

Maori Speakers in the Greater Auckland Area

This map shows the approximate number of people able to understand Maori with ease in the Greater Auckland Area, based on the results of the Socio-Linguistic Survey (1974–76). Each star represents 500 people, and each dot ● a further 100 people. Small towns and rural localities visited in the survey with less than 100 speakers are represented by a triangle ▲.

THE MAORI LANGUAGE IN THE CENTRAL AUCKLAND URBAN AREA

by Richard Benton

Between July 1974 and January 1975, a total of 427 families in Auckland City and the adjoining boroughs of Mount Eden, Mount Roskill, Mount Albert, One Tree Hill, Ellerslie, Newmarket, Mount Wellington and Onehunga, were visited in the course of the NZCER Maori language survey. The families who participated had been selected at random from the 1972 Northern and Western Maori electoral rolls. The results of that research are summarized in this report. The households visited in these districts had a combined population of 2,023, of whom 1,952 were of Maori descent. This represented about eight percent of the total Maori population of those parts of Greater Auckland at that time.

Districts Included in this Report

Since the Maori language situation in the various suburbs and boroughs, as reported to us by the people we interviewed and their families, was very similar in most respects, this report will concentrate on "Auckland", meaning the all the districts listed above, but when necessary specific parts of Auckland will be referred to. We have grouped the information from Auckland City itself, together with Newmarket, Mount Eden and Ellerslie, into five geographical areas:

"Central" (the central city area, Herne Bay, Ponsonby and Grey Lynn), where we visited 71 households with 270 people;

"Western" (Point Chevalier and Westmere to Avondale), 50 households, with 266 people;

"Southeast" (Newmarket, Parnell, Remuera, Ellerslie, Meadowbank, Glen Innes and Point England), with 78 families (mostly in Glen Innes and Point England) and 347 people;

"Orakei" (which includes a few families in Glendowie and St Heliers, as well as Orakei itself), 33 households with 181 people (in this case, about a quarter of the Maori population at the time);

"Mount Eden" (Epsom and Mount Eden), 29 households with 90 people (about four percent of the total Maori population, the lowest proportion in any of the suburbs surveyed).

The other major groupings which will be referred to from time to time are:

"Onehunga" (Onehunga Borough and a few families in One Tree Hill), where 41 families with 183 people were visited;

"Mt. Albert" (all of Mount Albert Borough), 28 families and 141 people;

"Mt. Roskill" (all of Mount Roskill Borough), 32 families, 167 people; and

"Mt. Wellington" (all of Mount Wellington Borough), with 65 families and 378 people.

Interviews and Interviewers

The people interviewed (one or both of the heads of each household included in the survey) were given the choice of using either Maori or English. Altogether 121 people were interviewed entirely in Maori, 84 in both Maori and English, and 269 in English only, except for one question which everyone was asked in Maori. The interviewers were Iriaka and Peter Wensor (Ngapuhi), Ameria Ponika (Tuhoe), May Adlam (Ngapuhi), Pare Irwin (Ngati Kahungunu),

Ruby Grey (Ngati Whatua), Alicia White (Tuhoe), Charis Rata Wells (Te Whanau a Apanui), Lorraine Williams, Ani Allen (Ngati Awa), Francis Riley (Ngapuhi), Robin Wilcox (Ngapuhi and Ngati Porou), Rose Ruru (Ngati Porou), Joe Tapene (Maniapoto and Tuwharetoa), Rangi Nicholson (Ngati Raukawa), James Herewini (Te Arawa), Joan Walker (Ngapuhi), Te Tomo Nahi (Ngapuhi), Lorna O'Sullivan (Ngati Porou), Audrey Cooper (Waikato), Carol Milne (Ngapuhi), Pare Rata (Te Whanau a Apanui), Susan Rikihana (Tuhoe), William Martin (Ngati Manawa and Te Aupouri), Ripeka Koopu (Te Whanau a Apanui), Chris Haira (Te Arawa), Mahia Wallace (Te Arawa), Judith Brown (Waikato), John Meha (Ngati Kahungunu), Awa Hudson (Ngati Whatua, Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri), Evelyn Te Uira (Waikato), Kahu Waititi (Te Whanau a Apanui and Ngapuhi), Suzanne Hills (Ngai Tahu), Ani Judd (Waikato), Carol Hindmarsh (Ngati Porou), Joe Rua (Te Whanau a Apanui), John Miller (Ngapuhi), Merepeka Wharepapa (Te Whanau a Apanui), Tira Pryor (Ngati Awa), Titihuia Pryor (Tuhoe), Candice Scrimshaw (Ngati Kahungunu), and Shannon Wetere (Waikato). The fieldwork was supervised by Peter

Other Districts Visited in Greater Auckland

The survey included all the Greater Auckland area, and the information obtained about the other districts has also been summarized in reports in this series. These include Te Atatu (Information Bulletin no. 62), Glenfield and the North Shore (no. 101), Henderson, New Lynn and surrounding districts (no. 99), Papatoetoe, Mangere and Otahuhu (no. 95), Otara (no. 19), Pakuranga, Howick and Umupuia (no. 106), Manurewa (no. 137), Papakura (no. 60), Pukekohe and District (no. 63), Waiuku (no. 46), Tuakau (no. 47), and Bombay to Mercer (no. 143).

Iwi Represented and Migration to Auckland

Like our fieldworkers, the people we interviewed and their families belonged to many different iwi; in the central city area 18 iwi were represented, and in each grouping of suburbs between ten and 15 were mentioned by the various people as the main one to which they belonged. However only two iwi were mentioned by a majority of the people in any of the districts. These were Ngati Whatua, the tangata whenua of most of the area included in this report, and Ngapuhi. About three-fifths of the members of the Orakei/Glendowie families were from Ngati Whatua. In each of the other districts Ngapuhi was by far the largest iwi, ranging from 43 percent of the members of the Epsom/Mount Eden families, to 65 percent among the Mount Wellington families.

Only a few of the heads of the families we visited in Auckland had been brought up in the region. The Orakei people were an exception, with about a third of the household heads originally from there or elsewhere in Greater Auckland. In the other districts the proportion varied from a low of 2 percent in Mt. Albert and 3 percent in the central city suburbs, to 11 percent in Mount Wellington and 13 percent in Onehunga. Most of the children in these families, however, were Aucklanders; for oldest children the proportions of those who had been brought up in Auckland ranged from 61 percent in Mount Albert to about 90 percent in Orakei and Mount Wellington, and for youngest children the range was from 77 percent Aucklanders in the central city to 95 percent in Orakei, and 100 percent in the Onehunga/One Tree Hill families. In the main. their parents had come to Auckland from Northland. but others had come, in greater and lesser numbers, from the Waikato, the Bay of Plenty, the East Coast, and practically every other part of New Zealand, including the South Island.

Knowledge of Spoken Maori in the Central Auckland Urban Area (1975)

Age Group	Fluent Speaker		Limited Understanding	No Knowledge	
45 years	spreq 86 2	SERVERS (25 o	a their first I	в ітовМ	
& over	260 (85%) 281 (92%)	13 (4%)	13 (4%)	
25-44 yrs	230 (51%) 293 (65%)	73 (16%)	87 (19%)	
15-24 yrs	72 (20%) 112 (31%)	76 (21%)	168 (47%)	
2-14 yrs	25 (3%	95 (12%)	131 (17%)	556 (71%)	
Overal1	587 (31%	781 (41%)	293 (15%)	824 (43%)	

(Figures refer to members of households visited; percentages have been rounded to nearest whole number)

Results of the Linguistic Survey

Ability to Speak and Understand Maori

As you can see from the table at the top of this page, most of the people who were in their midforties or older at the time of the survey could speak Maori fluently, while most children of school age and younger knew only English. The other agegroups were in between these extremes. This general pattern was the same in each district, with only slight differences. We came across a few more families in Onehunga where Maori was spoken often, compared with other districts, and almost half the youngest group of Maori speakers in the table were from this area. Among the oldest age-group, the lowest proportions of Maori-speakers were in the western suburbs, Orakei, and, interestingly, Onehunga (75, 76, and 71 percent respectively); the

highest proportions were in Mt. Albert (94 percent), Epsom/Mt. Eden (92 percent) and the southeastern suburbs and Mt. Wellington (each 91 percent).

A majority of the household heads in all districts except Orakei were native-speakers of Maori. Overall 274 out of 471 (about 58 percent) had Maori as their first language (25 of these had learned English and Maori together). Very few had had the opportunity to first learn how to read and write in their native language, however: eighty percent had English as their first written language, with only 75 people (16 percent) having first learned to write in Maori, mostly from other family members at home, and another 20 who had become literate in Maori and English at the same time.

Use of the Maori Language in the Household

In each district, about half the families with no dependent children still at home used Maori at least as much as English when all the family were together (for example, at mealtimes). In the majority of families with children, however, English was the main language on such occasions. The details are summarized in the table at the top of the next page. The general pattern was the same everywhere: only a small number of families, if any, used Maori at least as much as English when everyone was around. In Onehunga there were proportionately more families using both Maori and English about equally than anywhere else, but even there half the families used only English when all the family was together. Over half the families in Orakei, Mt. Wellington and the western and southeastern suburbs said that Maori was used occasionally at such times; elsewhere, English was the only language for the majority.

LANGUAGE USED WHEN ALL THE FAMILY WERE TOGETHER (Families with Dependent Children)

	Auckland City	Onehunga	Other Districts
	Levos doum	STEW ETSTIETY	Vesga Ila
Mostly Maori	5 (3%)	2 (7%)	0 (0%)
Half and half	20 (11%)	8 (28%)	10 (11%)
Mostly English	90 (52%)	5 (17%)	42 (45%)
Entirely English	59 (34%)	14 (48%)	41 (44%)
No. of Households	174	29	93

(Percentages have been rounded to nearest whole number)

Some people told us that they were not at all happy about this. One mother in Orakei, for example, said that she was keen for her children to learn Maori, and she felt ashamed that they were not interested. This person was herself a native-speaker of Maori. Others, who did not speak Maori, talked about the situation in their own homes when they were children. One said that Maori was not encouraged in her home, so she grew up thinking that Maoritanga was inferior. Her older brothers and her mother before them had been punished for speaking Maori at school, so it is not very surprising that that family, and others like it, had decided that the Maori language was more of a liability than an asset.

Some of those who could not speak Maori thought that their own parents were to blame, while others thought the schools were the main culprits. These issues are discussed briefly in another section. However, although about a third of the homes with children under 18 had two Maori-speaking parents

(and 219 out of 291 had at least one), English was the only language used for talking to their children by two-thirds of the parents we spoke to (and only 16 of them, mostly people whose children were already adults, said they used more Maori than English). Altogether 117 out of 337 (35 percent) spoke Maori some of the time to their children of all ages. Visitors were much more likely to be spoken with in Maori than family members who lived at home; of the 455 household heads who commented on this, 285 (63 percent) spoke both Maori and English with visitors (but only 23 were likely to use Maori more than English), compared with 170 who spoke English only.

Maori Language in the Community

In the districts covered by this report, there were 25,271 people of Maori descent at the time of the 1976 census, out of a total population of 289,125. That is, Maori people were outnumbered by non-Maori, most of whom spoke only English, in a ratio of more than ten to one. Outside the family. therefore, Maori-speakers had to use English most of the time. There were no large, Maori-dominated suburbs where Maori could have been the lingua franca. The language was not used in schools as the main language for teaching, and the few Maorispeaking children of school age had to speak English to most of their friends. Radio and television. powerful influences present in the kitchens and living rooms of every home, were monolingually English for all practical purposes. These facts alone explain many of the problems Maori-speakers encountered in getting their children to take an interest in speaking Maori, and why English had become the language of most homes, even when the adults were native-speakers of Maori. children under 18 had two Maori-speaking parents

spheres of influence for the two languages (even One Mount Wellington lady thought that the only way around this was for her to take her children "home" to learn Maori. This was not likely to solve the problem, however, as most "home" districts had by then been overwhelmed by English, and, in any case, "home" for most of the children was now Auckland itself. For an earlier generation, home had been a Maori-speaking environment, and people in all suburbs told us how they had lost their own command of Maori after moving to the city, where they had been forced to survive entirely in English. A few (27 out of 453 people who commented on this) were able to speak Maori most of the time with their neighbours, and quite a few others (118) spoke Maori to some people in the neighbourhood. More than twothirds of the household heads we spoke to, however, said that English was the only language they used in this situation.

While many mentioned the adverse influences of the city environment, a few people were hopeful that there was a change underway. A Glen Innes grandparent believed that the upsurge of interest in Maoritanga would help lessen peer-group influences which at present discouraged people from taking the Maori language seriously. She said that her mokopuna had been "psychologically hindered" because of the way his friends and other people pronounced Maori place names; he was "too whakama" to correct them. She felt that the new influences would enable children like him to feel more secure in their knowledge, and to become less hesitant about expressing it.

Even in the days when most people spoke Maori, people with a strong sense of Maori identity were well aware of the importance of the linguistic environment for the future of the language. A Mount Eden man said ruefully, "I was punished at school for speaking Maori and punished at home for speaking English". Such a separation between

spheres of influence for the two languages (even without the punishment) was not too difficult to maintain in isolated country districts, especially before the days of television, but would be impossible in modern Auckland.

There were some situations, however, where the Maori language had an edge over English even in Auckland. These are illustrated in the table below. They were mainly connected with events where Maori people also had a controlling influence. Matters connected with religion, for example, had a higher Maori content than most other everyday activities. Church services were an example of this; less than a fifth of the churchgoing adults we interviewed said they attended services conducted only in English. Some families who belonged to churches where Maori was used somewhat rarely usually went to Sunday services only when these were in Maori.

Religious and Cultural Use of Maori and English

	Mainly			Only				
	Ma	aori	M	ixed	Eng	lish	TOTAL	
Church services	213	(51%)	129	(30%)	77	(18%)	419	
Opening prayers	240	(57%)	87	(21%)	95	(22%)	422	
Prayers for sick	235	(57%)	56	(13%)	125	(30%)	416	
Grace at meals	203	(50%)	49	(12%)	155	(38%)	407	
Marae								
Whaikorero:								
Kaumatua	414	(93%)	31	(7%)	1		446	
Self	163	(63%)	42	(16%)	52	(20%)	257	
Chatting:		filess.		HSRW - ET		GIRE IN		
Kaumatua	367	(82%)	71	(16%)	7	(2%)	445	
Self	166	(37%)	124	THE R. LEWIS CO., LANSING, MICH.	156	(35%)	446	

(Percentages have been rounded to nearest whole number)

Prayers for opening and closing meetings were also likely to be said in Maori, even by people who did not speak Maori fluently. Prayers for the sick, and grace before meals were also said in Maori by a majority of the people we interviewed, but in these two cases there were rather more people who would use only English than there were in the case of meetings, probably because these were more intimate occasions where the language normally used by the family would have a greater influence. In a formal public situation like whaikorero on the marae, Maori was still definitely dominant, although even there English seemed to be edging in a bit as younger speakers took their place on the paepae. Practically none of the household heads we interviewed thought that their kaumatua would speak only in English, but one in five of those who might speak on the marae said English would be the language they themselves would use. For casual comversations in a marae setting, about a third used only English, but the rest said they were likely to speak Maori some or most of the time.

As for the general usefulness of Maori among the members of the families we interviewed, should they meet each other accidentally, there was still a slightly better than even chance that two Maori Aucklanders over the age of 25 would be able to carry on a conversation in Maori. This varied a bit from one suburb to the next, depending mainly on the average age of the people living there. Among the families we visited, Maori would have been most useful in Mount Eden, the southeastern suburbs, Mt. Wellington and the central city area, and least useful in Orakei (where the odds were two to one against a successful conversation in Maori among adults meeting by chance) and the western suburbs. The chances then of children being able to chat in Maori were less than one in a hundred, but this may have changed quite dramatically now in those areas where kohanga reo have been established.

Maori Language at School: Past and Present

The school was another community institution which had influenced the way people thought about the Maori language and the way they used it. Many of the older people we spoke to had been in trouble for speaking Maori at school, although one person living in the central city area told us that she had been punished for not pronouncing Maori words correctly. Maybe the teacher assumed she was a native-speaker who was mispronouncing the words on purpose! Many more people had the opposite problem, like one person now in the western suburbs who had to pick up rubbish or sit with the primers when caught speaking Maori, or another from Orakei who commented "i patua hoki matou ma te bamboo".

People reacted to this in different ways; one person who described himself now as a "right rebel" said, however, that "Maori was thrashed out of me"; several other people made similar comments. Another, from Glen Innes, said she could not understand "how once the Pakeha strapped us when we used Maori and now they want to bring the language back in". A number mentioned the paradoxical attitude of their teachers, who punished or growled at them for speaking Maori to their friends, but made action songs, pois and haka a compulsory part of their classroom work.

Overall, of the 389 people who were able to answer the question about the attitude of teachers if they spoke Maori at primary school (which was the one question asked only in Maori), 130 said they had been physically punished, another 110 had had other negative experiences, 134 said Maori language was more or less ignored, and 25 said they had been encouraged to use Maori by teachers. More information about the school experiences of Maorispeakers we interviewed in Greater Auckland and Northland is given in a paper, "Abandoning the

Titanic", by Nena Benton. This is available from Te Wahanga Maori, NZCER.

Obviously, things had changed a lot since the school days of most of these people. On the whole, those who commented on their children's education were very pleased that Maori now had a place in the school system, and many hoped that Maori language would soon become even better established in the schools. Two people in Mount Wellington, interviewed on different occasions, made a very important observation. They had both had trouble getting their children or mokopuna to take an interest in Maori, because of the community pressures that were discussed earlier. They thought that if Maori were actually used in the school, the children would take much more interest, because it wouldn't just be Mum's or Nana's strange idea.

There were a few people who doubted whether Maori should be taught in schools, for various reasons. One person from Orakei said that "children have enough trouble learning English, and Maori is only in their way". Another, from central Auckland, felt that her children would not be able to cope with two languages. A western suburbs mother said that because of the attitude of the school when she was a pupil she never set out to teach her children Maori, and her husband said that he personally thought that "children should be pumped with a universal language like Japanese or German".

A 72 year old kuia from the eastern suburbs, however, said that she too had once thought that Maori would hamper her children's progress, but had changed her attitude and now thought "it's a marvellous thing". Someone from Mount Wellington, who was also very much in favour of Maori-language education, thought that Maori should be taught through large family groups rather than in schools; this kind of approach has since been taken by the

kohanga reo, and also, in many ways, by the kaupapa Maori schools which are being set up in Auckland and elswehere.

Attitudes Towards the Maori Language

The majority of those people who could speak Maori fluently said they still liked it better than English for everyday conversations, and about a quarter of those who were not fluent said they wished they could chat in Maori instead of English, when asked what language they liked best. When it came to reading and writing, however, English was the preferred language. In all, 177 people preferred Maori for conversations, 181 preferred English, and 67 liked both languages equally. For reading the preferences were 93 for Maori, 275 for English, and 64 for both; 67 people wished they could speak Maori, and 22 wished they could read it (the preferences for writing were practically the same as for reading).

The fact that some people who were nativespeakers of Maori preferred to speak English reflected the language environment of the city: there had been fewer and fewer opportunities to speak Maori naturally, and as time went on speaking English became the normal thing to do, and Maori more of an effort. For reading and writing, this process had started earlier. Only a minority of Maori-speakers had learned to read and write in their first language before becoming literate in English, and few had ever been given the opportunity to practise reading and writing in Maori during their school days. Added to this, there was not much to read in Maori anyway, apart from the bible and the prayer book (which had been the "text books" for many of those who had first learned to read and write at home). One of the people in Orakei commented that the only Maori reading material was

in the marae library, Te Ao Hou magazine (whose successor, Tu Tangata, was discontinued in 1987 by the Department of Maori Affairs).

Younger parents in various suburbs told us that they felt "inadequate", "shy" or "ashamed" (using these English words to express the Maori concept whakama) that they could not speak Maori well. Others were sorry that they had "passed up" opportunities to learn Maori in their youth. Few had expected that the pace of change would be so rapid that such opportunities would have almost disapppeared by the time they had children of their own. Although they did not say so directly, those who felt whakama or regretful seemed to be affirming the importance of the Maori language in their Maori identity; without it, they felt incomplete. The matron of a hostel in the central city area summed this up when she told us that hardly any of the boys spoke Maori fluently, and she believed that many of them did not know who they were because of the loss of the language.

There was certainly a strong desire among many of these people that their children should somehow be able to learn Maori. However, there was also an awareness that, as one person from Orakei put it, "in Pakeha environments it is impossible to encourage the language". This same awareness of the need to create a Maori environment has led in later years to the setting up of kohanga reo and the kaupapa Maori schools. Even a Maori environment would have to be supportive, of course, to be successful; one Onehunga family all understood Maori well, but were afraid to speak the language with strangers "for fear of mispronunciation".

A few people still felt that really there was no place for Maori in the modern world, and said so quite openly. One Mount Albert resident told us, for example, "Maori was never taught in schools -- I

don't think it was a great loss. I couldn't speak English when I came to Auckland. I had to start learning English. If I hadn't learnt Maori I would have had a better grasp of English". Another person, from the eastern suburbs, made a similar point by saying that "Maoris have to change and adapt to the new lifestyles". Both these people. and others who shared their ideas, assumed that they, and other Maori people generally, were the ones who had to do all the adapting. Partly because the Maori language had not been given an important place in their schooling, they had come to assume that "Maori" meant "backward", "old fashioned", and that Maori culture, and particularly Maori language. was an obstacle to "progress", and to a satisfatory life for them and their children and grandchildren.

Fortunately, other people who had thought about the problem of how to remain Maori and still be a part of the modern world had come to a different conclusion. One Orakei couple had come to see the one-way approach, which regarded "te Ao Hou" as "te Ao Pakeha", was a mistake. They said instead that "there is only one way for togetherness: both Maori and Pakeha must speak Maori". Another person, also from Orakei, commented that "I've been brought up in the Pakeha world. Now I'd like to learn my own language". For these people, New Zealand and Aotearoa could co-exist, if partnership between the parties to the Treaty of Waitangi replaced the present domination of one by the other.

Maori Language Resources

When we had been able to study the information that the people we had interviewed had given us, we were able to sort the different communities we had visited into 11 groups, starting with the single district where practically everyone could speak Maori, from the youngest to the oldest (Ruatoki, in How Widely was Maori Known or Spoken?

(Families Interviewed in the Auckland Central Urban Area)

(1) Maori-speaking districts and (2,3) marginally Maorispeaking districts: None

Districts where at least one child in five understood Maori easily:

Chances that adults could speak Maori to each other:

- (4) Two to one: None
- (5) At least fifty-fifty: Mt. Wellington
- (6) Less than even: Western suburbs

Districts where many adults were bilingual Chances that adults could talk Maori with each other:

- (7) Two to one or better: None
- (8) At least fifty-fifty: Central city suburbs. Mt. Eden, Mt. Roskill, Southeastern suburbs

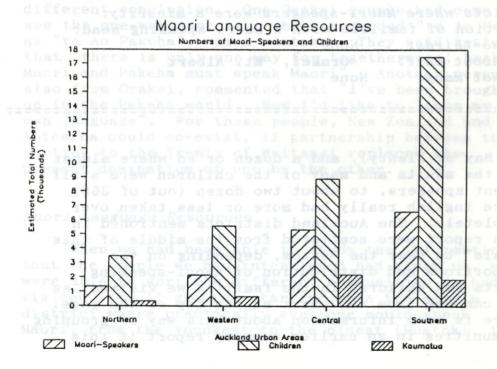
Districts where Maori-speakers were a minority: Proportion of families with a Maori-speaking head:

- (9) Two-thirds: None
- (10) About half: Orakei, Mt. Albert
- (11) Not many: None

the Bay of Plenty), and a dozen or so where almost all the adults and many of the children were still fluent speakers, to about two dozen (out of 365) where English really had more or less taken over completely. The Auckland districts mentioned in this report were scattered from the middle of this "scale" to near the bottom, depending on the proportions and distribution of Maori-speaking adults and children in the families we visited, as you can see from the chart at the top of the page. There is more information about this way of grouping communities in an earlier summary report in this

series (The Maori Language In A Hundred Communities, no. 88), as well as the final summary report (no. 144). The report for Manurewa (no. 137) has a chart showing all the districts in Greater Auckland which were surveyed.

The first important thing to note about all this is that in the nineteen-seventies, Auckland City and neighbouring areas had a large number of Maori-speakers who made up a very rich, but untapped resource. The second important thing to note is that this resource was not being renewed. Based on what the families we visited told us about themselves, we estimate that at the time of the survey the Maori-speaking population of the four Auckland urban areas would have been about 16,000 people, with more than 5,000 of them living in the Central Auckland Urban Area. Very few of these people would have been aged under 30.



ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF MAORI SPEAKERS, 1981

Age	Northern	Auckland Western	Urban Area Central	s Southern
[Under 15]	84	133	213	419
[15 to 24]	171	276	682	810
[25 to 44]	731	1114	2264	3491
[Over 45]	341	633	2160	1839
Total	1327	2156	5319	6559
				========

The table at the top of the page shows the estimated number of Maori-speakers in Greater Auckland at the time the first kohanga reo were set up early in 1982. You can see from this, and the graph opposite, that children in the Central Auckland Urban Area had a better chance of finding an adult to talk to in Maori than children elsewhere in the region: there was one kaumatua to every four children here, compared with one to every ten in Southern Auckland (Manukau City etc.), and two Maori-speakers for every three children, compared with two for every five in Southern Auckland. By 1985, there were just over 300 children enrolled in kohanga reo in the area covered by this report, out of just under 600 in the Greater Auckland area, which reflected Central Auckland's larger resources in proficient speakers. This also means that, in the under 15 age group, the number of fluent speakers of Maori would have increased quite considerably in recent years, even though most younger children would still know only English.

So the City of Auckland and immediately surrounding areas had a big advantage over the rest of the Greater Auckland region in the 1970s, in the relatively high proportion of fluent Maori-speakers among Maori adults. One prominent Maori leader in

Orakei told us at the time that our survey was good because "it jogs one's conscience, making us aware of things, especially the Maori language". This awareness took a very positive step forward when the kohanga reo were established, making use of the rich but previously hidden linguistic resources of the Central Auckland Urban Area.

However, as many parents are now finding, even the kohanga reo's success has to be followed up in many other ways if a new generation of fluent and confident Maori-speakers is to emerge. Other social institutions have to make a large place for the language, the place it is entitled to under the Treaty of Waitangi and as an official language of this country. Pressure must be maintained, not just on the education system, but also, and equally importantly, on the broadcast media, especially television. Ways must also be found to encourage a vigorous growth of Maori writing, in Maori. All these things are possible, if Maori people really want them to happen.

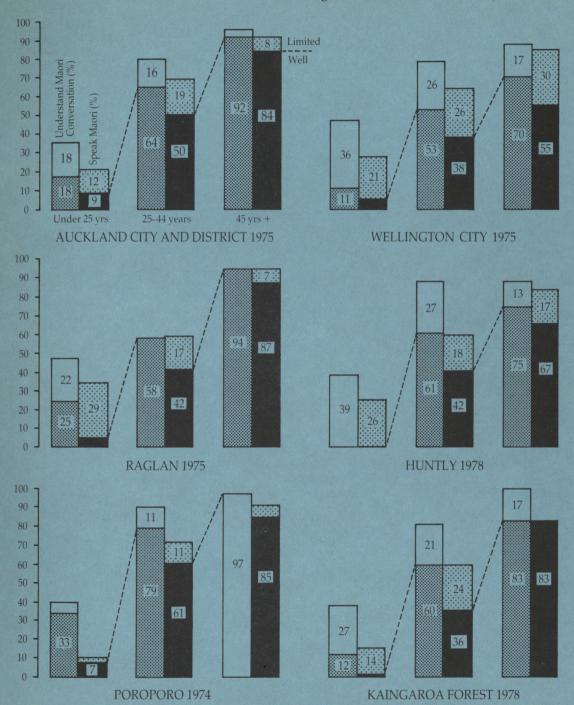
The future cannot blame the present, just as the present cannot blame the past. The hope is always here, but only your fierce caring can fan it into a fire to warm the world.

-Susan Cooper, Silver on the Tree.

Field data abstracted by Paula Martin (Ngai Tahu)
Design & Production: Hone Whaanga (Ngati Kahungunu)

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Knowledge of Maori Language by Age Groups in Selected Areas at the Time of the Linguistic Census



The Survey of Language Use in Maori Households and Communities

The census of language use on which this report is based is the first part of a general study of the place of the Maori language in Maori communities, its structure, how it is spoken and written under modern conditions, and its relevance to New Zealand as a nation. This study is being conducted by the Maori Unit of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Fieldwork for the census phase began in Whangaroa County and Te Tii in August 1973, and ended in August 1978. Follow-up studies and studies in additional communities will be undertaken from time to time (the first of these was conducted in Waverley in August 1979).

The map on the front cover shows the approximate localities in which ten or more households were visited between 1973 and 1979. Since the linguistic census was completed, the major task of the Unit has been the analysing and reporting of the information collected. At the same time, however, studies of the structure and usage of the Maori language have commenced; these will result in a series of handbooks and other materials for teachers of Maori (including parents), and for people wishing to learn the language. An example of this is *The First Basic Maori Word List*, published in 1982. Other publications have included background studies for bilingual education projects, and reports on policy issues affecting the Maori language and Maori speakers – for example, the legal status of Maori in New Zealand.

The Purpose of This Report

This report has been prepared for the people who participated in the original survey and who provided the information on which it is based. It is hoped that it will encourage people to compare the situation now with that at the time covered by the report, and that this information will provide a basis for discussion and debate about what action, if any, each community might take to ensure that the Maori language is at least as important in the twenty-first century as it was in the 1970s.

Further Information

One copy of this report is provided free to each person interviewed during the linguistic census in the area concerned, and to local schools, Maori Language Boards, and Maori Committees. Further information about the linguistic survey, and lists of publications, may be obtained from the Maori Unit, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, P.O. Box 3237, Wellington.



Ngā Mihi/Special Thanks

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