

**WHAKAWHANAUNGATANGA A-REO:
AN INDIGENOUS GROUNDED THEORY FOR THE REVITALIZATION OF
MĀORI LANGUAGE SPEECH COMMUNITIES**

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A thesis
submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Victoria University of Wellington

(2012)

Abstract

This study focuses on the role of adult Māori language acquisition in the revitalization of the Māori language. Māori language transmission is now primarily dependent on transmission through educational institutions. The objective of Māori language revitalization is to re-establish intergenerational language transmission.

Language shift means that intergenerational language transmission of the Māori language has effectively ceased in Māori homes and communities. This means Māori once again becomes the primary language spoken in the home, neighbourhood and community domains.

This is a report of a grounded study of an adult cohort of novice language learners. A group of mainly Māori who joined a Te Ataarangi total immersion programme where they were immersed in both the Māori language and the culture over a three year period. I was a participant observer of the cohort and collected data in the form of field notes and interviews on the experiences of its members. Following classical Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) (Glaser 2002), I used constant comparative analysis of incidents to iteratively analyse the data and evolve the conceptual framework.

The central finding of this study is the process of *whakawhanaungatanga a-reo*. I found that the shared objective in acquiring the Māori language for the cohort was to be able to use the language appropriately in ordinary communicative situations. The way their objective was met is represented in a three-stage process of *whakawhanaungatanga a-reo*. *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is a process by which the cohort evolves from *manene*, to *ako ngātahi* and finally to a *whānau ā-reo*. At the *manene* stage, a novice learner is in a total immersion learning environment, their main inhibitor is *whakamā*. *Whakamā* is ameliorated by the tenet of *ngākau māhaki* which is an attitude of tolerance and caring propagated throughout the group. *Ngākau māhaki* facilitated trust relationships within the group.

Ako ngātahi is the second stage of the process of *whakawhanaungatanga a-reo*. By the *ako ngātahi* stage, the Māori language was the default language of use amongst

the class members. Building on the level of trust built between the group's members developed at the *manene* stage meant that they felt comfortable enough to mahi tahi (cooperate) and interact intensively in class learning activities. These interactions were all mediated using the Māori language as the primary language of communication.

Whānau a-reo is the last stage of the *whakawhanaunga a-reo* process. By attending wānanga with other classes, often in different regions of New Zealand, relationships between the groups continues to develop until finally the group transitions into a *whānau a-reo*. Learners who reach this point are confident to continue practising the language outside of the classroom environment with members of other Māori speaking communities; such learners are the basis of language revitalization.

Mihimihi

Ko ahau tēnei e kake ake ana, e piki ake ana i te ara a Tawhaki kia tikina mai te kete hei painga mō tōku iwi. Arā noa atu ngā tāngata i poipoi i ahau i ēnei tau kua hipa ake nei. Mokori anō kia tuku maioha atu ki te hunga e whai ake nei.

Ki tō mātou nei pouako, ki a Hēnare Francis Ngaia, he kura tangata, e kore e hokia. Mei kore ake i te ngākau mahaki o ngā momo pouako pēnā anō i a koe kua kore te reo Māori i pēnei rawa te ora i ēnei rā, ā haere ake nei.

Ki tōku whānau whānui o Te Ataarangi. Nā Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira rāua ko Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi te kākano i whakatō, i whakatipu, kia hua mai ai tēnei mea e kīia ana ko Te Ataarangi. Taka rawa iho ki a mātou o Te Kāinga i tae manene atu mātou, ā, i runga i te werawera o te rae i whakawhitia ki te iwi ora.

Ki te whānau o Te Kawa a Māui, ka mihi. Kei ōku kaiārahi ko Ahorangi Rāwinia Higgins he tautōhito i ngā mahi whakarauora i te reo Māori, kōrua ko Tākuta Ocean Mercier he mātanga i tēnei mea te tuhituhi kia nahanaha, kia arotau te tuhinga nei, me mihi ka tika. Tena anō kōrua i pānui ana i aku nei tini kupu kia eke ki te taumata e tika ana. Nōku te whiwhi i ō kōrua pūkenga, i ō kōrua pūmanawa me tō kōrua manawanui. Mei kore ake kōrua kua kore tēnei tuhinga i eke, otirā, ko ngā mea e noho hapa ana, nōku tonu ēnei.

Tae atu ki tōku whānau whānui o Te Herenga Waka, me he marae tūturu nōku. Ko Te Herenga Waka tōku nei whakaruruhau i te wā o te mātaotao, He mea whāngai i ahau ā-wairua, ā-ngākau, ā-tinana. Kei te mihi, kei te mihi, kei te mihi.

Kia tahuri atu ahau ki tōku whānau ake. Ki tōku hoa kahurangi, ki a Sue, ko koe tērā i raupī mai, i raupā mai i te ao, i te pō, hei taituarā ki tō tāua whānau. Ki āku tamāhine, ki ngā tau o taku ate, ki a Hōriana rāua ko Anahera, nā kōrua anō ahau i whakakipakipa kia ngana atu ki tēnei ara tāpokopoko. Ko te pae tāwhiti ia, mei kore kōrua e hiahia ki te whai atu i tēnei mea te tohu kairangi hei ō kōrua wā.

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Chapter One:

Māori language revitalization

Kia ora ai te reo kia ngākau māhaki tātou. Kei wareware, nā te Moa te Rātā i takahi.

Ka ora pea i ahau, ka ora pea i a koe. (Mead 2003:173)

Ko Maungakāhia te maunga, ko Whangawehi te awa, Ko Tuāhuru te Marae. Ko Rongomaiwahine me Kahungunu ōku iwi, ko Ngai Tū te hapū, ko Pohe te ingoa whānau. Kei Taputeranga ahau e noho ana. Ko Kurahaupo me Tākitimu ōku waka.

This is my pepehā. Does this pepehā have the same meaning in English as it does in Māori? What do we lose when we lose a language? When I started this dissertation project, my answer would have been an ambiguous one at best. This is a dissertation about Māori language acquisition, learning Māori as a second language, within the broader context of Māori language revitalization. I am arguing that the Māori language is the heritage language of all citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand. A treasure beyond price that all citizens have a duty to help revitalise. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with an overview of the conceptual framework of this dissertation. This is achieved by introducing the research problem and key revitalization theme of Māori language use, by adults, in communities. The thesis of this dissertation is that successful intergenerational transmission (Māori language revitalization) is contingent on the everyday use of the Māori language by bilingual adult Māori language speaking communities.

This chapter also to lays out the Te Kāinga study's key finding and the methodology by which this finding was reached.

This dissertation is located in the field of language revitalization or reversing language shift. The study explores the subject of adult second language acquisition to shed light on the problem of increasing the vernacular use of the Māori language.

In the process of language shift, languages do not die they are displaced; they cease to be transmitted or spoken intergenerationally by their home communities

(Crystal 2002). A new language takes on the communicative purposes and parents gradually cease using the minority language with their children in the home. The community support weakens and individual speakers become isolated. It is this process that Fishman theorised when he established the field of Reversing Language Shift and developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Fishman 1991) which I discuss in more detail in Chapter Two.

Language revitalization is about returning the language to ordinary use (Skerret-White 2003). The particular domain which language advocates are interested in is the home. The intention is that eventually the language once again becomes the language of children's primary socialization, a language that is intergenerationally transmitted by parents to children in the context of the home, neighbourhood and community. Revitalization and regeneration are often used interchangeably but are not one and the same. Revitalization is language efforts made with the objective of the eventual restoration of intergenerational transmission (Fishman 2001).

Regeneration is language efforts for the objective of expanding the domains and speaking communities, finding new uses and users (King 2001:26; Spolsky 2003:554–555). Revitalization can be seen as the long-term goal while regeneration can be seen as a tactical goal on the way to achieving intergenerational transmission.

This dissertation attempts to apply Fishman's (1991) theoretical framework of reversing language shift to the context of Māori language revitalization in New Zealand. Fishman argues, persuasively, that dislocation of speaking communities is the most significant factor to language loss and the precursor to Language Shift (Fishman 2001). Therefore, to revitalise a language necessarily implies that language-speaking communities must also be revitalised. The lack of success of current revitalization efforts to restore the process of intergenerational transmission suggests that there is an important disconnect between the individual second language acquisition and speech community development.

In the New Zealand situation, language shift is not returning the community to monolingual Māori but rather to a state where a community of bilinguals use the Māori language in preference to English in the informal domains of home, neighbourhood and community (Chrisp 2004). This dissertation is concerned with

the language revitalization that is the preferential use of the Māori language in communities of bilingual speakers. The goal of language revitalization is the intergenerational transmission of the Māori language in the homes, neighbourhoods and communities of Māori language speakers. A living language is one that is used by communities of speakers for communicating with one another.

Is the language really in trouble?

Since the Māori Language Act 1987, Māori has been recognised by law as an official language of New Zealand. Looking at the level of institutional support, one might be forgiven for thinking that the Māori language is alive and well in New Zealand. Māori now have the Māori Language Commission; Māori immersion education institutions that include primary schools such as Kohanga Reo pre-schools and Kura Kaupapa Māori and secondary schools with Wharekura, and tertiary with Māori Whare Wānanga; as well as Māori departments in mainstream universities. Māori broadcasting includes two Māori television channels and a network of Māori radio stations. Iwi organisations have instituted their own language plans most notably Whakatipuranga rua mano of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngai Tahu's Kōtahi mano kāika. Despite all this apparent activity it would be unusual to hear the Māori language being used conversationally in most Māori communities of New Zealand today as 77 per cent of Māori are not able to converse in the language (Reedy 2011:37).

If we consider the state of the Māori language in the broader context of global trends in language extinction, languages throughout the world are becoming moribund at a rate of approximately one every month (Crystal 2000). Commentators argue that should current trends continue only the most dominant languages such as English, Chinese, German and Spanish will survive to the end of this century (Crystal 2000).

Some see these language extinctions as an inevitable result of globalisation. Zuckerman in his article on linguistic revitalization reminds us that languages are always shifting, all languages are hybridisations of the cultures they have been in contact with, and it is a natural process (Zuckerman 2011:111). If this gloomy prognosis for language extinctions is the case, then language advocates reasons for

saving these languages also need to be part of the discussion as to the importance of these languages and why indeed they need to be saved. The question is why should the Māori language be revitalised?

Is language revitalization as it is currently constructed as a return to intergenerational transmission a realistic goal for language advocates? Would language advocates do better to lower their sights to achievable goals of language regeneration? This is more in line with what the current strategies are actually achieving. This is not to say that the long-term goal of intergenerational transmission should be abandoned, it is just a reprioritising of language revitalization resources to reflect the current capability of the Māori people now.

Significance of the Māori language

The Māori language is embedded in the geographical naming system of Aotearoa, New Zealand's cultural heritage and Māori is becoming recognised as the de facto heritage language for all New Zealand citizens (Waitangi Tribunal 2011). It is endemic to New Zealand, if it does not survive here it will not survive anywhere in the world. Arguably New Zealand is essentially an English speaking society. The Māori language is now only used in a few institutional domains. For the most part the Māori language is not being passed down intergenerationally, in homes, neighbourhoods and communities. Māori commentators such as Tā Hemi Henare have expressed the view that the survival of the language as the unique expression of that culture is critical to Māori cultural survival, "Ko te Reo te mauri o te mana Māori". The Māori language is the carrier of the Māori culture as expressed here: "Without it the Māori identity would be fundamentally undermined, as would the very existence of Māori as a distinguishable people" (Wai 262 2010:48). For Māori to exist the Māori language is a key marker of that identity.

Knowledge of the Māori language opens the door to the Māori people of today to the Māori speaking world and their own history. As Royal argues, it is also the productive centre of the culture, the medium of cultural authentication (Royal 2006:53) so a unique language is necessary for the culture to be recognised.

According to Ngaha (2004), the language is a marker of Māori and tribal identity and belonging, a window to understanding their past. Hohepa (2004) takes the view that for Māori it is their connection with their history, encoding their systems of knowledge. The tribal and hapū infrastructure with their networks of marae strategically placed amongst their Māori communities. The language is the tangible remainder of all the ancestors who used it to communicate the things that were important to each other. Royal takes the idea of having a better understanding of the culture through knowing the language a step further arguing, the Māori language is the gateway through which people must pass in order to be able to access the deeper recesses of the Māori world (Royal 2006). This seems to mean that it is imperative to know the language in order to understand the intricacies of that culture.

The idea of Te Reo being tapu or sacred is strong in the language ideology of the Māori. One Māori view is that the language is a divine treasure that has been given to the people and that people themselves are descended from the gods (Kāretū 008).

Mead (2003) posits that the language connects the spiritual and temporal parts of the Māori world view. At the spiritual or cosmological level, there is a pantheon of gods that mythologise the origins of the universe and everything in it. At this level language is an expression of a relationship with the natural world, the ancestors and their value systems.

In the marae setting where tikanga Māori principles are honoured with certain marae Kawa and are the ultimate expression of culture. The loss of the Māori language in these particular settings is perhaps one of the most public examples of what the loss of the language would mean for Māori people. Muru in Kāretū (1990:46) bemoans the prospect of a marae “denuded of its own tongue as a tragedy beyond comprehension” (1990:26). There is also the question of how the rituals would be performed without the Māori language as Karetu asks “how would we farewell our dead?” (Karetu 1990:44). The concept of tapu must be dichotomised with its counterpart, the concept of noa. The language is not just for spiritual purposes but also for normal, everyday uses. A living language that is used for the full range of human communicative action, in the domains of home, neighbourhood and community, a language for use in the kitchen as well as on the Paepae.

Normalising the Māori language

In New Zealand, English is the preferred language and most New Zealanders seem content with the status quo at this point in our socio-linguistic history. Today 80 per cent of Māori live in urban environments (Statistics New Zealand 2010). According to Van Meijl (2006), most still have some knowledge of their ancestry but essentially live urban life styles. The main issue facing the survival of the Māori language is that it is not being used outside of institutional settings such as schools and formal contexts such as marae ceremony. The Māori language is now only used in a few circumscribed institutional domains as a normal means of communication; mainly on ceremonial occasions as a form of ritualised speechmaking. Fishman defines a living language as one that is used in the contexts of home, neighbourhood and community (Fishman 1991, 2001). Yet it has been over 30 years since the Benton report (1979) highlighted this issue and was a key driver in the Māori language revitalization; and to date, the language still shows little sign of normalising (Bauer 2008). There are many reasons why Māori communities chose to start using English in preference to Māori and these are discussed in more detail in Chapter Two; however, it is important here to look at the issue of the status of the language in people's minds, particularly that of the parental cohort. Status is important, as unless sufficient numbers of parents see value in acquiring the language and passing on the language in the home to their children, they will not commit their scarce resources to it. Intergenerational transmission of the language is a key language development tool espoused by language revival advocates and the engagement and encouragement of the parents, this transmission cannot happen. The parental role or adult role is vital in intergenerational transmission of the language. The home is the place where a child is primarily socialised, it is where the child acquires their first language. The home is where the language revitalization focus needs to be.

Language revitalization efforts to date have focussed on the compulsory education sector. Relatively little resource has been targeted at adult language acquisition and use. There is also relatively little data on the experiences of adult learners engaged in the process of language acquisition (Ratima 2011). The assumption of this

dissertation is in order to restart intergenerational transmission of the Māori language the demographic group that needs to be using the language is adults. A necessary implication is that adults must learn the language and be prepared to use the language within their local communities, neighbourhoods and homes.

Researcher background

As already discussed, the reasons the Māori language and its uses are in the present state will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. However, at this introductory stage it is important to disclose my personal and extended Māori family influences in respect of Māori language shift in New Zealand and how I came to be in the language class that developed into the Te Kāinga study. My paternal grandmother, Ira Pohe, was the last member of my immediate family who could be called a native speaker. My grandmother had been raised in a Ringatū whānau in Manutuke, in the Gisborne area in a family and community in which the home, neighbourhood and community language was still Māori. My paternal grandfather, Kupa Pohe, died in 1959 and from what I can ascertain from talking to various family members, he was not fluent in the language. My grandfather was brought to Māhia as a whāngai from Pakipaki in Hastings in central Hawke's Bay from a whānau which, by the time he grew up in the 1920's, appeared to have already shifted from Māori to English as the home, neighbourhood and community language. Kupa and Ira married and raised their children on our family farm in Māhia. My father, Wiremu Pohe, the oldest boy of nine children was born in 1937 and raised on the Māhia Peninsula in Hawke's Bay. My father and his eight siblings acquired a passive understanding through listening to their elders but for the most part the community they were raised in was not a Māori speaking one. The education system of the time was actively discouraging the language from being spoken in schools (Benton 1989) although none of my family mention experiencing corporal punishment for speaking Māori at Māhia School (Wiremu Pohe, pers comm June 2008). Although the majority of the children were Māori it appears at that even at that early point in colonisation the community did not speak Māori as a vernacular.

My father attended Te Aute College where he attended compulsory Māori classes but was not motivated to speak the language outside of the class. After Te Aute High

School, my father joined the migration of young Māori to the cities in search of work. He joined a Wellington trade training scheme and became a carpenter. My father married a Pākehā woman from Lower Hutt, and I was born in 1962, the first of five children. I attended primary school in the Wellington suburb of Ngaio until I was eight years of age. Among my primary school memories a key one was of being constantly corrected by my teachers for not pronouncing my last name according to English vowel sounds.

In 1969 my father shifted the family to South Otago where he was working as a crayfisherman and paua diver. We were the only Māori family in the school; most of the community were descendants of Scottish settlers, many Scottish customs were still practised most notably the Highland Games and the bagpipes were still played by a few. The Māori culture was briefly mentioned in school but always in a historical context with little on early settler contact; usually the custom of cannibalism was highlighted. My recollections are with the difficulties others had with pronouncing our names correctly, particularly in the South Island to the extent that we ended up intentionally mispronouncing it ourselves to fit in with the communities that we were living in.

In my fifth form year, my father, who had been experiencing health problems, shifted us back to the East Coast of the North Island to Nuhaka 12 kilometres from our tribal region of Rongomaiwahine. I finished my last year and a half of high school at Wairoa College. My father (Wiremu) had taken on the role of chairman of the Marae. He had also taken on the job of running a pre-employment programme tasked with rebuilding the Wharenuī at our Marae of Tuahuru in Māhia. In order to better fulfil his speaking responsibilities on the Marae in the 1970's Wiremu began to strengthen his language skills, eventually becoming proficient but suspicious of what he perceived to be the new words and phrases being introduced into the Māori language. I accompanied him to various events at the marae but had little interest in what was going on there. Neither I nor any of my friends had any interest in the language at that time, to us it seemed archaic.

The dominant ideology of that time in my whānau, other than my grandmother who was predominantly Māori speaking, was that the future lay in the English language

and a solid Western education. I finished Wairoa College in the sixth form and had a series of blue-collar jobs mainly working in orchards, eventually becoming an orchard manager. To further this career path I began to study at Massey University where I gained a Diploma in Horticulture with distinction. This experience gave me an appetite for tertiary education and over the coming decades, in amongst my entrepreneurial activities, I worked my way through a BA/LLB and a Masters in Information Management. Whilst working towards these qualifications I also worked as a serial entrepreneur, starting a number of companies in industries as diverse as dive tourism and web development. My last role was in knowledge management specialising in online collaboration.

There were many reasons for learning the language. I cannot identify the exact trigger that set me on the path to wanting to learn the Māori language and culture. My immediate whānau apart from my sister were not Māori language speakers; however, from an early age, I had been made aware of the Māori tradition that as the oldest male in my family and of all the cousins in my generation I was expected to assume a spokesperson role during Māori gatherings. I had also become interested in my whakapapa and assisted to organise a Pohe whānau reunion. As the oldest cousin and organiser, I felt I would be expected to be able to speak there; I intentionally arrived late so I would not have to speak as I was embarrassed by my lack of speaking skills and cultural knowledge. Extended overseas travel forced me to reanalyse my Māori identity as a unique identifier of New Zealand citizenship, many times people would ask me questions about the Māori language and culture questions, which I was unable to answer. I became involved with my Māhia, Rongomaiwahine iwi as a trustee and as a way to assist my iwi began to think of research topics that I could embark on.

If there was one single catalyst in learning the Māori language it would have to be the birth of my two daughters currently aged 12 and nine. This had an indelible affect on how I viewed the topic of exploring our Māori cultural heritage. I wanted them to have a broad education, which encompassed a deep understanding of both Māori and Western knowledge and values, something I did not have educationally. I also saw the PhD was an opportunity to develop skills and obtain a qualification that

would enable me to better contribute to my Māori communities. However, in order to contribute to Māori I could see I needed to acquire a deeper understanding of what the Māori culture was about. I was highly motivated to begin learning.

I contested and won a three year Fellowship from the Foundation for Research Science and Technology that enabled me to start the PhD process. The view I took from the beginning was that if I was to be able to be of assistance to my Māori communities then I first needed a deeper understanding of what Māori really meant. I felt that by learning the language this would open the door to the Māori world. In March 2005, I began by auditing the beginning level Māori language papers. I also enrolled in Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Ara Reo Programme, and started attending other programmes run by iwi and Te Awanuiārangi. I immersed myself at home in watching Māori language television programmes and listening to Māori language radio and tapes from the Te Whanake series. From childhood, I had been a voracious reader so I began reading any Māori language books I could find, assisted by Māori dictionaries. In July I enrolled in the Te Kāinga, Te Ataarangi class and I became fully engaged in the process. I experienced the benefits of Te Ataarangi total immersion in accelerating my language acquisition process. It is this class which was eventually to become the focus of this study. It is to this class that we now turn our attention to.

Te Kāinga study overview

This is a study of the process of adult language acquisition of the Māori language, a three year study of a cohort of novice adult language learners. The class was following the Te Ataarangi Silent Way method of adult language learning (Gattegno 1972). Following the experiences of a group of adults learning the Māori language seems to be an important area of study as despite the best efforts of many passionate and committed Māori over the past three decades and a budget for Māori language funding of \$600 million in 2008/2009 alone (Reedy 2011:57) the language continues to languish.

Fresh approaches are needed to research that can look at the problem of language revitalization and second language acquisition. Current approaches do not seem to

be returning the language to everyday usage. Ericsson et al. (2007) posit that it requires up to 10,000 hours of intense training to master a skill. This is a daunting proposition as the language is no longer spoken in informal domains and so the language classroom is for most the only opportunity to learn. The most practical although intensive way to gain the hours required to learn a new skill would seem to be through total classroom immersion. There are many examples of individuals who have achieved fluency with a dedicated and consistent effort. However, it would seem to be that the next stage of building communities of language speakers is what will take the process of language revitalization to the stage where the language will fulfil Fishman's (1991, 2001) definition of being a living language, one that is used in the contexts of home, neighbourhood and community.

Methodology overview

Epistemologically I consider this research to be Kaupapa Māori research. In order to conduct the research I needed a tested methodology to guide the collection and analysis of the data. I chose Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most cogent of which is that it enabled me to take a fresh look at the problem of language acquisition and use, free of theoretical baggage which may or may not be relevant to the issue of Māori language acquisition and Māori language revitalization. The central problem that needs to be reversed for the language to claim to be a living language is the dissolution of language speaking communities. Language acquisition and use are fundamentally social phenomena. This is a problem that demands theoretical perspectives that are based in actual Māori lived experiences, theoretical perspectives that can claim to be Māori from the ground up. I was particularly interested in looking at the participants' experiences of the acquisition and use of the language through qualitative data.

GTM starts without a theoretical framework, rather data is collected and a theoretical model is developed inductively. GTM does not seek to integrate with any of the major language acquisition theories until a grounded theoretical model has emerged. Only then is the relevant literature reviewed using a comparative analysis approach. GTM is an inductive methodology, one in which the concepts used emerge during the process of data collection and analysis. That emerging model

guides the literature review. The findings of a GTM study are entirely derived from the action scene; data was collected in the form of field notes by participant observation and supplemented by participant interviews. I was also a novice language learner in the class and eventually a participant observer in the class. I also used GTM as a way of honouring and giving voice to the experiences of learners. This study looked at the process of Māori language acquisition from the perspective of the learner and the teacher — attempting to capture the group interaction dynamics.

My original Te Kāinga research study design included the implementation of an integrated suite of online language support tools known as MOODLE. The dual objectives of the intervention were to support the class and to collect data on the way in which MOODLE was being used.

To facilitate these objectives I selected canonical action research (Davison 2004). Action research proved useful at the data collection phase, however, it did not provide me with a rigorous data analysis process, it is for this additional reason I selected GTM. I wanted to examine the problem of language acquisition from the perspective of the learners, rather than the teacher or the institutional perspective as is more usually the case with action research. To this end, I selected GTM in order to take a fresh view of the problem of language acquisition. GTM also provided an effective way of integrating my theory into the body of indigenous scholarship, thereby locating this knowledge in the academy.

Conceptual framework of Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo

My primary contribution to language revitalization is a detailed explanation of how the learners came together as a group to form a *Whānau a-reo* or Māori speaking community. This process is labelled as the *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*, a model that is implicitly rooted in the learning methodology of Te Ataarangi as interpreted by our Te Kāinga class teacher. The community that was formed used the Māori language with each other as the preferred language. Initially this *Whānau a-reo* developed in the classroom as the classroom rules dictated. The use of the Māori language between class members then extended to times before and after the

prescribed class time. The group met outside of class time for tutorials or social events where the Māori language became the preferred language between them and where social events were organised as an opportunity to use the Māori language with each other. This preference to use the Māori language between them happened as a process that emerged progressively over the three years the cohort was together.

Chapter prēcis

Chapter Two is a survey not a complete review of the literature. This was a grounded study and so a full exploration of the literature is not possible until the important variables have emerged from an inductive analysis of the data. A full review of the literature was not conducted until the core concepts of the *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo* had been determined. The chapter is split into two parts. Part one discusses language contact, language shift from Māori to English by Māori speaking communities. Part two is an explanation of Fishman's (1991) theory of the stages of language shift and his suggested intervention points by which language planners might go about re-establishing communities of speakers.

Chapter Three describes in detail the methodology followed in conducting this study. This study follows a grounded theory approach to data collection and analysis. The coding process is guided by the principle of theoretical sampling and iterated through open coding phase until a substantive model of *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*, explaining volitional language use emerged. The model is completed during selective coding phase where the identified categories provide a focus for a careful review of the pertinent literature on adult language acquisition.

The main output of the Te Kāinga study is the theoretical model of *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*. This model shows how a group of novice adult language learners went from relative strangers to a *Whānau ā-reo*. The process is split into three sub-processes spread across three chapters, each chapter providing a description of one of the three stages of the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*.

Chapter Four is the *manene* stage. It explores the conditions present in the Te Kāinga School, the learners' motivations for enrolling in the programme. Chapter Five is the *ako ngātahi* stage. This chapter explores the nature of the curriculum and teaching practices and how affective challenges of *whakamā* in the *reo rūmaki* process are overcome by the tenet of *ngākau māhaki* as the learner's *mahi tahi* to transition from *manene* to become a *Whānau a-reo* who is prepared to use the Māori language outside of the class.

Chapter Six is the *Whānau a-reo* stage. At this point in the process, the class has progressed to the point where Māori language use has been normalised amongst the class and wider Māori speaking communities.

Chapter Seven discusses the relevant literature concepts, their theoretical relationships, and a comparison with MacIntyre et al. (1998) "Willingness to Communicate" model for measuring adult language acquisition success.

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo is evaluated from a GTM perspective followed by the claimed contributions of this thesis. The final chapter finishes with some of the implications of the *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* model for Māori language acquisition and revitalization.

In this chapter, I summarise the contributions of this dissertation to Māori Studies and the implications of this thesis for Māori language revitalization.

Delimitations

The delimitation is the planned justified scope of this study. This is a study of adult learning of a second language. The contributions of this dissertation are primarily in the core discipline of Māori Studies. *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is fundamentally a Māori model deeply rooted in traditional Māori concept of *whānau*. There is an overlap with sociolinguistics, particularly in the area of second language acquisition, but the specific focus is on Māori language revitalization. All of the learners were functionally monolingual English speakers. This is an exploratory study into a particular group of learners in a school following the Te Ataarangi system of teaching. It is also how the Te Kāinga group perceived it and does not necessarily cover how other Te Ataarangi schools interpret the Te Ataarangi Silent Way. It is not

a comparative analysis of any other systems of adult second language learning. Although this study began as an exploration of MOODLE as a computer assisted language learning tool for the class, it became clear as I analysed the data that these tools were not the main pedagogical frame in which learning was taking place. In GTM terminology it was not the core category.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have laid the foundation for this dissertations report of the Te Kāinga study. The research field is language revitalization in the context of Māori in New Zealand. The research problem is language revernacularisation and the role of adult second language learners. The key research hypothesis is that Māori language revitalization is dependant on the everyday use of the Māori language by adults in Māori language speaking communities.

Chapter Two:

Literature survey

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the role of adult second language education in the process of revitalising the Māori language. The first objective of this chapter is to provide the theoretical backdrop explaining language shift of Māori communities from being monolingual native speakers of the Māori language to monolingual native speakers of the English language. I have used Fishman's (1991) theory of language shift to provide the theoretical backdrop for this. Part one of this chapter explains how the Māori language was displaced by the English language. Part two details the initiatives Māori put in place to attempt to reverse the language shift. This chapter discusses the adult Māori language acquisition literature.

Language contact

Language shift is an impact of colonisation. Language shift refers to a phenomenon whereby a language speaking community gradually shifts mother tongues from that of one language community to that of another (Fishman 1991). In order to track the language shift under colonisation it is important to first describe the speech community before the new language is introduced.

Before the English language came to New Zealand, the Māori language was in general use throughout New Zealand. In the different regions, various dialectal differences and vocabulary of the Māori language were evident. The iwi political divisions roughly followed geographic boundaries of the time and the dialects roughly followed these regional boundaries (Harlow 2007:41). Socially, Māori people saw themselves as parts of collectives (Metge 1995). The Māori language was learned by children born into this social milieu. The smallest viable social unit was the whānau. Whānau and the practice of whanaungatanga are an integral part of the Māori identity and culture (Metge 1995). These family groups were dependent on one another for food gathering, leadership, child rearing and protection from hostile groups. In the Māori world, the focus is on the relationships in the collective rather than the individual. Prime importance was also placed on extended family

relationships. The whānau would include partners who had married in and whāngai (adopted children). Food gathering, childcare and protection were the shared enterprises of the entire local community or hapū. Iwi alliances were cemented by intermarriages between the leading families of the iwi. They are native to an area and identify strongly with the land (Metge 1995).

The next significant event in language shift is the arrival of people who speak the different language. As the Māori were numerically the majority in the early stages, it was the traders who first started to learn the Māori language. Māori were interested in trading with the new arrivals. Māori needed the various goods such as axes, knives, blankets and guns in order to improve the lives of themselves and their families.

The newcomers bartered with the Māori peoples for food and services. In return the Māori community leaders obtained the new technologies of the traders being iron goods, guns, etc. Populations were decimated by epidemics and the on-going internecine tribal wars exacerbated by the new weaponry to which the iwi now had access (Belich 1986).

As already described, the arrival of traders had little initial impact on the language (Benton 1985). After the traders, the missionaries then arrived. Their mission was to convert the Māori to one of the Christian religions; this could be described as wanting to change the culture. In 1814, the Bible started to be translated into Māori (Benton 1985) and this made the Christian teachings accessible to Māori. The Māori language in print was also an aid to the Māori being able to learn English and the skills of reading and writing.

The next stage of the language shift and the colonisation process was the loss of the Māori economic and spiritual base, their land. At the time, the missionaries had begun their work of converting Māori communities to Christianity. The settlers and their families started arriving in New Zealand with the intention of creating new lives for themselves. These settlers needed to acquire land. Some land was negotiated for and purchased fairly, however, when negotiations failed to gain the

result the settlers were aiming for, control of the land was gained by use of new laws designed to take the land using legal tactics (Walker 1990).

When iwi resisted these tactics, the New Zealand wars broke out; conflicts were fought against the crown by iwi. Over the next three decades, a series of conflicts began in 1843 with the Wairau confrontation led by Te Rauparaha, followed by the Northern war of 1845–46 between the Crown and Ngā Puhi factions and Whanganui 1847–48, these have come to be known as the New Zealand wars (Belich 1988). In Taranaki 1860–61 and Waikato, under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, large areas of land were confiscated as a punishment; altogether over four million acres were taken. Iwi and hapū had lost effective control of most of their land by the turn of the 19th century (Belich 1988). The control of the Māori economic base had passed out of Māori hands. This left iwi and hapū without a viable economic base with which to sustain their culture and exacerbated language shift.

Another stage of the language shift process is the setting up of schools mandating the English language as the language of instruction in order to receive state subsidies under the Educational Ordinance of 1847. Mahuta (2011) argues that “The Education Ordinance was the first formal move towards language domination and hegemony” (Mahuta 2011:201). The missionaries set up the first schools, which were later taken over by the state. The Native Schools Act 1867 stated that education was to be in English (Spolsky 1989). The objective of these schools was to teach the Māori children English so they could participate in the modern world. A goal often supported by their parents, as they could see that the English language gave their children access to the advantages of modernity. Māori was forbidden in the classroom often at penalty of corporal punishment. This monolingual education system continued right through until recent decades. The advent of the Māori immersion schools has provided options for parents who live close to them, however, 80 per cent of Māori children are in mainstream, monolingual English schools.

Māori leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata were staunch advocates of English language based education; they appeared to assume that Māori children would get enough exposure in the home, neighbourhood and community although in later life

he recanted to some extent as new generation of Māori children were growing up as English only speakers (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:207).

Up until 1940, Māori were still mainly rurally based. In order to escape the poverty and in order to give the children a better education, many young Māori on finishing school moved to the cities. The Māori language was anecdotally associated with being regressive or backward looking and the English language was perceived to be the way forward. This is another stage of language shift and they largely associated their Māori language with that economic hardship. Diaspora is the technical term for the phenomenon known as the urban migration of Māori from their rural communities to the major cities. Māori moving to the cities were pepper potted into English speaking communities, this government policy intended to integrate Māori so they would be assimilated into the Pākehā society, effectively discouraging the development of localised language speaking communities (Benton 1996).

Intermarriage with Pākehā has accelerated the linguistic and cultural assimilation of children in the cities, particularly many of the members of those families that have lost touch with their tribal communities or those whose tribal homelands were absorbed into the burgeoning towns and cities.

Often the Māori language and culture was seen as being a causal condition of that poverty, things Māori being viewed as archaic and largely irrelevant to the modern world. Māori speaking communities continued to use Māori as a vernacular as those communities were demographically concentrated and largely isolated from the influences of the socially and structurally isolated from the modern world.

The process of language shift is an on-going one. The socio-economic position of Māori means that the pursuit of the language is subsumed by the need to earn a living for themselves and their families. English is now ubiquitous with the presence of television, music and the internet in practically all Māori homes. Global communication systems make the econo-technical world much more exciting to many of the younger generation than the world of their ancestors.

Ramifications of language loss

Language loss has consequences. The Māori language is the indigenous language of New Zealand. It is unique to this country; it was brought here by the ancestral migrants and was over time adapted by them to the local conditions. Without a separate language, the Māori claim to uniqueness is reduced to a simple genealogical one. Language is the verbal expression of culture and is both the product of and a producer of culture. As Moeke-Pickering asserts, “The language is at the heart of the Māori cultural identity” (1996:23). Language is a cultural carrier and without a language acting as a cultural brace, Māori will inevitably be assimilated into the dominant western culture. The relationship between language and culture is indexical and likewise the relationship between language and the natural world in the case of Māori, what Fishman (1999) calls a rooted identity. The significance of the language is one of values. This means that the value of a public good depends upon the evaluative framework to which a public good such as a language is compared, for those who feel that the Māori language is at the core of their identity as a Māori then it is priceless (Browne 2005:1). The loss of language raises the question of whether Māori can still claim to be a distinct cultural entity without a distinct language to call their own. Sir James Henare’s often quoted “Te reo te mauri o te mana Māori” (Wai 11 1989:6.1.21) would seem to say that this discrete language is needed to claim a distinct cultural identity.

Relationship between language and community identity

A person’s identity is defined by the reference communities they consider important. Identity is a social construct as well as an individual one. Māori identity is one that exists to locate a person in their genealogical and regional context. At the level of the individual, the issue is more to do with an individual’s perception of what elements constitute an authentic Māori identity. The Māori language is for some a central referent for identity (Milroy 2008:186).

Another ramification of the language shift has been the loss of identity for many Māori people. As already discussed, many Māori who moved to the cities are physically isolated from Māori communities. The new generations are intermarrying

and do not have the same affinity to the regions they once had or the character of the land has changed from rural to urban. The new generations know the urban environs and do not find the traditional ideology as “interesting” (Christensen 2001). Many also feel disconnected from their marae, lands and iwi or if they have connections, they may be trying to work out what their role is or where they fit in the iwi structures of modern day. Traditionally most Māori people align with their genealogical iwi. The current mainstay of Māori identity is to the land and is instantiated in the claim to be tangata whenua not tangata reo (Spolsky 2003) but in the last few generations this identity connection is weakening as the last generations who were actually raised on the land are becoming less active in society.

Generations of Māori raised off the land are looking for new sources of Māori identity. I would argue that the language provides that source for these new generations.

For some, the bridge to make these connections is the language. There appears to me to be an argument that one reason that Māori groups like Ngā Tamatoa in the cities were such strong advocates for the language is that they did not have the same connection to the land as a source of identity. For example, with the resurgence of interest in things Māori, their iwi identity is an issue for Māori people. Self-esteem of Māori youth may be affected by a negative stereotypical Māori identity written by the media (Benton 1989; Ward 2006; Stuart 2003). The resolution of these problems will not come from language regeneration alone; however, having the language as a cultural anchor of identity and as a solid platform from which Māori can rebuild their culture.

By the 1970s the Māori language appeared to be at its lowest ebb (Benton 1979). Māori communities had abandoned the language due to religious conversion, educational policy, government legislation, economic diaspora and urbanisation. From the time of English colonisation up to the present day, the Māori language has continued to lose ground to English to the point where Māori was spoken in only a handful of domains (Benton 1979). There is little evidence that this has improved (Reedy 2011). Fishman’s theory of language shift provided us with a theoretical framework which explains that the Māori language was gradually displaced by

English language. Fishman's model explains language shift in indigenous communities is due to the dislocating effects of colonisation and on-going impacts of globalisation. Māori language advocacy groups have, from the 1970's, attempted to reverse language shift by a series of language planning initiatives. The particular focus of this dissertation is language acquisition planning with a specific focus on adult language acquisition.

Reversing language shift

The topic of Māori language revitalization is a multi-disciplinary one. This study draws on the literature of the field of indigenous language revitalization and Māori studies. If we take as self-evident the exhortations of Māori leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir James Henare then we should acknowledge the centrality of the maintenance of the Māori as a living language worthy of expending resources to support it. If the ultimate goal is the revitalising of the language as a living language, which most of the literature seems to assume (Wai 11, Wai 262, TPK 2001, 2006; Benton 1999), it would seem that we need to be constantly looking for ways in which we can improve on the processes we use to teach the language. In this part, I will focus on the goals of language revitalization and the various initiatives that have been undertaken to advance those goals. The particular emphasis is on the role of adults in the language revitalization process. Most of the focus of language acquisition has been on children through the education system as this is the easiest intervention point (Spolsky 1989, 2003). This is a strategic attempt to raise native speakers who will use the language in the home with their children once they reach parenthood. The efforts of many committed language activists today means the Māori language is at least being learned and spoken by children in compulsory schooling; however, it is not the vernacular language of many Māori communities or homes. It is in practical terms endangered until the process of intergenerational transmission in the home, family, neighbourhood and community can be revitalised. The focus of this study is adult language acquisition, which Fishman (1991, 2001) argues is the first stage in reversing language shift is the acquisition of the language by adults.

Māori awareness of shift

The gradual loss of the Māori language was unheralded. It was the 1979 Benton Who speaks Māori in New Zealand? report that it became evident how much Māori language use had declined. It showed that it was only in vernacular use in a few geographically isolated Māori communities. It also predicted that the last generations of native speakers would not be active in language communities by 2020 (Benton 1979).

The most common model for measuring language shift in threatened languages is Fishman's (1991), Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). This model is a measure of how disrupted the process of intergenerational transmission has become. This model is adopted here as a framework in which to analyse the state of the Māori language and where Māori language planners need to be targeting their efforts. The model enables a researcher to identify the stage the language is at and how far along the language shifting process — how far the language community has shifted from Xish, in this case Māori, to Yish, in this instance English. The eight stages are read from top to bottom. Stage 1 being least threatened, Stage 8 being where the language is most threatened.

Stage 8: Xish most vestigial users are elderly and are socially isolated from one another;

Stage 7: Xish users are beyond childbearing age but still socially integrated;

Stage 6: Xish is intergenerationally transmitted and demographically concentrated transmitted orally in the home, family, community;

Stage 5: Xish schools are used for literacy in the home, school and community;

Stage 4: Xish is compulsorily used in primary education, includes literacy;

Stage 3: Xish is used in the blue-collar sector in interactions between X speakers and Y speakers;

Stage 2: Xish is used publicly in local government services and mass media;

Stage 1: Xish is used at national, tertiary and white-collar levels but without political independence. (Fishman 1991)

On the GIDS scale, Māori is endangered. It is only used institutionally in domains such as television, radio, church and educational institutions. After over 200 years of the disruptive effects of colonisation of New Zealand by the English means that on Fishman's (1991) GIDS, the Māori language is moribund (Crystal 2000). Since the arrival of the English and the process of colonisation and the government policy of assimilation (Walker 1990) the Māori communities over the space of three or four generations went from being monolingual to bilingual until they eventually shifted their language to English as the dominant language spoken in New Zealand by both Pākehā and Māori communities.

Intergenerational transmission

Stage 6 is the critical stage in GIDS. The long-term goal of Māori language planners is the restarting of the process of intergenerational transmission. Fishman asserts that intergenerational transmission is the single most important factor in language transmission (Fishman 1991:399). Anything less than this is "little more than biding time, at best generation by generation, without a natural, self-priming social mechanism having been engendered thereby." All strategies must show a connection to the ultimate goal of intergenerational language transmission. The nexus of language revitalization is in the demographically concentrated private domains of the home, family, neighbourhood and communities. The Health of the Māori Language Survey (2006) did not directly measure or assess the proficiency of adults in the critical parenting generation cohorts, who are vital to intergenerational transmission (Bauer 2008:41). It would seem safe to assume that the situation has not improved.

Efforts must all support the process of intergenerational transmission in the home, family, neighbourhood and community sphere. Stage 6 has three components (Fishman 1991:87–107):

1. Informal communicative links between the generations through the revitalised language.
2. The demographic concentration of this activity by anchoring it within the community or neighbourhood.
3. Institutional reinforcement of this natural use of the language.

One plan of revitalization that met with success was that a two-front approach is adopted. The adults should start the process so that they can support the children's learning in the home. An example of this is that in the revitalization of Hebrew in Israel. It required that ideologically committed adults learn the language in the evenings and weekends while their children attend pre-schools and a compulsory school system.

Steps in reversing language shift

Once we have assessed to what extent the Māori language has been dislocated or displaced, advocates can then turn to developing initiatives with which to attempt to reverse the displacement. There is an eight step process that Fishman (1991, 2001:87–107) recommends to revive threatened languages:

1. Acquisition of the language by adults.
2. Create a socially integrated population of active speakers (or users) of the language. It is better to focus on spoken language.
3. In regions where there are demographic concentrations of users who habitually use the language, encourage the informal use of the language across all age groups and within families. Establish local neighbourhood institutions where the language is normally used exclusively.
4. In regions where oral competence has been achieved encourage literacy but in such a way as to be independent of the state.
5. Encourage the use of the language in compulsory state education.

6. Where the above steps have been achieved and consolidated encourage use in the workplace (lower work sphere).
7. Where the above steps have been achieved and consolidated encourage the use in local government and mass media.
8. Where the above steps have been achieved and consolidated encourage use in higher education and government.

Fishman argues efforts should be directed to consolidating the earlier stages first before moving up the scale (1991). Arguably, Māori revitalization efforts have not done this. It is difficult to quantify where the Māori language is on this scale as New Zealand has legislation making it an official language. However, there is little evidence that vernacular use and intergenerational transmission is occurring except in isolated cases.

Revitalization

Language revitalization is the attempt by interested parties to reverse the decline of the Māori language. In the two decades following the revelation of imminent language loss was a flurry of activities by Māori language advocates across the social and political spectrums. Generations of urban migration and assimilationist educational policies have all but destroyed the language as a medium of everyday communication.

A key goal of reversing language shift is to revernacularise the language. To revernacularise the language the language needs to be used in the informal spheres of social interaction. Vernacular is the most ordinary speech that people use in their private conversations, the informal world of family and friendship. Intergenerational transmission is the use of the minority language in homes and families as the normal means of communication with children.

Government Māori language expenditure is estimated by Treasury at \$226 million per annum for the promotion of Māori language and culture in the year 2010/11 (Waitangi 262 Reo Report 2010). This latest report shows that the language is still largely not being spoken outside of a few select domains and formal occasions. As

Benton (2001:425) said, the language is still “a few centimetres from the abyss with an impressive array of ropes and safety gear.” From some findings, we know that the language is no longer, being transmitted intergenerationally. (Benton 1999; Skerret-White 2004; Hohepa 2000) in their revitalization theses focused on the normalisation of the language as an important goal of language revitalization. The open question is whether the language is still a living language if it is no longer being spoken in homes (Fishman 2004; Chrisp 2005). If the Māori language is to survive as a living language in the longer term then it can only do so in the private sphere of home, family and community.

Arguably the life of a language is not measured by statistics of the number of people who know how to speak a language but by the variety of domains where that language is spontaneously used. There are essentially three spheres where people use a language. These are work, public and private. In the work and public sphere, it will be difficult to establish viable Māori speaking communities as English is a lingua franca both nationally and internationally. Legislation that recognises Māori as a national language is important symbolically but does not appear to have had a significant impact on language community development so far. In establishing the viable communities of bilingual speakers who choose to speak Māori one of the issues is, that although the Māori language learners share the goal of language acquisition, they live in a monolingual English speaking society that is ideologically monolingual. Some members of which are uncomfortable when even hearing another language used (Harlow 2005; De Bres 2008). The challenge is how to move towards building bilingual communities in this context. When learnt in the home languages are acquired in natural communicative situations. Without intergenerational language transmission, the Māori language is now taught as a second language. The objective is to develop Māori language speakers who are ready to participate in Māori speaking communities. There are international examples where communities have created social norms which have limited outside communications by regulating the behaviours of their members. In New York, Yiddish language communities have developed high social barriers to shield the communities of speakers (Fishman 2001). They have their own schools, universities and communities. Revitalization may imply that we are attempting to return to a

state of Māori monolinguals but it is bilingual speaking communities not monolinguals that revitalization advocates argue for. The process of regeneration is where Māori speaking families are forward looking going beyond mere sentimentalism, as Hohepa says, “they are heirs of the past but not prisoners of it” (1998:46).

Re-establish communities of speakers

Creating a sense of community is the hardest task of stabilising a language (Fishman 1996:80) — communities such as neighbourhood, church, sports as well as the traditional communities of whānau, hapū and iwi. Language revitalization will mean the re-establishing of language speaking communities. A living language is one that is used by communities of speakers. The central problem of the Māori language is that it is no longer spoken by communities outside of limited contexts. It is former communities of speakers who have adopted the English language as a lingua franca. It is not sufficient for a person just to learn a language; there must be an accessible community of speakers with whom one can practice. For a language to be transmitted orally it needs to be spoken as a means of communication. To be viable over the long term these communities need to have a shared interest and the communities will need to be culturally aligned with the language and demographically concentrated (Schuman 1986). The community needs to know the same linguistic registers (words and phrases) and most of all the communities will have to value the language as preferable to English. Fishman argues for intergenerational transmission in the home and its community environs. This necessarily implies the language be spoken by a critical mass of people outside of the home to support the home. Some iwi communities are concerned with ensuring the dialects of their own iwi are taught as this is their key iwi/regional identity marker and have language plans in place such as the ones of Taranaki (Te Reo-o-Taranaki Charitable Trust 2005) and Raukawa (Raukawa Iwi Trust Board 2006).

In this part I reviewed the relevant literature on reversing language shift with an overview of the initiatives Māori language advocates have undertaken since becoming aware of the problem in the 1970s. In the next part I will review the

literature on adult second language acquisition and systems of learning specifically developed to teach adult learners.

Second language acquisition theory

Adult second language acquisition is the first stage recommended by Fishman in his eight stage revitalization process. Māori language revitalization starts with individuals prepared to commit to learn and use the language. In the Hebrew example, it was ideologically committed adults who led the way to the Hebrew language revitalization. In the absence of new speakers being produced via intergenerational transmission the responsibility for producing new speakers falls to educational institutions by default. There have been a range of initiatives designed to help in the language revitalization process covering a full age range. The immersion options start with the Kohanga Reo for pre-school children going on to the Kura Kaupapa Māori initiatives. There are a range of tertiary options including the Māori and mainstream universities. There are also iwi language programmes run on an ad hoc basis throughout New Zealand.

In this part I will discuss adult Māori language acquisition in the context of second language pedagogical literature foregrounding the literature relevant to language revitalization.

The natural approach

One of the most influential models of language acquisition is that of Krashen (1992).

Krashen's "Natural Acquisition Theory" is that languages are naturally acquired through meaningful interaction and natural communication. Speakers are not concerned with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying (Terrell 1983). The Krashen comprehensible input hypothesis has inspired a great deal of research into Second Language Acquisition (SLA). The hypothesis is that comprehensible input is what a learner needs to acquire a language. Speaking production should be delayed until the learner is ready; grammar instruction should be left until later in the acquisition process once a

modicum of fluency has been achieved, as it is in the acquisition of a mother tongue as a child.

Communicative competence

In order to participate in a speech community a speaker needs to be able to make themselves understood. Communicative competence is acquired by people interacting for a purpose. Canale and Swain (1980:30) assert that there are three competencies:

1. Grammatical (correctness) explanation and translation model (knowledge of lexical items and of rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology).
2. Sociolinguistic (appropriacy) (knowledge of the relation of language use to its non-linguistic context) (knowledge of rules governing cohesion and coherence).
3. Strategic (effectiveness) (verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for break-downs in communication due to performance variables or to insufficient competence).

Factors motivating second language acquisition

There is extensive research into the issue of motivation. Motivation is a dynamic process and changes over time according to Pintrich & Schunk (1996). Every learner comes to a language class with their own unique and complex set of reasons for learning a language. They may be integrative, affiliational, ideological, pragmatic, instrumental or spiritual reasons. The basic categories into which a person's motivations can be divided are integrative and instrumental (Gardner & Lambert 1972). A learner is either instrumental orientated. For example, a pragmatic purpose such as for trade or career purposes or an integrative orientation with the learner wishing to integrate or perhaps just to affiliate with the target language group (Feuerhake 2004).

Cultural identity

For Māori in New Zealand the language is for some a key identity marker (King 2007:349). This has been shown to be a key motivator for some. “If learners invest in a second language they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital” (Norton Peirce 1995:17). King (2007) discusses the power of the metaphors that adult language learner attach to the language. The key four being a tāonga, a path, a waka, a food and with the learner as a plant that needs this kind of food. The language as a tāonga was the most powerful motivator for native speakers reflecting their experience of receiving the language from their elders. Language as a path, a canoe and a food reflected the experience of newly fluent speakers. These metaphors encapsulate how the newly-fluent informants felt empowered by learning the language. The inference King takes from these metaphors is that language planners can use these in their promotional efforts, particularly targeting the adult parental cohort.

Factors inhibiting language acquisition

Language anxiety in learning another language has been shown in many studies to inhibit language acquisition (Lin 2008; Horwitz 2010). A hypothesis of Krashen’s Natural Acquisition Theory is that anxiety acts as an affective filter which inhibits the acquisition of the language. Krashen’s affective filter hypothesis is that learners are impeded in their learning by negative emotional responses to the classroom environment. The two primary inhibitors are: not allowing a silent period of gestation before requiring output; and too early error correction (Krashen 2003). Emotions such as anxiety, self-doubt, and embarrassment prevent efficient cognitive processing of the language input.

What is a motivating reason for one learner will be an inhibitor for another. For example, some learners desire to integrate with the language community of the language they are learning (MacIntyre 2007). Another learner may be learning the language for more instrumental reasons for example to undertake their work duties that require them to interact with the group. That learner may actually have a fear of

assimilation, they fear the L2 may supplant their L1 (MacIntyre 2007). This process is also known as subtractive bilingualism. Most of the research in this area is in respect of children learning a second language before they fully acquire their first. There is little evidence to support this fear in adults who have successfully acquired their L1, L2 being the target language being learnt and L1 being the mother tongue.

The problem of language institutionalisation

Learning the language is a necessary condition of language revitalization, however, it does not appear to be a sufficient one. International research shows that even in countries where language education is a significant and compulsory part of the mainstream children's education system the language may not be used outside of the classrooms (Spolsky 1995). In line with the experience, in Ireland, compulsory language education in schools did not lead to language use outside of the school gates (Baker 1997). There has been criticism of the education system in not delivering on the spreading of the language outside of the classroom. This criticism is not entirely justified as the schools do not have the ability to control what happens in the community. The institutions like broadcasting, education, the church and the marae are critical supports for the homes who want to speak Māori (Chrisp 2005). The government combined annual expenditure on all these initiatives combined is estimated at over \$225 million (Reedy 2011). Despite these efforts the language has continued to languish. While raw numbers of people claiming to be fluent is up as a percentage of population, the number is perhaps at best static (Bauer 2008). As Spolsky (1989a:15) notes, "what appears as a change in social patterns of language use and knowledge can be shown to depend on individual success or failure in language learning," meaning in that language revitalization begins with the successful learning of individuals.

The problem of language attrition

Language attrition is language shift at the level of the individual (Fishman 1991, 2001). Language attrition is what happens to individual's language skills once they stop using them. There is limited value in learning a language unless you have someone else to converse with. What happens when the classes finish? The issue for

learners is once they finish a course what are their options? Skills not practiced are quickly lost. If the learners have no opportunities to use the language then the process of language attrition will apply and all the gains won through their hard work will have been lost. If a language is not used the skills and knowledge hard won soon atrophy, wasting scarce time and resources, a problem minority languages can not afford.

Joining a speech community

I am essentially arguing learning a language is conceptually a process of joining a community.

“A speech community is a group of people who share the same rules and patterns for what to say and when and how to say it” (Fasold 1994:62). An implicit objective of language revitalization efforts is that these learners go on to form their own speech communities that is a group of people who share a set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language outside of and after class (Yule 2006). Speech communities overlap, each speaker belongs simultaneously to several speech communities; some of the smaller ones included in larger ones and some separate from the others (Saville-Troike 1982).

The proficiency level of an adult Māori speaker needed to sustain intergenerational language transmission is high.

“A highly proficient Māori language speaker is able to speak, listen, read and write in Te reo Māori. Communication with other fluent speakers is spontaneous. Furthermore, the highly proficient speaker is able to express all of their thoughts, opinions and emotions according to the context and with whom they are interacting.” (Ratima 2011)

In New Zealand, there are a number of programmes adults can join to learn the language. The Māori universities of Te Wānanga O Aotearoa, Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Awanuiārangī have night classes running in various towns and cities of New Zealand. Adult education programmes run beginner classes and there are the various tribal wānanga that run on an ad hoc basis. There are two main teaching systems based on two

different theories of teaching and learning that have been developed to teach the Māori language.

Te Whanake

Originally tertiary education based *Te Whanake* is a teaching programme using a series of textbooks and collection of teaching resources developed by Professor John Moorfield. It provides a basis for a structure for Māori language programme from beginner through to advanced learners of Māori. The first textbook *Te Kākano* was published in 1988. This has recently expanded to an online language learning branch with a television series as well. The teaching methodology reflected in the *Te Whanake* textbooks and resources is based on Dodson's (1978) bilingual method. It replicates the way children in a natural bilingual situation learn an additional language. *Te Whanake* is based on the way learners in a natural bilingual situation learn a language in addition to their first language. The goal of the system is to reach communicative competence. Learning starts with medium oriented communication in class rooms through to the stage where learners are placed into situations where they have to use the language to converse in the target language (message oriented communication). The units of work focus on mastering basic communication situations. It is not an early immersion system. Learners are able to use their first language to support their L2 learning. The aim of the teacher is to use the target language more and more. The ultimate goal is to move along the continuum of using the language as a medium oriented one to a message oriented means of communication.

Teachers are expected to be fluent speakers who are literate and have a good knowledge of how second languages are acquired. The teacher is also expected to create a non-threatening atmosphere. In order for learners to make the maximum progress they should not be inhibited about speaking Maori. "Overemphasising correctness of language, especially when real communication is taking place, can be quite harmful" (Moorfield 2008:121). Cultural concepts such as *Manaakitanga* (hospitality, caring and sharing), *mahitahi* (working together) should be incorporated into the class room. Classroom learning activities include waiata. *Te*

Whanake is a tertiary institution based method of producing bilingual adults who are communicatively competent in the language.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I reviewed the theoretical framework of language shift as it pertains to the shift of Māori communities from speaking Māori as a vernacular to speaking English as a vernacular. I also explored the revitalization efforts to date and how they address the main problem of re-establishing Māori language speaking communities. Whilst Te Whanake has been a very successful teaching system in use in universities, it was not designed to address the issue of rebuilding viable language communities.

The next chapter is a discussion of the organisation known as Te Ataarangi with respect to the issues covered in this chapter.

Chapter Three:

Methodology

The overarching purpose of this dissertation is to explore the process of adult second language acquisition and use in the context of Māori language revitalization. The research focus explored in the literature survey is how second language acquisition education can assist in re-establishing Māori language speaking communities. In Chapter Two I argued that a problem for Māori language revitalization is the lack of use of the language by communities outside of formal marae and classroom settings. Furthermore, the primary aim of any revitalization language acquisition programme must, at a minimum, instil a willingness to communicate in the language outside of the aforementioned settings.

Most of the SLA research in respect of L2 learners is in respect of the merits of the respective teaching methodologies. Very little has been written on how individual learners cope with the developmental issues that accrue to the process of learning the language and how these affect the progress of the learner.

There is a plethora of literature on second language acquisition. However, much of it is aimed at teaching English or one of the other major languages. Ratima states:

“Very little is known about the Māori adult language learner experience. While it is clear that L2 learning is a site of struggle, we don’t know what it means to struggle to learn te reo. It has been argued that learning te reo is as much a spiritual journey as an intellectual one, but still we have only a limited understanding of how wairua affects the development of proficiency in te reo. We know that agency and anxiety can influence opportunities for L2 proficiency development, but we do not know a great deal about the specific identity issues te reo learners face or how they may succeed in spite of them.” (Ratima 2011:17)

The Te Kāinga study directly addresses these issues in the context of a cohort of learners in which the researcher was a participant observer.

The objective of the Te Kāinga study was to explore the issue of how adult learners become communicatively competent speakers of a second language. The study is from a learner's perspective.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the background to the Te Kāinga study, how it developed and the methods and processes used in collecting and analysing the data. The first section of this chapter covers how the approach of GTM fits this study into a Māori paradigm. Part two discusses the data collection methods of participant observation and interviewing. Part three discusses the coding processes and finishes with my reflections on the use of GTM.

Indigenous Māori research paradigm

I have adopted Wilson's (2001) indigenous research paradigm to frame this study within the current discourses on indigenous Māori research. A research paradigm is defined here as a set of beliefs about the world and how to go about gaining knowledge that combined guide the actions of the researcher when conducting their study (Wilson 2001:175).

In this section I will explain the knowledge paradigm in which the research is located. At the paradigm level indigenous knowledge sits alongside Western knowledge, it is not a subset of it. Māori research is on an equal footing with any other research paradigm (Kingi 2005:9). It is important to locate this research within the academy of indigenous science as indigenous knowledge are related through the perspectives that indigenous peoples share, and indigenous scholars shared responsibility to add not only to Māori knowledge but to other indigenous people's knowledge. This research paradigm has four dimensions: methodological; axiological; epistemological; and ontological. I will briefly outline these dimensions as they apply to the problem of adult second language acquisition and use in this study.

What is a "methodology"?

I will define a methodology as a system of methods, principles, practices and procedures used to collect and analyse data in a particular area. The governing

methodology used to collect and analyse the data in this study is GTM (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992, 1996). In his thesis exploring this methodology Babchuk (1997:6) provides this definition for GTM: it is “a qualitatively-oriented research design or method which utilizes a set of procedures and techniques to develop an inductively derived theory of a phenomenon grounded in the data.” Confusingly, GTM refers to both the results of the research process and the research process itself (Bryant & Charmaz 2007a). The outcome of the GTM process here is the development of an empirically grounded ethnographic account explaining how the participants resolved their main concern or shared purpose in the action scene. I have broken down GTM into the three dimensions of the paradigm that follows axiology, epistemology and ontology. The theoretical model building inductive approach of GTM can be contrasted with the more traditional theory testing deductive approach as shown in Figure 1 below.

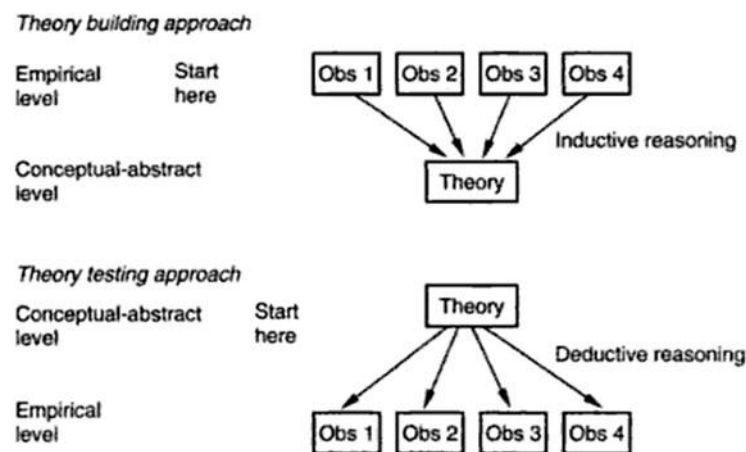


Figure 1.2 Theory building and theory testing approaches to research

Figure 1 Theory building (From De Vaus 2001:6)

Axiology

The axiological dimension of the knowledge paradigm is the ideological values and ethics that inform the design of the Te Kāinga study. It is the axiological dimension that is the judgement as to whether the research is worthwhile. I chose GTM because it makes the research participants concern central to the inquiry and is chosen in order to give the participants in the study a voice. When I began this study

I was a monolingual speaker of English with very little exposure to theory on second language acquisition I was positioned to carry out such a study. Glaser makes this point in respect of a researcher's motivation for selecting a research phenomenon:

“The action scene selected should be one in which the researcher had a life cycle interest. The rationale of finding a life cycle interest is a strategy designed to discover a research interest for which the researcher can sustain motivation for over what can be a considerable length of time.”

(Glaser 2001:111)

The perspective of an adult learner is different because a learner comes without any deep investment in any particular language acquisition pedagogy or system of learning. My objective was simply to acquire the language. This is a study which gives an insight to what it is like for an adult to learn their heritage language and culture in a night class from the perspective of someone who is actively engaged in the process.

It is not for me as a researcher to overlay a preconceived theoretical problem onto the study design but to ensure the research problem is from the participants in the research action scene. This aligns with the Kaupapa Māori perspective that activity of research itself should have value and relevance to the people studied (Milroy 1996; Te Awakotuku 1991:14). It also consistent with Mead's position that ethical processes, procedures and consultation need to be correct so that in the end, everyone who is connected with the research project is enriched, empowered, enlightened and glad to have been a part of it (2003:318).

From the outset I was conscious of my responsibility to align my research objectives with the research participant's interest. I was searching for methodologies that would meet these criteria while assisting in making a robust contribution of knowledge to the Māori language revitalization research community.

In my opinion, participant trust is a quality of relationship that has to be earned. Bishop (1997) argues the researcher should aim to develop a research whānau or family like set of relationships with the participants. I attempted to keep that trust in

mind at all times with an understanding that once earned it is all too easy to break that trust. Once trust is broken it is practically impossible to re-establish it (Russell 2006:40). My original relationship with the cohort was simply as a class member not as a researcher. When the study was first mooted, the researcher had already been a member of the class for over one year and I had privileged access to the class having been an active contributor to the class. Tutorials were often conducted at my home. I doubt whether an outside researcher could have realistically expected to elicit the level of cooperation that I received as a member of the class.

Positioning the researcher

I have an onus to discharge to make my position as researcher as transparent as possible. From this transparency, the reader, as Charmaz asserts, can make their own judgements as to the ethos of the researcher and the veracity of the research (2007). Researchers are not culturally neutral and bring with them their own personal and professional backgrounds. As Cresswell articulates, the researcher does not approach the phenomenon of interest tabula rasa or as a blank slate without my own preconceptions (2003). To make my position clear my original focus was Māori online collaboration an interest derived from my professional life in information systems. I had been involved in knowledge management systems and had recently completed a Masters thesis on the topic of intergovernmental online collaboration. I had a personal interest in learning the language which was the original reason I enrolled in the Te Kāinga programme and I determined to become fluent, although at that time I had a limited appreciation of what that would entail.

My Māori whakapapa is from my father who is descended from the tribal confederation of Rongomaiwahine and Kahungunu. My mother is a Pākehā from Lower Hutt. I was born in Wellington but spent the majority of my school age years in rural South Otago. My early working years were in Hawke's Bay and I then returned to Wellington. I identify myself as Māori but before this project started I had little understanding of what that meant. As the study progressed I developed a deeper understanding of the role of adult language acquisition to language revitalization which necessitated the change of focus from my professional interest in online collaboration to that of the class shared purpose. My position as a

researcher was similar to the other students with no background knowledge of language acquisition and therefore I had no stake in any particular teaching or learning system.

Research problem

Under GTM, my first objective as the researcher was to discover the main concern or shared purpose of the research participants. This shared purpose is one that emerges during the data collection and analysis process. The data came from my observations of participant behaviours and the comments of the learners themselves during personal communications and interviews. What is interesting about the GTM approach in this study is that it makes the main problem of the language learners the research problem the central focus of the study. An orthodox research design lays out right from the beginning every aspect of the inquiry, this includes the research problem and research questions (Silverman 2006). In orthodox research methodologies the researcher tests a profession derived hypothesis, or a theoretical framework from one of the “grand” theorists. GTM does not test a hypothesis; rather, GTM starts with data collection and analysis.

My GTM approach did not start this study with a research question; rather, I started with the Te Kāinga action scene. To paraphrase Glaser, a grounded theory study does not start with a research question rather the researcher enters an action scene and begins collecting data. Data collected is analysed inductively which means the analysis starts with the collection of empirical data. The research problem emerges by identifying the shared purpose of the research participants. The objective of the researcher is to discover the shared purpose of the participants, that shared purpose then becomes the researcher’s research problem (Glaser 1992). This is an issue of fact that emerges from the data. The other candidate problem was the acquisition of language qualification. While it was important, it did not emerge as the main shared concern.

My intention was to understand the actual challenges facing the participants from all of their perspectives by observing their behaviours and asking them to put their own interpretations on their and their class mates’ actions. I delimited the study with

what is described in GTM as a “grand tour question” (Glaser 1992). This is a question intended to focus on the dimensions of the language acquisition programme that was significant to them. My research question was: “How did the research participants go about acquiring the Māori language?” This approach ensures that the research findings are relevant to the research participants. An outcome I considered ethically very important to meeting the KMT axiological dimension.

Informed consent

The desire to do a study was mooted by me with the teacher. The class was canvassed for their view before committing themselves to the study. The original study proposal included the introduction of MOODLE, a set of online collaboration and language acquisition assistance tools for the learners in the 2007 class. We agreed that the class could benefit from such a study. In conjunction with the research access negotiations were the concurrent preparations of the necessary informed consent documents and ethical approvals from the university ethics committee (see Appendix 1). With this in mind, I provided an information sheet detailing the purpose of the research. I brought this into the class and carefully explained that the learners would remain anonymous, that the research was looking to discover theoretical principles and that data specific to people was only being used to extract these principles. The data was kept confidential to the researcher and not used for any other purpose than this research analysis without the express permission of the participant. An information sheet was given to the 2007 class; these members were the only signatories to the consent. It is only from these members of the class that I have used quotes. A consent form was signed by each in accordance with the University prescribed format, where learners were informed as to the nature of the research and the extent of their participation. A feedback loop was an important feature of the research design. A constant dialogue was entered into with the class keeping them informed as to the progress of the research. A summary of the findings chapter was presented to four key members of the class who were interested in the results.

Epistemology

I chose GTM to collect and analyse the data as it is a methodology which enables the researcher to take a fresh look at the phenomenon of second language acquisition. I define epistemology as a theory of what constitutes knowledge and how we justify what knowledge is. While theories imported from international contexts provide a useful lens for viewing problems such as second language acquisition, Māori need to develop their own theoretical models that explain their own lived realities in their own ways. Indigenous ways of thinking, understanding and approaching knowledge have long been dismissed by the academic world because they did not derive their validity from any published theory (Cook Lynn 1997:21). Denzin (2010:297) advocates GTM as a basis for privileging indigenous voices. Denzin calls this indigenous GTM, the key point being connecting research to the various struggles of indigenous peoples. For Māori, these struggles include revitalising language, culture and community (Smith 2005:89). This is what Wilson's (2001:175) indigenous Māori research paradigm provides a framework for. These constructs purport to explain present conditions and allow prediction of future conditions of the phenomenon of heritage second language acquisition. There is no shortage of literature written by language teachers and linguists; however, there is a dearth of studies written from the perspective of the language learner.

For the first two years of the study my intention was that I would write the dissertation in English. However, as my Māori language skills began to improve, I began to entertain the idea of writing in Māori. I took the view that adding to the corpus of Māori academic literature was a better alignment with the Māori studies aim of language revitalization. The composition language was also an issue as the collection of the empirical data and analysis process unfolded during the study.

The issue is whether authentic Māori knowledge needs to be in the Māori language. Traditional Māori knowledge was orally transmitted using the medium of the Māori language. Nepe argues the Māori language is “the only language that can access, conceptualise and internalise in spiritual terms the body of (Māori) knowledge” (1991:16). The language is the place where the epistemology of a culture is centred as Pihema et al. emphasise te reo Maori in their description of Kaupapa Maori as a

“self- determination, anti-colonial education agenda ... that is firmly based in Maori language and cultural ways of being” (2002:78). In my view, an important step in dissimilating a culture is to re-establish the language, in which it is continually authenticating itself. I attempted to write this dissertation in the Māori language, although in the end, English is the final medium of communication for this dissertation. One of the motivations was to make a contribution to the corpus of dissertations written in Māori as a resource for future Māori researchers coming through the total immersion school systems and one of my motivations was that my children were now in this system. After a two year attempt to write this dissertation in Māori, it was decided that my Māori language literacy would not attain the level necessary to complete the dissertation in the required time-frame.

I was also persuaded by the argument that English is the lingua franca amongst international indigenous scholars. Kaupapa Māori theory carries a Māori first imperative with the concomitant ethic of sharing knowledge with other indigenous researchers worldwide. Fishman makes the point that indigenous language research of the indigenous scholarly community will need to collaborate and share knowledge with one another, if they are to resist the eroding influences of the dominant languages to indigenous language and culture (2001). Lastly, the current reality seems to be that some Māori researchers are not fluent enough to be able to directly access knowledge encoded in the Māori language without translation. The intention of writing in English was to make this knowledge as accessible as possible.

Ontology

The ontological dimension is the implicit theory of what is real or can exist in a certain domain. From an ontological perspective, this study is using mainly qualitative data. Qualitative data is almost the converse of quantitative data as it is potentially, almost anything other than numerical data. The main data sources were participant observation data and interview. Inductive analysis is the principal technique used in GTM. The researcher is immersed in the specific details of the action scene.

Data can be categorised as either quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative data are those that attempt to reduce a phenomenon to statistically analysable measures. Qualitative data is more subjective explicitly acknowledging the impacts of the relationship of the researcher choices to all phases of the data collection and analysis process.

Practically speaking, ontology is the researcher's belief in the nature of reality (Cram 2001). This dimension deals with the nature of data that is evidence towards the knowledge claim established by the researcher. It is data describing the attributes or properties of a phenomenon. Cram (2001) argues that this binary is best conceived as a continuum rather than dichotomous categories, with qualitative data at one pole and quantitative at the other.

There was a tension to be managed between the need for data and the need for an equivalent or better benefit to the participant. The principle of minimal interference in the class learning was paramount throughout the course of the study. The researcher did data collection. The minimal interference principle means that participant overhead should be kept at a minimum. Our approach to this was to integrate the intervention design with the class curriculum. If possible, the data collection possible should support the language acquisition processes. I made sure all my communications were in the Māori language in order to be consistent with the main aim of the class which was to practise the language whenever possible.

Literature is a form of secondary data and so is placed in the ontology section. A key point of difference of GTM from traditional methodologies is the sequencing of the literature review. In GTM, a full literature review is postponed until after phase one coding is completed and a conceptual framework has emerged (Glaser 1978, 2004).

A criticism that may be levelled at leaving the literature review to this secondary stage is the risk of the study simply reinventing the wheel and not producing any new knowledge. The literature in the areas of language revitalization and heritage second language acquisition is voluminous and its relevance to the problem of this particular research group was practically impossible to ascertain in advance. I took the view that to attempt to thoroughly review the literature beforehand runs the

greater risk of the researcher forcing pre-conceived concepts onto the data and thereby producing irrelevant research. Forcing such a pre-conceived core concept that was highly unlikely to be the main concern in the Te Kāinga action scene would have effectively invalidated the study outcome as a reliable explanation of the classes shared objective.

It is an assumption of GTM that it is practically impossible to conduct the literature review proper until the theoretical concepts have been inducted from the action scene data. So although this literature review chapter is number two in the dissertation chapter order, many of the theoretical concepts in that chapter were not explored until the concepts in the findings chapter emerged. This concludes the discussion on the research paradigm and now brings us to the methodology practice.

Data collection methods

Participant observation

The main data collection method was participant observation (De Walt 1990:259–299; Geertz 1984). I used participant observation as I had developed an intimate familiarity with the group over an extended period through an intensive involvement with the people in the Te Kāinga action scene. This environment, although in New Zealand, was to some of us a pseudo-foreign environment. This foreign environment had the effect of making this experience more intense for us as participants. As the researcher, I participated in informal and formal language events, attending evening classes and weekends in linguistically and culturally immersive environments. I also attended Te Ataarangi Wānanga and Te Ataarangi regional hui as a volunteer to help in the kitchen or with other tasks associated with running hui. My home also became another site of data collection, as the class would often meet there for self-lead tutorials. I observed learners' decisions to follow the same protocols established in class, to start and finish the tutorial with a karakia and to stay immersed as much as possible. This was difficult without the teacher as a correct language guide. During class time or at events, field notes were usually handwritten to a research journal. The notes described patterns of interaction amongst the class members and researcher as well as memos reflecting on what behaviours might mean. The particularly interesting behaviour was incidents of

spontaneous language used by our class, members of other classes and other Te Ataarangi members outside of class time. I will return to these incidents of spontaneous use in Chapters Five through Seven.

Research participants

Over the three years there were over 80 students. In many ways the group were atypical. Over half had professional backgrounds. In other classes I attended, the backgrounds were blue collar, many of whom had not fared well in the mainstream education system. The age median was 40 years old. Male/female ratio was approximately even. There were a number of pākehā but few stayed until the third year.

Interviews

The interviews process gave the class participants perspective of the unfolding story of the class environment. As the researcher, I was involved in the activities of the class with respect to the language curriculum. All the individuals involved had an informed choice whether or not to be interviewed. Not all of the class members were interviewed as some dropped out during the year. I did attempt to secure interviews with these members as well but my requests were denied. An interview information sheet was sent to the interviewees beforehand and I sent an email to each participant detailing the general direction of the interviews so they would have an idea of the content area we would traverse in the interview. The interviewees were always given the choice between using English or Māori and usually chose Māori. The benefit to them was another opportunity to practice the language. However, the challenge with this is that the ability to express ideas in a second language is not as strong. The ideas we were exchanging were not of a complex nature. The main thing was that we were able to make ourselves understood. A certain amount of English was used to clarify a few points.

A running interview guide of open-ended questions was developed which was constantly updated to follow the data leads as the interviews were comparatively analysed against data from previous interviews. For example, the first interviews simply asked: “How did learners find their learning experience in Te Kāinga?” As

the responses were analysed and categories started to emerge, questions became more specific. For example, “How important do you think a sense of community is to the collaborative learning of language?”

Participants were encouraged to ask questions before and after our interviews. The later interviews tended to be shorter, often taking the shape of informal conversations which occurred before or after scheduled classes or informal gatherings of the class. The distinction between interviewing and conversations is blurred with the type of relationship the researcher was privileged with. The interviews were useful in the sense that it was an opportunity to get together one on one to explore the respondent’s perception of the issues involved in language acquisition.

Being a participant in the class, the researcher was always present to observe changes in language acquisition behaviours. The behaviour patterns of most interest being the communicative use of the language. This meant that supplementary data could be obtained without arranging special terms that intruded on the participant’s time. For example, by attending tutorials at the various homes of the participants or I sometimes went to their place of work, other times it was before and after class. All locations provided insights into the structure points in the interviewees’ lives with respect to their arrangements for language learning in regards to the balancing of personal, home, family, community work domains. The researcher let the story emerge from the participant’s perceptions of the action scenes activities by capturing the personal interpretations provided by participants during interviews. The respondents voice their thoughts on the topics most relevant to them during the learning of the language. The questions were kept as open as possible allowing informants to discuss their own concerns with their progress towards language acquisition. The interview guide was primarily designed to elicit data about the participants’ language acquisition behaviour from which their shared objective and could be inducted. During the interview, the procedure was to listen and let the respondent tell their story. The aim was to record the individuals’ explanations of their language learning activities and capture any theoretical insights as they occurred to the researcher. This gave the respondent the freedom to follow the

emerging problem where it led them. I refrained from asking leading questions, preferring to listen to the issues being discussed, as they were salient to the other class members in their general conversations. However, on reviewing some of the recordings I realise I did not always meet that objective. One reason for this was that in order to help the interviewee feel more comfortable with sharing personal thoughts I first needed to share some of my thoughts on various issues in class to provide a conversational scaffold. The main benefit of the interviews was that they provided cross checks so I could triangulate the participant observation data to evaluate the accuracy of my interpretations of participant language acquisition behaviours. The interviews were digitally recorded and later transcribed. I later translated the interviews into English. I repeated this process several times as my Māori language skills improved to get a better account of the data as the conceptual categories developed.

Data analysis

Constant comparative analysis is the core process of GTM. Constant comparative analysis is a process of inducting codes from data from an action scene. The objective of this section is to show readers the connection between the core concepts found in Chapter Four of this study and the empirical data. The purpose of GTM data analysis is to identify and relate the important theoretical principles that will make up the grounded theory.

The following is a diagram from Charmaz (2006) that provides a useful overview of the GTM process beginning with the research problem right through to the writing of the first draft. The diagram is read from bottom to top.

language socialization. The data showed that the textual nature of the medium, the lack of physical clues such as voice tone and body language militated against online collaboration being an effective means of acquiring communicative competence.

The purpose of the coding process is to structure the data into useful theoretical concepts. Constant comparison filters irrelevant properties of categories, if a property does not integrate to the other codes and categories of the emerging theoretical analysis then it will be dropped (Glaser 1965). For example, the cultural differences between the participants was not found to be a key factor. Another example, the factor of online collaboration while its use provided evidence towards the existence of a language speaking community, was found not to be significant in the development of a language speaking community in this study. Collaborative technology may have been more significant had it been a part of the classroom environment right from the beginning. On this basis, I have not included much of the data collected on the MOODLE intervention design, implementation and use. This was a very difficult decision to make at the time as online collaboration had been the original focus of the study.

I found the core process of this study to be *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*. *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo* is the process by which the learners achieved their goal of becoming communicatively competent enough to participate in Māori speaking communities. Language socialization is a two-stage process. In stage one, the learner feels the emotions of whakamā, an emotion that is ameliorated by *ngākau māhaki*. In stage two, the learners begin to use the language in trusted communities.

Phase one: Open coding

Coding is the process of analysing the data. Coding has two overlapping phases. Phase 1 is inductive; phase two deductive. “Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis” (Patton 1980:306). My job as analyst was to discover the shared purpose of the class and discover how they resolve it.

The purpose of open coding is to identify the tentative core variable. “Out of open coding, theoretical sampling and analysing by constant comparison emerge a focus for the research” (Glaser 1978). The researcher is asking: “What is the main concern being faced by the participants?” The main concern or shared purpose is an aggregate of all of the participants’ intentions in joining and continuing in the class. These motivations are different for each participant. Open coding derives its name from the idea that in the first phase codes are “run open”. That is, everything recorded from the action scene is coded. Substantive and theoretical concept identification starts with open coding (Glaser 1992:25). It involves categorising incidents from empirical data gathered from the primary action scene to discover the raw categories and core variable. The open coding question is: What is this language acquisition behaviour an instance of? There are three questions Glaser advises the analyst to ask of the data in order to determine its relevance to the research phenomenon of language acquisition. Observations are the analytical equivalent of incidents under GTM:

1. What is this incident a study of?
2. What category or code does this incident indicate?
3. What is actually happening in the data?

These three questions force the researcher to focus on patterns in the data (Glaser 1998).

The process of coding is a whakapapa of concepts that emerge as the data is analysed. The number and strength of the incidents gradually raise some codes into categories until eventually I was able to select *whakawhanaungatanga ā reo* as the core category. There were illustrating examples of the data ontology as codes with many supporting incidents were promoted up the data ontology hierarchy. For example, there were many incidents indicative of the core category *whanaungatanga ā-reo* examples of where relationships were being developed by the intense interactions between members of the class. Another code, which later

became a sub-concept of *whakawhanaungatanga*, was *manaakitanga*. A code that was a sub-code of *manaakitanga* was *aroa ki te tangata*.

Data ontology

Incidents of language acquisition behaviour

The data ontology in this study begins with the basic coding unit of the incident. An incident is an impression, or meaning unit or a datum illustrating a pattern (Glaser 1992). They are not incidents in the sense of a major occurrence but rather they are simply snippets of information that strike the analyst as relevant to the research phenomenon that is being coded. These incidents provide the empirical link to the properties and dimensions of the emerging concepts. For example, the participant observation field notes and interview transcripts were analysed line by line. They were fragmented into snippets of text relevant to the research phenomenon. The hierarchy of data abstraction starts with empirical data; empirical data is data that are contextual to the Te Kāinga action scene, meaning that it is bound to this study's time, place and cohort.

In the Te Kāinga action scene, an example of behavioural indicators of a growing sense of community was the way members of the class would spontaneously bring food enough for other class members and willingly share the food without the necessity of any instructions or roster of who would bring what. Each incident was cut and pasted into a table. In the adjacent column a code was placed. New incidents relevant to the code were compared to the category to identify properties and dimensions. This phase of processing resulted in a set of approximately 60 codes. Three analyst constructed concepts supported by 10 codes was the final result of the open coding phase. The level obtained in the data abstraction hierarchy is governed by the number of occurrences of an incident label. If it is continuously verified it gets labelled as a code.

Codes

A code is a label assigned to an incident by the analyst. The code encapsulates the substantive idea or the essential conceptual relationship between the data and the theory (Glaser 1978:55). There are two types of codes: “substantive” and

“theoretical” Glaser (1978:73–82). Substantive codes are those which arose directly from the action scene. An example of an early code was “manaakitanga” in respect of the incidents such as food sharing and showing hospitality to guests. Another example is “whānau” as a code for how the learners of the class came to view their relationship with each other over the course of the study. A theoretical code is an integrative relationship between substantive codes. Theoretical codes are codes for patterns that weave the substantive codes back together after they have been fragmented during analysis. For example, “language socialization” is a theoretical code which interconnects all of the substantive codes. Without a way of combining all the substantive concepts they are simply bits of a theory which do not explain the shared purpose.

Categories

A category represents a larger idea which unifies a number of incidents, it could be a pattern, a theme, or a label for a collection of related codes, and it acts as their container. Concepts are collections of codes of similar content that allows the data to be grouped. The “continual resolving of the main concern is designated to a centring category called the core category” (Glaser 1998:115; Glaser 2001:199). The conceptual category which explains the greatest range of behaviour in respect of achieving communicative competence in the Māori language was language socialization. Once this core category has been identified, the coding process then moves onto phase two which is selective coding.

Phase two: Selective coding

The objective of selective coding is to conceptually specify or saturate the conceptual categories of the emergent theoretical explanation of language socialization. The core category is the descriptive name for the master category which best encapsulates and explains the behaviours of the action scene participants as they go about resolving their shared purpose of becoming communicatively competent. The other candidate shared purpose was the more instrumental one of achieving a qualification for career purposes. However, in analysing the data the better characterisation of participant intention was communicative competence.

Saturating is both abstracting and filtering, each occurring simultaneously as properties that are not present in the incidents get dropped and properties that are present get added until saturation is reached and no more new ideas are being found. Once the core category was conceptually specified I could then turn to the process of writing the first draft of the dissertation. The GTM writing process between coding and the final write-up is called memoing.

Writing “grounded theory”

Memos

Memos are the writing bridge between the field notes and transcripts and the research findings in Chapter Four. The analytical recording engine of GTM is memoing. Memoing is the key ideation capture and text creation process. Memos are the building blocks of the write-up of the data analysis. The researcher’s memos started as field notes and interviews capturing in words the observed participant behaviours and an emerging understanding of the ideas of the research phenomenon. The memo development process started with recording ideas and observations to a journal. Each memo was dated and given a running title encapsulating its main idea under the date of that day’s memoing.

Memos were constantly revised as new ideas emerged and existing ideas evolved.

Strauss notes:

“... initial memos will pertain to operational matters such as where, how, who of data collection, are the theoretical development of the ideas or codes and serve as the means of revealing and relating by theoretical coding the properties of the substantive codes.” (Strauss 1987:22)

Below is an example of a memo which discusses the concept of *community* which eventually emerged in the final model. It is an example of writing as thinking as I analysed the data. Community eventually became subsumed within the concept of *whānau ā reo*.

22/3/2008 “community”

Learning a language can also be seen as a process of joining a community. The language speaking communities are networks of people who have come from Māori schools and universities. Te Aute, Hato Paora, Hukarere, etc. Being a member of these communities means that you will likely find friends or friends of friends in the language school. The Māori speaking world is a small one and gets progressively smaller as one gets up the competence ladder. The phenomenon of joining a community may also partially explain why some people are unable to learn communicative competence from books and classes. An immersion component connotes being immersed with a group of speakers with their own cultural norms. The teachers of the language are effectively the gatekeepers.

These memos become a type of data the analyst creates. For example, the researcher took memos on the activities of the teacher in respect of the concept of *ngākau māhaki* occurring in the class. The memos captured these ideas. Once they were captured they could later be reviewed and combined as the properties and dimensions of the key concepts emerged.

The goal of memoing is to raise the data to a conceptual level. Memos are analytical notes of variable length, recording the analyst's thoughts in respect of the phenomenon of interest at any given time. They are written with complete freedom, analogous to the notion of free writing; what Glaser describes as “running the memos open” which means do not try to select the key theoretical concept too early so as to allow the development of a rich diversity of codes and ideas without regard to editorial niceties such as grammar and spelling.

The first phase is to sort the memos into the core concept and its sub-concepts. What are sorted are the memos into which all the data source material was captured. The purpose is to weave the fractured story together, to recombine the variables into a set of hypotheses creating an integrated theory (Glaser 1978:72). From this emerges the conceptual framework of the theory. The core concept was the basic social process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* into a speaking community in order to

become communicatively competent. The sub-core concepts were the affective factors of, *whakamā* (language anxiety) and *ngākau māhaki*. The outcome of the process was a speaker willing to communicate in Māori speaking communities.

The core skill in writing grounded theory is the ability to conceptualise. The objective is to raise the level of analysis from empirical description to conceptual analysis. My objective is to write in such a way as to make explicit the dimensions, properties or other theoretical codes of the theory along with the theoretical integration of these codes (Glaser 1978). A concept is a relative theoretical construct or idea abstracted from time, place and people. Conceptualising is the naming of an emergent social pattern grounded in research data. *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* provides the sensitising concept that bound the conceptual framework that guides the analysis. They provide the analytic frame guiding the collection and analysis of the empirical data. Conceptualisation is contrasted with description.

Description is defined as an accurate record describing a relevant dimension of an action scene (Glaser 1992). Description is merely the first step; the bridge between accurate description of incidents and their abstracted conceptual codes is memoing.

The data needs to be transcended if a generalisable theory is to be induced from it. Relevant incidents are utilised as illustrations of theory, not as proof but rather to help the reader “to establish imagery and understanding as vividly as possible ...” (Glaser 1978:135). It is conceptualisation that moves the analysis beyond the description of individual events.

The ethnographic account is now logically complete. Wuest (1994) argues that the conceptual framework should be coherent as this point. That is it should not logically require illustrations from empirical data or academic literature in order for the conceptual framework to make sense to a reader comfortable with the substantive area. My objective was to be as transparent as possible about what I found in respect of the shared purpose of communicative competence, finding the right balance of giving the reader just enough detail to give the reader the essence of what was going on without including facts that although interesting in themselves were not relevant to the core process of language socialization. The type of writing

that best captured the community language socialization process is qualitative and I sought to capture the knowledge and systems of meanings of the class members. I also attempted to capture the spiritual dimension of the culture that was being acquired along with the language.

I decided against a write-up of the codes and categories approach that classical GTM would suggest as it tends to analytically flatten meaning with the use of quantitative terminology. An important objective was to capture the context and subject significance to the class as well as the sociocultural milieu that the immersive environment created. What Chapter Four became is an ethnographic account of the development of a language speaking community. Grounded theory and ethnography was useful to the aim of explicating conceptual relationships. The ethnographic approach provided the thick description that is very useful for grounded theory analysis (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

Chapter Five locates the Chapter Four findings in the context of the substantive conceptual literature. This is achieved by a comparative analysis of the core concepts with similar concepts discovered in the extant literature.

Researcher reflections on using GTM

GTM is a rigorous and complex methodology which is difficult to apply. GTM is not an easy methodology to learn. It was only through the application of GTM that a real understanding develops of how GTM works. As far as the researcher can determine this is the first time orthodox grounded theory methodology has been applied in Māori studies. Not having a theoretical framework from an extensive literature review to apply is an uncomfortable experience. I had to learn to trust that a theoretical framework would emerge. Despite reading practically every major work on GTM, in particular, orthodox GTM and a large number of GTM PhD theses, it was not until the writing up stage of the Chapter Four findings that the researcher came to a proper understanding of how GTM's principles and practices actually worked in practice.

The transition from being a learner to a participant observer was a strange experience. The boundary between the researcher and researched is blurred. I was

still interested in the subject matter of the class but I now had cause to reflect on the learning and teaching processes. The value of GTM to the researcher was it provided rigorously tested and proven specifics about the processes, procedures and practices that the researcher could trust to discover a valid theory, providing the researcher with a step by step process which, if rigorously followed, will provide for producing a theory that is consistent with a Maori epistemological paradigm. This study spanned some years, a number of actions scenes and involved hundreds of hours in the field as the researcher engaged in the shared objective of acquiring the language. The amount of data analysed in that time was at times overwhelming. The pathway through the data focuses on the initial phase of analysis, the fragmentation of the congealed mass of indicators. It is essential to deconstruct the seemingly impenetrable in order to distinguish the components and subsequently, by way of comparisons, to discover their interrelationships. GTM provided me with a pathway by which I could achieve that goal.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I located this study's research methodology in a Māori research paradigm, worked through the methodological processes and procedures of data collection and analysis to the emergence of the core concept of language socialization. Language socialization is an inductively derived theoretical model that seeks to explain what was going on in its original action scene that it was inducted from. This chapter shows how the substantive concepts were abstracted.

The next chapter is the result of that process, a grounded ethnographic account that explains how the Te Kāinga participants went about resolving their shared purpose of becoming communicatively competent in the Māori language.

The purpose of the following three chapters is to present the findings of my analysis of the Te Kāinga study data. It is not presented as a study that necessarily represents all of the Te Ataarangi schools general language teaching pedagogy but of the experiences of a Te Kāinga School cohort from 2005 through to 2007. The study findings are presented in roughly chronological order following a group of learners' progression through the Te Kāinga programme. It is presented as a three stage

process called *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*. The process is illustrated with issues and events that the class members encountered as they passed through the stages. These stages are the concurrent processes of language acquisition and language socialization combined to develop the class participants into members of Māori language speaking communities. Stage one showing the initial progression from prospective students to the formation of a class; and stage two describing the journey from class to a cohort. Stage three shows the progression from a cohort to a *Whānau ā-reo*.

Chapter Four:

Stage one Manene

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the *manene* stage of the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*. The main components of the class, which are the teacher and school, the learners and the curriculum are described. I have named this stage “manene” which means stranger or foreigner to refer to the fact that despite many of the students having a Māori heritage they were strangers to the Māori language, to each other and to a greater or lesser extent the Māori culture, the majority of the students in the class were not from this tribal area. I had originally used the word “tauhou” to describe this stage but this concept did not pick up the disconnecting impact of diaspora on the original tribal relationships that the urban migration has engendered. This chapter begins with a brief overview of the pedagogy underpinning the Te Kāinga language programme.

Te Ataarangi

Pedagogy

“Kia kōrero Māori te motu whānui”

In this section I will discuss the origins and aspects of the structure of Te Ataarangi and the pedagogy on which it is based. The objective of the Te Ataarangi is Māori language revitalization. Katerina Mataira and Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi adapted the principles of the “Silent Way” to fit in with the needs of the types of language learners they were looking to assist. The objective was to assist learners to become competent speakers who are able to function competently in the Māori world (Higgins 2010).

Te Ataarangi is an organisation dedicated to revitalising the Māori language, in practice this is the attempt to return the Māori language to ordinary use or revernacularisation. This ultimate goal expressed in the Te Ataarangi mission statement “Kia kōrero Māori te motu whānui” this imperative pervades every aspect of the movement’s organisation and teaching philosophy. Te Ataarangi was developed in the late 1970s as an adult language teaching strategy designed to help

reverse language shift. It began with Dr Katerina Mataira and Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi. Te Ataarangi is an organic or “flax roots initiative”.

Ngākau māhaki

The core tenet of that ideology is *ngākau māhaki* (Higgins 2007:39). Pēwhairangi translated *ngākau māhaki* as “a magnanimous heart and spirit of generosity to all people” (Ka’ai 2008:65), to be empathetically sensitive to each other. This tenet implicitly recognises that one of the primary inhibitors of language acquisition is language anxiety. The objective is to create a relaxed atmosphere where the learner feels they are supported in making the mistakes that language acquisition requires.

Adult students

The Te Ataarangi movement focuses on teaching adults. Te Ataarangi has no academic entry barriers. The only requirement they ask for is a genuine commitment of the learner to acquire the language. Te Ataarangi is ready to support all learners, whoever is prepared to commit to the learning whether they be Māori, Pākehā or from overseas. It is estimated that over 30,000 learners have been through the Te Ataarangi classes since it began operating (Higgins 2009).

Linguistic and cultural immersion

As soon as practicable the learner is immersed in the target language, it is a tenet of the Silent Way that one cannot learn the target language by using their first language. There are five fundamental rules of the Te Ataarangi classroom. The first rule of Te Ataarangi is *Kaua e kōrero Pākehā* (do not speak English).

1. *Kaua e kōrero pākeha* (Do not speak English).
2. *Kaua e poka tikanga* (Do not break the (Māori) praxis followed in the class).
3. *Kaua e ākiāki tētahi I tētahi ki te ahu atu te pātai ki a koe kātahi anō koe ka ahei ki te whakahoki* (Only answer questions aimed at you, do not interrupt others).

4. Kia ngākau māhaki tētahi ki tētahi (Be tolerant of other's differences).
5. Kia mau ki te arohā mō ake tonu e (Keep a constant focus on the main objective).

No particular iwi dialect is promoted. Local iwi dialects and community knowledge frameworks are supported. The teaching methodology used by Te Ataarangi is an adaptation of Gattegno's teaching methodology (1976). The methodology was the subject of Mataira's (1980) Masters thesis which comparatively analysed the potential of the Silent Way methodology in teaching Māori as a second language.

Sublimation of teaching to learning

The principle recognises that the challenges of learning the Māori language involve emotional challenges that inhibit the cognitive learning processes. Gattegno (1976:3) argued that only the awareness of the learner was educable that the teacher had to be concerned with minimising distractions to the learner's awareness. Students must take responsibility for their own learning. Students learn what they mobilise themselves to learn. The teacher is at the service of the learner. The teacher works on the learner, the learner works on the language. The role of the teacher is to focus the awareness of the learner. The teacher is a source of instant and precise feedback to learners trying to speak the language. The only way to learn a language is by speaking the language. Knowledge does not spontaneously become know-how (Young 2000:547). The silence of the approach of the Silent Way is the silence of the teacher not of the learners. The teacher works on the learning environment of the learner (Gattegno 1976). Cuisenaire or coloured rods are used for associating with colours in the target language, sounds for pronunciation, vocabulary, and making diagrams or pictures. The limitation is the creativity of the teacher. Materials also include word charts.

Student self-correction

Students are seen as responsible for their own learning. This tenet means that they need to learn to correct themselves. The rule is *Kaua e ākiāki tētahi i tētahi* (do not correct each other). Mistakes are seen as indicators of discrepancies that can be

corrected by the learner as they gradually build their language skills. They are an opportunity to learn or adapt the learners attempt to produce the desired effect. The task of the teacher is to impel the learner to get into the habit of correcting themselves (Stevick 1974).

Small groups

Interaction between class members in a small group environment is supported and encouraged. This feature is described by Higgins (2008:34): “He mōhio tō ngā Tāngata Katoa” (teachers and learners alike were encouraged to share skills and knowledge). Tuakana teina acknowledges that teaching and learning roles are reversible and that there are occasions when a learner may be more knowledgeable than the teacher about certain topics for example of a specific iwi or region. Students are encouraged to share their knowledge with the class.

Community schools

Te Ataarangi schools operate in the community, thus making them accessible to the local communities interested in learning to speak the language Schools spread amongst the regions of the North and South Islands. This means they will create a class virtually anywhere a group of people want to join and a suitable location can be found, for example, marae and churches in the regions to provide classrooms. The teachers need to build relationships with whichever communities are operating to advance the cause at the time. It also has an affiliated school in Sydney, Australia.

Te Ataarangi has a uniquely Māori organisational structure that is both traditional and contemporaneous. Te Ataarangi also means the shadow. This is an appropriate conceptualisation of the mana or mandate of the organisation. In contrast to traditional iwi, Te Ataarangi does not claim mana whenua rather it seeks to work with the existing tribal and community language communities to re-establish language speaking communities. Structurally Te Ataarangi is organised as a metaphorical iwi with New Zealand split into 10 regions. The 10 regions are analogous to hapū.

Within each of the hapū there are a number of schools which are analogous to marae. Each of the schools is associated with a lead teacher. This teacher is analogous to an eponymous ancestor of the marae. It is common in Te Ataarangi hui at the time of the mihimihi for the learners to locate themselves following the region, school and teacher structure as well as identifying their traditional iwi affiliations.

Culturally authentic, interactive communicative language learning activities are used extensively in the Te Ataarangi programme. Widdowson (1978) suggests that the selection of content should be made according to its potential occurrence as an example of use in communicative acts rather than as an example of usage in terms of linguistic structure.

Community teachers

Te Ataarangi relied on bilingual native Māori speakers. There are few if any of the kind of native speaker still actively teaching today. Most Te Ataarangi teachers today are former learners of Te Ataarangi classes themselves. Prospective teachers learn along side of established teachers as they learn the language and then as their skills and knowledge build eventually become tutors. At some point they may decide they wish to set up their own school or perhaps take over that of a retiring teacher. To supplement this practical experience the teachers also take block courses and earn a Bachelors degree in immersion teaching.

To summarise, Te Ataarangi is an organisation of communities aiming at revitalising Māori language speaking in their regions. It uses early immersion and Cuisenaire rods in an effort to evoke oral language production from the learner in a non-threatening environment.

Te Kāinga School

The classroom for the three years was in Te Kāinga, a former Returned Services Association clubroom that had been converted into a Māori Catholic Church. The building is located in a suburb of Kilbirnie, Wellington, and was in a convenient location for most of the learners who lived in nearby suburbs.

The teacher was the late Henare Ngaia and he taught the entire three years of the cohorts Reo Rumaki language immersion programme at Te Kāinga. He was an active member of many of the Māori speaking communities in the Wellington and Taranaki regions, such as Ngā Karere, the church kapa haka group. Henare was also an active member of the Taranaki local iwi often assisting kaumātua in officiating in many of the local ceremonies where representation from the local iwi was required. Henare also had connections to other local Māori communities such as Hato Paora alumni, waka ama and other kapa haka groups. He was an ex-information and communication technology professional who had decided to follow his Māoritanga. He had experience of being a Te Ataarangi learner at Te Reo Maioha in Otaki and he had re-trained as a Te Ataarangi teacher and set up his own Te Ataarangi school. He also had a number of teaching contracts in Wellington corporate work places. All of these connections were an important factor in his capability to recruit learners into his night school and it is to the learners that we now turn. In the first instance, to discuss the learners varied motivations to learn the Māori language and second, as to why they chose to come to Te Kāinga.

Communicative competence motivation

Adults rarely enrol in class with the specific goal of revitalising the Māori language foremost in their mind. Their motivations are more personal and immediate. A learner's level of motivation will influence the amount of resources they are prepared to commit to achieving the goals of the programme. Gardner and Lambert (1972) divided the motivations into integrative and instrumental. Instrumental motivations are those where the learner is attempting to acquire the language for practical purposes such as careers in language teaching or Māori focused organisations. The integrative motivation is where the learner is motivated by positive attitudes towards the speakers of the target language and a desire to become closer to or become identified with the speakers of the target language. I find this division usefully coincides with the most significant motivational factors I found in the Te Kāinga study and I have followed it below.

Some of the Te Kāinga learners are motivated by the desire to support their local marae, hapū and iwi, for example, to support their whānau by being able to

participate in marae rituals and protocols such as whaikōrero and karanga. This comment from Nanekōti illustrates this motivation when he says, “I’m getting to the age where they are starting to look at me to take my place on the Paepae” (Nanekōti, Personal Communication, 2006). This may not have been a realistic expectation for a beginner’s language course but it was a common sentiment discussed by the class.

There were a number of learners who voiced during class introductions that they felt that the Māori language was missing from their lives and they wanted now to reclaim their Māori heritage. Having been raised in an urban environment some of these learners had had little or no contact with Māori culture and they feel that learning the Māori language will assist them with this. Some have realised that they have been avoiding their culture and now want to learn about it. Rangimoana, one of the learners, put it this way: “I wake up in the morning and I look in the mirror and I see this brown face, pretty hard to ignore, as I get older it gets harder to deny the brown” (Rangimoana, Personal Communication, May 2007). Another learner who felt although he had been successful in living in the mainstream Pākehā world now wanted to be able to participate more in the Māori world and he asserts: “It is good to be able to walk in two worlds” (Te Kaha, Personal Communication, September 2005).

For a number of the learners the desire to support their children in Māori immersion schools was a major motivating force for them. When the 2007 class started on 27 February and learner introductions were undertaken, a number of learners expressed that their intention was to support their children’s education by learning to speak Māori. These learners were both Māori and non-Māori. The children were enrolled in the Kohanga Reo, Māori language immersion units in mainstream schools and Kura Kaupapa Māori. They expressed wanting to be able to assist with school work and also to be able to use the language with them in the home.

Pākehā, too, are interested in connecting with the Māori culture and language. Māori is the indigenous language of New Zealand. It is taught as a second language but it is distinct from foreign languages like Spanish or French. To some, learning Māori has more relevance than learning languages from other countries. As one learner commented: “I learned French right through High School but when I went over

there some years ago I did not remember enough to use it, at least with Māori it is on the radio and television” (Huhana Cranney, Personal Communication, 2006). There is little evidence that these other languages are heard in New Zealand.

Another group represented in the class were new immigrants to New Zealand who found it an insightful way of connecting with their new country. As Timothy says, “The tikanga held more attraction for us” and according to him, “it is about becoming a New Zealander”. (Timothy, Personal Communication, 11 October 2007). He had found that the desire to learn the language had also given him more understanding about the Māori culture which he felt was an important step into becoming a New Zealander.

The desire to learn the language to develop a New Zealand identity is also felt by some Pākehā as illustrated with this comment taken from notes of a conversation with a Pākehā woman I met at one of the Rumaki Wānanga:

Field note: 14 May 2006, Owae Marae Taranaki. Immersion weekend

I met a Pākehā woman in my weekend group who had had minimal exposure to Māori; she was trying her best to learn. I asked her what she wanted to learn the language for when the marae environment was clearly alien to her. She replied her family had been in New Zealand for four generations. She did not feel she belonged anywhere else in the world but New Zealand. That she “felt” Māori.

It seemed for her that the authentic New Zealand identity was characterised as a Māori identity and that she felt Māori. For her the learning of the Māori language appeared to be an important part of claiming a New Zealand identity.

Another motivation that relates to the cultural geography of New Zealand for learning Māori is expressed by one of the Pākehā class members when she says:

“When we are driving around New Zealand on our family holidays I see all the Māori names and often think it would be nice to know what they mean. There must be a story behind every name.” (Hinemoana, Personal Communication, 24 September 2007)

What Hinemoana seems to be implying is that the Māori language is an omnipresent part of the cultural geography that is permanently imprinted on the New Zealand cultural landscape. On a geographical basis it is difficult to miss, names of places, marae and demographically in the names of people, physically brown people with Māori, skin colour, or genealogy. These features appeared to instil a desire to know the language to interpret stories.

We now turn to some of the instrumental motivations conveyed by the learner during class introductions. Some of the learners worked in government offices such as the Waitangi Tribunal where Māori language knowledge was encouraged. A number of others were training to be teachers or were teachers in mainstream schools where they would be expected to provide some Māori language and culture support for the children. One learner expressed his desire to supplement his undergraduate university degree with extra opportunity to converse and practice speaking the Māori language. The motivations, whether integrative or instrumental, have brought the learner to the point where they then decide that they are going to learn the Māori language and they must now choose a language programme. The integrative motivation is manifested as the shared purpose of communicative competence, rather than the goal of certification for career purposes.

Choosing the Te Kāinga programme

This section identifies some of the immediate factors that brought the learners to the Te Kāinga School programme. As already mentioned, Henare's connections were instrumental in recruiting class members and this can be seen from some of the reasons people gave for choosing Te Kāinga.

One of the learners was following advice; some had personal or family relationships with Henare. As Hohipera, one of the learners, says:

“I talked to my cousins, uncles, sister ... there wasn't much I could find on the internet and what was there was all over the place. Who really believes the marketing hype in the brochures anyway? What matters is the teacher and the whether their way suits me. My sister learned with him at Te Reo O

Maioha, she said he was really good.” (Hohipera, Personal Communication, 2006)

Another example of a learner enrolling on the class due to personally knowing the teacher was Ester who says, “Henare is like a nephew to me” (Ester, Personal Communication, 2007). Ester and Henare were both 20-year plus members of Ngā Karere, a Catholic Māori kapa haka group. Some of the learners had come to Te Kāinga as a follow on to having been in one of Henare’s language classes at their place of work.

Kevin and others from Taranaki iwi also illustrate another motivation for wanting to attend this particular class. They particularly wanted to do the programme with Henare as he had a command of the Taranaki dialect, phrases, and iwi history and that was important to their tribal history and iwitanga.

Another reason given for choosing Te Kāinga was the reputation of Te Ataarangi teaching methods. One of learners, Ester identifies this when she made this comment: “I like how Te Ataarangi hangs on to things Māori” (Ester, Personal Communication, March 2007). Some of the learners had also attended different Māori language classes run by other teaching institutions and had come to Te Kāinga as they wanted to try a different way to learn. This was a beginner’s class and although they had been learning in other classes, many of them talked about how they were still not able to communicate in Te Reo Māori and wanted to try this style of learning. As can be seen from these examples of factors that informed and influenced the learners’ decisions to enrol the backgrounds vary considerably but there was one objective they all shared and this was to be able to speak Māori and to achieve communicative competence.

To conclude this section on the learner motivations, the primary motivation of the class was an integrative one. Most of the learners were attempting to learn how to become communicatively competent in the language to a point where they could feel more comfortable in Māori speaking communities. Although I have included an analytical cross-section of some of the individual motivators I found in this study, the reality is that people have complex motivations for joining and continuing in a

demanding programme like this. The motivations are mixed and they vary over the duration of the programme as learners learn new things about the language and themselves.

Te Kāinga programme

The programme in which the learners enrolled was a New Zealand-wide joint venture between Te Ataarangi and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. It was a three year language programme designed to help novice adult learners starting with little or no Māori language skills. The initial programme cost to the learners was \$551.00 per year. The nearest Te Ataarangi office to the Te Kāinga class was in Palmerston North. Te Ataarangi had a website which outlined the Māori language programmes available and prospective learners could make contact with the teacher closest to them. The programme curriculum required that learners commit to being in class at scheduled times, for four semesters, with at least 80 per cent attendance (see Appendix 7). Students commit to individual and group assignments as well as in-class assessment. The programme year began in February and went through to November with fortnightly breaks between semesters. The curriculum work expectation was 25 hours per week. A three hour night class taught twice a week from 6:00–9:00 pm.

Interspersed during the year were two compulsory, three-day immersion weekends. Oral assessments were carried out during week five of every module or as determined by the teacher and written assessments were due on the same night. There were also a number of other optional Te Ataarangi gatherings that learners could attend, for example, waiata wānanga and the Te Ataarangi Hui ā Rohe (the quarterly Te Ataarangi Wellington region meetings). The remainder of the time learners were expected to engage in self-directed learning of the curriculum materials either alone or in their own learner-organised tutorials.

Cultural curriculum

In the next part of this chapter we explore the learning environment and the learning activities that the class undertook. We investigate how class members built working relationships between themselves while they learnt the language and were

introduced to key aspects of the Māori culture. My intention is to give the reader an insight into the atmosphere and conditions to give the reader an insight into the growing level of social cohesion of the class in this first stage. My overall strategy for this chapter is to provide the reader with representative examples of the learning activities typical of the type engaged in from the primary data rather than try and describe the entire range of activities engaged in during the class. This strategy allows an in-depth analysis of these representative types of activities. This will give the reader a deeper appreciation of the communicative intensity of the activities. The purpose of this field note is to give the reader an insider perspective on how a typical three hour evening class was organised.

Field note: 28 February 2006. First night of class at Te Kāinga

On the first night of class the teacher has prepared the classroom. The tables are arranged in a semi-circle with the teacher in the centre. There are new learners who are joining the class for the first time tonight. They have not met each other before and have arrived at the first class individually. Some arrived early or on time, others arrive late looking embarrassed and rushed and looking for a chair. As they arrived most went straight to a chair and there was little social interaction apart from acknowledging the person sitting next to them. They arrange their belongings directly in front of them so as to keep them in view and are ready to start, some have just a pen, some have folders and pens and some have Te Reo Māori dictionaries. There is an air of nervous expectancy. The teacher is talking to some learners about enrolment details but once he is ready the teacher commences the class informing everyone he will start with a karakia and then a waiata and invites everyone to stand and sing a waiata. The karakia and the waiata appeared to have a calming effect on the learners, helping quell the nerves.

At this juncture I wish to remind readers of the point that on the first night some of the learners are strangers to one another. This is pertinent as it means that they would have as yet had little or no communicative interaction with each other in either the Māori or the English language. They are excited by what is to come but also apprehensive. The minimal social interaction on first contact and the careful

husbandry of their belongings are noted here as this is a contrast to learner behaviour in respect of their personal possessions once the students have bonded in stage two. In this first class the tables are arranged so as to make the position of the teacher the focus of learner attention. In the early classes the teacher does the majority of the talking. Although, as we saw in Chapter Two above, it is a fundamental tenet of the Silent Way pedagogy that the teacher requires the learner to do the majority of the talking at this early stage in their learning process. However, the rule is not practicable at this stage as the learners have not yet acquired the necessary language skills to contribute in an immersion environment.

The karakia is an explicit acknowledgement of the spiritual world. The karakia is recited by a class member, designated by the teacher at the start and finish of each and every class. This practice is foreign to many who come from secular backgrounds. A few complained privately that there is no place for religion in class; others prefer that only the elemental Māori gods such as Ranginui or Papatūānuku be included. Henare made it very clear to all that the programme was open to all creeds, however, these objections, never particularly vociferous, were short-lived. The karakia seemed to help calm the nerves of the learner. The use of karakia is a ubiquitous Māori cultural practice but the use in the classroom setting also seemed to be a useful mechanism as a mental switch, a signal to change into full immersion mode. These rituals serve as a subtle reminder to the person that they have entered Te Kāinga, a Māori speaking and acting zone. These ritual signposts are important as we all arrived to class from English speaking environments. These rituals create a milieu where the Māori culture is normalised for the duration of the class time. This ritual of karakia is prescribed as the starting point on the first night of class as the start of the immersion period. This immersion period only ends after the closing karakia. As the classes proceed it then becomes a subtle signpost of knowing when to start speaking Māori in the class without being reminded in each class session. The first night set this practice in place so the class no longer needed to be constantly told to start speaking Māori.

After the karakia there was a waiata, again to some this was a foreign practice. This was particularly challenging for those who did not have a kapa haka or singing

background. This complaint was made privately, during one of the breaks by Phil when he complained that, “I did not come here to learn how to sing. Anyway, I am useless at singing” (Phil, Personal Communication, February 2006). Henare made the point in one of his classes that a waiata was a way in which the group could show support for a speaker. Ideally the waiata should be relevant to the topic of the speech. The quality of the singing voice was less important than the relevance of the songs words to the speaker’s message, and the show of support for the singer by the supporting group.

Waiata are also effective Māori pedagogical tools that provide practice in pronunciation without necessarily having to know what the word actually means. Many of the Te Ataarangi waiata carry a language revitalization theme. Waiata also help build relationships within the group. The class needed to learn to sing together, to harmonise the voices, the pitch and rhythm. The waiata like the karakia acted to lift the spirits of the learners during challenging and frustrating learning experiences for the group. The physical action of waiata also acts to lift the spirits. Both also serve pragmatically as useful culturally apt language drill.

The building does not have the architectural features normally associated with marae. On the outside there is a small carved sign saying Te Kāinga. On entering the building the main room is the wharenuī, this room is used for meetings and for sleeping when staying overnight and occasionally tangihanga. In this room there are a few carvings and on the back wall there are photos of people, who have supported the setting up of the Te Kāinga marae. It is also where church services are held and there are some furnishings that suggest this aspect of the rooms use. The kitchen and dining area can be accessed from the wharenuī or there is direct access to the kitchen via a covered pathway. The dining room was generally used as the main classroom area. Although the building did not outwardly look like a traditional marae the routines and customs followed by the teacher and learners created an atmosphere. It is this marae environment that assisted to establish a traditional Māori cultural environment in which to learn and use the Māori language. This is explained in more detail later in this chapter but briefly some of these behaviours

included the learners being instructed to remove shoes when entering the classroom and to greet each other with hongi. Each class started and finished with karakia.

In his mihi or greeting, Henare would acknowledge the building itself, as a formal speaker would do at a marae. This form of greeting would also be followed by the learners when it came their turn to stand and greet the class following the opening karakia. Another practice initiated by the teacher that served to reinforce to the learners the idea of the classroom as a marae setting was the way visitors were welcomed into the classroom. This is demonstrated in the following field note where the learners took on the role of tangata whenua in order to welcome in a visitor to the class and then to offer them the hospitality that a visitor should be accorded.

Field note: Semester 2, 2006, Te Kāinga. Visitor to Tuesday Te Kāinga night class

One evening Sandra the regional coordinator of Te Ataarangi came along to the class. She came just before the cup of tea break. By eye contact Henare signalled to Te Kaha to stand and acknowledge her entry into the class. The class followed up his speech of welcome with a waiata. Henare then broke the class early for supper and each one of the class ritually greeted Sandra. As a manuhiri (guest) she was served by one of the learners first with a cup of tea and biscuits before any of the class members.

Whenever a guest came into the class one of the class members would be asked to do a mihi whakatau. This is the practice of formally acknowledging the guest into the class. The speaker will introduce the class to the guest; usually that speaker will be chosen because they know some details about the guest such as their name and purpose of visit so as to be able to make their introduction of the class relevant to the guest. In actual fact, this was probably not the first time Sandra had visited Te Kāinga, however, it was the first time she had visited this class. This was in effect a practice run for us.

In this situation the class had taken on the role of tangata whenua or home people. Sandra was the manuhiri or guest. In these ways the class was being exposed to tikanga Māori or Māori cultural practices. Many of these exercises were new to the

learners. Most of the Māori learners did not come from a traditional Māori upbringing and were raised in an urban environment and for those who were non-Māori it was a mostly new environment. The learners were able to observe the tikanga of whakatau manuhiri (welcome and settle visitors) and manaakitanga in praxis. All these factors combined to provide a traditional Māori cultural environment that facilitated and supported the learners in a full language and cultural immersion environment.

Whakamā

It is also important to identify what emotional barriers to learning the individual learners are dealing. This is known in the literature discussed above as language anxiety, these are the inhibiting affective factors. *Whakamā* was the most inhibiting affective factor in the Te Kāinga class I studied. In order to learn a language learners must take risks. *Whakamā* is a multifaceted emotional phenomenon. It can have positive and negative affects on the learner. Positively it can be the embarrassment at feeling incompetent in certain situations that motivates a student to learn the language; negatively it acts as an inhibitor on social interaction. Fear of embarrassment is a severe limitation on participation and interaction in phase one. It is a debilitating emotion which can paralyse learning activities. The result of *whakamā* is a lack of active participation and for the most part the affected person is silent in class. Students with few language skills are reluctant to risk embarrassment in front of strangers.

Joan a Pākehā, long time Māori language teacher and follower of the Te Ataarangi movement made this comment about whakamā in an interview:

“Ki au nei ko tetahi tino raru mō ngā pakeke ko te taniwha whakamā kaore e puta tā rātou reo rānei mena ka puta he hē ka katakataina ka heke te mana, te mana tangata.” (For me one of the main problems for adults is embarrassment. They are reluctant to speak in case they make a mistake and become an object of ridicule.) (Joan, Personal Communication, 25 September 2007)

Learning a language as an adult is difficult. When children learn a language they do not have the expectations of competency incumbent upon adults, adults feel they should already know how. As children, mistakes are expected and indulged, children are not normally self-conscious. When an adult makes mistakes the embarrassment can inhibit the learning process, sometimes even causing the learner to give up.

A language has an inherently personal property. It is the associations that we have with the learning of the language that will determine our attitude to the language. If the language is associated with negative connotations, perhaps painful stressors of which embarrassment by constant correction is the prime example, then learners are less likely to want to use that language as demonstrated by this quote from Gina in an interview: “I think that is part of whakamā because there are levels, my friend she’s fluent and I don’t want to say anything in case it’s wrong. You know they don’t necessarily have that ngākau māhaki” (Gina, Personal Communication, 20 September 2007).

From my experience with the environment of Te Kāinga and with the other learners, that learners that feel constantly supported by their classmates in their learning attempts, which inevitably means making mistakes, develop a stronger belief in their ability to speak Māori and that gives them the confidence to put aside their whakamā and use the Māori language skills they have.

Ngākau māhaki in practice

If whakamā was the major inhibitor of learning then it is the tenet of ngākau māhaki that is the major alleviator. Alluded to earlier in this chapter is the phrase *ngākau māhaki*. If there is one verbal phrase that captures the essence of the Te Ataarangi learning pedagogy it is this one. It is a challenging phrase to translate into English not just because of the words alone but because of the significance of that phrase to the many learners who have passed through Te Ataarangi class room doors over the last three decades. *Ngākau māhaki* is the practice of being empathically sensitive to the emotional states of the learner. This tenet applies to every member of the class. The *ngākau māhaki* of the teacher and the class is critical for the learner to feel supported as they make the inevitable mistakes while learning.

Henare said this about the critical importance of the mauritau (emotional settling) of the learner:

“Kia tau rawa mai te mauri ki a ia kātahi anō te tangata ka hihiri ngākau ki te mahi i mua i tōna aroaro, kātahi anō ia ka āhei ki te ako.” (It is only once a person finds their focus that they can fully engage in the work in front of them.) (Henare, Personal Communication, 2007)

Learning a language necessitates taking social risks, the learner needs to feel settled. The problem is that if the learner is not settled they are more likely to drop out. The following anecdote illustrates the problem of a perceived lack of *ngākau māhaki* and comes from Ester (Rarotongan grandmother of Kura Kaupapa children), a class member who accompanied me to the Te Taura Whiri Kura Reo immersion programme in Rotorua 28 October–1 November 2007. The Kura Reo is mainly targeted to assisting language teachers and others involved in careers where advanced language skills are required to strengthen their language skills. The Kura Reo is targeted at learners who are already proficient and are looking to expand their vocabulary and grammatical ability. The pedagogical principles guiding this school are different. They are “Ko te reo kia rere, te reo kia tika, te reo kia Māori” (The language should flow, the language should be correct and the language should be culturally authentic). Kura Reo are one week long total immersion Schools where learners all stay together for the entire time. This was Ester’s first experience in the Kura Reo. I found out later that the reason Ester did not settle to learn in this school was her reaction to one of the teachers included in his welcoming whaikōrero speech a comment and greeted the learners new to Kura Reo as “mīti hou” fresh meat. I heard this myself and I interpreted it as being intended as a joke. Particularly as I knew the speaker had a background in making comments like this in a humorous vein. This, along with other similar comments Ester heard in her class, were interpreted by her to mean that the new learners would not be properly respected. The pedagogical principles of this school were different to what she had become used to in Te Ataarangi. It did not match the expectations engendered in the tenet of *ngākau māhaki* of Te Kāinga where Ester had felt supported in her learning.

Ester stayed the week but as at the time of writing this dissertation she has not returned to this school again.

The *ngākau māhaki* tenet also means the class accepts all learners unconditionally, means people of all races, and creeds are welcome, not just Māori. Joan says in an interview:

“Tētahi mea tino pai o Te Ataarangi ka tuku te tangata kia uru mai ki te kaupapa ahakoa noa wai ahakoa nō hea he whānau Kōtahi tātou.” (One thing I really like about Te Ataarangi is they let anyone join their classes no matter where you’re from, no matter who you are; we are one family.) (Joan, Personal Communication, Interview, 25 September 2006)

The tenet of *ngākau māhaki* stretches to embrace anyone who is interested in becoming communicatively competent in the Māori language. The outcome of *ngākau māhaki* is that the trust of the learner is gained; the learner is then able to focus on the learning tasks. The trust relationships formed are founded on the growing *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* and the learner feels able to take risks as they learn because of the quality of the relationships between the class members. On the other hand if learners do not perceive there is *ngākau māhaki* they can react negatively as the relationships between the learners and the teacher are not trusted, self-conscious so any mistakes can leave the learner feeling isolated and unsupported and this inhibits learning.

There is a fine line between assistance and interference in an individuals learning. When there are signs that the person is struggling with the curriculum material this rouses supportive behaviour from their classmates. They can overcome the *whakamā* and move on to the next stage. Henare constantly demonstrated *ngākau māhaki* in his teaching style. How this *ngākau māhaki* is interpreted into a context is illustrated in the following field not an event that took place in class.

Field note: 21 March 2006. Te Kāinga classroom

Cameron repeatedly struggles learn a simple phrase in his mihimihi. He stammered it out over and over constantly making mistakes. Cameron

seemed near to tears and his struggle took a considerable amount of class time, neither Henare nor anybody else uttered a word of complaint, my instinctive reaction was to answer for him, we waited and we waited. Eventually Cameron managed to complete his mihimihi. There was a sense of relief as Cameron was acknowledged with “Kāpai Cameron”, a few class members even clapped quietly.

In earlier classes, some members of the class seemed to become frustrated and felt that *ngākau māhaki* as a waste of class time the *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* had developed between the learners the whole group were supportive of this foundation guiding tenet.

Merely being advised to be “*Ngākau māhaki*” does not illustrate what it means in practice. What matters in an actual classroom context is how the teacher embodies the concept in their ordinary teaching practices. To have meaning to the class members the teacher must be an exemplar of the tenet of *ngākau māhaki*. They must model it and lead by example and it is an important quality that a teacher must have for *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* to proliferate within the class. *Ngākau māhaki* is the concept of tolerance for others. The teacher has the role of defining and evaluating the criteria for success in pursuing the learner’s shared objective of communicative competence. *Ngākau māhaki* is a type of emotional intelligence (Goleman 2002) which is manifested as the leadership quality Goleman calls primal leadership. A key role of the teacher is to pay attention to the emotional state of each learner. One does not rush the learner who is struggling but rather waits with an air of positive expectancy for them to succeed. I asked one of the older Te Ataarangi teachers how long they might wait, she responded “as long as it takes” (Rangi Hannigan, Personal Communication, June 2006).

Mihimihi

In this next section I examine the mihimihi (ritual introduction) in detail as the principal vehicle for carrying the analysis through stage one of the *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* process. I have chosen the mihimihi as its social and language componentry encapsulate main concepts that were present in the Te

Kāinga action scene boundaries that were identified in the methodology chapter. A learner transitions out of stage one when they have the ability to pull all their acquired skills together in the form of a mihimihi. The time it takes for the learner to get to this level varies with the personal resource commitment and aptitude of the learner. However, this is a milestone, one that not all pass, with a few dropping out of the programme early. Summoning the courage to stand and deliver a mihimihi that consists of personal details in front of a group is difficult. Each learner is allocated to deliver their mihimihi at the beginning of an evening class. Often when they are rostered on the learner will not turn up for that class or will turn up late, seemingly in the hope that Henare will have designated another to deliver their mihimihi instead, however, almost invariably, Henare still insists that they deliver their mihimihi. In order to surmount this hurdle the learner must trust their classmates and believe that they will not belittle them. After delivering their mihimihi the learner has a sense of confidence and often feels camaraderie with other classmates who have gone through this shared ordeal. This is a sign that *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* does exist between the class members. The growing skills and the trust that the learner has that their classmates will have *ngākau māhaki* makes taking up the challenge a possibility. In the end everyone has a turn and there is a euphoria that each learner feels they have passed their first major test of their communicative competence.

Student retention is also a key factor. Excessive learner drop out rates would interrupt the continuity of the relationship building process. *Ngākau māhaki* modelled in the class builds the trust level in the learner to the point where they feel able to take the risks they need to make to engage with others in the interactive learning activities. There is an extensive literature on the impact of affective factors on the cognitive processes of language learning. I will review this finding in the context of this and other literature in Chapter Five.

Returning to the field note observations from the first night of classes, Henare then delivered his mihimihi, based on a model that all the learners could follow. Henare's mihimihi included a genealogical recitation including tribal affiliations, local Māori regional landmarks and home marae, first in Māori then in English. Henare also

included family details such as his spouse's name and the names and ages of his two daughters. The speech culminates in his family name, and as is customary in the class, followed with a waiata tautoko or song of support for the speaker. Students who know the waiata were invited to sing along.

At this point, Henare then asked each learner to introduce themselves to their classmates following his example format, using whatever language skills they possess. In this way each learner got to practice an important Māori ritual which simultaneously allows other people in the class to see if they have any genealogical or other connections or commonalities with that person. This process also gave the teacher another chance to assess the language skills of the new learners.

The mihimihi is how the person introduces themselves to a group. It is a formal speech. To assist the learners with this important task Henare spent early classes teaching about the format a mihimihi could take and what each part means. He gave an outline model for learners to follow with some latitude as to how the individual learner decides which facts to include in it. For example, on their first attempt at mihimihi one non-Māori learner substituted the waka name with the sailing ship their ancestors came to New Zealand on. A more recent immigrant mentioned the "waka rererangi" or aeroplane and identified the airline they flew on by name. This caused laughter in the class. This is humour theme that I will return to later and that is the frequency to which laughter and humour is tightly interwoven into the programme as a way of lightening the cognitive load of the class. Humour is a recurrent theme I have noticed in all of the other Te Ataarangi classes I have participated in.

Once the learners learnt how a mihimihi locates people, and by naming a tribal waka, the person speaking was identifying with their hapū and iwi communities allowing connections to be made by those who were listening from the same tribal origins. The learners later realised that substituting an airline name for an ancestral waka name did not make any genealogical connections to those listening, so the references to waka rererangi stopped. The non-Māori class members then came up with other ways of identifying their ethnic connections within mihimihi so the listener would understand their connections and those listening could learn more

about their common heritage backgrounds. For example, Hamish, a learner with a Scottish heritage, would mention his hapū as Duncan in his mihimihi, other students in the class also had a Scottish ancestry. Each time a mihimihi was given more was learnt about the speaker helping to bring the group together as a class. These mihimihi have the relationship enhancing effect of locating the learner in a traditional Māori genealogy and other connections so that other learners can see how they relate to one another. This provides information that learners can discover the pre-existing relationships between each other.

Returning again to the first night of class, following the mihimihi Henare then proceeded to outline the principles of the programme known as Ngā Ture, the rules of Te Ataarangi. Chapter Two above has the original Māori text and the translation, they are summarised here as: do not speak English; do not gratuitously correct each other; and to be empathically sensitive with one another. The rules are written up on the whiteboard in Māori and carefully explained in both English and Māori as to what they mean. The words have been made into a song and the class is taught how to sing it. This serves as another mechanism for learning the language and learning pronunciation in what we found to be an enjoyable way.

The class are given the course outline, their first work book and DVD. The book contains the prescribed learning goals and objectives to be achieved and the learning activities act as their stepping stones. The DVD has videos of all the songs and many other language learning resources the learners need to complete the class learning objectives. The workbook provides the prescribed learning activities, most of which will require the learners to interact with each other as they progress through the activities towards their shared language goal.

It seemed to me as I was participating and observing the class that these shared learning activities were teaching us how to speak Māori and we were also developing personal relationships as we participated in the learning activities. These new relationships were forged using the Māori language and cultural behaviour patterns as the medium of social interaction. As already mentioned, for some of the learners this was their first social contact with each other and we were all trying to communicate in a language in which we were still novices. It was necessary for us

to try and work out from words and contextual clues what was being said and to convey our messages.

The injunction against using our first language put us in a child level competency position. As a child learns to speak by listening and interacting with their primary caregivers, in the case of learning Māori, the teacher was for many of the learners the only real person with whom they had the opportunity to practise Māori with while they were learning. While in this position of learning a new language with perhaps no other speakers of the language around us, the interactions we had with the teacher in this still new language were very important.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have introduced the main elements of the process of *Whakawhanaunga ā-reo*. At the *manene* stage, learners are dependent on the teacher as their primary model of language use behaviour. However, the learners' growing skill base means that they can begin to interact with one another, albeit in a limited manner. Becoming a *Whānau ā-reo* happens over time and with focused Māori language interactions. A metaphorical whānau who have bonded through intense shared language learning experiences. Some have become friends and may meet outside of class to practise. In the next chapter we will focus on the main learning activities that pulls together all of the skills the learner has been learning, this is the stage I have termed *ako ngātahi*.

Chapter Five:

Stage two Ako ngātahi

At the *manene* stage of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo*, language interactions were mainly limited to exchanges between the class and the teacher and between members of the class. At the *ako ngātahi* stage, the learners begin to interact with each other more using their newly acquired language skills. The class have settled into a routine, each class session begins the same way as described at the *manene* stage where certain protocols are strictly followed. For every class, shoes are removed at the entrance to the room, as each person enters the room they ritually hongi and greet each other in the Māori language. This practice is still followed even if the person arrives late. A *karakia* is said at the beginning and end of each class and a *waiata* is sung to support each speaker.

These Māori cultural practices appeared to affect the learner's behaviour; it seemed to remind them to switch into the Māori speaking mode. At this stage, people have had an opportunity to get to know each other as they have rotated through the small group activities and have started self-organising tutorials at each other's home. They are interested to find out what is happening with each other and this now extends to topics outside of class activities. They converse in Māori about work, family and social events as they catch up with what they have done since the last class before class time starts.

The learners are now expected to act more independently of the teacher. The teaching has also now changed to a more discursive style. Students are now being encouraged to discuss or to *wānanga* with each other in discourse on issues arising from the curriculum materials. They also discuss contemporary Māori topics of interest arising from events in the media, television or other Māori scenarios that individual learners may wish to discuss as illustrated by the following field note.

Field note: 17 July 2007. Te Kāinga class discussion

The last couple of weeks Henare used *kīwaha* as topics of discussion. The expressions were ones used on the Māori TV programme *Kōrero Mai*.

Students were also practising using these kīwaha from the programme. The class discuss them as to the meaning and how they could be used.

These discussions were conducted in the Māori language; the learners are now fully engaged and fully immersed in a Māori language and cultural paradigm.

Mahi tahi

The commonly heard encouragement is to mahitahi or collaborate with each other. Each interaction has a relationship building dimension that impacts on the evolving language relationships between the learners. All learning activities at this point involve group repetition, for example, the group recitation of karakia and whakataukī and waiata. There are a lot of activities that involve the class working together. Language learning is treated as a collaborative enterprise.

Papamahi or mahi rākau is the prototypical or signature method of the Te Ataarangi teaching methodology, it is the base collaborative activity in the class. In the early classes the teacher would build a rākau picture of the karakia or waiata to help give an explanation of its meaning and then as a learning tool for memorising the words. Papamahi is the developing of ideas using coloured Cuisenaire rods. Papamahi are also used to reinforce some of the key learning activities of karakia and waiata. The teacher starts by demonstrating how to create a diagram of one of the waiata, karakia or another curriculum item using coloured Cuisenaire rods, with each rod representing an idea, word or phrase in the Māori language. The teacher then divides the class up into small groups of approximately five people. Each group is expected to work together to create their own unique group picture explaining or demonstrating the teacher's set curriculum item. Students must work together and interact using the Māori language. After a set time they reconvene and each one of the group members will take turns to show and explain parts of their sub-group's diagram to the other sub-groups. Working together in small groups creates an opportunity for more intense interactions between the learners. These tasks would be difficult in their first language, it is made all the more difficult in a language they are struggling to learn. Some learners are concerned about speaking in front of the class. In each group someone must take the lead in order for the task to progress. If

there is more than one person leading then the strategy must be negotiated between the team members and misunderstandings are common place. Having said it was difficult, the interesting thing I noticed was that often conversation was at its most animated during the papamahi. Working closely in small groups like this is one way how the group got to know each other using the Māori language to communicate.

Rumaki tikanga (cultural immersion)

As mentioned in *manene* (stage one), the first job of the teacher was to ensure that each learner was settled into the class and understood the rules of Te Ataarangi. To promulgate these rules both in written form and embodying them in the way they go about delivering the formal curriculum. The first rule pertains to immersion in the target language. The Māori language is being normalised as the first language of the group. Māori is the language in which their relationship was formed.

In this second stage, the role of immersion is no longer seen as a rule of the class but has become an invisible part of the social environment of the class and is now normal behaviour for the learners to speak Māori amongst themselves spontaneously, even outside class hours. Initially the immersion rule is seen as language only but the milieu is a Māori cultural environment where the Māori language is the normal language to use. These class customs appear to move the group along the path of evolution into becoming active participants of the Māori language speaking community.

The first rule states “Kaua e kōrero Pākehā”, this means, at least in class time, do not speak English. In stage one, the class had a strict time of immersion and early on in this stage the opening karakia and closing karakia signal the beginning and end of this immersion time. By stage two, the immersion rule is not just adhered to in this set time. The customs and protocols that the class exhibit and participate in now act to switch the learners into speaking Māori with each other. These activities reinforced the Māori language based social connection between the class members. It also acts as another mental switch to change the learner into immersion mode.

Immersion, in class time with Māori customs and practice, appeared to have a strong influence with the learners’ self-policing the rule. That is to say the immersion style

of teaching teamed with a strong Māori cultural environment has affected the learners' behaviour in speaking Māori.

Challenges of cultural immersion

Language is the medium of expression of a culture (Ngūngi 1986:15–16). Cultural immersion provides a realistic context for the language. This enables the learner to learn how to communicate in Māori speaking contexts. The learner is not just learning a language; they are learning how to participate in the communities culturally based activities. There is a distance between the cultures of the target language and the base language of the learner. For some the cultural distance may be further than others. For example, cultural immersion is particularly challenging when you come from a different national culture or for Māori who have not been exposed to or have limited knowledge of their heritage culture. One of the cultural institutions that take many of the learners outside of their everyday experiences is that of tangihanga. This was a subject discussed in class but also something that the class experienced as a group a number of times. It provides rich examples of some of the challenges that cultural immersion has on the group as individuals and also as a group and part of the evolution into becoming a member of the Māori speaking community. In class Henare described tangihanga as the “Pā tūwatawata whakamutunga o te ao Māori” (the *last bastion of the Māori culture*). The Tangihanga is one place where you are most likely to hear the Māori language being used, not just formally in the whaikōrero but also informally amongst the attendees.

Janet joined the class in 2006, she along with her husband Timothy had come from a Te Ara Reo class run by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. She had some command of the language but was struggling with the cultural dimension. From Janet's perspective there seemed to be an extraordinary expenditure of resources. The days of mourning requiring a lot of food and often sleeping arrangements to be made. Attendees came from all over the country often in buses and vans. Groups of people, some of whom may not even have known the deceased personally, attend tangihanga. This was initially a mystery to Janet. This comment from Janet, a recent immigrant from England, came in a tutorial discussion on the topic of tangihanga:

“[Cultural] immersion is difficult for us. Immersion you don’t know what you don’t know. We come from another country and don’t have the New Zealand background. There are so many things you all just take for granted that we don’t have a clue about. The amount of time and effort you [Māori] put into tangihanga seems over the top to us when we first came to New Zealand.” (Janet, Personal Communication, 2006)

Janet’s comments show that the immersion is not just the language but also in the culture has challenges for some of the learners. The Te Kāinga programme did more than provide the learners with language skills. It also provided the learners with a generic and local cultural framework that provided a context in which to process all the new information we were receiving. The rituals and protocols that guide the running of the class are Māori. The learning activities themselves draw on Māori cultural theme.

As an example of this cultural framework an event that illustrates this point is the death of Nanekoti one of the learners as described in the following field note. As a background this learner had renamed himself Nanekoti “nanny goat,” perhaps because of his goatee beard or rather because of his keen sense of mischief. Nanekoti was a member of Ngāti Raukawa but he had been brought up in Wainuiomata. He was the oldest member of our class at 62. He lived two streets down from me and he would often arrange language tutorials at his home or arrange to come to our home to simply speak Māori. He was a stalwart contributor to the class and the Te Kāinga School, constantly volunteering to help with extracurricular activities such as cooking for the Te Ataarangi Waiata Wānanga that were held every two months or the Te Ataarangi quarterly regional hui.

Field note: January 2007, Wellington. A class member dies a few weeks before the start of the third year of class

Henare, who lived nearby knocked on my door. He had heard a rumour that Nanekoti had met with an accident. We went down to his home. When we arrived our worst fears were confirmed and he had been drowned in a diving accident. Nanekoti lay in his home for two days. For those days Henare and

various members of the class manned the Paepae to greet the many mourners who arrived to pay respects to this much loved member of the local community. Other members of the class helped with food preparation. At the funeral service attended by a large gathering of mourners many stood to speak about him, most of the speakers spoke in English or English and Māori. I delivered a eulogy to him on behalf of the class. I too had prepared a speech which included a translation of the Māori into English as Nanekoti's immediate family was not fluent in Māori. When I stood up and went to the front I found myself unable to use English, a phenomenon that mystified me at the time. I believe now the reason may have been that as our relationship had always been in the Māori language and I knew how much it and our class had meant to him. I did not want our last words to him to be in English. The entire class then sang our final waiata to him. Afterwards the class members all used Māori as much as possible with each other. During the tangihanga the class stayed in the Māori language much of the time, amongst themselves, but also in conversing with the many other Māori speakers who came to the house.

The class working together to help the family of our classmate was a bonding experience that helped build solidarity. This incident gave a stronger sense of reality to the lessons we were learning in class. We could see that what we had learned had a practical application. Following on from this event, Janet, who had found the customs of tangihanga a mystery, now had a much better appreciation of this as a Māori cultural institution. In a personal conversation I had with Janet about the group dynamics she commented in the context of the class group: "We had three tangihanga" (Janet, Personal Communication, February 2011). She had also worked in preparing food and was fully involved in the tangihanga proceedings. This showed she had moved from her initial position of not understanding to then wanting to be involved in the tangihanga proceedings and coming to a greater appreciation of its place in Māori culture. She also acknowledged this had been a process that had assisted the group coming together as a cohort. Janet is good example of a learner being able to suspend pre-judgement whilst they gain an

understanding of the cultural experiences they engage with while they are learning about these novel cultural experiences.

This next quote from Jenny, a Pākehā woman, perhaps illustrates a challenge that some learners face when attempting to learn Māori and adapt to the cultural immersion experienced in the class and poses the question: Does second language acquisition require the learner to leave their first culture in order to acquire a new one? Jenny states: “If you want to learn Māori you cannot just learn the language you have to want to be like them” (Jenny, Personal Communication, 14 May 2006).

Jenny’s comment appears to suggest that she thought she had to sacrifice her base cultural identity in order to learn the language. This learner could not overcome this dilemma and was uncomfortable participating fully in the group activities or of becoming part of the community building process. However, others in the class, like Hamish, a Pākehā from Timaru in the South Island with little exposure to Māori culture growing up, demonstrated that the learner can maintain their cultural identity while still being open to the new culture they are learning about and being immersed in. A number of the class members had strong links to their English culture and were happy to share their experiences by holding heritage cultural celebrations that the entire class was invited to. These experiences of a number of class members then contradict the statement made in Jenny’s quote, these members also were able to express the differences they noted in the culture they were being immersed in and accept the differences while remaining part of the community building process the class was experiencing. The Māori class members also face this dilemma of cultural distinctions when issues of tribal identity arise in class discussions and when learning about other unique tribal practices and knowledge.

Iwi (community) integration

Te Ataarangi is a pan-iwi organisation. On the trips the group made to Taranaki, Horowhenua, Rotorua, Paeroa and Rangatikei tribal region local cultural traditions were constantly woven into the curriculum. These included tribal dialect, historical regional links, iwi mythology, including the origins of the names of local geographic features. This enables the class to see the place of Māori regionally and how they

are related to it genealogically. This teaching of regional knowledge is illustrated in the following field note.

Field note: April 2006, Te Kāinga. Henare gives class lecture on the local harbour history

Henare spends an entire three hour class recounting the legend of how the Wellington Harbour was formed and the discovery stories of Kupe. The one most pertinent to Te Kāinga was the legend of Ngaki and Whāitaitai, as these legends were about the land surrounding the current day suburbs of Kilbirnie and Hāitaitai. He also showed us the locations of the local pā sites and their names. This included the pre-European Māori names of the islands in the Wellington harbour and various capes and other promontories.

The regional and tribal knowledge assisted the class members when travelling as a group to Te Ataarangi immersion weekends when they would encounter tribal customs that would differ from the ones they were familiar with or had seen before. The class also used these tribal differences as discussion topics in the classroom setting. The learning about these tribal differences encouraged class members to learn about their own tribal customs and practices by making them think about or research their own tribal and marae customs and history.

Chapter summary

The *ako ngātahi* stage is where the most intensive relationship building sub-processes occur. It is in this stage of working with their classmates that the language becomes normalised amongst the class members. This language normalisation is founded on a tikanga base. First of all a traditional Māori tikanga base but also one that honours the dialectical differences of the region, in the next stage the use of the language is normalised outside of just the class and the classroom walls. It is to this *Whānau a-reo* stage we turn to in the next chapter.

Chapter Six:

Stage three Whānau a-reo

In this chapter I describe the third and final stage of the *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo* process. In the *Whānau a-reo* stage, students are encouraged to begin engaging with other Māori language learners outside of the class. The relationship within the class are such that the language is normally used in the class, however, it is a significant step up to use a second language you have just learned with new people and whakamā can easily remerge to inhibit the practice of the Māori language. In this chapter we explore how the class becomes comfortable with using the language in domains outside of the class, with people from other Māori language speaking communities.

Haerenga reo

One of the most significant relationship building events in this stage is the class weekend course held in conjunction with other Te Ataarangi schools that necessitate travel to other areas. The actual trips away also provided the learners with real life situations to use the Māori language with each other as illustrated in the following field note.

Field note: April 2006, Te Kāinga. Organising travel to Rūmaki Hui

Not only must the organiser think of this class but they must also liaise and coordinate with other classes from within Te Kāinga and the other Te Ataarangi Schools in the Wellington region. Henare assisted by his wife Tara are the only “staff” and both of them had other work. Organising transport and funding is an activity in which members of the classes are expected to volunteer to organise. The class is expected to organise transport and fund raise for the trip. Hera and Selena took the fund raising lead and organised a raffle. The tickets were sold and the profits were put towards hiring a van. Ruihi organised the van rental, Henare Walmsley and Cameron were the licensed drivers.

This is a typical example of how the class would work together. These organising activities occurred outside of class but the class member organisers would wherever possible continue to speak Māori with each other and the organisers from the other local Te Ataarangi schools. (My thoughts: This degree of voluntary organisation work is a feature I noticed in all the Te Ataarangi schools I have visited. There seems to be a tacit acknowledgement that there are scarce resources and if they want events like this to go ahead then people who are committed to the purpose of the event need to take leadership roles. It seemed to me as an observer the status of the teacher was such that they merely had to ask for help and class members would put up their hands.)

This volunteering phenomenon is a feature of Te Ataarangi that seems to permeate everything the organisation does. Another consequence perhaps of the growing whakawhanaungatanga where the group wants to work together and ensure they have a place in the activities of the group. There seems to be a whanaungatanga felt by its membership and one of the results of this is that it requires group interaction and challenged the organising group to make the travel plans using Māori as the language of communication.

Another aspect of the away trips is that while travelling the class would have time to review recently covered material from the class. They would learn the words to waiata and karakia review the latest workbook and memorise and practice new vocabulary while travelling. There was also time for socialising between the class members using the Māori language as described in the following field note.

Field note: 12 May 2006. Group trip to Hui Rūmaki at Owae Marae, Taranaki

Most of the class decided to leave on the Thursday and travelled together. The learners all expect to speak only Māori. They practise words, phrases, waiata and other curriculum items along the way. Conversations between the class are wide ranging but generally learners have a chance to discuss with each other their motivations for wanting to learn the language. Class

members discover things that they have in common with each other, e.g. family, school or work friends in common. Most of the discussions are in the Māori language.

There is a palpable feeling of closeness that comes out of a road trip such as this; it builds a whakawhanaungatanga amongst the group. The trip there and back as a group is a bonding one. Travelling as a group strengthens the relationships between the classmates, and the main point to be noted is that the relationship building that is happening between the class members is happening using the Māori language. The default language is Māori rather than the usual English.

A further benefit of the attendance of the Te Ataarangi weekend immersion courses is the opportunity to meet others of the Māori language speaking community. At these courses the class members from each school were assigned to different class groups to ensure that the learners would mix and converse with others who they did not know. This was a noticeable benefit for the learner as they could now see themselves as a Māori language speaker capable of meeting and conversing and exchanging ideas using this learned second language. The learner can start to see themselves as part of the Te Ataarangi whānau whānui Māori language speaking community. This confidence then progresses again as they attend local tikanga Māori events such as pōwhiri and tangihanga where the Māori language is used.

Resource sharing

Another phenomenon I noticed happening in the class is a growing willingness to share resources.

Field note: October 2006. Sharing in class

I notice that dictionaries no longer sit in front of their owners just for their own use they are passed around between the tables. People recommend literary resources to each other, those that audio record classes are passing the audio files around on USB. The Te Ataarangi pātere waiata compact disc copies and photocopies are distributed amongst class by the learners themselves. Food is brought to class and shared amongst the whole class

during the evening break. There is no roster of who should bring what or how much. Janet and Timothy have taken to bringing in a large pot of cooked food to share with all.

I interpret this as further evidence of the development of *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo* within the class as they share resources and probably more significantly from a Māori cultural perspective as the sharing of food is part of many Māori cultural ceremonies and part of the custom of hospitality (Mead 2003).

Māori language normalisation

The following is an illustration of where the class begins to use the language outside of the class. Joan a Pākehā member of the class and a qualified Te Ataarangi teacher who has a 20-year plus experience of Te Ataarangi had to say on her experience of the immersion culture amongst Te Ataarangi learners:

“Tērā taku kitenga i roto i te ao o Te Ataarangi ahakoa pēwhea te taumata ka tū tātou ki te kōrero. Ahakoa te aha. Nā te rumaki taua ahuatanga. Mai a mātou pēpitanga, me kōrero. Pērā i tenei, ... nō reira mehemea ka kite i au i tētahi kaumatua me kōrero au i roto i te reo, nā te mea ko tērā taku tipuranga i roto i Te Ataarangi. Kāore i whakaarohia kaore e taea te kōrero, me kōrero i roto i te reo. ...” (What I have found in my time in Te Ataarangi, we all speak Māori wherever we are, no matter what. Immersion is what caused that. Right from when we were absolute beginners [in Te Ataarangi]. I should speak it. For example, if I see a kaumatua I will speak the Māori language. That is the way I was taught in Te Ataarangi. I do not doubt that I can speak the language. I should speak the Māori language. ...)

(Joan, Personal Communication, Interview, 25 September 2006).

This is a particularly rich quote. What Joan seems to be saying is that from her years of experience in being involved in Te Ataarangi as both a learner and a teacher a norm is established or developed, that people who have been taught in this immersion system will speak Māori amongst themselves.

Joan uses the example of the custom of speaking the Māori language when in the presence of a kaumātua. This almost invariably means an older and senior person who is assumed to have a strong grasp of the Māori language and the Māori culture.

What seems implied in Joan's comment and my interview with her is that she has learned that the appropriate language to use when someone with this status is recognised is to switch to the Māori language. When interacting with kaumātua she feels compelled to speak to them in the Māori language. The language is not just being used with Te Ataarangi trained people but also with people assumed to have Māori language fluency.

This theme of spontaneous Māori language immersion is recurrent in many of my observations. I take this following example from a field note.

**Field note: November 2006, Te Ataarangi Annual General Meeting,
Owae marae, Taranaki**

In 2006 Serahn and I attended the Hui-ā-Tau or the annual conference of Te Ataarangi. This conference brings together all the former and current Te Ataarangi teachers and learners. Serahn and I are not fluent enough to understand the issues being discussed but we saw it as an opportunity to learn. The delegates are from all over New Zealand and include many kaumātua. The first language throughout the Hui is Māori. The necessary exceptions are when outside experts (the accountant) with limited or no Māori skills spoke. I also heard some conversations using English held outside the gates in small groups. I don't fully understand all of the topics being discussed and a lot of the time I'm just following the crowd. However, the passion of the people for language revitalization is reflected in the rigorous adherence to Māori customs during all formal ceremonies including karakia in the mornings and evenings.

This note further illustrates that the language immersion is just not a classroom feature it is also how the organisation conducts all its activities in the Māori language. This provided a very strong example and inspiration of the strength of language immersion in the Māori language by the Te Ataarangi movement. The

Te Ataarangi members know that this is a supportive environment where they can speak the Māori language.

Joan counts herself and others trained in the Te Ataarangi system as fortunate as she does not doubt her ability to speak the language. Joan makes this interesting comment about other people who it seems learned outside of the Te Ataarangi system. During an interview she says:

“He maha tonu te hunga e mōhio ki te kōrero engari kāore, tē korero. Nō reira i te āhua waimarie mātou o Te Ataarangi ahakoa te aha e whakapono ana, koe ka taea te kōrero.” (There are many who know how to speak Māori but who do not. We of Te Ataarangi are lucky, no matter what; we believe we are able to speak Māori.)

(Joan, Personal Communication, 25 September 2006)

In the interview Joan does not speculate as to why people do not speak but it is implicit in her comment that learners taught in the Te Ataarangi immersion system seem to internalise an expectation that when they meet a person such as a kaumātua or kuia who they know can speak Māori then they should speak Māori to them.

Speaking Māori in public

There are aspects of starting to use the new language publically that learners may not be expecting when they first start to learn the Māori language. In stage two, the learners are now starting to use the Māori language in other environments away from the support of the Te Ataarangi classroom or hui. The reactions to the use of the Māori language outside of supportive or formal contexts can come as a surprise to them. From this following field note there is an example of reactions that the class members experienced and also illustrates the group's experiences of spontaneous Māori language use outside of the classroom.

Field note: Hui Rūmaki at Owae Marae, Taranaki; and May 2006, Speaking in the Māori language at McDonald's outside Wanganui

We had been speaking Māori in the van and as we walked into the shop. Gina forgot to change to English and started to order her meal in Māori and

when she saw the startled expression of the attendant it reminded her to switch back to English. Another group from another district going to the same Hui walked in. They too were speaking Māori and now Māori speakers outnumbered English speakers. The volume of our voices increased as we became aware of each other. There were some surprised reactions amongst the patrons and staff of the establishment. Other patrons voiced concerns amongst themselves that they were being talked about, as if we could not understand what they were saying. In fact none of the conversations I heard were in any way derogatory or even about the other patrons. Most of them were about the event we had just attended and swapping notes about classes and teachers with the members of the other group from Wanganui. The group was in the same year two level class as our class. My impression is that the Māori language is rarely heard used as an everyday mechanism of conversation in Wellington. Speaking Māori as a group was an intoxicating experience. It is a new medium to express oneself in and to finally have a command over words and phrases with the opportunity left people forgetting where they were. The chance meeting of another Māori speaking group was an opportunity to practice our skills with a different group.

This experience highlighted an aspect of the Te Ataarangi programme that I had not considered before. Each of the groups from other areas of the country were learning the same modules as the Wellington group, they were learning the same vocabulary, expressions and also being immersed in the same Māori customs. The different groups we met up with in the above situation and also at the hui were able to communicate with each other in the Māori language as we had all learned from the same set of curriculum materials. This provided a common language base that assisted the learners use the shared language skills they had acquired and gave them confidence that they could be understood and participate in conversations using the Māori language with others outside of their own class members.

The experience also highlighted the strength of the monolingual norm in New Zealand society. A norm that implied it was somehow impolite to speak a language that was not understood by all of the people within listening range of the

conversation. I have heard variations of this comment made many times as I speak Māori with my family in public by both Māori and Pākehā alike. Likewise, the suspicion that the only reason the person has switched to the Māori language is that they wish to discuss one of the other people in hearing range of the group's conversation. While this may occasionally be correct, this was not normally the case. The actions of the group to become louder and more confident using the Māori language with each other in a non-supportive environment turned what could have been a negative experience into a positive and community building experience where the language was used in an everyday setting and context of a McDonald's restaurant. This situation illustrates mono-lingual challenges to the use of the language by the class members outside of the supportive environment of Te Ataarangi. This now leads on to mono-cultural challenges faced by some individuals in adapting to the immersion of the class into Māori customs and practices.

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo online

This desire to communicate with each other had got to the stage where the class members needed to communicate more outside of the class. Tutorials and getting together for group assignments needed to be organised. Friendships between the class members were also developing.

Communications between the learners and the lecturer is challenging in a part-time class of only two evenings per week. Te Ataarangi having no fixed office meant that most communication between the class members are done by phone and email and initially the teacher was the communication hub for all the class members. From the beginning of the classes Henare had made extensive use of email to advise the class of information regarding curriculum events such as immersion weekends or events that may be of interest. This sufficed for the first year; however, by year two, the class was beginning to send more and more emails to the whole group about events and on-going discussion topics. The learners started to send emails to the whole group by hitting reply to all. In year two, I noticed that the emails amongst the members were getting confusing. Class notices were often sent out by the teacher and various members of the class. There were many sources of confusion, one problem was that learners would miss out on some threads of conversations and

reply to different parts of the conversation. In year two and three the class attempted to implement some new communication tools as outlined here.

Listserv

In my previous career I had experience with tools to manage this type of communication problem so I set up and implemented an email listserv. A listserv is a private email server with a list of email addresses subscribed to it. The main benefit of this is that by sending an email to one email address it is then directed to all the email addresses subscribed to that list. It also provided a threaded archive of emails that members could read back on to understand the gist of previous email conversations.

The listserv was a useful communications tool. This rapidly built up the volume of emails sent. A lot of resource and information sharing was going on. Most of it was in Māori. Students would ask questions about aspects of grammar which Henare would answer. The class members also shared information such as documents and websites with information pertinent to the language or culture. For example, documents and reports published by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission) and Te Puni Kōkiri (Department of Māori Affairs).

The list serv became a virtual extension of the classroom. It seems that as learners get to know each other there is an increase in the amount in which they wish to communicate and share information. Students would always try and write in the language. The topics they would talk about were invariably curriculum related, however, they also expanded to other topics. Henare found it a useful way of keeping in touch with the learners.

The list was open to all the learners in the three different streams of year one, year two and year three. One incident which caused me to re-evaluate the listserv was when one of the learners from year one posted information about Māori clothing sales. A year three learner then sent an email to the entire list objecting to the use of the listserv to spam her. Email traffic dropped dramatically. After this incident I divided the list into three lists with only members of each class able to post to their own classes list. The year one and two lists fell into disuse after this, the year three

email list volume also dropped off but remained steady till the end of year three. The year three learner's comment had effectively stopped posting by first and second years. Feedback I received from members of other classes is that they were reluctant to post anything after that which could be interpreted as spam.

The listserv was a useful communication tool for the class judging by the amount of use it got, but the lessons I took away were that membership needed to be limited to people who had face-to-face contact with the posters so they had a feel for the personality of the person posting. The spam comments had less effect on the year three learners as they knew the sender and the context of the comments so did not cause them to stop using the listserv. However, for people who did not know her this context was lacking. An extension of this need to provide context was a need for posts to be moderated by someone who could direct and frame posts into their proper discourses. I took these lessons forward into the next iteration of communications in the form of MOODLE forums.

Forums

In the final months of my enrolment in year two I approached Henare about conducting a study on online collaboration amongst learners in Te Kāinga. Henare was enthusiastic about the possibilities and we agreed to approach the class with the idea in the new year.¹

An electronic bulletin board is a software instantiation based on the metaphor of a public bulletin board. In essence electronic bulletin boards allow visitors to author and post text messages to a web page. Students had the opportunity to read and reply to posts at a time convenient to them. These replies could be organised into conversation "threads". This enabled learners and Henare to engage in discursive inquiry into topics relevant to the class. The learners can catch up on missed work or revisit discussions.

Logs of who logged into MOODLE, when and how long, what pages they visited, the amount of time they stayed on which pages and from what countries were all kept (see Appendices for screen shots). One of the class learners was working in

¹ For a more detailed discussion of the background, see the methodology chapter.

Australia for a month and one other travelled to England for a holiday and both continued to log into and read the MOODLE forums. I was the administrator of the server and as such I had access to these logs. The MOODLE logs showed that all of the participants logged in and used the forums. This usage was over and above class work. Sessions would automatically time out if there was no activity for 15 minutes and a few spent four hours at a time perusing the boards.

Initial posting was limited to a few early adopters, in particular Henare Walmsley, Henare Ngaia, Hinemoana and I. This was a new medium of communication for most of the class. The use of social networking was still relatively new amongst the learners.

Most people seemed to adopt a “wait and see” approach to the forums. As with contributing in class, people wanted to see how mistakes would be responded to. Perhaps waiting to see how the *ngākau māhaki* tenet would transfer online. Students knew that mistakes made in this forum would be readable by all for some time to come. Confidence was a big factor in deciding on whether to post or not. As people become familiar with the system by reading other posts as guides, they are more willing to start posting.

Each learner filled out a profile and added a picture to it. Most of them also chose to share personal details they had been including in their mihimihi. In response to the requests of the learners the forums were private only to members of the class. I had requests from learners from former cohort years to join, but these were vetoed by later year cohort learners who did not personally know them.

During a class feedback session on forum use, two of the learners, Janet and Aroha, both voiced concerns about the extra work the forums entailed for them. They felt that it was extra work that they had not signed up for in the curriculum. As the forums became more popular and the threads started to become discussed in the class breaks they felt they were missing out on relevant information. Henare did not countenance their concerns as for him this was a useful way of strengthening the language skills of his learners.

Interestingly, over the following few months, Janet and Arohas' disposition towards MOODLE became much more favourable. The perspective of Aroha who was pregnant changed once she became further along in her pregnancy. In one of our interviews she realised that although she could not attend class physically she could still keep in touch through the forums. In fact she became one of MOODLE's strongest advocates, actively promoting its use amongst the class. Janet, too, seemed to have a change of heart as she arranged language tutorials and other group social events using the MOODLE forums later in the year by posting pānui of their potluck reo Māori evenings at her home. The logs also showed that they in fact read through the posts almost as regularly as the other learners.

The forums were used as a social networking tool and further illustrated the normalisation of the use of Māori language between the participants. Forums could also be of practical help with class work. Hinemoana said that she would sometimes miss meaning and context in the class setting but in the posts she had the time to understand fully what was being written (Hinemoana, Personal Communication, August 2007). The ability of being able to have time to edit, check vocabulary and grammar before posting and to be able to read other's postings in their own time with no pressure was valued by a number of learners when the forums were discussed at tutorials.

The discursive topics discussed included questions on curriculum to announcements about new babies or events such as headstone unveilings and upcoming class social events like a bowling evening. Many of the posts were social in nature and many had a humorous element to them. Hinemoana and Henare were constantly joking with each other. In a reply to one post Hinemoana advised Henare to "*kia tūpato koe kei tukuna koe ki te kōti e ahau!*" (You better be careful lest I take you to court!) This was a continuation of their in class relationship using light hearted banter.

Two of the year three class members did not use the forums at all. I noticed a few were not logging in and reading them. I followed up on this lack of use in interviews. The two I was most interested in were Joan and Tasi as both were active class members. Joan was a Te Ataarangi teacher, she was attending the class looking to strengthen some of her grammar skills. In an interview I queried her on her

reasons for not using the forums. Joan replied that she could not see any value for her teaching work in using the forums. Tasi worked at the head office of the Kohanga Reo and most of her family and community life was already integrated with the Māori world and did not see a value of the forum for her.

Communication technology was simply a tool for enabling people to stay in contact with each other outside of classroom hours should they so wish. The ability to connect asynchronously with a group of peers was very important to some.

Hinemoana spent by far the most time on the forums. To paraphrase her interview comments, the forums were a “lifeline” for her to practice her language skills. She had no friends or family who were interested in learning Māori other than her Te Kāinga classmates. Huhana another Pākehā teacher was in the same position with none of her family or community being interested.

To conclude, this section on online communication tools in the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* were used to practice their new skills and words but the pre-established relationships were initially formed outside of the forums through the class customs and practices. They created either a virtuous or a vicious circle of communication depending on the quality of communications used by members.

The forums were an invaluable communication tool to move the class’s development as a *Whānau a-reo* as they were used to help maintain the language bonds across the barriers of time and space and still private to the class. The knowledge of each other’s offline personalities was a key factor into how class members interpreted the narrow band text only communications. The issues of needing to personally know the other forum members, as illustrated by the spam issue affecting the use of the listserv, meant Māori language speakers from outside the class were not invited to join the forums. Willingness to post on the forums was a sign that the class members trusted each other and felt they would be supported and could post in complete confidence.

In order for individuals to take learning risks a relationship of trust must exist between members of a group. A relationship is an implied or express agreement between people in a group as to the way they will behave towards each other.

Individual trust in the *ngākau māhaki* of the group is both a logical and an emotional act. Trust is an individual's belief that others will act in a certain way under certain conditions, in this case amongst the class. *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* also obtains when the learner observes how the teacher models *ngākau māhaki* in the context of the class.

The comments of other learners, particularly sharing the problems they faced were of value to the learners. *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is built upon as learners can empathise and identify aspects of their own experiences in the comments and actions of their classmates. They begin to appreciate that they are all on a shared learning pathway. Through *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo*, learners begin to become less reticent about sharing information and taking learning risks in class in front of their class peers. Because of the conditions in the class enabled by the *ngākau māhaki* tenet, learners felt confident enough to make mistakes in front a small group, by doing so they learn to trust themselves and their group. This next field note illustrates the approach of Henare towards a class member struggling with a common language problem, that of correct pronunciation.

Field note: 7 March 2006. In class

Janet is continually mispronouncing Māori vowels such as the “u”. She has continued making this pronunciation mistake throughout a number of classes. Henare always helps her when she asked for the correct pronunciation. Some in the class seemed to become became frustrated at her continual mispronouncing, they sigh and raise their eyebrows when they hear it but most have followed the lead of the teacher and by and large did not attempt to correct her.

This was happening early on in the year but, as the class have the teacher as a *ngākau māhaki* role model, the signals of frustration diminish over time and as the other learners realise they make mistakes as well. The implication of this forbearance is the signal to the class as a whole that it is okay to make mistakes, you will not be judged for them. It gives a person a feeling of safety and security with that person or group. Learning a language as an adult means a person must

experiment with the new material being learned. They must trust each other enough to make mistakes in front of the group. If a learner is not trusting enough of his colleagues to make mistakes, progress will be difficult. In another example, Hinemoana, in a discussion on making mistakes in class, during an interview said this about Te Kaha: “I really like the way Te Kaha talks to me. He is very kind and he takes the time to explain things to me. Just like my idea of a good tuakana older brother or sister” (Hinemoana, Personal Communication, 5 June 2007). This example of empathic sensitivity between these two learners provided Hinemoana with the confidence with which to explore learning opportunities which may have otherwise challenged her self-esteem.

Chapter summary

At the core of the Te Kāinga programme is the intention that the learner become competent enough to communicate in Māori speaking communities. The three stage process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is the process through which learners become competent members of Māori speaking communities. It is immersion in the language and in the culture that is the key to developing this communicative competence. They achieve their goal by participating in culturally authentic interactive learning activities. As they do this the class gradually became members of the Māori speaking cohort. At the *Whānau a-reo* stage they learn how to use their skills to interact with other Te Ataarangi classes from other schools who have been taught using the same curriculum. Finally, the learners are taken into wider Māori speaking contexts where they can see how the Māori language is used in wider settings by members of the Māori speaking community. To tie this back to the theoretical literature of language revitalization, the most interesting piece of data is the tendency of the learners to continue using the language outside of the class room. I will pick up on this again in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven:

Literature integration

In the previous chapter I discussed the data from my participant observation as supported by the participant interviews. The purpose of this final chapter is to pull together the threads of the Te Kāinga study findings into a theoretical explanation that can be used to explore and discuss the implications of the language acquisition process for the vernacular use of the Māori language. In this chapter I outline the theoretical components I have extracted from the above findings. This part will begin with a theoretical explanation of the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* and its component concepts of *rūmaki reo* moderated by *ngākau māhaki*.

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo

“Whakawhanaunga” is the term used in the class for the process of building relationships amongst the class members. Whakawhanaungatanga seems to me to be similar to the psychological concept of “sense of community”. A sense of community is a feeling members have of belonging; a feeling that members matter to one another and the group, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their commitment to be together (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo is a conceptual model offering a theoretical explanation of how a class of monolingual language learners went from being relative strangers to becoming a bilingual community who prefer to speak the Māori language with each other. A theoretical model is defined here as a set of hypothetical assumptions that explain the relationships between the group members. A qualitatively derived set of interrelated constructs, definitions and propositions (Cresswell 2004) that present a systematic view of the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* by specifying relations among the constructs of *rūmaki reo* and *ngākau māhaki*. The process is analogous to a bridge by which individuals who are monolingual can become communicatively competent enough to be able to participate in Māori language speaking communities. The main concept of the model is the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*. This process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* was discovered in the context of the Te Kāinga study.

I am arguing that through the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* there emerges a special language-based relationship between the groups, a relationship which privileges the use of the Māori language.

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo has the core concepts of *reo rumaki*, *whakamā*, *ngākau māhaki* and *mahi tahi* to develop a *Whānau a-reo*. The effectiveness of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is evidenced by class member behaviours during the breaks as well as before and after classes. During these times they are building personal language relationships while they are going about their goal of learning the language. The significance of this behaviour largely goes unnoticed, or may by some be considered to be a waste of class time, mere socialising, implying that the activity had no value in the language acquisition process of the class. However, at the same time as they are socialising they are also being socialised. As Zuengler and Cole argue, “language socialization” is a better term than “language acquisition” in explaining the process by which learners become receptive and productive and how such learners enter into speech and then discourse communities (2005:301). The significance lies in the language in which they are socialising. The norm they are learning is to speak Māori with each other; the cultural practices of the group are those of the Māori culture.

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo is a theoretical explanation of a specific type of language socialization process, one by adults in second language use. A whanaunga is a relation. By adding the prefix “whaka” changes the noun to a verb. Adding the suffix “tanga” modifies the verb to a specific noun denoting a specific instance of the whakawhanaunga process. The root word of whakawhanaunga is whānau and a knowledge sharing relationship between learners is the outcome of the process. The major type of relationships we are interested in here are relationships which facilitate positive language behaviours in respect of learning and using the Māori language. A language relationship is a specific kind of relationship, one forged between people in the process of language acquisition. This appears to be what MacIntyre calls a willingness to communicate using the language (MacIntyre 1998).

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo is a specific type of human relationship process producing a specific set of interrelationships in a group. The outcome of

whakawhanaungatanga is a unique interrelationship, a psychological connection between individuals in the group. The quality of relationships determines the quality of learning. The class were a metaphorical whānau as it is through collaborating that their goal was achieved.

The closest concept I can find to the phenomenon of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is language socialization. Language socialization is defined by Duff as “the lifelong process by which individuals, typically novices, are inducted into specific domains of knowledge, beliefs, affect, roles, identities, and social representations, which they access and construct through language practices and social interaction” (1995:508).

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo is the process that accounts for a group of language learners’ behavioural changes over time. It does so by describing the conditions that influence their behaviour, the specific stage in the changes and the important transition points that were identified from empirical incidents documented in a grounded study of an actual adult Māori language class. The nature of the relationships between the members of the groups is analogous to internet bandwidth. As the trust relationship develops the willingness of the members to share increases, in this sense, the narrowband connection between the members’ increases to become a broadband connection. The quality of the relationships between the individual members and the number of relationships between each of the members served to increase the access of each member and the group as a whole to the resources they needed to develop their language skills.

The concept of language socialization was originally applied in the home, neighbourhood and community context to the acquisition of L1 by a child. However, it has also been applied to adult acquisition of a second language. A specific example of this is discussed in Chapter Four when the group are motivated to arrange their own tutorials in order to extend the time they had together to practise.

The Te Ataarangi based *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* provides an environment where a learner can develop a language based identity within the relative psychological safety of a class. The class can be thought of as the genesis of a speaking community. The cultural knowledge base starts with the general tikanga

Māori but also attempts to integrate with the local iwi of the region to reflect the strategy of the programme to connect with the pre-existing wider local Māori communities. For example, in the Te Kāinga class the teacher was a member of the local Taranaki iwi and made a point of teaching aspects of Taranaki dialect and the history of the Taranaki migrations to Wellington. I am supported in my supposition in recent work by Duff who expands on this with this definition:

“Language socialization, for its part, examines how people entering new cultures or communities, whether as children or adults, learn what those norms of language use are on the basis of observations and interactions with more experienced members of the culture.” (Duff 2009:3)

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo provides the reader with a lens to the phenomenon of voluntary use of the language by adults within a *Whānau a-reo*.

The *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is consistent with the Krashen hypothesis of learning acquisition. This hypothesis underpins the Krashen dictum that languages are caught not taught. Acquisition requires meaningful interaction in the target language — natural communication — in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding (Krashen 2007).

The process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* starts with a group of novice adult learners who are motivated to become communicatively competent. These learners are relative strangers to each other and to the language. In a group like this a learner has an opportunity to reinvent themselves and develop a localised social identity of themselves as a competent Māori speaker.

I am arguing that using the Māori language outside of the relative safety of the class can be a challenge for second language learners. The primary objective of Te Ataarangi is to revitalise the Māori language by reinstating it as a spoken language (Te Ataarangi website 2011). This means the development of spontaneous skills so that a person is able to understand enough to be able to listen, respond and produce the language. The Te Kāinga programme was taught using the Māori language and in a traditional Māori cultural milieu, effectively this creates a micro-ecology. It is

within this ecology that the relationships which encourage the group and give members the confidence to also speak Māori outside of the class setting are formed. The *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* process is invisible; all that can be observed are the changes in the patterns of language use behaviour. *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo* is the Māori culture based process of behavioural change as the class members become bilingual and bicultural. The cultural knowledge models they are being exposed to are those of the Maori language and culture. This offers the learner an alternative framing or world view which puts the Māori culture at the centre and normalises the use of the Māori language.

Whakamā

Oral production seems to elicit inhibitory language anxiety. The focus of the programme was in developing oral proficiency. The ability of the learner is inhibited by *whakamā* (anxiety). It is embarrassing for adults to revert to a basic level of language competency. In their first language they may be very competent and it challenges their self-esteem to have to start again to learn to be communicatively competent. This results in a reluctance to speak. An example of this from the Te Kāinga class is that it was noticeable that learners avoided classes where they knew they had a test of some kind, particularly if it involved standing and speaking in front of the class. Some individuals would be conspicuously absent on the evenings when they were scheduled to do their mihimihi or the aromatawai (oral testing). Often they would ask the teacher for extensions.

A certain amount of stress is good as it is an activating force but at some point it becomes debilitating and acts as an inhibitor to the learner. Some argue that in second language acquisition the emotional or affective precedes the logical or cognitive, that the ego of the adult is affected negatively (Guiora 1972). This means that until the learner is in a suitable state of awareness such that they can pay attention to the lesson then they will have a limited ability to participate in the class. Gattegno (1976) argued that the only thing the teacher can work with is the awareness of the learner. Anything that inhibits that awareness blocks the learning.

The closest concept I can find in the literature to *whakamā* is that of language anxiety. Most of the literature describes it as foreign language anxiety but the term “foreign” is antithetical or mutually incompatible with the situation present in Te Kāinga as Māori is the indigenous language of New Zealand, so I will shorten my discussion of the literature to just “language anxiety”. Language anxiety is defined as “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings and behaviours related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language-learning process” (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope 1986:128). Horwitz and Young (1991) estimate that half of all language learners experience debilitating anxiety. This finding coincides with my class observations, as most if not all were anxious just before their mihimihi and also before testing sessions. To the point where some of them could not produce words or sentence constructions that I had heard them use many times in ordinary use.

There are two types of anxiety: state and trait. State being a temporary or transitory psychological condition; a trait being a more permanent part of a person’s personality (Young 1991). It is state anxiety that is the one most pertinent to that I witnessed in this study. Most of the learners were very competent oral performers in their first language but it would be fair to state that all in the Te Kāinga class were affected by anxiety at different times and to different extents. There were many strategies that appeared to lessen the *whakamā*, for example, the singing of waiata and the use of use of karakia seemed to help relax people. The use of humour was frequent in the class with the teacher and some of the class members using it as an effective tension release. There is, however, one tenet of Te Ataarangi that integrated all of these tactics into a coherent ameliorating strategy.

Ngākau māhaki

There is no tenet which epitomises the approach of Te Ataarangi more than that of *ngākau māhaki*. Literally it means tolerance or humility. Learning a heritage language and culture is simultaneously an intellectual and an emotional journey. It will also come as a culture shock to some. An important property of *ngākau māhaki* is the ability to put yourself in the shoes of another person and thereby rendering yourself sensitive to the position of other people who are on the same emotional

journey you are on. The process of learning a language is stressful. It brings to the surface issues of identity which often leave learners confused as they encounter new ideas that challenge their cultural norms. Immersion in another language and culture is challenging for people from majority cultures as sometimes this is the first time they have experienced being part of a cultural minority. They may fear that they may lose part of their base culture rather than seeing it as an additional frame of reference allowing insights into the Māori culture. This cultural anxiety exacerbates learning problems the learner may have experienced in the class and can make the learners feel inadequate in many ways. The members of the class must exercise an emotional intelligence that enables these tensions to be managed in productive ways that enhance the learning processes of the class.

Mahi tahi

At the structural level *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is influenced by the arrangement of the pedagogical conditions so as to facilitate language using social communicative interaction. The grammatical competence approach is that in order to efficiently learn the learner needs first to fully engage with the books and texts in order to achieve mastery over the grammatical constructions. All learning activities including the aromatawai (tests) which involved all of the members of the class interacting and learning how to work together. This group, rather than individual, testing meant a learner never had cause to feel isolated or alienated from the rest of the group.

The programme made extensive use of intensively collaborative interactive learning activities. The target language and traditions provide the teaching medium. The class room learning activities are based on traditional Māori themes. They are not cultural activities identical to those that would have been experienced by native speakers. They are interpreted cultural knowledge constructed in the Māori language according to the curriculum taught by a second language speaker, a curriculum which was integrated with the local iwi and hapū knowledge structures by the teacher. These learning activities require the learners to interact using the target language. By doing this they begin to form relationships with each other predicated in the target Māori language. Within this basic language interaction under stressful

learning conditions outside of the learners comfort zone the use of the language is normalised as a vernacular amongst the group.

Whānau a-reo

The concept of a Māori language speaking whānau is the core social structural outcome of the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*. A metaphorical *Whānau āreo* is one where the assumed medium of communication is the L2. It caused me to wonder if those first bonding interactions between the classes had been in English then would the language relationship pattern in which the relationship formed have been English. The hypothesis is that the intensity of the cultural learning activity interactions using the language and Māori cultural constructs caused that behaviour change of spontaneous L2 language use. The argument is that these intensive social interactions have patterned the nature of the relationship between the groups. It created a language relationship.

The process of becoming a *Whānau a-reo* uses traditional Māori cultural practices for socialising its members into a speaking community. A metaphorical whānau replaced the concept of being connected by shared genealogical ties with the concept of a shared purpose of communicative competence in a language. The shared goal of the whānau is communicative competence in the target culture. The basic social structure on which Māori society was built was the whānau. The whānau was the simplest unit for which the survival of the individuals within was dependent. For example, many of the terms used for relating to one another are Māori kinship terms. A male will often refer to their female colleagues as “tuahine” or sister. A female will refer to their male colleagues as “tungāne” or brother. Groups large or small that have gathered together are often addressed as the whānau. At the classroom level it is expected that the each member will on joining stand up and recite their whānau, hapū, iwi and waka affiliations. This allows other members of the class to locate themselves with respect to the member’s genealogy. It is a feature of Māori generally that they like to know whether they have a connection; should they find one this becomes a potential basis for a positive relationship between them.

The concept of whānau is an extensible one. It can include whāngai or adoptees from outside the genealogical pool, including members of other cultures who are interested in the shared purpose of the whānau. It begins with the class a learner is practising the language in but as the skill levels build includes other classes of learners within the Te Ataarangi system of learning. Eventually the learner is prepared to participate in any Māori language speaking community.

The core concept of the *Whānau ā reo* finds support in speech community theory. Fishman (1972) considered a speech community to be a social network. This social network consisted of speakers who share at least one variety of speech and its communicative norms. The concept of the speech community defined by what Tagliamonte and Denis (2008) term as “a group of people who share the same rules and patterns for what to say and when and how to say it” (Tagliamonte & Denis 1994:62). Speech communities can be defined at various levels of generalisation, for example, the entire population of German speakers or the last few native speakers of an endangered language. Gumperz (1965) defined speech community using social/behaviourist criteria: “Population aggregates set off from other units by differences in frequency of communication, and members have at least one speech variety in common.” Another definition from Noam Chomsky (1965) says it is “a group sharing the same communicative competence.” I propose that the *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo* is an example of how a speech community can develop within the context of a class.

Spontaneous use of target language

The result of this speech community building process is the behaviour of spontaneous language use. Learners are confident enough to take a risk. To take the risk and attempt to communicate with another person using the language skills they have. The critical success factor for second language acquisition programme, from a language revitalization perspective, is not just on adults learning to speak the Māori language but also instilling in the learner the willingness to communicate in the language outside of the class room environment. This means they need to build enough confidence during the programme to get them to a level where they are willing to spontaneously communicate and participate in their local Māori language

using communities, the expectation being that they can become members of these communities.

Willingness to communicate

A critical challenge for language revitalization language acquisition planners is how to measure the success of language acquisition programmes. From a language revitalization advocate perspective, spontaneous L2 use is a key performance indicator of a successful L2 acquisition programme. Even a cursory review of the SLA literature will show there are many variables that influence a learner's critical decision to attempt to communicate with another in the L2. One model that attempts to bring together the major cognitive and affective variables influencing a learner's authentic communication behaviour in an L2 is MacIntyre, where "Willingness to Communicate" (WTC) is defined as: "Readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using L2" (MacIntyre et al. 1998:547). Authentic communication behaviour includes raising a hand in class and using the language outside of the compulsory class activities. I will explicate the model with reference to their diagram in detail. This is a heuristic model that attempts to capture the factors that influence the behaviour of a language learner in their decision to use the language for authentic communication. The model has proved useful in later studies in describing, explaining and predicting L2 communication (Hashimoto 2002; Wen 2003; Cao 2006; MacIntyre 2007).

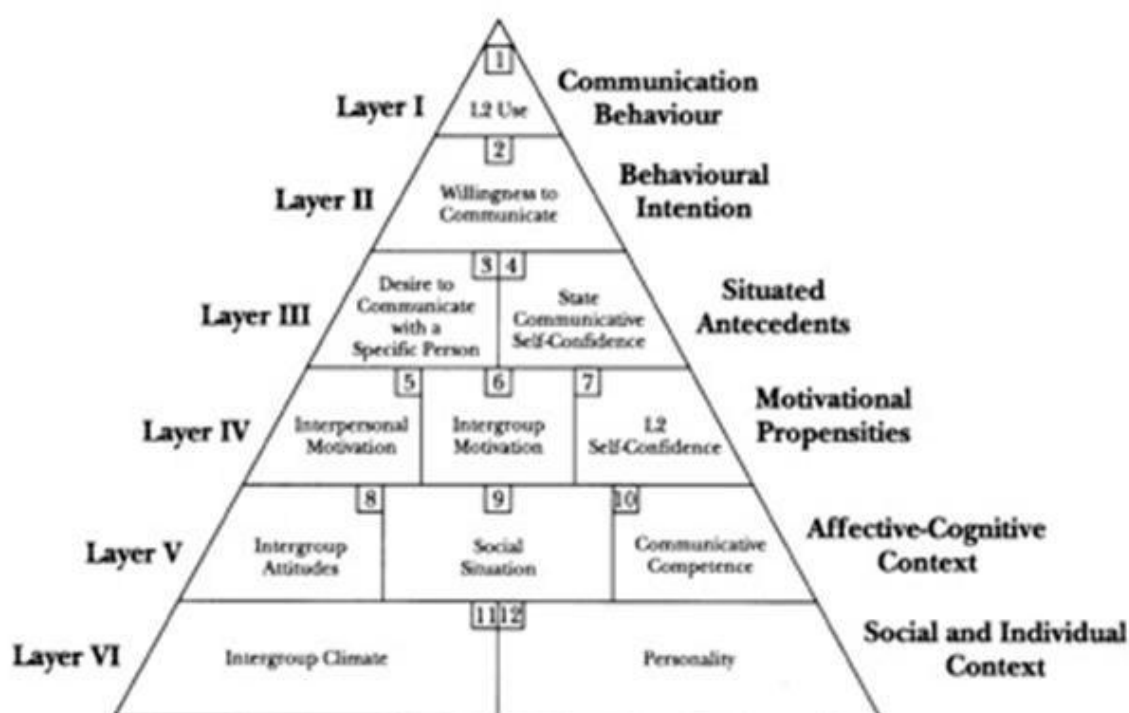


Figure 3 Willingness to communicate (MacIntyre et al. 1988:547)

It seems to me that with the inclusion of Māori language specific factors the WTC model could prove a useful rubric for evaluating Māori second language acquisition programmes such as Te Kāinga, partly because its pyramid shape keeps the focus of language acquisition on L2 use, but also because it organises many of the relevant variables into a pattern that distally locates how they impact on the learner's willingness to communicate, which is where it needs to be for Māori language revitalization and language use. MacIntyre found that, in the first language, WTC is a fairly stable trait but in a second language it has been found to vary according to certain identified variables that influence the psychological state of the learner. The problem that this model attempts to explain is the issue of why a person who is communicatively competent in language chooses not to use that language while another person with much less competence does. At the apex of the pyramid is the focus objective of a second language learning program that is the use of the language. MacIntyre posits that, "A programme that fails to produce learners who are willing to use the L2 is simply a failed programme" (MacIntyre 1998:547).

The pyramid has six layers of variables which are organised according to the proximal distal relationship with language use behaviour. The model takes the form of a six layer pyramid. These top three layers are all situational variables that vary with each classroom context. These were the variables that MacIntyre found to most directly impact on the psychological state of the learner. The lower three layers are the more stable factors external to the influences of just class environment. The factors were split in this way to differentiate between the factors that could likely be influenced within the classroom and those that were much less able to be influenced.

Layers 1–3

Communication is a dialectical pattern, communication is not under the complete volitional control of the learner as it requires the cooperation of the other person. The learner must believe that others want to engage and that the form of communication is culturally appropriate in this particular social situation. I have underlined the concepts from the above diagrams boxes. At the apex of the triangle is language use (box 1), for example, a member of the Te Kāinga class who sees a friend out of class they know can speak Māori and greets them using their newly acquired skills “kei te pēhea koe?”. However, before getting to this point the learner must have developed a willingness to communicate (box 2) in the Māori language that resulted in this behavioural intention. Underpinning this willingness is the desire to communicate with that specific person (box 3) (their friend) and a state of self-confidence in their communicative competence (box 4). It is important to note here that this self-confidence is from the learner’s perspective. They need to believe in their communicative ability. Their language skills may or may not be particularly advanced. These competences are from the learner’s point of view and perceived subjectively and may be under or over estimated.

Layers 4–6

The WTC model catchment is considerably wider than just classroom environment. These three layers are the variables external to those of the class. These are the personal characteristics and attitudes of the learner that influence the decision to learn the language and join this particular class. Interpersonal motivation (box 5)

would be, for example, a Māori learner who may wish to learn in order to participate in the affairs of their own marae, he or she may wish to understand the place and purposes of Māori cultural customs. Intergroup motivation (box 6) would, for example, be a Pākehā like Hinemoana who is attempting to understand more about how Māori culture works so she can feel more rooted to the land. The self-confidence (box 7) is the general self-confidence of the person in their knowledge of the Māori culture. For example, a Māori person who is learning Māori as their heritage language is more likely to be confident in using the language than a person such as Janet, a recent immigrant, having had little to do with the language or culture. The learner's positive attitude to the L2 and its culture is a learning facilitator that predicts more contact with the L2 community. MacIntyre states that:

“A positive attitude to the L2 community, a desire to affiliate with members of the L2 community without necessarily the desire to be like the members of the L2 community.”(MacIntyre 1998:545)

Fear of assimilation is an important inhibitory factor intergroup attitudes (box 8). This is a fear that the learner will lose their identification with their L1 community. This process of assimilation is also known as subtractive bilingualism. This fear will predict less contact with the L2 community and is linked to the minority or majority status of the language. Assimilation occurs when the learner begins to communicate almost exclusively in the L2. The risk is far less of a majority language L1 losing their native cultural identity to a minority L2 and therefore less resistance to this cultural learning. In the early 18th century there were some documented examples of so called “Pākehā Māori” (Bentley 1999). Given that English is now the default language of New Zealand, there seems little possibility of this situation occurring in New Zealand society today.

A social situation (box 9) is a composite category describing a social encounter in a particular setting. A communication situation that recurs regularly in a society (Ferguson 1994:20). Five key factors are: the participants; the setting; the purpose; the topic; and the channel of communication. MacIntyre (1998) posits that communicative competence (box 10) of L2 proficiency has five main competencies: linguistic; discourse (for example, sentence structures); actional (for example,

giving commands); sociocultural (for example, cultural knowledge); and strategic. L2 confidence is a function of the experience one has with the L2 speaking community. For example, a language learner may be comfortable using the language in a classroom situation but not in informal situations like their home where a different range of words is used, for example, in the kitchen. Another issue is where there is a fluent speaker in the home who is intolerant of the non-fluent language ability of the learner. This lack of *ngākau māhaki* would tend to inhibit the learner in attempting to use the language.

Intergroup climate (box 11). Intergroup climate, in this case, could be mapped to the societal state of race relations between ethnic groups. In New Zealand, ethnic relations between Māori and Pākehā are generally considered to be good relative to other countries, evidenced by a high incidence of intermarriage. Satisfaction in learning and using the language may encourage the individual to increase their efforts, a positive attitude through an association with positive stereotypes of the Māori community. Some of the negative media portrayals which highlight negative statistics about Māori may act to influence negative stereotypes regarding Māori by both Māori and Pākehā. The attitude a learner holds when they come to class has a strong initial impact on their perception of the learning process. Another important variable are the structural characteristics of the language community this is the variable of ethnolinguistic vitality discussed in Chapter Two above. Giles and Johnson's (1981) practical examples include the strength of a speaker's personal communication networks. The existence of enclave communities amongst minority group is important, for example, learners with social networks such as church membership or kapa haka performers or Māori language teachers, will have more opportunity to practice the language. Other factors include relative demographic representation, socioeconomic power, social institutions like government, legal, church (Bourhis 1977).

Finally a learner's personality type (box 12) delimits the learner's capacity does not directly determine a learner's *state* of WTC. Authoritarian, ethnocentric personalities tend to inhibit learning, intuitive-feeling personality types tend to facilitate learning perhaps as they are adept at forming interpersonal bonds. Some

learners are stubborn and regardless or perhaps because of the difficulties they face will persist. An example of this the Pākehā woman I met in Taranaki at the Owae wānanga. Despite the apparently discriminatory behaviour several individuals displayed towards her apparently due to her ethnicity she had determined to learn and did not let other people's discriminatory behaviour deter her learning, she took ownership for it. This is consistent with Gattegno's (1972) position that the learner is ultimately responsible for their own learning.

It would seem that this WTC model, with the necessary modifications for the New Zealand context, would be a useful way of measuring the success of language acquisition programmes and the main goal of use of the L2 language. In a language acquisition course, passing a test or even achieving a high pass mark is not necessarily an indicator of being willing to use the language. The WTC model can also be used in language acquisition course design. To firstly develop critical awareness of the conditions that layers 4–6 describe in order for individuals to recognise their own personal learning context in order to create strategies to learn within these contexts; and secondly, design the course with the environment and goals necessary for layers 1–3 to be part of the learning environment.

Evaluating of Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo

The purpose of this section is to evaluate and discuss the Te Ataarangi based *Whakawhanaungatanga ā-reo*, to assess its internal and external validity and to give consideration of the relevance and implications of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* for language practitioners and policy makers. The question being asked is: What are the implications of the process of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* for language revitalization? There are four criteria by which to evaluate a GTM model (Glaser 1992). These are fit, workability, relevance and modifiability.

Fit with research participants' experiences

The first part of evaluating *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is a check to see whether the participants in the action scene could accept that the key concepts of the model were a reasonable interpretation of the experiences they had during their class time.

Does *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* fit with the experience of people from the action scene? In the first instance, it is the participants who are best positioned to critique the theory in terms of its fit to the circumstances from which it was derived. To this end, the researcher presented a draft *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* to available members of the Te Kāinga cohort. The consensus was that while they may not have perceived the *Whakawhanaungatanga ā reo* process at the time they were learning, they could certainly recognise it now in terms of its effect on their behaviours. The comment was made that they certainly considered other people part of their whānau including those from other classes. Most but not all agreed that whakamā was a key factor inhibiting their learning. All also agreed that *ngākau māhaki* was a key tenet in alleviating their anxieties.

Relevance to practitioners

Relevance is another check on whether the theory actually addresses the shared objective of the research participants. A model is relevant when it “grabs” their attention. It was a model that emerged from the actual class situation and was not a theory imported from outside of the New Zealand context, an eclectic theoretical model of second language acquisition imposed on the study by the researcher. The model felt real to the participants. The data collected at the end of the learning programme showed half of the learners expressed an interest in continuing to meet with their classmates to keep practicing the language skills learned, and indeed many of the class still meet some years after the Te Kāinga programme finished, some continue to attend Te Ataarangi hui regionally and nationally.

Workable theoretically

A model is workable if it explains the experiences of other language learners and teachers and how it integrates with the experience of language practitioners. Is the model relevant to the people in the know or insiders? (Glaser 1978). Does the *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* show interrelationships amongst its constructs so that it provides conceptual handles that can assist language practitioners to develop strategies that can assist in the process of language learning? Does it connect to the experience of the people who understand the substantive area?

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo has been presented to a number of teachers who are familiar with the pedagogy and their comments have led the researcher to believe that this theory is from practitioner perspective a reasonable explanation of the behavioural changes seen in and out of the classroom. My conversations with other people both as learners and longstanding teachers who have had experience with the Te Ataarangi approach to language acquisition have responded that the model resonates with them does seem to help explain their personal observations of learner behaviour (Pakimaero, Pers comm, November 2011).

Theoretical integration into the literature

The last criterion is rather a reminder that *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is a theoretical one. *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* does not purport to be the final explanation of the phenomenon of adult second language use. It is simply an inductively discovered explanation. I am reminded of the statistician's statement about models: "All models are wrong, some are useful" (Box & Draper 1987:74). A grounded model is a theoretical representation rigorously abstracted from a substantive reality. GTM does not generate findings per se but rather it generates explanatory concepts and fresh hypotheses of the relationships between the concepts. The model is always modifiable by the admission of relevant new data incidents. The model is able to be redeveloped as new data indicates changes in categories. Modifiability is not an evaluation criterion per se but is rather a property of a good model. Grounded models are also written for the language revitalization community from which the model was generated.

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo theory limitations

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo is not a silver bullet for language use. This is why interactions with other classes and the local Māori communities need to be encouraged. *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* will only last as long as the class exists, a class driven by the curriculum and a teacher.

Language skills need to be maintained. It is axiomatic that skills that are not practiced are lost, new skills are lost very quickly. After the class, the members will need opportunities to maintain their skills if they are not to atrophy.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I discussed the core concepts discovered in the Te Kāinga grounded study in respect of the relevant literatures. The most significant finding of this study for language revitalization is the phenomenon of the voluntary use of the language outside of the prescribed environment of the classroom. This is important as it is the use of the language in their communities by adults which will carry the key objective of Māori language advocates for language acquisition. That is to prepare learners for authentic real-world interactions with other Māori speakers and communities. *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* is grounded in the evidence drawn from the data of a cohort study of adult Māori language learners.

Chapter Eight:

Whakaotinga

Summary of this dissertation's contributions

The *Whakawhanaunga ā reo* process starts with adult learners who are motivated to become communicatively competent in the Māori language. *Rumaki reo* means the learners are immersed in the culture and the language using interactive language learning activities where they *mahi tahi* using the Māori language. The problem is that despite the strong motivations of the learners many of them are inhibited by *whakamā*, which inhibits their oral proficiency. The process is moderated by the gradual development of trust that allays these anxieties by the group tenet of *ngākau māhaki*. Ultimately they become a *Whānau ā reo* or speaking community prepared to use the language amongst themselves and others with their other Māori speaking communities.

A careful examination of the process in the light of the literature on the Silent Way and Te Ataarangi, it is clear that the process we experienced was our particular teacher's interpretation of the methodology in the context of the conditions in the Te Kāinga School and its regional circumstances. This teacher was particularly strong in his musical ability and his use of humour to help relax the learners so that they were able to train their attention on the learning exercises. In the final analysis it is the utility of a model that matters. On this note, I now explore some of the implications of the *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* for language acquisition.

Methodological

This dissertation is a contribution to Kaupapa Māori theory. GTM is a qualitative methodology entirely consistent with Kaupapa Māori theory; specifically I have followed a constructivist approach that has led to the development of knowledge that is located and specific to the adult Maori language acquisition community. This approach is consistent with Eketone (2008:8). The main objective of the research participants is honoured from the outset of the selection of the research problem through to the final evaluation of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* as being one that

according to my analysis fits the experiences of the participants. As far as I can tell this is the first use of the methodology of GTM in Māori studies. For this reason it is a challenging methodology to use as it has a lot of specific terms which need to be translated for the Māori studies discourse community. It is a methodology that is fundamentally different from the mainstream of deductive methodologies. It does not rely on a pre-determined theory to provide a pre-determined structural overlay. It is precisely this quality that makes the methodology useful for Māori theoreticians that are looking for ways to emerge models that fit their data, are relevant to their participants and are workable for practitioners. In my view, GTM allows researchers the opportunity to systematically discover theory relevant to Māori people, subjects and purposes that can claim to be Māori based.

Theoretical

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo is a contribution to Māori studies and Mātauranga Māori as it is based on a traditional Māori conception of the whānau.

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo concepts are grounded in an authentic Māori institutional context. An institution that uses traditional Māori cultural customs and practices to inform the design of its curriculum. The most valuable feature of the Te Kāinga model is that it has a community rather than an individual focus. This model fits with the Māori idea of the whānau being the main cultural unit.

Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo honours Mātauranga Māori as the core social construct is the Māori conception of the whānau as the basis for the re-establishment of Māori speaking communities, in this case *Whānau a-reo*. The solution of the problem will rely on the development of new speakers of the Māori language who are prepared to use the language in their own communities.

The core concepts used from the study are Māori cultural concepts rigorously grounded in an authentic Māori action scene. These are compared with the theoretically relevant literature concepts, thus integrating the model locating its core disciplines and making it accessible to other indigenous researchers and Māori scholars. The Māori language and culture are generally taught in Māori studies in the mainstream universities which is also where this dissertation is located. This is

the field with the best fit as both the language and the culture are encompassed by the model. *Whakamā* is a significant affective impediment to language acquisition and use. For example, the practice of *ngākau māhaki* seemed to emerge as the key success factor in helping alleviate *whakamā*. Despite the best of intentions, early error correction has also been discussed in the literature review as a limiting factor in language use.

Implications of Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo for language acquisition and revitalization

There are three language revitalization constructs that have reappeared constantly in this dissertation use by adults in communities. The purpose of this section is to discuss the implications of *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* for Māori language revitalization. They are firstly that the language must be used and normalised within adult speaking communities. Community support means that if the language is to survive as a living language it must be spoken informally in situations outside of institutions. The second theme is that it is adults that must do the speaking; New Zealand is a monolingual country and for historical reasons Māori has not been seen as a language relevant to New Zealand's future. To speak Māori can be challenging to some but if it is done in the right spirit (*ngākau māhaki*) then it has a better chance of gaining acceptance as a heritage language for all New Zealanders. The last theme is that individuals can not revitalise a language. It will take **communities**. Coherent groups of individual speakers who have the opportunity to be an active part of that community. As an aside, it is the provision of an online or virtual space that provides that opportunity for on-going connection between the members.

The critical role of adults

I am suggesting that language policy makers need to look more at how they can support adults who want to learn to speak the language. It does not appear that the bottom up strategy of compulsorily educating children is significantly impacting on intergenerational transmission, language use in homes, neighbourhoods and communities. If the Māori language is to survive as a living language then we need

to develop more adult Māori language speaking communities. No matter how one analyses the problem it is adults who must commit to learning and speaking the language if it is to become a living language. The emphasis in the past has been on the education system producing children who know how to speak the language assuming that they will start using the language as a vernacular. A further assumption is that once they have their own children they will speak the Māori language to them in the home. There is little evidence that either of these expectations are being realised.

Learning a second language is hard work. It is time consuming, it is emotionally and intellectually challenging. Adults have a limited amount of time at their disposal as they have many more responsibilities than children. Māori language resources can not realistically expect to compete with English language resources which are international in scope and perhaps this is not the niche it should be aiming for. If it is to live it needs to be in Māori speaking homes, Māori speaking neighbourhoods, and Māori speaking communities. If the living of a language is in speaking, then is it not this where the focus should be at this stage of the revitalization of the language? Given the stage the language is at, do Māori need to be focussing on oral skills? Is literacy a realistic aim for adults at this point of the revitalization of the language?

Learners' needs should be the first priority of language education; this is Gattegno's (1976) principle of the sublimation of teaching to learning. I am suggesting that we need to focus more on empowering learners to speak the language freely. It is challenging enough to even use the language in a monolingual climate without being concerned with the niceties of the language. We need to empower the learners and trust that they will, when they are ready, seek to improve their skills. The awareness or attention of the learner is all important in the process of language acquisition. The learner is only in front of the teacher for a limited time. Learners need to be empowered to take responsibility for their own learning in their own communities. Learning a second language to the level of communicative competence is extremely challenging. In the classroom situation the teacher's priority should be to encourage learner interactions. In group work the risks of cliques forming that exclude other members of the class need to be managed by the

process of continually reconstructing of groups. That is, mixing the small group memberships during the task setting phase. In the Te Kāinga setting, learners were encouraged to connect with one another in order to learn and practice their new skills with one another under the guidance of a teacher.

Normalisation

Language use by adults is a key success factor in language revitalization as it is the use of the language in a range of contexts that normalises it. Children can not lead this process. Language maintenance is the use of the language by its communities of speakers. (Waite 1992a). The lack of Māori language use is the focus problem in this study. The language is no longer used as a vernacular by Māori communities. This is the gap that adult *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* can help address. That is, how to develop communities socialised to use the language in different social contexts whether favourable or adverse. The *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* process progressively connected the people to their classmates and to the wider Te Ataarangi movement and ultimately to the Māori speaking communities in general. Language skills when not used will atrophy. Longitudinal studies to assess the impact of language attrition amongst a language community and degrees of connectedness with the Māori speaking community would also be useful. Longitudinal social network studies would be a useful methodology to apply here. This is an area of research that is critical to the long-term success of language revitalization. What is needed is a model that evaluates language programmes to see whether the goals of language revitalization are being met, specifically whether learners are developing not just the cognitive skills but also the affective strategies or the self-confidence to use the language.

Communities of adult speakers

Adult Māori language schools need to look at how they can integrate their programmes with historical and contemporary Māori communities. Effective language communication requires a minimum of two who need to speak the language. A person prepared to use it and another person prepared to listen and respond. In many ways, the same forces that lead to language loss in the first place

are still operating in New Zealand society but under different names. English is what Fishman (2001) calls the econo-technical language that is the lingua-franca of world business and science. New Zealand is a monolingual English speaking hegemony, while there are signs that the tide may be turning, this is still the case. Most indigenous language communities throughout the world are still in the process of language shift and diaspora perhaps through a lack of appreciation of the value of a heritage language sufficient to motivate them and a lack of appreciation of how far the process of language shift has gone and what is lost when a language becomes moribund. There seems to be an assumption that as the Māori language has an equal legal status as that of English, that it is being broadcast on radio by iwi radio stations and Māori television and we have Māori language schools, that the Māori language is safe. However, as Māori language advocates know from the Te Reo Mauriora (2011) report the language is anything but safe. The question arises as to how much closer be language advocates now to restoring intergenerational transmission than they were in the 1970s? The reports show that the language is still not being used as the language of primary socialization in the home.

In order to restore Māori as the primary language socialization of children in the home, adults need to be highly proficient speakers of the Māori language. At this stage there is little baseline data on rates of acquisition or proficiency amongst L2 learners. All we currently have is self-reported data from the Statistics New Zealand surveys (2002) and the Research New Zealand study (2007).

Wherever there is a local interest this is where the support needs to be given, communities such as tribal, hapū, marae and sports clubs are examples. It is almost axiomatic to say a tight focus on Māori language use outside of classrooms needs to be the dominant approach if we are to return the language to vernacular use.

Language programmes like this can help individuals achieve their goals but until there is a consensus by New Zealanders as to the value of Māori and an appreciation of why it is necessary to use the language if it is to live as an essential part of New Zealand's cultural heritage. Things will not change significantly in the near future.

The major goal of language revitalization is the normalisation of the use of the Māori language amongst bilingual communities. The outcome of programmes like the Te Kāinga one is to provide an intercultural communicative competence (Byram 1990).

Taking the above into account, it seems to me that for language revitalization to become a reality, language acquisition education should include a bilingual community development component as part of the strategic plan. Many of the current models of second language education separate the linguistic from the cultural dimension. The cultural dimension is mainly taught from a historical perspective. This historical perspective is important and can assist learners understand themselves in regards to the factors within the lower three layers already discussed in this chapter from the “Willingness to communicate” pyramid (MacIntyre 2007). The learner also needs to learn cultural practices relevant to the modern day environment.

Policy recommendations

Second language teachers

Second language learners who have reached the appropriate skill level are now significant language carriers. In the past, native speakers, that is, children who grew up in towns where the language of the home, neighbourhood and community was Māori, have been sought after as the preferred teachers of the Māori language. They were raised in Māori immersion environments and this usually meant that their range of the language and culture was broad. As the pool of native speaker teachers raised in Māori speaking homes, neighbourhoods and communities diminishes, some positives can arise from Māori language teachers themselves being second language learners. They may be more practised at knowing when to switch codes, particularly as normally these teachers have learnt in environments where English was the vernacular. Second language learners are likely to place a higher value on the language skills other learners have as they have themselves had to work hard to acquire the language and reach a level of fluency. Second language learners are more consciously competent and more likely to identify with the issues facing new

language learners. Some suggest like Granado that “the best model for language teaching is the fluent L2 user not the native speaker” (Granado 1996:163).

The role of the teacher is as a cultural bridge, a person who has learned to walk in both worlds, what Byram calls intercultural communicative competence (Byram 1990). Some argue that a native speaker may not necessarily be the best person to provide this model (Cook 1999:185–209). The aim is not to produce imitation native speakers but to equip the learner to stand in the two cultures without losing their individual identity; the teacher can provide the learner with a model of additive bilingualism.

There seems little doubt that language acquisition is more effective if it is taught in the language’s cultural context. To promote communicative competence it seems we need a cultural dimension. The immersion principle has two dimensions: the dimension of immersion in the language and the dimension of immersion in the culture. The medium of instruction must be the target language. Another aspect of this cultural dimension is that as the *whakawhanaungatanga* builds between the class members the individual who may be struggling to keep up in the class receives support from the other class members. If, as an adult learner, they are uncomfortable they can easily give up but with the *whānau* support they may be supported enough to stay in the programme. We therefore need to embrace and support these types of teachers instead of constantly comparing them with “native speakers”.

Funding revitalization

The cognitive burden of learning a second language to communicative competency level is a heavy one. In principle courses should be free. The fee structure of the course is also an issue. With a no fee course it becomes too easy to drop out, meaning the learner is not committed to the course with their own money. On the other hand, a high fee can make the course unaffordable. The alternative is a moderate fee structure such as the Te Kāinga course fee meaning the learner makes a financial commitment to the course. At this point in time the lion’s share of language resourcing comes from government funding. This funding is contingent on political fortune. It seems that tribal authorities should be prepared to resource

language initiatives. This will also have the added benefit of giving greater control to these authorities over the content and structure of programmes. The numbers of adults actively engaged in second language acquisition do not appear to be increasing to any appreciable extent (Bauer 2008). My point here is that the funding issues can be conceptualised as hierarchical. What starts at the political level and how that filters down to regional and iwi level and finally the realities facing the individual with the class fee system. In short, I am arguing we need to be putting funds into the areas where there is a demonstrated learning demand in the form of committed students.

Future research

The issue for me to address in this section is to address the research issues that are important and tractable for language revitalization. The MacIntyre et al. (1998) model could be adapted to fit into the New Zealand context. If the use of the Māori language is to be normalised in New Zealand then adult language programmes that purport to be supporting the objective of Māori language revitalization need to instil in learners the belief that they can be communicatively competent. The idea that the standard of a learner's proficiency must be of a high level before attempting to use the language tends to inhibit the learner to the point that they do not practise speaking the language and therefore do not improve, this is a vicious cycle. This willingness to communicate is a measurable quantity. In this dissertation I have argued if we accept the finding that at least in the context of the Te Kāinga study we have an example of how total immersion in the language and a traditional cultural environment can evoke *whakamā* but that mitigated by the tenet of *ngākau māhaki* can provide an emotional scaffolding for learners to acquire communicative competence in the Māori language to the point where they are confident enough to be willing to communicate in the Māori language with their classmates, other Te Ataarangi learners and ultimately their local Māori speaking communities.

To discover who is speaking the Māori language today, new surveys similar to that of Richard Benton (1979) could be commissioned in locations where it can be expected that the language is being used outside of educational or broadcasting contexts. This would help provide a baseline against which to measure the success

of re-establishing the language as a lingua franca in Māori communities. Recording machines could be placed strategically in Māori speaking homes to capture data on the amount and quality of the language use.

A comparative cohort study could study the extent to which a cohort has reached the target level of proficiency and community integration. Compare an adult language class where there is no attempt to connect the class socially. No attempt to integrate the curriculum with local cultural conditions either historical or contemporary. This class could be compared and tested using the Haemata 2006 level finding exam.

Whakawhanaunga ā-reo online support technologies

From its inception, the internet and its predecessor communication technologies were designed to enable people to collaborate in scattered physical places. The use of interactive technologies for supporting speech communities is a new phenomenon. In the area of language education, studies are being conducted that attempt to connect and build community amongst distance education and blended learning classes (Warschauer 2000). Furthermore, the emphasis must always be on supporting face-to-face interactions requiring actual physical social presence or *kanohi-ki-kanohi*. None of the technologies explored in this thesis come close to replacing the plurality of relationship building channels of communication available to members of wider physically co-located speech communities. Ultimately the value of a particular information and communication technology is to be benchmarked against and measured by the extent to which the technology supports the development of these face-to-face relationships.

The flexibility that technology offers has its own challenges. Engaging learners in online classes has proved challenging for educators. Learners and teachers often have difficulty using the software and are unsure of why or how they should be using the software to interact with each other. For Māori learners, the technology problem has other dimensions. Māori people are generally over represented in the lower socio-economic strata and may have limited access to internet connected computers and a lack of computer skills.

There may also be attitude problems to technology. The Western designed technologies may be alien to traditional Māori culture imbued with different values and without support for their language characters (Keegan 2003). It is important for Māori educational technologists to proceed carefully that technologies not act as a cultural Trojan horse and become yet another colonisation tool further destabilising Māori communities. These studies' findings contribute to an understanding of the importance of the cultural factors in the process of language acquisition and suggest implications for best practice in language acquisition to revitalization planning.

How is this adult *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* model a contribution to the reestablishment of Māori speaking communities? Fishman argues that any language revitalization strategy must show a link to intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1991). Fishman makes the point that reversing language shift is not about reversing the process to being monolingual again. Reversing language shift is about regenerating viable speech communities (Fishman 2007:165). The ultimate speech members of that community being networks of the families with parents committed to speaking the language as the default family language. It is a central argument of this dissertation that long-term, the main language revitalization policy goal must be to re-establish and revitalise communities of language speakers. If the language is going to be regenerated then it needs communities of speakers who are prepared to extend it into new domains by actually using it in those domains. As they use it they will per force develop their own vocabularies. This is a normal part of the phenomenon of language shift. Speech communities that are prepared to take risks with new language registers, learning by using and making mistakes.

Dissertation conclusion

The Māori language is a taonga all citizens of Aotearoa, one that all citizens need to learn and use if it is to continue to provide the country with a unique cultural base. In this dissertation I have argued that to revitalise the Māori language we need to normalise it, by actually using it as an everyday language, amongst Māori communities, outside of formal institutions. It seems clear from the literature review in Chapter Two that educating children in the language is unlikely to meet this goal. I suggest that the central role of language normalisation will need to be taken by

communities of **adult** language speakers. In the Te Kāinga action scene, I discovered a theoretical process called *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo* whereby the Māori language was normalised as a second language and **used** as a lingua franca amongst Māori language learners who were following the Te Ataarangi Silent Way methodology of second language acquisition. I suggest that it was by this Māori language socialization process I have labelled as *Whakawhanaungatanga a-reo*, that enabled the learners to overcome the barriers people face when practising a second language.

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Appendix 1 Ethics consent



8 May 2007

Ewan Pohe
Victoria University of Wellington College of Education
C/o He Parekerekere
Donald Street
Karori
Wellington

Dear Ewan

RE: Ethics application AARP SEDS/2007/22

I am pleased to advise you that your ethics application, '**Developing an Online Maori Language Learning Community**' with the amendments as required by the Ethics Committee, has been approved.

Yours Sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'J. A. Loveridge'.

Dr Judith Loveridge
Convener
Faculty of Education Ethics Committee

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION Te Whānau o Ake Paī
PO Box 17 310, Karori, Wellington 6012, New Zealand
Phone +64 (0)4 463 9900 Fax +64 (0)4 463 9669 Website www.crow.ac.nz/education

Appendix 2 Participant interview guide

These questions will form the basis for semi-structured individual and group interviews. Interview questions are intended to be open ended and constantly iterating through as inductive analysis emerged evolving categories.

“How students had found their learning experience in Te Kāinga”

The research focus question is:

- Do you feel that the Te Ataarangi learning environment was extended into the virtual learning space that MOODLE provides?

The following sets of open ended questions will be refined after the first cycle of data collection is completed at the end of term two.

- How important do you think a sense of community is to the collaborative learning of language?
- Do you think there is a sense of community or whānau in the class?

Appendix 3 MOODLE guide

Kia ora koutou ngā mihi nui ki a koutou mō tēnei awhina atu i ahau.

I have given you all your login and passwords. Sonya I will send yours by a separate email. I would like you all to login and test a few of the features of the Te Kāinga site. For a start just look around maybe fill in some details in your profile and make a post perhaps a mihi, pepeha. In the general discussion forums suggest you login using the English for a start to get used to the way MOODLE works. The best Māori translation is Māori. Some of what I am saying won't be clear until you try out some of the features of MOODLE. It is best just to dive in. I will be looking after the web site on a daily basis, just try things, don't worry you cant break it and I or you can edit out anything we don't want in there later. Here is the login url: <http://maori.elearnin.ac.nz/loiniindex.php> The language drop down box is on the top right, the login to Te Kāinga is on the left. I would like to ring you all individually to discuss your experiences either during or as soon as possible after you have tried it so please email me with a couple of good times to talk and a contact number and I will endeavour to ring you then. You may of course also email me any comments or talk to me in class.

Last but not least. I am using English for this email but I suggest you post as much as you can in Te Reo as practice for you and for the readers.

Noho ora mai koutou

EWAN POHE

PhD student

W (04) 463 5856

H (04) 383 5473

M 0275 345473

Appendix 4 Participant consent form

I have read and understand the information sheet and consent to the use of the data gathered during this research project. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that data collected may be used both for this project and for publication however no individual identifying information will be published or otherwise made available to anyone other than the researcher and his supervisor without the express permission of the participant. The data collected will be stored in a secure facility and destroyed at the end of the project.

Full name

Signed

Date

Ewan Poe's contact details are:

Email: Ewan.Pohe@vuw.ac.nz

TEL (04) 463 5856

Appendix 5 Interview question sheet

The research focus question is:

- How does a sense of community in a class of Māori adult heritage language students contribute to Māori student participation in a virtual Māori language learning environment for a blended Māori language learning class?

The following sets of open ended questions will be refined after the first cycle of data collection is completed at the end of term two. These questions will form the basis for semi-structured individual and group interviews.

- Do you feel the forum postings by other students helped you in developing your language skills?
- Did the forums feel like a safe place to post your thoughts and ideas?
- Which of the MOODLE tools did you find most useful?
- Did the MOODLE learning space feel real to you?
- Was the set up of the MOODLE site such that you felt comfortable in posting to it?
- Did you feel the use of the forums increased the sense of community in the class?
- Do you feel that the Te Ataarangi learning environment was extended into the virtual learning space that MOODLE provides?
- How important do you think a sense of community is to the collaborative learning of language?
- Do you think there is a sense of community or whānau in the tau-tuatoru class?

Appendix 6 Participant information sheet

Takiuru

Ingoauru (Login)

Kupuwhakauru: (Password)

E ōku nui e ōku rahi tēnei te mihi ki a koutou o te tau tuatoru e whai ana te awa kairangi e piki ake te poutama o te Reo rangatira ki tōna tiketike.

Introduction to research

This research is a part of a supervised PhD at the Victoria University of Wellington. The research topic is Māori language revitalization. The broad research focus is to assess the value of a sense of community to increasing participation by Māori language students in the use of the MOODLE suite of internet worked tools for collaborative language learning.

Research problem

Learning a new language requires a lot of practice with others. The best people to practice with are fluent speakers and or other akonga at about the same level.

Internet technologies offer the potential for interaction between Tau Tuatoru whānau members outside of the Te Kāinga class environment. The research problem is to provide a technological interface that helps members to do this.

Research opportunity

This research investigates a technology interface called MOODLE that provides an effective way to help members to interact outside of the Te Kāinga environment.

What is MOODLE?

In basic terms, MOODLE is a potential technology solution for our language learning whānau to interact online. In more detail, MOODLE is a suite of integrated eLearning tools described as a course management system. MOODLE provides a secure, tested online learning environment where the language learning begun in the Te Kāinga classes can continue.

The following are examples of the interactions that MOODLE can facilitate:

- A bulletin board to ask or answer questions of each other or post events like upcoming Reo Wānanga, Māori events or the organisation of small group tutorials.
- An online calendar.
- A profile where you can provide information about yourself to the whānau so we can better understand each other's needs.

How will data be collected and used?

Data will be collected on how and which MOODLE tools are used and for what purposes. Most of this will be done automatically by MOODLE for things such as number of logins, time of use. Forum discussions will be focussed onto to determine the extent to which they assist the development of relationships effective to furthering the language skills of the students. The data collection will finish at the end of the course year. From there the researcher will start analysing and interpreting the data.

Focus groups

Data collection will also include the whānau assessment. One or two voluntary focus groups will be invited together to Te Kāinga to discuss issues that will be taped and noted. More information will be provided closer to the time. The issues covered will include:

- How useful the whānau found the tools.

- What was done well.
- What was lacking.
- What could have been done better.
- What other functionality they would like to see in the future.

Individual input

I will also call for volunteers for short individual interviews regarding MOODLE use. A separate information sheet will be given to volunteers regarding the nature and content of the interviews. I will also attend most of the classes and Wānanga to gain an appreciation of the type of work being done in the class so that I can adapt the MOODLE environment so that it best suits the needs of the whānau.

Feedback

Feedback will be given to the whānau in class. I am always happy to discuss the research and will seek and provide feedback on progress in class and on the forums themselves. I will produce a report to the Te Ataarangi Hui a Tau in 2008. The objective is to document our experiences and learning in a form that will be useful for future learners and language researchers.

Participant confidentiality

The research data collected is confidential to me and my supervisor. MOODLE itself is password protected and only whānau members will have direct access. It is usually unnecessary to identify any of the members of the class in any future publications, however in the event that it may be desirable I will consult with the relevant person first when I will explain what I have in mind and will follow any decisions that person makes.

Contact details

You are welcome to talk to me in class or contact me on 463 5856 or email ewan.pohe@vuw.ac.nz .

Nō reira ngā mihi whakawhetai ki a koutou te whānau o te tau tuatoru mō tōu
whakaaetanga ki tēnei mahi. Te wawata nei ka puta he pāinga mā tātou. Kia kore
koe e ngaro te taonga a koro mā a kui mā.

Appendix 7 Te Kāinga course outline

Faculty of Te Ataarangi
Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi
INTERVIEW FORM – Pōkairewa Kura Takiwa Kōke 4

PROGRAMME REQUIREMENTS		✓
Entry Criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviewees must be 16 years of age 	
Programme Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Eight DVD Two regular weekly classes taught by experienced karako in classes of 3 hours. Two noho marae: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 04 – 06 May 07 24 – 26 Aug 07 Eight structured workbooks to follow and guide personal learning. Tutorials available to help student's access additional support. 	
Course Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Every module contains karakia, akoranga reo, kōwhiri takirua, paterawaita, kupu hou, whakatauki/pepeha [Kōke 4] Every module contains karakia, akoranga reo, pūaki rerenga, waiata, kupu hou, whakatauki/pepeha [Kōke 2] 	
Attendance Requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attend at least 80% of the programme Attend the 2 noho marae 	
Semester Dates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Semester 1: Term 1 26/2-5/4; Term 2 23/4-25/5 Semester 2: Term 3 16/7-23/8; Term 4 8/10-30/11 	
Class Times	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As determined by the Karako and students 	
Assessments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Week 5 of every module or as determined by the karako 	
Moderation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Digital video camera will be used to record assessments of randomly selected students at Noho marae 	
Assessment Results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pass or Fail (as per grading system) Students may appeal their result. Appeal procedure is in the Student Handbook. 	
FEES & COSTS		
Programme Fee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$561.00 Fee covers resources only e.g. DVD, workbooks, food & accommodation at noho marae 	
Other Costs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transport costs to noho marae Te Ataarangi registration (regional & national) 	
LOANS, SCHOLARSHIPS, GRANTS & ALLOWANCES		
Student Loans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Available through Study Link 	
Training Incentive Allowance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Available to Domestic Purpose Beneficiaries through WINZ 	
Scholarships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Available through TPK and iwi. 	
OTHER		
Academic Regulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Located in Student Handbook. 	
Withdrawal / Refund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Withdrawal Form must be completed. Entitlement to a refund of course fees is dependent on when the Withdrawal form is submitted. 	
Formal Withdrawal and Affective Academic Record Table		
Withdrawal Date	Refund Due	Academic Record
Before the 10% point of the programme	Full refund of tuition fees paid, less the prescribed admin fee.	No record will be entered on the student's academic record.
After the 10% point but before the 50% point of the programme	50% refund of tuition fees paid, less any prescribed admin fee	A letter grade "WD" representing withdrawal will appear on the student's academic record.
After the 50% point of the programme	No refund of tuition fees.	A letter grade "WD" representing withdrawal will appear on the student's academic record.
Student Association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compulsory \$71.60 	

**Faculty of Te Ataarangi
Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi
PEPA UIUI – Pokairewa Kura Takiwa Koeke 4**

Nō whea mai koe? (<i>whakawhanaunga mai</i>)			
Kōrero mai i te take, ngā take rānei e hiahia ana tēnei kura e koe.			
He aha te taumata e heitia ana e koe mō te tae mai ki te kura me te mahi i nga akoranga o tēnei kura? (<i>tōna kaha ki te tae mai me te ako</i>)			
He kōrero tāu mō tētehi /ngētehi take rānei ka whakararu pea i tō tutukitanga i ngā akoranga o tēnei kura?			
E hiahia ana koe ki te kōrero ki te Student Support, he āhuatanga ako rānei nōu kei te hiahia āwhina.			
Kua uiuingia te kaitono kanohi ki te kanohi / ā-waea (<i>whakakorengia tētehi</i>) i te(<i>te rā</i>) ā, e whakaae / kāore e whakaae (<i>whakakorengia tētehi</i>) kia uru mai te kaitono nei ki Te Pokairewa Reo Rumaki (Kōeke 4) Kura Takiwa 2007. (Te / Ngā) take o te kore whakaae:			
Ingoa Kaitono:		Ingoa Kaiuiui:	
Waitohu Kaitono:		Waitohu Kaiuiui:	
Te rā:		Te rā:	
For office use only:			
Date received:		Received by:	

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Te Ataarangi and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi – Joint Venture

In the middle of 1999 Awanuiārangi began discussing with Te Ataarangi the possibility of working together for mutual benefit. It was envisaged that between the two organisations, their combined strengths had the ability to greatly enhance opportunities for programmes. Te Ataarangi sought to develop degree level qualification for their students and members and, at the same time, develop a model of distance education to assist the many branches of its organisation. Awanuiārangi saw the success of Te Ataarangi with its Māori language teaching programmes in producing confident speakers of Māori and therefore looked for ways to incorporate this teaching structure into its programmes.

This agreement holds potential for many developments however the significant being the creating of viable programmes delivered in Māori language. With this in mind Awanuiārangi has incorporated Māori language competence as a pre-requisite to some of its programmes.

1.2 Te Ataarangi - Background

E kore koe e ngaro, taku reo rangatira
You shall never be lost my noble language

Te Ataarangi is essentially a Māori language learning and teaching movement that also embraces a holistic philosophy of general development within the community it serves. The teaching method has been developed from the works of Caleb Gattegno and is referred to as "The Silent Way". Gattegno is responsible for evolving the philosophy and method of teaching and learning languages through the use of cuisenaire rods (*rākau*). In the late seventies, Te Ataarangi was formed as a programme of Māori language learning by Te Heikōkō Mataira and Ngōi Pewhairangi. It has since grown and developed into a strong and very vital national organisation with nine regional branches.

2.0 Programme Description and Objective

2.1 Programme Description

Te Pōkaitahi Reo Rumaki, Kōeke 4 (Certificate in Māori Immersion, Level 4) is aimed at those people who have completed Te Pōkaitahi Reo Rumaki, Kōeke 2, or already have limited language skills. It is designed to allow the students to build on what they have learned and to expand students' knowledge and skills in communicating in te reo Māori. The programme combines the well-established Te Ataarangi immersion programme with the accessibility of current techniques and DVD technology.

2.2 Objective

The primary objective of this programme is to provide students with the skills necessary to communicate in te reo Māori. The programme focuses on students gaining oral skills, although skills in reading, listening and writing will also be developed.

Appendix 8 Forum screenshots

Sample of discussion topics

Kei te tane te purapura. kei te wahine te papa hei whakāhuru. Ko te kai whakāhuru ko te wahine, e tipu ai nga mea katoa; he tauira hoki te wahine na te tane.

Ko te kakano o te atua kei te tane; na lo-matua te purapura na.

Ko tenei he mihi aroha ki a kōutou Ruihi. me to pēpi. me to tane hoki. Tino pai rawa atu to mahi ki te whānau mai to tamāhine. Naianeī ka whakatau koe - ka mutu te mahi o to haputanga! Engari kāmata te mahi nui o to matuatanga pea!

Haere mai e hine! Whakaputa i a koe ki te urutapu, ki te ururangi ki taiao, ki te ao marama. Whakaea, whakaea. E tipu e rea e hine kahurangi, e hine ariki rangi.

Kei a koe te ao!

[Show parent](#) | [Spli](#)




Re: Matariki

by [Hinemoana Curtis](#) - Sunday, 3 June 2007, 07:03 PM

[t](#) | [Delete](#) | [Reply](#)

Discussion
Kua hinga te poutokomanawa o o matou nei whanau
Kua ngaro atu toku kuia i a ahau
Tumu te Heuheu - Honorary Doctorate
Kai o te poutu Fri 7 Dec BNZ Centre
Pukapuka: 'Understanding Tangihanga'
whakapiki Reo 13-18 Kohitatea
ngā tikanga pai a te Māori na Reweti Kōhere (roa engari rawe)
Te whare kakiroa


Personal profile example

Personal profile: Ewan Pohe

Mata » Te Kainga » Participants » Ewan Pohe

Ewan Pohe


ProfileEdit profileForum postsActivity reports



Kia ora koutou

He uri ahau nō te tai rāwhiti arā ko te Māhia mai tawhiti. Ko Rongomaiahine rāua ko Kahungunu ōku iwi. I whānau mai i te whanganua a tara. E rua ōku tamahine. Ko Horia te matāmua, Ko Anahera te pōtiki. E whitu, e whā ō rāua pakeke. Kei te kura rumaki reo o Newtown arā Ngāti Kotahitanga, kei te Kohanga o Te Kāhui o Newtown a Anahera. Ko Huhana tōku hoa wahine, i roto i te tau-tuatahi ia.

He kairangahau Reo ahau. E whai ana te iti kahurangi arā te tākutatanga. Mōhio kē koe tēnei anō tāku kaupapa, ko te Māori Moodle tērā. Ko taku tino wawata ka haere tonu te whakawhitihiti whakaaro ki runga i tēnei wharau tukutuku. Kia pakari ai te Reo kei waenga i a mātou otira ki a tātou te Iwi Māori katoa.

Location: Wellington, New Zealand
Address: 31 Arun Cres, Island Bay, Wellington
Phone: 04 383 5473
Phone: 0275 345473
Email address: ewan.pohe@vuw.ac.nz 
Skype ID: [ewan.pohe](#)
MSN ID: ewan.pohe@vuw.ac.nz
Courses:
Last access: Monday, 3 August 2009, 09:17 AM (now)

Change passwordMessages(1)

You are logged in as [Ewan Pohe](#) (Logout)

Te Kainga

Appendix 9 Example memo

(This has been edited to remove participant sensitive information.)

Learning a language can also be seen as a process of joining a community. The language speaking communities are networks of people who have come from Māori schools and universities. Te Aute, Hato Paora, Hukarere, etc. Being a member of these communities means that you will likely find friends or friends of friends in the language school. The Māori speaking world is a small one and gets progressively smaller as one gets up the competence ladder.

The phenomenon of joining a community may also partially explain why some people are unable to learn communicative competence from books and classes. An immersion component connotes being immersed with a group of speakers with their own cultural norms. The teachers of the language are effectively the gatekeepers. These teachers were drawn not from academia but from other strata of society. The skills they have are of the language only. It is humbling for people who may ordinarily be considered to have more mana to become a lesser status person. The inevitable mistakes that testing out new skills and knowledge in a social context entails risks their ego positions and perhaps a legitimate external position. The teaching practices of the institutions do not directly address this need to create and support language communities in order to restart intergenerational transmission. The reason that the language has not spread back down is that the potential users of the language are essentially satisfied with the default language they learnt in the home. They see no reason to go out of their way to learn the second language. A class of bilingual interlocutors will chose to interact in their threatened language on particular kinds of occasions or events to discuss particular topics. For example, the X whānau in talking of death automatically switch into Māori. Māori seems to be their affective grief language.

People who have gotten to a certain level can only go into teaching as other than that there are few roles where it is a prerequisite skill.

For most people learning the language is a life cycle phase where they go hard get it and then use it. Once we get to a certain level we don't lose it, we just get rusty. This is because we have made sufficient progress to penetrate into the upper echelons of speakers.

A language belongs to the communities of speakers who make it their own by using it amongst themselves as a medium of communication. All iwi claim to value the language as it is one of their constituent legitimacies or a key rationale for the continued existence. The issue is whether they are capable of fulfilling the strenuous requirements of that role. They argue they can if they get sufficient resources but there is little evidence that anything they (or anyone else) are doing is effective. The job of stabilising and revitalising the language is beyond the resources of any one institution or set of institutions. It will take all of those who value Māoritanga to fulfil this goal of national bilingualism.

The natural home of the living language is the private sphere. The homes and communities. By and large it isn't there now and there is little ability by the people in these communities to learn. WT implies that acquiring communicative competence in a language is essentially a process of becoming a part of a community or whānau of language speakers. Rather than simply relying on isolated strategies like education systems we need to be holistically developing programmes which help develop communities of language speakers. Ultimately reactivating the process of intergenerational transmission. This means supporting parents of children who intend to raise children whose Kāinga language is Māori.

Glossary

Interlocutor

The focus participant(s) in the target language conversation

Lingua franca

The common language used as a means of communication between peoples of different languages. For example, English is the lingua franca or common language.

Māori is the preferred language in certain domains. Vernacular is where minimum attention is given to monitoring speech. Most basic style.

Rūmaki reo

In class immersion in the target language.

Wairua

In the context of the “Silent Way” this would appear to be Gattegno’s concept of awareness.

whānau [Tāne] He huinga tāngata he herenga toto, he herenga whakapapa o rātou ki a rātou anō, he wāhanga rātou nō tētahi hapū, nō tētahi iwi. Kua pōhiritia te whānau nui tonu kia haere mai ki te mārena - e rima rau pea ngā tāngata ka tae ake. {hapori, ngare1, puninga}

[Ranginui & Papatūānuku] He huinga tāngata e hono tahi ana, e mahi tahi ana i raro i tētahi kaupapa. Kua tae mai ngā whānau o ngā Wharekura ki te tautoko i te kaupapa.

Whanaunga, n. Relative, blood relation ... (Williams, 1992, p. 487).

1. [Ranginui & Papatūānuku] ing, āhua. He tangata e hono ana ā-toto ki tētahi atu.

(i) He whanaunga māua ko Piri, ina he tuakana teina o māua pāpā. (ii) Ka tae mai te rongo ki ngā whanaunga o Hinemoana kua whānau he tamaiti māna (IwiT 26:6).

(iii)

Ka whanga rawa kia wātea te parau a ngā whanaunga, kātahi anō ka whiwhi parau (HP 14). {eweewe, para4, pitototo, uri1 (3), waiū}

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