho, 2011). The result of this change in focus has been the establishment of Te Mātāwai, a group of te reo Māori experts who act as representatives of their different hapū, iwi, and regions who are tasked with formulating revitalisation strategy which reflects greater lower-level Māori control.

For a new strategy to be successful, research is required to gain an understanding of the revitalisation situation among those who are centrally involved in Māori-medium education and can lead the process. However, such a strategy will only be successful if it is implemented with a clear understanding of the Māori language situations that exist among whānau who have committed to te reo Māori via Māori-medium education. How these whānau perceive te reo Māori revitalisation and their roles in

it is very important. With little prior research having targeted whānau revitalisation perceptions, this research aims to increase what is known by highlighting some of the key revitalisation issues according to whānau's own accounts.

Aims of the research

The primary purpose of this research is to investigate how Māori-medium whānau fit into the wider picture of te reo Māori revitalisation. This project sought the perspectives of five whānau about their involvement in Māori-medium education and the wider issue of Māori language normalisation in the home and in society. The study has three questions it seeks to explore:

- What influences whānau decision-making in regard to Māori-medium education for their children?
- What are the whānau perceptions about te reo revitalisation, and the roles they play in it?
- What are the main barriers that whānau encounter in regard to their participation in te reo Māori revitalisation?

This Kaupapa Māori-guided project used semi-structured interviews to explore whānau backgrounds and perspectives on the main themes of this study. This research also aims to understand what the whānau consider to be their roles in te reo Māori revitalisation. By better understanding what whānau perceive as their roles, this research hopes to highlight the impact that whānau are having on te reo Māori revitalisation in their communities. With these whānau being central to the Māori language revitalisation effort, understanding more about their perceptions will help support te reo Māori for future generations.

Thesis organisation

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Following the Introduction, Chapter two provides a review of the literature on te reo Māori development, its depletion and

recent strategies towards revitalisation. Chapter three discusses the methodological approach of this study and the methods used to gather its data. Following this, Chapter four (Findings) introduces the five whānau, and presents their perceptions about te reo Māori in their lives and its revitalisation. Chapter five presents the conclusions and discusses the implications of this project.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter begins by introducing the topic of language decline. It then discusses the historical decline of te reo Māori, focusing on the major catalysts for the language shift to English, including education policy, fragmented speaker communities, and urbanisation. Following this, the chapter examines the resurgence of te reo Māori from the 1960s and 1970s, which led to the beginnings of te reo Māori revitalisation. Finally, this chapter examines the literature on language revitalisation.

Language decline/language shift

Language shift is a term used in linguistics to describe the phenomenon where a language community gradually stops using their own language in favour of another (Nelde, 2010). Language shift is not accidental; it occurs because one linguistic group becomes dominant, and the societal pressure on the minority group to adopt the dominant language results in the shift away from the minority group's language. As such, May (2001) argues that language loss has less to do with linguistic issues, and more to do with "…power, prejudice, (unequal) competition, and in many cases, overt discrimination and subordination" (p. 4).

While some minority groups may try to resist language shift, they may also voluntarily shift languages in order to allow communication in vital areas such as commerce and government, and by doing so, reduce their state of marginalisation (Hinton, 2001; Garcia, 2010). Hale (1992) describes language loss in modern times as a process "...in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled" (p. 1). This has been a common occurrence over the last four centuries; indigenous groups, their cultures, and their languages suffering systemic marginalisation as the hands of expanding colonial empires (May, 2001) such as Britain, France and Spain, negatively affected the linguistic diversity of much of the globe from the 16th century to the 20th century.

Language shift is associated not only with colonial expansion, it also occurs within nation-states as the balance of power shifts to a particular language community, who then impose their own language on the population as a whole as a means to unification (May, 2001). In France, for example, the regional, minority language groups are currently attempting to reverse language shift, following centuries of linguistic marginalisation. Both national and regional governments have, since the French Revolution in 1789, acted to promote the French language, to the detriment of regional languages such as Basque, Breton or Catalan (Ager, 2001; Dorian, 1998; Broudic, 2013). Fortunately, speakers of the regional languages of France, and many other minority languages around the globe, have reacted in order to stem further language decline. Without such intervention, continued language shift and language death are the likely results. When parents no longer pass their language on to their children, and there are no other means of learning the language, it will disappear with the last generation of speakers.

For many languages around the globe, this has unfortunately already occurred (Crystal, 2002; Krauss, 1992). For many more, it is still a possibility. Of the approximately 6000 languages still spoken today, it is estimated that at least 43% are currently endangered (UNESCO, 2016), and up to 90% are at risk of completely disappearing (Krauss, 1992). Te reo Māori (the Māori language) is one of those indigenous languages that remains endangered today.

Decline of Te Reo Māori

The history of Māori and te reo Māori has followed a similar path to the histories and languages of many other indigenous populations and their languages around the globe. The process of colonisation by predominantly British immigrants at the beginning of the 18th Century led to the eventual widespread language shift from te reo Māori to English. In the initial period of contact in the late 18th Century and throughout the 19th Century te reo Māori remained strong. Up until the 1850s when Māori outnumbered Pākehā, te reo was the lingua franca (King, 2001),

with new immigrants often learning the local Māori dialect to facilitate trade and relations. That situation would reverse in the years following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, as overwhelming numbers of immigrants flowed into the country and started to exert dominance over Māori and their language. As Benton (1991) states, “Since the late 1850s, Māori speakers in New Zealand have been often quite literally on the defensive...”, with “...traumatic social disruptions affecting large numbers of Māori people every generation since then” (p.16).

The following discussion describes three of the key factors that led to widespread language shift from te reo Māori to English, as a result of colonisation: educational policies, physical and demographic dislocation, and WWII and urbanisation.

Educational policies

Education policies played a significant part in Māori language shift in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. The Crown’s 1847 Education Ordinance and the Native Schools Act (1858) only allocated funds to schools that taught through the English language (Barrington, 2008). School inspectors were required to assess the extent of the use of English, and the English language proficiency of the students (Office of Minister for Native Affairs, 1862). Where schools failed to maintain English instruction, their funding was cut.

The 1867 Native Schools Act cemented the English-only language policies by decreeing that English alone was to be used for the instruction of Māori children. As more schools opened following more government funding in 1871, there was increased emphasis on the enforcement of the English-only rule (Spolsky, 2003). Physical punishment was a common means of enforcement of this policy (Calman, 2015; Harlow, 2007; Mita, 2007; O'Regan, 2012), and was a significant reason for parents to discourage their children from learning their language (Benton, 1989).

The assimilationist policies enacted within Native Schools played a major role in reducing the status of te reo Māori in wider society (Spolsky, 2003), as whānau increasingly associated education and prosperity with English rather than with their

own language. This view was supported by many senior Māori, and in 1930 Apirana Ngata conveyed a message to the Minister of Education stating that while Māori children should continue to speak their native language, it had no place in their education (Barrington, 2008).

The Native Schools and English-only policies would remain in place until well into the 1960s. For over one hundred years, they played the defining role in the shift "…from Māori monolingualism, through an intermediate stage of bilingualism, to English monolingualism" (Spolsky, 2003, p. 557). Native Schools and the language policy they enforced were disestablished in 1969, having helped to dramatically alter the linguistic landscape of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Physical and demographic dislocation

The increasing number of Pākehā settlers and the resultant loss of Māori land played a significant role in the initial breakdown of te reo Māori. The increasing presence of Pākehā on traditional Māori lands meant that from as early as the 1850s Māori began to see their language domains reduced. By the end of the 1860s, "…Māori land holdings had been decimated" (Binney, Basset & Olsen, 1990, p. 121), and as this situation continued into the 1900s, it played a major role in weakening te reo Māori around the country. Māori communities were unable to maintain their former ways of life in their traditional homelands, resulting in whānau, hapū and iwi fragmentation and, therefore, smaller, fragmented groups of te reo Māori speakers. As family or community members were forced to go elsewhere in search of work, the foundations of Māori language communities began to be affected. O'Regan (2012) explains how this detrimentally affected both those who left, as well as those left behind:

> With the systematic loss of land and economic power came the generational impoverishment of Māori as tribal communities declined and were rapidly dispersed. As a consequence, Māori constantly faced dislocation from their traditional cultural and social supports. The language that once bound the everyday lives of

> those communities was likewise dispersed, unable to sustain its fragmented collective. (p. 301)

The set of circumstances that Māori faced, of increasing immigration to Aotearoa/New Zealand, loss of Māori land, and the dispersal of Māori communities, is a major catalyst for language shift that Fishman (1991) calls "physical and demographic dislocation" (p. 57). Fishman explains that when it occurs over a long period of time, it leaves "…the remaining populations demographically, socially and culturally weakened via the direct impact on intergenerational mother tongue transmission within the family and neighbourhood occasioned by foreign occupants…" (p. 57).

The effects of speaker community fragmentation in Aotearoa/New Zealand were drawn out over decades. However, from the 1940s, with war on the horizon, they began to manifest on a larger scale, with devastating results.

World War II and post-war urbanisation

Urbanisation during the 1940s and 1950s played a significant role in te reo Māori language shift. It began when World War II escalated, seventeen thousand Māori leaving their rural homelands to either fight overseas, or work in essential industries (Taonui, 2012). Many of those te reo Māori-speaking soldiers died during the war. Those who settled in the cities were separated geographically, culturally, and linguistically from their homelands. For many, this divide became permanent (Taonui, 2012), as they used their native language less and less, and were increasingly convinced of the benefits of English.

After World War II, more Māori left rural New Zealand for the bigger towns and cities, in search of work at the wharfs, freezing works, and construction sites. From 1948, the Government began to encourage Māori to relocate to the cities to provide labour for growing industrialisation and post-war reconstruction (Hill, 200). What had started as a trickle of Māori pre-war became a torrent in the 1950s and 1960s (King & Filer, 2007). Government policy, such as the 1952 Town and Country Planning Act, further

encouraged the urbanisation of Māori, while the pepper-potting[1] of Māori in the cities cemented the widespread language loss which continued to the next generation (New Zealand Māori Council, n.d).

It was not only urbanised Māori, however, who suffered language loss. Rural Māori homelands also began to suffer culturally and linguistically as modernisation brought them closer to mainstream New Zealand. Benton (1997) called it the "...export of urbanisation (and the English language) ...through improvements in transport, rural electrification, and the advent of television" (p. 17). The culture and language loss that had occurred in the cities had bounced back to rural Māori homelands, thus affecting te reo Māori speaking patterns throughout the country.

Revitalisation of te reo Māori

Ngā Tamatoa

The 1960s and 1970s were important decades in the resurgence of te reo Māori. During this period a growing movement within Māori society began to draw attention to the historic and systemic marginalisation of their people and their language (Harris, 2004).

Towards the end of the 1960s, Māori discontent was increasingly focusing on the marginalisation of te reo Māori. In 1968 two newsletters had begun to circulate. *Te Hokioi*[2] and a newsletter by the Māori Organisation On Human Rights campaigned on various issues relating to Māori injustice as well as targeting national education about the absence of te reo Māori in mainstream schools (Walker, 1990; Ka'ai, 2004; Harris, 2004). Another group of young Maori university students, called Nga Tamatoa, also appeared on the Aotearoa/New Zealand landscape to fight for more to be done to

[1] The policy of scattering Māori families amoung Pākehā communities, rather than in the same areas.
[2] [2] Named after the original Waikato Newspaper from 1863.

save te reo Māori. In 1972 Ngā Tamatoa, along with the Te Reo Māori Society, took a petition with 30,000 signatures to Parliament calling for te reo Māori to be included in New Zealand education at primary and secondary school level. They also called for a one-year teacher training scheme to be established for adult te reo Māori speakers. The Government eventually adopted both initiatives. Ngā Tamatoa were also instrumental in the establishment of Māori Language Day on the 14 September 1973, which would, in 1975, be extended to Māori Language Week (Ka'ai, 2004; Walker, 1990; Harris, 2004). Protest action by Ngā Tamatoa also played a part in the Crown passing the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, which led to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal. This tribunal would later play a key part in the future of te reo Māori.

The catalyst to the grassroots movement

A significant factor that led to the establishment of Māori-medium education, and the key strategy to reversing te reo Māori language shift, was the publishing of the NZCER Sociolinguistic Survey of Māori Language Use at the end of the 1970s (Benton, 1997).

Benton's (1997) survey of 33,338 individuals found that of the total population of just under 400 000 Māori, an estimated 64,000 fluent speakers remained, and 30,000 Māori had very good comprehension, but less speaking ability (Benton, 1997). Worryingly, of the 4,090 households where the youngest child was still living at home, only 170 children were fluent te reo Māori speakers. The use and knowledge of te reo was in serious decline, and with extremely low numbers of children knowing the language, the future of te reo Māori looked bleak. The conclusion that Benton (1997) drew from this was that if nothing were done to maintain te reo Māori it would disappear.

Grassroots initiatives

Three key te reo Māori educational initiatives emerged during this period: Te Ataarangi, Te Kōhanga Reo (TKR) and Kura Kupapa Māori (KKM) primary schools (Spolsky, 2003). The Te Ataarangi movement, introduced by Dr Katerina Te Heikoko

Mataira and Ngoingoi Pewhairangi, adopted a language teaching technique devised by Caleb Gattegno called “The Silent Way”. This method used Cuisinaire rods and spoken language rather than traditional academic, grammar-based approaches to teaching language. It was primarily used to increase the fluency of Māori-speaking adults, and to teach te reo to non-Māori speakers, and led to many students becoming teachers of this method themselves (Muller & Kire, 2014).

The establishment of kōhanga reo (early childhood Māori language nests), total immersion preschool programmes, followed by kura kaupapa, was a significant strategy that emerged to arrest Māori language loss and begin to fill the intergenerational gap that had been resulted from many decades of Māori children not learning te reo Māori in homes. It began in Wellington in 1982 as self-funded community initiatives, and started a very successful preschool programme that enjoyed significant growth over the next decade (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, n.d). By 1983, there were over 100 kōhanga reo centres established around the country (Hinton, 2001), and by the mid-1990s 46.3% of Māori pre-schoolers (14, 000) were enrolled in over 800 centres (Statistics New Zealand, n.d).

Kura kaupapa Māori immersion primary schools were established in 1985 to accommodate those children graduating from the kōhanga reo system (Jenkins & Ka’ai, 1994). The first KKM school at Hoani Waititi Marae was set up as a reception class for the kōhanga reo at the same location, and while it maintained a similar structure to mainstream primary schools, it maintained total immersion in te reo Māori as well as a Māori philosophical orientation and curricula model (Hinton, 2001; Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994).

Like the kōhanga before them, the earliest KKM operated outside the state schooling system. However, pressure was put on the Government to recognise these establishments, and they were eventually included as a legitimate state schooling option and provided with equal funding. By 1995, there were 38 Government funded KKM around the country, and this grew to 74 by 2016. Māori secondary schools, called

wharekura, have also emerged as the next extension for the students who are graduating from KKM and want to continue their education through Māori-medium (Spolsky, 2003).

Official language status and language policy change

The main aim of initiatives such as TKR and KKM was to increase the number of children learning te reo Māori. However, the presence of these initiatives also influenced policy change at a national level. Spolsky (2003) states, "The grassroots programs for teaching Māori were not just practical steps but also played an important role in preparing the ground for government recognition" (p. 564).

In 1985, a claim was brought before the Waitangi Tribunal by Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo Māori (The Wellington Māori Language Board), arguing that the Government had failed to protect the Māori language as per Article 2 of the Treaty (Spolsky, 2003). The Tribunal agreed, and its decision eventually led to the 1987 Māori Language Act, and te reo Māori becoming an official language of New Zealand.

Since 1987, progress has been made in some areas. Te reo Māori now has a place in courts of law, local and national government, radio and television broadcasting, and a Māori language commission was established (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016). There have also been significant boosts in funding for te reo Māori revitalisation initiatives.

However, despite the progress that has been made, serious problems remain regarding the health of te reo Māori, with Census information showing that the number of speakers fell 3.7% between 1996 and 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). A proposed national languages policy in the early 1990s could have served to further protect and promote te reo Māori; however, it did not gain Government support and to date all attempts at a national language policy have been side-lined (Waite, 1992; Spolsky, 2003; Peddie, 2005). Some consider that the gains made in the past have contributed to a lack of urgency and lack of growth for te reo Māori revitalisation

today. Tawhiwhirangi (2014) argues that changing the status of te reo Māori to official language, has "…anaesthetised our people in regard to valuing the language as if it is all done and dusted and there is no need to worry anymore" (p.47). Matamua (2014) has a similar view of Māori Television, which he believes has been overemphasised as the key to te reo Māori revitalisation, while in reality, very few whānau are using it to learn the language.

In the absence of a national languages policy, there have instead been specific government strategies aimed at te reo Māori revitalisation. In 2003, Te Rautaki Reo Māori /Māori Language Strategy was developed, and then updated in 2014. Its five main objectives were: increasing the status of te reo Māori; increasing speaker numbers among both Māori and non-Māori; increasing the critical awareness of revitalization; supporting the quality and appropriate use of the Māori language and iwi dialect maintenance; and increasing the use of the Māori language among whānau, Māori and other New Zealanders, especially in the home (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014, p. 4).

The 2014 strategy also proposed a shift in approach to te reo Māori revitalisation responsibility, giving iwi the lead role within their communities. This approach was confirmed in 2016 when an updated Māori Language Act was passed in Parliament. Māori Development Minister Te Ururoa Flavell describes the new act as "…a better way for the Crown, iwi and Māori to work together providing a more appropriate balance of responsibility for language revitalisation" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 14 April 2016, para 11). A major part of this new act has been the establishment of Te Mātāwai – an organisation tasked with leading te reo Māori revitalisation on behalf of Māori. Te Mātāwai will play a major role in decentralising revitalisation control from the Government to iwi, and, based on a series of public meetings around the country, will develop its own revitalisation strategy (Maihi Māori Language Strategy). How whānau such as those involved in this research fit into this strategy is not yet known.

Māori-medium education as a key te reo Māori revitalisation strategy

Despite the significant gains that have occurred in the last forty years, it remains the case that Māori-medium education is the key strategy in attempts to revitalise te reo Māori. New Zealand programmes which instruct through te reo Māori are divided into two groups according to the proportion of te reo Māori. Māori-medium programmes include two levels above 50% Māori immersion, while English-medium with Māori language programmes include a further four levels below 50% Māori language instruction. This discussion will now describe the current levels of support for Māori-medium programmes.

Table 1 below shows that enrolment numbers in Māori-medium education have gradually increased since 2011. In 2016, 18,444 students were enrolled in Māori-medium programmes with 13,473 in Level 1 programmes with 81-100% immersion, and 4971 students in Level 2 with 51-80% immersion.

Table 1: Number of Students in Māori-medium by Māori Language Immersion Level (2011-2016)

Māori Language Immersion Level	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**Change 2015-16**
Level 1: 81-100%	11,818	11,816	12,028	12,704	12,958	13,473	515
Level 2: 51-80%	4,729	4,976	5,315	5,009	4,884	4,971	87
Māori Medium Total	16,547	16,792	17,343	17,713	17,842	18,444	602

(Ministry of Education, 2017)

While the number of enrolments in Māori-medium education is increasing, a very small percentage (2.3%) of the overall school population attends them, and only 9% of all school children who identify as being of Māori ethnicity (Ministry of Education, 2017). There is also significant leakage from Māori-medium into mainstream education along the way. This occurs mostly in the upper years as enrolments for 2016 show that there were only 2230 students enrolled at Year 9 and above, compared with 11,243 students at Year 8 and below (Ministry of Education, 2017). This means that the pool of families who are able to act as te reo Māori revitalisation contributors will have a limited impact on the future health of te reo Māori. It also means that the committed whānau are essential, and understanding their perceptions about revitalisation will help to provide a better view of how these whānau are likely to impact the revitalisation effort.

Research by May and Hill (2005) and Hill (2011) suggests that much of the Māori-medium leakage to mainstream education is due to concerns about English literacy. Parents become worried that too much te reo Māori instruction will be detrimental to their children's ability in English, despite evidence suggesting that if approached well, bilingualism need not come at a cost to the child's first language (English in Aotearoa/New Zealand), or to achievement in other areas of the curriculum (Baker, 2011; Peal & Lambert, 1962).

That parents are transitioning their children to mainstream may contradict the reasons they are choosing Māori-medium in the first place. Research by McKinley (2002) and Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie, and Hodgen (2004) found that the major reasons for enrolling children in Māori-medium is for te reo Māori, Māori culture, values and a whānau environment. In many cases, parents are focused on their children learning te reo Māori because the parents missed out on it themselves. In other cases, the parents, or previous children, had negative experiences in mainstream education. Moving children to mainstream, where English is the medium of instruction, and Māori culture is of less focus, would indicate that parents are doing

so for reasons that contradict their reasons for initially choosing Māori-medium education.

Language revitalisation

Reversing language shift

In the first section of this chapter the plight of indigenous languages around the world was discussed. Increasingly, there is a focus on finding ways to reverse indigenous language loss and save them from becoming moribund. Reversing Language Shift (RLS) is a term coined by Joshua Fishman (1991) to describe the idea of reversing the decline of a language. He defines it as:

> The theory and practice of assistance to speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses every generation. (p. 1)

Communities affected by language shift employ a range of methods to reverse it, including bilingual education, target language radio and television stations, adult learning, master-apprentice programmes and on-line initiatives such as dictionaries, language-learning apps, and forums for learning or for native speakers (Hinton, 2001). However, despite in some cases over thirty years of strategies, most indigenous languages continue to experience difficulties in gaining widespread traction in the wider community and in the indigenous communities themselves. Fishman (1991) commented on the lack of success:

> …the efforts expended on behalf of these languages often usually produce few, if any, positive intergenerational results, the tides that they are battling are not reversed, and their situations proceed from bad to worse. (p. 1)

While the efforts and initiatives in education and in wider society are an integral part of RLS, they cannot work in isolation. Students acquiring language through educational initiatives for example, will be much more successful if they have further support in the target language from family at home (Hohepa, 1999). Māori-medium education may, for example, succeed in producing new speakers who consistently use the language within the school, but if the status of a language remains low outside school they may not use their language in wider society (Poutu, 2015), or transmit the language to their children. Strategies such as television and radio may be successful in changing attitudes, but may not lead to new learners and speakers of the language (Matamua, 2014).

The problem with gaining traction in RLS is that it takes several generations to reverse the damage that occurred in a single generation, and even then it may not be successful if the population sees no benefit in re-establishing it within their homes and communities (Fishman, 1991). For language revitalisation to occur on a scale large enough to see major change there needs to be an increase in the status of the language, including attitudes towards the need to increase its use.

At an individual level, it can come down to a choice of whether or not someone chooses to use one language over another. Chrisp (2005) highlights that for bilingual parents wanting to transmit te reo Māori to their children, their bilingualism means that there is always a language choice that must be made:

> [A]ll Māori speakers also speak English and are, by definition, Māori-English bilinguals…Māori intergenerational transmission can only occur when Māori-speakers choose to speak Māori instead of English. (p. 150)

This choice however, can be extremely difficult, especially for parents who are themselves second language learners and spend most of their day existing in the world of the majority language. To then maintain your own language environment requires what Hale (1992) describes as an "…extraordinary act of will…" for parents

who "…insist that their language be used in the nuclear family, in defiance, so to speak, of the otherwise prevailing dominant language" (p. 214). Even then, conscious determination to choose one language over another can be overridden by subconscious language choice. Chrisp (2005) argues "…that language choice is typically unconscious and that bilinguals tend to revert to the 'default' language" (p. 158).

Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Fishman (1991) devised a model, the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), to describe the sociolinguistic disruption of language communities or networks (see Table 2 below). It places languages on a scale of 1 – 8, where the higher the number the greater the disruption, and the greater the threat to the potential for the language to be lost (Fishman, 1991). It also demonstrates that there is little point in focusing on later stages, if those before it have not at least been partly achieved (Baker, 2011). Higgins and Rewi (2014) point out that Fishman did not intend for the GIDS scale to "…show a methodical progression up the scale, but rather to identify the position of the language in the scale of language endangerment…and how to work towards specific targets and priorities to reverse language shift" (p. 17).

Fishman's (1991, p. 88-107) eight stages are:

Table 2: Fishman's GIDS Scale

Stage 8:	Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults
Stage 7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age
Stage 6	The attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
Stage 5	Xish literacy in home, school, and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy

Stage 4	Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws Type a: private schools, alternative schools Type b: within public school system
Stage 3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighborhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen
Stage 2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
Stage 1	Some use of Xish in a higher level educational, occupational, governmental, and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)

In 1991, Fishman positioned te reo Māori as sitting predominantly on stage 6, where there was the potential for te reo Māori to be passed on intergenerationally by remaining elderly speakers. Fishman (1991) writes:

> Nevertheless, even though these grandparents…are "getting along in years", they can still be activized as a force for RLS, a force for re-establishing intergenerational language links, the very same links that most of them let fall in the past when they ceased speaking "Maori only" with their own children. (p. 236)

Benton and Benton (2001) revisited Fishman's assessment of te reo Māori ten years later. Their belief was that Fishman's stage 6 positioning of te reo Māori on the GIDS scale was at that time generous. Their research indicated that in 1991 the language still had stage 7 and 8 issues, but that in 2001 it sat firmly at stage 6. Today, stage 6, intergenerational language transmission, is still an issue for te reo Māori, though it is clear that other targets have been met, such as Fishman's Stage 4a, with Māori-medium education. Other stages such as Stages 1 and 2 are being strengthened with greater use in some occupations (Myhre, 2015) and the advent of Māori Television. Stage 4b (compulsory te reo Māori in mainstream education) is currently a political, and public topic of debate.

Intergeneration language transmission

Intergenerational language transmission (ILT) is defined by Chrisp (2005) as "…the ongoing process whereby a language is transferred from generation to generation

through the normal familial interactions of parents and children (and grandparents, grandchildren, etc.)" (p. 150).

Reintroducing ILT within a family is challenging. Parents of the minority language are faced with a choice of whether or not to raise their children in this language. Non-speaking parents must first choose to commit themselves to learning it and using it in the home. Language use within the home is the determining factor behind ILT, therefore parental language choices will determine what language, or languages, their children are able to understand or speak (Muller, 2016). Parental motivation is therefore crucial to improving the health of the minority language (Chrisp, 2005). Parents and their children are faced with fighting surrounding societal influences towards using the dominant language. The challenge, then, lies in maintaining the language, and its status within the family unit, in order for the next generation to have the desire to again pass it on to their children. Muller's (2016) study of eight whānau showed that if parents maintain effective language strategies in the home ILT can be achieved. Ratima and Papesche's (2013) case study of Papesche's journey towards ILT also shows that it can be successful over successive generations. A strict home immersion policy saw that Papesche, a second language learner of te reo Māori, was able to transmit the language to her seven children, who in turn transmitted it to their twenty-seven children. This example shows that, though it is challenging to implement, ILT is possible.

ILT has become a major focus point for revitalisation efforts in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In 2011, Reedy et al. wrote a report aimed at reviewing and improving the Government's te reo Māori revitalisation programmes. The report's major recommendation was that re-establishing te reo Māori in the home should be the main focus of revitalisation strategy, and that this strategy should be led by Māori. As mentioned earlier, this has been the adopted strategy today, with the 2016 Māori Language Act and the forming of Te Mātāwai confirming that an iwi-led strategy to increase te reo Māori in homes and ILT is the number one priority for te reo Māori revitalisation.

Not all agree, however, that ILT is the key strategy to te reo Māori revitalisation. Some believe that ILT should be seen as a measure of revitalisation achievement, not the critical factor of revitalisation success. Keegan and Cunliffe (2014) argue that while ILT is necessary it is not enough to ensure the long-term survival of te reo Māori. The children who grow up with the ability to speak it must also have the opportunity to speak it, as well as the desire to speak it, as well as later on having the desire to pass it on to their own children. Higgins and Rewi (2014) argue that while there is no doubting the obvious benefits of ILT this should not mean that the revitalisation focus should be aimed solely at families. More importantly, the revitalisation focus should be on the "various domains" that those families traverse "…in their day-to-day associations" (p. 31). Stephens (2014) argues that while ILT is crucial to te reo survival, if the language is ever to go beyond being a language within whānau alone focus needs to be placed on seeing te reo Māori become a "…language of the institutional, civic sphere of the New Zealand state…" (p. 55).

Normalisation

Normalisation is a term which gained popularity in Spain with the introduction in 1983 of the Laws of Linguistic Normalisation in Catalonia. These aimed at promoting the use of Catalonian, a previously marginalised regional language (Cobarrubias, 2008; DiGiacomo, 2001).

The normalisation of a minority language is the ultimate aim of groups attempting to revitalise their language. Normalisation encourages its use in a wider range of everyday contexts, thus increasing the language's societal value. While some revitalisation efforts may increase speaker numbers, if the number of contexts in which they use the language is small then that language's societal value is reduced (Higgins & Rewi, 2014).

Māori-medium schools such as kura kaupapa show that normalisation on a small scale is achievable and can lead to revitalisation success, as in some cases it is resulting in intergeneration language transmission (Waho, 2006; Tākao, Grennell, McKegg &

Wehipeihana, 2010). However, some research suggests that the normalisation success of these schools is mostly limited to within the school. A recent doctoral study by Poutu (2015) suggests that in maintaining a Māori-speaking context, school immersion policies in wharekura can be very successful, but that student use of the Māori language beyond the school gate is still rare. Participants in her study explained that while the formal occasion of the school environment was suitable for te reo use, they quickly reverted back to English for all social interactions and social media. This was because English was still perceived as being the "cool" language, compared to te reo Māori.

Achieving language normalisation success for te reo Māori, then, must focus on contexts outside of education. What is currently needed in the te reo Māori context is increased normalisation and language planning efforts at the micro-level, creating positive te reo environments for whānau and communities, rather than the top-down macro language planning policies which have dominated efforts to date (Hond, 2013; Muller, 2016).

Language normalisation within the home and community has now become more of a focus area for Government agencies such as Māori Language Commission. Revitalisation campaigns during Māori Language Week include posters and booklets which aim to encourage parents to normalise their use and their children's use of te reo Māori within the home rather than restricting it to school or marae (Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori, 2017).

The increase of te reo Māori media provides further opportunity to normalise the language at home. Moriarty (2008), in studying the impact of the Irish language television channel, TG4, on the normalisation of the Irish language, showed that the channel was positively influencing the participants' language attitudes and language practices, thus enhancing their own normalisation as well as that of the wider normalisation and revitalisation context. Through certain shows, participants felt that the Irish language was becoming increasingly fashionable, or cool, therefore

increasing its status or prestige. This normalisation potential is also available in Aotearoa/New Zealand with Māori Television and the Te Reo channel.

Encouraging the continued use of a language outside of their already normalised domains such as the home is, however, paramount to wider revitalisation success. It helps to normalise whānau language use while also playing an important normalisation role by exposing the language to other members of the community (Hond, 2013). Finding other domains of language use, or creating new ones, is therefore beneficial to the revitalisation context as a whole. Grin and Vaillancourt (1988) state that "Creating conditions for minority language use to be normal and usual in this complex therefore emerges as a key objective of language revitalisation policy" (p. 12). Such language use is not restricted to speakers of higher ability. Beginner leaners of te reo Māori can also contribute to the overall health of te reo Māori by using whatever ability they have as often as possible (Te Puni Kōkiri (2006).

Efforts to increase language normalisation must focus on strengthening the relevance and use of the language across all levels of society, as well as focusing on the value of the language (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). The more that individual speakers, as well as speaker communities, understand how their language use can affect others, the more likely they will proactively encourage others to learn or use the language as well (Muller, 2016).

Language attitudes

Language attitudes play a significant part in language revitalisation. Maxwell's (2014) research highlighted how negative attitudes from family members are significant barriers to whānau trying to raise their children in te reo Māori. Attitudes also play a major role in language use. Boyce (2005) states that:

> The speech behaviour of individuals and of whole speech communities is affected not only by the attitudes they themselves hold towards their language, but also by the attitudes of the wider

> population in the nation or state towards the group and its language. (p. 86)

Language attitude is inherently related to language status. When people perceive a language as having little or no status their attitude towards it is likely to be negative. In contrast, "If a language enjoys high status both within its own speech community and in its national community, it is more likely to remain strong" (Boyce, 2005, p. 87).

New Zealanders' attitudes towards te reo Māori have been steadily improving in recent years. The most recent information from the 2009 Survey of Attitudes, Values and Beliefs towards the Māori Language shows that a large majority of Māori and non-Māori are positive towards te reo Māori use and its revitalisation, with 77% of non-Māori and 89% of Māori believing that te reo Māori should be more widely used in public. Furthermore, Māori and non-Māori believe in the importance of prioritising te reo Māori revitalisation, and that te reo Māori should be more widely used in public. Such attitudes are ideal for revitalisation, as te reo Māori speakers and learners are more likely to speak the language without apprehension (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). This positivity towards te reo Māori attitudes is helping to create an environment that is better suited to the multiple language revitalisation efforts that are ongoing today in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and that is better suited to the normalisation of te reo Māori. Boyce (2005, p. 107) believes that should all New Zealanders get behind te reo Māori

> We will live in a New Zealand where Māori language is valued, and considered part of our identity. More New Zealanders will learn some Māori, and those who already speak Māori will increase their proficiency, their functional range, and their rate of use because it will be 'cool' to speak Māori.

The 'ZePA' (Zero, Passive, Active) Model of Maori normalisation

Normalisation of te reo Māori is also about how people's perceptions and attitudes toward the language can be positively changed. Higgins and Rewi's (2014) ZePA model is helpful in demonstrating how positive attitude shift towards te reo Māori creates

conditions for increased use and wider normalisation of the language. It places individuals on a simple three-point scale regarding their receptiveness to te reo Māori. Those in a Zero state are "dismissive" or "intolerant of the Māori language". Those in a Passive state are receptive and "accommodating of the language", though they may not have any knowledge of the language itself. Those in an Active state are individuals who are proactive in using the Māori language. They consider te reo Māori "…as a component that has a place in their lives or in their workspace" (p. 23).

Higgins and Rewi (2014) argue that to achieve normalisation, the ZePA model needs to be "right-shifting", where Zero and Passive individuals shift to the next category towards the right.

Zero -----> Passive -----> Active

Most important, according to Higgins and Rewi (2014), are not those shifting from Passive to Active, but rather those who fall under the Zero state shifting to a Passive state, because improving attitudes is key to effective language normalisation.

> We believe there is a greater need to recognise the significance of right-shifting people from a position of Zero to Passive, when there is a strong propensity to become predisposed with right-shifting from Passive to Active. Although the Zero to Passive shift may not appear significant when measured on proficiency or the quantity of speakers, its consummate contribution works towards breaking down negative attitudes that are associated with the Māori language. (p. 28)

On the basis of the results of the survey of attitudes in the previous section, it would seem that there has been a right-shifting trend in terms of attitudes towards te reo Māori.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature concerning te reo Māori decline and te reo Māori revitalisation as a means of understanding the lived realities of Māori-medium

whānau today. Factors such as education, intergenerational language transmission, language normalisation, language choice, and language attitudes are shown to be key components of revitalisation efforts. However, until recently much less research has focused on individual whānau and their involvement in reversing language shift. While some research has investigated whānau in relation to their ILT success, whānau have yet to be researched in regard to their own perceptions of their place in the overall revitalisation effort. This study helps to fill this gap by understanding the perceptions of whānau who are involved in Māori-medium education. Understanding their perspectives and the issues that affect them will help support the Māori language revitalisation strategy.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter describes the design of the study, by detailing the methodology and methods that were used during the research process. This qualitative project aimed to find out why some whānau choose Māori-medium education for their tamariki, how attitudes and other barriers affect their association with revitalisation, and what parts they play in the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Kaupapa Māori research (KMR) principles were used to guide this research. KMR is concerned with ensuring that research practices align with Māori aspirations and safeguard Māori participants and the broader population from exploitation. It therefore contrasts with traditional western research principles, which have not benefitted Māori and often portray them negatively. It has led Linda Smith (1999, p. 1) to conclude that the word research "...is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (p. 1).

As this research was situated in te ao Māori (the Māori world), dealing with issues of te reo Māori revitalisation within Māori whānau and communities, it was important to use a culturally appropriate research paradigm. KMR is based on a Māori world view (ontology) which recognises te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (the Māori language and its culture), the injustices of the past, and the struggles of today. Understanding these factors and how they exist in the participants' lives allows research to be conducted in a way which accounts for the many facets of te ao Māori today (Smith, 1990).

Being an Aotearoa/New Zealand indigenous paradigm, KMR aligns itself with The Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty defines Māori as tangata whenua of Aotearoa/New Zealand, thereby affirming their rights as partners, and enabling them to challenge existing relationships and policy (Pihama, 2001). This research is about challenging

the dominance of English, while affirming the right to have and use te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Smith (1990) introduced six principles of Kaupapa Māori theory that are important when conducting research projects. *Tino rangatiratanga* is about the control, power and autonomy that individuals, whānau, hapori, hapū, and iwi have to determine outcomes in their own lives. *Kaupapa* is the collective vision or aspiration of Māori communities that needs to be upheld. According to Smith, research should be a means to contribute to this collective aspiration. *Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga* is about recognising the constant struggle, hard work, and determination of Māori whānau in developing Māori initiatives to counter the negative experiences of the past. The current situation of te reo Māori has its roots in the discrimination against the Māori community, where the language was pushed aside in favour of English. *Taonga Tuku Iho* (treasures passed down through the generations) elevates te reo Māori culture, and traditional Māori knowledge, as central to the participants' lives and to the research. It is paramount to understanding the spiritual and cultural world of participants, and to legitimating Māori ways of knowing, doing, and understanding the world. *Whānau* refers to relationships; it highlights the importance of building and maintaining these relationships. This includes nurturing relationships between myself as the researcher and the participants (Sadler, 2007). The final concept, *Ako* (reciprocal learning), relates closely to whānau. We reciprocally learned from each other, thereby sharing power.

KMR requires an alignment to five key principles: Initiation, Benefits, Representation, Legitimation, and Accountability (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop, 2005). *Initiation* asks questions of who designed the research, including who set specific questions and its goals. While this project was initiated by myself in order to complete a university Master's Degree, the participants' agreement to be part of it gave status to this principle. They were also initiated into the research by being fully informed about the topic, the process and the interview questions before the research started. *Benefits* revolve around what good will come for the participants and the wider community.

This research aims to benefit te reo Māori by gaining insight into the language attitudes and language use of whānau who have committed to Māori-medium education, and linking it to their perceptions of revitalisation.

Representation is about ensuring that what is described is a correct representation of the participants and their "social reality" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.129). This means that the data gathered during the interviews are presented accurately, according to how the participants meant what it was that they said. *Legitimation* is a means to gaining an accurate representation of the data, results and the subsequent texts, by participant validation. In giving agency to the participants an accurate representation of their social reality was able to be made, rather than I myself as the researcher presenting my own version of the events. *Accountability* in KMR is about participant control of the finished research and the accountability of the researcher to the participants and their communities. In traditional western research, accountability of the researcher ceases once the data have been gathered. This KMR project is part of a commitment to supporting te reo Māori revitalisation efforts, and attaining tino rangatiratanga.

It is by adhering to KMR principles that I addressed the issue of who is qualified to use a KMR approach, and, in particular, whether non-Māori researchers such as myself are eligible. This issue has been discussed in the literature, with arguments both for and against (Smith, 1999; Irwin, 1994; Pihama, 2001; Jones, 2012). Some say that KMR should be "by Māori, for Māori", believing that non-Māori are outsiders, and that KMR by its very nature must be conducted by insiders to te ao Māori. However, non-Māori involvement in KMR is increasingly viewed as possible, so long as caution and appropriate steps are taken (Hill & May, 2013). Graham Smith (2012) spoke of the risks and of mistrust of Pākehā researchers, but acknowledges that Kaupapa Māori is not exclusively for Māori alone. His view of Pākehā or non-Māori involvement advocates caution. Without a cautionary approach, the acceptance of any Māori-focused research by a Māori audience or research community is unlikely (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003). Tolich and Davidson (1998) add to the prerequisites for non-Māori

involvement in KMR, stating that "…any non-Māori beginning research with Māori...would first need to understand their world as well as their ways of knowing about it" (p. 43).

My position in this project is as a non-Māori who has full commitment to te ao Māori. For the last four years I have been learning te reo Māori me ōna tikanga at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Prior to this research I have studied the history and current situation of the Māori people and te reo Māori. I consider I have an understanding of the situation of Māori through reading and through personal experience. I have an understanding of the language struggles that whānau face in revitalisation te reo Māori, and I am committed to this in my day-to-day life, by using te reo Māori with my son and in my community.

Qualitative vs Quantitative Research

This project involved solely qualitative data gathering as this is a legitimate way of gaining rich information about phenomena and the relationships between those phenomena. This research aimed to gain a greater understanding of the perceptions of whānau who enrol in Māori-medium education and the factors that influence their decisions. It was therefore critical that the data gathering method made this possible.

Qualitative research methods, such as interviews, are an interpretive, naturalistic way for a researcher to observe and gain meaning from certain phenomena (Lincoln & Denzin, 2005; Mason, 2002). Such methods are employed so that the researcher can get close to the situation, to understand contextual influences and the specific realities of those who are being researched (Mason, 2002).

Qualitative research contrasts with quantitative research, which requires researcher detachment from what is being researched. It aims to discover facts, by measuring the collected data and using statistical analysis to report trends and surface patterns (Clarke, 2001). Qualitative research will typically investigate a relatively small number

of participants to gain a comprehensive understanding of their lived realities. Quantitative research, in contrast, uses mass data generated from a standardised approach. It is a more systematised form of enquiry, used to gather data that can generalise outcomes to the wider population, which means it can be replicated in other places and over time, allowing comparisons to be made.

This research did not aim to generalise outcomes, rather, it aimed to understand the specific situation of five whānau and the nature of their connection to te reo Māori revitalisation. This is why a qualitative method was used in this project.

Semi-Structured Interviews

There are three general interview formats that can be used in qualitative research: structured, where a set number of questions are asked in the same way, every time; semi-structured, where the main question order can be rearranged and follow-up questions can probe for further information; and unstructured, where the interviewer has a list of topics as a guide, and then asks and discusses these topics with the participants as they wish (Fielding & Thomas, 2001). This research used semi-structured interviews.

The conversational nature of semi-structured interviews encourages freedom of expression. Participants respond and express their views of the topic in their own terms, and have greater control during the interview process. They allow the interviewer greater flexibility throughout the interview, and the opportunity to clarify and elaborate on the responses of the participants. The ability to delve beyond the initial responses means that the format goes from being a question and answer scenario to something closer to a conversation (May, 2001). This can result in responses heading in different directions. However, having the base set of questions means that comparison across the whole data is still possible, more so than an unstructured interview (May, 2001).

This project used a three-part guide to the interview process (Tolich & Davidson, 1998, p.108).

1. Introductory questions to start the informant talking.
2. A list of recurrent themes that represent the project's research interests.
3. A set of generic prompts (such as "how?", "tell me more", etc.).

The group interviews began by seeking introductory information about the participants' backgrounds, notably how they grew up and their exposure to te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. As well as a way of starting the conversation, this background information was important as it is the environment in which participants grew up that has potentially had a big impact on their current views and actions.

The interviews then explored themes about language attitudes, Māori-medium education, use of te reo Māori, and perceptions about normalisation and revitalisation. When I felt there was opportunity to explore more deeply, prompts such as those mentioned above were used to elicit further discussion.

With the permission of the participants, the conversations were recorded. This provided me with an accurate account of the interview, which I could then transcribe. Accurate representation of what participants say is a key part of KMR (Bishop & Glynn, 1999), and transcriptions were sent back to participants. I asked them to check for inaccuracies, and provided them with the opportunity to remove from the transcript any part of the interview which they were not happy to have me use. The legitimation of data, results and subsequent texts gives agency to the participants, so that any parts of transcripts which were eventually used in this research accurately represent the participants' social reality according to them, rather than being my own version of events (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 129).

Research Process

The research process was started by my supervisor, who contacted Māori-medium school principals with whom he already had an existing relationship. If the principal was interested in the research, an email was then sent to him/her, which explained the project, and requested a meeting (Appendix 1). At this meeting the project was further explained. The principal then introduced me to a Māori-medium staff member, who approached whānau who they believed might be interested in taking part in the research. I was then provided with the contact details of whānau who had expressed interest in participating. Whānau who agreed to participate were first sent an email with an attached letter (Appendix 2) that introduced me and my background. It also explained the kaupapa of the research, what would be asked of them, and their rights during the research process. The letter also suggested setting up an initial meeting, thus prioritising the Māori concepts of kanohi kitea (the seen face). This face-to-face meeting provided an opportunity to develop whānaungatanga with participants, and to answer any questions that they might have.

Five whānau who had at least one child enrolled in Māori-medium education agreed to take part in this research. Table 5 describes the whānau representatives who were interviewed.

Table 3: Whānau Participants

Whānau	**Whānau members**	**Names**	
Whānau O	Grandmother Mother Son	Kuia O Māmā O Moko O	Moko O is being raised by his grandmother, Kuia O
Whānau M	Grandmother Grandfather Grandson Granddaughter	Kuia M Koro M Moko (Tama) M Moko (Kotiro) M	Mokopuna are being raised by grandparents, Kuia M and Koro M
Whānau R	Mother	Māmā R	
Whānau K	Mother	Māmā K	
Whānau B	Grandmother Mother Father Aunty	Kuia B Māmā B Matua B Kōkā B	

The initial meetings and interviews were conducted at a location the participants chose, to ensure that they were comfortable with the surroundings. Three interviews took place at school, while two whānau chose their homes as the interview setting.

Data Analysis

Gilbert (2001) describes the analysis of qualitative data as the "…systematic, rigorous consideration of the data in order to identify themes and concepts that will contribute to our understanding of social life" (p. 137). To carry out this process efficiently I used the process of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis entails examining the data and assigning specific codes to relevant pieces of information (Boyatzis, 1998; Saldaña, 2009). Codes are applied to words, ideas, phrases, or even whole paragraphs, with the goal being to eventually group specific pieces of data into categories and themes from across the data as a whole. Any themes and concepts of one interview that emerge from the coding process are then able to be compared and contrasted with any similar themes and concepts from other interviews (Gilbert, 2001).

The codes I used were created as flags, to allow me to quickly identify the subject of that piece of data. I then grouped similar codes together, into what I determined were related categories. From these categories emerged themes that were directly aligned with my three research questions. From these questions and themes the findings and discussion chapters of the thesis were organised, and quotations were taken from the transcripts to illuminate those themes.

Ethics

This project had ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) at the University of Waikato.

All participants were given a letter (Appendix 2), with detailed information about the research, as well as a consent form for the whānau (Appendix 4), and a consent form allowing any children to participate (Appendix 3). The letter and the consent forms provided information which informed participants of their rights throughout the process. The consent forms also provided participants with the opportunity to remain anonymous in the research. This was also asked face-to-face at the times of the interviews.

Participants were given a copy of the interview schedule (Appendix 5) prior to the interview. This allowed them time to think about the questions and the overall issues in advance of the interview itself. Participants were also asked in advance whether they would allow the interviews to be recorded.

Following the interviews, the transcripts were sent to the participants and they were again advised of their right to remove any part of the transcription that they did not want included, or to amend anything they knew to be inaccurate. Participants were also reassured of the procedures for securing the recordings and the transcriptions.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed research design and procedures used in this project. Because the theme and participants were Māori, KMR principles were used to ensure that participants and their communities were kept safe and were respected and their views accurately represented, while grounding the research in whānau aspiration. The qualitative method of semi-structured interviews with participants was used in order to acknowledge and understand their unique perspectives on the study's areas of interest. Data from the interviews were transcribed, given to the participants for validation, and then analysed according to the research questions and emerging themes. The entire research project was preceded by an application to the FASS Ethics Committee.

CHAPTER FOUR – FINDINGS

This section is divided into two sections. The first section provides background information about each whānau, including their upbringings and exposure to te reo Māori me ōna tikanga at home, at school, and in their communities. Following this, the key findings under the three themes of Māori-medium education, te reo Māori attitudes, use and barriers, and finally, perceptions of revitalisation, are discussed.

Whānau Background

Whānau O

Kuia O = Grandmother, Māmā O = Mother, Moko O = Grandson

Kuia O is raising her grandson (Moko O). Her whakapapa is Ngāpuhi on her mother's side and Waikato on her father's. Moko O attends a level two bilingual class within a mainstream primary school.

Kuia O's father was a fluent speaker of te reo Māori and had a strong tikanga Māori background. Her mother didn't speak te reo Māori, and Kuia O was raised in English. She had to wait until secondary school to first learn te reo Māori when it was offered as a subject.

> Kuia O: I didn't do early childhood, there was no kōhanga reo back then but my dad spoke te reo, but it was very seldom spoke, he spoke to his siblings. To us, when we were growing up it was more about learning English…

Kuia O decided that Māori-medium (MM) education was right for her two children, in order that they grow up learning their native language. Both her children attended Māori-medium primary schools. However, when Kuia O moved into the city, the pressure for places in kura kaupapa meant she was forced to enrol her son in English medium, which caused his reo Māori to suffer.

> Kuia O: …he doesn't speak much [te reo] at all...He can understand a little bit but he prefers to... [speak English]… Once he went into mainstream all hell broke loose….

Kuia O has studied some te reo Māori and tikanga at wānanga in the past, and plans to do more in the future. In general, she finds it difficult to find opportunities to connect with the Māori language and culture, as marae meetings are infrequent, and the busy lives of extended whānau make family get-togethers rare.

Kuia O's daughter, Māmā O, did benefit from having a Māori-medium education. She recalls learning an informal type of te reo Māori during her primary school years in Māori-medium. This at times resulted in being challenged about her language by other family members who spoke te reo Māori differently.

> Māmā O: …My cousins were brought up where they learnt proper Māori which was way different to how I was taught…to have my cousins be like, "No that's not the proper way you do it", those memories have an influence on me, like my own whānau saying "Cuz, that's not how you do this or that" you know, was like, I shouldn't speak Māori cos maybe I'm not doing it the right way.

Māmā O remembers the strong te reo Māori and tikanga influence that her grandfather had on her when she was young.

> Māmā O: Every morning at 7 o'clock we had Pai Marire at home with Grandad…that happened every day…Grandad was like an influence cos he was the one who spoke the most and I think I took it for granted.

Whānau M

Kuia M = Grandmother, Koro M = Grandfather, Moko (tama) M – Grandson, Moko (kotiro) M = Grandaughter

Kuia M, Koro M and their granddaughter and grandson live together in a small, rural town in the North Island. Their grandson goes to a Level One Māori immersion primary school not far from where they live. Their granddaughter also attended this school, and is now continuing her education at a wharekura in the city.

Kuia M grew up in a small settlement in Northland, close to her marae, with her mother, father and nine siblings. Her father was a fluent te reo Māori speaker and her mother spoke some te reo Māori. However, her parents chose to raise all the children speaking English. Kuia M's education was exclusively English. She went to a Native School, and then to a secondary school where te reo Māori was not taught.

> Kuia M: My dad knew the reo, but he didn't speak it to us. My mum, little bits and pieces, but they never spoke to us in the reo. I went to a Native School. They called it back in those days a Native School, but it was all Pākehā, all English, no Māori at all, and then I moved on from there to college, and same there, the language that was there I think was Japanese.

Kuia M's father was a second language learner of te reo Māori, having picked it up later in life from colleagues who spoke Māori. Despite Kuia M's father having learnt te reo Māori in a work environment, Kuia M remembers his and her grandparents' generation's negative attitudes towards it.

> Kuia M: "Never get you anywhere!" "What do you want to learn reo for?!" Like the old, older people. Like my grandfather's age, they said "Yeah we always got a slap when we spoke the reo" and all this and that, and they said "You'll never get anywhere learning the reo, you know it's a Pākehā world now. You got to go and follow that path" and all this and that. But yeah, there was nothing really positive about it, it was all like "Uuhh, never mind that!", and all that kind of carry-on.

The elders' negative attitudes towards Kuia M speaking it resulted in her own lack of interest in te reo Māori throughout her youth.

> Kuia M: Didn't take any interest in Māori or anything like that. Used to go to the marae to all the different things at our marae, you know, tangi and all that sort of thing, and never took any interest in listening to the old people speak and all that kind of thing.

Since that time, Kuia M's attitude towards te reo Māori has changed. She now considers it a priority for herself and for her mokopuna. Her interest in te reo Māori came after she had children, realising that she wanted to learn the language herself as well as wanting te reo Māori options for her children's education. Having moved back to Northland with them, she looked for Māori-medium education and eventually found a school where she was able to place her son for his intermediate school years. Her daughter was already at secondary school age, so Māori-medium was not possible for her at that time.

Kuia M also began trying to involve herself in te reo Māori, by finding ways of listening to it and speaking it.

> Kuia M: I used to talk to Dad, and I'd say "Talk to me, Dad! Talk to me!" And he'd say "Rah rah rah...", "Go to the marae", and "Listen to it over there!", and all this sort of carry-on. Yeah, and so I did, I started going to the marae and started getting involved with umm...listening to the reo and everything.

Her desire to become proficient in te reo Māori led her to the city for a short te reo Māori course with Te Ataarangi. This course encouraged her to continue her te reo Māori learning path, and the decision to shift her whānau to a place where this was possible.

> Kuia M: So I came down here by myself to do this course for four weeks, and after the four weeks, went home, and I said to [Koro M],

> I want to move down there, cause I want to learn the reo…So he says “Right, we'll move down”… so we moved down and we have been down here...going on 22 years.

Koro M was born and raised in the small town where his whānau are currently living. His grandparents and parents were fluent speakers of te reo Māori. However, te reo Māori was not passed on to Koro M or his siblings, despite living next to his marae, and his grandfather and father both speaking on the marae. He attended the same primary school as his mokopuna do now, and then went to a mainstream secondary school in the city.

> Koro M: I was brought up here, this is my marae…my parents...my father spoke both languages, Māori and Pākehā. Mum...yeah she spoke a little bit. My grandparents spoke Māori, but I didn't really grasp onto them. I thought... you know, “What the hell is Māori going to do for me?” You know at that age...My father's been on the marae. My grandfather stood on the marae here. We used to come down to tangi and whatever happens down here when we were children, but we only came for a feed. Haha, then go outside and play…I wasn't immersed in the reo or tikanga.

Having been motivated by Kuia M and his mokopuna in their own te reo Māori journeys, Koro M recently decided to start his te reo Māori learning.

> Koro M: …yeah it’s just the mokos and (Kuia M) you know, they have all been through the Māori, and I thought to myself I’ve got to make it too. I need to understand what our people are saying, and also have a conversation with them, you know, in te reo. Um...yeah, my biggest factor is to learn my reo. You know, carry it through. And follow my mokos here, you know they're doing wonders. Yeah, and I think um...That’s all I want to do, is learn the reo. Yeah that’s me.

Whānau R

Māmā R = Mother

Māmā R is a Māori-medium teacher in a coastal town of the North Island where she lives with her husband, who grew up in the town, two sons and one daughter. Her daughter is currently in a te Māori immersion unit at primary school level, her middle son attends mainstream secondary school in the city, while her oldest boy is in a wharekura in the city.

Māmā R was raised on a farm on the East Coast by her father, a native te reo Māori speaker. He had already raised two children in English, believing at that time that English was more important than te reo Māori. His attitude changed at the time that the te reo revitalisation movement gained momentum around the country, and he chose to raise Māmā R and her younger brother in te reo Māori.

> Māmā R: When we were younger I remember always talking Māori to him…he would only talk Māori to my brother and I, but to my older siblings it was English...my dad brought them up in a real mainstream style, because he was like "You know I got a hiding when I was at school"… So by the time my brother and I came along to his second marriage, you know Māori was "the thing".

Māmā R was allowed to attend the local bilingual primary school from the early age of two. The school and its teachers were a strong influence on Māmā R's upbringing in te reo Māori. She remembers loving her reo, and the years spent at school hold some of her fondest memories.

> I went to school when I was like two-ish. Luckily enough they agreed to have me there, and it was a bilingual, but I felt like the majority of the time it was reo Māori. I had a wonderful principal who treated me like his own… The majority of my kaiako were kaumatua…you know it was all papas and nannies. And I remember as I got older

> that we would have alternate days, so one day we were only allowed to talk Māori, and everything was learnt in Māori. The next day it would be English, and it would be that way most of the time. And, I remember it was just normal for us to be that way. And I loved...I remember loving my reo...um...through the majority of my schooling.

After primary school, Māmā R attended a predominantly Māori mainstream high school, with a very whānau-based environment. She eventually finished school at the age of seventeen. In her later schooling years, Māmā R would spend her school holidays helping her father at the local kōhanga reo.

Between her time at home, school, marae and elsewhere, Māmā R grew up in a community where being bilingual was normal, and her own use of te reo and English growing up reflected this. She remembers having positive childhood attitudes towards the Māori language, which she believes reflects the status that te reo Māori had at that time on the East Coast.

Whānau K

Māmā K lives in a coastal town in the North Island with her husband and two sons. They moved there three years ago, as it presented an ideal work and community environment to enhance her desire to live through te reo Māori as much as possible. She works in the Māori-medium education sector, providing support and initiatives for schools, students and whānau. She describes herself as a staunch advocate for te reo Māori and te reo Māori revitalisation. Her eldest son currently attends a te reo Māori immersion unit at primary school level at the local school. She has, however, chosen to home-school her youngest son, as she believes that she can provide a better Māori-medium education for him at home, away from the influence that English has at the school.

Māmā K was born and raised in Wellington where despite having English-speaking parents, she was immersed in te reo Māori at kōhanga reo. Her grandparents played

a key role in the establishment of the first kōhanga reo and urban marae in the Wellington region. They were extremely proactive in creating te reo Māori learning opportunities, and were determined that their grandchildren would learn te reo Māori.

> Māmā K: …the first three kōhanga reo we have really close connections with, so the third kōhanga reo was ours. It was Kōkiri Marae Kōhanga Reo. Um...my Nan wasn't a speaker of te reo and neither were her tamariki but my grandfather was. And it was my Nan that was real encouraging, well I don't know if it was encouraging, but more telling her children that her mokopuna would learn their reo.

With their kōhanga reo being part of the marae, Māmā K spent most of her time there, immersed in a te reo Māori environment with many fluent te reo Māori-speaking kaumatua around her. Although at home her parents' language was English, they believed that te reo Māori me ōna tikanga was the most important thing for their children.

> Māmā K: …my parents weren't speakers of te reo Māori either, so our language comes from the kōhanga reo, you know, that was the place where we learnt our language and was the place where we spoke reo, so we weren't coming back into our homes speaking Māori but we had the tikanga stuff that wrapped around us… I've talked to my mum about it and she said that they just had to believe…you know like that was a really trying time back then when Māori wasn't you know in the best state or very supported, they just had to believe and have faith that this was the right huarahi, or pathway, for their tamariki.

After kōhanga reo, Māmā K attended mainstream primary school, as there was no Māori-medium school available at that time at primary school level. Her grandmother

would not settle for English-only instruction, however, and pressured the school to bring in Māori-medium instruction.

> Māmā K: …So she fought for 20 hours of instruction in te reo Māori, you know, and so we went to a bilingual class, so we came through bilingual schools. You know we went from twenty hours instruction to half days to full days.

After primary school, Māmā K and many of her cousins had to transition to mainstream college, as there were no Māori-medium possibilities available. This was not an easy transition, as she remembers feeling left behind, struggling to switch to a full English academic environment. This is a major reason, she believes, that many of her generation have since turned their backs on the Māori language.

> I just remember not feeling up to par. You know in terms of language, English, and having to do everything in English. And that's actually been a big factor why those of my generation haven't continued with te reo…for their children and for themselves, is feeling dumb!... So they've decided that that's not what they want for their tamariki and that actually, that whole te reo learning journey or immersion or bilingual classes did not benefit them, and them not wanting the same thing for their tamariki. So that's been a real big eye-opener for me, why we've chosen different paths.

Whānau B

Kuia B = Grandmother, Māmā B = Mother, Matua B = Father, Whaea Kēkē B = Aunty

Matua B and Māmā B live in a small, rural town in the North Island with their two daughters and Māmā B's parents. They live next door to their marae, and their two girls attend a local Level One Māori-medium primary school. Their household speaks a mix of te reo Māori and English languages. Kuia B, Māmā B and the two girls speak te reo Māori, while Matua B and the grandfather are English speakers, currently taking te reo Māori beginners' courses at wānanga.

Matua B grew up in a North Island city in a strong Māori environment. His father did not speak the Māori language, but his mother was fluent. He later moved to a different suburb where Māori language and tikanga were not present in the school or the community. He attended a high school with a strong Māori influence. However, Matua B feels that the older he got, the less part te reo Māori played in his upbringing to the point where he and his siblings lost it completely.

Māmā B grew up in the same small town where they currently live, and went to the same school as her daughters, which at that time was bilingual. She went to a secondary school in the city which had some te reo Māori instruction and strong Māori tikanga. It was during her high school years that Māmā B believes her te reo Māori grew much stronger, and so did her desire for te reo Māori. It was outside school that Māmā B initially developed her reo Māori. She spent much of her time on the marae where te reo Māori was strong.

> Māmā B: Yeah. But lived and pretty much breathed te reo Māori me ngā tikanga, was brought up in it. Mum had it, Dad didn't speak it. He didn't speak, he's learning it now, never too late.

Māmā B's whānau maintain a strong te reo Māori environment at home despite her father and Matua B not speaking the language. They accommodate for them by speaking English while they are there, but otherwise Māmā B and the rest of the whānau speak te reo Māori all the time.

Summary

All five whānau in this research share a common commitment to instilling te reo Māori in their children or grandchildren. Their decision to commit to Māori-medium education contrasts with the majority of Māori whānau in Aotearoa/New Zealand, who choose to educate their children in mainstream schools. The whānau of this study are all therefore playing critical roles in te reo Māori revitalisation, which makes understanding their individual circumstances and perspectives all the more important. As their narratives above show, each whānau's background and current

exposure to te reo Māori and tikanga is different. The following three sections aims to understand how these differences play a part in each whānau's revitalisation journey.

Māori-Medium Education

This section discusses the key findings from the five whānau about their perceptions of te reo Māori and their roles in Māori-medium.

Reasons for choosing Māori-medium education

The five participating whānau can be divided into three groups (Figure 1 below) according to the period in which the parents or grandparents grew up, and the extent to which they are still affected by language shift at home. Group one, including Kuia O, Kuia M and Koro M, did not learn te reo Māori when growing up. They grew up prior to the advent of Māori-medium education, and their parents raised them speaking English. Group two, including Whaea R and Whaea K, were raised speaking English and te reo Māori, and benefitted from having Māori-medium education available to them. Whānau B shares elements of both groups. Like Group two, Whaea B was raised bilingually, and had some access to bilingual education. However, like Group one, Matua B was educated in mainstream schools, and missed out on acquiring te reo from his parents.

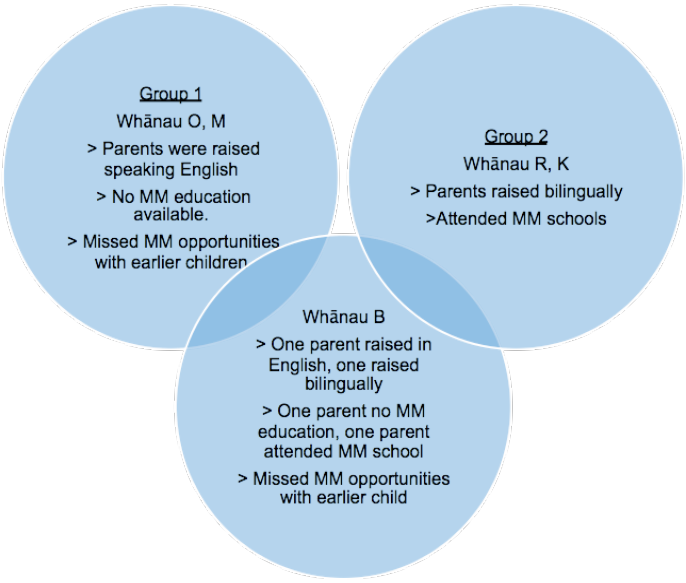

Figure 1: Whānau groupings according to how language shift has affected them

Group one

For Kuia O, Kuia M and Koro M, placing their mokopuna in Māori-medium education helps them to make amends for the language loss that has affected their whānau, as well as the missed te reo Māori opportunities that occurred in the past.

> Kuia M: ... I said I want them to learn the reo, learn the tikanga, learn everything about the reo, I said what we missed out when we were kids. You know, growing up, we could've had it with my dad, but he...wouldn't... He said “Nah, no, no, no”, way back then and those stereotypes back then. “Won't get anywhere!”, you know. “What is the use of learning the reo!” But I said no. I said “I want that for my mokopuna”.

Kuia O tried to reverse this language loss with her own two children by placing them in bilingual classes. However, relocating to a new town meant that her children were not able to fully benefit from Māori-medium. Missed opportunities also constituted a factor for Whānau M. The commitment of these whānau to Māori-mediu m today is a way of making up for those lost opportunities in the past.

> Kuia O: [My grandson] is now living with me, so we are trying to revitalise that base, that language base…in a bilingual unit, rather than total immersion. And then work through the bilingual unit, up to total immersion, that’s the plan…Yeah. I wanted that for my children too... but things happen. Things change.

Whānau M had another motive. They wanted their children to be schooled where they could better identify themselves in a te ao Māori environment, where whānau, whakapapa (geneology) and whānaungatanga (relationships to people and things) are paramount, and where te reo Māori is the instrument for that whakawhānaungatanga.

> Matua M: I think it's got to do with belonging, you know, heritage, genealogy, it’s got a lot to do with all your tupuna and stuff like that.

> You know, they're carrying you. And respect, and all that kind of thing. Your reo, your turangawaewae, who you are, what you are.

Group two

The second group, Whānau R and K, benefitted from Māori-medium education when they were young, and grew up in an environment with a strong te reo Māori presence. They wanted the same educational experience for their own children as their parents had wanted for them.

> Māmā R: I think it's because of the values, the values that we've been brought up with…And just meeting each other and getting to know one another and growing up...together basically…we just knew it was the right thing to do. Something that we always wanted, through our values from our parents.

Māmā K explained that te reo Māori was normal for her when growing up, which she wants for her children. Knowing the sacrifices that her grandmother and her own parents made to ensure that she grew up with te reo meant that there is no other path for her children. She does not want her children to grow up without a knowledge of te reo, like many Māori families today.

> Whaea K: I know my parents didn't…grow up with te reo and were really staunch about us speaking reo to our tamariki. And so I know for a lot of those that don't have their language there is something missing…for them in their lives. I don't want that for my tamariki, and…this is normal for me, you know, for them to be in Māori education.

Whānau B share the characteristics of both Group one and Group two. While Matua B missed out on te reo Māori, Māmā B grew up in a te reo Māori-speaking household, and experienced bilingual Māori-medium education at school. Her younger sisters also went to the same school, but it had by that time become full immersion. She believes that because of this their te reo Māori was much stronger than hers. She

hopes that her daughters will excel in the te reo Māori immersion environment, as her sisters did.

> Māmā B: Yeah, te reo was stronger in my two younger siblings…They did so well, right through, right through to high school. Yeah, but for me…I guess I was a bit more mature [when her te reo Māori grew stronger], but I could see it in my whānau around me, you know, how well they were doing.

Whānau B's decision in favour of Māori-medium education was also based on regret and missed opportunity, as Māmā B was unable to send her older son to this form of education. Sending her two girls to Māori-medium was about them not missing out on the language as her first boy had.

> Māmā B: Cos my oldest boy went through mainstream and he got lost in the system, and I thought "No, I'm not going to do that again", at the time then, it was not my choice I didn't send him, there was a lot of in-house "take" [issues] up there, so chose to send him to mainstream but, he managed, but he could've done better, but it wasn't for him, mainstream. And he missed out on kappa haka and all that. Yeah. And I believed…I saw the value of it in my nieces and nephews that went… to the kura, so I wasn't going to make that mistake again.

Overall, this pattern of decision-making shows that historical experiences are significant influences on the choices whānau make. Whether those historical experiences were rich in te reo Māori or were without te reo Māori, both are motivational factors that cause whānau to send children into Māori-Medium education.

Benefits of Māori-medium education

When asked about the benefits of attending Māori-medium education, the responses can again be grouped according to how language shift has affected each whānau.

Table 2 below shows that those whānau with lower Māori language exposure (Whānau O, M, and B) consider gaining a knowledge of the Māori language as a major benefit, while those with higher Māori language exposure, (Whānau R and K), perceive the primary benefits to be associated with tikanga, values and identity. Two whānau (Whānau M and B), with moderate Māori language exposure, see both te reo Māori and tikanga Māori being benefits of attending Māori-medium education.

Table 4: Te reo Māori exposure and perceived benefits of Māori-medium education

Whānau	**Reo exposure and resources**	**Perceived benefits of MM**
Whānau O	Low/Medium	Reo
Whānau M	Medium	Reo/Tikanga
Whānau B	Medium/High	Reo/Tikanga
Whānau R	High	Tikanga
Whānau K	High	Tikanga

The following quotes demonstrate the differing whānau perspectives around Māori-medium education benefits.

Whānau K (favour cultural confidence building)

> Māmā K: So for my boy, if I think about him…he's not very confident to stand up in front of big crowds. He allows his teacher to guide him into that space and to, ki te kōrero, ki te mihi, and not so much myself. So I can see that there are different roles that we play in schools and at homes. The things that I can't necessarily provide for him, Māori-medium schools can. Kapa haka – my boy's not going to want to stand up on his own at home and, "Come on, let's sing a song!", you know, "Wā haka!" [haka time]. But in an environment like this around other tamariki he's more willing to do that stuff.... So that's that community, being with other tamariki that are on the

same journey, hearing adults speaking te reo. Those are going to be the benefits for him.

Whānau M (favour te reo Māori, identity and whakapapa benefits).

> Kuia M: I think it's got to do with belonging, genealogy…Your reo, your turangawaewae…Yeah just identifying yourself, aye...as a person. Be proud to be a Māori. Be proud to speak it.

Whānau B (favour te reo, identity and whakapapa benefits).

> Māmā B: Māori-medium, for me is about their reo, whangaihia te reo [the language is nurtured] and kōrerohia te reo [the language is spoken]. For me it's about me tū rangatira [leadership] so they can be proud and stand strong in this…well, it's going to be in this changing world, yeah just to be strong and proud of who they are, where they come from, know who they are, their identity, know who they are and where they come from. Yeah.

Whānau R (favour Māori values and identity benefits).

> Māmā R: Know who they are and where they are going in life. To manaaki [support], you know to look after one another, to look after their whānau, look after everyone else around them. Be non-judgemental, you know all those values, all values that we hold dear.

A possible explanation of this pattern is that whānau with the higher exposure to te reo at home (Whānau R and K) are less reliant on the school for te reo Māori exposure. However, those with lower levels of reo exposure (Whānau O, M, and B) in the home view the school environment as more important for their children's te reo Māori development.

Long term commitment to Māori-medium education

The participating whānau were asked whether they plan to have their children or grandchildren continue in Māori-medium education for the duration of their schooling. Their different responses to this question again reflected the extent to which whānau remain affected by language shift. Whānau O, M, with less exposure to te reo Māori, stated that they plan for their children or grandchildren to stay in Māori-medium right through to the end of wharekura, while Whānau R and K, with more exposure to te reo Māori, consider mainstream secondary school an option. Whānau B's responses align with Whānau O and M on this occasion.

Group one

Whānau B were adamant about the need for their children to carry on to wharekura, and believed that not doing so would be a waste of their children's efforts in being schooled through Māori-medium primary school.

> Matua B: We definitely want [them] to [carry on into] wharekura. Yep. Then I hope they want to carry on after that…Yeah, you can't waste their time and effort coming through kura and then putting them into mainstream, cos they've done all the hard yards themselves, then they are going to go to something which could become alien to them. Yeah so, just have to keep the flow going.

Whānau M have always planned for their mokopuna to be educated solely through Māori-medium. Their granddaughter is now attending wharekura, and their grandson will commence the following year.

> Kuia M: I got my mokos' lives planned out from when they were at kōhanga. Kōhanga, kura kaupapa, wharekura, university. You know, I got it all planned out. That's how I want it to go.

Group two

By contrast, Whānau R and Whānau K, who have a longer association with Māori-medium education, do not believe that continuing in Māori-medium at secondary

school age is necessary for their children. All three children have been educated in Māori-medium from preschool age, but of the two boys of secondary school age, one attends a wharekura, and the other a mainstream school.

Whānau K does not yet know what secondary school the two tamariki will go to, but te reo Māori will not be a significant factor influencing that decision because it is safely established in the children.

> Māmā K: I think…it depends on my kids, so it depends on how comfortable, confident or equipped they are to move into a mainstream space if that's where they want to be, or not. Because if I've given them the language right up to Year 8…that language is second nature. You know, so I'm not sending them to school for te reo.

Whānau O, M, and B, with less te reo Māori exposure, plan for their tamariki to continue Māori-medium education through wharekura. These plans were put in place early in their lives and revolve around the uninterrupted development of their te reo Māori education. In contrast, Whānau R and K, who have very high te reo Māori exposure, are open to the idea of their children attending mainstream education at secondary school level.

Te Reo Māori Attitudes, Use, and Barriers

Perceptions regarding te reo Māori status in Aotearoa

All five whānau are positive about the importance of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Kuia O's response applies to all the whānau.

> Kuia O: think it is of significant importance because it is an official language of Aotearoa. I think it's important more so because...te reo is more important for the survival of our language, our culture, our tikanga, our practices, our values, our beliefs, is very important...for ourselves and our children, our mokopuna…

The need to revitalise te reo Māori and culture, was also paramount to all whānau in regard to re-establishing Māori identity among Māori who have been disconnected from their language and culture.

> Māmā R: Well for me, with reo is tikanga, and with that is your whakapapa. I see a lot of tamariki, whānau…are just lost...aye. And for me that's because they don't know who they are and where they're from and you know with that they don't know where they're going, and things like self-esteem and all that stuff all goes back to that, so for me it's **huge**...for everyone...to know their reo and their tikanga and their whakapapa.

All whānau believed that it is important to use te reo Māori as often as possible, and that other people's attitudes should not be a factor in their language use.

> Māmā R: I think if you are...like if you are wanting to converse in te reo Māori in front of people who don't have the reo...I think it's fine. If people have hang-ups about it, kei a rātou tēnā [that's their problem], but we need to keep using it to keep it alive, no matter what.

When asked about wider public attitudes towards te reo Māori, the views of four whānau were negative, believing that most New Zealanders are critical about te reo Māori use. Kuia O believes that most New Zealanders value other languages over te reo Māori.

> Kuia O: I think the mainstream view is that Māori is not going to benefit you in the real world, and so [Pākehā/Government] put a money value on it, I think, whereas Mandarin...[it would] be better to learn Chinese... rather than Māori, what's Māori good for?

She also feels that the negative perspective of the media affects how people perceive the Māori people, culture and language.

> Kuia O: …when you read the news about things Māori it's usually negative, so people's perception about Māori is negative…It's a one-eyed view, mainstream, it's either their way or...umm you see things from their perspective which is manipulated and twisted.

In summary, all five whānau believe that te reo Māori is a key part of the national culture that needs to be revitalised and maintained to ensure its survival for future generations. However, the wider community's view of te reo Māori, according to four whānau, is negative. They felt that te reo Māori is viewed as having little value in the wider society.

Barrier to language use

The whānau highlighted that barriers to their use of te reo Māori or their involvement in Māori-medium education come from friends, family, or themselves.

Whānau members with high levels of fluency considered themselves the biggest barrier to maintaining a te reo Māori environment for their children, because they often unwittingly lapse into using English. Māmā R and Māmā B both described their lapses as "lazy". Māmā R believes this laziness comes from the surrounding English influence.

> Māmā R: I think for me, what's changed for me has been not being in a school that's not a kura kaupapa. Um...so I came in, like I said, we came in staunch with our reo, and then we're going out into a playground where there's English, the majority of the time, there's English everywhere because we've got all our mainstream classrooms. Then you're going into a staffroom where the majority are you know, non-Māori, don't know Māori, don't care about Māori. I think that's what's changed me, um and it's made me lazy with my reo basically.

Māmā K also considers her own personal effort to constantly use te reo Māori whenever possible as an obstacle that she needs to overcome. She finds herself

continually evaluating how much te reo Māori she is speaking and thinking. She considers it her duty to instil te reo Māori into her tamariki, and control their language exposure. This can be very demanding for her.

> Māmā K: That's the biggest challenge… just sticking to te reo Māori myself…. being able to hear myself speak English and automatically changing back into it. And if I can get my head…my head talk to kōrero Māori…then I know, that's a good sign, that kei te Māori rawa atu taku arero [that it's always Māori on my tongue].

Whānau K and R also mentioned receiving negative feedback from family and friends as being an issue that they had to overcome. Their personal ambitions to use and promote te reo Māori in a wide range of contexts is at times not well received.

> Māmā R: Sometimes you get the vibe from some whānau like, "Oh, she's showing off!"

Māmā K also believes her efforts to normalise te reo are sometimes viewed by her wider whānau as a crusade.

> Māmā K: Some people think…you know there's still some that are like, "Oh my God! Check this chick out!" That's what I know some people might say of me. "Oh here we go, something else in te reo Māori", you know, so that plays on my mind…Even within your own whānau.

Whānau M and O's biggest barriers have come from friends and family criticising or challenging their decision to enrol their grandchildren in Māori-medium, instead of mainstream education.

> Kuia M: But you know a lot of people say um..."What about the reo Pākehā?", you know, because the kids have been through all that. "Aren't you worried that they can't talk Pākehā properly or write Pākehā?"

For both Whānau O and M, other family members' opposition to their Māori-medium decision resulted in the grandchildren being removed and placed in mainstream schools. The commitment of Koro and Kuia M and Kuia and Māmā O to Māori-medium and to revitalising te reo Māori within their whānau eventually led to the grandchildren returning to Māori-medium, where they have remained ever since.

Revitalisation

Perceptions of revitalisation success

Whānau were asked how well they thought that Aotearoa/New Zealand was doing at revitalising te reo Māori. The answers can again be grouped according to each whānau's te reo Maori exposure, with Whānau O, M, and B (less exposure to te reo Māori) being more positive about te reo Māori revitalisation efforts, while Whānau R and K believed that revitalisation efforts are not having the desired effect.

Whānau O, M, and B believe that, overall, the efforts to revitalise te reo Māori are succeeding. They discussed various initiatives such as kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa and Māori wānanga, revitalisation efforts of marae, an increased presence of te reo in the media, and revitalisation work being done at the Government level. Whānau B's comment below reflects the positive attitude of these three whānau.

> Māmā B: They're doing a good job so far. I think they're definitely doing a good job.
>
> Matua B: I think the fact that they realised that it is slowly dying, and the different dialects are, I think that's put a gear into…bringing it back. I think the marae are starting to step up now… Doing reo classes at their own marae. Not so much to save the language, but to save the dialects as well. As well as the language.
>
> Kōkā B: I believe that more Māori are getting educated and so it's getting stronger and coming back, definitely. Like I think it is at its strongest point now and it's only going to grow.

Kuia O does believe, however, that more collaboration is needed between the various revitalisation initiatives and whānau.

In contrast to Whānau O, M, and B, Whānau R and K are not confident about the current health of the Māori language. Māmā R believes that while some iwi are making gains the long-term future of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand is far from assured.

Māmā K is also worried about the future of te reo Māori. She believes that today there is a general complacency towards te reo Māori, due to the success of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa and wānanga, which now results in a lack of any continued, wider success.

> RK: Because our kids now, or even some of my generation, we've always just had these things there for us such as kōhanga. We didn't have to do the hard work! Someone else did. Others have done the hard work for kura kaupapa. The same for whare wānanga, so some of us think that it's just normal and aren't taking it as seriously, because it's just here…We've got all these institutions and our reo…isn't any better off.

The responsibility for te reo Māori revitalisation

When asked where they believed responsibility lies for revitalising te reo, all five whānau feel that Māori themselves need to do more.

Whānau O, M, and B state that responsibility lies with Māori whānau, or bottom-up revitalisation.

> Koro M: I think us as Māori. Ourselves as Māori.
>
> Kuia M: Yeah we need to start in the homes. Start doing our homework, and learn the reo.

They also believe that mainstream media have a responsibility to expose more te reo Māori to the nation.

> Kuia O: …I think more can be done, it starts with you as an individual person… I think the broadcasting industry have a lot of pressure on them to expose it a bit more on TV, radio, get it out there to normalise... use it. Yeah. But it should be a collaborative approach.

Whānau with higher te reo Māori exposure (Whānau R and K) believe that hapū and marae should be the driving force in getting Māori families learning and speaking te reo.

> Māmā R: Yeah, I think just trying to encourage whānau to get back to their marae, because there it's not just about the reo and tikanga, it's about the whole whakapapa and the whole person…it's all about the marae, so I think iwi are just going to have to keep it up because the Government won't.

Māmā K believes that the Government should stick to educational initiatives, and leave the rest to Māori. There is no "one size fits all" solution, she says. Individual hapū should play a major role in getting their whānau to reintroduce te reo Māori into their homes.

> Māmā K: …Hapū! Yeah. We can't… expect one body to revitalise the language of Aotearoa when we all do things differently…You know there's not only one way to do it. Let's put the responsibility, with training and support around them, back into hapū...because hapū are groups of whānau, and if we can get reo back into our homes, which is the key, reo back into our homes, it's the biggest revitalisation strategy. Is reo Māori homes, reo Māori speaking homes.

Three of the five whānau (Whānau M, K and R) discussed their frustration at the lack of commitment to te reo Māori from some whānau.

> Māmā K: …even amongst our own. You know even being in a place like this where the kaiako and the reo is supported…we can't get Māori to go to those courses [community te reo Māori courses].

Māmā K believes that this is due to the stigma that many whānau and non-speakers maintain due to the cultural and linguistic marginalisation of the past.

> Māmā K: …it's time to let that stuff go, cos it's not benefitting us. It's not benefitting our language or our culture but we're still holding on to it, that's real deeply rooted stuff, why our people aren't coming back to our reo and our culture.

Māmā R often feels that whānau simply can't be bothered committing to the kaupapa.

> Māmā R: Then you have our whānau who have always been here at the time and they just take it for granted, they don't make much effort, they don't turn up to whānau hui until you hit them up and go "Hey! What's happening?"

Whānau perceptions of their roles in revitalisation

One of the major aims of this research was to explore whānau perceptions of their own impact on te reo Māori revitalisation. There was again a difference between Group one (Whānau O, M, and B) and Group two (Whānau R and K).

Group one's revitalisation roles are centred on their immediate whānau, particularly on ensuring that whānau learn to speak te reo Māori. As well as having children learning and using the language in Māori-medium education, all three whānau have had or currently have members who are enrolled in te reo Māori courses at wānanga. These whānau view their revitalisation roles as creating whole whānau who are capable of speaking te reo Māori, and where the older whānau members are able to act as language role models.

> Kuia O: I think I could do a bit more but I'm doing my bit by putting my grandson into bilingual unit…that's a start, but again it comes

> back to me as an individual being the grandmother, ah... you can't expect your moko to do something that you're not, so... I have to lead by example.

Group two's revitalisation roles revolve around normalising te reo Māori for their whānau, and for their wider communities. In her professional role, Māmā R sees the positive impact she has in terms of teaching and promoting te reo Māori to her students and their whānau. She also discusses her husband's work, and the positive effects he has by promoting and normalising te reo me ōna tikanga in his work for a major Government agency. Māmā R believes her whānau's language use has positive normalisation effects on others around them.

> Māmā R: …we are making it normalised, like people are listening and seeing it, thinking "Oh that's cool". "It's acceptable'". And yeah, you get people admiring that we can converse in Māori.

Māmā K also feels that part of her te reo Māori use is about influencing other people. Her perspective is that she and her whānau are acting as role models, by constantly striving to find ways to increase the amount of te reo Māori in their lives, by being proactive.

> Māmā K: …just trying to create opportunities for te reo…Trying to make it normal and not so hard. So creating little opportunities… [to use it]…is how we change it, and then speaking it out in the community, and writing stuff on notice boards, on Facebook, that's in te reo…I'll speak te reo Maori in restaurants and fish and chip shops, at the park, and part of that for me is allowing those around me to hear our language. You know, in the hope that they appreciate it.

Summary

This chapter has revealed the key findings of this research in relation to the three main themes of Māori-medium influences and perceptions, attitudes and barriers,

and perceptions of revitalisation. It has shown that for each theme, whānau perceptions relate to the extent to which they remain affected by language shift. The following chapter will discuss these findings in relation to the relevant literature mentioned in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER FIVE – DISCUSSION

Introduction

This thesis sought to research three key areas: the major influences on whānau decision-making around Māori-medium education; the barriers that whānau perceive as affecting their involvement in te reo Māori revitalisation; and whānau perceptions of revitalisation and their role in it. Each of these themes will now be explored.

Factors influencing whānau decision-making around Māori-medium

1. Māori-medium provides whānau with a choice to place their children in an environment which nurtures te reo Māori and tikanga that is not provided elsewhere.

This research indicates that whānau see the exposure to te reo Māori and tikanga Māori within a whānau atmosphere as key benefits of Māori-medium programmes. The Māori-medium environment is the educational space which accommodates their identity as Māori. This wider concept of Māori identity contains the values of respect and manaakitanga. Whānau feel that Māori-medium schools provide a space where students grow in confidence and self-esteem, and develop leadership qualities.

> Māmā B: For me it's about me tū rangatira [leadership] so they can be proud and stand strong.

This finding aligns with research by McKinley (2000) and Cooper et al. (2004) (see page 16), who found that parents choose kura kaupapa education for their children because of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, and the whānau atmosphere. This study supports the work of McKinley (2000) and Cooper et al. (2004), demonstrating that there is clearly a need for Māori-medium programmes, which incorporate not only te reo Māori, but Māori world views. Whānau who are involved in Māori-medium see these language and culture elements as critical to their children's learning environment, and are therefore preferring Māori-medium to other educational options where those elements are not a priority.

2. Low and high exposure to te reo Māori in the past are both significant factors which influence whānau involvement in Māori-medium.

This research found that past experiences of parents and grandparents were significantly influenced all five whānau in their decision to choose Māori-medium over mainstream. Some parent and grandparent generations had been deprived of te reo Māori when growing up, while others had had significant exposure to te reo Māori, but both situations had led to a whānau decision to commit their children or grandchildren to Māori-medium education.

Both McKinley (2000) and Cooper et al. (2004) found that an element of decision-making is based on parents' past experiences. Whānau from both studies were influenced in their decision to choose Māori-medium by having missed out on Māori language and Māori-medium schooling. In some cases, their negative experiences in mainstream schools added to their resolve to choose Māori-medium as an alternative that they believed would be better suited to their whānau culture.

An important factor that links the whānau of this study is that all were affected by language loss somewhere in their backgrounds. They are all on the same RLS journey, but at different stages of the continuum. Whānau O and M (and B), whose reintroduction to te reo Māori was later, are at the stage of ensuring that their children or grandchildren acquire the language by placing them in Māori-medium, while at the same time other members of the family pursue their own te reo Māori learning in order to support the children and act as role models. They are therefore aiming to achieve stage 6 of Fishman's GIDS model (see Chapter 2, page 19-20), and are using stage 4a (Māori-medium schools) as a means of doing so. In contrast, the children in Whānau R and K (and B) have already had te reo Māori transmitted to them by their parents. Fishman's stage 6 has therefore been achieved. They use Māori-medium education (stage 4a) as a support to their home environment where te reo Māori is already normalised.

A closely related finding is that the extent to which te reo Māori had been re-established in the home caused whānau to seek different outcomes from Māori-medium education. For the whānau who had lower levels of exposure to te reo Māori at home and had experienced a more significant effect of language shift, the priority was weighted towards regaining the language that had been lost from their whānau. Kuia M's statement reinforces this.

> Kuia M: ...I said I want them to learn the reo, learn the tikanga, learn everything about the reo, I said what we missed out when we were kids. You know, growing up, we could've had it with my dad, but he...wouldn't... He said "Nah, no, no, no", way back then and those stereotypes back then. "Won't get anywhere!", you know. "What is the use of learning the reo!" But I said no. I said "I want that for my mokopuna".

These whānau were also very clear about committing their children to Māori-medium through school. The reflections of Whānau O, M, and B showed that their missed opportunities to benefit from Māori-medium had motivated their long-term involvement in Māori-medium education. It was a plan that had been in place since their children or grandchildren's preschool years, and one they had defended, despite considerable opposition from people around them (as will be discussed below).

For the second group of whānau (Whānau R, K, and B), whose senior members grew up with te reo Māori, and who have stabilised te reo Māori use in their homes, the priority was more towards placing their children in a Māori culture- and language-imbued educational setting where te reo Māori is normalised. They considered the normalised use of te reo Māori in the school environment a way of supporting and developing their children's understanding of Māori values and tikanga - aspects of Māori culture which these parents benefitted from in their Māori-medium education. For these whānau, the Māori-medium environment is an extension of the high (te reo Māori) status environment they maintain within their homes.

Whānau K and R were more flexible in choosing to remain in Māori-Medium education for the duration of their schooling. Whānau R, for instance, schooled all their children in Māori-medium preschool and primary school. However, at secondary school level they allowed their children to transition to English-medium if they wished. Whānau K also believed that if their children attended wharekura, it would not be because of te reo Māori, as the language was already instilled in their tamariki.

The different ways the whānau engage with te reo Māori and Māori-medium education can be related to Fishman's language revitalisation model (GIDS) and to more recent calls for emphasis to be placed on intergenerational language transmission (Reedy et al., 2011). Fishman (1991) highlighted the importance of language in the home leading to intergenerational language transmission (ILT). Benton and Benton (2001) added to the discussion ten years after Fishman, showing that while some gains have been made in some areas, te reo Māori remained firmly at a stage 6 position. This remains true sixteen years later, and these five whānau are examples of people who are successfully pursuing stage 6 ambitions. They are playing an important role in te reo Māori revitalisation by broaching intergenerational language transmission. The decisions they make and the reasons behind those decisions reflect the progress they have made to date in terms of securing te reo Māori for their whānau. Whether that progress is at an earlier stage of whānau learning the language or at a more advanced stage of ILT achievement, all whānau, through their efforts, are building stronger te reo Māori environments in their home and normalising the language in their whānau.

Overall, the findings show that in this study, regardless of the Māori language pasts of the parent and grandparent groups, both groups are equally motivated to commit to Māori-medium education, but assign different priorities to the place of te reo Māori. Those who feel that they missed out and whose older children missed out on Maori-medium education are more determined to be involved in the kaupapa for longer, while those with te reo Māori re-established in the whānau are more flexible in their decision to pursue Māori-medium education for the te reo Māori benefits.

Barriers to language use: Friends, Family, Themselves

The second research question aimed to understand attitudes and other barriers that whānau face regarding their use of te reo Māori and their involvement in Māori-medium education.

1. A main finding was that while whānau involved in this study all had positive perspectives on te reo Māori, they felt that New Zealand society did not. Their perceptions contrasted with the reality that most New Zealanders are positive about te reo Māori use in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010).

One reason why whānau believe public attitudes are negative towards te reo Māori may be that they have been subjected to negative attitudes in the past themselves. All whānau spoke of the negativity that they have received from friends or family. It may be that if they are experiencing negativity close to home, they would assume that that negativity would also extend to the wider public.

Importantly to this topic, despite their perceptions of an air of negativity in Aotearoa/New Zealand society perceptions, this did not affect their resolve to use it in community contexts. Three of the five whānau were highly committed to using te reo Māori in public wherever possible, and all participants felt that other people's attitudes should not determine whether te reo Māori is spoken in public. Their determination to speak te reo Māori mirrors that of the early te reo Māori revitalisation pioneers, who persevered to create and maintain kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa, despite the challenges. It also provides impetus in the pursuit of the aim of normalising te reo Māori. Without doubt, the more te reo Māori is spoken in public contexts, no matter what the language ability, the greater the likelihood of it being more accepted, which will contribute to revitalisation (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006). That these five whānau have positive attitudes towards the wider use of te reo Māori is encouraging, as it exposes numerous people to the language, thus increasing language use and improving attitudes towards te reo Māori becoming a normal part of New Zealand culture (Higgens & Rewi, 2014).

2. The barriers that whānau revealed as being significant in detracting from Maori language revitalisation and their commitment to Māori-medium education stemmed from those who were closest to them: namely friends, family, and themselves.

Whānau R and K have both experienced negativity to their te reo Māori kaupapa from friends and/or whānau. Whānau R and K's active stance in the promotion of te reo Māori had led to the belittling of their te reo Māori efforts, in a sense of their being seen as too "te reo Māori focused". Their efforts to encourage others and to speak te reo Māori as much as possible had in some cases resulted in negative feedback. Using Higgins and Rewi's (2014) ZePA model, Māmā K and Māmā R fit into the "Active" state (see Chapter Two, page 25-26) where they "…actively strive to advance the Māori language in all arenas" (p. 23). Unfortunately, their determination is sometimes not appreciated by those who are close to them.

Negativity from friends and whānau was also a barrier for Whānau O and M regarding their decision to enrol their grandchildren in Māori-medium education. This opposition from whānau members resulted in the grandchildren being removed from Māori-medium for a period. They were challenged by friends and family about the perceived usefulness of te reo Māori in society and the negative influence of Māori-medium on learning English literacy. Māori-medium, they believed, could have negative impacts on the children's future prospects.

Māori whānau being concerned about English literacy has been discussed in the literature as a barrier to Māori-medium commitment. McKinley (2000) and Cooper et al. (2004) both found that English language concerns are common among Māori-medium parents, and often lead to them removing their children from Māori-medium prematurely, or not committing to it at all (May & Hill, 2005). However, those concerns are contrary to the research on effective practice in bilingual education. Fifty years of research since Peal and Lambert's (1962) study of Canadian students learning French in an immersion setting has shown that bilingual education can in fact lead to

high levels of proficiency in two or more languages despite one language receiving far less exposure (Baker, 2011).

Concerns about the children's futures reflect a continuation of the devaluation of te reo Māori as a result of the colonisation process that still lingers today among some Māori whānau. These concerns represent the mind-set that English is more valuable than te reo Māori, that te reo Māori will not be of benefit in Aotearoa/New Zealand today. Kuia M spoke of her grandparents' generation's comments about te reo Māori being a waste of time. Today, she is once again faced with similar remarks. Despite the assimilative education policies of the Native Schools having been dismantled decades ago, their legacy lives on in many whānau, in the form of ingrained anti-te reo Māori attitudes that continue to challenge whānau such as Whānau O and M in their pro-te reo Māori actions and beliefs. This highlights the determination and resilience that Māori-medium whānau must have to remain committed to their beliefs to commit to Māori-medium education long-term.

3. Another important finding to emerge from this research is that some whānau consider their own level of determination to resist speaking English with their children is one of their biggest challenges. Māmā B, R, and K all stated that at times they succumb to the influences of English, describing their lapses into English at home as "lazy". They perceive the ever-present English influence as the cause, but view their own efforts to resist that influence as the issue.

> Māmā K: That's the biggest challenge. It's just sticking to te reo Māori myself. And being able to hear myself speak English and automatically changing back into it. And if I can get my head… my head talk to kōrero Māori…then I know, that's a good sign.

This finding is not surprising within this context. Like most New Zealanders, the parents and grandparents involved in this study grew up during a time when English was dominant. Even though they were exposed to te reo Māori in their home lives,

they were all nonetheless surrounded by the English language in society, and were influenced by English language television.

Given the reality of living in Aotearoa/New Zealand during and following a period of significant language shift, it is understandable that whānau members still find themselves slipping into speaking English. This type of subconscious language choice is discussed in the literature review by Chrisp (2005) (see Chapter Two, page 19) who pointed out that slipping back into the default language is a constant issue for bilingual speakers. Despite a person's high level of immersion in te reo Māori, English ultimately becomes the default language. As these whānau demonstrate, avoiding subconsciously choosing English is a significant challenge, and is something that requires their constant attention.

The fact that these whānau highlight this issue is extremely positive as it shows they are aware of this barrier, and can therefore mitigate it. Research shows that such commitment can lead to successful intergenerational results. Ratima and Papesche (2013) highlighted Papesche's pathway to revitalising te reo Māori in her family and normalising the language in her home. She was successful in instilling te reo Māori into three generations of her whānau by supporting a supportive te reo Māori immersion environment.

That some of the whānau involved in this research considered their subconscious choice of English over te reo Māori a significant obstacle to their normalisation efforts provides some insight into the internal struggle of Māori whānau living in a country with few external indications of their indigenous language having status. This shows that despite the determination these whānau have towards normalising te reo Māori, especially for their whānau, it is and will remain a significant challenge so long as the imbalance of language use, values, and status remains in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Their struggle is one which continues to go against the dominant flow of the lingering effects of linguistic marginalisation.

Whānau perceptions of revitalisation and their role in it

1. Whānau perceptions about te reo Māori revitalisation success differ according to whānau te reo exposure.

The findings revealed that those whānau involved in this research who had very high levels of exposure to te reo Māori (Whānau R and K) worried about how the te reo Māori revitalisation effort was progressing, and did not believe that gains were being made nationally. This contrasted with whānau with lower levels of exposure to te reo Māori (Whānau O, M, and B), who were positive about revitalisation efforts, believing that te reo Māori was gaining ground.

Whānau O, M, and B's positivity was based on well-known revitalisation successes such as te reo Māori becoming an official language, its increased visibility on television, and the increased accessibility of te reo Māori learning programmes through education, such as kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa and wānanga. This pint of view contrasts with that of Whānau R and K, who as Māori-medium educators are exposed daily to the issue of attempting to revitalise te reo Māori. They do not feel any trickle-down effect from Government revitalisation efforts, nor do they see significant gains being made among many whānau in their communities. A lack of effort among other whānau, is perceived as possibly relating to complacency due to the revitalisation gains that have been made in the past (see Chapter Two, page 13-14).

The differences between the five whānau's revitalisation perceptions seem to reflect two alternative ways of assessing the revitalisation situation. Whānau O, M, and B are focused on the positive outcomes that have been achieved so far. In particular, they point to finite successes such as kōhanga reo, wānanga, Te Ataarangi, and Māori Television which have been or are currently a benefit to their whānau. In contrast, Whānau R and K focus on whether there are wider gains being made outside of initiatives such as Māori-medium education and wānanga. They do not believe that gains are being made, as they do not see whānau or communities making enough effort or achieving the same results as they have within their own whānau. The

perceptions of Whānau R and K align with Fishman's view (1991), that te reo Māori educational initiatives alone cannot lead to wider revitalisation success. They must be used in conjunction with determined home language strategies that lead to ILT (Chrisp, 2005).

The differences, then, between these whānau again comes down to the extent to which te reo Māori has been re-established in the home. Whānau R and K consider the language as secure in their whānau, and they attribute that accomplishment to a combination of revitalisation strategies and home language use in the parental generation. Such efforts among other whānau are not obvious to them in today's revitalisation environment. Whānau O, M, and B are aiming to secure the language within their respective whānau, and they consider the existing revitalisation initiatives as beneficial to them, and positive for revitalisation as a whole.

2. Whānau perceptions about revitalisation responsibility, and their own revitalisation roles, differ according to whānau te reo exposure.

This research reveals that whānau progress in regard to RLS can influence how they perceive their roles in revitalising te reo Māori. Their progress may also influence where they believe responsibility should lie for revitalisation.

Whānau at earlier stages of RLS perceive their revitalisation role as ensuring that the whānau as a whole learns te reo Māori, and believe that responsibility lies with other whānau to do the same. Whānau O, M, and B's children's association with Māori-medium education and some of their whānau members' involvement in language learning at wānanga are what they point to as their whānau roles. In placing responsibility at the whānau level, they are ultimately placing responsibility on themselves, and on other whānau like them, to make a contribution.

Whānau O, M and B's focus on securing te reo Māori for their entire whānau aligns with Reedy et al. (2011), who stated that re-establishing te reo Māori in the home

should be the major focus for revitalisation progress. Chrisp (2005) and Fishman (2001) also both stress the importance of developing the use of the target language within whānau in order to work towards ILT. Ratima and Papesche's (2013) case study (see Chapter Two, page 21) shows to what extent whānau can achieve ILT when they are committed to success.

Whānau at later stages of RLS perceive their roles as normalising te reo Māori, and supporting and encouraging others to make a contribution. They believe revitalisation responsibility lies with marae and hapū, where such encouragement and support is able to extend to multiple whānau, which will lead to increased progress within homes. This view reflects past revitalisation successes when marae, hapū, and iwi, as well as various groups, led the way in establishing early revitalisation initiatives, and pushing for change (Spolsky, 2003).

Whānau R and K perceive their influence on others to be at both a whānau and professional level. In their professional lives, they have the opportunity to positively influence multiple students and whānau, and Māmā R and K both work towards finding innovative methods to help motivate others to be involved in te reo Māori acquisition and revitalisation. At a whānau level, they focus on using te reo Māori in public, increasing language domains, and positively influencing others around them. This aligns with Higgins and Rewi (2014), who call for a wider revitalisation focus, beyond determined language domains such as home, school and marae. These authors believe increased language use in other areas will have a wider normalising effect on the public, while also helping te reo Māori to regain the value it has lost. Whānau R and K's revitalisation roles also align with Keegan and Cunliffe's (2014) recommendations, which describe the importance of ensuring that young people not only have the language for themselves but also have the desire to pass it on to the next generation. "They should be breathing it, living it and being a part of the language as the language is a part of them" (p. 386). Whānau R and K's resolve to maintain constant use and promotion of te reo Māori is to a large extent about ensuring this type of te reo Māori environment exists for their children.

That these whānau see the responsibility of te reo Māori revitalisation lying at either a whānau level or a marae/hapū level is therefore an indication of where they are currently in their own te reo Māori journeys. These findings are extremely positive for the revitalisation situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand as they provide good examples of whānau commitment to regaining the language that was lost in previous generations. They show that whānau are not relying on a single generation, nor on a single revitalisation medium. They aim to reintroduce the language to their homes, maintain it, promote it, and pass it on to future generations.

CONCLUSION

Education initiatives such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa have been the key focus of te reo Māori revitalisation efforts and while they have been celebrated as a success by many, this has come at the expense of other critical factors of revitalisation such as ILT and normalising of te reo Māori in wider society. The 2016 Māori Language Act has shifted the focus away from the well-established educational initiatives towards a greater focus on whānau use of te reo Māori in the home, and ultimately ILT. However, questions remain about the part whānau are currently playing and will play in the wider revitalisation effort. This project helps to fill that gap in the research by looking into the lives of whānau who are already centrally involved in revitalising te reo Māori through their involvement in Māori-medium education. This project explored three key themes: what influences whānau decision-making about Māori-medium, what barriers exist in regard to whānau involvement with te reo Māori kaupapa, and how whānau perceive te reo Māori revitalisation and their revitalisation roles.

Theme One

This research points to possible links between the extent to which whānau remain affected by language shift and how whānau prioritise the benefits of te reo Māori and tikanga in Māori-medium education.

Whānau who are still significantly affected by language shift were focused on reinstating te reo Māori as the language of the home, and aimed for the entire whānau to learn it. Accordingly, they considered the major benefit of Māori-medium education as providing their children or grandchildren with te reo Māori. Whānau are motivated by the language loss that had affected them, and they are therefore committed long-term to the Māori-medium kaupapa. Whānau who are currently less affected by language shift prioritise the normalised te reo Māori environment of kura, as well as the tikanga Māori and Māori values. They are more flexible to their children transitioning to mainstream at secondary school level.

Theme Two

These whānau believe that the most significant barriers regarding te reo Māori and their involvement in Māori-medium education were presented by friends and family, or themselves. Whānau also believe that public attitudes are mostly negative towards te reo Māori. However, despite their perception of public negativity, and negative pressure from friends and family, these whānau remain committed to their te reo Māori revitalisation kaupapa.

The participants with a greater degree of te reo Māori fluency revealed that it can be at times difficult to maintain a te reo Māori environment in a context that is saturated with English. They sometimes unknowingly speak English instead of te reo Māori, and this subconscious language choice is something they consider a major barrier to the use and promotion of te reo Māori with their children, and with others. Despite understanding that their switch to English results from their surrounding environments, they consider these lapses as a lack of personal effort. That these participants are in fact conscious of the subconscious language choice demonstrates their high commitment to using te reo Māori at all times with their whānau.

Theme Three

Whānau who are less affected by language shift do not believe that progress is being made in the te reo Māori revitalisation effort at the national level. The normalised nature of te reo Māori use by their whānau perhaps exposes them to the reality that the language they strive to use as much as possible remains devalued, marginalised, and used by few outside of specific contexts such as kura and marae. Whānau with lower exposure to te reo Māori see the revitalisation effort as mainly positive. They consider the successes of the last thirty-five years, such as kōhanga reo and wānanga, show that revitalisation is going well. They have benefited from these initiatives and will continue to do so.

Whānau more affected by language shift perceive their revitalisation role to be centred on their whānau learning te reo Māori. They believe that more whānau should be making the same language-learning efforts as they are. These efforts and focus align with current national revitalisation focus of reestablishing the language in the home. Whānau who are now less affected by language shift because they have secured te reo Māori in their homes perceive their revitalisation roles as being about normalising te reo Māori for their family and others in their communities. They believe that revitalisation responsibility lies with marae and hapū, who should be playing the major role in coordinating, encouraging and supporting whānau efforts.

Contribution to te reo Māori revitalisation

The findings highlight that the extent to which whānau are currently affected by language shift should be recognised as important to te reo Māori revitalisation, and taken into consideration for future revitalisation strategies. Understanding how different stages of language shift among whānau are likely to affect what whānau consider as important, and what they consider as their roles, means that there is potential for a revitalisation strategy to target whānau at different stages of RLS, rather than grouping them together as one. While there is a change in the national strategy towards focusing on te reo Māori in the home environment, this focus could result in missing revitalisation opportunities in other areas. The focus on whānau home language use and acquisition could overshadow the potential that whānau in early stages of RLS have, in terms of playing normalisation roles in wider society. The focus on language in the home could also be overshadowing the normalisation goals of whānau who have already succeeded in securing a te reo Māori environment within the home. These whānau are striving to create further language domains for themselves, and to positively influence other people's te reo Māori perceptions and actions. They are at advanced stages of RLS, and should be targeted to maximise their normalisation potential, rather than putting them into the same group as those who are aiming to reinstall te reo Māori in the home.

Implications for further research

While the whānau within this research demonstrated that negativity from friends and family did not affect their commitment to te reo Māori revitalisation, there is room for research to better understand to what extent such pressures may be impacting whānau, especially regarding Māori-medium education. There is also potential for research targeting subconscious language choice of whānau to better understand why this occurs and how to combat it.

This research also raises some questions about whether the current state of the health of te reo Māori is clearly understood in society. If there is a general perception among whānau within the Māori-Medium system that te reo Maori is healthy, it suggests that the current state of the Māori language may not be clearly understood. This could be very dangerous to the future of te reo Māori. A significant reason for the endangered state of te reo Māori today is due to its unrecognised, steady decline in the past. For this reason, more research is needed to understand whether or not whānau recognise the declining health of te reo Māori, and understand the urgency and the action required to stop it.

Further research is also needed to better understand how the different levels of language exposure within whānau correspond to the revitalisation roles they play. Understanding the different roles that whānau are playing could be beneficial at, for example, a marae level, where revitalisation strategy is being proposed. Whānau who have re-established te reo Māori in their homes and re-established ILT could play a part in the success of whānau who are aiming to achieve such goals.

Limitations

The main limitation of this research was that it was a small-scale study of five whānau. This means that while the findings are helpful, generalisations cannot be made into the wider Māori-medium community.

A second limitation concerns the number of people from each whānau who took part in this study. For some whānau, interviews included many members, while for others only one parent was interviewed. This means that in some cases one person's perceptions were being used to represent their entire family. A wider representation from each whānau would result in a better understanding of each whānau's perspectives, and a better means to compare between each whānau.

Ultimately, despite the limitations of this research, it has provided what it set out to achieve: an insight into how some Māori-medium whānau fit into the te reo Māori revitalisation picture.

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APENDICES

Appendix One - Letter to Principal of High School and Board of Trustees

The Principal
Address
Date

Braden Bryant
80 Forest Lake Road
Hamilton 3200

Tēnā koe
I am a Masters research student at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato completing a research project about Te Reo Māori revitalisation, entitled *The perceptions of Māori-medium students and their whānau about Māori language revitalisation*. It aims to shed light on how Māori-medium whānau perceive Te Reo revitalisation in Aotearoa, and their roles in revitalizing Te Reo Māori.

My academic background is firstly through Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, where I completed a BA majoring in Linguistics and French. Over the last three years, I have also been studying Te Reo Māori at Te Wananga o Aotearoa, and this year will complete my Diploma in Te Aupikitanga ki te Reo Kairangi Level 6. Next year I plan to continue in the final class, Diploma in Te Pīnakitanga ki te Reo Kairangi Level 7. Studying Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga has had a huge influence on my life over the past three years, and has been very enlightening coming from a Pākehā background.

I have also enrolled my one-year-old son in a Māori/English bilingual medium preschool, and I am striving to create a normalised Māori/English environment for him at home as well as in the community. This has strengthened my resolve to understand the revitalisation situation in Aotearoa in order to aid the wider revitalisation effort, and see increased normalisation of Te Reo Māori in a wide range of contexts.

This letter is to seek your consent to approach whānau from your kura, to be part of the project. The research would involve interviewing two families who have children enrolled at your kura, on one occasion. It is envisaged that interviews will require approximately 45 - 70 minutes to complete at a time that is convenient for the participants. I would however, like to initially meet participants, and spend up to an hour with them, further informing them about myself, the research, their rights and the consenting process. We would appreciate you identifying whānau in the school who may like to take part.

Any whānau who agree to participate in this research will be assured of the confidentiality of their participation. They will be fully informed of their rights to withdraw from the project at any time, their rights to refuse to answer questions, and informed of their rights to verify and amend any transcribed data which comes from the interviews. Their identities will remain anonymous, as will the school. However,

given the relatively close-knit Māori-medium community there is always a risk that participants, as well as the schools, are identifiable. This will be made clear to any participants.

I would like to discuss my proposal with you face to face at a time that is convenient to you. If you have any queries, please contact me at braden_bryant@hotmail.com or 0220713352. Alternatively, my supervisor for this project is Dr Richard Hill. He can be contacted at r.hill@waikato.ac.nz or 07 838 4466 ext 7818
Ngā mihi

Braden Bryant

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Appendix Two - Letter to Participants

The Participant
Address

Date

Braden Bryant
80 Forest Lake Road
Hamilton 3200

Tēnā koutou

I am a Masters research student at Waikato University currently writing my thesis about Te Reo Māori revitalisation, entitled *The perceptions of Māori-medium students and their whānau about Māori language revitalisation*. My research aims to understand what Māori-medium whānau think of Te Reo revitalisation in Aotearoa, and how Te Reo Māori plays a part in their lives outside of school. Through interviews with Māori-medium whānau, I hope to gather more information about the challenges that whānau face in regard to being able to use Te Reo outside of the kura. As the research progresses, I hope to share with you any information that will benefit you and your wider whānau in regard to the challenges that we encounter, when trying to use the Māori language in dominant English-speaking communities.

My academic background is firstly through The University of Waikato, and more recently at Te Wananga o Aotearoa, where I have been studying Te Reo Māori for the last three years. Studying Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga has had a huge influence on my life over the past three years, and has been very enlightening coming from a Pākehā background.

I have also enrolled my one-year-old son in a Māori/English bilingual medium preschool, and am dealing with the challenges of maintaining a normalised Māori/English environment for him at home as well as in the community. This has strengthened my resolve to understand the revitalisation situation in Aotearoa in order to aid the wider revitalisation effort, and see increased normalisation of Te Reo Māori in a wide range of contexts.

I would like to ask your whānau to be part of this research. This involves an interview, however, prior to the interview, I would like to meet with you to introduce myself and explain more about the research topic. This meeting could take up to one hour. After this meeting, I will contact you after a period of one week to ask whether you have decided to participate. If you agree, I would like to do a 45 - 70-minute interview with you and your child. The interview would ideally take place during the month of October 2016 and can take place at the kura, or at your own home if this is better for you. The preference is for the interview to be conducted in English, however, Te Reo Māori can be used if you and your whānau prefer.

During the interview, I would like to discuss a range of topics regarding Te Reo Māori and your whānau. These topics include:

- Your own childhood, schooling and Te Reo Māori exposure at that time
- Attitudes towards Te Reo Māori at that time
- Attitudes towards Te Reo Māori now
- Your child's journey through Māori-medium education
- How you and your whānau use Te Reo Māori
- Your perceptions of the Aotearoa revitalization effort
- How you perceive your own role in Te Reo revitalisation

If you agree, some questions will be directed to your child. These questions will relate to how your child uses Te Reo outside of school, and how they feel about using it.

The interview will ideally be recorded, though you have the option to refuse this, in which case, I will make notes. After the interview, I will transcribe what was said, and send you a copy so that you can check that what I have written is accurate, and that I have not misinterpreted your comments. I will contact you again after two to three weeks to get your feedback on the transcripts.

Any whānau who agree to participate in this research will be assured of the confidentiality of their participation. They will be fully informed of their rights to withdraw from the project at any time, their rights to refuse to answer questions, and informed of their rights to verify and amend any transcribed data which comes from the interviews. Identities will remain anonymous, as will the school of the child. However, due to the relatively small Māori-medium community, there is a chance that despite remaining anonymous in the thesis, you are nonetheless identifiable, should someone from the community happen to read it.

Any information that comes from the interviews, such as recordings, and transcripts, will be securely kept for a minimum of five years. The final thesis will be published on the University of Waikato Research Commons website. I will provide you with direction to find it, and will provide you with a hard copy to read, if you prefer.

If you are happy for yourselves and your child to take part in this research, please read and sign the consent form and return it to your school. If you would like to discuss the proposal, please contact me at braden_bryant@hotmail.com or 0220713352. Alternatively, my supervisor for this project is Dr Richard Hill - r.hill@waikato.ac.nz - 07 838 4466 extension 7818.

Ngā mihi
Braden Bryant

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Appendix Three – Child consent form

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR PARENT OR LEGAL GARDIAN OF CHILD PARTICIPANT

Name of person interviewed: _____

I have received the introductory letter outlining the research project, I have had further explanation about the kaupapa, and I understand my involvement in the research. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to three weeks after the interview.

During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time.

After the interview, I understand that I have the right to examine any transcribed data from the recorded interview, and the right to amend, or withdraw any part of the transcription.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet. I also understand that the researcher may use the data for future articles or conferences.

I understand that my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings, though absolute anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

Contact details of the research supervisor:
Dr Richard Hill - r.hill@waikato.ac.nz - 07 838 4466 ext 7818

Please complete the following checklist. Tick the appropriate box for each point.	**YES**	**NO**
I wish to view the transcript of the interview.		
I wish to receive a copy of the final thesis.		
I agree to the interview being recorded.		

Parent/Guardian:		**Researcher:**	
Child:		Signature:	
Signature:		Date:	
Date:		Contact Details:	
Contact Details:			

Appendix Four – Participant consent form

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Name of person interviewed:_____

I have received the introductory letter outlining the research project, I have had further explanation about the kaupapa, and I understand my involvement in the research. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to three weeks after the interview.

During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time.

After the interview, I understand that I have the right to examine any transcribed data from the recorded interview, and the right to amend, or withdraw any part of the transcription.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet. I also understand that the researcher may use the data for future articles or conferences.

I understand that my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings, though absolute anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

> We have discussed the representation of our whānau identity in the research reporting, and we would like to:_____

Contact details of the research supervisor:
Dr Richard Hill - r.hill@waikato.ac.nz - 07 838 4466 ext 7818

Please complete the following checklist. Tick the appropriate box for each point.	**YES**	**NO**
I wish to view the transcript of the interview.		
I wish to receive a copy of the final thesis.		
I agree to the interview being recorded.		

Participant		**Researcher:**	
Signature		Signature:	
Date:		Date:	
ContactDetails:		ContactDetails:	

Appendix Five - Interview Schedule

Interview Questions

BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

Tell me about your upbringing (Where? School? Whānau? Culture and Recreation?)

Tell me about the part Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga played a part in your upbringing? (Fluent family members, Marae, Kapa Haka, Tangihanga, School?)

Tell me about the attitudes towards te reo Māori in your community during your childhood (encouraged/discouraged to learn)?

CURRENTLY

Attitudes towards Te Reo Māori now

How do you feel about the importance of Te Reo Māori for New Zealand today and in the future? (Is it valued?)
Where do you think the use of Te Reo Māori is the most appropriate?
What are your thoughts about the use of Te Reo Māori around non-Māori speakers. (Do you think its ok? Would others think its ok?)

Māori-medium education

Why did you choose M.M education for your children?
What are the most important things you hope they get from MM education?
What benefits does it have for your children?
Do you think you will leave your children in MM education for the duration of their education? (Why? Mainstream?)

The use of Te Reo Māori

Outside of school, what part does Te Reo Māori have in your lives? (Where? Who? When?)

Where else do you think Te Reo could be used more often by your whānau?

What are the major barriers stopping your whānau from using Te Reo Māori more often and in more places?

Revitalisation

How well do you think our country is doing at saving Te Reo Māori?
What else could be done?
Who should be doing more to help revitalize Te Reo Māori?

How else do you think you and your whānau could be supported in learning or using Te Reo Māori?
What part do you think that you and your children are playing in revitalizing Te Reo?
What are your hopes for your children's use of Te Reo as they grow into adults?

Questions for children

What is it like using Te Reo at school, compared with after school?
What are your favourite things to do when you are not at school?
Do you ever use Te Reo when you are doing those things?
How do you use Te Reo when you are at home? (with whānau, Māori television, homework)
Do you speak Māori when you are in other places? Why? Why not?
If you speak Te Reo when you are in other places, not at school, what do you think other people think of that?
Do you think that you should speak Māori when there are other people around who don't speak Māori?