Te Whakapapa o te Reo i Roto i te Whānau

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Abstract: A relationship of trust between students and tutors, built through whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building), lays the foundation for the exploration of a whakapapa approach (te whakapapa o te reo i roto i te whānau) within a Te Ataarangi Māori language learning setting. The approach is built on the creative foundations engendered within the Te Ataarangi environment and has been widened to be an effective tool for exploring the status of the Māori language and a range of social conditions that affect the Māori population. Examined from an insider perspective of a Māori worldview the approach has a pedigree in genealogy, language and Māori social customs and protocols. The approach was pre-tested among Māori whānau (extended family) from a range of social circumstances. Their testimonies bear witness to the effectiveness of whakapapa as a healing and celebratory approach, a tool to reconstitute whānau and a valid research methodology amongst Māori.

Keywords: Te Ataarangi; whakapapa; whānau testimony

Introduction

I first saw the cuisenaires used as a means of discussing relationships within a whānau (extended family) in 2001 at a gathering of Te Ataarangi tutors in Whakatane at the Te Awanuiarangi Whare Wānanga campus. Whaea Ani White shared with us her approach to teaching students the rudimentary relationships that exist within whakapapa through the manipulation of cuisenaires or mahi rākau (as commonly known within Te Ataarangi). Whilst teaching on another Te Ataarangi course another tutor Maira Pihema, was inspired to utilise whakapapa as a means of identifying the level of language use within students' whānau and to initiate a discussion of the status of the Māori language within whānau. Whaea Ani and Maira's influential work is the basis on which I am able to discuss an approach to healing our whānau through the intervention of whakapapa and to understand its effectiveness as a research tool.

In the first section of the paper an overview is provided of Te Ataarangi and the use of whakapapa within this language learning context. As an introduction the concept of whakapapa is explored. Following on from this the use of whakapapa as a whānau research approach is described. This description includes an examination of the approach through a Kaupapa Māori lens as well as the feedback from whānau when they agreed to pre-test the approach. The paper ends with some reflections from the researcher, followed by a brief summary and discussion.

Te Ataarangi and the whakapapa approach

Whakapapa – a definition
Several definitions exist regarding whakapapa. The online Māori dictionary (www.maoridictionary.co.nz) states that whakapapa can be used as a verb and a noun. Barlow describes whakapapa as 'to lay one generation upon another' (Barlow, 1991, p. 173), and is a means to organise genealogical knowledge based on blood lines. Tau (1999) sees whakapapa as a template, or framework, where the flesh and the divine are connected, whilst Hemara (2000, p. 33) describes whakapapa as "a vehicle for scientific enquiry as well as a social agent that describes a full range of co-generational and inter-generational relationships." Whatever the perspective there is definitely a consensus within Māori circles that whakapapa is an extremely important way of maintaining knowledge about connection.

Hemara (2000) describes how each member must be responsible for knowing how they are connected to others. He describes a whakapapa continuum which shows how the relevant intimate connections of a tribal group are made. Kennedy, Paipa and Pipi (2009, n.p.) describes how whakapapa, pepehā, and whakawhanaungatanga can act as a "personal global positioning system" for members of a tribe anchoring them to the territories which they occupy and journey through.

Whilst whakapapa has been commonly used to describe connections via blood, there are also a number of other aspects that whakapapa can be ascribed to and used to investigate. Within tribal groups there are family that are known for particular skills which are handed down through the generations; for example, weaponry prowess, carving, weaving, the art of formal speech making, the art of welcoming, guardianship regarding marae and lands held in common ownership by tribal groups, the healing arts and cultivation. There are also particular whānau that are known for their abilities as experts in areas of spirituality: being able to predict and interpret spiritual and environmental signs.

No matter whether whakapapa is delivered orally or in written form, it is considered highly sacred. Whether you are the orator, the listener or the caretaker of the whakapapa, all your actions must be deliberative and respectful. Caretakers of whakapapa within a whānau have been known to go to great lengths to look after their knowledge and to pass it on in an appropriate way. Whakapapa is definitely not something that is a topic for idle gossip, shallow boasting and speculation.

These definitions of whakapapa have been embraced and widened by the writer to investigate a number of social issues that challenge Māori today, in the areas of health, justice, and education, to name a few (see below).

Te Ataarangi – a whakapapa

Te Ataarangi was a deliberate strategy employed to stem the imminent loss of native speakers of the Māori language (Benton, 1979). In 1973, Katerina Te Heikoko Mataira was introduced to a method called The Silent Way as an approach to learning Fijian, and by 1980 had undertaken an investigation into The Silent Way method and its ability to respond and adapt appropriately to the Māori language crisis (Mataira, 1980). Katerina was encouraged and supported by Caleb Gattegno the founder of The Silent Way method (Gattegno, 1972), to utilise and broaden the methodology and its principles to align fully with Māori culture and nuances. Dr Rawinia Higgins (2007, p. 25) explains, "Te Ataarangi is steeped in tikanga Māori and te ao Māori, although it has adopted Gattengo's principles, it is Māori in shape and spirit."

Gattegno was a mathematician who had formed a professional relationship with Georges Cuisenaire another mathematician. Cuisenaire had invented cuisenaires, small coloured pieces of wood that were utilised to teach maths to children from a beginning to an advanced stage. However Gattegno was also interested in language acquisition, spending many years observing how children acquire language. He observed that children learn and practice language easily, making many mistakes on the way and often without correction learn to develop and master their language skills.

Gattegno's specialty was education through discovery and awareness. In the case of foreign language learning, he reasoned that most students walk into their classrooms with all the mental equipment needed to pick up new languages, simply because they had already learned their native tongue at a tender age – without the help of teachers and books (Pint, 2009, p. 1).

The most important first words Te Ataarangi students learn is; whakarongo (listen), titiro (look) and kōrero (speak) and promote a balanced growth of a students "biological, psychological and spiritual development" as espoused by Rudolph Steiner Schools (Lievegoed, 1979, p. 20). Allowing students to learn through their own internal sense-making processes promotes concepts of personal responsibility and confidence, whilst the five guidelines for students and thirteen for pouako encourage safe

environments for development (Bernstein, 1996). Rangihau (in Browne, 2005, p. 18) asserts that learning the language "must be a spiritual exercise not just an intellectual exercise."

The Silent Way principles
The principles of The Silent Way, based on Gattegno's observations, are noted here in full as they are integral to the method. Gattegno (1976. p. vii, viii) states that:

- We are retaining systems and do not need to stress memorization as much as most teachers do. We hold better in our minds what we meet with awareness.
- Students must relate to the new language and practice it to make it their own; to relate to anything else is a distraction and distractions interfere with learning.
- Teachers must be concerned with what the students are doing with themselves rather than with the language, which is the students' concern. Teachers and students work on different subjects.
- The ability to repeat immediately what a speaker has uttered is no proof of retention.
- Hearing something said several times does not guarantee retention, still less understanding, of it.
- Not all learning takes place here and now; some may well be the outcome of sleeping on it.
- It is possible to notice differences between what one says or thinks and what others say or think, but only when one works on oneself do changes happen. So we must make students work on themselves as a matter of course.
- Since all learning is in time and is progressive, we need not request perfection (which in any case is unattainable) but only be concerned with steady improvement.
- We can also be concerned with as good an achievement as can be reached all the time, leading to the best results cumulatively.
- If at every moment learning has taken place, then it is clear that the integration of every day's contribution makes it possible for students to function better all the time.
- Since we are concerned with human beings studying a language, we are concerned with awareness and not with the accumulation of knowledge; with facility, and not erudition. Awareness demands of the teachers that they know what to do at every moment, facility demands of the students that they give themselves to the tasks and practice them per se. It is the students' need for facility that imposes silence upon the teacher.

Training of pouako and students
Pouako are the tutors of Te Ataarangi, they have been trained to facilitate language acquisition from beginner level to advanced. Once a pouako has trained in language acquisition theory, principles and practice, they are required to deliver 480 hours of instruction within a community. This tests pouako resilience and stamina within their community. Pouako are encouraged to be creative in the manipulation of rākau (cuisenaires), often taking a concept and testing students to see whether they have gained some understanding of the concept at hand. Each pouako is encouraged to develop a unique style of 'mahi rākau' (cuisenaire manipulation), therefore, no two pouako teach the same concept alike.

Whilst it can be said that one of the jobs of pouako is to manipulate the rākau, an overarching aim of pouako must be to develop an environment of trust and positive energy where students can gain confidence and traction in the language.

> Above all we want students to behave spontaneously like native speakers. We can only achieve this by generating in them all the inner criteria which are automatically at work in the natives. These criteria will make them responsible and autonomous. Hence we begin with what is unique in the new language that makes it so different (Gattegno, 1972, p. 53).

Over the duration of the course Pouako listen and look for signs of the development of a students' own 'inner criteria' and confidence, checking to see whether students have trust in the Te Ataarangi learning process. Some of those signs might be, how a student stands, the way they deliver their kōrero, the timbre and rhythm of their voice, whether they introduce new material, and whether they are able to self-correct as they speak (as this shows the recognition of a personally cognitive learner). These are signs that students are becoming accustomed to hearing themselves speak in the target language.

Method versus approach

When training to teach, our tutors had consistent and regular processes that supported our growth. However, as a group of pouako we had many approaches to elicit the language from our students. As there were very few resources for total immersion courses, pouako in training were encouraged to be inventive when we created our lesson plans. We were encouraged to develop plans that opened up the mind, the spirit, and the body. Therefore I have preferred to use the word an approach to engaging students, rather than a method.

Whakapapa within Te Ataarangi

Whakawhanaungatanga: building trust takes time

Each morning starts with formal karakia (prayer), which the students take responsible for. Karakia are often short at the beginning, they are encouraged to choose waiata (song) or hīmene (hymn) which they have studied and which support the nature of their karakia. Another student then takes responsibility for a kauwhau or a guiding thought for the day, makes reference to the karakia and expands on the theme of the karakia. It is then expected that another student will take responsibility for a mihi (greeting) to the group or the kaikarakia and selects an appropriate waiata. Then the floor is open for students to expand on the themes presented and add their waiata. From here it is open to students to make announcements about events of interest coming up. Once this has all taken place, karakia takes place again, then all students are encouraged to hongi each other. Even if students live in the same house, have grown up with each other, are partners, they are still encouraged to hongi as this cements ties, renews respect and joins them together on the learning journey.

Whakapapa: relationships within a whānau

The whakapapa method (whakapapa o te reo i roto i te whānau) is used once students have progressed to a certain level of confidence, are displaying signs of trust towards each other and the pouako and are strongly oriented to the Te Ataarangi style of learning. This is usually at a time when weeks of relationship building and whakawhanaungatanga has already taken place and been continually reinforced. This high level of trust is essential as whakapapa connections are often complex and personal.

As Pouako are trained to respond and adapt to different levels of energy within any group of students; how I talk about whakapapa will depend upon my reading of the other group and their interactions. The one constant is my own whānau whakapapa of language, which I use as an opening example for students. What may change is how I speak about this – do I include three, four or five generations, what colours should I use, and of course the dynamic of the group. Other changes may be in response to environmental factors, time constraints, external intrusions or hunger.

The method begins with the use of two cuisenaire (usually the green one with a white one on top), to represent a person). I say, 'Ko _____ tēnei' (to indicate who in my whānau the cuisenaire represents). I repeat this a couple more times, checking the group for signs of understanding. Then I would ask 'Ko wai tēnei?' ('Who is this?') just to further test students' understanding. Then putting another cuisenaire beside the red one (usually a pink one with a white hat on top), I would say, 'Ko _____

tēnei' (to indicate who is now being represented), and check again with the group about their understanding (Figure 1).

Figure 1.

Then putting two green cuisenaires between the red and white ones, I say 'Ka moe a _____ i a _____' (to indicate that the two who have been represented were in a relationship). This then continues with me checking the group for understanding, encouraging practice amongst the group who provide several examples of the same pattern (Figure 2). Continuing in this way I would lay out my whakapapa, generation by generation, extending language practise to include relationships (e.g., 'Ka moe a _____ i a _____ ka puta ko _____. Ko _____ tōku kōkā. Ko _____ tōku tuakana). These language blocks are steadily expanded to include brothers, uncles, great grandparents and children (Figure 3). The differences between Māori and Pākehā whānau relationships across and between generations are discussed and practised. It may take two to three hours to get to this point.
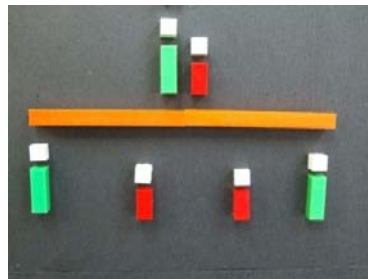

Figure 2.

Figure 3.

Whakapapa o te reo i roto i te whānau: the status of language within a whānau

Students are then encouraged to develop and talk about their own whakapapa, initially keeping it to three generations. Once I feel there is confidence about this I will stop the group and ask if there is understanding and, gaining that, I will begin with a short sentence like this, 'ka pai, me titiro tātou ki te reo i roto i tōku whānau nē?' and again check for understanding. I will then get a different coloured cuisenaire and put it beside my tipuna kōkā and say, 'i kōrero Māori tōku kuia'. After once again checking for understanding I then move quickly through my whānau utilising the same coloured rod to denote Māori language understanding and fluency. Students then do the same with their own whakapapa and they encourage them to share with others around them.

The objective of this section of work is for the students to practise using the language, within a context only known to them, their own whānau. By working in pairs or in small groups, students get many opportunities to gain confidence and competency in the new knowledge presented.

Drawing out the conversation

Pouako then draw students into conversations that build critical awareness around language issues within the whānau. A pouako would determine how the exercise affects students, this cannot be a prescribed conversation but must naturally respond to the students' language level and awareness, therefore a mode of active listening and questioning should be adopted. Are students emotional, are they calm? Do they notice patterns in their whakapapa about the language? Do they understand intergenerational transference of language? Are they able to speak about how to improve their own language and their whānau? What is the feedback from their whānau?

Debrief

The time given to debriefing after a session should be at least 40 per cent of the total time utilised for the exercise. The process of sharing whakapapa and issues within a whānau could be considered high risk for students and participants.

> When people have experienced trauma begin to recall their journeys, their spirit moves from the heads to their hearts. Low risk activities allow whānau to talk from an intellectual level – their heads – high risk activities ask whānau to talk from their experiences – their hearts. (Jeffries, 2010, n.p.)

I will take a personal experience as a tutor as an example. After setting a whakapapa assignment for students, I was approached by one of them. She was concerned that revealing her 'real' whakapapa within the classroom may have implications for her and her whānau which she was not willing to deal with at this time. This may be difficult to understand as the whole class was closely related; however, for her, it meant possibly revealing sensitive information that was not yet common knowledge among her fellow students. I explained to her my understanding of whakapapa, of its sanctity and use, and encouraged her to share only that which she was comfortable with, knowing that in time she would do what she thought was right with the knowledge she had. To my student the consequences of revealing this information in a classroom forum was inappropriate; there needed to be pastoral support put around the whānau members concerned, there needed to be elders present and, importantly, she needed to be ready. None of which was present at the time.

Another example is that to recount ones whakapapa sometimes means revisiting personal history, some good, some not so good. Students who have recently lost parents, children and loved ones and students who have experienced personal trauma from whānau members are vulnerable to recalling the past. Therefore setting safety boundaries around the participants should be a high priority.

Returning participants to a state of calmness is imperative, "Looking after whānau who have shared experiences that are highly emotional means bringing them back into their heads" (Jeffries, 2010,

n.p.). This can be achieved in many ways, sharing relevant stories from shared life experiences offer participants cognitive life-rafts that aid in healing (Hood, 2001). This includes, and is not restricted to, using music, poetry, art, physical activity and laughter. Taking time to celebrate and honour participants' journeys using cultural mores of story-telling, whakataukī and whakapapa offers participants cultural life-rafts and helps reaffirm and validate their experiences.

One technique I utilise is to ask participants to go for a short walk outside and find an item they can use to talk about the lessons they have learned from their journeys. Another technique is asking participants to offer words of respect, admiration and support to each participant in relation to their story.

Contexts

This section discusses the different contexts in which I have been able to utilise this approach for discussion and healing. At the time of writing this paper, I have completed a round of wānanga reo (language classes) on the East Coast. The students are mostly connected through hapū, marae or community. They are typically low socio-economic groupings of whānau Māori and mostly rural. These gatherings attract the physically disabled, the hearing impaired, sight impaired, intellectually handicapped and whānau dealing with mental health issues.

When I have taught this method within a formal teaching arrangement (as a full-time tutor) in an urban setting, students are representative of a range of socio-economic groupings. They includes judges, doctors, lawyers, PhD students, truck drivers, mothers, fathers, shop assistants and unemployed, gang members, marae based people, service volunteers, Māori, Pacific Island, Pākēhā, Asian, Dutch and South African.

Te Whakapapa o te Reo i Roto i te Whānau: A whānau research approach

This section describes some of the occasions in which the research approach has been facilitated. Whilst some of the settings have taken place in gatherings where the Māori language was the focus, personal, whānau and research examples are also given. A discussion on Kaupapa Māori theory then grounds the approach within a Māori worldview.

Use of approach in different settings

Māori language setting

Whilst I am describing a context for Māori language students to discuss language loss and utility within their own whānau, please keep in mind that this approach can be broadened to any social condition that we experience as Māori. I have typically used this method when students' language ability is at a certain level of confidence, and have used this method once with non-speakers of the language. Whānau groups are typically extended, and may include a range of inter-whānau connections. Other groups are collections of students who are not related through whakapapa, but who are connected through learning of the language. The feedback from students gives clues to the depths of using whakapapa to track patterns through whānau (see below).

A range of conditions include but are not limited to: mākutu, illness and disease; whānau traits, violence, incest, infidelity patterns, obesity, diabetes, singing, rāranga, land holdings, kaitiakitanga, ahu whenua and genetics. In an addiction context, whakapapa points to the occurrence of addiction within the whānau. Is there a pattern of use and imprisonment? Is there a pattern of mental health issues, self-harm, suicide and imprisonment? How many whānau have more than one parent addicted? How are the children affected? What are the healing needs within the whānau? Where can whānau go to get support?

Personally

When using this method within my own whānau, we were able to track the source of alcoholism and addiction. This served to help my generation talk about our own addictions and to adjust our own lifestyles, out of 12 brothers and sisters, only 2 drink moderately to heavy, the rest are either dead or non-drinkers and only 2 are smokers.

Methamphetamine research

As a researcher, whakapapa was a helpful tool to quickly accustomise myself to the origins of methamphetamine, its use and adaption internationally as a synthetic drug and its ultimate distribution throughout the world and Aotearoa. Whakapapa was useful in understanding the connections between all the stakeholders, funders, provider services, iwi and whānau. This information was able to be translated into presentations for local audiences and is key to understanding the affects of this drug on users and their whānau.

Whakapapa was particularly helpful to track the use of methamphetamine through four generations of the whānau. This information when extrapolated showed the relationship between methamphetamine-induced psychosis, self-harm, suicide and prison sentences. As a result one healthy whānau group was identified. However, due to funding, additional research as to why none of their whānau succumbed to meth use was not able to be conducted (Paipa & Pipi, 2008).

Kaupapa Māori analysis

Te Ataarangi is totally tikanga Māori/ā-iwi based and has been since its existence in 1981. Te Ataarangi validates and confirms what academics call a Māori worldview (G. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999) all its programmes are based solely within a Māori paradigm (Higgins, 2007), and within the language. Te Ataarangi practises tino rangatiratanga and is totally owned, run and developed by us, its members. Te Ataarangi affirms hapū and iwi status, valuing and encouraging students to use their own dialects (Higgins, 2007), encouraging students to seek support from elders and speakers from within their own regions. Staff and students practise model mana enhancing behaviour (Kruger et al., 2004), in order to create invitational and safe environments for learning and engagement.

When I was training as a pouako of Te Ataarangi, we were strongly inducted to Te Ataarangi principles of engagement and the theories that underpin our practise. Therefore when it came time to develop our own styles of practise it is possibly correct to say that these were congruent to the principles and tikanga we were espousing.

I recall as a learner feeling becoming emotional when I realised I actually understood what people were talking about in te reo, and then realising I could actually say something small back to them, whilst being understood. Then as my ability grew, I realised that I could now read and understand unpublished ancient text kept in libraries, whakapapa books and whānau books. I could access kōrero direct from kuia and kaumātua without an interpreter. I actually heard the hinge on the language door creak as I realised I could walk through it with understanding and confidence. I am now able to stand on the many marae and the many maunga I am belong to and understand finally within myself what belonging to the land feels like. Identity. Belonging to.

In answer to whether or not the whakapapa method is method compatible with a Kaupapa Māori approach to research with whānau, I would say 'highly possible'. It is certainly Māori in nature and approach, it is certainly tikanga based and it has definitely benefited some of the individuals and whānau I work with. Three elements must be in place, trust, time and a trained pouako in Te Ataarangi. Individuals and whānau advance at the speed that's right for them. This often falls short of expected outcomes and sometimes considered unworthy of investment, but a pouako knows that it sometimes takes years to drop the shield of whakamā (or shame) that encases one.

Pre-Testing with whānau

The whakapapa approach has been used in the past to explore a range of issues, challenges and experiences with students, whānau members and course participants. Issues, process and participant feedback are described in the following section where the approach was pre-tested in two groups.

Context: Hui whānau 27–29 November, 2009. Te Awakairangi – Lower Hutt
My role: facilitator / tutor

This was one of three whānau gatherings that I was invited to facilitate; the focus being to explore tikanga Māori concepts. Some of the concepts explored were culture, shame, language, healing, birth, death and relationships. Forty-five people attended; children, teenagers, adults and elders all from the same whānau group. I have had a long relationship with this whānau and therefore could forego the process required to build trust. The question marks within the comments refer to other people within the whānau and in one case the issue they were discussing. I did not think it necessary to repeat the issue here, as the important focus here was the affect of the process. The hui process included:

1. Opening karakia (15 minutes).

2. Whakawhanaungatanga, mihimihi (30 minutes).

3. The objective of the session is explained and time given for questions (15 minutes).

4. I lay out my whakapapa using the cuisenaires and time was given for participants to do their own. Even though the group was closely related, I asked that each person do their own whakapapa as every individual has a different perspective and therefore experiences different effects. (1 hour).

5. I then used my whakapapa to talk about language and how the loss of language over generations has affected my own whānau. Since the group were closely related we used one of the whānau whakapapa to discuss language within their whānau. (1 hour).

6. I then asked them to individually identify an issue that has affected them personally, to take a cuisenaire that represents that issue and place it beside them in their whakapapa. I then asked them to go through their individual whānau whakapapa and identify other people whom this same issue has affected (1 hour).

7. Participants are now given time to share with the rest of the whānau or with one other. This is a high risk time and the facilitator must be able to manage whānau dynamics and emotions.

8. Some of the issues raised and commented on below incest, ancestor stories, leadership, emotions, early deaths in whānau due to health issues and suicide.

9. Debrief.

Comments about the issues that arose were:

I didn't realise how many stories one person carries

It was great to from Aunty R about that side of the family

We haven't got many elders to pass on the tools to us, this exercise helped me realise that I'm it, I'm next (as an elder), and I'm not even old.

It hurts to know that our ancestors took part in those things, and that its now our job to clean it up [incest].

At first, I hated seeing our dirty laundry aired out there for everyone to see, but then Kiri showed us how we can see those parts of our history as mountains of learning, rivers of change and pools of knowledge...that was touching.

I now know how to return to my whakapapa and be my own healer.

I loved the karakia that went with it – thanks for showing me how to make up my own prayers.

Ka tangi tōku ngākau, tēnā koe e hine.

Koro, I can put my own name in.

Feedback from the whānau about the approach itself included:

Don't use that word method, that is not our word. Method is what you do to get a cake, you get one thing out of it, our word tikanga is more flexible and from that we may get many gifts. So that those on a diet can get something as well.

Thanks for looking after us with this Kiri, too much the crying, too much the laughter.

I like that I can take charge now, and return to heal my stuff at my own pace. I hated having to do this together, I liked the walls I built around me, but this has moved me so much more than doing it on my own could ever have done.

People owning their own stuff, who would have thought.

I can see us building up our own archive of family songs and that's neat!

Feedback from the whānau about whether other whānau would consent to being involved in research using this method included:

Geez we're having a whānau reunion on my ? side, we could really do with some of this.

Will you come and facilitate this kaupapa with my family?

Whilst flattered that the whānau liked my style of facilitation and the method, my ability to help this whānau in this way is based on years of relationship development. This is not a kaupapa that can be delivered by the faint of heart, it takes courage to journey with whānau through traumatic events and highly emotional interventions need to look after the entire whānau.

So glad you didn't leave us at the altar bleeding Kiri, thanks for bringing us all back.

I got scared of the emotions when ? was talking about her ?. I can just go back into my whakapapa now and bless the lessons, leave the pain, care for the emotions.

It is these comments that confirm the need for me to train someone within the whānau of interest, rather than insert myself in there.

Hui Whakaaturanga Rautaki Reo – 5 December 2009
My role: participant & presenter

Whilst the approach we are testing was not the focus of this gathering, I took advantage of fact that we were together. We are all fluent speakers of the Māori language and all the adults in the room bar one were either tutors of Te Ataarangi, Māori language consultants, language activists and/or work in a variety of language contexts apart from tutoring. Te Ataarangi hui (gathering) are conducted in solely in the Māori language, so this also tested my language abilities to explain the research. I have written the quotes here in te reo and have attempted to do the translation justice. Present were ten adults of 30–55 year age group including myself.

Process:
1. A review of Whaea Ani and Maira's 'whakapapa o te reo' was done. My questions were: how many have used the approach in their work? When did they use it? What was the affect? How many have widened the approach to include social conditions? (1.5 hours)

2. I then asked them to think of any situations they could expand the use of this method, in groups of two they worked together for 15 minutes with the cuisenaires and fed back. (1.5 hours)

Mā te raweke nei i ngā rākau ka whakaatuhia mai ngā taha katoa o te tangata, ā-roto, ō-waho rānei. [Testing the utility of the cuisenaires gave me a wholistic reflection of a person, internally and externally.]

He aha mēnā ka whakauruhia ngā pūrākau a Rangi rāua ko Papa, ā, ka whakaatuhia ngā āhuatanga a ngā tama-ā-rangi e hāngai ki te whānau, ā waihoki, ki te tangata [How about if you utilise the cuisenaires to talk about Rangi and Papa and the influences of their children and how that is reflected in throughout the whānau and the inner workings of the individual?]

Kua rahi ngā kaupapa kōrero ki roto i tō tauira, kia tupato kei aue te tangata i te whānuitanga, i te hōhonutanga o ngā kaupapa. [There is so many ways you could adapt this model that one needs to take care in case the depth and the breadth of it overwhelms the person or the family you are working with.]

Kua kite nei i te hinatore o roto i tēnei āhuatanga mō tō tātou nei whānau. [It has helped highlight some necessary improvements in our own whānau communication structure.]

Ka āhua mātaku au kia pēnei taku haere, he mea kuhu ki te whatumanawa o te tangata. Ā, he wāhi tēnei ka raru te tangata, ka whakatau hoki te tangata' [I'd be a bit scared to use this approach mostly because it has the possibility of shaking the very soul of a person. We need to be aware that this approach could provoke the place of great sadness for a person or equally be of great relief.]

Reflections
Whakapapa is a great tool to unpack one's identity and show you 'to whom' you are connected and how. If we use the onion analogy, if you want to get to the core without damaging it you need to unravel it layer upon layer, tier upon tier. If you look closely at the flesh you can see all the veins and follow their connections. When someone recites whakapapa they are unravelling a matrix of connected veins of people that include other people, land, animals, and waterways and, yes, even the airways. Speakers on marae often talk about coming from the gods and in the next breath chuckle about 'monkeys', in essence referring to Darwin's theory of evolution. Together with an undisputable belief in one's divinity, whakapapa, pepehā, and whakawhanaungatanga (Royal, 2003) become one's own personal global positioning system in this world (Paipa & Pipi, 2008). Whakapapa is authentic to Aotearoa, it is essentially a Māori framework for understanding their place in the world and their connection to all living beings.

Ruka Broughton's thesis (1993) on his ancestor Tiitokowaru shows how he utilised whakapapa connections to approach his research and to write his thesis. Prior to Broughton many Pākēhā writers had commented and written books about this particular ancestor from an external perspective. However because Ruka was an 'insider' a very different story emerged as a result of his research. This new story about Tiitokowaru emerged and was shaped by Ruka's whakapapa connections and language abilities. He was a mokopuna (grandchild) of Tiitokowaru, therefore an insider in research language, and because he knew his connections he had access to informants that previous white researchers had not. He also knew how to engage his informants who were mostly elderly Māori, because of his prowess as a speaker of the language in particular he was a native speaker of the Taranaki dialect.

Broughton's work characterises "the inner criteria that exists in a native speaker" that Gattegno speaks about building in a student of the language. He stands as an example to me of tikanga in practice and demonstrated this in the way in which he wrote his thesis. One can see him on the marae, following the mores of formal Māori speechmaking as giving guests all the important acknowledgements they were due. He started his thesis with 'whakapapa, pepehā and whanaungatanga' he included 'tauparapara, ngeri, manawawera' and similarly in formal speechmaking when changing from one subject to another he enhanced it with 'waiata, whakatauki, moteatea, or kiwaha'. Therefore a rich understanding of engagement and process emerges when working with Māori. Below are a number of observations that may support the utility of this approach for research amongst whānau.

Relationship building takes time
Take time to build trust and enhance participants' confidence. Activities during this time of building relationships should be low risk and allow people to come to an understanding about this method from an intellectual point of view. Over time, as relationship bonds are built and secured, activities can become more high risk, moving participants from the intellectual to the heart and allowing them to safely explore issues.

Method
It is always appropriate for the researcher to share something of themselves as an example. It is not always necessary to utilise the cuisenaires; however, it is a useful visual tool that does not require erasing if one wants to change things. Once participants understand what is required, they can be encouraged to explore their own whakapapa using the example and resources provided. They can then share their example with one other. As participants show their understanding of the example, another example is given; for example, Māori language ability within whānau and/or a topical issue of the time. Once again participants are encouraged to use the resources and examples provided creatively and share with one other. As participant's understanding grows, the last example of whakapapa given can reflect the trauma or issue the participant may currently be dealing with (e.g., violence, addiction or depression).

Debriefing takes time
Taking time to deconstruct the process and the emotions that arise as a result of the method is crucial. Depending on what issue is applied to the process and how grounded a participant is, they may end up feeling vulnerable and emotionally fragile. The researcher must utilise their skills listening, identifying and feeding back to the participants their own triggers. It is important that a researcher is able to offer participants strategies, knowledge and information for dealing with their triggers and the issues at hand. One way a researcher can prepare is by offering information about local and national support services.

Researcher competencies
Just as skills, creativity and genetics can be transferred from generation to generation, so can unresolved trauma and the affects of it. The physical manifestation of trauma is reflected in poor statistics in Māori health and well-being, imprisonment rates and the drama of our daily lives. Certain

competencies are required to meet the diverseness of Māori realities today and the range is quite intimidating. Therefore it is difficult to define the range of skills, knowledge and experiences a researcher should have in order to utilise this approach with Māori. This list is an indication only and in no way exhaustive:

- An understanding of the effects of colonisation on an indigenous population and the inter-generational nature of trauma.
- A strong facilitation ability and capacity to care and support people through the process.
- An ability to build trust.
- An ability to develop culturally safe environments to care for yourself and all participants and the information they share.
- A strong ability to engage and observe protocols in the Māori language would be a strong advantage, (especially when working with elderly Māori and children raised in the language schools).
- Researchers should have a shared-lived experience with their participants (Hood, 2001).
- An ability to manipulate cuisenaires conceptually.

Whāngai versus mainstream adoption
It also occurs to me that the whānau who are in some way disconnected from their whakapapa may not benefit from this approach. This would mainly include people who have been adopted using mainstream processes. However, it is possible to support the participant to investigate what they do know about their current family life and how that affects them. A second group who may not benefit would be people who have no familial or physical ties to their homeland and express their lack of desire to find a historical link, this group of people would most likely live within urban centres and have made conscious choices about their whānau links.

Summary

This approach is a true kaupapa Māori taonga (precious treasure) that is grounded, developed and delivered from within a Māori worldview. The alignment of principles and practises between Te Ataarangi, Gattegno and Smith are profoundly evident. Te Ataarangi's overarching goal to develop highly confident, natural speakers of the language by building the inner criteria exemplified by Ruka Broughton and identified by Gattegno is also evident. Regular orientation of staff and students to basic tenets provides practical building blocks to build learning environments that promote trust and confidence.

Te whakapapa o te reo i roto i te whānau approach is a great framework to build self-esteem, confidence and a sense of belonging. It has the potential to be utilised in different environments, for example, education, justice, social justice and health, with different age groups, children, youth, adults and elders. Just as it is utilised here to trace language trends through a whānau, it has also been used to track violence, incest, mākutu, land grievances, social injustices and as tool for revisiting and clearing unresolved intergenerational trauma.

One of the significant limitations to utilising this approach would rest with the person delivering the approach. The ability to debrief and return a person (whānau member) to a state of spiritual, physical and mental safety after working with them must be a priority. This is also incumbent upon the worker being resilient enough to be able to build relationships, and courageous enough to go deep within a persons (or whānau) psyche. Another possible limitation is that this approach could be language dependant, my experience tells me when working with adults and elders is that they will inevitably speak in Māori when stressed; however, when working with youth and children this could be entirely flexible. A third limitation of significance is if whānau have no knowledge of their whakapapa because they are whāngai through Pākehā adoption procedures, or have been alienated from their

marae and/or urban based for many generations, this in itself poses significant questions about appropriate ways to approach these groups.

Ultimately though, whakapapa is a very grass roots approach that would be suitable to be used across the myriad of settings where Māori gather.

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