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MAORI CHALLENGES TO MAINSTREAM EDUCATION

Case Study of Native Schools in New Zealand

Dissertation Thesis

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given. I agree with possible exposure of my work in electronic or printed version.

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Date Signature

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Best way to colonize people is to take their language, take their land, take their beliefs and values and give them yours – the best way is to colonize their mind.
(Rosina Wiparata)

Learning is paramount,
Learning is lifelong,
Learning is taken from experiences and beliefs from
the people within the family, tribe or clan.
Learning is through participation by the whole family.
(Curriculum of kohanga reo schools)

Revitalization initiatives are not so much about bringing a language back; but rather, bringing it forward; who better or more qualified than the speakers of the language, who must and will be the ones taking it into the future?
(Hornberger & King 1996, p. 440).

ANNOTATION

This study gives an overview of the development of Maori forms of education in New Zealand and situates them within the realm of cultural revitalization. Secondly, it reflects the meaning of the education in Maori language and culture from the perspective of teachers and parents in Maori schools. The focus is on the contemporary Maori schools where Maori language is the medium of communication and Maori cultural values, knowledge, and customs are the norm. Since they are actively pursuing the goal of revitalizing and perpetuating Maori culture and language, these schools represent a symbol of Maori identity. My study refers to the existing research as well as to my continual field work in a *kohanga reo* kindergarten, and numerous visits to a bilingual unit and a *kura kaupapa* school in Dunedin, New Zealand. Rather than finding new facts, I attempt to examine the workings of a particular institution, and process of cultural learning and maintaining culture through learning Maori language. I come from the sociocultural approach to learning, in which cultural socialization parallels the language learning techniques utilised in *kohanga reo*. Eventually, this helps building one's cultural awareness and self-esteem. What are the particular techniques and activities ensuring this process of cultural learning? Who are the teachers and what leads them to engage in this activity? What are the expectations of parents who send their children to Maori schools? How do they see the schools modelling social awareness of their children? These are the questions I am trying to address in my dissertation thesis as well.

ANOTACE

Tato studie pojednává o vývoji vzdělávacích institucí vedených maorskou populací na Novém Zélandu. V druhém plánu sleduje reflexi významu vzdělávání maorských dětí v rodném jazyce v postojích zainteresovaných učitelů a rodičů. Zaměřuje se především na současné typy maorských škol, kde výuka probíhá v maorštině a kde jsou maorské kulturní hodnoty, vědění společenskou normou. Pro svůj podíl na revitalizaci a praktikování maorské kultury a jazyka představují maorské školy jeden ze symbolů moderního maorství. Má práce odkazuje na dosavadní studie, stejně jako na vlastní výzkum v konkrétním předškolním centru *kohanga reo*, doplněný o četné návštěvy maorské základní školy *kura kaupapa* a jedné z bilingvních tříd ve městě Dunedin na Jižním ostrově Nového Zélandu. Spíše než přinést nová zjištění je mým záměrem zaznamenat fungování konkrétní instituce a proces výuky jazyka, při kterém je jedinec současně vržen do vlastní kultury. Vycházím ze sociokulturního přístupu, podle kterého je proces osvojování si jazyka pomocí nejrůznějších technik aplikovaných v těchto školách provázen procesem kulturní socializace, jehož nedílným cílem je i vypěstování osobitého kulturního vědomí a sebehodnocení. Jak lze charakterizovat maorské učitele a co je vedlo k tomu, aby zde působili? Co vedlo rodiče žáků k volbě maorských škol a co od nich především očekávají? Jaký význam připisují rodiče těmto školkám v modelování společenského vědomí dětí? Zejména těmto otázkám se věnuje má disertační práce.

CONTENT

Introduction…… 8

CHAPTER ONE. GENERAL OVERVIEW

Philosophy of Indigenous Tradition and Its Revitalization……17
Current Situation of Indigenous Language and Culture…… 20
Maori Assertions of Sovereignty……... 22
History of Education in Aotearoa……... 26
Institutions of Maori Education in New Zealand – Concepts and Definitions…….. 34
Research on Immersion Education …… 40
Socio-cultural Approach to Language Acquisition…… 42

CHAPTER TWO. METHODOLOGY

Research Design…….…… 48
Development of the Study – Preliminary Observations…….. 52

CHAPTER THREE. RESULTS

Maori Cultural Concepts Used in Learning Activities at Kohanga Reo…….…… 67
Questionnaires with the Parents of the Kohanga Reo and Bilingual Unit Children……... 76
Interviews with the Teachers of Maori……... 79

CHAPTER FOUR. DISCUSSION

Discussion…….…….. 86

CONCLUSION…….… 96
LIST OF MAORI TERMS…….…… 100
BIBLIOGRAPHY…….……... 105
APPENDIXES……. 112
I. Photographs…… 113
II. Map of Maori Tribes in New Zealand..……. 120
III. Example of a Questionnaire with the Parents…….. 122
IV. Interviews with the Teachers of Maori…… 123
V. Statistical Highlights in Education of Maori Students
(Annual report on Maori education 2007/2008)……... 141

INTRODUCTION

This thesis comes from a longer interest in indigenous-led institutions. My master thesis defended in June 2006 concerned the contemporary Aboriginal ways of childcare and education, as well as aspects of family wellbeing in the context of indigenous cultural *revitalization*.[1] The base of the thesis was a case study of a particular indigenous non-governmental organization on child care. My postgraduate thesis stays within the area of cultural revitalization in the Pacific area but moves onto another indigenous society – the New Zealand Maori. Among other colonized nations, it is Maori who have been undergoing in many ways successful cultural renaissance in the last thirty years. Compared to the Aboriginal Australians, the contemporary Maori of New Zealand have a significant advantage of having maintained their language and other areas of culture that is still very present and *visible.* It can be the community houses, the native musical instruments, handcrafts, or traditional ceremonies on a *marae* (meeting house – see the *List of Maori Terms* at the end of the study for all the other expressions). The past restrictions did not last long enough to suppress their language or to doubt the authenticity of their visual culture of today. The Maori are continuously claiming their civil equality in areas of employment, politics, health care, or education. It is Maori schools that represent a symbol of Maori identity, since they are actively pursuing the goal of revitalizing and maintaining Maori culture and language. Maori was acknowledged as an official state language in 1987.[2] Since then, names of the state institutions are translated into both English and Maori. There are Maori TV and radio programmes and magazines. Most importantly, Maori became the second official language of communication and forms an important part of the school curriculum. In specialised Maori institutions, it is usually incorporated into complex programmes of cultural education. The changes came along with the official New Zealand policy of biculturalism, a conception of Maori population that is no longer a minority, but a parallel culture to the majority of New Zealand Europeans.

[1] This phenomenon will be better introduced throughout the study. It concerns ethnic groups and minorities on their way to autochthonous culture, and autonomy of managing their community. The focus of interest is usually land, native language, religion and other material and non-material aspects of culture that are desirably to be re-achieved (for instance Šatava 2009).

[2] There is a codified version of Maori with several regional dialects. Regional variations occur, and individual regions show tribal variations. The major differences occur in the pronunciation of words, variation of vocabulary, and idiom. A fluent speaker of Maori has no problem understanding dialects other than their own. There is no significant variation in grammar between dialects. Vocabulary and pronunciation vary to a greater extent, but this does not pose barriers to communication. Maori orthography was establsihed around 1820 by the missionaires. There is Maori literature in both English and Maori language.

Naturally, there are cultural as well as political aspects underpinning this subject but I am not going to tackle these too deeply. My intention is to introduce the role of the native language and *kohanga reo* centres within the context of revitalizing or reconstructing the contemporary Maori culture and identity. If language, which is claimed to be a *cultural capital* (Šatava 2009, p. 37; also Bourdieu 1984) of an ethnic group, is very peculiar to any form of ideology or political movement; then transmission of an endangered or minority's language necessarily follows some wider cultural aims – such as reconnection to the native culture through active language usage. Various language programs attempt to teach language within the context of traditional culture, so that it does not become only a pure artefact, simply copying the majority's language culture. The problem of traditional cultural forms is that they are not usually designated to public education. Many legends, myths and language forms are used just at ritual occasions, for a limited circle of users and certain time period. In general, the process of language revitalization usually incorporates language documentation, definition of the status and educative goals, print of materials, development of opportunities to use the language and its distribution by the media. Orthography rules are of crucial importance as well (Pokorný 2010, p. 152).

The discourses on cultural revitalization or cultural invention – introduced by Hobsbawm and Ranger in their iconic book *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) or Kolig in *The Politics of Indigenous – or Ingenious – Tradition* (2005) – raise the topic of revealing an indigenous language as well. I will refer to these when trying to set the workings of Maori organizations within the general context of revitalization of Maori culture. Sourcing from a particular case study and from quoting real cultural actors, I intend to introduce a new perspective on the workings of *kohanga reo* centres within the realm of cultural/political activism in revitalization of Maori language and culture. As I have already stated, I come from the sociocultural approach to language learning. Therefore, I am trying to explain the process of Maori socialisation taking place through learning Maori at school. **How exactly does this cultural learning take place? What can we draw from the interviews with the teachers and questionnaires with the parents regarding their expectations about** *kohanga reo* **and how to understand these findings within the context of cultural revitalization and politicization of culture?** These are the main research questions. While I introduce all contemporary forms of Maori education in New Zealand, my main focus are Maori

kindergartens/preschool centres[3], *kohanga reo* (*language nests*), which are the first level of total immersion into Maori language. My case study focuses at one of these institutions, where I conducted my field work. **The main thesis is that *kohanga reo* centres teach the native culture through teaching the native language, and thus largely contribute to revitalizing Maori culture.**

The data were gathered during a five months period (February to June 2009) of my research and study stay in Dunedin in the South Island of New Zealand. I visited the institution on weekly basis, volunteered, and conducted ethnographic research using both – qualitative and quantitative methods of enquiry. These were participant observation, qualitative interviews and questionnaires.

Concerning my field of study, I primarily refer to two research reports – first, to Margrie Kahukura Hohepa's thesis *Te Kohanga reo as a Context for Language Learning* (1990). Similarly to my case, Hohepa provides a thorough case study of a *kohanga reo* centre, and describes the process of Maori language development in relation to the activities, routines and interactions children are involved in. I was inspired by several of Hohepa's topics: 1) the teachers' perceptions of *kohanga reo*, its mission and basic principles, 2) the incorporation of Maori knowledge and values (*tikanga*) in the curriculum (aspects of cultural knowledge and values – *karakia, pepeha, whakapapa, manakitanga, waiata, mihimihi* etc.), 3) the unique aspects of *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* Maori children, 4) the experience, qualifications, and fluency of Maori language teachers, 5) the parents' perspectives of the purpose of *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* Maori, their experience with and knowledge of the language, their socio-economic status and involvement in Maori organizations, 6) the educational aspirations for their children, 7) the children's perspective on learning the language, their educational resources at home (TV, radio programmes in Maori, PC) and their involvement in Maori performing group (*kapa haka*), and 8) the assessment factors such as children's age or position in a family.

[3] I use both expressions when referring to *kohanga reo*. The important fact is that incorporate even the smallest babies and represent a form of preschool education for Maori children. When generally talking about Maori institutions of learning, including *kohanga reo* centres, I refer to Maori schools.

Another important source is a report published by New Zealand Council for Educational Research[4] from 2004. This is a report of the first phase of a complex research on *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* schools across New Zealand. It draws on a fieldwork at 16 existing *kohanga reo* and 9 *kura kaupapa* schools. The main objective of the research was to investigate various aspects of teaching and learning Maori language – from the perspective of children, their parents and teachers. Three main bodies of research concern: children's educational experience; usage of Maori language at home and parental resources, and teachers' perspective on the studied children. Since the research used the same methods of data collection (questionnaires, interviews, participant observation), it provides an invaluable comparative material for my project.

Also a report to the Ministry of Education, *Assessment in Kura Kaupapa Maori and Maori Language Immersion Programmes* by Michael Hollings (1992) had some useful information for my research. This offers a record of existing level and quality of teaching resources, as well as of assessment used in Maori schools in 1992. It also gives a critical standpoint on the main deprived areas of education. An article by Margot Ford *Language Nests in New Zealand*[5] contributes to my research in establishing a connection to the Australian context of indigenous education. Here, Ford attempts to outline the main differences, as well as the plus and contras of them both. A slightly more theoretical and philosophical material I looked into is Smith's thesis *The Development of Kaupapa Maori: Theory and Praxis* (2002). Here, the very complexity of *Kaupapa Maori* approach to knowledge and education is explained. Smith raises the main differences to *Pakeha* ways of thinking, teaching, and learning, and wraps her statements into a strong philosophical background. This concerns her description of *kaupapa* Maori knowledge, inherent to the curriculum of Maori schools, as a whole way of perceiving the world around us. She also gives a thorough description of New Zealand's state policy towards its indigenous people and tackles the position of a colonized culture which is forced into different paradigms and different ways of thinking. For instance, she comments on the collectivism of indigenous societies which is forcibly broken by their existence in a western, capitalist society where an individuum stays on its own.

Certainly, I drew on the existing research of programmes of bilingual learning, total immersion or language revitalization (which are all interconnected areas after all). What I

[4] In: Longitudinal study of *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* Maori students by Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie, and Hodgan. 2004.
[5] The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education 1996.

found very helpful was a collection of language revitalization programmes - *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice* by Hinton & Hale (2001). For instance, I refer to the case of native Hawaiian schools which followed the example of *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* and developed in a very similar way. From the same geographical area, Marie Salaün offers an account of the educational programmes of reviving Kanak language and culture in Fiji[6]. Even though the programmes there were largely unsuccessful, they have proven the existence of an interest within the largely francophone Fijian population and led the government to investigate on Kanak cultural issues as a subject of education. Other authors bring examples from other cultural backgrounds such as Spolsky (2003) and his study on revitalization of Hebrew.

As regards history and cultural aspects of Maori education, I draw on works by Durie (1998), Simon & Smith (2001), Cacciopoli & Cullen, and Ka'ai (2004).[7] Ka'ai provides a good account on the development of *kohanga reo* centres and the Maori knowledge (*kaupapa*). Simon & Smith outline the main points of the development of New Zealand education concerning Maori people from the arrival of the missionaries until the native schools and the era of assimilation. Cacciopoli & Cullen focus on the contemporary aspects of Maori education and highlight the connections between their low educational achievement and current status within the New Zealand society. The study concerns urbanisation, separation of families, missionaries and Christianity as the factors affecting the Maori education. Durie discusses three key dimensions of Maori advancement and determination. These include determination in education and the language revitalization and daily usage.

Concerning the research itself, I come from the methods of qualitative research, mainly participant observation and interview, as presented by Spradley (1988). Since research on indigenous peoples always concerns sensitive cultural issues, I looked into related resources such as article by Linda Tuhiwai Smith *Decolonizing Methodologies, Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1990). The author provides a critical approach towards this kind of

[6] Salaün M. 2002. Kanak culture versus French curriculum: Towards a multicultural education in New Caledonia? In: Kolig, E. and Muckler, H. *Politics of Indigeneity in the South Pacific*

[7] Durie, M. 1998. *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga – The politics of Maori Self-Determination*; Simon, J.& Smith, L.T. (eds.). 2001. *A Civilizing Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the NZ native Schools System*; Cacciopoli, P.& Cullen, R. 2006. *Maori Education*; and Ka'ai, T. 1990. *Te hiringa taketake: Mai i te Kohanga reo kit e kura*

research, raises the crucial issues regarding an outsider doing a study on an indigenous community and the never ending clash of western and indigenous ways of thinking. An interesting fact for me is that the author has completed a research paper on *kohanga reo* centres herself.

Since my resources before reaching New Zealand were rather limited, I very much appreciated the accessibility of all the materials I needed for composing this thesis. The literature on the history of the state's policy towards its indigenous people, on development of their socioeconomic conditions, and also the introduction into principles and philosophy of Maori schools – all of this was very useful for me. Nevertheless, I appreciated mainly the practical findings from the research at Maori schools which determined structuring of my research and research questions. The big advantage was that for instance Hohepa (2002) had a very similar research interest. It is rather a disadvantage that I did not have enough differing data to make larger comparison. Research, as well as any kind of further demographic documentation on Maori schools is still lacking. One side of the problem is that this type of institution is still relatively new, however; there is a lot on similar institutions around the world. Another fact is that Maori are said not to be preoccupied with documenting their contemporary history, especially in areas where their community is very small. For one of my papers at Otago University, I looked into the history of Maori schools in the city of Dunedin in the South Island. I struggled with finding any chronological review or documentation, and had to rely on oral history in old local newspapers eventually.

What I bring into the existing research and studies on language revitalization of Maori culture is firstly the anthropological background of the study, and secondly, establishment of distinctive connections among the language learning activities and enculturation at Maori schools in relation to the theory of cultural revitalization. My study focuses on description of the workings of the centre, of its actors and their life stories; of the techniques applied; and progresses with interviewing the teachers and parents of the attending children. I believe it brings some interesting findings on this particular institution and its ideological background – in anthropological perspective. I assume the problematic of educating minorities and socially deprived groups is a worldwide phenomenon. Also, bilingualism and second language education is becoming a necessity in the globalized society of today. The New Zealand immersion schools represent a good example of managing the language and cultural education for any kind of group. They are part of the cycle of alternatives to the common systems of

learning which seems to be globally more and more popular.[8] Last but not least, there are growing numbers of minorities in the Czech Republic, which means that some culturally more appropriate options of education might become a must in the near future. After all, the transmission of cultural values and norms of social relationships could be inspiring even for the western type of education that we incline to as well.

In regard to structuring my thesis, the first chapter introduces several key approaches to the phenomena of cultural revitalization and sets the contexts of the New Zealand geographical area. I continue with a general overview of the current situation of indigenous languages, and then present some historical facts on the beginnings of Maori activism and the development of Maori led schools in New Zealand. I also describe the ideological background of these institutions and introduce the basic concepts of their pedagogy. Eventually, I explain the sociocultural approach to language learning, the platform for my study hypothesis. The second chapter introduces my research methods and provides some basic facts about the daily workings of the institution – the findings from the preliminary research. It describes the environment of the school, its participants and daily activities. Chapter three presents the primary data – the findings from the interviews, questionnaires and participant observation. It follows with a discussion of the functioning of *kohanga reo* in a wider ideological context. The very last chapter summarises the key topics of the research. Maori schools are situated within the context of language and culture, and examined from the perspective of cultural revitalization. Last but not least, I provide a brief comparison of my findings from Maori institutions with those from a similar Australian Aboriginal institution of child care, where I conducted a (diploma) field work in 2006. Since there are significant cultural differences among those two groups, I do not pay too much attention to historical facts and major differences in development of these two separate forms of indigenous education. My goal is to point out several aspects of indigenous culture that were recorded in both of them, and contrarily, draw attention to the outstanding discrepancies. The main areas of interest in that section are: nature of the institutions, projection of indigenous culture and values, means of behaviour, protocols, the curriculum, role of the teachers/elders, family engagement and position within the education, parental programmes, community activities and events. As I will be using lots of tribal names throughout the thesis, I included the map of New Zealand's tribes in the appendixes, together with transcripts of the interviews and copies of the questionnaires.

[8] This is proven by the appearance of Waldorf or Montessori schools with alternative concepts of organizing the curriculum, managing the assessments, or relationships at school.

CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL OVERVIEW

Philosophy of Indigenous Tradition and Its Revitalization

While the practical part of my research draws mainly on a sociocultural approach to language appropriation, the theory is sourced from the sociocultural aspects of cultural revitalization. As was said earlier, this pheomenon concerns indigenous nations and ethnic minorities that are trying to (re)achieve their cultural autonomy and autochtonous culture. Various scholars have examined how this process of re-establishing culture takes place. Since many contested the authenticity of revisited *traditions*, at least a basic introduction into the approaches to cultural revitalization with the specifics of the Pacific area is necessary here.

The term *revitalization* is explained by Denis Chevallier (2005) as a "… voluntary act of adopting certain historical cultural practices and investing them with a new meaning by staging an event of certain elements of what is perceived to be traditional culture, as well as interaction with the contemporary western society." (p. 120).[9] As Chevallier says, every cultural revival of this kind necessarily leads to constructing a tradition which refers to the past while reacting to the present (p. 120). In theory, the goal then is to revive a historically suitable past. It was especially the theories of revitalization and cultural invention that gave rise to the discourses of the 1980s. These tackled the authenticity of the proclaimed indigeneity of the Pacific cultures. Since the land rights issues concerned Australia and New Zealand particularly, the capability to prove the clan group/tribal connection to the area of land (usually based on practicing the rites for a certain period of time) played a crucial role here. Until today, there are cases when tribal identity is falsely claimed in order to obtain favourable compensation based on former land ownership (Kolig 2009). This led to deliberate creations of suitable past traditions which helped to establish the desirable cultural continuity. In times of allowing the rights of its indigenous peoples, the contemporary Australian and New Zealand society are more supportive which, on the other hand, creates the envy on side of the major population.[10] As other theorists of cultural revitalization, Kolig concludes that any form of revival is not directed to the past, simply bringing back the old values and traditions (2005, p. 296). Cultural movements are political in their essence and always attempt to shape and prepare a suitable future. In other words, cultural movements are rational in Weberian sense (Kolig 2005, p. 296). "A strong stimulus to re-think traditions," says Kolig,

[9] The act of language revitalization can be understood as "a process of recovering vitality of a language by supporting its usage and scale of its functionality in particular community" (Šatava 2009, p. 115).
[10] For instance, Kolig (2009) mentions the case of financial compensation of Maori tribal groups in New Zealand.

comes both from the attempt to redress the imbalance of power poignantly experienced by the indigenes for so long, and from their deeply felt need to be successful in a modern world" (Kolig 2005, p. 296). In their effort to distinguish themselves from the dominant society, indigenous peoples purposefully identify with non-dominant or non-western cultural traditions. As in the case of any ethnic group or a national unit, language becomes the absolute symbol of their identity, inherently linked to any ideological or political autonomy and claims. That is why we can see Maori education as politicized, also reflecting wider ideological interests. The perpetuation and maintenance of the language is definitely amongst them. Other parts of Maori curriculum were also – in the most positive sense - composed of the common cultural concepts and values, most applicable to the today's Maori society. The principles of shared language and kinship were very likely some of the first candidates for revival.

However, there is an academic problem with the concept of *revival* in indigenous context. Reviving any cultural patterns or attributes is often associated with the concept of *invention* or creating a completely new desirable culture (for more on cultural invention see e.g. Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). Postmodernist debates on *invention of tradition* or *invention of culture* began with various Pacific case studies in the 1980s when anthropologists of the Pacific area began independently to view *culture*, *tradition* or *custom* as a symbolic construction, or a product of contemporary human activity rather than a passively inherited legacy. Hobsbawm's and Renger's iconic book *The Invention of Tradition* showed that new institutions of governance in Europe and its colonial dependencies were frequently imbued with status and legitimacy through the creation of traditional ceremonies and identities. Hobsbawm opposes the existence of *genuine traditions* to invented ones. Those traditions do not constitute a direct continuity with past practices, and their claimed continuity with a certain historic past is "largely factitious" (1983, p. 2).[11] This politicization of tradition

[11] Hobsbawm distinguishes invariable traditions from flexible and changeable customs that, if routinely repeated, cannot have any larger ritual or symbolic function. He claims that new traditions are more likely to be invented in modern societies in social changes, whereas customs dominate traditional societies. From Kolig's point of view (2002), the emerging processes in 3rd and 4th world societies do not fundamentally differ from those in Western or 1st world societies. He says that, in both cases, " the novelty may be dressed up as antiquity by a deliberate, calculated process which in extreme instances assumes the character of fraud" (2002, p. 12). Thus, the inventive character of culture is not exclusive to indigenous societies of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, South Africa, South America, Japan, South-east Asia and the Philippines but also to European countries such as Britain, Ireland or France. Even the modern societies attempt to construct invented traditions of a novel type and for novel purposes by using ancient materials. Thus, "even the historic continuity had to be invented, for example by creating an ancient past beyond effective historical continuity either by semi-fiction...or by forgery (Ossian, Czech medieval manuscripts)" (Hobsbawm 1983, p. 7).

provoked a discourse on the authenticity of the traditions and the western anthropologists had to start facing a critique from their indigenous counterparts (e.g. Kessing 1982, Hanson 1989, Linnekin 1992 etc. versus Trask 1991 etc.). Therefore, referring to cultural invention still has some political connotations. "Particularly the word *invention* has caused a stir because it undermines exactly what it describes: the political use of *age-old* traditions to defend or establish rights, status and privilege," as stated by Otto and Pedersen (2005, p. 17). In their recent collection of case studies, *Tradition and Agency* (2005), they make a contradiction when claiming that "customs, as well as traditions, are central to all kinds of societies, even though differences can be found in the type of traditions that prevail" (2005, p. 14). They argue that "all traditions are constructed or invented at some stage in history and this does not necessarily make them less genuine" (2005, p. 31; see also Jolly 1992, Linnekin 1991). The problem with any ideological concept such as culture is that it is usually a small group of people who determines the definitions and sets the criteria. The *cultural leaders* can naturally follow their personal interests (Kolig 1981). "Ethnical movements can certainly represent means of realization and self affirmation of ambitious or frustrated individuals and whole groups can become the centre of political pressure" (Roosens 1989, p. 14). There is another aspect to this self-appointed culture defined by higher leaders. It can become a burden to the ordinary people who find it hard to identify with. For instance, Van Mejl (2003) claims that "Maori people are located in working class, with other concerns ruling their lives than culture and identity" (p. 56). The question then is the usability of the self-declared culture. That is why any cultural movement from side of a native population raises the topic of cultural authenticity across all indigenous societies. It is Dahrendorf (1991) who points out the positive aspects of claiming different and new ethnicities. It should lead the society towards better understanding of cultural diversity and of the global and all covering character of basic human rights.

The contemporary sociocultural movements have a significant trait of proclaiming social and cultural cohesion as their strong side – no matter if they are indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities or gay activists claiming their distinctive rights. The strong belief in *inner unity* of culture, no matter how vague it might be, is very inherent to all modern forms of social organization (Šatava 2009, p. 21). A constructivist approach to nation forming highlights *ethnical awareness* as the main creative essence. In his book *Nations before Nationalism*, Armstrong (1982) establishes significant connections between the preliminary forms of nation making and the ideas of *common fate*, often raised by this belief in spiritual and cultural

alliance, such as national myths. “It is the symbolic rather than the material aspects of common fate that are decisive for identity” (Armstrong 1982, p. 9).

Current Situation of Indigenous Language and Culture

Indigenous cultures worldwide are in danger of disappearing because the process of transmission to the next generations has been broken by the effects of colonization. Similarly to immigrant languages, indigenous languages as a result of being subjected to political, social and economic pressures are classified as *endangered.* On the other hand, there are efforts to maintain indigenous languages through language education in native led or even mainstream institutions.[12] They make a huge contribution to the maintenance, stability and vitality of the surviving languages, this includes efforts from the media such as TV, radio, newspaper or Internet. It is estimated that 6,809 living languages exist in the world today, but 90 per cent of them are spoken by fewer than 100,000 people. This means they are very close to disappearing (Connor 2003). For instance, only 20 out of 175 indigenous languages extant in the United States are being transmitted as maternal languages.

Indigenous led organizations started growing in the 1960s and 1970s with the idea of representing and protecting the indigenous culture on local, national and international level - such as American Independent Movement in the late 1960s in the United States. Two significant agreements from 1957 and 1989 voice the minimal standards of respect towards civil, political, social and ecological rights of indigenous peoples – *Indigenous and Tribal People Convention 107* and *169.* With regards to the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights which recognises the fundamental human rights, dignity and worth of all human beings, the 1996 Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights came up from the meeting in Barcelona. The main motto of this document is that all linguistic communities are subjects to the same rights. Its Preliminaries obliges to “correct linguistic imbalances with a view to ensuring the respect and full development of all languages and establishing the principles for a just and equitable linguistic peace throughout the world as a key factor in the maintenance of harmonious social relations” (Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, p. 12). It also states that all language

[12] Some scholars establish differences among several expressions for language revitalization. These can be *revival* for “bringing back into life” as in case of Hebrew; *revitalization* for the national movements for cultural revival such as in case of the Czech Republic or Finland; or the *reversal* meaning reversing of the ongoing trends in language usage (Šatava 2009, p. 61).

communities have the right to decide to what extent their language is to be present as a vehicular language and as an object of study, at all levels of education within their territory" (Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, p. 27). In a nutshell, all these documents ensure rights to education and to control over the educational process on international level. Similar constitutions across countries ensure that education in indigenous communities will make use of their native language and learning processes. That was the case of the 1988 Constitution in Brazil or of the Puno Bilingual Educational project in Peru that served as a model, inspiration and resource for bilingual education initiatives in Latin America in the 1990s (Hornberger 1998, p. 443). Similarly, post-apartheid South Africa's new constitution of 1993 acknowledges language as a basic human right and multilingualism as a "national resource" (Hornberger 1998, p. 443). The Pan South African Language Board established three years later is responsible for promoting multilingualism through the development and equal use of official languages, the translation services and the development of other languages used by other ethnicities in South Africa. The 1990 and 1992 Native American Languages Acts assure the protection, promotion and preservation of the rights of Native Americans to use, practice and develop their native languages (Hornberger 1998, p. 444). The Acts supported some of the new programs of native revitalization such as language immersion camps and apprentice programs in which young people engage with their tribal elders for periods of time in natural language learning activities. While mostly attended by indigenous people, these programs are usually not strictly designed for them. As stated by Hornberger (1998), most of the immersion and bilingual programs support the idea that it is the whole society that can benefit from learning a minority language - not only its native speakers who should have the right to. Effective functioning of indigenous schools depends on various factors such as support from the community, recognition in the public sphere, economical stability and sufficient number and quality of the personnel. Hornberger (1998) lists some of these prerequisites for successful improvement such as: a vital native language valued by the community; versatile bilingual/bicultural/biliterate personnel who take the lead in effecting changes in their schools; and long-term stability of the institution itself (Hornberger 1998, p. 452). With regards to the human resources, everyone makes an invaluable contribution to language maintenance whether an education professional, classroom practitioner, program developer, material and textbook writer, administrator or an academic (Hornberger 1998, p. 453).

First indigenous schools in the Pacific area emerged in the 1980s in Australia and New Zealand. Compared to the Australian case where most of the hundreds of languages have been

lost[13] and the number of people able to use and teach some of the languages is very low, Maori immersion schools in New Zealand have served a good example to other similar institutions. Spolsky (1995) compares the success of revitalizing Maori to the Hebrew case where culture and ideology also acted as important components. There are several cultural strengths present in the functioning of Maori initiatives: they are community based; they attempt to maintain ethnic identity through various cultural activities; and they keep a distance from the mainstream influence. The tendency to minimize the interference of the state into the indigenous area of business seems to be a common trait of these kinds of movements. It is more desirable for the indigenous peoples to make their own way towards acknowledgement and respect on an official level and to have the ability to exercise as much power as possible over their lands, resources, and areas of culture - such as education.

Maori Assertions of Sovereignty

The contemporary Maori are not a homogenous group. They are as diverse and complex as other sections of the New Zealand's population, even though they may have certain characteristics and features in common. They largely differ in socio-economic levels. Despite the significant improvement in the past twenty years, the vast majority are designated to be of lower socio-economic standards. There is a growing gap between Maori who are employed and well qualified and those who are unemployed and have poor prospects of employment. The same can be applied to their health status and housing standards. Maori males who leave school with no qualifications still make up half of their population, compared to 10% of Europeans, and the gap may be increasing. Maori slowly moved into a wider range of jobs and many more have become self-employed. However, their unemployment still remains at an unacceptably high level and the income levels for Maori are lower than for the non-Maori (Durie 1998, Cacciopoli & Cullen 2006).[14] Yet, the current underachievement of Maori must be seen within the context of national history, and the official New Zealand policies towards

[13] In the late 18th century, there were between 350 and 750 distinct Aboriginal social groupings and a similar number of languages. At the beginning of the 21st century, only 20 out of 150 languages that remain are not highly endangered. Furthermore, of those surviving ones, only 10% are being taught to children, mainly in the most remote areas.

[14] According to the Department of Labour, The unemployment rate for Maori increased to 9.2% for the year to March 2009 compared to a year ago (8.2% for the year to March 2008). The percentage point increase in the Maori unemployment rate since 2008 was greater than the increase for European. The Maori unemployment rate remains above the annual average rate for all persons (4.5%).

its Indigenous people and their education. Therefore, it is desirable to start with an introductory chapter on the chronology of events that shaped the contemporary model of institutions providing education for Maori.

The impact of colonization of New Zealand from the 1800s on Maori lifestyle, social structure and organization as well as spiritual beliefs was immense. However, compared to other indigenous peoples, Maori had the "privilege" of the Treaty. This was an official recognition of Maori as traditional country owners plus holders of the rights of British subjects. The problematic of the Treaty is too complex for a brief illustration, but there were basically two versions of the document - English and Maori. Besides smaller discrepancies between them, the biggest concerned the word *sovereignty*, meaning the complete superior ship in English. In Maori version, however; Maori were guaranteed their *tino rangatiratanga*, or their chiefly rights and ownership of their land, where the English would operate as a kind of land governors only. "As Maori chiefs quite reasonably interpreted the Maori text, they retained an authority amounting to sovereignty over their own affairs" (Paterson 2004, p. 163). Even though they have never ceded sovereignty to the Crown, they have been excluded from the physical, economic, political and philosophical development of New Zealand – this all as a Treaty partner. They were taken their land and natural resources and the culture of their own, while reduced to a powerless minority in their own country. This was the beginning of the era of cultural imperialism from side of the British which will be described in more detail in relation to education.

Throughout 160 years, Maori assertions of sovereignty have taken on many facets from lobbying, making submissions, presenting petitions, to occupying land under dispute, establishing various movements, organising marches, protest groups and boycotts, symbolic acts and demonstrations and establishing political parties (Ka'ai 2004, p. 181). Even though the Treaty of Waitangi has never been ratified or enacted as statute law, it still is a crucial document for the contemporary Maori claims. It was only after the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 that the legal, social, and political process of addressing the Treaty breaches has been unfolding (Hayward 2004, p. 161). This was the first Maori forum where "the transactions and processes by which Maori lost control of their resources are judged against the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi" (Hayward 2004, p. 161). Various challenges for self-determination followed immediately. As in case of Indigenous Australians, it was particularly Maori women who initiated the reforms in health, child welfare, employment and

education through Maori Welfare League. This was the first Maori national organization established in 1951, and the first forum for Maori women to voice their concerns before the policy-makers. "The League emerged against a background of thirty years of rural to urban shift and demographic change, World War II, and increasing social challenges for Maori adapting to a lifestyle largely prescribed by the dominant Pakeha society" (Ka'ai 2004, p. 183). The objectives were suitable housing, management of health and intercultural relationships, as well as cash economy. Practically, the League helped managing the process of Maori urbanisation and the related issues of health, education and welfare (Ka'ai 2004).

Other fields of Maori agenda concerned the literary medium such as newspapers or drama (Ka'ai 2004). "*Te Hokioi* and *Moorh* were the names of two separate newsletters that were produced in 1968 by group of Maori people who shared the common belief in social transformation for Maori by raising the consciousness of Maori people" (Ka'ai 2004, p. 183). Both of them warned against cases of injustice happening to Maori, such as commercial land exploitation or failures of the mainstream educational system. *Maranga Mai* was a dramatisation depicting various Maori grievances such as the Treaty of Waitangi or land exclusion and consequent protests and boycotts. Despite the attempts of the government to ban their plays, the group continued to play around the country (Ka'ai 2004). A large part of Maori activism concerned the conciliation in land ownerships. Still, tribal groups are negotiating their settlements with the State and the claims process is still active.

The Maori collectivism soon evolved into forming political bodies. Small autonomous units slowly gained support of elders and more established groups when, from the 1970's,

> Maori have used the political arena, forming their own political parties. More latterly, protests have involved land occupations and marches. The Maori traditional art forms have experienced a cultural renaissance and Maori have joined the struggle of Indigenous people world-wide to achieve self-determination (Ka'ai 2004, p. 181).

Again, the Maori renaissance had various facets starting from National Maori Performing Art Festival, revitalisation of Maori tattoo (*mokko*)[15] or music, to establishment of Maori Studies and departments at New Zealand's universities. Academic leaders such a Ruka Broughtoun, Wiremu Parker, Bruce Biggs, Ranginui Walker or Patu Hohepa became the "critic and conscience" of Maori nation (Ka'ai 2004, p. 187). In other words, they helped rising

[15] Besides being a form of beautification, Maori tattoo is seen as a political statement of cultural integrity (Ka'ai 2004, p. 183).

awareness of Maori issues in society and challenging the Crown about Indigenous people's rights.

We can see now that the emergence of language advocacy groups and the related movement of Maori schools were only small but important parts of the complex efforts for Maori sovereignty. Today, New Zealand Maori have the right to be educated in their culture and language which; even though in danger of complete suppression, had survived until today. After the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, a claim was made against the Crown for failing to protect Maori language. Te *Kohanga Reo* movement emerged in 1981 as a Maori response to the then education of their children and as a contribution to the revitalization of the language. Together with other language immersion programmes, *kohanga reo* centres with Maori as the language of instruction serve a model of language recovery for indigenous people worldwide. Additionally, in 1987, the Maori language was made an official language of New Zealand and the Maori Language Commission was established (Hokowhitu 2004). The objectives were: 1) to increase the number of people who can speak Maori by developing their opportunities to learn Maori; 2) to improve proficiency levels of people in speaking, listening to, reading and writing Maori; 3) to develop the opportunities to use Maori by increasing the number of situations where Maori can be used; 4) to increase the rate at which the Maori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities; and 5) to foster among non-Maori positive attitudes towards, and accurate beliefs and positive values about, the Maori language so that non-Maori bilingualism becomes a valued part of New Zealand society (*Te Tuaoma*, The Maori Language 1999). Launching of TV and radio channels as well as distribution of printed paper in Maori followed.[16]

[16] These are classical examples of language revitalization as mentioned earlier in the intorduction.

History of Education in Aotearoa

Before the first contact and for some time afterward – the communication between Maori and non-Maori in the personal and public domains of life – for economic, cultural, religious exchange - was led in Maori language. With the introduction of print literacy by missionaries, many people learnt how to read and write in both English and Maori. First mission schools opened in 1816, and from the 1820s Maori participated in western-style schooling, by which time the orthography and grammar of Maori language had been formulated and the gospels translated into Maori. There was not only a huge expansion of the mission schools but also growing numbers of Maori-led schools. The fact is that Maori was the preferred language of instruction by the missionaries. To some extent, this could be seen as a form of cultural acknowledgment. However, another reason to prevent Maori from the instruction of English was to keep them away from the secular part of the European society. Most of the printed Maori texts were religious in nature. "By controlling the language of instruction, the language of Maori print literacy and the production of printed Maori language texts, missionaries exerted a great deal of control over the knowledge and information Maori could potentially access" (Simon & Smith 2001, p. 159).

The transition from employing Maori as the major medium of oral instruction to providing instruction only in English began after New Zealand became a Crown Colony following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The preliminary step to the policy of assimilation was the 1844 Native Trust Ordinance. The schools were required to subject themselves to government inspection. Under the Native School Act 1858 the state continued to subsidise mission schools under the same provisions. Schools were not compulsory at this time. Many Maori endowed the schools with land and money often for the express purpose of enabling their children to master the skills of speaking, reading and writing in English. Unfortunately their goals and the goals of the state were different. While the state sought English schooling for Maori to fulfil its assimilation agenda, Maori preferred to maintain their sovereignty and equity to the growing impact of European culture. There is no evidence that Maori wanted to cease using their own language. They rather wanted to become bilingual. Thus, in wanting to speak English they were seeking to extend and broaden their communication base by adding another language to their repertoire. The state, however, through the assimilation policy sought to eliminate Maori language and replace it with English (Simon & Smith 2001).

The 1860s were a token of a new system of schooling for Maori brought in by the Native Schools Act in 1867. The instruction in Native Schools was required to be in English as far as practicable. During the hundred year's history of this type of education, the use of Maori as a language of communication severely declined. Moreover, speaking Maori was strictly banned until the 1950s. It was not rare for the penalty to be a form of physical punishment. While Maori students in Native Schools would speak their language in leisure time at school playground, most of them were located in mainstream Public Schools with a majority of Europeans, where they tended to speak more English. Regular contact with Europeans, as well as the process of urbanization since the 1860s and the consequent separation of families influenced the extent to which English came to replace Maori as the primary language of communication (Simon & Smith 2001). However, the exclusion did not only concern the language and cultural domain - under the ongoing policy of assimilation schools endeavoured to determine the development of strata within the society by providing Maori students with a limited curriculum based upon "their perceived natural affiliation with physical skills" (Hokowhitu 2004, p. 193). Essentially, Maori received preferably physical labour skills rather than skills and qualifications which would turn them into possible candidates for a workplace. The original plan was evident – to create cheap agricultural labour for the Europeans (Hokowhitu 2004). As we can see, the policy of assimilation through Native Schools and Public Schools with limited curriculum contributed not only to the fast decline in the language usage but also to their educational underachievement. Through school policies and practices, and in particular those of the first quarter of the twentieth century, many Maori children were denied opportunities for intellectual and cognitive development. That is why the consequences of this past exclusion should not be underestimated in examining the contemporary disparity of Maori and European accomplishments in education. The restriction on Maori language at school was only one side of the thing. Oral testimonies show that some Maori pupils were denied opportunities to develop their intimate relationships with *whanau* in and through Maori. Thus, the ongoing effects of assimilation were not purely educational and linguistic – also the psychological impact was immense (Simon & Smith 2001). Donna Awatere, a well known activist of the 1970s, summarises the marginal positioning of Maori within European dominant society in her work *Maori Sovereignty* (1984). She says that,

> The educational system is the major gate which keeps Maori out. There is an invisible sign over every kindergarten, play-centre, school, and university. That sign reads: "Maori keep out: For White use only". White people can't see this sign, you have to identify or be identified as a Maori before you can see it. Kindergartens are the first educational gate. Kindergartens have frightened Maori people off pre-school education (Awatere 1984, p. 21).

One of the important shifts came along in the 1950s with migration from the rural areas which were no longer seen as viable places to reside. Maori moved to the cities to seek work and their children started attending mainstream, rather than Native schools. As a result, greater pressure was placed on teachers and schools that were meant to cope with culturally different students (Smith 2002, p. 196). Generally, the life in the western society was different. Smith particularly reminds us of the destructive effects of free, profit-driven market on common indigenous values of collectivism and communal sharing. In the case of Maori social organization into *iwi* (tribes), *hapu* (sub-tribes) and *whanau* (extended families), the idea of collectivism is the fundamental principal (Smith 2002, p. 223).[17] Well settled by the 1960s, the urban Maori started reasserting their cultural aspirations and practices within a new context. In the worldwide context of anti-military movements, feminist and gay activism, also the Maori people voiced their needs for cultural and language survival. Their growing needs in education were expressed at the same time with other disadvantaged groups around the world.

As a matter of fact, by the mid 1970s spoken Maori was in great danger of becoming extinct. Fluency was only a privilege of older residents from rural areas, and young Maori were growing up with little or no knowledge of their language and cultural heritage (Ka'ai 2004). In the 1980s, two key reports were handed to the Government. In 1980 the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education released *He Huarahi*, which contained 87 recommendations concerning the education of Maori language to Maoris and non-Maoris, early childhood education and care, recruitment and training of the teachers, curriculum better suited to Maori needs and secondary education. *Te Tatai Hono* was published by the New Zealand Educational Institute only a year later. It concerned the area of pedagogy, cultural and linguistic diversity, schools, resources, tertiary education, new alternatives, research etc. Other reports from other areas but concerning education and schooling followed – for instance *Puao o te Atatu* – Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare' (1986), The Finding of the Waitangi Tribunal Relating to *Te reo* Maori (1986), Review of the Core Curriculum (1987) and The Treasury Brief to the Incoming

[17] Franz Fanon (1967) made a comment on the idea of individualism, so problematic and unnatural within the indigenous world: "Individualism is the first to disappear. The native intellectual had learnt from his masters that the individual ought to express himself fully. The colonialist bourgeoisie had hammered into the native's mind the idea of a society of individuals where each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity and whose only wealth is individual thought. Now the native who has the opportunity to return to the people during the struggle for freedom will discover the falseness of this theory" (Fanon 1967, p. 36).

Government (1987) (Smith 2002, p. 202). Despite the intensity of this stream of reports, no bigger shifts emerged until the 1980s, and opening of the first Maori led school, *kohanga reo*. This developed with the Maori Education Development *Hui* (meeting) at Turangawaewae in 1984. It was the first community of 300 Maori, representing their perspectives on education and politics. This brought along a gradual shift in emphasis on research studies and intervention programmes on underachievement at schools. The introduction of *Taha Maori* programmes into the New Zealand curriculum aimed to provide basic knowledge of the Maori dimension to all students. Even though they have been vaguely accepted by both Europeans and Maori; several responses from the Maori community itself developed alongside them (Smith 2002, p. 205).

The coalescence of political, economic, cultural crises with the failure of liberal education to deliver equitable outcomes for Maori through schooling formed a powerful critique of the National government (which eventually sourced into election of the Fourth Labour government). The initiation of Maori schools put pressure on the new government to respond more effectively to Maori social, economic, educational and cultural needs (Smith 2002, p. 222). Maintaining Maori language and culture and avoiding the reproduction of the dominant European cultural, political and socio-economic interests; developing learning programmes better suited for Maori students, and Maori control over important decisions in education were expressed as the crucial areas. Calls were made through the Treaty of Waitangi depositions, but the most important Maori conferences took place within the innovative language and cultural revitalization programme of *kohanga reo* itself. Before approaching the outcomes of the reforms for Maori medium education, I will outline the chronology of government policy towards the Indigenous people of New Zealand.

To conclude this part, the crucial periods of educational policies as recalled by Smith (2002) were:

Appeasement – The early European migrants depended on appeasing and co-existing with Maori who were the dominant group and held control over the resources. The initial relationship was typical for its mutual benefits (p. 192). The Europeans desired access to trade and a new range of goods. A reciprocical exchange was very natural to Maoris who sought metal products from the very start of the contact, especially nails and hooks. Thus, they exchanged their technology for Maori environmental knowledge and skills and access to

resources. In order to gain respect and protection from the community, the Europeans also married Maori women and lived with their families.

Expurgation – The missionaries gained more power and started to be convinced about their civilising role to change Maori people's cultural values and customs. The introduction of religious books (including the Bible) in Maori, building day schools and residential schools, the missionaries teaching Maori – the goal of all this was to attain an influence within the communities. On the other hand, the missionaries contributed to the maintenance of Maori language.

Assimilation – Formal schooling, initiated in 1867, took on the role of assimilating Maori children into European culture by breaking down their own beliefs and practices, and educating them in purely western ways (p. 193).

Termination – As a result of many Maori people dying from epidemics around the 1900s and the common belief that their race was 'dying out', this period was seen as the terminate stage. However, their population began to increase again in the 19th century and a marked Maori cultural revival started later on in 1960s.

Domestication – The policy of the 1930s and 1940s was in token of using schooling in specific ways to channel Maori into particular work. This was usually manual, working class occupations which were seen as the most suitable for Maori (p. 193). Simply said, the curriculum of Maori students was purposefully aimed to narrow their scale of knowledge into manual skills and physical force.

Integration – Integration, which was in fact still the old assimilation, was a bright decision to integrate the best from Maori and European culture into a singular New Zealand culture. This was to be achieved through a range of practices such as inter-marriage and cultural education. In fact, the Maori children were taught the European modes of thought and behaviour, not vice-versa (p. 194).

Multiculturalism – Emerged as a result of New Zealand's more active role in the Pacific and the increased immigration of non-Europeans in the 1970s. The immigrants often required

specialist teachers in English as a second language. This led to an increasing cultural awareness, and to an interest of Europeans in their own origin.

Biculturalism – This policy emerged as a reaction to multiculturalism by Maori people in particular. It was argued that until the relationship between Maori people as the *tangata whenua* (Indigenous people) and European people as the other partner to the Treaty of Waitangi, was resolved, multiculturalism was an unrealistic target. Biculturalism is designed to create real structural changes rather than continue the domination of one group. The promotion of social equity of Maori people is in the forefront of this cultural policy (p. 195). Recognition of Maori language as the second official language of New Zealand in 1987 can serve as an example.

Self-determination – The reasons for Maori people to move outside the state structures were obvious: the embedded policy of colonisation from the European side; the marginalisation of Maori language; knowledge and culture, the failure of educational interventions to deal appropriately with structural issues; dominance of white teachers and administrators with little understanding of Maori cultural needs and aspirations; historical record of high and disproportionate levels of underachievement, and a need for Maori autonomy over the key decision-making related to schooling and education. All this reflects the fact that the pedagogy and curriculum of the mainstream schools often contradicted the Maori values. There was a growing need for development of Maori alternatives in all areas including education. The need to support Maori curriculum, pedagogy, decision-making, cultural values and principles sourced into reforms of the 1980s.

First outcomes from the Department of Education were *Taha Maori* programmes and Maori language classes. In the 1970s, another step was the opening of bilingual schools and units where the medium of instruction was both English and Maori. In the early 1980s the advent of *Te Kohanga reo* signalled the preference for Maori immersion education as an approach to Maori language development and retention. The development of immersion programmes in New Zealand was supported by international research on immersion education, particularly in the Basque region of Spain, Canada and Wales. The programmes concern mainly the cultures where transmission of native/non-maternal language between generations has been broken. First immersion bilingual education where children receive most education (ideally 100% in the beginning and 80 to 50% in later years) in the second, non-maternal language originated

in 1965 in Canada. The aim was to mediate French and francophone culture to children from English speaking families. Since then, its modifications have been used successfully all around the world - largely in case of minorities and indigenous' languages such as Basque, Catalan, Gaelic, Breton, Maori, Sami, or Lusatia (Baker & Prys Jones 1998). Soon, research indicated that quality immersion education programmes supported the development proficiency in two languages. Since 1993, the Government has called for the development of Maori immersion education. These have proven to be successful in the recovery of Maori as a living language, encouraging greater participation by Maori parents, and primarily in bringing higher achievement and greater participation of Maori students in education.

The same objectives were reflected in the principles of *Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa* (The New Zealand curriculum framework) and in the development of curriculum statements in Maori. In 1993, the Ministery of Education launched Education for the 21st Century, a discussion document, which again emphasised the importance of Maori language provision, as well as the need for full participation and achievement of Maori in all areas of Education (O'Rourke 1993, p. 2). Here is a short chronology of events that occurred after the proposal of the first *kohanga reo* centre.

1981 *Kohanga reo* or Maori early childhood centre with instruction in Maori was proposed by the *Hui Whakatauira* of Maori leaders as a response to the imminence of language death.
1982 First *kohanga reo* centre opened in Auckland, followed by *kura kaupapa* established at *Hoani Waititi Marae* in 1985.
1986 The Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the *Te reo* Maori Claim acknowledged the language as *taonga* (treasure) with a guaranteed protection under Article II of the Treaty.
1987 Maori language became recognised as the second official language of New Zealand and the Maori Language Commission was established.
1989 The Education Amendment Act formally recognised *kura kaupapa* and *wananga* as educational institutions.
1993 A Maori broadcasting funding agency was established to promote Maori language and culture through media.
1997 Altogether 675 *kohanga reo* centres established since 1981, with 13 505 children attending, 54 *kura kaupapa* and 3 *wananga* schools. Over 32 000 students recorded as receiving Maori medium education, and 55 399 students recorded as learning the Maori language.

1998 The Government announced funding for a Maori television channel.
2001 The number of Maori speakers had stabilised at 130 500 people by this year which constitutes 25% of the Maori population (Smith 2002 and Hokowhitu 2004).
2007 Altogether 475 *kohanga reo* centres in New Zealand attended by 8, 679 children – a significant drop since 1997 – 67 *kura kaupapa* schools (Annual Report on Maori Education 2009), and 3 *wananga*.
2009 25, 3% Maori students totally are involved in any form of Maori-medium education - either in immersion or bilingual programmes (Annual Report on Maori Education 2009).

It must be highlighted that the numbers of *kohanga reo* centres and their attendees have been dropping since 1997. Although there were more *kura kaupapa*, the statistics show lowering numbers of students across all types of Maori schools. In July 2007, there were 28, 490 students involved in Maori-medium education, where Maori language made up at least 12% of teaching and learning. This is a decrease of 2, 9% since July 2006. Moreover, the Annual Report on Maori education (2009) shows 164, 020 Maori involved in some type of education in 2007. However, only 28, 490 from these were enrolled in Maori education – either immersion or bilingual. It leads me to a question - what is wrong with Maori education? Is the lowering number of Maori schools caused by the absence of Maori teachers and the low funding, or is it really that Maori schools become the less preferable option for Maori parents? Or is it both?

Another statistics show the actual levels of Maori language use. According to the 2006 census, 15% Maori aged 15 to 64 years were able to hold a conversation in Maori, while this was a case of nearly 50% of individuals aged 65 years and over and of 17% of those under 15. While older generations maintained the language knowledge, it is the younger ones who have the opportunity to learn the language at school. There is a 50 years gap between the generations who were prevented from learning Maori as well as from opportunities to use it. Only 4, 2% people have been classified as fluent speakers of Maori. While it is a must in community gatherings, and on special occasions these days, only a minority use it as their main language at home (Quick Stats about Maori 2006, p. 5). This seems natural, since English remains a much more practical way of communication with wide surroundings. Thus, together with growing number of people learning the language, there needs to be more opportunities to use it. I will speak about the teachers' perspective on language and its usage in chapter three.

Institutions of Maori Education in New Zealand – Concepts and Definitions

There are currently three main types of Maori total immersion schools in New Zealand. These are *kohanga reo* for pre-school children, *kura kaupapa* for primary and secondary level school children, *wananga* representing an alternative tertiary education, and *wharekura* aimed at adults. Besides that, several mainstream primary schools around New Zealand operate bilingual units. These run classes in both languages, English and Maori, with an emphasis on Maori. If not following up at *kura kaupapa*, leavers of *kohanga reo* centres can maintain their language skills here, in mainstream schools with the majority of Europeans. It is important to say that *kohanga reo*, *kura kaupapa*, *wananga* and *wharekura* represent a strong political voice of New Zealand Maori. They reflect the persisting effects of colonization which affected the current socio-economic standard of Maori people, and reclaim power and autonomy in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi based on Maori knowledge and the ways of doing things. Thus, they endeavour to develop change, albeit limited, at the power relations and ideological levels through increased power over the knowledge, curriculum and processes. Family values, Maori knowledge, oral histories, cultural values and practices are validated in their environment and legitimatized as part of the ordinary.[18] In Bourdieu's terms (e.g. 1984), the home culture, manners, habits, knowledge and cultural preferences (*habitus*) of the Maori child are reflected and reproduced within the school (reference made by Smith 2002, p. 447).

Distinct Maori terminology is used to describe *kohanga reo* and its associate concepts to keep their original meaning. These expressions appear throughout the study together and are listed at the end of the study. The terminology is always approached with the most likely English translation or explained by thorough description and examples. The language and other objectives can be best described by *kaupapa Maori* – Maori knowledge, skills, attitudes and values they are sourced from.

[18] Their commitment is rooted in the belief that language sustenance is a necessary prerequisite for keeping Maori people and culture alive. This also reflects the fact that despite being an official language of New Zealand, Maori is not compulsory in mainstream schools. It is more an option than a must.

Kaupapa Ideology

Kaupapa is "a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Maori society that have emanated from a Maori metaphysical base" (Ka'ai 2004, p. 206). *Kaupapa* has been an influential and coherent philosophy since the 1980s and the opening of the first *kohanga reo* centre. Nowadays, it has evolved into a full theory of transformation, which is being applied across a range of sites outside education and schooling, to develop meaningful changes where needed (e.g. Smith 2002, and Bishop 2003). In fact, it represents a counterpart to the western theoretical forms and structures – a challenge to the pervasive European power and control over Maori. Central to this is the notion of pedagogy, the way in which we transmit and receive knowledge within a social context of family or wider community. Maori pedagogy comes from the holistic approach to learning and teaching where the placement of learners in the world and their personality are of crucial importance, as well as Maori cultural values and customs. The main document Te Whariki (*the mat*) is a written expression of these values and customs that guide how learning is managed at Maori schools. It is founded on the principles of empowerment (*whakamana*), holistic development (*kotahitanga*), family and community (*whanau tangata*), and relationships (*nga hononga*). These incorporate the values of well-being, belonging, contribution, communication, physical aspects, and intellectual aspects, spiritual and emotional aspects (Ministry of Education 1993). In addition to Te Whariki, the schools are run by the principles given by an annual teaching programme Te Korowai, designed for *kohanga reo* especially. Generally, the programme originates in acknowledgement of the right of Maori children to be raised in Maori language; the right of the family to nurture and care for the children and the responsibility of the extended community over this. All Maori schools place emphasis on respect for the diversity of peoples and cultures, on learning through total immersion but becoming competent in both English and Maori, on the importance of knowing one's origin and tribal affiliations and developing respect for the environment, and staying open to other kinds of learning at the same time. Thus, Maori schools apply "a holistic approach to learning by nurturing all aspects of a child's growth and development including physical, intellectual, social-emotional, and spiritual dimensions" (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie and Hodgan 2004, p. 2). Another summary of the principles of *kaupapa* pedagogy is given by Smith (2002, Pp. 225-227):

1. *Tino Rangatira* (Relative Autonomy/Self-determination) – Students take part in the curriculum planning and learning.
2. *Taonga Tuku Iho* (Cultural Aspirations) – Maori language, knowledge and values (*tikanga* Maori) are legitimated and validated.
3. *Ako* (Reciprocal Learning) – Teaching and learning are reciprocical processes among teachers and students.
4. *Kia Piki Ake i Nga Raruraru o te Kainga* (Socio-economic Mediation Principle) – Everyone has responsibility for everyone else's learning. Families are encouraged to participate and the family model is applied at the environment of school.
5. *Whanau* (Extended Family) - Brings back the parents who were once hostile to education due to their own schooling experiences. There is also an obligation on individual members of the support network to belong and contribute to the *whanau* group.
6. *Kaupapa* (Collective Vision and Philosophy of Teaching) – Close relationship between school and home in terms of aspirations, language use and culture – a form of collective commitment.

All in all, *kaupapa* implications for education are represented by active, problem-based learning, maximum participation of students, minimum exclusion of students, constant process of reformation and invention, engaging in conversations with students and finding a common narrative. Strong emphasis is placed on the individual and its needs, on Maori cultural values (*tikanga*), social relationships, family environment and engagement (Smith 2002, Pp. 466-473 and Bishop 2003, Pp. 225-227).

Kohanga Reo

The Maori preschool centres/kindergartens, *kohanga reo* (meaning *language nests*), introduced in 1982 are designed for children from their first months to 6 years of age, prior to primary education. The first years of children's life are seen as crucial for learning the language, social and cultural values, for developing trust in themselves and others, as well as the concept of self. Thus, the most important commitments are immersion into Maori language, *whanau* principles (extended family) and values and culturally underpinned character of instruction. All centres encourage the family involvement and provide a setting where whole family can hear and speak the language, and many provide formal learning

programmes for the parents (Hohepa 1990). *Kohanga reo* are aimed to prepare young children for further learning. It is not their ambition to produce fluent speakers of Maori, but to teach the basic language knowledge with the advantage of supporting their bilingualism in youngest age.

The number of children usually does not exceed twenty; the centres are specifically designed, and commonly consist of large open friendly rooms that provide a comfortable meeting place for both children and adults. There are facilities to cover the needs of the smallest babies/toddlers such as cots and tables for nappy changing, and also quite spots for mothers to breast-feed. The whole concept is to place young children in an environment where the family remains closely linked. This is a supposed opposite to the mainstream approach where school usually stands in the centre and "attempts to educate children into its culture" (Ford, 1996, p.16). The important strength of *kohanga reo* is that it has proven to be successful form of education under Maori organizational and administrative autonomy. The centres produce children with basic knowledge of Maori, and aim to bring Maori parents into the educational process, while in turn express their needs and demands (Smith 2002, p.258).

The *kohanga reo* are centrally directed from the main body, The Kohanga Reo National Trust. Thus, most centres share a common, organizational management together with pedagogical, and philosophical bases given by the main body. As mentioned earlier, the programme Te Korowai sets the guiding principles and goals of teaching for all *kohanga reo*. However, methods differ from centre to centre, according to the facilities, resources and cultural background of individual children. Also, Maori cultural values, practices and philosophies are employed and these may be influenced by tribal and regional considerations. The key objectives of all *kohanga reo* include revitalization of the language, support for and utilization of the family and achieving Maori control over Maori resources. I am going to discuss these in more detail further on.

The total language immersion ensures a natural learning process in the early years of children's development. This happens in ways analogical to learning the maternal language. In the centre, children are instructed mostly in Maori but it is assumed that they mostly hear and speak English at home and in their wider community. Still, parents are highly encouraged to bilingualism as well. An active involvement of the family is another strong value (sense of family - *whanaungatanga*). The intention is to re-empower the *whanau* and mobilize its

principles. Centres aim to provide a safe teaching environment for children of working parents depending on the needs and resources of each particular family. They are arranged as models of traditional extended family with children surrounded by other children/siblings, grandparents, relatives and caregivers. The teachers are called as family members – *whaea* (mother), *papa* (father) or *nanny*, while the attendees are *tamariki* (children). The family values such as *aroha* (love), *manaki* (caring for, looking after) and *wairua* (spiritual life) are embodied in the teaching process. It is a way how to restore the system of childrearing that has been eroding due to several reasons – urbanization, nuclear family life, and modern work practices among others (Hohepa 1990 or Ka'ai 2004). Some authors claim that, even today, the "future of Maori is very much the future of the *whanau* and vice versa" (Smith 2002, p. 448). That is why the family values, roles and responsibilities become the first hand experience at *kohanga reo*. Many group oriented activities support the development of cultural principles such as looking after each other, sharing and working together. Children take on the leading role of adults (*tuakana-teina* principle) and receive tasks to perform (cleaning), everybody shares food, facilities etc., and the learning always takes place within a group. These principles aim to provide Maori children with greater control over their lives and the skills to make decisions and organize their lives within a wider community. "*Whanaungatanga* is seen as a value, experienced as a sense of family, a co-operative effort, a unity, togetherness" (Hohepa 1990, p. 10). *Kohanga reo* always aims to operate as a family unit – on a national level and within each of the centres. Last but not least, *kohanga reo* centres represent a manifestation of Maori autonomy on educational level, but also of their control and say in affairs that affect the lives of families, their children, and all Maori people (spirit of Maori autonomy - *mana Maori motuhake*). The application of Maori cultural methods in *kohanga reo* centres contributes to their legitimization and recognition.

Kura Kaupapa

Kura kaupapa (*kura* meaning a school) are total immersion schools for primary (some also for secondary) school students, introduced in 1985 as a continuation of *kohanga reo*. They follow the identical philosophies and principles of total immersion schooling in Maori language and cultural practices, thus aiming to provide a holistic spiritual, cultural and educational environment. From the *nests* of language, they move onto more aspects of curriculum and larger amount of knowledge. Formal English skills are introduced at *kura*

kaupapa as well, since the desired outcomes are biculturalism and bilingualism. "*Kura kaupapa* Maori schooling is not a choice of Maori or *Pakeha* language and culture; parents want their children to eventually develop expertise in both domains" (Smith 2002, p. 440). Most children are able to pick up English through their everyday activities and experiences outside school; however, English must be taught formally at some stage. The newest New Zealand primary school curriculum, which is binding for all primary education providers, including *kura kaupapa* and bilingual schools, consists of maths, health, art, technology, social studies, science, and English – so called integral education. They choose different specialisations until they are 12 or 13 years old. Again, the character of extended family is crucial – in *kaupapa* view, it provides both a structural and functional context for supporting Maori cultural forms and values. There is also a positive feedback on *kura kaupapa* being successful in meeting their objectives, ensuring good development of oral Maori, literacy and numeracy skills. Aspin reported higher than average mathematics achievement in a group of students with lessons of mathematics and Maori (Aspin 1994).

As said above, many *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* schools offer adult language classes. The reason is to educate the parents who can use Maori for communication with their children and support their learning process. Most schools organize *hui* or family meetings, essential for group discussions and supporting the development of the school curriculum. Moreover, an important part of most schools' agenda is actually developing language learning programmes for their families. Naturally, some areas are stagnant, such as the development of a teacher training course, of a Maori resource centre, of formal relationships with the Ministry of Education, or of the establishment of a unified national body that would oversee the progress of individual schools. Also, most fundraising and work is still done within the limited resources of the school and families themselves.

Bilingual Units

Another form of immersion education is bilingual schools or units functioning within primary schools. These are selected schools teaching both Maori and English where Maori should be at least from 50% the language of instruction. By the definition of the Ministry of Education, bilingual education is where school subjects are taught in two languages and students become fluent speakers and writers in both (May, Hill & Tiakiwai 2006). Research shows that mastering a second language is very effective and results in students who are bilingual as well

as biliterate – able to read and write in two languages. Moreover research shows that students who are biliterate are more likely to succeed academically. While *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* aim to come under Level 1 with the highest level of teaching in Maori (between 81 and 100%), bilingual schools usually achieve the Level 2 where children are taught in Maori for between 51 and 81% of the time. The research shows that Level 1 immersion schools have proven to be most effective way of bilingual education. However, also Level 2 of partial immersion can be effective as long as at least 50% of the teaching is in Maori (May, Hill & Tiakiwai 2006).

In ideal circumstances, there would be a bilingual unit at every public mainstream school. In this way, all schools would be involved, which would bring in more cooperation, and also save the travelling expenses of the children commuting to specialised schools. However, this is not possible at this stage – largely due to insufficient funding.

Research on Immersion Education

The existing research on *kohanga reo* centres concerns mainly language acquisition and bilingualism. *Kohanga reo* provide a good research setting for study of children's language development on a preschool level and for a study of total immersion process. What concerns me particularly is the interconnection of language and cultural learning. There is a lot on immersion programmes in Canada (e.g. Genesee 1978), Fiji (e.g. Salaün 2002), United States (e.g. Office of Bilingual Education 1984), Wales (e.g. Dodson 1985), Ireland (e.g. Cummins 1978) or Hawaii (e.g. Slaughter, Watson-Gegeo, Warner & Bernardino 1988). However, some of the research lacks attention to the cultural aspects involved in language learning. This is the case of the programmes in French Canada that involve immersion of the dominant society into the minority language where both the majority and minority languages are fully respected (Cummins 1978). In case of *kohanga reo* centres, language and culture are seen as inseparable and the transmission of cultural values and practices is a necessary part of the objectives of total immersion (Hohepa 1990). Additionally, the Canadian programmes do not concern the aspect of language preservation as a necessary part of cultural revival or revitalization. Therefore, the research of peoples in Hawaii, Alaska, Fiji or even in Ireland and Scotland is of more relevance to the historical and cultural legacy of New Zealand Maori. The cultural programmes of Australian Aborigines might not provide a comparative material on language learning, since they do not offer language immersion; however, they serve as a good example

of cultural empowerment and revival of cultural values and practices.[19] The total immersion schools in Hawaii also provide an example close to New Zealand case (see e.g. Linton & Hale 2001). Just after *kohanga reo*, *punana leo* preschool centres (also meaning *language nests*) were established in 1984 by a group of Hawaiian language educators. The overall goal was to revitalize and perpetuate the Hawaiian language and culture through the creation of new generations of native Hawaiian speaking children. Similarly to *kohanga reo*, *punana leo* were designed for children from two to five. *Kula kaiapuni* for primary education were started in 1987 in response to public schools' failure to educate Hawaiian children in primary schools designed for Hawaiians exclusively – which is very similar case to other indigenous peoples worldwide. Analogically to the case of Maori schools, 95% of the children attending these schools are Hawaiian – even though the schools are open to all ethnic groups. Comprehending and communicating the Hawaiian language, developing a strong base of Hawaiian culture and values, and preparing powerful individuals, caring and responsible members of the community (Linton & Hale 2001, p. 139) – the objectives correspond to the ones of the Maori educational programmes, in spirit of language and cultural revitalization.

The aims and philosophy of *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* were first documented by Douglas and Douglas (1984). While they focus more on examining the Maori educational models according to the mainstream ones, Smith (1987) is the first author who shifts attention to cultural relevance of Maori programmes and introduces the preferred Maori teaching and learning methodologies more specifically. Later on (2002), she contributes with a whole study on *kaupapa* ideology. Metge (1984) looked into the meanings given to the processes of learning and teaching by Maori people. Later research by Ka'ai (1990) is based on defining the cultural values and practices of *kohanga reo* and looking for correlations with those in bilingual and mainstream classrooms. Naturally, an ethnographic research of an outsider or even an insider operating with his or her observations together with the participants' interpretations, requires a culturally sensitive attitude. Hohepa, whose study helped to form my own research agenda, is a researching *cultural insider*. Her paper (1990) represents the sociocultural approach to language development in *kohanga reo*, and deals mainly with the topic of cultural socialisation through the medium of language acquisition. As well as Hohepa (1990), I come from the view of the sociocultural approach to language education. The methods and whole background of *kohanga reo* centres can be examined within the theory of

[19] Later on, I will try to establish some interesting parallels with my diploma research (2006) in an Australian Indigenous organization of a similar kind.

grasping one's culture through learning his or her language. Therefore, I will present this theory of language acquisition in more detail.

Socio-cultural Approach to Language Acquisition

This approach is based on the argument that the processes of acquiring linguistic and sociocultural knowledge are interdependent. Thus, language development is seen as being partly organized by social and cultural processes. Here, the notion of "the language socialization process by which young children are socialized to use language and socialized through the use of language" (Hohepa 1990 p. 26) is prevalent. The approach is sourced from the Sapir-Whorf's hypothesis that language practices are organized by world views. Thus, usage of specific language is inherently linked to specific understanding of the world and reality. The world views are also created by the language users carrying out these practices (also Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). Within the context of modern world, language can be seen not only as a cultural attribute but also as a *source*. Similarly, Chomsky claims that culture and language are interwoven and language users are active participants shaped by the language in use (Hohepa 1990, p. 26).

Of central importance to language and cultural learning is the concept of learning through participation in structured social activity, in interaction with others (Ochs 1988). This draws on the hermeneutic theory which also sees development emerging from social activity. It states that a meaning is acquired through interacting with others; it is negotiated and co-constructed through complex interactions (Ochs 1988).[20] These take place in certain contexts and situations that also determine the flow of communication. It was Hymes (1974) who first developed a model for recognizing the components of linguistic interaction. He came from his view that, in order to speak a language correctly, one needs to know the vocabulary and grammar, but also the context of the words. Thus, ethnography of communication, introduced by Hymes (1974), conceptualizes communication as a flow of information, determined by cultural codes, communicators knowing the code, a channel, a setting, a message form, a

[20] In a series of studies on language socialization, linguistic anthropologists Elionor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin (1984) tackled the anthropological topic of socialization, using linguistic and ethnographic methods. They demonstrated that members of all societies socialize children both to and through the use of language. They examine various cases of language acquisition on an example of baby talk, stories leading to replication of male dominance or conveying knowledge and adaptation to new ways of speaking in case of Bosavi converts to Christianity in Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin 1995).

topic, and an event created by transmission of the message. Hymes' ethnography of communication or ethnography of speaking was certainly one of the great paradigms of *linguistic anthropology*.[21]

Hohepa's study (1990) establishes direct parallels between the language development and learning activities, routines and social interactions. She perceives *kohanga reo* as an environment of enculturation, which is fundamentally connected to language appropriation. Primarily, *kohanga reo* centres provide a setting for full acquisition of language, which can be completely unknown to some of the children (some parents do not use Maori at home at all). There are two levels of language education. The first consists of common techniques of language appropriation such as learning the names of things, colours or animals, songs and rhymes etc. The centres dispose of various materials such as child books in Maori, posters with pictures linked to particular Maori words, or with the transcription of Maori prayers and songs. The second - and more emphasized - level consists of passing on culturally valued beliefs and practices – "in culturally relevant and preferred ways" (Hohepa 1990, p. 29). This kind of learning, which also distinguishes *kohanga reo* from mainstream kindergartens[22], is managed through practicing the language in interactional routines and situations. Children are involved in the direct experience and analysis of spoken language, in predictable and recurring contexts. The immediate social feedback from the surrounding people reinforces the process of learning (p. 87). Another important fact of this kind of language acquisition is that children can learn one from another, the less knowledgeable from the more knowledgeable ones, since all the communication takes place within the group, and is not largely age specific (p. 89). As Hohepa states, "to undertake research from a sociocultural perspective involves attempting to obtain data from social contexts, and to develop and maintain a strong sense of social context" (Hohepa, 1990, p. 26). That is why I also turned to the same research methods – I focused on a case study of an institution where I was present on a daily basis. To get the sense of the social context, I involved in systematic and participant observation, and to

[21] Linguistic anthropology is a branch of anthropology that brings lingustic methods to bear on anthropological problems, linking the analysis of semiotics and particularly linguistic forms and processes to the interpretation of sociocultural processes. Besides Dell Hymes (1974), it includes several significant names as Alessandro Duranti (1997 and 2001) or Don Kulick. For instance Kulick investigated questions of sociocultural identity from linguistical perspective. He explored how people in Papua New Guinea use their two languages – the traditional and the official one – in relation to their children.

[22] Teaching of cultural concepts and memoriyzing language in culturally suited context are the main contentual discrepancies of *kohanga reo*. However, there are other differences starting from the organization of the school, the family like model or the emphasis on norms of social behaviour. While two years of age are the average time to enrol in a mainstream kindergarten, the *kohanga reo* are designed for children from their first months. What I also observed though, was much better organization that I am going to comment on in the data part.

support what I heard and saw, I used the methods of inquiry. However, I will specify the methodology in the next chapter.

Research literature on second language learning brings some important findings that need to be considered in relation to our topic. As claimed by Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie and Hodgan (2004), children learn from the input they receive which means the higher the quality of this input the better. The richer the vocabulary, diversity of grammatical forms and exposition to language, the greater their linguistic competence will be. In ideal circumstances, the input comes from the native speakers of the language (or those with native-like fluency). However, this is not possible in all the communities that attempt to maintain or revitalize a community or indigenous language. In this case, it is always better to surround the learners with a wide range of resources – visitors, taped material and radio or television programmes that use the target language (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie and Hodgan 2004, p. 3). Furthermore, the largest amount of input should come from the people that are closely attached – e.g. the family. This "community" needs to use the language that supports the child's ability to engage in significant activities. The language needs to be comprehensible to the learner, but still exceed his or her language knowledge (e.g. Baker 2001). Thus, to be able to develop competence in any language, children need to hear and use the language in a wide variety of meaningful social contexts. Thus, a genius way of teaching is through games, stories, songs, and fantasy, and through immersion into reading, writing, listening to and speaking the language; and through using the language as a medium of instruction – through teaching something else which is the principle of the immersion method (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie and Hodgan 2004). There must be occasions for practical use of the language outside the learning environment too and support from the target language's community is necessary. In addition, if the ambition is to revitalize the target language and the culture it expresses, it is important that the teaching programme is controlled by speakers of that language, and that the members of the cultural group are the primary beneficiaries (Benton 1981).

It takes little children 4-5 years of constant exposure to learn their first language. Children in a bilingual education can achieve a reasonable linguistic proficiency in the target language after 5-6 years if the conditions are ideal (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie and Hodgan 2004). It is pointed out by Smith that the leavers of *kohanga reo* entering primary schools (after being taught Maori for 6 years maximum) need direct language reinforcement which means

bilingual or Maori medium presentation of the ordinary school curriculum rather than Maori language lessons (2002, p. 303). Thus, the bilingual units represent a good option, even though the amount of Maori spoken during lessons varies from unit to unit. The research literature proves that if children maintain their first language up until the age of nine or ten, it is highly likely that they will be able to sustain that language even when it ceases to be taught in a schooling situation. *Kura kaupapa* Maori pupils are mostly able to pick up English easily through their every day activities and experiences outside school; through talking to their parents, following the media, going to the shops or playing with other English speaking children. Nevertheless, both Maori and English are taught formally at some stage (2002, p.404). The positive effects of bilingual education on children cognitive skills and general school achievements by minority children is raised by various authors such as Baker (2006) or Smith (2002). Baker lists the different outcomes of bilingualism – communicative, cultural, cognitive, personal, educational and even financial. This means wider communication skills providing that people have knowledge of two or more languages; stronger enculturation but also tolerance towards other cultures; more creativity and a more sensitive mind; higher self-esteem and strong identity; openness to learning new languages and eventually better communication skills within the market. This principle is based on the idea that the stronger a child becomes in one language – particularly, if they learn to read and write in that language – the more likely they are to successfully learn another language. Being strong in one language means being strong in another and having strong skills e.g. in Maori will help them with their English (May, Hill & Tiakiwai 2006). Also, modern examples from the countries where bilingualism is a rule prove its benefits (Durie, 1998). On the other hand, objections have been made against total immersion schools. Unfortunately to the case of Maori, some still originate in the prejudices and persisting beliefs in their assimilation (see Durie 1998). Compared to mainstream schools, the Maori counterparts are still lacking the same amount and quality of teaching resources, professional development and support (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie and Hodgan 2004, p. 2). It is also true that there is still a lack of good language teachers. Many of them are still working on their proficiency. The statistics on children attending Maori schools are not that positive either, since only a limited number profits from attending Maori schools. There were only 15,8% Maori learners in Maori medium-education in 2007/2008, 17,7% of them were learning the language for less than three hours a week and only 8,1% learners at schools for more (Annual Report on Maori Education 2007/2008, p. 63). Durie is very realistic in saying that "for some parents the exercise of choice is important, but for others, reasons for not sending children to a *kohanga* include costs, location, a parent

who is not Maori, and lack of parental involvement and support" (1998, p. 65). Of different concern is the limited opportunity for *kohanga reo* pupils to continue their education in Maori at primary and secondary levels.

CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The area of qualitative research is classified as ethnographic which can be described as "following people...watching what they do; making casual inquiries; recording their life stories, tales and legends, as well as genealogies...and conducting interviews with the key informants" (Spradley 1980, p. 177). This kind of research aims to record the subjects in their daily activities and situations, in the most natural state possible. Naturally, there are drawbacks to naturalistic research – such as defining and distinguishing the variables for research, or verifying them in a direct manner. It can also be very time consuming obtaining reliable data, while the reliability is hardly verified. The effect the observer makes on the subjects of observation also has to be considered. I have chosen this approach due to my anthropological background, and because of finding it the most suitable for researching education and cultural issues. The setting of the research and its primary focus led me to use mainly the method of participant and systematic observation, supported by methods of inquiry. Using combined techniques made it possible to observe the behaviour of language learning children in the context of the *kohanga reo* as it occurred without any intervention or construction of circumstances.

As I spent two weekdays for a period of six months in a Maori pre-school centre (*kohanga reo*), I had a firsthand experience of its daily running. When focused on children's behaviour, I was able to record communication and behavioural sequences in natural settings along a time line. I was also able to distinguish how teachers stimulate certain child behaviour and vice versa. To have various and the most objective data possible, I applied both qualitative and quantitative inquiry methods – semi-structured interviews and questionnaires that helped to increase the scale of the data. To get familiar with the environment of the schools, I spent my first days simply by watching and listening. Only after that I started asking questions. The preliminary research with systematic observation focused on the daily running of the centre. I saw the people's roles and daily activities and was able to define what parts of the whole complex would be particularly interesting for my research. On a daily basis, I organized field notes in a field diary, and repeatedly recorded the whole structure of daily activities. When I achieved the necessary language knowledge, I became a participant observer, took part in the activities and was ready to carry out any task or job suggested by the staff. The main purpose was to examine the language learning process in relation to cultural learning. In order to

achieve this, I recorded the language interactions and utterances and analysed their cultural content in relation to the relevant concepts.

To support what I observed and heard, I interviewed each of the staff. The character of the interviews was rather semi-structured, since while some of the questions were common, some approached the individual's specific life experience. The questions concerned the importance of *kohanga reo* centres and their meaning for contemporary Maori society, teachers' motives for learning and teaching Maori language, their experience and knowledge of Maori language, family background, notions of contemporary Maori culture, and involvement in culturally related activities. Full written transcripts were made of all six interviews. I identified the keynotes in each of the interviews, and operated with the specific thematic blocks. I also made comparative and taxonomic analysis as defined by Spradley (1979 and 1980) and content analysis described by Krippendorff (2004), for instance. All the interviewees gave me their informed consents, allowing me to publish the content of the interviews and their real names.

Besides qualitative methods of research, I used also one quantitative method of inquiry. These were questionnaires handed to the parents of *kohanga reo* and bilingual unit children. The use of questionnaires as a method of enquiry had several practical reasons – while for the teachers, it was necessary to get involved in their life narratives and personal cultural objectives, the questions for the parents were identical. Besides the purely pragmatic reason of managing higher quantity, questionnaires also leave some space to respondents' anonymity and free will. I knew approaching the Maori families could be a very long and insecure process. Naturally, they could have many objections against a European researcher with a huge interest in their kids' school. Telling the details from the environment of their family was an intimate thing to do, and some parents could have chosen not to talk about their private or cultural reasons for selecting a Maori school. In this way, an envelope with the questionnaire arrived to their homes, and they could choose either to react or not. It needs to be mentioned though, that most of them had previously had a chance to encounter me personally at school. The target of the questions was the education of Maori language and culture at Maori schools and practicing Maori language and culture at home. Each questionnaire contained an informed consent and a set of identical questions. The reason to send them to the bilingual unit's parents was not only to achieve a larger group of respondents, but also to be able to compare whether their expectations of bilingual education for their children differed from the expectations of the parents of *kohanga reo* children, who

had turned to a stronger version of immersion education. Even though the participant children were of a different educational level and age (the bilingual unit children were of primary school, while the *kohanga reo* children of pre-school level), the results have proven that both groups of parents had very close expectations. I was able to see the workings of the associated *kapa haka* dance and song performing group, or to attend various community meetings and family groups.

Finding the Setting

To research education of culture and language, it was necessary to choose a learning institution that can serve as an example. *Kohanga reo* centres were the initial forms of educating Maori language and cultural practices and still provide a model for the following institutions. There are unfortunately only two *kohanga reo* centres and one *kura kaupapa* school in Dunedin. This is partly due to Maori population being less numerous than in the North Island. According to the figures from a national census, there were 6, 3% Maori in 2006 in Dunedin, compared to 13, 3% in whole New Zealand (http://www.localcouncils.govt.nz/lgip.nsf/wpg_URL/Councils-A-Z-Councils-Dunedin-City-Council-C1, 06/06/2009). However, even this limited scale of research did not occur to be a problem. I made my best to explore the existing institutions and benefited from the data achieved there, as well as from the *family like* character of the local community where everybody knows everybody and any piece of information spreads really fast.

Kohanga reo o Whakari is located in the highlands of Dunedin, in Brockville. It was opened in 1987 as the second *kohanga reo* in Dunedin. The initial effort came from the workings of Rosina Wiparata and Denise Rakete, both concerned with the lack of options available to parents who wanted their children educated in Maori language. Rosina says, *"I first met Denise here in Brockville. She was walking her two children all the way to kohanga reo in Kaikorai since it was the only one (the distance was about 3km). We decided to try to change this. Denise had lots of administrational skills and we started to make plans" (interview, 08/06/09).* The women met with other parents from the community who agreed to bring their children along to *kohanga reo* if one was established. This group of initiators met with the Headmaster of the local primary school to inform him that the Maori people within the Brockville community intended starting a Maori preschool centre as soon as they were able to

secure resources, premises and teachers. Even though he commended their initiative, the Headmaster did not believe that the reaction of the local community would be supportive enough. However, a week after, on June 20 1987, *Kohanga reo o Whakari* opening was celebrated in a local church. There were 22 children, 2 male and 2 female elders, 11 families and a teacher, Hiria Singe, on the first day of operation. The reason why the opening of another *kohanga reo* seemed rather unrealistic was that the development of Maori institutions in the South Island was slower than in the North Island. Even though the local Brockville primary school had not been asked by either side to establish a bilingual unit, one was opened only two years after the opening of *Kohanga reo o Whakari* – largely on request by local parents. The name *o Whakari* is an acknowledgment of the tribal area – it refers to the heights opposite Brockville. In relation to Ngai Tahu tribal community, Rosina says, *"This body and this kohanga will always be of Ngai Tahu because of this whakapapa (tribal origin) that it has" (Rosina Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 16/03/09).* This is also reflected in the curriculum and the children are led to understand the meaning of the name.

Although Denise Rakete eventually moved back to the North Island she remained committed to the *kohanga reo*. Rosina Wiparata remained involved at all levels of operation at the centre. Others that stayed at the *kohanga reo* from the initial phase were Mary Parata (Ngai Tahu, Kati Mamoe, Waitaha)[23], Tom Arapeta (staff member), Amy Valentine (staff member), and Hiria Singe.

Although the centre was not officially linked to the local *marae (meeting house)*, some of the children were regular attendants of *kapa haka* group organized by the *marae* and one of the centre's staff, Tom Arapeta.

[23] For the map of the New Zealand tribal areas see the appendixes.

Development of the Study - Preliminary Observations

The preliminary observations were made during the initial visits to the centre in February and March 2009. Their outcome was a written record of the structure of activities including the times and settings, contexts and participants, and description of the typical language interactions. The preliminary data that sourced into the main body of data concerned the following:

1. General structure of a day and terminology
2. General description of physical characteristics of the setting, subject selection, number of children present and ages, staff
3. Identification of myself in the field
4. Identification of language routines and cultural practises present in social interactions
5. Maori concepts and values and *kaupapa* Maori reflected in the activities and interactions

The first set of observations helped achieve general knowledge of the environment and chronology of particular activities and events, and introduced the field to me. On the first day, I asked for the permission to take photographs and voice recordings and received a positive response. Thus, after the initial observations, I was able to fully engage in research planning.

The preliminary observations revealed that most of the learning and focus demanding activities as well as the cultural learning were allocated in the mornings. Therefore, I decided to locate most of the observation in this time period - between 9 and 12:30 am. Further on, I recorded both audio and visual material. Besides the interviews, I made several voice recordings of the children engaged in language activities or interaction. The interviews were conducted during work time, on individual teacher's breaks or after work. A written record was simultaneously taken of the features of the setting, of activities and their participants, including the language interactions as well as the nonverbal behaviour within the situational context. In the beginning, I acted as a participant observer by taking part only when children and staff initiated the conversation. After achieving the basic knowledge of Maori language, I initiated simple conversations with children as well. I was present at *kohanga reo* throughout the duration of the study which spanned a period of five months. This involved being there at least twice weekly from 9 am to 3 pm. On top of this, I engaged in additional activities such

as visits *to kapa haka* group and other community gatherings. In order to have some comparison, I visited two mainstream kindergartens in Dunedin. I should emphasize that both of these institutions were reluctant to let me in after I mentioned my aim of "studying the average day structure and activities and comparing them with my findings from *kohanga reo* centres".[24]

General Structure of the Day

Chronology of daily events in this *kohanga reo* showed to follow a certain sequence model. As will be explained later, every activity sourced into another one. While the exact timing varied slightly from a day to day, the sequencing was stable. The centre operated Monday to Friday, 9 am to 3 pm.

Chronology of activities on a typical day:

8.30 – 9:00 Van picks up children from their homes.
9:00 – 9:30 Children arrive at *kohanga reo*.

9:00 – 9:50 Te timatatanga o te ra – Commencement of the day consisting of:
Karakia timatanga – Morning prayer opening the day.
Himene (E te Aroha) – Maori hymn of *kohanga reo*.
Mihimihi – Greeting everybody.
Waiata – Traditional chants or songs.
Pepeha - Introducing individual's family.

9:50 – 10:30 Mahi mo nga tamariki – Work with children
Nga mahi - Activities in two separate groups of younger and older children. Activities varied from counting, vocabulary building and reading to developing manual, expressive and artistic skills through arts and craft.

10:30 – 11:00 Kai o te ata – Morning tea
Horoi ringaringa – Toileting and washing in readiness for eating.
Karakia mo te kai kai – Grace before morning tea.

[24] There will be more on my visits to the mainstream institutions throughout the study.

Wa kai - Morning tea. Cleaning the tables and floor after eating.

11:00 – 12:20 Mahi mo nga tamariki – Work with children

Nga mahi/Wa takaro – Completion of the morning activities or playtime outdoors or indoors.

12:20 – 13:30 Kai o te ranui - Lunchtime

Horoi ringaringa – Toileting and washing.

Karakia mo te kai kai – Grace before lunch.

Wa kai – Lunchtime. Cleaning.

Wa moe/watea – Relaxation time for babies/toddlers and leisure time for older ones spent by playing outside, relaxing inside, listening to the stories or music or reading.

13:30 – 15:00 Wa Takaro - Playtime

Wa Takaro – Playtime inside or outside.

Karakia Whakamutanga - Closing prayer.

15:00 Children picked up by their parents or given a lift by van.

The structure demonstrates that the selectional dimension of language was very low in the morning with a continual progress during the day. For the morning activities especially, the range of possible interactions or language routines was very constant – even though they could always contain some spontaneous language. In this study on cultural socialisation through language learning, I need to analyse both antipodes - the language activities that are frequent or predictable in occurrence and the unpredictable language exchanges taking place in leisure time.

Description of the Setting

Schools as institutions of knowledge are highly respected in Maori culture. Thus, the common way of showing respect is to take shoes off before entering the environment of the centre. This was practiced with no exception in both *kohanga reo* and bilingual unit. The centre was composed of two larger classrooms for younger and older children, a kitchen, a staff room, and an outside playground. The rooms were decorated with posters and children's artwork, and with prayers in Maori that were said every day. New Zealand insulation is renowned to be very bad and so was the one in this *kohanga reo*. When it snowed in the morning during the

winter months, the transport up the hill became more complicated. Also, the classrooms would happen to be far too cold for classes to be held in. Many children did not come, and the centre closed sometimes. However, this was also the case of the local primary school. Compared to the bilingual unit by this school to which I made several visits as well, *kohanga reo* was rather small and had more of a familiar atmosphere. On the other hand, both classrooms had things in common. There were carpets and children would sit on the ground in a circle in both rooms during certain activities, such as the initial prayer (*karakia*), songs (*waiata*) or introduction of one's family (*pepeha*).

There were two main rooms where learning and game took place. The first entry room was the place of the first gathering and morning activities until *pepeha*. The meals and relaxation time also took place here. More attention during the common activities was given to the older, more verbal and responsive children. The youngest babies/toddlers were always encouraged to participate and helped to make their contribution, but if too impatient, they were allowed to roam around and play with the others. The reason of the morning activities performed together was the transmission of the *model* the older children should provide to the younger ones. After *pepeha*, children usually split into two groups when the older ones went to the second room or *roma ako* (learning room) where they move "from the ground to the tables", meaning they sit on chairs and start working at desks. This was smaller but disposing of more art and craft resources, working tables, flowers, a mouse, and especially art decoration made by children themselves. During the art activities, children painted, worked with paper, wool, natural resources etc. in order to develop basic manual skills. The groups would stay together when there were not enough teachers to look after both two groups. This was the case during the second half of my stay when there were two teachers instead of three (one had left the centre) and only one of them fully trained. Participation in the learning class was presented as a special honour. Those from the older children who misbehaved were sent to the first room for that section of the day. The purpose was to make them realise that they did not deserve to be members of the older group. There was a case of a boy called Jack who would tease other children and bite them at times. Any time he was sent away from the older children, he cried and tried pushing the door to get back. Generally, the door was always locked by the adults to prevent children from coming and leaving. However, the case of Jack implies that the children understood the importance of the learning process, and wanted to be part of the group.

Subject Selection

My observation focused on the children present during my weekly visits to *kohanga reo*, on their process of learning and interaction with the teachers as well as other children. I did not make any selection based on language proficiency of the children. I considered all individuals in my research; however, it was easier to observe the language behaviour of those children whose spoken language had already emerged. Typically, I would observe the children during the daily order of activities. I also paid attention to the teachers' behaviour, to their engagement in culturally appropriate practices, as well as to all aspects of cultural education. I led semi-structured interviews with the staff, and these were my key informants at the same time. The six interviewees were five male and female Maori of 25, 34, 54, 59 and 72 years of age, and one of European descent (in other words European New Zealander), a 38 years old woman. Since I wanted to trace the impulses for cultural revitalization, I decided to question the parents of the *kohanga reo* and investigate their cultural and language knowledge, social backgrounds and the main motives for choosing Maori education for their children. Since I did not have direct contact with the parents in most cases, I have to rely on the data from the questionnaires and on the information the teachers provided on their attending families. Most families were claimed to be low income, and even in 75% to be sole parent families (with one parent only). Thus, it was either sole working mothers or mothers with small babies who sent their kids to Maori or other kindergartens. The area of Brockville where both *kohanga reo* and bilingual unit were situated was also renowned for its lower social class.

The Children

There were 19 children (the capacity being 30) in the *kohanga reo* ranging from their first months to five years of age. Based on new guidelines, children are only allowed to enrol in *kohanga reo* until they are three in order for the bilingual education to be most effective. They can usually attend until they are five, when they start the primary education. The only exception is children with developmental disabilities who can stay at *kohanga reo* until they are six. The centre is open to children from all backgrounds with the preference given to Maori. Except two of European descent, all the attending children had Maori affiliations.

On an average day, there were about 10 children present. I have never seen the full number of 19 children at once. Some of them attended the classes only on certain days. An interesting fact is that unfavourable weather conditions would affect their attendance. Sometimes, children did not arrive to the morning pick up when it was very cold or snowing. If the roads were icy, the van was not allowed to operate due to safety reasons (Brockville is basically a very long steep hill). It happened twice that the centre was closed due to cold weather or low number of children. Sometimes, only the staff children were present. The average age of the attending children was 3 years. Usually, there were four to five babies/toddlers up to the age of two and the rest were older children. There were three female teachers, the head of the centre, and the van driver. While the teachers were involved in the learning activities, everybody shared the daily chores including the cleaning and helping out. Some of the activities seemed to be assigned to particular staff members only – particularly around the small babies. For instance, changing nappies or putting babies to sleep was usually performed by the one assigned. However, when there was a need, I was always allowed to help as well.

There was an exception when the structure of the daily activities changed significantly. It was after the obituary notices of the Cook Island community's president was posted. Two teachers, a group of older children and I went to visit the family of the deceased and express our condolences. There were other than practical reasons to take only a few children. In Cook islanders' community, the body of the deceased is exposed in the living room of the house for several days while the close family engages in mourning.[25] Due to the seriousness of the mourning, only the older children were invited to come. However, this was understood as an educational activity for them too – to encounter death and learn how to accept it as a necessary part of becoming mature.

All abnormalities starting from children's conflicts were recorded in special books. This served to keep note of one's behaviour and to be aware of possible aggression. In general, children were encouraged to control and suppress their bad emotions while in *kohanga reo* and they did most of the time. Another book served for documenting children's injuries. It was noted when the injuries were observed and whether they were caused during the presence at the centre or not. At the same time, parents were asked to keep track of their child's injuries and make the centre aware. If a child came with an injury, the staff could start a quick investigation. In this way, *kohanga reo* prevented children from being possible victims of

[25] This is very similar to Maori death customs, when the body is usually exposed on a *marae* for several days and people mourn during this time period.

violence – both in its premises or at home. - I see the policy of conflict and injury recording as two important aspects of the curriculum aimed at protecting culture and its people at the same time, and at encouraging one's tolerance towards other people. -

The Staff

Primarily, it is important to notice that this particular centre was of a truly family-like character – not only due to the principle of an extended family applied at Maori schools - but mainly for the real family relations. While Tom was a husband of nanny Mary, Amy was a daughter of Rosina. All of them also had their children or grand children in this *kohanga reo*. If we think about the model of parents and children so typical for Maori schools, it happened to be natural circumstances in this *kohanga reo*.

Initially there were three teachers at the *kohanga reo* during my stay. *Nanny* Hiria, an older woman, was looking mainly after the youngest kids and the babies. If the children split in two groups, she would lead the activities in the first room. She also did most of the nappy changing. *Whaea* Janaya was a trainee teacher and worked with the children in the first room with Hiria. *Whaea* Amy was the main teacher who managed the activities for the older children with most of the educational planning. She contributed to the formal running of the centre as well. Amy was the first person to talk to if people expressed their interest in the centre. When I first called them and asked if I could come for a visit, Amy was absolutely welcoming. Her level of involvement was enormous. She even became a carer to her brother's son, when her brother and his wife were not able to look after him. She was just completing her professional training, *Te Whariki*, demanded by the Ministry of Education to be acknowledged as an early childhood teacher. After Janaya's departure; she became the only staff member to have full responsibility for the children. Therefore, even if the other two staff – Hiria and the van driver, papa Tom, or any other visitors were present, she had to be around at all times. Papa Tom drove children to the centre and back home, cared after their personal belongings and prepared the morning tea and lunch for them. Besides that, he led a *kapa haka* group at the local Arai Te Uru *marae*, which I attended several times. He was also a relieve teacher of Maori, and a member of the Brockville primary school's Board committee. After all, Tom was quite an acknowledged elder in the local Maori community, even though his tribe affiliations were in the North Island - as in case of most of the staff. The last member of

the centre was its formal head, Rosina. She was one of the founders of the centre and a very active member at the local community. Her permanent job was in the community law centre but she was frequently helping out at the *kohanga reo* as well. Although she did not participate in the daily workings of the centre, she did a great deal of administration and dealt with the authorities and the Kohanga Reo National Trust. She would organize monthly meetings of the families, as well as discussions within the community.

Family Involvement

There was usually at least one of the mothers around, helping with the morning tea, lunch and cleaning. Similarly to me, mothers took part in most daily activities. As mentioned earlier, *kaupapa* ideology puts a strong emphasis on family involvement in education of children. Parents of this particular *kohanga reo* were not only encouraged to come for a family meeting on a fortnightly basis, but also to come and help, and be present when needed. The purpose of the meetings as stated by Rosina was to discuss and establish a family network, identify the resource people and their contribution to the functioning of the centre, and to develop learning programmes for the parents themselves. It is not surprising if they are not that keen on learning Maori language. As Rosina says, *"The education system had been repressing the language for 150 years. Why should people think now that it is a privilege to support kohanga reo?" (Rosina Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, personal communication, 13/3/09).* As Maori parents cannot be blamed for not speaking the language they cannot be blamed for not telling their children Maori stories and explaining them their meaning. The language, the stories, the culture have been taken from them. *"It is crucial to persuade them that kohanga reo is not only a place nearby they send their children to" (Rosina Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, personal communication, 13/3/09).* As most *kohanga reo* families are of sole parent or low income, they struggle with their daily survival and have far too many things to worry about. It happened at times that not all the children got a sufficient amount of nutritious food for a day because their parents could not afford it or simply did not know much about healthy food. The children's diet was another sphere the *kohanga reo* was trying to make families aware of. Still, they sometimes had to rely on sharing resources. The better supplied children shared food with the less supplied. In the same way, spare clothes were used if needed.

The presence of mothers at the centre depended on their work status, as well as on their level of keenness to be at hand. Most of the mothers who came to help were not involved in any paid job; some of them were students. There was usually at least one of them around, helping with the morning tea, lunch and cleaning. Similarly to me, mothers took part in most daily activities. There were other visitors present at times. These included friends and relatives of the children or staff, other community workers or teachers. I was quickly able to see that the door of this *kohanga reo* was open to everybody.

I in the Field

I discussed my possible setting and organization of research at the Maori department at the University of Otago in Dunedin, where I was officially enrolled as an exchange student. They wanted to mediate my entry to a Maori institution of their choice. After waiting for a certain time, I decided to take the first initiative and contacted the *kohanga reo* in Brockville directly. This proved to be the right decision. From my first visit to the *kohanga reo*, I had the feeling of being welcome. Amy was the first person I talked to. When I asked for permission to visit them, she invited me straight away on the phone. She helped me a lot from the beginning, explained the activities and methods of learning, and introduced me to other staff as well as children. It is hard to say what role I played for the children especially but as I was involved in most of the learning and play activities, they just called me *whaea Jana/mum Jana.* It is doubtful that my presence had any significant effects on the children's behaviour, however; it could have on some of the teachers and even parents. After the first family meeting that all of the parents were supposed to attend, Rosina told me: *"Parents should be coming here but it does not happen very often. They came the last time just because you were here!" (Rosina Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, personal communication, 9/3/09).* As regards the teachers, naturally, I was careful about identifying any possible variables from their average behaviour that could have been caused by my proximity.

Since I was aware that Maori is the main and most recommended language of communication, I tried to minimize my contact with the children in English. During the school semester, I attended intensive classes of Maori language at Otago University, and achieved the basic communicational skills. Because the children and even some of the teachers were still learning the language, and mainly because the structure of the language activities was routine,

I was quickly able to understand most of the speech. Besides attending the additional family and community meetings at the centre, I also visited the *kapa haka* group at the *marae* and took part in the preparation of *hangi* – traditional Maori food, which is meat and vegetables steamed in the ground. What is typical for Maori people is that once you make a good friendship with one person, he or she will soon introduce you to a whole group. Even though Dunedin as well as the whole of the South Island has low number of Maori and some of the international students at the university could have happened not to meet any during the five months' stay, I was literally surrounded by Maori folk. As mentioned already, I happened to attend a funeral of the president of Dunedin's Cook Islanders' community with the *kohanga reo* staff. Although it was a cultural experience of another kind, it demonstrates how strong the network is amongst Polynesian groups including Maori in New Zealand, and how one community engages with another.

Language Usage

After the initial observations, I gained certain concept of the structure of language used during the day. Communication in Maori concerned mostly the morning activities. The prayers, greetings, songs, personal introduction were language routines used to memorise certain phrases and word connections. On these occasions, English was rarely used with the exception of children who had only small knowledge of Maori. Some of them stayed quiet, while some said their part in English. The teachers also helped by using English translations or single words. Every activity sourced into another one and similarly the language activities were interlinked. Analogically, children were supposed to learn step by step - to memorise the prayers and songs first, then to become able to produce partly patterned language utterances when introducing their family and finally moving to very independent statements in the common language of communication.[26] Once the children split into two groups, the older ones engaged in more common ways of language learning such as naming the things and animals, expressing their feelings in Maori or reading from Maori books. The younger ones usually played with toys and puzzles, listened to Maori tales etc. From time to time, the two groups stayed together for the full morning, while engaged in more universal language and play activities. In the afternoon, speaking Maori became more an alternative.

[26] "After they get familiar with *waiata*, they learn to say something more in *pepeha*…" (*Amy Valentine, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 20/04/09).*

With regard to the afternoon art and craft activities, teachers would explain and present the work in English, and then use Maori during the process and when referring to individuals. However, there was often reading from books followed by a group discussion in Maori. Sometimes, children went out to the playground before the lunch. They also had time to play or rest after the lunch in the main room. Interestingly, they always spoke English when outside. However, most often used random words or full sentences in Maori during their free time inside the classrooms. This corresponds to the fact that Maori was strongly recommended in the premises of the centre and the children were aware of that. The structure of the day in *kohanga reo* centres was usually constant, and followed its typical order. The crucial methods of language learning to be examined were interactions, language focusing strategies, language routines and activities.

Language Teaching Strategies

This section refers to particular cultural (second level) methods of teaching Maori in *kohanga reo* centres. For the theoretical background, I draw on Hohepa (1990) and her sociocultural approach to language education presented earlier in the study. She identified the following strategies that I was able to observe in practice:

Interactions – An interaction was defined as "a direct verbal communication involving two or more participants of an ongoing topic, theme, communicative function or general focus" (Hohepa 1990, p. 41), which started by one's initiation and ended when it ceased for a period of time. The focus was on interactions amongst teachers and children and children themselves.

Language focusing strategies - Specific strategies used in *kohanga reo* involved modelling (producing a correct utterance for another participant as a help when needed), prompting (impelling the language activity by *"say ..."/"korero ..."*), and questioning (use of verbal questioning such as *What?/He aha?, Who?/Ko wai? and Where?/Kei hea?*).

Language routines - Hohepa (1990, p. 24) identifies language routines by 1) presence of participation structures which specify the speaker and the listener and help to develop the understanding of appropriate social roles; 2) predictability of the kind of language which may

be used and of possible responses; 3) participants' awareness of fixed structure within an exchange. In simpler words, it is an exchange initiated by a speaker and his nonverbal behaviour leading to a limited and predictable response or a set of responses from one or more other participants. According to Peters and Boggs (1986), language is learned in the process of interacting with others in patterned ways. That is why language routines facilitate the learner's perception, analysis and practice of utterances. To some extent, language routines can structure the situations in ways which inculcate cultural values. Fixed structures of questions and responses were very typical for occurrence of language routines so as the likely initiator of the exchange (teacher, another child or the one whose turn it was). Language routines were analysed in relation to their learning effect and enculturating processes at work. Reliability of observational measures can be well examined in the audio records of the language routines. Within the curriculum of *kohanga reo*, the language routines were applied mainly in activities as introducing one's family (*pepeha*), greeting everybody (*mihimihi*), or the common language exchanges – usually between a teacher and the children - that were based on repeating certain language utterances.

Activities - An activity composed of a sequence of actions associated with a particular motive. The actions itself followed specific goals, and could be verbal or non-verbal. They can be divided into three larger groups as 1) curriculum-based activities such as drawing, painting, modelling, reading, cutting and playing, 2) cultural activities reflecting the Maori concepts and values such as *karakia*, *mihimihi*, *waiata* or *pepeha*, and finally 3) care giving activities with children like toileting, washing hands before eating, feeding, preparing for sleep etc. Before describing these activities taking place on a daily basis in the third chapter, I will introduce some basic terminology.

Conceptual Definitions

It was crucial in my research to relate the language teaching to Maori cultural concepts applied in *kohanga reo*. Establishing the link between the language and cultural learning was the main part of the data analysis. To examine the cultural concepts at work, one needs to get familiar with the terminology first. Here, I refer to Hohepa (1990) again, who identified the same concepts in her own study of *kohanga reo* centres.

Cultural concepts:

Whanaunatanga – Can be identified as an expression of familiar ties and relationships, both actual blood ties and the *whanau* (extended family) bond created by being part of the *marae* complex through involvement in any kind of activity (education, administration, help). It was identified as "a language behaviour that expresses or reinforces identity as part of a *whanau* group that identifies the belongings, responsibilities, and roles inherent to that *whanau*" (Hohepa 1990, p. 44). Besides the organization of the *kohanga reo* on a model of extended family, *whanau* activities included the introduction of individual's family (*pepeha*).

Tuakana-teina – Concept of older and younger children was evidenced in 1) children taking up a leading role – individually or in a group – for example when getting ready for a meal, directing other children to wash their hands, being an example to the younger ones, 2) adults encouraging children to take on the leadership role, 3) shifting roles of children and caregivers such as children taking the initiative in language routine activities, 4) helping the younger, less-able children.

Awhina – Display of affection to others through hugging, kissing or embracing; expressing concern about others and their feelings and offering help.

Cultural activities:

Karakia – Prayers in Maori with spiritual content, expressing love and grace to the gods and the *kohanga reo*, or expressing thanks for food.[27]

Waiata – Songs sung mostly in Maori. They contain a greeting (*mihimihi*), cultural issues (songs about love and care), and language learning (e.g. a song about Maori names for different colours). Some of them are accompanied by dance.

Pepeha – Is a social activity related to individual's family members. In Maori world, each family proclaimed its association with other groups by the means of extensive genealogies (*whakapapa*). "Experts in this field were well able to quote genealogies not only for family

[27] Even though most of the content related to Maori culture and mythology, hands were held in the same way as in a Christian prayer and the words of the prayer ended with saying *Amene* (Maori expression for Amen). This results from the strong Christian influence of the missionaries who were successful in proselytizing Maori. It is very common to be Christian but to esteem and worship Maori gods and spirituality at the same time. Thus, also the content of the sacred prayers incorporates the syncretism of both religions.

relationships, but also of associated tribes and sub tribes" (Staford 1997, p. 29). Usually, speakers refer to their tribe, their *waka* (the name of the ancestor's canoe), and to their surrounding world, which can be parts of the landscape such as names of the rivers and mountains in their area of origin. This act takes part before any formal speech in a Maori context where cultural protocols are observed. When doing *pepeha*, children in *kohanga reo* were asked to stand up, introduce themselves, their family members, their *kohanga reo* and their tribe in Maori.

Mihimihi – Is the initial greeting that intends to make everybody feel welcome. In *kohanga reo*, greeting of the teachers was performed after the morning prayer.

The application of the cultural concepts in particular activities, together with several examples of the language exchanges will be introduced in the next chapter. Furthermore, we will have a closer look at the educational effects of the methods applied and mainly at the interconnection with cultural learning. The implications of the cultural concept within the curriculum, and the coalescence of the language and cultural learning will be the main focus of the research analysis as well.

CHAPTER THREE
RESULTS

Maori Cultural Concepts Used in Learning Activities at Kohanga Reo

The data and records were analysed in order to identify activities, routines and interactions that demonstrate the presence of Maori philosophy and culturally based concepts in the teaching methods of *kohanga reo*. The philosophy of *whanaungatanga*, *awhina*, *akonga* Maori, *tuakana-teina* relationship that had been explained earlier, was used in praxis in the daily learning. My analysis focused at the transmission of these concepts into the teaching methods. The emphasis was always placed on Maori language (see as well Hohepa's study 1990) and learning the language step by step, by memorising, and later in situational language exchanges and routines. As a form of support, there were certain strategies to encourage the use of Maori. Before having a closer look on the application of the cultural concepts in practice, I will examine the three main strategies.

Language strategies

Teaching the language and its maintenance has been identified as one of the fundamental goals of *kohanga reo*. However, in the bilingual environment with children not knowing Maori that well, certain use of English was unavoidable. Three following strategies that prevented the use of English were identified (also Hohepa 1990):

1) Modelling – Incorrect Maori speech or usage of another language was usually corrected by an adult or another participant (possibly another child – viz. *tuakana-teina* principle).
2) Prompting – If unsure, children were explicitly directed or prompted what to say or more often how to begin the sentence (Children often encouraged to *"Say after me."/"Korero mai.'*).
3) Questioning – Repeated questioning in Maori aimed to receive a response in Maori or to receive more information on a particular topic.

Cultural concepts applied in teaching methods

Whanaungatanga is a strong concept in Maori culture, applied in *kohanga reo* to reinforce individual feeling of belonging (cultural meaning of the concept described in the previous chapter). The most common language routine, *pepeha*, serves to see oneself as an extension of the whole family rather than as an individual. Once children learn to introduce their parents and siblings, they learn about their extended family and tribal links. This routine is used to

gain information about others and also to promote social or personalized conversation (Hohepa 1990).

Pepeha - *Ko wai Au*/*Who am I?* – This language routine most commonly took place after the initial greetings and songs. Children, starting from the older ones, would stand up next to the teacher, be greeted by other children, introduce their family starting from parents and siblings and finishing with the name of their *kohanga reo* and finally their own name (names of grandparents were mentioned sometimes).

Teacher: *Ko wai koe?*
Child: *Ko .....taku papa, ko ... taku mama, ko ... taku tuahine. Ko o Whakari taku kohanga reo. Ko Jana taku ingoa. Tena kotou, tena koutou, tenare koutou katoa./...is my father, ... is my mother, ...is my sister. O Whakari is my kohanga reo. Jana is my name. Hello, hello, hello to everyone.*

As mentioned earlier, this speech is a simple version of introducing an individual before any formal speech giving. Speakers at cultural events introduce themselves by referring to their family and tribal links, and also by relating themselves to the people and places being addressed (Hohepa 1990). Sometimes, children were asked to choose a song to be sung after completing *pepeha* which can be seen as an encouragement to independent decision making, so inherent to the following concept.

- In deeper time perspective, memorising a wide genealogy of an individual, getting familiar with his place of origin and its mythological background can be seen as a process of establishing historical continuity, and both family and local knowledge. An important fact is that the activity is not limited to Maori education but it follows any community based or official intercultural events. Through this simple mechanism, speakers are always reminded of their own authenticity and historical or mythological origin. Thus, the education aims directly to build all - historical, community, and language awareness. -

Tuakana-teina (Relationship between older and younger siblings of the same sex)
The size of Maori families that even today tend to be larger is reflected in Maori language as well as in the abilities and skills of average Maori children. Children are led to be independent and helpful in family matters, and to look after the younger siblings. The importance of age

and child's position within a family hierarchy is projected into specific language expressions. While *tuakana* refers to older siblings of the same sex, *teina* to the younger ones. Since procreation was considered vital in traditional Maori society[28] and families are big, even today; a typical introductory question would be "Who are your *tuakana/teina*?" rather than "Do you have any siblings?" In *kohanga reo* context, *tuakana-teina* principle was performed by switching the roles of children and adults. One of the routines performed every morning or before meal was *"Ma wai e timata?"*/Who will start? meaning who from the children will start a song or a prayer. If there was no volunteer, one of the children was asked to stand up and take on the leading role. By this act, one has proven his acceptance of his or her adult position. Another act of taking on the adult role was performed before every meal, when an older child was asked to help with washing the hands of other children. The child would stand outside the bathroom, call individual children to come and wash their hands and give them some paper towel. This could have been a difficult job at times since the children were mostly running around, lacking enough excitement about the necessary hygiene. After finishing, when sitting at the table, the particular child was given a clap to be sure of having done a good job when performing the adult role. Sometimes, children showed concern during the learning process - such as the language activities, when correcting the language of other children. Another example of taking on adult roles was simply their help with arranging the table, cleaning the room, dressing the younger children, storing their clothes etc. It happened once during the *pepeha* routine that the teacher had to run away for a little while and one of the girls sat on her chair immediately and pretended that she was the teacher. Last but not least, older children would often help their younger siblings – especially if they were babies. Playing and cuddling small babies was a popular activity in general. When playing, some of the girls would also fill up their T-shirts with clothes, pretending that they were pregnant, walking around and saying: "Look, I am having a baby".

Awhina (Mutual love)

The concept of love and affection given to others undermines all activities in *kohanga reo*. This is reflected in the relationships between the teachers and children and between the children themselves. Mutual help is certainly supported and encouraged by *tuakana-teina* principle. This includes not only older siblings looking after the younger ones, but older children looking after the younger ones in general, without direct encouragement from the

[28] Populational growth was very important and for the chiefs, continuation of their chief line always needed to be ensured. There was also the advantage of family members becoming numerous enough to establish their own *hapu* (subtribe) (Stafford 1997, p. 30).

teacher. Naturally, children showed closer relationship towards their smaller siblings – especially if they were babies. They tended to direct them, to place them in a safe environment and prevent them from danger. Showing *awhina* or mutual love was a very important factor in conflict solving. The teachers usually interfered into any conflict, trying to identify the perpetrators and the most likely reason for the conflict. Then, the child who misbehaved was asked to apologise to the other child, embrace him/her and express friendship and love. The physical interaction usually initiated further conversation – thus *awhina* constructed the context in which further language could occur (Hohepa 1990). Concern about one's well being was demonstrated by questioning one's feelings and, importantly, by comforting the unhappy ones. The following example can serve as an illustration:

Teacher: *Kei te pehea koe, Joseph?/How are you, Joseph?*
Joseph: *Kei te ngenge ahau./I am tired.*
Teacher: *Kapai Joseph (I see, Joseph), we will have a light day today. We just all woke up from the weekend.*[29]

Teachers would also ask the children about how they slept and what they dreamt about. Besides emotional support; physical contact, hugging children and stroking them was the common means of calming them and making them feel loved.

- The *tuakana-teina* and *awhina* concepts have to be seen as norms of behaviour. Expanding universal love as well as helping others and taking on responsibility for others can be seen as appropriation of good quality relationships.-

Karakia (Prayer)
The prayers of the ancestors reflect the spiritual dimension of Maori culture. Recited during the day – in the morning, before meal, and in the afternoon, they were one of the regularly occurring and predictable activities. The aim of the prayers was to introduce people into a new day and make everybody feel welcome. The content was identical, only the child who was asked to initiate the prayer differed. Since the same prayers open the day in *kohanga reo*, *kura kaupapa* schools and bilingual units, all these schools have something in common at particular time of the day as well. Similarly to the case of choosing and starting a song after *pepeha*, older children were asked to utter the appropriate prayer on their own.

[29] Here, the teacher speaks partly Maori, partly English, since the particular child is not that advanced in Maori. Joseph was from a mixed Maori – European New Zealander family where parents spoke purely English.

Mihimihi (Greeting) and ***Waiata*** (Songs)

Mihimihi routine in *kohanga reo* mirrors in a simpler scale the verbal welcoming of visitors on a *marae*. While *pepeha*, which is also said on a *marae*, serves more to introduce the speaker and his family relations, *mihimihi* is just a simple but polite form of greeting. In this opening activity, children in *kohanga reo* are instructed to greet individual adults – not only the teachers but any visitors. The language exchange usually had the following structure:

Teacher: *Mihi atu ki a Nana…/Say hello to nanny…*
Children: *Ata marie, Nana.../Good morning, nanny…*
Nana: *Ata marie, tamariki ma. /Good morning, children.*

The aim of the greeting is not only to make visitors feel welcome but also to show respect to Maori language by greeting in Maori in the most appropriate way. While *"Kia Ora" /Hello* is rather an informal greeting which is largely used in New Zealand starting from the public speeches and media to daily communication between the Maori and European New Zealanders, the greeting used in *kohanga reo* centres is more formal. The greeting of individual children took part during the songs or afterwards. When the first song *"Ko wai to ingoa?" /What is your name?* was sung, a child was encouraged to say his or her name. After the name was sung once, another child was asked until the full circle was completed. Other songs were either amusing songs or songs with a learning content. The lyrics could include counting or names for colours in Maori. The teacher sang for example *"Wero is red…"* and pointed at one's clothes of that particular colour. Some songs involved dancing; in Maori known as *haka* (Even though *haka* is commonly understood as a warrior dance, the original meaning is any postured dance – see Matthews and Paringatai 2004, p. 104.). Again, the utterance of individual songs by children or their own choice of a song was usually encouraged.

After the greeting and songs, children were asked by Nany Hiria about the weather. They were sent to look out of the window and reply in Maori – for example *Kei te makariri tenei ra./It is cold today.* As the weather in New Zealand changes very fast, children quickly learnt many new words while engaged in this activity.

Kaupapa (Theme)

There was a certain learning theme that lasted for several months. Sometimes, children were asked what the *kaupapa* of the day was during the morning *mihimihi*. The main theme of the first two months of my stay was *Tangaroa*, the god of the sea and waters and all salt water and fresh water animals. Through specifically focused games and activities, the children learnt not only the names of the animals in Maori, but also to distinguish their environment. After *Tangaroa*, children focused on the human body, and learnt how to call its parts. A shape of each child's body in real size was cut off a big roll paper. The children's pictures were hanged on the wall with their names. This was done in order to help establish their self-perception, feeling of their own body. After several months, the same activity was repeated, so that they could see how much they had grown.

During my last two visits to *kohanga*, *Matariki* or Maori New Year theme was started. Maori New Year is counted according to star constellations and Maori celebrate it for a whole month. It is the time for planting, so the children planted several bean plants. To remind themselves of the star constellations, they also modelled star shapes from play dough, and created a painted sky on the ceiling. Learning on the cultural meaning of *Matariki* for Maori was the main theme of this month. After closing every *kaupapa* topic, children were individually assessed by one of the teachers on the knowledge they had gained. – It should be mentioned that the existence of a personal assessment also distinguishes *kohanga reo* from the mainstream kindergartens. -

Pakiwaitara (Mythology)

Following the *pepeha*, children would usually split in groups in two separate rooms. Both groups continued with less focus demanding activities such as *pakiwaitara* or arts and crafts. *Pakiwaitara* consisted of reading stories in Maori. These were usually stories about the ancestors and Maori gods, all concerning the tribal mythology (In Maori society, different tribes have often different mythologies.). As Rosina says, stories can be so fundamentally linked to the language that they lose their power when translated into English. In traditional times, Maori children had to learn about their natural resources, times for planting and for animal migration. They had to know the surrounding area by heart, be able to call every hill, ridge, stream, rock, spring or tree by its name. Practical knowledge of these things represented education in the fullest sense of the word for the times. The children in *kohanga reo* had to

know the surrounding landscape as well. Also the name of the *kohanga reo* was explained to them in relation to the ancestral legend of the opposite hills.

- All *karakia, waiata, pakiwaitara and kaupapa* are sourced from Maori spiritual and mythological knowledge. While they help establish the feeling of belonging to a particular world, social environment and community, the greeting routine supports one's individualism and feeling of spiritual and mythological self. After all, all of these concepts aim to develop one's ethnical awareness within a larger cultural context. Again, developing the knowledge of routine language utterances such as everyday prayers and songs is one of the forms of developing the language and building the confidence in its usage.-

Kai (Meal)

In Maori culture, food and especially the act of a shared meal is associated with *manakitanga* (hospitality and goodwill). As a guest, you encounter lots of food at all occasions since it is very important for Maori to show *manakitanga.* Not offering food to visitors after an official gathering or a ceremony is considered culturally embarrassing. This comes from the understanding of food belonging to a profane world. In the Maori belief system, some activities and things are regarded as sacred and some as profane. There are complex restrictions to their performance. Usually, they take place one after the other, since the profane acts and things are used to lift the sacredness of situations. It is often food and water that play a very important role in the profane world. For example, after a ceremony, formal speech or learning activity, there is an act of shared meal which is not only an act of generosity but also of relaxation and taking away the *seriousness* of the previous act. Similarly, people wash their faces after attending a funeral (Higgins and Moorfield 2004). Therefore, not offering food on certain occasions is seen as impolite, as acting against the cultural code. Next to nourishing one's spiritual side through *karakia*, the importance is also put on nourishing the physical side in the educational context.

The cultural concept of *tapu* (sacred) and *noa* (profane) determine the whole structure of the day in *kohanga reo*. Thus, most of the learning and focus demanding activities took place in the morning, followed by morning tea. The act of sitting together and having a snack was a shifting point in the character of activities. There was still learning after the break, but more playful and art oriented. After lunch, there was a quite time when children could perform an activity of their choice; however, together with others. The younger children were always put

down for a nap. In the group of older ones, the activity derived from the general mood. If the children were tired, the teachers brought in mattresses and let them relax. If they were still fresh, they could listen to music or stories or play together. The opening of the morning activities, as well as of every meal, and the final closing of the day were preceded by prayers – the morning prayer, prayer before food, and the closing prayer. The prayer itself added deeper character to what followed, and was negated by food during the two meal breaks.

Thus, two meals eased the processing of every day by providing enough time to rest, and get ready for other parts of the day. Other cultural restrictions applied to every act of meal such as keeping the food on the table on plates at all times and not sitting on tables. Sitting on tables is considered as highly impolite in Maori culture in general. Again, tables are associated with food which is profane, while one's body is considered sacred. These two words should not be mixed inappropriately. Some of the language routines took place during the meal time as well. When receiving their meal, children were usually encouraged to accept it with saying *Kia Ora/Thank you* or ask for more food in Maori if they wanted.[30]

Even throughout other activities such as art and craft, certain language routines took place no matter how minor they were. However, the importance of developing art and manual skills should not be overlooked since the main goal of *kohanga reo* is a preparation for life (rather than for school, as could be the case of some mainstream institutions). Thus, the drawing, play dough, cutting and gluing were used to support the whole complex of learning. In her study, Hohepa asserts that *kohanga reo* aims to establish an environment where preschool children are surrounded with linguistic, cultural and spiritual aspects of Maori (1990). "Values embedded in culture and social structures are expressed in ways of communicating (Hohepa 1990, p. 88). In the two mainstream kindergartens I visited (for the morning - usually the busiest session), the organization of the collective was very vague. In the morning, children got into workgroups and all their activities took place in one room. This must have had a very disturbing effect on their ability to concentrate. There were Maori prayers and greetings on

[30] On one day, papa Tom, his sons and other members of the community cooked *hangi* – meat and vegetables prepared in the traditional Maori way. This was done in the garden of Brockville primary school with the assistance of the Brockville Maori community, school staff and media. What made this occasion especially unique was a layer of snow which made the preparation process even more challenging. After burning and incredible amount of wood which started at 6 o'clock in the morning, the food was steamed on hot stones, covered with layers of cloth and soil. Only the process of steaming took whole four hours. However, there were many boarders waiting and everybody seemed to be happy in the end. As always, some community members came to help with wrapping and giving away the portions of food. The local media presented this as a very important event in Maori community.

the walls and children would say *karakia* before meals, which reflects the standards of incorporating Maori values in to the mainstream curriculum. Also, children would sometimes sit on the ground which is a pattern taken from the Maori educative style. At half past nine, children were already playing outside. What I found strange was that they did not start their snack breaks together but in smaller groups when they wanted. By contrast, most and especially the morning activities in *kohanga reo* took part in a group. Moreover, children could participate in choosing what kind of activity they would like to do – like grown individuals. Subsequently, the language routines applied aimed to create a language context, rather than force children to learn and speak the language (Hohepa 1990).

Summary

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate how certain language and cultural activities form the context where the development of language plays a vital role in children's enculturation (as asserted by Hohepa 1990 and the sociocultural approach to language learning). As Metge (1984, p. 5), *kohanga reo* "teach by demonstration", meaning that learning itself largely takes place through looking, listening and modelling - especially in its early stage. This reflects the strong cultural practice of recitation in activities such as *karakia*, *mihimihi* or *kai* that are learnt by heart to be recited on appropriate occasions. These language routines of a fixed format also set up a good language context for the children with little or no knowledge of Maori. Within familiar situations, children are able to experience and analyse spoken language in predictably recurring contexts, and can practice its usage with immediate social reinforcement (Hohepa 1990). But again – knowing particular phrases and exchanges by heart is of the same importance as knowing when to use them. Routines such as prompting help to identify the appropriate situations. The subsequent routines such as *pepeha* enabled children with better knowledge to express themselves freely and richly. At this stage, children are also able to initiate these language exchanges – to take on the leading role (*tuakana-teina*). Hohepa states, that the ability to take on another role than that assigned demonstrates that language development is taking place (1990). "Further, the language itself may also become less fixed as the child no longer needs to rely on formulaic phrases in order to participate" (Hohepa 1990, p. 88). The fact that children knew when to initiate certain language exchange means that they had already grasped its situational meaning – and they were very likely on their way to understanding its cultural meaning.

Questionnaires with the Parents of the Kohanga Reo and Bilingual Unit Children

The questionnaires were sent to all the families who had their children at the *kohanga reo* and the bilingual unit. More than one child from the same family often attended the same class which also decreased the actual number of questionnaires. From 10 questionnaires sent to *kohanga reo* parents, I got 7 back, and from 16 to bilingual unit parents, I got 9. Proportionally, 70 % of the questionnaires were returned at the *kohanga reo* and 60 % at the bilingual unit. They were anonymous, and contained the following set of questions:

1. Are you involved in paid or unpaid work?[31]
2. How many children do you have?
3. What is the most important reason to send your children to *kohanga reo/bilingual unit*?
4. Why do you think it is important for your children to learn *te reo* Maori?[32]
5. Do you speak *te reo* Maori at home?
6. Do you use *te reo* Maori in everyday life?
7. What are the benefits for your children to be educated in Maori culture and in a Maori environment?
8. Where do you see the future of your children?
9. Do you take your children to a *marae*?

Through questioning the parents of the children from the immersion class at the Maori kindergarten and the bilingual class at primary school, I looked at the importance they attribute to Maori education on two levels – what are the social aspects of speaking Maori language and what are the cultural aspects of its learning for the development of the children's personality. This was covered by questions on the reasons for sending children to *kohanga reo*/bilingual unit (questions 3 and 4) and on the expected outcomes of learning Maori language and culture in Maori environment (questions 7 and 8). The responding parents were bilingual, with at least some knowledge of Maori which was not their main means of communication at home or everyday life. Some of them did not speak Maori at all, however;

[31] Maori supervisor challenged the first question regarding the work situation. She found this question rather unnecessary and slightly too intimate. In Maori community, people are often involved in some kind of community work which is unpaid, yet still seen as beneficiary. Moreover, being a mother to a child was seen as a form of employment too – this could be deduced from the reactions of some of the responding mothers. When asked about their jobs, several of them replied strongly - "I am a mother!" - on the first place. Eventually, I included the question in the first set of questionnaires while I skipped it in those for the bilingual unit

[32] For the Maori language, I used the expression *te reo Maori* which is how the language is commonly referred to by Maori people themselves.

would like to. Nevertheless, all of them were aware of their Maori origin and roots - this corresponded to their self-identification with a wider Maori society as a corporate kinship. Despite the loss of their native language, their integration into the western society, and possibly self-identification with the wide New Zealand society, being Maori or feeling of Maoriness still is a part of their identity, a respected value. Most families had two children; the largest recorded family had five.[33]

First and most fundamental question concerned the choice of Maori education. The questionnaires demonstrate that the most expected outcome of this type of education was achieving a good knowledge of Maori language and the ability to communicate in both Maori and English (6 out of 7 respondents in case of *kohanga reo* and 7 out of 9 in case of the bilingual unit). Naturally, the desired ability to speak Maori and the related maintenance of the language reflects the language handicap they are aware of in their own case. Some of them had Maori elders in their family and wanted at least their children to speak Maori with them. Furthermore, the parents highlighted the cultural and especially the family orientation of Maori (or partly Maori) institutions, which is also the second most important principle of Maori education. Thus, the answers only confirm its importance in the eyes of the parents.

The second question tackled the benefits of learning Maori language. The aim was to examine if and how would the parents relate the language to their culture and identity. In answering the question "Why do you think it is important for your children to learn *te reo*?" all respondents established a connection to cultural identity or explicitly said that learning the language would help them in learning their culture.[34] Altogether, they named several aspects of this identity approach that were Maori language,[35] an autonomous culture of their own,[36] traditional values of Maori society (*tikanga*),[37] historical and cultural awareness (knowledge of their cultural roots),[38] good feeling about being Maori,[39] and the feeling of belonging to Maori

[33] In many cases, these were both own and foster children. It is very common for Maori people to adopt children which might originate in the cultural concept of an extended family.
[34] *"I think that learning Maori is a positive step to learning our culture."* (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit)
[35] *"... it is their language and it belongs to them"* (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit) , *"because it is their second language ..."* (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit)
[36] *"...because it is our culture"* (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit)
[37] The aspects of learning *tikanga* and protocols of the *marae* are mentioned repeatedly across the questionnaires.
[38] *"to learn more about where they are from and who they are ..."* (woman, Maori descent, Maori class), *"it is good for them to know that"* (woman, European descent, Maori class) , *"to learn where they come from, who they are as Maoris"* (woman, Maori descent, Maori class)
[39] *"to be proud of being Maori"* (woman, Maori descent, Maori class), *"learning a positive approach in understanding our past and future"* (woman, Maori descent, Maori class), *"This I believe will give them confidence and ... grow up to be good adult within their community, whanau, hapu, iwi"* (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit), *"pride in who they are culturally and the confidence to be who they are and love their*

community/extended family.[40] This set of answers helped me establish the connection between the parents' notions of Maori language and the learning effects for their children. The importance they attribute to Maori language in relation to culture was evident.

Some parents, though; named other reasons for education in Maori learning institutions, such as the benefits of multi language for the New Zealand society. They named particularly the advantage of achieving the knowledge of both cultures and being able to live in both worlds. Also, they mentioned personal benefits such as the *prestigious* chance for a child to be educated in Maori matters, to graduate successfully and be able to make their living in both English and Maori worlds.[41] Generally, bilingualism was seen as culturally enriching, as an achievement of some higher knowledge within New Zealand society. Thus, knowing two languages was seen as very prestigious by most of the parents and repeated mainly by those from the bilingual unit.

Most parents spoke some Maori at home and in their daily life (40% claimed to be using at least basic Maori at home), and good 20% expressed their desire to speak more.[42] Some of them had already become students of their own children. Furthermore, most parents tried to educate their children culturally – they claimed to take their children to a *marae* - at least sometimes.

Regarding the question number eight concerning the future of their offspring, parents usually envisioned their children as happy and independent individuals. Besides that, more than half of the parents expressed their hopes about their children being able to speak Maori language or even being involved in Maori education. One parent did not answer this question and one claimed not to be sure about the future achievements of her child. It is also important to quote a Tongan mother who imagined her children as "Tongans who can speak Maori". Even from her perspective, it was good for her children to "participate in revitalization of Maori language" (woman, Tongan descent, bilingual unit).

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language …" (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit), *"Being secure in his and her identity."* (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit)

[40] *"… because we are Maoris*" (woman, Maori descent, Maori class), *"When the old people are gone, it is the young who will continue its growth."* (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit)

[41] Especially in terms of work opportunities, English is still seen as necessary.

[42] *"… not as much as I'd like to"* (woman, Maori descent, bilingual unit)

I only identified little diversity of responses of the *kohanga reo* and bilingual unit parents. Their choice of the bilingual education among other classes within a primary school could probably be culturally substantiated. I assume that their original choice corresponded to perception of their children as deduced from the questionnaires – as of members of a multicultural society, who are able to feel comfortable and function within various cultural environments – with a huge advantage of being multilingual.

Summary

The results of the questionnaires with the parents showed that they perceived a direct link between the language education and cultural awareness of their children. They expected that their children would grasp the basics of Maori culture and knowledge together with mastering the language. They understood the language as part of their cultural and spiritual heritage; something marked as *taonga* - meaning very precious. The desirable effect was for the children to identify with their culture and find a confident identity; and eventually be able to act as strong individuals in a multicultural society. Once again, we have to be aware of the fact that the parents themselves would be punished for speaking Maori during their days at school. Therefore, their answers imply that they are proud of being able to express their identity, to speak and act as Maoris.[43] This asserts their self-identification with Maori language and culture as with parts of their cultural and spiritual heritage.

Interviews with the Teachers of Maori

Since a large part of the interviews I led with the teachers revolved around their experience with Maori language, I got some valuable data on the development of the language during their life spam until now. Some of them used to be physically punished for speaking Maori at school, and their parents would rather discourage them from doing so. However, most of them grew up in partly Maori speaking families. The teachers seemed to fall into two wider categories where the circumstances that had brought them into *kohanga reo* were the main variable.

[43] This is also related to their possible self-categorization as Maori. According to the 2006 census, 42.2% identified with European ethnic groups, 1.5 with Asian ethnic groups, 2.3 with New Zealanders and only 7.0 with Pacific ethnic groups. Can this possibly be attributed to their lack of knowledge or ethnical self-esteem? (Quick Stats about Maori 2006, p. 2).

1) Three teachers of North Island origin grew up in a Maori speaking environment. While Maori was the first language for two (Hiria, Tom); Rosina mastered Maori during her adulthood – largely from political reasons (Rosina – *"Yes, most of my te reo Maori comes from outside any formal training like from the marae and just speaking with my people. It is a part of me," (Rosina Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 16/03/09)*. Since using Maori was banned at schools until the early 80s, families had to make the choice whether to speak the language with their children or not. Naturally, their decision corresponded with their political views and convictions. Needless to say, most people were too overwhelmed with basic living aspects to care about taking their children to a *marae* and passing on their cultural knowledge. The case in the South Island was a bit different since the Maori here were even more suppressed than the North Islanders. Consequently, the number of Maori people here (predominantly Ngai Tahu tribe) speaking their language is very low. This is one of the main reasons why fluent speakers here are still in demand, and why the North Islanders who speak Maori often get themselves involved in teaching and cultural affairs - to help and support the local community. Many of them see their work simply as their life commitment – see Hiria: *"Where else could I be? I am here to teach children te reo, to pass it on" (Hiria Singe, Ngati Porou tribe, interview 06/04/09).*

2) The second group concerned Maori teachers or European New Zealanders born or belonging to the South Island, who learnt Maori during their formal education or out of interest. At some stage in their lives, the Maori teachers who I interviewed (Amy, Janaya), were looking for their own identity or even recovering from an identity crisis – see Amy saying: *"And from then I realised who I was, that I was Maori and that I was just walking in another world in the mean time" (Amy Valentine, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 20/04/09).* This made them explore their cultural roots. They were often involved in some forms of cultural groups such as *kapa haka* when young. For Amy, the first impulse to join *kohanga reo* came from her mother, who was working as one of its initiators and leaders. Soon, Amy found her way and commitment to *kohanga reo*, even after having done different, often *better situated* jobs. For Janaya, it was a decision made by her and her friend to get involved in any form of early child care. A position in *kohanga reo* simply turned up at the right moment, and her placement worked out, provided that she learns Maori again. *"I wanted to get my te reo back. I felt that for me myself being Maori and not having my knowledge…, it was kind of weighting me down a bit. And now when I know my language I understand myself*

much better" (Janaya Haafield, Te Aupouri tribe, interview, 23/03/09). Both Amy and Janaya still had to perfect their language skills.

Just to mention, there was a teacher of European descent at the bilingual unit. Maria had her own motivation and reasons to learn and teach Maori – she saw it as an important part of the New Zealand curriculum, and also she knew that there was an absence of fluent teachers. After having experienced the language and *kapa haka* group in her young days, she only needed to perfect her knowledge.

What benefits did the teachers see in young Maori people and children learning their native language? Largely, they highlighted cultural aspects of the language, its importance for children to gain confidence in their culture and identity. However, they were aware that there are still obstacles preventing the daily usage of Maori within families and in daily life. This came from their general experience in the Maori community. Firstly, the society demands that everybody has formal knowledge of English and English is partly used even in most total immersion schools. It seems that while young children are keen on learning another language and using it in a real life, as they get older, they get concerned about their image in front of others and do not want to be little different. Secondly, while large amount of language learning takes place within the family, many Maori families still cannot provide a bilingual environment. In that way, the children's learning is limited to their time at school or kindergarten. Third, there are not many places where Maori would be better than English. There are formal ceremonies on a *marae* such as *tangihanga*, where Maori must be used but besides that - even within their community, e.g. at *kapa haka* group, at Maori cultural events or gatherings - people stick to English. They make a formal introduction and greeting in Maori, but follow on in the mainstream language with random Maori words such as *"kapai"/good, well.* Thus, even the language children learn at *kohanga reo* (rather than *kura kaupapa* where the primary school curriculum is taught only or mostly in Maori) seems to be limited to specific cultural occasions. The European teacher of Maori, Maria, made a comment on this: *"Children learn to say their name, the names of the day, parts of the body…they do learn some of the tikanga, the rules, around not sitting on the table, how to behave on the marae. But it is a pretty small aspect of Maori culture" (Maria Osborn, European descent, interview, 18/05/2009).* These are all obstacles preventing the application of Maori in daily life. - However, it has only been one generation since the time Maori was

acknowledged as an official language of New Zealand. Therefore, there still remains a long but hopefully clear way to extend its adoption. -

Another field of my interest was how much the teachers themselves use the language in their own lives. Surprisingly, half of them hardly spoke Maori at home where English was the predominant language. One reason is that English is the major language of New Zealand and therefore more practical in daily use. *"It is always a problem of learning a second language in a society which has no respect for the second language. You always tend to stick to English. I am really amazed at the number of kids who speak only te reo at home" (Rosina Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 16/03/09).* Some of them claimed to use Maori with their family members who also speak the language. *"If we are on our own, then we speak te reo Maori" (Amy Valentine, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 20/04/09).* But in some families, there was one parent who could not speak so well (as in case of Tom's family) so it was always a mixture of Maori and English but predominantly English. Since I gained some knowledge of both total immersion and bilingual schools, I was curious which of these would or had the teachers chosen for their own offspring. It was a surprising fact for me that while none of them would hesitate about choosing *kohanga reo* for the pre-school education, they would hesitate between a bilingual school/unit or *kura kaupapa* for the primary school level. In fact, most of them decided for bilingual schools for they provide official language education in both Maori and English. This is understood as necessary for practical reasons – such as life in New Zealand society, finding work etc. Tom, who also manages interpreting for non-English speaking Maori, talked about his experience with only Maori speakers. After attending *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* and the benefit of having mostly a Maori environment, people often don't have sufficient English skills. Even though both English and Maori are the official languages, English is still a must in New Zealand – in daily communication and at work. That is why most teachers perceive *kohanga reo* centres as initiators into Maori language and culture, as institutions ensuring the basic introduction into Maori things. On the other hand, *kura kaupapa* are seen as an advanced form of education in Maori with an even stronger principle of total immersion. The children at *kura kaupapa* I visited were not allowed to speak English at school. They were even discouraged from speaking English with foreign visitors such as me. This was a more extreme example of prioritizing Maori before English than at *kohanga reo*, where usage of both languages was much more flexible. However, this can vary from class to class, depending on the individual

teachers. It is important to know that every child in *kura kaupapa* gains an official education in English at a certain stage as well.

As was mentioned in the first chapter, most language learning takes place in a daily contact and the stronger and larger the input the better the learning effect it has. Therefore, the question is not only how much language children learn at schools but also how much they actually learn at home. Unless the family is largely Maori speaking, the individual is still exposed to and using English to speak to family members, peers etc. If it is another case and there is only little English in the family or none, it is reasonable to think about a bilingual unit/school. Another good thing is that bilingual schools aim to deliver a half-and-half education in English and Maori. Nevertheless, the Maori makes much a smaller part of the teaching in the end. According to language theories, there needs to be at least 60% usage for a language to survive. Accordingly, bilingual education would not be able to ensure this and there must be a stronger exposure to the maternal language. Maria from the bilingual unit says: *"You don't have fifty-fifty in the classroom, do you? The kids just go "what?" and then they translate it to each other into English. They don't understand, they don't care. So in my understanding, there has to be more to make them fluent" (Maria Osborn, European descent, interview, 18/05/2009)*. I asked the teacher and *waka* driver, Tom Arapeta, which of the two options he would choose for his numerous children. His answer was: *"Bilingual unit – you get the best from both worlds here" (Thomas Tame Wiki Arapeta, Whanau-A-Apanui/Te Arawa tribe, interview, 30/03/09)*. On the same topic, Janaya stated: *"I want to send my kids to kohanga, not so much to kura kaupapa, because I also want them to learn Pakeha – the mainstream schooling. Kohanga - that's where you learn the root of everything – you learn your whakapapa and so" (Janaya Haafield, Te Aupouri tribe, interview, 23/03/09)*. There can be other reasons. Amy is planning on to send her children to bilingual units because she did not find the local *kura kaupapa* particularly good. - I have to say that there was also a little rivalry I noticed among different schools and teachers, and for instance the teacher from the local *kura kaupapa* was not the favourite one of the teachers in *kohanga reo*. This might have affected them in not recommending this school and there was only one available in Dunedin. -

When asked about their understanding of Maori culture, most mentioned the language as one of the strong cultural articles. *"Knowing that I know my language or my te reo makes me feel better as a person – cause I know where I come from" (Janaya Haafield, Te Aupouri tribe, interview, 23/03/09)*. For instance, Maria told me about her brother in law who is always

language handicapped when meeting his extended Maori speaking family, when visiting his *marae. "He can't be a full part of it… So he can't be a complete part of himself, even though he is Maori. You don't lose your whole if you don't speak the language but you lose a huge part of it" (Maria Osborn, European descent, interview, 18/05/2009).* She also made a good point that it is one thing to know how to speak Maori but another to have opportunities to use it. If there are none, it is naturally hard for the children and youngsters to see the benefits of learning the language. *"My child would have no need to speak Maori. He does not have a marae to go to, no need to use it" (Maria Osborn, European descent, interview, 18/05/2009).* Also *tikanga*, the traditional Maori values were given a strong importance in the curriculum of *kohanga reo* and their relation to language was pointed out.

Last but not least, I also investigated the teachers' understanding of *kohanga reo*. Generally, they often made a comparison of Maori and mainstream schools. The highlights of Maori schools were the habit of working together, expanding mutual love and bringing family into schools. Besides that, they were said to be more of a "hands on stuff" character. *"No skirts, you are always on the ground"* (*Amy Valentine, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 20/04/09).* Even on a *marae*, there is no time for children but to work, to get involved. Half of the teachers expressed their concerns about the lack of family and community support. Despite the fact that *kohanga reo* model is internationally acknowledged, the interest of average Maori families to educate their children in Maori institutions is still below average. This is shown by the lowering numbers of Maori students in Maori led education in the last decade. It is necessary to add, that the numbers of Maori schools are decreasing as well. The explanation can be parents prioritising mainstream and English education instead of the culturally specific Maori. But it is exactly the wide public's awareness of *kohanga reo* that has to be advanced. *"Kohanga needs to be needed in the community"* (*Amy Valentine, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 20/04/09).* There is also the problem with bringing parents to school, with motivating them. Rosina says that the parents should be paid for their work in *kohanga reo (Rosina Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 16/03/09),* that it is something the government should do for them now to redress what it had disadvantaged them on in the past. What Rosina as well as other teachers asserts is that building self-confidence, self-esteem and personal *mana* (The concept of *mana* can be best explained as how other people perceive you, your personal authority and respect.) are the primary things to achieve in educating young Maori children. This is exactly what was missing in the schooling experience of their parents. The example are growing numbers of

various retraining programs for Maori today, and institutions that support their holistic development – both in professional and social sphere. Some of them draw on traditional Maori knowledge, and are based on learning the crafts, such as weaving or carving, in the contemporary institutions such as Maori Arts and Crafts Institute in Rotorua.

Summary

It was interesting to trace the origins and life stories of the teachers at *Kohanga Reo o Whakari*, as well as their impulses for working in a Maori institution. While half of the teachers came from the North Island and Maori was more or less their maternal language, the second half have only turned to *te reo* Maori at some stage in their lives. In regard to the curriculum of Maori schools, learning Maori was seen as an important part of one's identity and culture. Also, the habits of working together, expanding mutual love and bringing family into schools were highlighted by the teachers. They were aware of the obstacles of the usage of Maori in the daily context, within families and in daily life where English remains more practical means of communication. They perceive the danger of Maori becoming the language of ceremonies, used at formal occasions only. It was slightly surprising for me, that English was the predominant language within the household of most of the teachers. Also, when choosing between bilingual and Maori immersion education for their children, all except one would choose the bilingual.

CHAPTER FOUR
DISCUSSION

This study focused on *kohanga reo* as an environment of cultural socialisation. Through the process of language learning, children develop their cultural knowledge and become more familiar with Maori traditions, ceremonies, cultural values or mythology. In my research, I firstly studied the workings of this particular Maori institution. Besides the location, staff and the daily program of the centre, I paid most attention to the specific methods of language learning - language routines, interactions and activities that enable the language development. My second concern was the application of cultural concepts in language structures that creates the socializing and enculturating environment of *kohanga reo*. The two large areas of interest sourced from the theoretical viewpoint that Maori cultural practices and values are present in the process of teaching language in *kohanga reo* and contribute to the holistic learning of Maori children – to appropriation of both language and culture. Thus, the initial hypothesis was that learning cultural knowledge can be a secondary benefit of language learning. I led semi-structured interviews with the teachers of Maori, researched their cultural background and perspectives on *kohanga reo* initiative. I also questioned the contribution of learning Maori language and culture to empowering and maintenance of Maori identity. Last but not least, I investigated the reasons of the *kohanga reo* parents for choosing this kind of education for their children. I questioned the expectations they had – to what extend did they prioritize Maori language and culture in the curriculum and how much did they contributed to the children's learning at home. For this sake, the individual parents received a simple questionnaire as described in the research methodology.

Thus, I tried to examine on three larger topics concerning *kohanga reo* as a context for culture and language learning.

1) The levels of language acquisition within *kohanga reo* through various activities and techniques.

2) Teaching and learning cultural practices and values through teaching and learning Maori language.

3) The cultural learning as an expected outcome of this type of education and its meaning within the context of revitalization of Maori culture.

I attempted to examine these three assumptions by using several methods of qualitative research – interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation.

Kohanga Reo as a Language Context

The philosophy of *kohanga reo* is to ensure preservation of the language, and its future development. This is being achieved by providing a setting where young children can learn the language in ways analogical to learning their maternal language. For many, this is their first encounter with language that has never been spoken in their homes. Another goal of *kohanga reo* is to "pass on culturally valued beliefs and practices" (Hohepa 1990, p. 29). Thus, children achieve the language in culturally relevant and preferred ways here. The base for complex language development and cultural awareness should draw on learning within the family environment or in a preschool centre. In *kohanga reo*, spoken language is experienced and analysed in predictable and recurring contexts and utterances are practiced with immediate social reinforcement provided by others (Hohepa 1990). Practically, this relates to the model of appropriating maternal language – babies/toddlers are told the same expressions several times and repeat them in order to memorize them. Analogically, children at *kohanga reo* learn through repetition of certain expressions and phrases in specified contexts. To support this, the teachers use specific techniques to help children express themselves and elicit the communication patterns appropriate to certain situations. The strategies of modelling, questioning and prompting have the supportive effect of decreasing the use of English and reinforcing and developing the knowledge of Maori. However, most of the learning takes place through techniques of language learning. These are simple language teaching techniques (memorising of the names for things etc.), language interactions and language exchanges between two or more participants. Language focusing strategies are based on verbal questioning such as *What?/He aha?, Who?/Ko wai? and Where?/Kei hea?* that encourage eliciting of the appropriate response.

Finally, the language routines aim to teach the language in patterned ways. Situational repetition initiates appropriate language utterances that are learnt by heart. The routines embrace situations that come from Maori knowledge and cultural concepts. Their repetitive character aims not only to practice the language but also to make children familiar with their intellectual heritage. Another step is to promote the use of Maori among other family

members and the immediate family especially. It is mainly the parents, who were encouraged to use Maori for communication at home. Most parents also pronounced their ambitions to use Maori more, speak with and learn from their children who usually reach fluency sooner.

Kohanga Reo as a Cultural Context

The research of *kohanga reo* has proven that these institutions not only provide education in Maori language but also work as mediators of Maori culture. Their culturally structured environment helps children in developing their language skills and cultural identity. Teaching by demonstration when children learn through looking, listening and eventually imitating, was identified as the prevalent method. Here, the emphasis is put on practicing recitation when the content of *whakapapa*, *karakia* and *waiata* is learnt by heart to be delivered on appropriate occasions. This incorporates the learning of meaning and purpose of the Maori cultural customs. The routine of introducing children's genealogy was used to gain information, as part of their *mihimihi*, to promote social or personalised conversation – it was a formal mode of speaking, of introducing the speaker by referring to his or her *whanau*, *hapu*, *iwi* links, and ultimately connecting himself or herself to the people and place being addressed. Both *karakia* (prayers) and *waiata* (songs) are the essence of Maori culture and contain stories and legends of the ancestors, land and people. Through memorising them and learning the situational expressions, children also develop their historical awareness.

As regards social learning, the aim of *kohanga reo* is for the children to grasp different routines well enough to be able to initiate particular language exchanges while taking on a new social role. The fact that children are able to initiate particular language routines or other activities by playing the role of an adult or leader indicates that social development is taking place (Hohepa 1990). All these factors create an environment of cultural learning, of learning the language and practicing it directly in appropriate contexts or while taking on particular social roles. In wider perspective, it can also be defined as an environment where families and community get together and perpetuate the culture of their own. Once again, culture is practiced and perpetuated in daily situations and contexts, thus becoming part of the ordinary again. For all these reasons, I came to the conclusion that *kohanga reo*, as well as other Maori led schools make a significant contribution to the revitalization of Maori language and culture within the urban environment.

Kohanga Reo as an Agent of Cultural Revitalization

General standards and goals of *kohanga reo* are identified in the organizational charter published by the New Zealand Kohanga Reo National Trust. Primarily, the centre aimes to a) promote and advance the educational, moral, spiritual and physical well-being of children, b) preserve, respect and teach all Maori customs and traditions and encourage the continuance of all traditional Maori arts and crafts, and c) to accept responsibility and commitment for maintenance and maximum use of Maori language which means to educate Maori and to develop teaching programs for their parents as well. All three goals explicitly voice the full sustaining of the paramount aspects of Maori culture. Undoubtedly, the teaching techniques applied support the process of developing children's historical and cultural awareness, the process of building their ethnic identity. Through their empowering and maintenance the teachers and the children engage in *cultural revitalization*, the sociocultural phenomenon described in the first chapter.

It is especially true for the South Island that it is the Maori schools where most Maori children encounter their native culture and language for the first time. Furthermore, the schools become the main environment of approaching their native culture, thus the environment of enculturation. Any input from their family's side can only support this process of cultural transmission and learning. Unfortunately, the last ten years' statistics signal lowering numbers of Maori schools as well as their attendees.[44] Despite the holistic effects of learning, the demand from the side of Maori parents is lacking. The underfunding of Maori schools was mentioned earlier, and the fact that there is an alarming absence of good teachers of Maori goes hand in hand. Another side of the problem is the language situation in the country, where English is still the preferred way of communication. Naturally, in order to achieve a good work position and skills, one has to speak English, rather than Maori. On the other hand, Maori speakers are highly respected, and for those involved in community things it is necessary to speak the language. **Thus, speaking Maori could be a question of one's prestige in Maori world, but it certainly still is a way of cultural manifestation within the English speaking society.**

From another end, we discussed how Maori people themselves perceived their daily lives, even though it was very difficult to get objective statements on people's perception of their

[44] See the exact numbers in chapter one from Annual report on Maori education (2009).

own behaviour. In fact, they struggled with any implication of their culture being reconstructed which explains the dilemma of the expressions as *revival*, *invention* or *renaissance*. The founder of the *kohanga reo* in Brockville says, *"I remember that my teacher of anthropology talked about contemporary Maori renaissance. I thought - what is he saying, didn't we always had this culture with us?" (Rosina Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, interview, 16/03/09).* Rosina raises the point that the Maori who have always managed to practice their traditions and used the language do not see the current situation as a process of reviving something what had been lost. In their understanding, they just did not have the chance to pass the knowledge onto their children or to access the media in order to exchange information. I noticed very similar reactions during my previous research from the side of Aboriginal cultural activists. As regards Maori schools, I identified several concerns about the standard of Maori language instructed here. Good quality teaching resources are still insufficient, and so are good teachers of Maori. The language taught, as well as any other language in the modern, globalized world, is exposed to influences from other languages, and naturally undergoes change and growth (such as culture itself). For that reason, the nature of children developing bilingually produces some interesting and novel uses of Maori language. A common gloss about Maori children in *kura kaupapa* mixing the Maori and English words together was made by Craig Hall, a university teacher of Maori: *"Cold in Maori is makariri, or makachilli, as the kids in kura kaupapa would say" (Maori language class, 21/4/09).* Through learning language in culturally and linguistically organized settings, Maori children are not exposed to Maori preferred values and practices separately from the language itself – as used to be common short time ago. It was the former suppression of the Maori language and customs that led to their isolation from public sphere or to a complete suspension.

The invisibility of Maori culture gave rise to questioning of its existence and supported the discourse of invention[45] – as in case of other indigenous peoples. However, Maori rituals and ceremonies are being held again. Funerals, weddings, community meetings – all these things take place on a *marae*, following the traditional protocols and in Maori. I conclude that next to various tribal ceremonies, rituals and artistic expressions, *kohanga reo* is just another manifestation of Maori culture. By no means, it is not based on a random invention but on *revisiting* Maori forms of education that apply the language as one of the biggest strengths of this - still very *visible* - indigenous culture. Therefore, I would avoid any implication of the contemporary Maori culture being *reconstructed* or *reinvented* just because these expressions

[45] See the discourse on the theories of cultural invention and revitalization in chapter one.

carry on the connotation of its doubtful authenticity. In the same way, the language is taught within the context of traditional culture, not becoming a pure artefact of the past. I would rather use the term *revitalized* for a culture and language that started to be perpetuated once again, with a clear goal of empowering and maintenance.

Australian and New Zealand Perspective

In this subchapter, I would like to evaluate my experience from the institutions of a similar kind in two Pacific countries with a similar history of colonization by the British in the 18th and 19th century. My two field works – at Kummara Family Care Centre in Australia and at *Kohanga reo* o *Whakari* in New Zealand took place in 2006 and 2009. The institutions embraced several similar work fields. They both served as a consultant, agent and care provider for babies/toddlers and children. Most of the activities revolved around the office and kindergarten. While Koolyangara child centre in Australia was for children up to the age of 4, children in *Kohanga reo* o *Whakari* were from the first months up to the age of 6 years. This explains why significant differences concerned the area of education.

I observed several cultural traits these institutions had in common. Both attempted to bring the family into the centre of things and make them involved. The basic knowledge of child care was passed onto the parents in daily practice - through parental programs on general topic of education, but also on particular specifics such as changing nappies, well-balanced breastfeeding or counselling on appropriate nutrition and physical care. Also, the goal of both institutions was to bring parents together in order to form a network of shared support (community building). Both engaged in wider community activities and their promotion such as cultural family evenings at Kummara or *kapa haka* groups for Maori. These often involved music and dance, food and refreshments for everybody. Teachers from both institutions paid a great deal of attention to *streaming* (a term used by them) effects of work, meaning that the knowledge is passed from one person to another, between generations, parents and children, in a community, at school, and eventually, from children to their children. This did not only concern practical skills such as smart nutritious habits (see interview with Amy Valentine, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, from 20/04/09) but also personal and cultural values – such as role modelling, respecting elders, or building self-esteem.

Another typical characteristic was a small size and family like relations among the employees but also the support of friendly contact with the families and clients or any regular visitors (the *open door* policy – even to complete strangers like me, people with an interest). It was not rare for some of the employees to be relatives. Mother and daughter working under the same roof occurred in both, the Aboriginal and Maori centres. Two of the Maori teachers had some of their own children placed in the *kohanga reo* where they worked. Indeed, some of the employees took their work literally as their life commitment and the people as their family. In both places, employees did not avoid staying overtime and doing extra unpaid hours. Needless to say, the wages were below the average in both institutions.

Most importantly, both institutions aimed to assist and promote the educational, moral, spiritual and physical wellbeing of children. Both emphasized women's involvement at all levels of child care. The use of fundamental Maori structure in *kohanga reo* has encouraged Maori women to reassert themselves as active, equal partners in the struggle to retain and promote the language and *whanau* principles. As for the context of cultural revitalization, there is an obvious goal of supporting cultural (or even language) awareness among the youngest population and also supporting the importance of women's traditional role within the native community.

There were certainly some smaller or bigger differences between the institutions as regards the size, daily structure or conditions and content of work. If focusing on cultural differences only, there were some traits more typical for the Maori school and some for the Aboriginal centre. What seemed to be more typical for Maori? For example, in Maori institutions not wearing shoes inside the buildings was a common and necessary practice with no exception. Taking shoes off before entering indoor premises is considered as polite behaviour. As for the good manners, these were usually quoted with various cultural proverbs and sayings to emphasise their importance. Most of the curriculum revolved around learning the language as a base for subsequent cultural learning. A specific trait of Maori culture applied in Maori led schools was a strong *whanau* orientation and emphasis on family genealogy. In praxis, it was highly important for the children to know where they come from, what tribe they belong to and who their extended family is. Also, first question in Maori culture concerns people's place of origin and the tribe. These are also linked with different dialects (e.g. there are different dialects of Maori on the West and East coast, and the North of the North Island and within the South Island itself) habits and costumes in Maori society. Even though most of the

Maori and Aboriginal teachers smoke, there was a strong push on the non-smoking policy within the premises of the school and within the families in the Maori group.

Similarly, there were some characteristics more typical for the Aboriginal aspects of teaching and character of child care. These were based mainly on different historical experience and social and psychological consequences of colonization. An outstanding distinction was the absence of the native language in the Australian curriculum. This comes from the fact that the process of handing down the native Aboriginal languages was strongly suppressed by the British policy of absorption and assimilation and especially during the years of Stolen Generation (e.g. Haebich 2000) which was a forcible removal of children from their families with a subsequent Christianisation and re-education. Another means of *absorbing* Aboriginal ethnicity were mixed marriages with white Australians, splitting families or employing black maids and using them as sexual slaves (for these facts, see e.g. Bell (1993), Bell (1993) or Huggins (1998). Therefore, the use of the native language in the Australian centre was limited to the names of the institution itself and its parts (*Kummara* meaning *watching over the children* and *Koolyangarra* meaning *happy children meet here*). There was no instruction of Aboriginal language included in the curriculum. Thus, the cultural side of the curriculum concerned culturally specific activities such as singing, dancing, craft making, or building respect to elders. Kummara centre ran quite a complex program of rites of passage for youth on their transition into adulthood. This aimed to pass on bits of the traditional knowledge such as looking after the land and its sacred dimension; Aboriginal spatial and time perspective; storytelling, dance, drama and art; learning physical skills and health education (physical and mental). Also, focus was on learning the importance of conducting oneself and others with a sense of honour, learning appropriate behaviours for men and women, intergenerational relationships, managing emotions etc. Certain transitional stages in life (birth, naming, adulthood, marriage, creating life, becoming an Elder, death) were presented within the context of ceremonies and protocols. Even at the lectures on Aboriginal knowledge that I attended at the University of Queensland, the teachers often referred to eco management, the importance of looking after the natural resources, or the use of natural medicine. I also noticed a stronger ideological context of teaching that could have sourced from the pervading feeling of Aboriginal culture being endangered by the mainstream culture. Thus, more references were made to western ideologies and oppositional activist movements, such as comparison of the movement for contemporary indigenous women's rights to white feminists. Similarly, Aboriginal people were very explicit about their feelings of injustice and historical traumas

caused by the British. - My perspective is that while the Maori seemed to focus on the future of their culture, the Aborigines were still concerned with the past. - What goes hand in hand was a higher sensitivity in terms of politically correct expressions for calling ethnic groups and people of mixed origin (terms like *half-cast/half-Aborigine* or *full blood Aborigine* are forbidden). What was culturally different was also stronger emphasis on the separation of male and female issues. In traditional understanding, males are never involved in discussions on family or even female issues for instance.

Both institutions had a very strong trait of bringing the community together and perpetuating the culture, once known as traditional, in a new creative way. Therefore, both centres were strongly involved in the process of cultural revitalization on certain levels. While the primary objective of the Maori institution was language maintenance and recovery, the Aboriginal centre worked on very complex cultural programs of knowledge sharing and re-establishing traditional concepts of culture such as ceremonies and cultural events, rites of passage, or natural healing. As regards age, the programs of the Aboriginal centre focused on the very small children, or the children in their transition into adulthood. Similarly, there were parental programs on early child care and education, and those designed for the treatment of adolescents. In her comparative study, Margot (1996) explains the increasing need for Aboriginal early childhood places in remote communities. Due to the increasing work and training opportunities there needs to be other child care facilitators than the family or extended family. Also, the education of young mothers on appropriate child care and upbringing is still lacking in more isolated areas. Margot comes to the conclusion that the forms of education for children and parents in Australia must be very complex, coming from the culturally appropriate ways of nurturing and close connections with the family. Also, the smallest children should be their target group (Margot 1996). In the case of Maori, the institutions concentrate on educating children from an early age until their adolescence and further where language is the crucial teaching objective.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to give an insight into the contemporary model of indigenous lead cultural education with the focus on New Zealand total immersion schools. These served a successful example to similar institutions around the world where indigenous languages have been sustained. The interesting side of *kohanga reo* kindergartens and *kura kaupapa* primary schools is that they surround Maori children with their native language in a way that involves a by-product of appropriating the native culture as well. I support this with an introduction into *kaupapa* Maori knowledge and its main concepts applied in *kohanga reo* centres and with a thorough description of the learning activities practiced at Maori schools on a daily basis. Since I spent my field work mainly at the *kohanga reo* and the bilingual unit at a mainstream primary school, I have grasped the functioning of these two here.

The main goals were to observe the daily functioning of a *kohanga reo* centre and a bilingual unit. Since the main focus was placed on language and cultural learning, I took records of the language teaching practices and techniques, and tried to investigate the means of parallel cultural transmission. The curriculum of *kohanga reo* as well as other Maori institutions of education draws on *kaupapa* – Maori knowledge or ideology. This is represented by several cultural concepts such as *whanaungatanga* (family relations), *tuakana-teina* (relationships of older and younger siblings), *awhina* (mutual love), *mihimihi* (culturally appropriate way of greeting and introducing oneself) or *tapu* and *noa* (sacred and profane) which are inherent to specific activities at *kohanga reo*, or to its functioning in general – such as the idea of bringing the family (*whanau*) into school or respecting the principles of *noa* and *tapu* within the general structure of daily activities. The data from the participant observation, interviews with the teachers and parents focused on investigating several key topics – primarily, what methods of language learning were used at the particular *kohanga reo* and how these facilitated the cultural learning of the children. In other words, how was Maori culture introduced to children through techniques of language learning that are sourced from the specific cultural concepts mentioned above.

Secondly, I investigated the family settings. Most of the respondents sent their children to *kohanga reo* centres for language reasons. However, when they talked about the importance for children to learn Maori, they mentioned the benefits of achieving cultural confidence and awareness, as well as of language and cultural maintenance. Their own knowledge of Maori language and philosophy varied; however, most of them had a clear idea of providing their children with something that had been denied to them. The cultural and language knowledge

was seen as an important step towards personal confidence and self-esteem and its revitalization as a necessity.

My third concern was the group of Maori and non-Maori teachers involved in Maori schools. These were mostly North Island Maori but it was a European New Zealander in one case as well. Their perspective on Maori education was very similar to those of the parents. Perpetuation of Maori language, building cultural knowledge and confidence of independent individuals was what they saw as the key objectives of their work. They were also quite realistic about the practical usability of Maori in the mainstream society. That is why most of them did not underestimate the advantage of bilingual communication and the ability of children to speak both, fluent English and Maori. The data from various sources confirm that Maori culture is transmitted in the process of learning Maori language at Maori schools. It is the character of the curriculum - so inherently linked to culture; the expectations of the parents and objectives of the teachers that correspond to this idea of cultural learning taking place at Maori schools. Furthermore, family is brought together in the environment of the centre and most parents are keen to achieve better knowledge of Maori to be able to have a good daily conversation with their children. Therefore, Maori schools make a significant contribution to perpetuation and maintenance of Maori language and culture in the Maori community of today. Moreover, the teaching is much modernised and the curriculum places a strong emphasis on English as a means of communication with the majority. Therefore, I came to the conclusion that the workings of Maori schools must be seen as an effective and progressive way of indigenous cultural revitalization in the contemporary world.

Eventually, where can we see the future of the Maori language? A continuous perpetuation as well as increasing opportunities to speak – this is the way to language maintenance. The first step is to produce children and young people with a reasonable knowledge of Maori, the second is to take the language out of the classroom and use it on a daily basis, and the third - to transmit it to future generations. In fact, these were the necessary steps for the revitalization of Hebrew. None of the revitalization attempts of Québec French, Catalan, Welsh, or native Indian languages has been that successful in the intergenerational transmission yet (Spolsky 2003, p. 570). There has certainly been an increasing support of Maori as well as growing number of its learners since the initiation of the various educational activities in New Zealand. Spolsky lists the areas of communication, such as classrooms (and playgrounds), family, *marae*, official public signs and governmental documents, or the radio, and he identifies the

growing use of Maori language by English speaking Maori with a strong desire for identity through language (Spolsky 2003, p. 570). He also finds that, "Maori language education has become one focal point for the mobilization of the Maori ethnic revival" (Spolsky 2003, p. 571). If the basis was provided by Maori teachers and scholars, who taught, wrote the books and dictionaries, the initial effort grew within the groups of cultural activists and parents who started the institutional programs and continue to lobby for the government support of these programs. Yet, the current social environment directing Maori people towards mainstream language and knowledge raises the question of the effectiveness of the contemporary forms of Maori education. Is the design of focusing on the youngest part of the population working? What must be done to make the Maori schools needed in the community? Eventually, it became my biggest concern if speaking Maori is rather a political act of manifesting one's culture within a multicultural society than a common way of communication. Is Maori limited to its community of speakers or does it have a potential to become a widely spoken language again? It is very likely that in case I had researched similar institutions in the North Island, I would have come to dissimilar data and conclusions. I will leave this question open to another research.

During the last thirty years, the socio-economic situation of Maori people in New Zealand has been improving, and the Maori are slowly managing to get their claims and voices recognised. Various forms of Maori activism contributed to legal, social and political reforms. The *kohanga reo* movement helped to empower Maori standards of learning. Increasing levels and quality of Maori education, as well as launching Maori media were some of the necessary steps on the way towards an autochthonous and equal existence within New Zealand society.

LIST OF MAORI TERMS

- ***Aotearoa*** – Maori name for New Zealand, meaning "land of the long grey cloud". The name probably originates from the fact that especially the North Island, which was inhabited as first, has a very strong volcanic and geothermal activity. There are bubbling lakes and geysers in the middle part, and the grey steam is a very common appearance.
- ***Atua*** – Ancestor of an ongoing influence with power over particular domains.
- ***Awhina*** – Principle of mutual love applied within the curriculum of Maori schools that possibly originates in people's relations in a traditional extended family.
- ***Hangi*** – Food prepared in traditional Maori way, consisting of steamed meat and vegetables. In traditional times, the food was placed in baskets made form wax and placed on burning stones under ground.
- ***Hapu*** – Sub-tribe or clan; a form of Maori social-political organization comprising a number of families who all trace themselves back to the eponymous ancestor. *Hapu* means literally "to be pregnant".
- ***Himene*** – Maori hymn of *kohanga reo* centre
- ***Hui*** – Expression for a meeting or gathering that is used for a family meeting in the context of Maori schools.
- ***Iwi*** – Tribe; the largest unit of social-political organization in classical Maori society. It literally means "bones" (of one's kin).
- ***Kai*** – food or to eat
- ***Kainga*** – home, village
- ***Kapa haka*** – Maori group performing dance and songs. While *haka* is commonly known as a warrior dance it actually means any postured dance.
- ***Karakia*** – Prayers in Maori with spiritual content, expressing love and grace to the ancestors and the *kohanga reo*, or expressing thanks for food.
- ***Kaupapa*** – Maori philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Maori society that have emanated from a Maori metaphysical base. Also a larger topic or subject in the context of Maori schools.
- ***Kohanga reo*** – Literally meaning *language nests*, are Maori kindergartens or preschool centres introduced in 1982. They are designed for all children from the first months to six years of age. The specifics are teaching language and cultural concepts through immersion method of education and specific methods for creating situational contexts.
- ***Kotahitanga*** – Holistic development applied in the curriculum of Maori schools.

- ***Kula kaupauni*** – Native Hawaiian primary schools that follow the example of Maori introduced in 1987.
- ***Kura kaupapa*** – Maori primary schools with the immersion education of Maori language introduced in 1985. Their curriculum follows the New Zealand standards for primary school level, but Maori is the main language of instruction.
- ***Mahi*** - work
- ***Mana*** – Expression for personal authority and power, influence, prestige or status. In Maori understanding, our ego reflects how we perceive ourselves, while *mana* means how we are seen by others. Famous Maori cannibalism came from the belief of appropriating one's *mana* through eating his flesh.
- ***Mana Maori motuhake*** – Spirit of Maori autonomy, applied in the curriculum of Maori schools. In their beginnings, the schools represented a strong political voice of Maori asserting their sovereignty.
- ***Manaki*** – Hospitality, empathy and care after others, usually shown by communal generosity. Everybody needs to be welcome and offered food. The norm of generosity is of crucial importance in Maori society.
- ***Manuhiri –*** Visitors on a *marae*, welcomed by a special ritual, followed with songs and dance.
- ***Marae*** – Maori meeting house and the complex of the buildings around it. Meeting houses are wooden, decorated with tribal carvings where every part of the building has its meaning. The whole building describes the genealogical story of the particular tribe. Community meetings and gatherings, and various ceremonies such as weddings or funerals are held on a *marae.* The *marae* is also where welcoming of the visitors (*manuhiri*) takes place. These events are some of the solid representations of Maori visual culture.
- ***Mihimihi*** – Personal greeting applied within the curriculum of Maori schools. Its aim is not only to make visitors feel welcome but also to show respect to Maori language by greeting in the Maori most appropriate way.
- ***Moe*** – to sleep
- ***Mokko*** – Traditional Maori tattoo which traditionally tells one's genealogy and the associated stories.
- ***Noa*** – In Maori belief system, some activities and things are regarded as sacred and some as profane. There are complex restrictions to their performance. Usually, they take place one after the other, since the profane acts and things are used to lift the

sacredness of situations. It is often food and water that play very important role in the profane world.

- ***Nga hononga*** – Value of human relationships, also applied at Maori schools.
- ***Pakeha*** – Expression used for white people of European descent/European New Zealanders.
- ***Papa*** – father
- ***Pakiwaitara*** – Maori mythology applied as a teaching method at Maori schools. Reading stories in Maori about the ancestors and gods was a common educational activity at *kohanga reo*.
- ***Pepeha*** – Introduction of a person and his or her genealogy practiced on any official occasion in Maori community and also applied in the curriculum of Maori schools as a language learning activity.
- ***Punana leo*** – Native Hawaiian kindergartens that followed the example of *kura kaupapa,* introduced in 1984.
- ***Rangatira*** – autonomy, chief
- ***Ringaringa*** – hygiene
- ***Roma ako*** – Learning room at *kohanga reo* school designated for the older children.
- ***Takaro*** – playtime activities
- ***Tamariki*** - children
- ***Tangihanga*** – Rites for the dead or funeral regarded as the most sacred activity in Maori spiritual world.
- ***Taonga*** – treasured item, prized possession
- ***Tapu*** – Sacred things or activities such as ceremonies or learning activity in the context of *kohanga reo*. See also *noa* for more details.
- ***Te reo*** – Maori expression for the native language. Literally meaning "language" or "tongue".
- ***Teina*** – Younger sibling/s of the same gender, junior line. The size of Maori families that even today tend to be larger is reflected in Maori language as well as in the abilities and skills of average Maori children. The importance of age and of child's position within a family hierarchy is projected into specific language expressions. While *tuakana* refers to older siblings of the same sex, *teina* to the younger ones.
- ***Tikanga*** – Maori values, protocols and customs used as one of the main ideological components of the principles of Maori schools.
- ***Timata*** – beginning, commencement

- ***Tuakana*** – Older sibling/s of same gender, senior line. See also *teina* for more details.
- ***Waiata*** – Maori song or chant applied as a teaching method in the curriculum of Maori schools.
- ***Wairua*** – spiritual life principle, spirit
- ***Wananga –*** Maori version of tertiary education
- ***Whaea*** – mother
- ***Whakamana*** – empowerment
- ***Whakamutanga*** – closing, end
- ***Whakari –*** Highlands of the Brockville region and the name of local Maori preschool centre.
- ***Whanau*** – Family, still understood rather as extended family, which was the primary form of social-political organization in traditional Maori society. One of the strongest values of Maori schools.
- ***Whanau pani –*** family of the deceased
- ***Whanau tangata*** – family and community
- ***Whanaungatanga*** – Family genealogy, relating to the first eponymous ancestor. Strong concept in Maori culture, applied in *kohanga reo* to reinforce individual feeling of belonging.
- ***Wharekura –*** Maori schools aimed for adults

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Interviews

Interview n 1 - Rosima Wiparata, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, 16/3/2009.

Interview n 2 - Janaya Haafield, Te Aupouri tribe, 23/03/09.

Interview n 3 - Thomas Tame Wiki Arapeta, Whanau-A-Apanui/Te Arawa tribe, 30/03/09.

Interview n 4 - Hiria Singe, Ngati Porou tribe, 06/04/09.

Interview n 5 - Amy Valentine, Nga Puhi/Ngati Tamatera tribe, 20/04/09.

Interview n 6 - Maria Osborn, European descent, 18/05/2009.

APPENDIXES

I. Photographs

Kohanga Reo o Whakari in Brockville

Outside playground

Books for children in Maori

Teachers and children at *Kohanga Reo o Whakari*

Maori teacher Amy and the children learning a Maori song

Doing *karakia* (praying)

Doing *pepeha* (personal introduction)

Kaupapa (knowledge) activity with the topic of fresh and sea water animals

Reading legends in Maori

Relaxation time

Local *marae*

Children at *kapa haka* (Maori song and dance group)

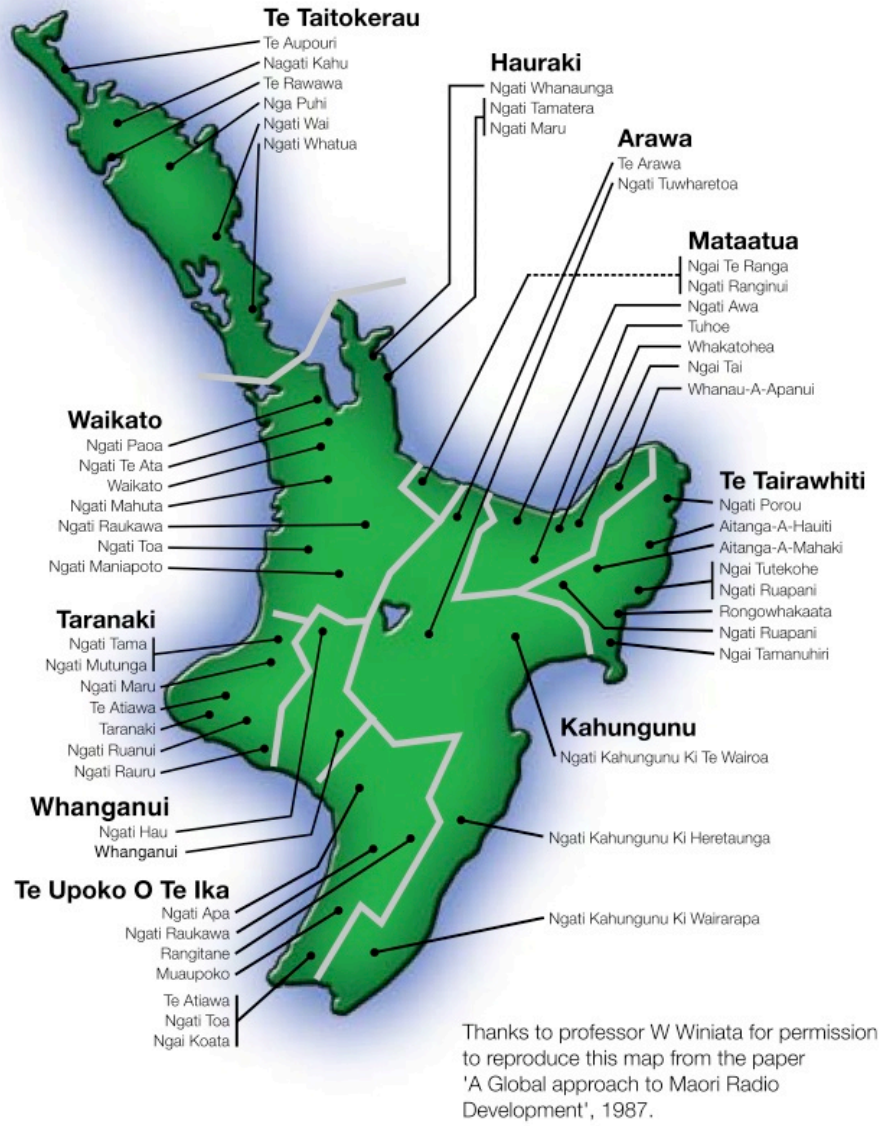
Children at the bilingual unit at Brockville Primary School

Maori teacher from *kura kaupapa* (Maori primary school)

II. Map of Maori Tribes in New Zealand

MAORI TRIBES

Major Iwi/Runanga Groupings – North Island



Thanks to professor W Winiata for permission to reproduce this map from the paper 'A Global approach to Maori Radio Development', 1987.

As can be seen on a detailed map, the tribal origins of Rosina Wiparata, Hirie Singe, Janaya Haffield and Tom Arapeta are in the north of the North Island of New Zealand.

MAORI TRIBES

Major Iwi/Runanga Groupings – South Island

The information for this map was compiled from an unpublished draft held by Lands and Surveys, and from information supplied from the Maori Affairs Department. Boundaries are deliberately ill-defined, as an accurate map has never been made.
The lines generally conform to major geographical features eg. Whanganui River Valley etc.

Two largest tribes in the South Island are Ngai Tahu and Kati Mamoe. My research took place in the very southeast of the island n the city of Dunedin.

III. Example of a Questionnaire with the Parents

Questionnaire for Te Kohanga Reo O Whakaari parents

1. Are you involved in paid or unpaid work? yes paid – Self Employed

2. How many children do you have? 2

3. What is the most important reason why you send your child to kohanga reo?
to learn Te Reo,

4. Why do you think it is important for your child to learn te reo Maori?
I feel Maori & learning Te Reo is a positive Step towards learning our culture.

5. Do you speak te reo Maori at home?
Very basic words.

6. Do you use te reo Maori
A in your family? yes basic words
B in your every day life? yes basic words

7. what are the benefits for your child to be educated in Maori culture and in a Maori environment?
To feel proud of being Maori & learning a postive aproch in understand our past & future (which is the most important)

8. Where do you see the future of your child?
to be able to speak maori & the to be a proud & postive maori

9. Do you take your child to the marae? – To our marae at home.

I understand that Mrs Jana Kulhankova will use this questionnaire for study reasons. I have chosen to participate on a voluntary basis. My details will be kept anonymous.

Signature & Date 16.3.09

IV. Interviews with the Teachers of Maori

Interview n 1, *Kohanga reo* o *Whakari*, Brockville

Rosima Wiparata, 16.3.2009
father from Nga Puhi and mother Ngati Tamatera
54 years
Director and founder of *Kohanga reo o Whakari*

"I work here to be with my people."

Keywords: Maori origins, founding *kohanga reo*, politics, city community, New Zealand educational system until 1982, *mokko*, *kohanga reo* and families, ceremonies

You come from another area, how do you feel here in Ngai Tahu society?

My ancestor travelled from the North Island to the South and married a woman here. So I have a family connection to this area.

Tell me something about your education.

I finished school when I was about 15 and after that most of my learning here was "hands on stuff" and life really…and later I went back to school and did my degree in social work.

Did you have any education in te reo Maori (Maori language)? At that time, schools were mainstream…

Yes, most of my *te reo* Maori comes from outside any formal training - from the *marae* and from speaking to my people. It is a part of me.

Did your parents speak Maori?

Both my parents spoke. People in the North speak fast while people here very slow and so my father would be like "would you hurry and say a word" and mother would be "would you just slow down"? *Te reo* Maori in my family was rather between ma and pa rather than between us all. Ma was really thinking and had been colonised into that the *Pakeha* education was the best thing for us so she did not encourage our participation in things Maori. Papa did but he did not overstep mama in terms of teaching us *te reo*. So what we have learnt was more from speaking and listening than from actual learning. There were no Maori programmes on TV or radio until my mum died in 1983. Just before my dad died - so it would be in 1990, at the hundred year celebration of the Treaty of Waitangi that we actually got something on TV in Maori.

How long have you been in Dunedin?

I have been here since 1982. My father's and mother's *iwi* were fighting against each other, they did not want them to stay together, so they ended up dragging us all the way down here to Wellington. We were raised there. I went all the way down to Christchurch in about 1977. From there I moved to Dunedin in 1982.

And how did you start kohanga reo here and when?

In 1986. By then, I got quite politicised. I got kicked out of school for challenging the teachers and the establishment about there not being any *te reo* Maori. I was in a social study school and we were

learning about the renaissance over in Italy and I went – "who cares, what about our people, why are we not learning about what it is for us?" So got kicked out of the class and then of the school. I knew there was a need of *te reo*. My parents were not politicised at all. They were too busy about coping in their every day life, there were seventeen of us, so they had no time to be politicised. There was no discussion about *Pakehas* in our family. So learning about my politicization was very late, but I knew when I was going to college that I did not want to learn about somebody else's culture but about our own. But there was no way they were going to teach us that. And in fact, when Amy went to the college down here and wanted to learn *te reo* Maori, they just really gave her a hard time. She would have been about 12 in 1984 and there was still no *te reo*.

What do you think made you politicized? Were you member of any group?

My anger about the system started when I was really young, eight maybe. I was raising my kids during the Westion Point time and the Land March time, and *te reo* Maori just missed me completely, all of that just missed me. But when I came here, what I really could not come across was the social suppression of my culture stuff. You know? I grew up in a little farm town where everybody knew everybody and we had a really tight community and our children used to walk through everybody's house. When I came to this community I thought there was something missing here, and it was about supporting each other to do the best we could. So I started talking with the community and my neighbour and his neighbour and that's when we started the Brockville trust and Brockville support group.

With families?

Yeah, because most of us were sole families on sole income, you see. I guess this was the dumping ground for the government in terms of building the houses… Keep them close enough to do the work but keep them far enough so that we don't have to look at them. That was kind of what I felt. But I think the biggest thing that really made me go "damn, this is so wrong" was when one of my brothers got locked up in jail. I cannot remember what it was for but I had this friend. She remains a friend today. She was a nun. I said to her can you get him? I had been trying for hours and hours. She went down there, flashed her card and he was laid down. I was saying to myself – "there is something wrong with that assistant that can do that". He was my brother, I was not making troubles. What I saw was that she was white and I wasn't. And she was able to get him out. And I was really angry about that… (asking me for a tissue to clean her glasses). So I really started looking for what is going on for my people, how is it that this happens, and from then I guess I was politicised. I was talking with everybody, I was agitating where I could turning up, oh yeah (strong laughter). And even it's on the benefits of all my children, I just at ways how I could support the Maori people during all we went through. Four years later, the law centre offered a job to me. They said "we have a resource to pay you for what you do anyway". Because another barrier for me was that I was on the benefit, so people would not talk to me. There is whole stigma attached to it. I used to raise my kids and work very hard at the same time but for no money. Nobody recognised that what I did was work. I was unpaid, I was never a volunteer. It was because the work I did was not valued.

Was it a community work?

Yes. And my kids would tell me – mum, you spend all our benefit, all our money on other people. But most of it did not go into our house, it was spent on buying tools and seeds and teaching people how to grow, buying cloths so that people could learn how to saw…so my idea was if we give them some skills they are not that reliant on the system. They can teach their children these skills. I just saw the need to build up the skills in the people I saw. (Amy pops in and asks about a meeting.) I don't think you deliberately sit and say – I am gonna do this because my people need it. I was said – you do all this and get nothing for that but I learnt a whole lot of skills. I am not a do-gooder, anything I got involved with – there was some pay-off for me. If I learnt how to saw it was because I made my son a nice jumper, I learnt how to dig garden to be able to grow veggies so…I never saw myself as do-gooder. I knew I would benefit from a whole lot of skills, that it would give me options. If I had a problem, there was the highest probability that others would have the same problem. All you gotta do

is to find them and say how we gonna do this. I had the problem that money would never fit enough to buy clothes and food. But we can make clothes and grow food! I never ever did it to help others only; my aim was to build my personal skill base so that at some time I can transfer these skills into mummy which would give our kids a better standard already.

What does Maori education mean for you today?

I was watching TV last night, a debate on channel one. They were discussing why Maori people have so high numbers in prison. And they had all these excuses for the system that had just failed my people. What I see is that our parents have children from one to five years of age. The education system takes our kids away for the period from five to sixteen. They give them six hours a day, so it is 30 hours a week. And our parents would have us on the weekend, and several hours every day, so maybe they end up having us only for 36 hours a week. The system gets us for all this time and they fail us. Our people get fired from school at about ten, or eleven. Nowadays it is getting younger so maybe at about nine. They fail us, they fail our attention in that environment, and they get paid to have us. My parents did not get paid to have us at school, whereas the education system does. At sixteen we are all failed. So where do we go next? We all go to jail. We put all these Maoris into jail and will keep them here. The system is failed.

What do you think is the biggest failure of this system?

It does not fit our people. And I know that because my boys and my girls have been through that, and even me. You go to any other school which is not Maori and the culture is not reflected back at you. The culture is European white culture. You have to fit their shape. If you are a boy you should be looking like that and doing this kind of things that white boys succeed in. But our boys do not succeed in them. They like hands on stuff, they like *kapa haka* or we have the oral tradition – all these things they like they got penalized for at school. So it's no surprise for me that this system fails us all. My kids love maths, why? Because it is not about culture. If you look at subjects which are not about culture, indigenous people are really successful in them. They can be successful even in science, but you gotta get through all that crap they have thrown at us. Social studies, biology is really bad for us…anthropology – our kids would never touch it. Because it is an interpretation of another person's culture. They transmit all their cultural values and expectations onto our people. So why is the system failing? Best way to colonise people is to take their language, take their land, and take the beliefs and values of people. And you do that by bastardising these people. So everything that you reflect at these people has to be not of them, and that colonizes their mind. I tell you a story from a school I was at. There were some children saying some rude jokes to Maori kids. The principle said "it is better if the Maori kids tell these kinds of things to their people than if white kids do." And when I looked in the textbooks my kids got at school, I had to throw them out. Because they were revised in 1948, and they were still saying things like New Zealand was discovered by Captain James Cook (laughter). So I asked the teachers why were they teaching them that stuff? And they say "that's all we have." But you cannot change the information they are using if you don't buy the resource. If society was serious about resolving the issues of my people being in jail then it would change this. It is about self-confidence. It is not only the fail what puts them in jail, it penalises them as well. I am ok about my people going to jail. But in our culture, we had very clear guidelines about how it would be. The relationship between men and women is reciprocical, it is about power sharing and power enhancing – I am only as good as you are. But what my people had to put up with through the colonization was bastardisation of women. And our men have taken that on, they thought it was great. And then all of the sudden, the other culture says we cannot keep on raping our women and those bloody Maoris should better change… But by then, my men learnt it was ok to bash girls and all this bloody behaviour. But if you teach our people to do that, how come you put them in jail when they do that. I call them my man because they are part of me, the gene which came to this country was very small. They are my men and they keep being shut by the system that hates them anyway. It hates them because they behave differently towards women and children. My people learnt very quickly during these assimilation practices. We learnt very early that it was very good if you bashed your babies you know? And so we started doing that. But prior to colonization if you were doing harm to your child, you would be killed or banished. Then we got Christianity and colonization and they said "now you

gonna bash your kids, so our people took on that, they wanted to be better than white people. Now they are being penalised for doing these things they were taught.

Would you say that you are a religious person?

I believe there is a higher power. I hope I don't do anything so bad to get penalised for that later on, which would stop me from progressing to another floor whenever it is… I often say we are *wairua* having a human experience. If we don't learn the lessons that we have to learn then we come back here again. I do have experiences that tell me there is another life after this. I believe that we have to be good people, and that it is part of our experience. And I think we are really ok with death and our people dying. When I look at *Pakeha* people who all go through this horrible thing and I just go ah my god…

You mean the funeral? Do you still keep the traditional funerals?

Yeah, but it depends on who you were as to the longevity with the funeral process… The three day mourning? My people believe that after the third day your spirit will rise. I think it has more to do with the way my people see things naturally occurring in death and life rather than a religion. I know that what we do today is more dependent on outside influences and sometimes people just wanna sit with their *tupapaku* (the body of dead exposed in people's house during the mourning period). But the other day we had a funeral that went all week. I don't hold to the three day mourning that hard. It is also about time. Here, for my people, women don't do the *karanga* (death chants) because they believe there is a bad stuff going around. In case somebody gets killed, it should not be a woman singing because she is the carer of the generation. But women from here would sing. There are things which we don't do the same. People are different; it is about environment, about upbringing, culture, about the access to resources… We are different on our mother's and father's side. The word Maori means common waters. We are the same.

How did you raise your children? Did you surround them with Maori culture?

She told me a story of her mother's funeral – they had to take her to her land to the North Island. The family could not afford it but they finally made it. There was also a concern about the iwi relations. They could insult her dad. "I always exposed my family to those things; I always took my children to the *marae*."

To the local one?

Everywhere. I tried to take them home to the North Island every year. I always told them - if you listen very carefully, you can hear the ancestors and the treasures falling out of their mouth and pick them up. You gotta take every opportunity to teach your kids or these who are really special because there is not many. And I would make them work; everybody has his job in my family. The *marae* is not a place where we go to sit but where we go to work. Everything is a learning opportunity what you do and it was important to me to provide these opportunities to my kids.

Did you speak Maori to them?

Yes. But it is always a problem of learning a second language in a society which has no respect for it. You always tend to speak English. I am really amazed at the number of kids who only speak *te reo* at home. There are many – especially the *kura kaupapa* children who learnt at home. Here, and this is the other thing – our kids when they come, they speak very little *te reo* Maori but they learn here so much that I get jealous. Just because they can! At my work I speak *te reo* Maori and I work in an office with seven *Pakeha* people but they allow me to do that.

Do you see any particular difference in between kids educated in kohanga reo schools and the mainstream ones?

One of my kids has been to *kohanga* ad *kura kaupapa*. Ra is very confident. But some time ago, he left to Auckland to his father. When he came back he said it was so easy to stick to English. He was actually better in maths. He was at school until 19 – the oldest one to stay at school. Most of them left before 12. When I was little, all I wanted to do was to learn. When I asked about why we learnt about the renaissance in Italy rather than bout Maori things, the teacher felt insulted that I was accusing her of not doing her job. The fact that most society is *Pakeha* or that Maori is never gonna be taught overseas was never a sufficient reason for me. I always wanted to learn, but was always in problem since that incident. I got dispelled from school. I did not even take it seriously; I turned up the next day. The next time, I saw my girlfriend being smashed by a principal so I got angry with him. I knew that *te reo* is so important for me. I went to school and they let me in again. Two or three months later I said to myself I cannot be bothered. I was in a group with black kids, and Pacific Islanders to find strategies to keep us at school. We would just meet after lunch and discuss the things which were going on, who was the bastard that week and so. Because we knew that nobody else was interested. Even the Maori kids from the professional classes did not believe that they can achieve what they were going to achieve just by going to school. We set up this group. When the teachers found out that we were meeting they got angry and did all to stop us from meeting. The Mongrel Mob was set up in 1968. Basically we started meeting ourselves as a support group. For me coming through school was bloody hard. Even in 1996 you still have to deal with culture that hates us. They make us invisible. I started studying law, I hate law. But I got interested in the Treaty of Waitangi.

What is important to offer to Maori children in terms of cultural education?

Today, we don't have the chance to choose on what things to educate our kids. Building the self-confidence, self-esteem, *mana* are the main things. It's about them. Then we can worry about getting other things how to educate them where to get the skills how to get a car and so. I don't think I will be part of that because we still have another ten or fifteen years of doing that.

What is the meaning of your *mokko*?

Maori women were oppressed with the Christianity and the whole white system. *Mokko* should be telling women stories which have been forgotten. Now is the time to reclaim these stories. Women are the leaders.

Interview n 2, *Kohanga reo* o *Whakari*, Brockville

Janaya Haafield, 23.3.2009
father from Te Aupouri (top of North Island) and mother of European descent
25 years
Trainee, working for *Kohanga reo o Whakari* for 9 months

"I work here to be with my people."

Keywords: culture, identity, language, Australia, bilingual education, *whanau*

Where did you go to school and what kind of education have you gained?

I went to Brockville primary school here, to the bilingual unit.

How did you enjoy it?

I loved it, yeah. I think we had the best teacher that I have ever had.

So did you learn a lot of te reo Maori there?

I did. I lost my *te reo* when I went to intermediate (Children chose a specialization when they are around 11 years old at New Zealand primary schools. This is called intermediate study). Cause I didn't carry on. I learnt all *te reo* since I was five till ten or eleven, and then I lost it. Then I went to high school and learnt it again and left the high school and then had to learn it again.

So you went to a mainstream high school?

Yes.

What did bring you to kohanga?

I have always loved being around with children, and then whaea Amy – her friend's daughter is one of my good friends and she just said that I should apply – cause I lived around the corner as well – so she told me to talk to Amy about getting a job in *kohanga*. And I went off like – "yeah". And cause me and my friend were gonna go to do some early childhood together and she ended up doing something else, and I ended up coming here.

But you did not have a clear idea of working here, you only wanted to work with children.

Yes I knew I did not want to do high school, but I knew I wanted do primary school or early childhood. And when they said there was a job going here I said "cool".

So have you had any experience in early childhood before?

Not in early childhood. I volunteered in another *kohanga* when I was about sixteen. I did different kinds of jobs. I went to work for fisheries and then I went to work for rental for five years... and then I came here.

So there was no special reason for choosing a Maori school?

I think that *te reo* has such a unique accent, the way the words slip of your tongue...I think Maori is one of the best languages in the world. But that's me (smile).

Why do you think so?

I don't know. I just think that *tikanga* – the way Maoris are, is just...yeah. The *tangihanga* for instance, it is so amazing how we all come together and join.

So did you have some basic knowledge of Maori when you got to kohanga?

I was doing *te reo* course for free in Kokiri centre. I loved it because I got most of my *te reo* back here. I thought I had lost it forever. I was still doing the course when I joined here. I wanted to get my *te reo* back. I felt that being a Maori and not knowing my knowledge was kind of weighting me down a bit. Now, when I know my language, I understand myself much better. It is difficult to explain how you feel when you know your language, if you might understand.

Do your friends and people around you use Maori in daily communication?

Yes they do but only pidgin Maori, like using Maori words in English sentences. You know "*Kia Ora*" and "how is *mahi* today". They would just use the stuff that they know.

Did your father speak any Maori to you?

It was really hard for my father because he grew up in Katuaha which is way up the top of the North Island, and was not allowed to speak Maori at school. And when he heard his brother speak Maori and asked why he couldn't speak Maori, mum ended up teaching them some words. But the teacher got angry afterwards. It was not noticed at that time. You had to learn the *Pakeha* way or higher way as it was. There were no *kohanga* or *kura kaupapa* like today, it was not recognised at that time. He can speak Maori now from speaking to me. But besides that he lost his culture. And that is why he put us to the bilingual unit and made us do *kapa haka* and all the stuff. He was one of the best *taiaha* (traditional combat with a long weapon) men in the New Zealand at that time as well.

How many siblings do you have?

I have two older sisters, and a younger sister and a younger brother.

Did he send you all to the bilingual unit?

Except for my older sister because she had already established herself. But she did *kapa haka* with us.

How did you enjoy kapa haka?

I loved *kapa haka*. Papa Tom was my tutor back then. It has changed because the *marae* here got burnt down. And they also burnt *kohanga reo* down a few times.

So what does it mean for you today – te reo Maori and tikanga Maori?

Knowing my language and my *te reo* makes me feel better as a person, because I know where I come from. And you have cultures like African Americans who have no connections any more. They were taken from Africa to be slaves.

What does culture mean to you?

Culture to me is my *whanau* (family), history, like the whole Treaty of Waitangi, and that's my land where Waitangi is. *Tikanga* Maori to me is something that I will pass onto my children, and I will make sure that my children get it better than I did. I think it is something you need to know because it takes you back to the roots of where you come from and all that kind of stuff.

Where will you send your children to study?

I want to send my kids to *kohanga reo*, not as much to *kura kaupapa*, because I also want them to learn the mainstream schooling. So I will probably send them to Brockville primary school. But definitely to *kohanga reo* cause for me that's where you learn the root of everything – you learn your *whakapapa* etcetera.

And how do you see your future after leaving kohanga?

I want to go to Western Australia where my sister lives, and to open a *kohanga reo* there.

For Maori living there?

For anybody. There is a lot of Maoris over in Australia, so just for them to have somewhere to go to learn their language while in a different country.

Are there any kohanga reo in Australia already?

I don't know. I think there might be a couple but I think they would be more in Sydney or Brisbane, not in Western Australia.

Author's remark: According to the web search, there are Maori schools across all Australia.

Interview n 3, *Kohanga reo o Whakari*, Brockville

Thomas Tame Wiki Arapeta, 30.3.2009
father from Omaio, Whanau-A-Apanui (East Coast), mother from Rotorua – Te Arawa
59 years, 9 children
waka driver, working for *Kohanga reo o Whakari* for 19 years

Keywords: language, life story, teaching, *kapa haka*, bilingual teaching, future, culture

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So how many of your children attend kapa haka group on Wednesday?

Not all of them. I have a boy in Australia and a girl in Wairuru in the army. And I have a boy in Christchurch. And the rest of them are of my partner. We have been together for 31 years. One of her kids is in Auckland, and the rest of them are around Dunedin and West Coast.

Does whole your family ever meet together?

Sometimes, for Christmas.

What did bring you to Dunedin?

I only came here for a week holiday and I have been here ever since. I loved it down here.

What did you like?

People were friendly.

How old were you?

Firstly, when I left home I went from Rotorua to Christchurch to work as an apprentice. I was there for 18 years, and then came down here to visit my brother for a week holiday and I stayed here. I didn't go back. It's lovely down here.

Even though the Maori community is not very big here?

No, it's not big at all. Like maybe sixty years ago, you wouldn't see any Maori here. But you would see them in Invercargill, because of the freezing works.

So when you came here, did you get in touch with the Ngai Tahu community?

No. Some of them got in touch with me when I started the *kapa haka* group. Some of them came along to learn. Not many Ngai Tahu people could speak Maori, but all the Maori from up North did. So they did most of the teaching.

Did your parents speak te reo Maori to you?

Yes. They knew it all the way. Parents taught us to speak Maori, and then you go to school and you speak Maori at the school and you get the strap. In some of the places you were not allowed to speak Maori. And in some cases some of us didn't know how to speak English properly. So it was a bit hard.

Did you also go to a marae with your parents?

It was all done at home. We were not allowed to speak on the marae until we were old enough like now.

Why do you think it is important to educate te reo Maori now?

Otherwise, we would lose the language. And then you get outsiders saying, oh, these Maori are hopeless, they have lost their language. And then you get people who ask what this and that means. Then you say "go and learn the language, you need to go and learn it". But yeah, I help a few people out. They want me to go home, because I am the only one in our family that can speak Maori. To go back to the *marae.* But I won't. I love it here and have a new family here.

Rotorua is nice too!

I don't like it. Rotorua now is way too commercialised. It used o be fine but now it is all money, money, money there and I don't like it.

What is Maori culture for you?

I love it, I like it. It is really awesome to have our own carvings and our own *whakapapa* or genealogy, our own tribe, tribal links, hapu and things like that. Not all the tribes have the same language. While Ngai Tahu call themselves Kai Tahu, North Islanders say Ngai Tahu. Taranaki is also a different dialect.

When did you start working here in kohanga reo?

Since it opened.

So did you start at the same time as your partner, one of the founders?

She worked here before me, because I worked as a social worker before. I was working for subgroups and the courts.

Have you got any degree in social work?

I did it in-house. I started in a social service dealing with Maori. And then a job came up to get right across the board so I applied for it and got it. And I got my degree from working with social wellbeing. And then I started teaching.

Teaching te reo? At what level?

At the high school level. Not only *te reo*, I taught wood work and maths. And I didn't have a teacher's degree (smile) but they wanted me to teach. They only wanted me for six weeks to teach at Logen Park High School…and I ended up teaching there for three and half years. I sometimes fill in for a Maori teacher down there in the bilingual. I gave up full time teaching and just wanted to do relieving for there is more money in relieving than in full time teaching.

From what I understood, the percentage of te reo Maori spoken at average high school is very low.

The only time you get full *te reo* is at the *wharekura* or *kura kaupapa* or whatever.

What do you personally think is better for children – bilingual education in both English and Maori or total immersion in kura kaupapa?

Bilingual is better. Cause you give them the best of both worlds. If you send children to *kura kaupapa* then all what they do is that they speak Maori. Now, some of them have trouble speaking English when they leave there. And there is not many jobs around the country with Maori. So it really pays to have the best from both at the bilingual. It's easier to get a job. And hearing what you are talking about, we had a boy living with us who he couldn't speak English, couldn't write, he only knew to write in Maori. I had to translate for him in Logan Park. Cause he went to *kohanga reo*, *kura kaupapa*, right through the whole lot. And when he moved down here, and started at Logan Park, he got into trouble. And he had to write an explanation of what he did and reason why and he wrote it in Maori, cause he couldn't write in English. It is ok to speak Maori at home and on the *marae*. But when you look for a job and you can't speak English…

Tell me how you started the kapa haka group at the local marae.

There was a lot of kids…I was involved in a senior team. And while we were practicing, a lot of kids were walking around and playing outside, doing nothing. And also walking in the streets and doing this and that… Me and my friend who was going to a theological college to be a priest decided to start a group. So we advertised and we got a whole lot of people interested in getting their kids to come along. Basically it was for the sole parents that struggled to get things and do that…it was basically for this reason that we started. We first started as a youth club. Having table tennis or balls, or darts, or pool. 20 cents for a drink! 10 cents for a fizzy and 20 for a cup of tea and biscuits and like that. Then the kids wanted to learn a song, so I taught them a song. Then they wanted to learn more songs so we started doing that and hello, in the end we ended up like *kapa haka* group. *Kapa haka*, and cultural group. And sporting club because we got involved with sports for our kids. When we started we didn't have a name for our club. A few weeks later we started to write some names down and putting them on the board and ask the kids (jawing) which name they preferred. And our group is called Te Huinga Rangatahi o Nga Hau e Wha which means The Gathering of the Young of from the Four Winds (North, South, East and West). And my group has been to Te Matatini twice.

How did you enjoy it?

It was a good experience for all members to have a look.

Are most people from your gathering Ngai Tahu?

No. Like I said The Gathering of the Young of from the Four Winds - we have got Samoans, we have got Indian, Rarotongan, Tongans, Dutch, we have German and now we have you from the Czech.

Where do you see the future of the Maoris now?

I like to see Maori as a whole self, whatever they do. I really don't want to see the language disappear. I would like to see a few Maoris going into business, to show some people that we can do it, you know. Not only the Indians, the Chinese, the Vietnamese and so on. And there are already a few Maoris who have their own business and they are doing really well.

Since you meet so many Maori kids you might have some comparison of those who were educated in Maori and who were not. In the way they behave, in their level of confidence?

All my kids went to *kohanga* and the bilingual. Jasmine is the last one in our family. She is going to the bilingual next year. But I have some grandchildren here in the *kohanga reo*, Lani and Mya. So I will stay on until they go through. Some of the kids who come to *kapa haka* don't go to bilingual. And every time I speak Maori out in the *marae* there, they don't know what I am saying. But they follow my other kids. It's really hard for those kids but at he same time it is not their fault, it was their parents' choice to put them to the mainstream. Some kids get very naughty…they start being naughty in *kohanga*! (smile) And then they carry on in the bilingual. But that's ok.

So at home, you speak both languages?

Yes, because my wife does not speak Maori. And she is Ngai Tahu.

Interview n 4, *Kohanga reo o Whakari*, Brockville

Hiria Singe, 6.4.2009
Ngati Porou
72 years, 7 children
Nanny, working for *Kohanga reo o Whakari* for 10 years

"Where else could I be? I am here to teach children te reo, to pass it on."

Keywords: teaching language, history of Maori schools, Ngati Porou

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What brought you to this kohanga reo?

Where else could I be? I am here to teach children *te reo*, to pass it on.

Do you like working here?

I like it; otherwise I would not be here (smile). I like working with the little babies more, with the little ones. I like being here and helping. But I would not be here if I didn't like it. Some people don't understand, they think I should be better enjoying myself down here. We used to have 10 *kohanga* in Otago, here in Dunedin. Now there is only two, that's terrible! With all this going on and unexpected things…

When did you learn Maori?

When I was born, my grandparents taught me. It was just there, there was nothing else. It is my first language. I was born and I had not heard much English until I was four or five. I grew up in both worlds. So my auntie married a European, a Scotch man. I went to one woman who lived in the city…I had my holidays. Then I came to Gisbon, I had all that experience, and then I started.

Where do you come from?

I am from the East Coast of the North Island from Ngati Porou. Did you know that the chief who brought here Ngai Tahu was from Ngati Porou? He was banished from the North by Ngati Porou. Anybody else would have been killed but because he was a brother of another chief and they just told him go, go and never show again. Then they wondered why he didn't get married – he was a handsome man – but was in love with his brother's wife. That's why he had to go. Anyway, when he was down here, he still didn't get married. But his brother died up there, so we went back and got the

wife here. So the lady, the *kaumatua*, belonged to Ngati Porou and the man belonged to Ngati Porou. So Ngai Tahu is a subtribe of Ngati Porou. And I am from the older brother, I am the oldest…

Interview n 5, *Kohanga reo o Whakari*, Brockville

Amy Wiparata Valentine, 20.4.2009
mother Maori from Nga Puhi and Ngati Tamatera, father *Pakeha* (New Zealander with a bit of Cherokee Indian on his mother's side)
34 years, 3 children
Trainee, working for *Kohanga reo o Whakari* for 14 years with breaks

"And from then I realised who I was, that I was a Maori and that I was just walking in another world in the mean time."

Keywords: language, family education, discrimination, religion, *kohanga reo* spirit, culture, identity

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How could you describe your first contact with te reo? Did you learn it in your family environment?

Not at all. My nun lived during the colonization period when it was not ok to speak Maori so my nun didn't speak *te reo* to my mum and my mum was raised with no *te reo* at home and with the fact that it was bad to speak and practice Maori at school. So when I was born my mum had no *te reo* knowledge. As she got older and we got older, she found the *Whakari kohanga*. And when she became ok with her own identity then my younger siblings were raised in *te reo* and *tikanga* Maori but I wasn't and neither was my older brother, because it was too late for us, we had already became quite white, I suppose. I left home when I was 14, and went to Timaru. I painted myself in swastikas and wore batwins, gothic make up, ripped clothing – I was a punk, supremacist.

Did you feel like a rebel?

Oh yeah, I was - we rebelled very hard. We used to paint our faces with baby lotion and tag on powder, but only Johnson powder, because it didn't go claggy but all the others did (smile). But it was not until I had my own son that I came home. My granddad was dying, while I was pregnant. I went to see him, and he looked really sick. So I contacted my mother and said that she needed to go home and get him. And she did. Then I came home to help to look after him. Then he passed away in April when we went to Tahiki. And from then I realised who I was, that I was a Maori and that I was just walking in another world in the mean time. And from then, I was just trying to realise who I was. I had an identity crisis; I grew up with identity crisis. It is like the stages. Pre-colonization was my nun's *whanau*, my nun was through the whole colonisation. Then my mum came into the colonization when NZ was colonized and they all were just fragments of anybody's imagination, all these little black people running around. And I was raised with the stigma of being Maori that you would have known well if you were Maori. And I raised my children to know that they are Maori and that they have to be proud to be who they are, to save them from their identity crisis. But they all acknowledge their *Pakeha* side; they acknowledge their dad's side. My children are learning about the Cherokee Indian because the great-grandmother of their dad was the last known Cherokee Indian to be living and surviving on a reservation. But his *whanau* let no history, so we are trying to track his history. I know mine, and it's important that my children know his - so that's what we are doing at the moment. And all my kids love being Maori, they know it is really strong, powerful ethnicity and that being Maori has some really good privileges.

So do you surround your children with Maori culture, do you take them to the marae, to the ceremonies and so on?

Yeah, I am still learning *te reo* Maori but we practice *tikanga* (Maori values) at home. We don't go anywhere without following the protocols. If we go to *tangihanga* (funeral) I always work in the kitchen, unless it's my own *whanau* (family) which, thank god - hasn't happened that I had to be burying my own at the moment - but yeah, I always show them that at *tangihanga* the extended community comes together to support the family. My son at *tangihanga* mows the lawns and cleans the grounds and keeps them nice and clean for the *manuhiri* (visitors) and my girls help to look after the babies and they set up activities for the babies that are at *tangihanga* to keep them out of mums and dads and to take off some of the pressure from the *whanau pani* (family of the deceased). So they all have their own places at *tangihanga* and they know what it is. "Work, help, do what you are told, and don't stress mum out" (smile). As long as I give them some of that, they will continue with their own children when they get older. And other people watch for my kids too. So they are always along, pushing their own children along to see what are our children are doing. So we sit down and talk how it was in the old days and so ... that's why I liked to be in the kitchen. Because you get to listen to all the stories, and you learn how to cook at the gatherings of up to six hundred - you know they cook for thousands and thousands of people, and they never miss a bee. They know how to set recipes that will feed hundreds and hundreds of people without betting their eyebrows. They just do it. It is a part of who they are.

Food and feeding people is quite important in Maori culture in general isn't it?

Yes, because food makes it *noa* (profane), so whatever it is, a cup of tea or *kai* (food) makes it ok. It takes off the *tapu* (sacredness). Like you do *waiata* (songs) after *karakia* (prayers) because *waiata* makes it *noa.* Here we do *karakia* in the morning, then we do *mihimihi* (greeting), *waiata*, then we do *pepeha* (personal introduction), then *waiata* after again and then we go through to *kai*. All the learning is put into the morning session. Because you do *karakia* and *mihimihi* that goes with the *karakia*, the *waiata* about who you are and then once all of that process is all out of the way and you go to have *kai* and after the *kai* it is about enjoying your day, doing arts and crafts. It is a part of Maori culture to provide food, we are going back to the old pre-colonisation times where it is about sustainability and no longer about effect, because today's culture relies on the effect that the food has. Whereas pre-colonisation was just about the whole community bringing a plate and putting it on the table. And that's what we are trying to teach them today that you don't have to have the best food, you just need to have everybody bring something which makes the whole banquet. I even have to teach that to the older ones like my mum. If we have a *hui* (a meeting), she wants to have the best *kai*, and it has to look pretty and extravagant, but sometimes it is just about the simplicity. It does not have to be about the best food but about making the best of the plate that you have.

So at home you speak both te reo and English? Are there occasions when you speak more Maori?

If we are on our own, then we speak *te reo* Maori. If we have visitors like my dad, then it is usually just a little bit of Maori. And that's just because it makes it easier to *korero Pakeha* (speak English) when my dad is around. But he … (thinking), he is not racist … I am not sure what he is. He doesn't like Maori people. The only Maori he has nice things to say about are those who are nice to him, his *whanau* or his friends. But outside that he has nothing nice to say about Maori people in general. He is like from the old days. His dad, my grand dad, was a racist. I am actually surprised that they had a baby, my mum and dad (smile). He was a war hero. When he was in the war the ones up the front were always the Maori people, because it was ok to shoot niggers. So my dad is still getting over the effects of the deeply inbreeded racism which is in NZ and he finds it really hard with our *whanau* because we are big. Last year it was the first time he spent Christmas with us. He would never ever spend Christmas at my home. We used to come and visit him at his home, but last year I had to put my foot down and I said we had too many children to drag them around. If you want to see them you have to come. His ideas are just not that transparent as his dad's who would call anybody a nigger. He was actually really bad but he loved my mum to pieces. My dad still carries some of his traits. Dad is slowly coming around - but his wife is the same. They love my family, they find it hard dealing with

my extended *whanau* and they find it extremely hard to deal with my extended *whanau,* my *whanau* and my friends. There were probably around fifty people at my house on Christmas day, majority of them Maori and my dad blasted. They stayed in the morning, went home and visited Julien's (his wife's) daughter, and then they came in the afternoon for the *hangi.* My dad had not had *hangi* since he finished with my mum, and Julien had never tasted *hangi* before. And because we requested of everybody to bring some *kai*, we had mega food. The first thing she said at the table was "Ah god, did you make all this? It must have cost you a fortune." And I said "no we only did the *hangi*, everybody else had brought the food." And she was really impressed. They are coming around and changing their thoughts and their ideas, but he will always be a racist deep down. He may accept people for that day but as soon as they are away he would say something nasty, which he usually does. He would never walk me down the aisle if I got married at the *marae.*

So you did not get married there?

No, in the gardens. And it was pouring down with rain but it was wonderful. But according to the tradition, the rain cleanses the earth - out with the old and in with the new - that's what the rain represents, so it was really nice to have rain on my wedding day. All of our photos were taken in the rain. When I started walking down the aisle it started to rain. It usually also rains during the *tangihanga.* The passing of the life brings sunshine in the end of the day. *Pakeha* people have changed it into – if it rains during a *tangihanga*, it was a god person, and if doesn't, it was a bad person. I have heard many people saying these things and I always go – no, it is "out with the old and in with the new". Everybody has passed on his sorrow and left it behind, and now it's time to put your foot in front of the other and keep moving forward. Even Maori people have it wrong these days, just taking on the concept of *Pakeha* and putting it into Maori culture. So it is just about trying to make them change their thoughts again, change them into - not the old ways, but just to the way things work with the contemporary.

Do you think that this is also one of the objectives of kohanga reo?

Absolutely, because we get the babies that are here and we can give them something different from their own lives. In some small way, it will impact on their family at home. But also if we manage to get the parents to come into *kohanga reo*, to teach them how to care for children on daily basis … Too often parents change their nappies too many times during the day, so the baby doesn't actually get used to not putting the pee on because they are always nice, clean and dry… You know - encouraging breastfeeding. Like I breastfeed all the time here, I don't hide it in a room. If my baby needs to feed, I feed him! Kohanga babies want to come up, have a look and have a touch, but I am ok with that because quite often, they don't get that at home. The mums come up and see me breastfeeding and see that it is natural. And *kohanga reo* is the place where they can start to build their confidence.

Why should it be something hidden?

My generation is the rebels, my mum's generation is all the hiders, and they kept it all hidden - breastfeeding, *tikanga* Maori. My generation is trying to bring back my nun's generation. How it was that Maori people were living before the colonization. It is about teaching the children that breastfeeding is natural. We are trying to teach them on the pre-school level that our bodies are our own, not anybody else's. If one of our babies here chooses not to breastfeed, we will be really disappointed. We try hard to make it normal and natural. It won't have any impact on my generation but it will have an impact on these. By the time Merekara is at *kohanga reo* teaching and doing her own breastfeeding, it will have a bigger impact on the ones beneath her. It is a streaming effect what we are doing here. Everybody is talking about breastfeeding, how we get it back into home. There is no way how to get it home. It is about teaching these children that it is normal, healthy ad nutritious for their babies. It is not just about breastfeeding, but about the all healthy eating, and that comes from changing their parents' ideas. I prefer that their send their snacks in containers. If I set an example and keep snacks in jars and containers, with no labels, then, hopefully, the parents will be able to follow this example. It will be one or two parents but hopefully as long as I set the example, they will keep

doing it, and in a month, third parent will jump on the bend, and hopefully they will no longer use labels.

Why do you prefer that?

As a mother of five I have noticed that my kids choose snacks according to labels. So we have no labels at home. Everything is put in containers, including the cereals. The kids just come and pick what they want. Even my sixteen years old goes to school with containers. My kids get annoyed with that. But other kids get interested in what they have in their containers and keep asking, but my kids don't know. Merekara tells them "that's what I do at home" and now there is another child in her class who has snacks in containers. But if you really think about it, it makes shopping so easier and cheaper, because nobody knows what brand it is.

It also prevents them from comparing things?

Yes, that's what society has made of our kids. But it is even with clothes. And adults are the same. My kids understand the concept that things don't have to be expensive to make you feel good. They love shopping in second hand shops. They shop around and can find cheaper things. Sunday, is a family day – we spend no money except maybe two dollars on hot chips, and we do things that don't cost anything. We would pack our lunch and go to the gardens. If it is cold, we go to the museum. My kids have been to the art museum, to the railway station. And the kids who stay in my house come and say – we don't need to go to the pictures. It is more fun in the museum and it does not cost you anything. What my teaching in kohanga is supposed to do, to affect the babies here to go and change their lives at home. My teaching at home gives my children a chance to take it to their school with them. You know, it is just amazing, how it affects people. I don't know where I got the idea from but it just comes naturally. I think my mum's auntie name was Umurua, and she was a freaky person by nature. She didn't like spending money, she avoided by all cost spending money. I think when you carry someone's name, you carry something from them. I like going to pictures and McDonalds but we just use them too much. My kids get it as a treat and only once a month. You cannot have a whole day of activities. And there is a limit – hundred dollars a month, and that's it. My kids have been able to negotiate with me and spend more than one hundred dollars and sometimes we do.

Can you tell me what made you work in kohanga reo?

My son was bon in 1993. We moved back to Dunedin, and his first kohanga was Manaki, because we lived down that way. When he was six months I sent him to Whakari. In the beginning, it was just to have time out. So I would come up here, he could not stay here on his own until he was about a year old. By the age of two I used to leave him here during the day and I would do my own thing. And the *waka* used to pick him up and drop him off, so it made it easier and accessible. Papa Tom was still the driver at that time. So I just used to do parent help, I wasn't really involved in educating the children. Then they needed somebody up here, so I came up for about a year and half just to do voluntary work. My mum comes any time when kohanga needs her but still has a job in the law centre. Maori people are stubborn. So we worked here together, which was hard. She became a voluntary full-time worker in 2001, working as an administrator. I looked after the charter, fundraising and so. I also arranged programmes and professional trainings for the teachers. Then I left kohanga with my mum when our sister was fired for an unknown reason. Then they persuaded Rosina to come back. She would come at 5 and stayed till the morning. I started working in law community centre, loved my job and life and had a reasonable salary (19NZD per hour). I helped out as a *waka* driver in kohanga. But eventually, I decided to go to the office instead, left my job, and worked for 12 NZD. I could have 26 NZD just for teaching. But I will not leave – only after they get enough teachers and stuff support.

What does kohanga reo mean to you in simple words?

Kohanga is my heart.

What does culture represent to you?

Anything. I should be Maori but in the end of the day, it comes naturally. Culture is who I am, my identity. I don't go to *kapa haka* cause I don't have time. I spend it with my family. But I am never offended if somebody wants to teach me something new.

Are you a Christian?

No. I don't believe in one god but in many different gods, *atuas* of different places. I like church. It does not burn if I go there. But god is not one person for me. Still, why there would be so many bad things happening? There are many situations in life and there is always somebody to turn to.

Interview n 6, Brockville Bilingual Unit

Maria Osborn, 8.5.2009
38 years, European descent, married to a Maori
Primary school teacher relieve, *te reo* (not completely fluent) and general curriculum

"I think everybody in New Zealand should learn te reo. We are a unilingual country and it is a tragedy. "

Keywords: language, education, total immersion, bilingual education, western society

Why do you teach te reo?

I think everybody should speak it. New Zealand is a unilingual country and it is a tragedy. Even the immigrants have lost their language. But don't forget that my perspective is of a New Zealand European, so it is slightly different as well.

That is even more interesting for me.

I was lucky in where I grew up - in Bluff. There were many Maori families and old people and they had not lost *te reo*. There is an old family in Bluff, and their youngest were fostered in the North Island. When they came back they brought *te reo*, and they taught at a primary school. They were really good. She did *te reo* lessons and lots of *waiata*, almost every Friday afternoon the whole time in the primary school. And I went to *kapa haka* during the high school. And when I went to a university, I was choosing what area to focus on as a teacher; I decided to do *te reo* Maori. Even then it was a big interest area and an area that had a lot of lack. And I just loved it. I did it for three years. Education and Maori were my majors and when I graduated I went into a bilingual school, so … putting it into practice, you learn the language a lot more. And then I went overseas for seven years, and I visited a *kapa haka* group in London, and I got really rusty. If you don't use the language, you don't forget it but I was not very confident. I hardly used it when I got back and then I went to school where they needed somebody who spoke Maori. There were not enough people to do it. So they just said "well, give it a go". There was a *kura kaupapa* in Wellington, and then I just came back to Dunedin. I just said I could speak *te reo* so they put me into the bilingual class. So that's sort of how I did it.

Would you say that you have been influenced by your parents in choosing te reo?

No, it was purely my choice. I just find languages interesting and there is so much to learn – structures, and vocabulary, and style of speaking, and different places would have different dialects.

What do people around you say on you teaching te reo?

They think it's cool. A lot of my friends would like to speak another language as well. They regret that their families haven't taught them, that New Zealand system doesn't encourage second or third language …

Don't you think it is changing now?

I don't see any change. It is still very hard because the kids are still essentially immersed into English. They go to school, and some of them go to *kohanga* when they are babies and do Maori there, but not all *kohanga reo* are full immersion. And then they go home and their families don't speak *te reo* so they speak both English and Maori. And then they go to school and they are not as confident in *te reo*, they are much more fluent and confident in conversational English. It is so much easier for them to speak English, so they do. When they are babies or when they are five years old, they are much more willing or open to speak *te reo*. But as they get older, they don't want to be different among other teenagers. There is still a lot of social pressure on being bilingual. And their families often don't work as well. Twenty five percent of Maori families are on benefits. When they are ten or eleven, they all get formal education in English.

What do you actually think about the advantages of kohanga reo schools and kura kaupapa total immersion and about bilingual units on the other side?

I have been teaching in a bilingual school for two and half years now and I am really impressed. I've had the little ones and they were very keen. They learnt so much. A lot of them came from kohanga or Maori speaking families, although not fluent in *te reo*. They came into school and they wrote and spoke Maori as well as they spoke and wrote English. But a year before that I spent in *kura kaupapa* and taught from five through to twelve and I have to say that they have so much English influence outside that the *kura kaupapa* system of teaching English when they get older is more likely for the children to be fluent and capable in both languages. Bilingual are not fifty/fifty. A lot of *kura kaupapa* are attached to mainstream schools, so when the kids are on the playground, they speak English. So they do a lot of English stuff. But they actually know how to read – they see it on the TV, they see it with their families. They are not fluent and fantastic readers, but they are capable. I guess there must be some combination of both, but not fifty-fifty. If the language is going to survive and be maintained and grow, it has to be higher. Because even here – you don't have fifty-fifty in the classroom, do you? I am a confident speaker, but the kids just go "what" and then they translate. Somebody translates it into English for others. So they do not understand, they don't bother. So in my understanding, there has to be more to get them more fluent. But there also have to be places to use it. And that's another thing – except the *marae* and formal situations, there are not enough places where we use *te reo*. They learn to say their name, the names of the day, parts of the body…they do learn some of the *tikanga*, the rules, around not sitting on the table, how to behave on the *marae*. But it is a pretty small aspect of Maori culture.

So why do you think it is important to maintain the language?

I think that if you don't have the language, then you lose a very important part of your culture. And my grandfather came from the island, and my grandparents came from Scotland, and they are all fluent Gaelic speakers. I can't even say hello. I cannot go back and join in. I can't be part of that culture. People I know – my brother in law – he did not get taught how to speak Maori and it is a huge loss for him, when he goes back to his *marae* and his family and his extended family. He can't be a full part of it because he does not know what they are saying unless they speak English. So he can't be a complete part of him, even though he is a Maori. You don't lose your whole culture because you don't speak the language but you lose a huge part of it.

And your children; are they bilingual?

My boy was bilingual until he was three. Now he learns the English equivalent words and always drops the word in Maori he had always known. We spoke almost hundred percent of Maori at home, and quite often when we were out as well. So I spoke to him ninety percent of the time in Maori but as soon as he learnt the English word, he refused to use the Maori word. And after a time, it got too hard and I just did not do it. He still knows a bit but much more simple commands like come here, get changed, and eat your food.

And he went to a mainstream school?

Yes. I mean it is still quite hard since the two languages are still not integrated. And my child would have no need to use of Maori. He does not have a *marae* to go to, that need to use it. But it's still a New Zealand language and I still think that kids should know it. He does not need it as much but … just even for the aspect of being bilingual, the brain development, the understanding of language, ability to pronounce Maori correctly – because not many European New Zealanders even know how to pronounce Maori correctly. So there is a lot of educational value in it as well.

V. Statistical Highlights in Education of Maori Students from Annual Report on Maori Education 2007/2008

According to the figures from 2007/2008:

- in July 2007, there were 28,490 school students involved in Maori-medium education, where Maori language made up at least 12% of teaching and learning. This is a decrease of 2.9% since July 2006. This compares with an increase of 1.5% in the previous year

- 15.8% of Maori learners are in Maori-medium education

- 8.1% of Maori learners in schools are learning *te reo* Maori for more than three hours per week

- 17.7% of Maori learners are learning *te reo* Maori for less than three hours per week

- in 2007 there were 6272 learners in *kura kaupapa* Maori and *kura teina*. This is an increase by 2.1% from 2006

- the number of *kura kaupapa* Maori has grown from 13 in 1992 to 68 in 2007

- there were increases in Maori language learners at universities (10%)

- year 11 candidates at Maori-medium schools were more likely to meet both the NCEA literacy and numeracy requirements than other Maori candidates.

However, figures show that enrolment in Maori-medium early childhood and school settings is decreasing. While the overall school population has been decreasing since 2004, the decrease in students in Maori-medium education has been greater.

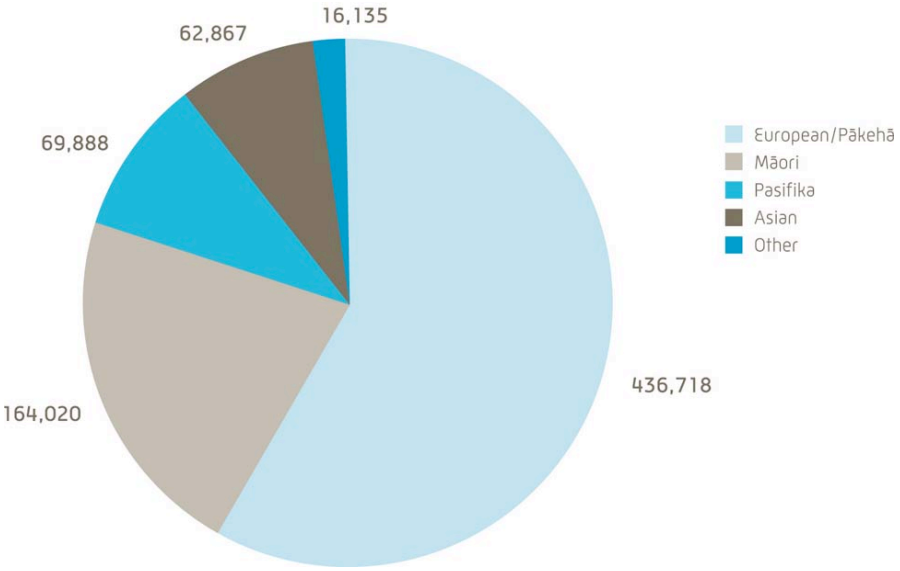
In 2007, approximately 8600 children attended *kohanga reo*. This is down slightly on 2006 when there were approximately 9400 children attending *kohanga reo*. However, when compared with 2001, the decline is more obvious. In 2001, nearly 32% of Maori children in ECE (Educational Credential Evaluators) were in Maori-medium services. In 2007 this proportion had dropped to 25.3% of all Maori children in ECE.

In schools, the drop has been smaller. In 2001, 17.1% of all Maori school learners were enrolled in Maori-medium schooling. In 2007, this was 15.8% of all Maori enrolments.

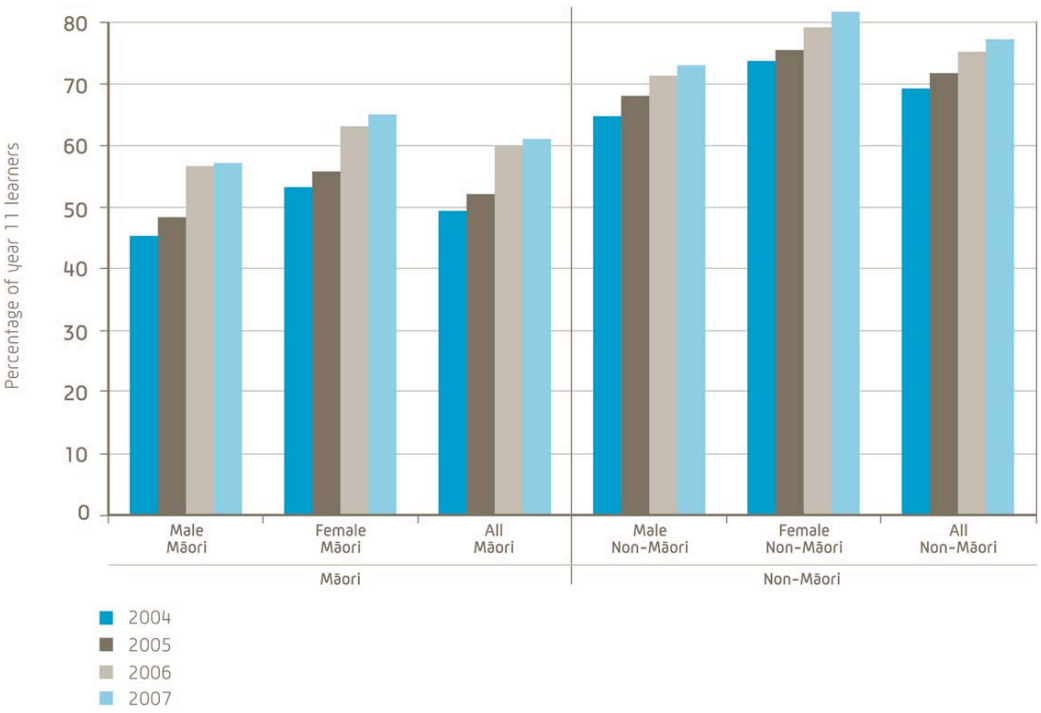
Although numbers in Maori language education across the system are decreasing, the number of learners at *kura kaupapa* Maori has been rising steadily since 2001. In 2007, 22% of learners in Maori-medium education were in *kura kaupapa* Maori, compared to 18% in 2001.

Overall, the number of *kura kaupapa* Maori has increased markedly in recent years from 13 in 1992 to 68 in 2007.

Graph 1: Domestic learners attending schools by ethnic group, 2007



Graph 2: Proportion of Maori and non-Maori learners to meet both the literacy and numeracy requirements by accomplishing their third year at High School , 2004/07



Graph 3: Percentage of school leavers going directly to formal tertiary education by level of study, 2002/06

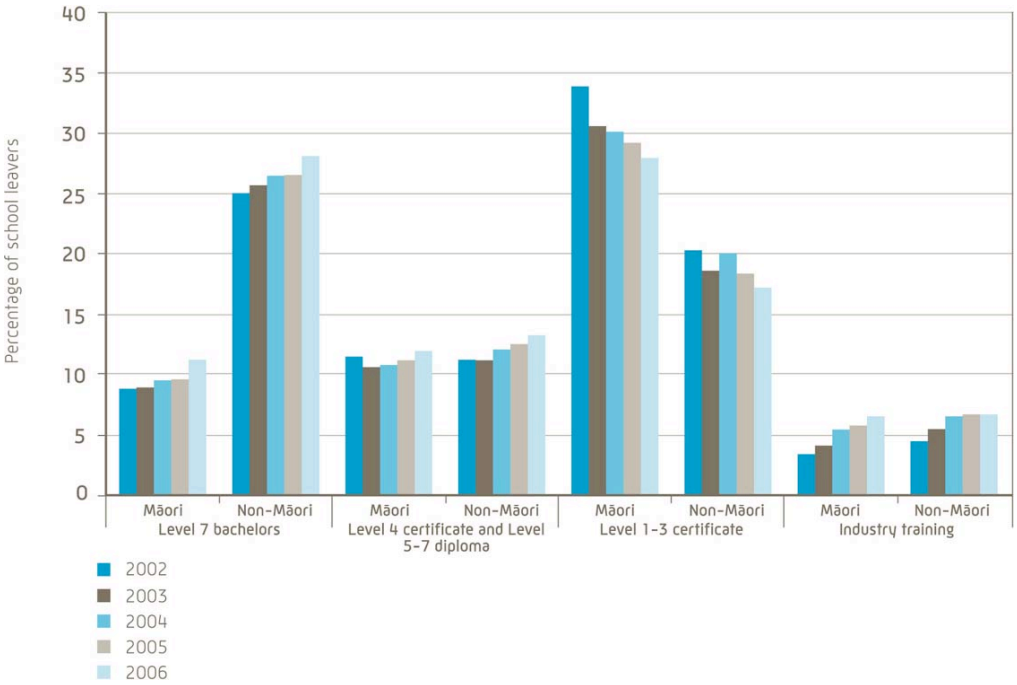


Table 1: Number of learners by ethnic group, 2001/07

ETHNIC GROUP		*YEAR*							
		2001	*2002*	*2003*	*2004*	*2005*	*2006*	*2007*	*% change 2002/07*
Maori	Total	149,590	152,556	157,270	160,732	162,534	162,385	164,020	7.5
	%	20.7	20.8	21.1	21.4	21.6	21.6	21.9	
Pasifika	Total	58,402	60,313	62,707	64,121	66,088	68,059	69,888	15.9
	%	8.1	8.2	8.4	8.5	8.8	9.1	9.3	
Asian	Total	43,653	49,294	56,024	58,737	60,358	61,857	62,867	27.5
	%	6.0	6.6	7.5	7.8	8.0	8.2	8.4	
European	Total	462,311	459,699	455,868	453,473	448,218	443,361	436,717	-5.0
	%	63.0	62.6	62.1	61.8	61.1	60.4	59.5	
TOTAL NZ LEARNERS		733,924	748,084	761,755	764,654	762,790	760,761	759,906	1.6

Table 2: Number of learners enrolled in Maori-medium education by form of education, 2001/07

FORM OF EDUCATION	*2001*	*2002*	*2003*	*2004*	*2005*	*2006*	*2007*
Immersion School	5,038	5,828	6,358	6,841	6,394	6,116	6,417
Bilingual School	8,040	8,102	8,456	8,868	7,989	8,035	7,486
Immersion Classes	4,285	3,669	3,940	3,837	4,055	3,933	3,527
Bilingual Classes	10,502	10,267	10,328	10,033	10,476	11,257	11,060
TOTAL	27,865	27,866	29,082	29,579	28,914	29,341	28,490
Included in above table							
Kura kaupapa Maori	4,740	5,228	5,500	5,700	5,828	5,936	6,137
Kura Teina	276	200	259	295	348	208	130

DEFINITIONS

Maori medium education - Learners are taught curriculum subjects other than *te reo* Maori in both Maori and English (bilingual) or in Maori only (immersion).
Immersion School - All learners involved in Maori-medium education for 20¼ to 25 hours per week.
Bilingual School - All learners involved in Maori-medium education for 3 to 25 hours per week.