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whānau socialisation through everyday talk
a pilot study

HUIA TOMLINS-JAHNKE AND AROHIA DURIE
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MASSEY UNIVERSITY PALMERSTON NORTH

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Whānau Talk project was a pilot study conducted to explore what Māori whānau (families) talk about in their everyday lives and how such talk contributes to whānau socialisation. In *Growing Up Māori*, Witi Ihimaera compiled views of people from a range of Māori backgrounds (Ihimaera, 1998, p 28). In some sense the contents of Ihimaera's book helped to illuminate the findings in the Whānau Talk project – not so much because they explore what the documented whānau talked about, but because each text shows how the socialisation of the person concerned influenced the way they grew up. Sir Paul Reeves, who went on to become Governor-General of New Zealand, said:

> …I was confused about my identity. When I was a teenager the two things I worried about were my being left-handed, which made me feel embarrassed – and my dark complexion, which differentiated me from my friends. I was at Wellington College which at that time was not an easy place for Māori. When you feel so unsure, the easiest thing to do is to deny that you are Māori. So, I did not grow up as a Māori. I did not have access to relatives, language and culture. Those are things I have had to work for – but love and acceptance are there, not simply for me but for my wife Beverley, and family ... I was fortunate enough that my choices, although I didn't know it at the time, were influenced by the fact that my mother was Māori. Ultimately, this has helped to fashion who I am. (Ihimaera, 1998, p 156)

Although this is not a taped conversation, the story is written in a conversational style, and it conveys the realities of a young man of mixed ethnic descent. Access to relatives, language and culture are important aspects of growing up as a Māori in Sir Paul Reeves' view. Specific circumstances meant that these were not aspects of his upbringing, yet he was ultimately able to draw on his mother's connections, and her strong presence influenced his future. We do not know what conversations took place in the Reeves whānau, but we do know that they were to define the way the whānau lived and what they attended to in their lives. The story also makes clear that access to whānau, Te Reo Māori and Māori culture were withheld from Sir Paul in his growing-up years – a decision that at some stage must have resulted from tacit consent or a spoken agreement between the parents. Perhaps this was part of a consensus reached in a mixed-race marriage in a time when overt social barriers such as a colour bar were a very real part of New Zealand life (Durie, 2002; Harre, 1966; Rangihau, 1975). Since he says that the Māori side of his family was kept from him in his earlier years, we can assume that Sir Paul was brought up with the language and culture of his father's background, and, for whatever reason, was kept from growing up with members of his mother's family.

While the narratives in Ihimaera's book give us glimpses into the whānau lives of a number of Māori New Zealanders, the Whānau Talk project undertaken here considers whānau events in more detail, using everyday whānau talk to explore key questions and build a more intense and quick snapshot of whānau in action.

1.1 Literature review

Perspectives on family communication, within which the notion of 'whānau or family talk' may be categorised, have long been the object of study in a number of disciplines including sociology (Blum-Kulka, 1997), education (Fiese & Sameroff, 1999; Tunnicliffe, 2000), psychology (Ng, He, & Loong, 2004; Thomson & Simpson, 1953) and linguistics (Tannen, 2004). Communication is considered to be a defining characteristic of contemporary life (Asante, 1997), and family communication, the foundation of family life (Bochner, 1976). So it is not surprising that recent research has centred on the way family conversation shapes family life (Turner & West, 2006).

Studies of conversational interaction shaping family life include some concerned with the importance of conversations between children and other family members for learning and socialisation (Brown & Dunn, 1992; Dunn, 1996), and for the development of language and literacy, particularly at meal-times (Beals, 2001; Blum-Kulka, 1997). These latter studies have recorded family conversation around the dinner table – "…a logical choice because family members typically gather and talk over dinner and because the bounded nature of the activity, as well as the physical orientation around a table, facilitate recording" (Tannen, 2004, p 1). Tannen gained access to talk in the private world of families by enlisting families who agreed to tape-record their own interactions. Having families tape-record their own conversations was an important aim of the Whānau Talk project.

The work of Shoshanna Blum-Kulka is concerned with understanding how children acquire language through intergenerational conversations, which provide contexts in which children are socialised to culturally-preferred communication styles (Blum-Kulka, 1997). Blum-Kulka applied a culturally sensitive analysis to the narratives told over dinner (p 100). While most studies outlined here have been carried out overseas, within Aotearoa New Zealand research on family talk in cultural contexts has been carried out on tri-generational family conversations and code-switching among Chinese immigrant families (Ng & He, 2004; Ng et al, 2004), and comparative studies of Chinese and European families in New Zealand which correlate individualism and collectivism with family conversations (Ng, Loong, He, Liu, & Weatherall, 2000).

Intergenerational transmission of the culture, values, customs and traditions reflected in talk is a specific focus of this study. Overseas studies concerning intergenerational transmission through family talk include the role of family conversation in the formation of collective memory (Cuc, 2005), the dynamics that shape remembering as it takes place in family conversations (Manier, 1997), and in the intergenerational transmission of historic memories by means of stories told in a family context (Wyrobnik, 2005). It is not unusual for Māori families to ensure narratives about their turangawaewae and hau kainga are 'kept alive' through whānau conversation, particularly when they are living outside traditional tribal areas (Tomlins Jahnke, 1997). However, none of these studies explore the nature of everyday talk in Māori whānau, which was the focus of the Whānau Talk pilot study.

Most of the studies outlined above have been carried out in other countries. The largest study of 'talk' and communication investigated in Aotearoa New Zealand is the innovative study of spoken communication in workplaces begun in 1996 by Professor Janet Holmes and her team in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington (Holmes, 2000). Remarkably, there is little, if any, research which examines in detail how whānau actually communicate with each other in the context of the home in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Therefore, what was investigated in this study was whānau/family talk specific to the New Zealand context of Māori whānau. Of particular interest was the link between everyday talk – that is the ordinary kinds of communicating families do in the privacy of their homes – and the socialisation that contributes to whānau identity. Identity formation among kin-based whānau spans the full spectrum of Māori childhood experiences. Sir Paul Reeves grew up alienated from Te Ao Māori while others, such as Hone Kaa (Kaa, 1988) and Sir Howard Morrison (Morrison, 1998), experienced what it means to be grounded in the Māori world. As Arohia Durie explains:

> Key factors in identity formation for Māori which promote collective and individual wellbeing for healthy development in a culturally appropriate manner are taken to be ancestral connections through whakapapa or genealogy, combined with access to ancestral land as turangawaewae, bound together by the ancestral language, Te Reo Māori (A. Durie, 1997, p 142)

Identity is formed, argues Durie, through a set of narratives: specifically the cosmological, the chanted, the whānau, the colonial and the contemporary. She maintains:

> …although whakapapa remains the enduring factor in family interconnections, urbanisation and school socialisation experiences have been such that connections to extended family, hapū and iwi are no longer necessarily known or activated. Dislocation of nuclear families and of individuals is a fact of life among urban Māori, creating a hiatus in identity formation and traditional conceptions of what it means to be Māori. An ability to operate successfully across cultural boundaries, to become effectively bicultural in regard to the prevailing values and practices of two separate cultures, is indicative of the twin aspects of growing up Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. (A. Durie, 1997)

In this study of whānau talk, identity includes the roles taken by various whānau members, in situations such as schooling, work, life-changing events (such as birth, death, marriage, separation) and the impacts of technology (television, cell-phone, Ipods, computers and so forth) that are very much a part of everyday life. Furthermore, the study contributes to knowledge about how whānau construct or produce meaning in an ongoing transactional process that is affected by context. In doing so the study provides the building blocks for a larger study, with a wider application to investigating the family talk of New Zealanders, including new immigrant families.

1.2 Research aims

The major aim of this study was to test the viability of a research concept by way of a small ethnographic pilot project that explores what whānau/families talk about in their everyday lives and how talk contributes to whānau socialisation in Aotearoa New Zealand (Frey, Botan, Friedman, & Kreps, 1992).

The term 'whānau' is interpreted to mean members of a whakapapa whānau (Durie, 1999) which may also be intergenerational; that is, members of a family who are related genealogically, including wider extended family members of several generations living in the same household. The viability of the research concept hinged on two features of the method that were piloted with four volunteer whānau.

The first was identifying and exploring key questions about whānau talk:

1. How do whānau members engage and interact with each other? (What is the nature of whānau talk?)
2. Are whānau values, customs and traditions reflected in talk (in the cultural symbols, patterns and rituals of socialisation passed from one generation to another?)
3. How do whānau prioritise and what do they prioritise (that is, what do they talk about)?
4. How are children motivated towards having aspirations (such as success at school, at home, in life)?

1.3 Method

The second feature of the research concept was the trialling of a collaborative qualitative method. In order to gain access to talk that goes on in the private world of families, and minimise the effect of intrusive researchers imposing on family life (Tannen, 2004), four whānau were enlisted who agreed to tape-record their own interactions at home. Before the study began, examples of different types of events or settings (Hymes, 1988; Saville-Troike, 2003) such as meal-times, before school, while watching television and so forth, were discussed with whānau. Whānau were briefed on how to use the recorders and instructed to keep, whenever possible, a log of the date, time and place of each taped interaction. Throughout the data collection period, control of the recording process was the responsibility of the whānau and their nominated recorder. The participants were free to edit and delete material as they wished (Holmes, 2000).

At no time was an observer present during the data collection process. In one sense this was a limitation of the study, since the presence of a participant-observer would have enabled the researchers "to enrich the information gathered in many ways (eg, researchers made notes to accompany each recording session, including lists of the menu at each dinner, and later helped with interpretation)", (Blum-Kulka, 1997, p 17). However, as Blum-Kulka also acknowledges, the presence of outsiders obviously changes the participation structure, and this was an important consideration in this study. We considered the presence of a participant observer to be overtly intrusive and a potential disruption to the talk that families engage in as a natural part of their everyday lives. Furthermore, the nature of the research – studying in some detail what whānau talk about – meant that access to families might easily have been compromised by the inclusion of an observer. To compensate, our original plan was to video interviews with adult whānau members as they listened to the taped conversations and to collaborate with them in the analysis as if we had been present in the conversations, much as Blum Kukla describes (Blum-Kulka, 1997). However, time constraints in the implementation of this study led to our withdrawing this idea and instead having whānau make changes to or comment on our written interpretations.

Our initial intention was to recruit five whānau, but this was reduced to four when one withdrew. A designated adult family member was assigned to tape-record episodes of whānau talk, using a portable digital tape recorder and microphone, as opportunities arose over a period of one week.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim by a professional transcriber and checked for accuracy by the researchers. In the main, the conventions of sociolinguistics were not drawn upon; this is in spite of our interest in how whānau use talk as a means of bonding together and maintaining whānau relationships, or, framed in sociolinguistic terms "…uses of language to communicate meaning, but also used to establish and to maintain social relationships" (Spolsky, 1998, p 3). We decided that the conversation flow was too important to fragment by signalling 'pauses' or 'hesitancies'.

The computer software HyperRESEARCH, a qualitative tool for the coding and analysis of data, was employed for this study, which substantially reduced the labour involved in conventional methods (Tomlins Jahnke, 2005, p 28). Whānau members were involved in checking and modifying their verbatim quotes for accuracy in interpretation, and the modifications are detailed throughout this report. This collaborative process helped avoid the possibility of the researchers alienating the explanation of their experiences, thoughts and ideas through the kōrero from the cultural and social reality of their everyday lives. The ethical procedures approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee were followed in the process of consultation, information delivery and research methods.

1.4 Whānau descriptions

In his exploration of the nature of whānau Māori, Professor Mason Durie observes family profiles changing as a result of factors such as divorce, de facto relationships, solo-parent families, reduced fertility rates, urbanisation and ageing. Given these effects, Durie has proposed a set of capacities to foster healthy development of whānau; it includes the capacity to care, manaakitanga; the capacity to share, tohatohatia; the capacity for guardianship, pupuri taonga; the capacity to empower, whakamana; and the capacity to plan ahead, whakatakoto tikanga. A key conclusion is that there is no one typical family. "Although two-parent families remain the most frequent, a plurality of forms exist and to a greater or lesser extent fulfil the functions of familyhood" (M. Durie, 1997, p 21).

The sample for this pilot study comprised four Māori whakapapa whānau with children living at home or in compulsory schooling (primary or secondary). Whānau were recruited in one large North Island city of Aotearoa New Zealand by way of purposive sampling through networks known to the researchers. This method was employed to ensure that at least one whakapapa whānau was intergenerational with elders, such as grandparents, living in the same household; and at least one whakapapa whānau had children enrolled in Māori medium schooling. For the purposes of confidentiality, whilst their tribal affiliations are acknowledged, all the names of whānau members mentioned in this report are pseudonyms.

1.5 A framework for analysis

The framework for analysis for this pilot study is loosely drawn from Saville-Troike's components of communication (Saville-Troike, 2003). This research is based on the recordings only and not, like other studies of family talk, on an observer's comments (Blum-Kulka, 1997). For this reason the analysis focuses on the type of event, the referential focus or topic and the function of the interactions recorded. The norms of interpretation rely on "…the common knowledge and relevant cultural presuppositions, shared understandings, which allow particular inferences to be drawn about what is to be taken literally, what discounted etc" (Saville-Troike, 2003, pp 110–143). It is important in this study that the organising principles and norms of interpretation are framed within Māori cultural values and customs, and understood from a Māori perspective, since both researchers in this project identify as Māori. The four whānau were named to reflect a primary characteristic of each: a Rangatahi whānau, comprising a young (rangatahi) couple who are parents; a Kainga whānau, who live in their own home (kainga) near theirmarae and on their tribal homeland (wa kainga); a Tauira whānau whose members are all students (tauira) attending various educational institutions; and a Kaiako whānau, whose parents are both teachers (kaiako).

From these different whānau groups, six themes emerged. At least three salient and interconnecting themes emerged as significant from the data of the Rangatahi, Kainga and Tauira whānau: (1) whānaungatanga; (2) mahi a whānau; and (3) tikanga a whānau. By contrast the three dominant themes that emerged from the Kaiako whānau were: (4) akoranga and (5) ako (related to learning and teaching); and (6) Te Reo Māori (Māori language). The analysis of the Kaiako whānau talk (kōrero) is described separately. Our decision to separate the analysis of these distinct groups – the three English-speaking whānau and the single Māori-speaking whānau – for the purposes of this report rather than integrate them is a pragmatic one and reflects the limitations of this study. Our findings can be viewed only as indicative of the whānau represented here, viewed over a brief period of time.

2. WHAT MAKES WHĀNAU TICK!

2.1 He Tauira Whānau

An extraordinary feature of the Tauira whānau is that all of the members are currently enrolled in various educational institutions. The term 'tauira' means student or pupil. Both parents are university students. They live with their five children and a nephew in a largely state-housing suburb of the city. The mother, Molly, is Ngā Puhi and between 35 and 40 years old. The father, Tom, is Ngā Puhi and Te Arawa and will celebrate his 40th birthday during the next year. The oldest child, Eddie, is 18 years old and is a graphic design student at a local polytechnic. Arama is a 16-year-old nephew who is studying sport and fitness at a wānanga. Bruce is 12 years old and in Year 7 at intermediate. Te Rangi is 11 years old and attends a primary school along with her eight-year-old brother Piripi and seven-year-old sister Pare. Since Molly and Tom are full-time students they keep to a strict budget, and Tom supplements their food allowance by fishing and eeling. The whānau rents a council house.

2.2 He Kainga whānau

The Kainga whānau represents an intergenerational family comprising a set of grandparents, Makere and her partner Sione; Makere's adult daughters Rita and Viola; and Rita's seven-year-old daughter Arina. Makere and Sione are active in raising their granddaughter Arina, and they also regularly take care of grandson Maia, aged three years, and his one-year-old sister Pieta. Their father is Sione's son Pere who is separated from their mother Gail. Makere is of Rangitane, Ngati Raukawa and Ngai Tahu descent, and works full-time as a health professional. Sione is Samoan and works as a caretaker. The term 'kainga' refers to the 'home-place'. This is the only family in this study who lives in a semi-rural whānau home, neighbouring their marae and situated on Makere's ancestrally inherited land, the hau kainga. Hence their description as the kainga-based whānau.

2.3 He Rangatahi whānau

The Rangatahi whānau comprises Tania and her partner Robbie, who are both 21 years old; their baby Shane, aged 2½; and Tania's brother Matt, aged 14 years, who attends a boys' secondary school. From time to time, Robbie's 15-year-old nephew Reggy stays with them. Tania's 17-year-old sister Paris, who lives with their grandmother, frequently visits or babysits Shane. Tania is of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Tuwharetoa descent, and is a full-time mum to Shane, while Robbie, who is Rarotongan, works for a roading company. They rent a small flat in a suburb close to Tania's grandmother.

The term 'rangatahi' (youth) is relative, depending on the comparison of age sets. For example, a person of 40 or 50 years is a rangatahi to someone who is in their 70s or 80s. For the purposes of this research, the term 'rangatahi' is applied as a collective descriptor to denote the composition of this household, whose members are all 21 years of age or younger, compared with the collective membership of the other three families.

3. THEME 1

3.1 Whānaungatanga

> The men of learning said, understand the learning of your ancestors, so you can talk in the gatherings of the people. Hold fast to the knowledge of your kinship, and unite in the knot of mankind. Stirling & Salmond (1980, p 241).

Under the theme of whānaungatanga the following questions are considered: How are whānau connections expressed in and through talk? What values are inherent in participants' interactions? How are such values shared with whānau through talk? It is significant that for the Kainga, Rangatahi and Tauira whānau, the theme of whānaungatanga was overwhelmingly present in their conversations, thereby reinforcing a core value in Māori society and an identity as Māori. It should not be surprising that whānaungatanga or kinship (Metge, 1976) emerged as a dominant theme. As a concept the term embraces whakapapa and focuses upon relationships; a fundamental principle in Māori culture, it "deals with the practices that bond and strengthen the kinship ties of a whānau" (Pere, 1982, p 26). This interest in whānaungatanga, how people are related to one another and how kinsfolk ought to behave to each other (Metge, 1976), is a distinguishing feature that some might argue is what 'makes Māori tick'. In this study of whānau talk, expressions of whānaungatanga were evident in several distinct ways in the recorded conversations.

3.2 Kinship terms

Participants referred to each other and their wider kin by way of kinship terms that define and position whānau through their talk. Examples of such terms include aunties, uncles, girl, cuzzie, babe, bub, papa, koro, son, moko. Also evident were kinship terms preceded by a possessive pronoun: my dad, my nieces, my nephew, my auntie, my mum, your cousin, his aunty, my moko and so on. These terms were often used to make connections between whānau members, thereby reinforcing genealogical connections, explicating such connections to establish how one is related to another.

The following exchange between the parents of the Tauira whānau, Molly and Tom, and their young daughter Te Rangi is fairly typical of how rich the conversations were in the use of kinship terms to define and position various whānau members, including establishing whakapapa connections:

Tom: How was your week girl? Anything interesting happen?

Molly: Something interesting happened today.

Tom: You saw your twin?

Te Rangi: Oh yes, cuzzie, twin cousin...

Tom: Hayley Bell?

Molly: And can you remember aunty's name?

Te Rangi; No I can't.

Molly: Aunty Bernie.

Tom: Yeah, that's Paul Eddy's wife.

Tom's reference to his daughter as 'girl' is quite common among Māori whānau, and often used as a term of endearment. Reinforcement of kinship terms can be seen as a process of socialisation through talk. Young Te Rangi, for example, is left in no doubt how her 'cuzzie' Hayley Bell (who bears as close a resemblance as a 'twin') is related. Since she has forgotten her Aunt's name, Te Rangi's mother reminds her because the familial relationship is established through her Aunty Bernie. Tom positions Aunty Bernie as Paul Eddy's wife because the children know Paul, who is Tom's first cousin, but not Bernie, as this was the first time she had visited them and Paul was not present at the time.

Establishing whakapapa, and in this instance socialising children's identity as Māori through talk, underpins the value of whānaungatanga, the manifest or active expression of which may be described in terms of whakawhānaungatanga; that is, the active process of maintaining relationships between kin. Invariably because these values are reinforced they shape children's attitudes and understanding of their identity as Māori and the importance of whakapapa connections. Using kinship terms indicates the importance of these connections.

Code switching between Māori and English kinship terms was also evident. The following example is an exchange in the Kainga whānau, between Makere and her granddaughter Arina, who is outside making a model of a volcano for her school project. An infant grandson, Maia, is playing nearby:

Nanny: [speaking to Arina] Baby, come inside and show nanny and koro. [speaking to Maia] Come here Maia, do you want to turn it off? [speaking to Arina] What is it called?

Arina: A volcano.

Nanny: [speaking to Maia] Come here by nanny. Oh ... hop on koro.

Makere makes explicit that she is nanny but grandfather is koro, and baby refers to seven-year-old granddaughter Arina. Terms such as nanny, koro or baby are not just kin-markers, but forms of endearment and affection, particularly in the emotional tone or key (Saville-Troike, 2003, p 113) in which they are uttered. The tone is important in conveying and reinforcing intimate connections between close kin. Makere's invitation to sit on koro is directed at three-year-old Maia. It is not uncommon for family positioning terms such as 'baby' or 'girl' to be retained as a nickname among whānau well beyond childhood and even through to adulthood. There are many in Māori circles who can identify an Auntie Baby or Uncle Baba, Auntie Girlie or Uncle Boy among their whānau.

Such explicit use and constant reinforcement of the importance of terms of address establishes very early in childhood the rules of address. Attention is drawn when such rules are broken, as the following episode between Arina and her grandmother demonstrates.

Arina: She [Aunty] was asking after you.

Nanny: Was she?

Arina: She said where's Makere?

Nanny: Didn't she say where's nanny?

Arina: She said Makere.

Nanny: Oh. Did you say my nanny's at home or at work.

Arina: I don't know where you work.

Special mention should be made here of the implied reference to whangai and the importance of grandchildren or mokopuna or other children who are raised as whangai. The term 'whangai' has come to be associated with the idea of adoption, although in the Māori sense it does not necessarily mean legal adoption. Whangai means to feed, and in this context it means to feed and nurture in the full sense of the word (Metge, 1976). There were references and inferences in this study about the significance of whangai, and especially the special relationship that can exist between grandparents and their grandchildren, in the modern whānau context, to the effect that it has not changed over the generations. In an excerpt from the Tauira whānau, Molly's mother is returning to her home in a distant part of the country after visiting Molly and Tom with her 11-year-old moko Ethan. Other adult members of the extended family are present during this exchange:

Male: Is he [Ethan] staying here?

Tom: Going back with mum.

Larna: Yeah, he's coming back with us I think.

Molly's mum: You fellas can't have Ethan..I will cry they're the only two mokos I've got..You fellas got the bulk of the mokos down here…

Of significant concern to the grandmother is that most of her grandchildren live away from her and not within easy reach. Although Ethan would probably prefer to stay with his cousins for the rest of the holidays, he is left in no doubt how important he is to his grandmother by her refusal to leave him behind. In the broader context, it is likely that relatives including grandparents living in the same or adjoining districts see a lot of each other, visit each other's homes and help each other out from day to day in many ways (Metge, 1976). Besides the benefits, there are costs in the practice of whānaungatanga, in terms of economics or of emotions such as Molly's mum clearly experiences. According to Durie, "Geographic distance also severely limits the effectiveness of whānaungatanga so that support at times of crisis may not be forthcoming with limited opportunities for hands-on assistance" (M. Durie, 1997, p 20).

3.3 Manaakitanga

Another element underpinning whānaungatanga is the obligations one has to kin. Mead maintains "Individuals expect to be supported by their relatives near and distant but the collective group also expects the support and help of its individuals. This is a fundamental principle…" (Mead, 2003, pp 28-29). Membership of whānau and the expectations of such membership almost always extend to varying sets of obligations. Among these obligations is the value of manaakitanga, "…of nurturing relationships, looking after people and being careful about how others are treated", (Mead, 2003, p 29; Metge, 1976). The capacity to care is a

critical role among whānau, and may be applied to the care of the elderly, children or of the sick (M. Durie, 1997).

There were many references in the everyday talk of whānau to 'staying with', 'looking after' or 'helping out' close kin, including 'having whānau stay'. Evidence of the practice of 'staying with' whānau, the value of manaakitanga, and the importance of being careful about how others are treated was abundant, as demonstrated in the following excerpt from the Rangatahi whānau:

Robbie: You staying here tonight Reggy? Well I'll take you home to get some clothes and shit.

Tania: Is he staying the night is he? Did you tell him off for misbehaving?

Robbie: Yep.

Tania: Bet you didn't.

The tuakana/teina relationship is a significant mechanism of social organisation, based on whakapapa underpinned by a ranking system whereby the 'tuakana' is ranked senior to and above the 'teina' or junior (Makereti, 1986 [1938]; Tomlins Jahnke, 2005, p 45). As tuakana, Robbie's invitation to his teina Reggy to stay over and his offer to collect Reggy's 'clothes and shit' may be regarded as a tuakana/teina obligation. In this sense Robbie is seen to be looking after Reggy's welfare, as would be expected between whānau members. Of course, besides whānaungatanga, the tuakana/teina concept is also associated with the principle of ako, which means to learn as well as to teach. The responsibility of the tuakana is to assist the teina in their learning and development (Royal-Tangaere, 1997).

The itinerant character of close kin, moving freely between homes, was very evident in whānau talk among the Kainga, Rangatahi and Tauira whānau. Freedom to stay with relatives, however, was often tempered by the need to ensure that rules of good behaviour are observed. In the excerpt above, it is Tania who is concerned about ensuring that family boundaries regarding rules of behaviour are maintained, and she implicitly understands that it is Robbie's responsibility, as the uncle and tuakana, to keep Reggy's behaviour in check.

In the Tauira whānau, Molly instructs her son Piripi about the rules about accepting money from his uncle who, according to Piripi "loves giving my nieces and nephews money". Unless Piripi has been helpful in some way – "Did you help him clean his house?" – then the whānau relationship is not one where the nephew should expect 'money all the time'. Durie refers to the capacity of whānau to share and meet others' needs as tohatohatia, which "recognises the obligations on whānau to foster equity and a fair distribution of whānau resources ... intra-whānau distributions become an important additional avenue for resources" (M. Durie, 1997, p 11).

A common occurrence across all whānau in this study was the role of the mothers and grandmothers in setting the boundaries and insisting on upholding whānau rules. The Tauira whānau, for example, revealed the way their children are socialised to observe certain whānau rules of behaviour as a prerequisite for staying with relatives for school holidays. When boundaries are crossed and whānau rules are broken there are consequences. Molly and Tom decide to withdraw permission for Te Rangi to go with other siblings and stay with her Aunty Larna for the school holidays as punishment for using her mother's expensive art-class paints without first seeking permission. Her aunt's sympathetic response but active support of Molly and Tom's decision functions to reinforce whānau rules and thus whānau solidarity, which no doubt increases Te Rangi's deep disappointment, which is apparent by 'looking at her face':

Larna: Mum needs all that paint because she's got a lot of work on.

Tom: Artwork girl.

Larna: I'll support mum and dad on that and you can come another time when mum feels that it's ready for you to come. Yeah.

Molly: Yeah. I almost gave in looking at her face all afternoon.

Larna: But you know I still love you darling. But you know disappointment is just a part of our life. You can come another time.

To understand the context of Te Rangi's disappointment, the importance of time spent together with whānau especially during school holidays needs

to be grasped. It is illuminated by Wairete Norman, who wrote of her own childhood experiences: "For our whānau these were some of the happiest moments shared, some of the best days of our lives and we looked forward eagerly and excitedly to all the school holidays to go camping" (Norman, 1998, p 113). From childhood, then, spending time together is one way that relationships among kin, and the obligations that accrue, are deeply cemented for life.

Whānau talk about staying with relatives was a common pattern observed in the data, especially concerning decisions about who would care for the children, which kin they would stay with and how whānau would be missed by other members while they were absent. When Tania of the Rangatahi whānau makes plans to go to Australia, she talks about her mother minding baby Shane as if this is taken for granted or a given, while she herself will travel to stay with an uncle in Sydney. In the Tauira household Molly asks her nephew Brady if he is enjoying his holiday after a long absence from such visits:

Molly: You enjoying your holiday?

Brady: Yeah.

Molly: It's the first time you've ever had a holiday with us for ages. Are you missing your brother and sister?

Brady: Yeah.

While Brady's answer may be typical of a polite response to an aunt's enquiry, there were many instances of 'enquiring after' family members across three of the whānau in this study. Later in the same discussion Molly asks Brady "How's your mum been?" which is typical of a much wider discourse of socialisation around manaakitanga, and an invitation to tell all there is to tell about whānau members, especially their health and wellbeing.

4. KANOHI KI TE KANOHI

Tuhoe elder John Rangihau once wrote:

> Whānaungatanga to me also means that whenever a person feels lonely he will go round and visit some of his kin and it is just as enjoyable for the kin to receive a visit as it is for the person to go. In other words there is as much joy or perhaps greater joy, in giving as in receiving. And so we give of one another to one another – we give the talent we have so everybody can share in these sorts of experiences. (Rangihau, 1975, p 166)

The value of visiting kin is the 'kanohi ki te kanohi' factor, of seeing relatives 'face to face' and it was possible to discern some of the typical ways in which whānau expressed this. For example, whānau would speak about family resemblances and comment about who various whānau members looked like, and make judgements about their pronouncements. Typical comment of this kind is revealed in the following exchange between Molly and Tom, who are reflecting on various members of their extended whānau who have recently visited:

Molly: It was good seeing Bernie and the kids. Yeah.

Tom: Yeah.

Molly: God the kids, they are so like Paul.

Tom: And Isobel eh, she sounds like a man eh?

Molly: Isobel, Isobel is a spitting ... cos she's the spitting, she's the spitting image of her mum, a bit older than Pauline but she sounds all Paul. She is so blinken boring.

Tom: Yeah I know.

Molly: But Tom boy out on the skate-board.

Tom: Yeah eh. But Tane's cute eh?

Molly: Yeah he's cute.

4.1 Tautoko

The intergenerational transfer of core values associated with manaakitanga, such as tautoko or 'giving support' to others, was apparent in a number of speech interactions between adults and their infant children. One example which was fairly typical was of a father suggesting to his infant son that he "help your cousin then" ... "I'll just go and grab you a tee-shirt son". In the Rangatahi whānau, Tania constantly engaged with her 2½-year-old son Shane, and values such as tautoko were apparent:

Tania: Poppa's warming his car up, we gotta go now.

Shane: Alright.

Tania: He's gotta go to hospital and change his dressing on his sore leg.

Shane: Sore arm and sore leg?

Tania: Oh just his leg I think.

Shane: He's going?

Tania: Yeah. Do you wanna come?

Shane: He's going to the hospital?

Tania: Yeah.

Shane: Oh. Go in the car?

Tania: Yeah.

Shane: Thank-you.

Tania: That's alright. Alright let's go.

Shane: Let's go. Let's go. Poppa going to the hospital.

There is an expectation that Shane will accompany his mother to visit and therefore tautoko Poppa in hospital as a matter of course. The value of whānaungatanga is seen here to be reinforced early in life. An important aspect of this exchange between mother and baby is that it demonstrates how Māori children are socialised to be concerned about the health and wellbeing of whānau members, in this case Tania's grandfather whom she calls Poppa. Typical of many Māori families is the way in which children are not always alienated from the reality of intergenerational life-ways, which includes birth, sickness, death or dying (Ihimaera, 1998).

Also contributing to the theme of tautoko was an evident expectation that children should help out with housework and assist other whānau when needed. In the Kainga whānau, Makere is quietly pleased her moko Arina has helped her with some of the day's chores. In the Rangatahi whānau baby Shane helps his mother Tania fold towels when asked. However, such episodes were less frequent across Kainga and Rangatahi whānau compared with the larger Tauira whānau. In this whānau children are assigned household chores and are frequently reminded of them by their parents. For example, when Tom utters instructions that "all you guys can go in there and clean up that kitchen, do the

dishes, I'll shoot down and get some groceries" he implies that everyone is needed to help with looking after the whānau and their help releases him to do the shopping.

The following exchange between Molly and her nephew Andre, who is staying for the school holidays and helping Molly with an enormous pile of dishes, offers a different perspective on whānau circumstances related to tautoko:

Andre: I've never done so much dishes before.

Molly: Huh?

Andre: I've never done so much dishes before because we have a dishwasher.

Molly: Oh do you?

Andre: Yeah.

Molly: Not in this house. We actually got to do the dishes.

Andre's remarks illustrate the difference in economic status in a household where children are not expected to wash dishes, where his parents can obviously afford a dishwasher and the attendant expenses. Despite this, Andre is obliged to help out as a standard practice when staying with his Aunty Molly and her whānau.

The value of tautoko is expressed in the whakatauki 'ki a koe tētehi kiwai ki a au tētehi kiwai', 'for you one handle of the basket and for me the other', meaning that the work or the burden of work should be shared equally (Mead & Grove, 2001, p 212). An aunt of the Tauira whānau expresses her gratitude that the older children have spent time during their holidays helping her by shifting a large dirt-mound that has obstructed her driveway for years.

Merimeri Penfold refers to such experiences as part of the 'rhythm of life'. She describes her childhood, raised in a large North Auckland family and having to assist her mother from a young age:

> My siblings ... numbered twelve ... Caring for such numbers was demanding for my mother ... Under such circumstances I grew up very quickly. I became my mother's daily chief help at a very early age. I fetched and carried, cradling or feeding the baby, watching or adding wood to the fire, removing and replacing flax floor-mats when tidying the house, and gathering the washing from the fence line. (Penfold, 1998, p 82)

Although Merimeri Penfold is explaining a much earlier period, nonetheless, the principle of tautoko she describes remains salient for contemporary whānau, and is apparent in the discourse of whānau in this study.

Associated with the value of tautoko is that of mahi or work. There are many whakatauki that expound the virtue of one who is a hard worker and industrious. Well known among them is the saying 'e moe i te tangata ringa raupa' which translates as 'marry a man with blistered hands', and implies that such a man should make a suitable husband (Mead & Grove, 2001, p 38). In the following sequence from the Tauira whānau, Tom's aunt and uncle are full of praise for Tom and Molly's 12-year-old son Bruce:

Uncle: He's a good mate for me.

Aunt: Nah he's a good worker.

Uncle: Yeah good worker, he's awesome.

Molly: Who's that?

Uncle: He's a good boy eh. A good boy.

Tom: Bruce.

Molly: Yeah he's a good boy he just whines a lot.

Aunt: No different to whiners.

Uncle: Sweet as, he's a good boy. I'm gonna teach him everything he knows. He filleted our fish yesterday.

Tom: Yep he knows how to smoke [fish].

Uncle: Yeah, he done the smoke, it was him that done the smoking.

Tom and Molly are no doubt pleased that their son is identified by the uncle "as a good mate for me" because Bruce has demonstrated that he is a good worker and skilled at a highly valued task such as filleting and smoking fish. However, they are not about to appear whakahihi or boastful, so Molly qualifies her praise by agreeing "yeah he's a good boy" but that "he just whines a lot". Customarily it was not uncommon for children who showed particular interest, skills and abilities at a young age to then be selected and mentored by an elder through to adulthood (Pere, 1982; Stirling & Salmond, 1980). The uncle considers himself a mentor for Bruce, and says he will "teach him everything he knows". Reflecting on her life and upbringing on the East Coast the kuia Iranui Haig considered her role "passing things on to the younger generation of today" as an important one (Haig, 1997, p 41).

5. THEME 2

5.1 He mahi ā whānau

> Granny encouraged me to go with my flights of fancy and to explore the world both around and inside me ... travelling around with her exposed me at a very young age to the everyday kōrero of our people. (Nehua, 1998, p 96)

The theme 'he mahi a whānau' is based on what it is that whānau talk about that demonstrates what they like to do together. What are their interests? How do they socialise together? What activities are they involved in as a whānau? How are the children socialised through these activities? What aspects of their ordinary lives are evident in their everyday talk?

The timeframe within which whānau recorded their conversations coincided with the school holidays. The settings included travelling in the car to stay with whānau, to collect whānau or to go shopping; during mealtimes; at family meetings; out shopping; walking children in the park; cooking meals or watching television. Within these settings whānau talked and carried out numerous activities that served to highlight some of the ways in which children are socialised and their attitudes are shaped. It is acknowledged that time spent together as whānau, visiting each other's homes and staying together during holidays are important among the activities they talked about. This is covered in some detail in the section on whānaungatanga and therefore is not repeated here.

5.2 He waiata

East Coast elder Iranui Haig recalled the music of her elders in the early years of the 20th century, and how their performance of moteatea influenced her own performance as an adult. She insisted:

> …there were no such things as action songs like they do today. They sang moteatea and their body movements were always very graceful … When I look back I'm grateful ... because they were teaching me how to do the body movement when singing. (Haig, 1997, p 40)

The significance of music was apparent in the lives of whānau and expressed in several ways. The Tauira whānau for example sing hymns or gospel songs to begin and end each family meeting, with various members taking turns to nominate songs or take the lead while Molly accompanies on the guitar. There were several episodes of extended-whānau waiata sessions recorded as well. Both parents are musically talented and regularly perform in public settings, and their combined love of music is instilled in the children, as evidenced by their willingness to participate.

In the Rangatahi whānau popular music was a constant background sound to recorded conversations or the main topic of discussion at home and in other settings. In the process Shane is exposed to his parents' taste in music. But they also include him in more child-centred activities, such as singing nursery rhymes. The following excerpt was recorded while Tania and baby Shane were travelling in the car. Usually car-ride settings in the Rangatahi whānau include loud music blaring from the car radio, but in this sequence Tania suggests they sing a song. Shane decides to play with the idea of a 'car song' by inventing his own song and words on the spot and repeating them in a rhythmic pattern:

Tania: Do you wanna sing a car song?

Shane: Yip.

Tania: Ok. Way you go.

Shane: A car song, a car song, a car song, a car song, hey nana a car song, hopped in a car song, hopped in a car song, I'm doing a car song [repeated].

5.3 Hākinakina

It was evident from whānau talk that families in this study are interested in various sports and recreation. There were many conversations that centred on involvement with a sport (rugby, soccer, netball, pool or league), watching whānau play, watching national teams on television or making up their own games. The Tauira whānau recorded a hilarious evening playing together where the aim of the game was to putt a ball into a plastic cup using a golf club.

It was also possible to discern the way in which babies are socialised into their father's interest in sport through child's play. For example, Robbie passes on his interest in rugby through engaging with his 2½-year-old son Shane, who imitates his father's actions and use of the correct terms for these actions:

Shane: [falling with the ball] Oh I got a try.

Robbie: You got a try.

Shane: Yeah I got a try.

Robbie: Cool man.

Shane: Cool man.

Robbie: Get another try.

Shane: Go.

Robbie: Side-steps.

Shane: [huffing and puffing] I do side-steps.

In the Kainga whānau, three-year-old Maia learns to understand the language and actions associated with rugby through child's play with his father Pere:

Maia: I got whutuporo.

Pere: Yeah baby. That nice whutuporo. Is that Maia kicking the ball?

Maia: Yeah.

Pere: Oh good boy.

Maia: It's kicking up here. It's kicking.

Pere: Very good.

Both fathers are keen sportsmen and play rugby, and their sons have accompanied whānau to watch them from time to time. They reinforce their sons' 'rugby' actions with positive praise – cool man, good boy, very good – and by using terms associated with the game that the children imitate – kick, sidestep, try, whutuporo. These infants have learnt to imitate their fathers 'tackling' or 'scoring a goal' and understand that these are two highly desirable actions in the game of rugby.

5.4 He kai

Conversations among whānau often centred on food as a basis of whānau activities, to celebrate important whānau events or to share among kin. There were several subsets to this theme: mahinga kai or food gathering; sharing kai-Māori; and the domestic role and chores associated with cooking. Only one whānau, the Kainga whānau, recorded meal-time conversations. However, the emphasis here is on the topic of conversation rather than on the sociolinguistic nature of speech during meal times, as in the work of Blum-Kukla (1997). This requires further research.

In a conversation with his father and an uncle, Tom dreams of celebrating his 40th birthday by travelling to Maketu to collect kina and paua to share with whānau and by inviting all the relatives to accompany him as far as Nelson to fish and to dive for scallops from a charter boat. The whānau talk reveals some of the core values in Māori society such as whānaungatanga – whānau involvement in collecting kaimoana; manaakitanga – sharing the food with others; and mahinga kai – skills associated with gathering kaimoana, such as diving and fishing.

The importance of sharing food among whānau is reinforced by Gisborne kaumatua Tom Smiler Jr, who maintained that as a child in the early 20th century, activities associated with food underpinned the values of whānaungatanga, manaakitanga and tautoko:

> In those days everybody lived close-knit. We stayed in our own homes but we shared everything with each other. My grandmother used to save milk and take some to my uncle Tip (Tipene) and others after each milking. If anybody killed a beast they'd go around sharing the meat..If somebody didn't have kumara, resources would be shared so that everybody could get through from one season to the next. It was not unusual for families to feed up to twenty people at dinner, including those who were passing by or staying temporarily. (Smiler Jr, 1998, p 67)

By the mid 20th century mahinga kai was still an important source of whānau activity, as described by Donna Awatere-Huata, who grew up in Te Arawa. The Awatere whānau drove to the coast to collect kaimoana, dived in local rivers for freshwater koura, went pig-hunting, eeling and fishing, collected puha, watercress and pikopiko, and planted the whānau vegetable garden (Awatere-Huata, 1998).

In this study of whānau talk, discussions about food often stereotyped as kai-Māori, such as pork, puha and rotten corn, were apparent. In the following exchange, Tania asks her infant son Shane what the family should have for dinner:

Tania: Don't you want some carrots, potatoes?

Shane: I don't want carrots.

Tania: Potatoes?

Shane: I don't want potatoes.

Tania: Do you like puha?

Shane: I like puha.

Tania: Do you like broccoli?

Shane: I like broccoli.

Tania: And do you like spinach?

Shane: Yep.

Tania: Yep you do too and do you like asparagus?

Shane: Yep. Yep.

Although not a conversation strictly about kai-Māori, it does however demonstrate, not only that Shane knows which foods he wants at any particular time or what he likes, but also the way in which Tania reinforces an interest in healthy food for her child by mentioning specific foods including traditional kai such as puha.

In the Kainga whānau pork is bought for special occasions. During one meal Makere explains that the pork they are eating is a 'captain cooker'. The 'captain cooker' refers to the kunikuni pig brought to Aotearoa New Zealand by Captain Cook during one of his voyages in the 18th century. Since that time pork (wild or domesticated) has been considered a special treat. In the following extract of a conversation during the same pork meal, Sione and Makere indulge their moko's request for crackling (roasted pork-skin) by foraging in the dish for softer morsels for them:

Arina: I feel like some crackle.

Makere: It's really hard. Tell you what…

Sione: Tell you what, I'll give you some better one. It is hard though. That one eh?

Boy: I want that please.

Makere: I'll get you a nice piece son. A little bit. Okay? There you go.

Some kai-Māori are an acquired taste as the following dialogue from the Tauira whānau about kānga pirau, or fermented corn, suggests:

Piripi: Mum this smells like rotten corn.

Molly: Yeah it was rotten corn..koro brought some around the other day.

Piripi: That tastes nice.

Bruce: Does he have any more?

Molly: Not sure. Have you tasted rotten corn Bruce?

Bruce: Yep. Remember?

Molly: Did you like it?

Bruce: Oh I don't like it by itself. I love it with cream and sugar.

Molly: Eh? That's how we eat it.

Piripi: Nana, nana Faye eats them.

Bruce: She's made us some, but I haven't tasted it for ages.

For many people kānga pirau is a favourite food and delicacy. The corn is left to ferment in a process that has changed little over time. Some acquire a taste for it, ignoring the pungent smell. The use of cream and sugar to sweeten the corn and to mix to a consistency of porridge is fairly common.

The division of labour and sharing of domestic duties such as cooking was apparent in conversations in the Rangatahi whānau. Tania and Robbie share cooking duties by taking turns. Typically the response to the query "What's for tea?" is "You're the cook", which implies that the decision rests with the person in charge. However, there were instances where they discussed the menu in some detail, including preferred ingredients and selection of food types.

The kai-Māori and mahinga kai themes indicate that customary foods such as puha, kānga pirau and kaimoana are very much a part of conversations expressed in the everyday lives of whānau in this study.

6. THEME 3

6.1 He tikanga a te whānau

The theme of 'tikanga a te whānau' refers to family rules and customs applied by whānau that were apparent in their conversations. We were interested in the way whānau maintained and understood family boundaries, and the application of certain customs in their lives. We imagined that it was then possible to discern the underlying values that whānau considered important.

6.2 He hāhi

It was fairly clear in the data that karakia and the church are important factors in the lives of the Tauira and Kainga whānau. The consideration of karakia as distinct from the concept of Church recognises the knowledge systems and traditions, te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā, upon which each is grounded. Karakia approximates to prayer but in the customary sense is more a formula of words or kupu Māori. Church is understood as both the organised system of religious practice and the actual buildings in which assembled congregations carry out their worship.

The Tauira and Kainga whānau are committed and practising Christians who regularly attend their respective churches. The Tauira whānau are active members of the Mormon Church and their discussions were often about literal interpretations of Old Testament narratives, church doctrine (eg wearing the full armour of god, repenting sins, giving service etc) and the relevance of these to their whānau. For example, Molly and Tom's eldest son Eddie admitted an interest in a girl in his polytechnic class. This knowledge is the basis for adult speculation about why Eddie has 'crashed out' and retired early to bed. Links are made between Eddie's newfound interest in girls, and church practices and beliefs 'it was all there', reiterated in a church festive seminar that Eddie attended. Rather than tell him directly, the parents hope that having heard the sermon, Eddie will take heed of the underlying message warning against the dangers of relationships that might undermine preparations for God's work, which in the Mormon faith means preparing for life as a missionary. Drawing on their personal experience, Molly and Tom offer Eddie advice as part of his preparation for service to others and 'going on a mission' as a church missionary:

Molly: I'm gonna tell you straight out Eddie, cause I been out. I went out one time with the sister missionaries and ... you will get greeted nicely sometimes, but a lot of the time you will get doors slammed in your face and get told to p… off, and all that kind of thing. You just gotta like … take it. Don't take it personally; it's just the way it goes.

Tom: You just have to say, 'have a nice day' and then what you do is you wipe the dust from your shoes when you leave.

Molly: Make sure they pair you off with someone who knows what they're doing.

The notion of 'service' in the biblical sense of 'doing good for others' is a value that Tom and Molly also encourage with their younger children as the following sequence, recorded during a whānau meeting in their home, demonstrates:

Tom: Okay, the lesson I am going to teach you tonight is about service. What do I mean by Christ-like service? What do I mean by that?

Child: We serve others?

Molly: Yeah how?

Child: By doing the right thing?

Molly: Yes.

Child: And doing good things.

Tom: Yes ... to who?

Child: To our families and friends.

The Kainga whānau are Anglican and the custom of karakia was most evident in the meal-time settings. The practice of offering karakia before a meal is a common practice among many Māori people. Customarily the recitation of karakia was thought to influence the deities, to procure benefits or avert disaster (Buck, 1977 [1949]). Gisborne elder Tom Smiler recalled prayers lasting for up to an hour starting well before daybreak, and at mealtimes "(w)e always blessed the food before eating – in fact there was a prayer for just about everything" (Smiler Jr, 1998, p 67). The practice of karakia as a whānau custom is apparent in the following discussion between Makere and her mokopuna during a family meal. Her query about who has offered karakia before eating the meal acts as a gentle reminder to her mokopuna and their parents:

Makere: Who said karakia? [to Arina] Did you say karakia bub?

Arina: Mmmm.

Makere: What about you Maia, did you say karakia?

Gail: [Maia's mum] You were just thinking about it eh son?

Makere: [To Maia] What about mummy does she do karakia?

Gail: No. I said amene eh son? Arina said the karakia.

Maia: Did you do karakia Arina?

Arina: Ae [yes].

In this example, young children are encouraged to participate in whānau customs such as karakia. Similarly in the Tauira whānau, the children appear very willing and adept at taking turns to offer the karakia or prayer on behalf of the whānau at the start and close of whānau meetings.

6.3 He rahui

It has already been seen how some whānau insist on maintaining rules and boundaries that serve to protect whānau wellbeing. For example, Molly places a rahui on all her expensive items the family can ill afford to replace and justifies a penalty for transgressions. Tania expects Robbie (as the uncle and tuakana) to take responsibility for modifying his nephew's unacceptable behaviour.

Within this study, there was only one conversation about domestic violence. This discussion, between Molly and Tom, related to the domestic violence an extended whānau were currently experiencing. This was the catalyst for Molly and Tom to express fervently how they would react to violence against their own children. The following is a small excerpt from a lengthy discussion:

Tom: If any of my girls get beaten up by their partners, man, their partners better watch out.

Molly: Man! I will pick up my daughters and bring them home.

Tom: I don't care, I might be 50 odd or 60 odd, man I'll ... you know, I'll just grab my cane and I'll…

Molly: You don't think too good of yourself if you're gonna be walking around with a cane at 50.

Tom: Oh I don't know, I'll be walking around with something anyway in my hand. Whatever I can pick up I guess. But my girls ain't gonna be hit by no man, yeah!

Molly: And our boys ain't going to be hitting their wives either!

Tom: Nah, they won't.

The discussion eventually turns from responding to violence with a violent act, to more concrete strategies such as having Tom teach the girls self-defence in the hope that "Oh yeah ... I can teach them a few things, the girls, but really you know, they should be okay if ... they meet the right guy I guess."

The point here is that violence is a reality for many whānau, so planning strategies and ensuring individuals are equipped with skills and values learnt in a safe and healthy household are necessary to promote healthy relationships for daughters and sons in the future. How such values are conveyed and transferred within whānau is important.

6.4 He whakaaro nui

There is no specific term in Māori for the word value. According to the Williams dictionary, 'uara' means to desire or to value (Williams, 1971 [1844]) while Māori Marsden considered the word 'taonga' to be the closest in approximation (Marsden, 2003). Joan Metge refers to values as 'whakaaro nui' (Metge, 1995). In particular, and perhaps importantly for this study, value is placed in the wisdom that is incorporated in thoughts and actions which "…whānau members ideally use to govern their relations with each other and with outsiders" (Metge, 1995, p 79).

We have already discussed some of the inherent values that were apparent and expressed in the talk between and within whānau. The value of whānaungatanga was articulated through the active process of maintaining relationships, through the use of kinship terms, for example. Manaakitanga, expressed by nurturing and looking after people, is linked to the value of tautoko, giving support and helping other whānau members.

The value of humility was also apparent in whānau discussions. John Rangihau pointed out that humility is a vital aspect of what it means to be a member of

his tribal group Tuhoe (Rangihau, 1975). It is fair to say that humility or whakaiti is a quality that is valued in Māori society generally and one to be admired; the reverse whakahihi, or arrogance, a quality that is much less agreeable (Metge, 1976). It was apparent from interactions in this study that humility is a value that is encouraged in children. For example, in the following extract seven-year-old Arina reads the story she has written for homework to her grandmother Makere, who listens and checks grammar as Arina reads:

Arina: [reading her story aloud] But I can run better than Maia because he is only two but he is very short but he is still good at running at kōhanga but he plays a lot at the kindy…

Nanny: He is only two. Right… I can run better than Maia because he is only two. Ka pai.

Arina: Because he is only two. But he can run and run and he can … he can try, try and try to run … try and try to run.

Although Arina knows she is faster than her little cousin Maia she qualifies this by pointing out their differences in age and size and that he is still good at running especially at the kōhanga where he plays. The grandmother offers praise not only for a story well written but because the moko is showing the value of whakaiti, and not appearing to boast, since she explains why it is she can "run better than Maia; because he is only two", while she herself is a big girl now and at school.

In the Tauira whānau Molly and Tom are alert to signs of behaviour they regard as whakahihi among their children. The following discussion between the parents demonstrates their concern for their youngest daughter Pare who at seven years old considers herself 'smarter than the rest' in her class at school, and their attempts to 'humble' her through their counselling efforts:

Molly: And our little Parekai, man she's getting so cheeky.

Tom: Oh Parekai, yeah.

Molly: And the thing is, she knows she's smarter than the rest of them, which is why I have to humble her all the time.

Tom: Well she turned around to me the other day and goes, daddy when I was at school and when I was in my class and there were kids older than me and I was, you know, I was smarter than them, because I, you know, I could read better than them, you know and so on and so forth, you know.

Molly: Mmm. What did you say?

Tom: …just because that you read, maybe your reading is better than them, doesn't mean that you're smarter, you know, because you see everybody's at their own different level, and besides, they may be good at something that you may not be good at, you know, something that they may be good at, you know. So everybody, shouldn't say that you're smarter than those that you know, that you know are not as good as you are or whatever you know, because everybody's at a different level.

Molly: Yeah.

Tom: You know, do you, because I said to her, 'Do you know how to cook a roast pork?', and she goes 'oh nah', so ... oh see. So you know I guess that sort of humble ... so I said, that so you know, does that mean that you know, you know eh, now that doesn't mean that you're not smart, just that you know you…

Molly: You're good at something that someone else may not be good at.

Tom: Yeah, that's what I was trying to teach her, you know.

Molly: But a roast, a roast pork of all things [laughter].

Tom: Well you know I had to do something for her. I had to do something Min, you know and you know, cos she, cos at first I said to her, 'Oh are you gonna', suppose she said yes, 'Oh okay, are you, do you know how to cook a roast pork?' Yes, she said, 'nah', but what I was trying to tell her was that she shouldn't you know say, 'Oh I'm smarter than you, I'm smarter than you.'

Molly: She is.

Tom: Because really, yeah we both know she is smart, but she needs to be humble, you know, she needs to be humble and also look at the big picture and also say, 'Well hang on yeah, I may be alright, I may be alright in

reading, but they might, these people here might be good at something else, that I don't' ... you know.

Molly: Mmm.

Tom: So she needs to be humble in that sense, you know. If anything the smart thing that she should do is just to help those that are not.

Molly: Yeah, well if we teach her that.

Tom: Yeah, those are the nights that I go to reading or maths or whatever, the smart thing for her to do is help them, you know. Eh?

Molly: Yeah.

Tom: Now that, that's being smart you know, by helping others, you know ... the smart thing is to help. Now that's being smart…

There were many instances in the conversations of these three whānau where socialising children through teaching them was an important value. For example, Makere was often heard helping her mokopuna with her homework, while Tania engaged constantly with her baby Shane in conversations about the world around him. In the sequence above, it is possible to discern Tom teaching his daughter how to be humble, and also demonstrating a special relationship between father and daughter. We turn now to the Kaiako whānau, who demonstrate how ako as the central focus of their kōrero is enacted as an everyday part of their socialisation practice.

7. COOL TO KŌRERO!

7.1 The Kaiako whānau

The parents of the Māori-speaking whānau made the decision when their children were born to commit to a Māori language immersion environment in their home. The mother, Mary, is Pākehā and converses in te reo, as does her husband Rangi, who is from the East Coast. In line with their commitment to the Māori language, all of their children attend Māori immersion schools. In making such a decision, the parents were knowingly restricting their children's language socialisation to a small community of Māori language speakers who had made similar decisions about immersing their children in a Māori language environment. Both Renata, aged 15 years, and Kura, aged 13 years, attend wharekura as Year 12 and Year 10 students respectively. The youngest child, Paki, is 11 years old and is in Year 8 at a Kura Kaupapa Māori. Both parents are teachers (hence the reference to this family as the Kaiako whānau) at schools other than their children's, and the family lives in their own home in a middle-class suburb of the city.

A major value for the Kaiako whānau is their commitment to the survival and retention of te reo Māori through its use as their preferred language for everyday home life. The extent of this commitment distinguished them from the other three whānau in this project. Akoranga can be interpreted as relating to the curriculum in a modern school sense, but more particularly it relates to learning and teaching, whether in the home or at school (Pere, 1982).

With te reo Māori naturalised in the home, a further distinction emerged for the Kaiako whānau: that of kōrero around ako, akoranga and whānau engagement with their schools of choice, wharekura and kura. The Kaiako whānau kōrero was almost entirely focused on engagement with school. As a result of the method adopted for this project, whereby whānau chose which taped discussions would be passed on to the researchers, we relied exclusively on the whānau members to forward kōrero they felt reflected their everyday talk: in other words, the core kōrero, in their view, that made their whānau tick.

8. THEME 4

8.1 Akoranga

Evident in the kōrero of the Kaiako whānau was a style that might be expected from parents who are teachers. For example, the use of questions to instigate kōrero allowed them to keep in touch with and, if need be, attend to the detail of their children's school lives and to offer a 'listening ear'. Parental support offered through the 'listening ear' suggests a non-judgemental engagement. In the following excerpt this is demonstrated by the mother, Mary. Her son Renata reports a disciplinary encounter, but, primarily through her guidance, the event becomes a learning experience for him, particularly in understanding how to be self-managing:

Renata: I pu tuatahi….

Mary: Na reira, ahea tērā oh me noho koe ki waenganui i te akomanga?

Renata: Um, oh kao i mahi au i tēnei rā.

Mary: Oh ne?

Renata: I noho au ki te pu tuatahi noho noa, engari tino hoha au, nā te mea i oti kē te ako, ā, i kaore i..i..i tata rawa au te kore pu tuatahi, engari…

Mary: I tiki hoki au pu tuatahi.

Renata: Nō te mea, kaore au, kaore au i mōhio he kino tērā

Mary: Ae, ae, ae, oh ne ae.

Renata: Inanahi au i pātai au ki a ia, he aha ai he kino tērā, i mihi ki au he mihi pai tērā, ne?

Mary: Ae, yeah ae, he aha tana ki?

Renata: Oh, kao kaua e kōrero mo – e pā ana ki ngā, ngā...

Mary: Ae, e pā ana ki tērā?

Renata: Ngā mea, ngā mea tawhito.

Mary: Oh ae, ae, ae, tērā pea ko te…

In this sequence Renata informs Mary he has been given a detention at school. Mary responds in a matter-of-fact manner and asks when the detention will take place. Renata admits that the detention will be served that day. As the kōrero proceeds it becomes clear that Renata is unsure what he did that was deserving of a detention. It seems that another teacher had enquired as to why he was given detention and Renata was unable to explain. He is puzzled about what has gone wrong with his behaviour. Mary responds by giving her son some advice, and then prompting him to go on with his story:

Mary: Ki au nei Renata, roto i te reo Pākehā tērā pea kaore i te pai, but ae, koina tana kī he aha te mate o tērā and then?

Mary notes that such a view would not be looked on favourably if it were being judged through the medium of the English language thereby implying an accompanying bundle of values and attitudes. In prompting Renata to continue with his story Mary switches to English with the phrase 'and then?' which acts as a signal of encouragement. For the Kaiako whānau, code switching is evident throughout the recorded kōrero leading to an assumption that alternating between Māori and English languages or code switching is standard practice for all whānau members in this household.

At some point in the discussion between Renata and his mother about his detention his sister Kura, also a pupil at the wharekura, joins in. Thus it becomes clear that the disciplinary encounter is the result of a misdemeanour in which Renata and a companion visited Kura's classroom uninvited. Renata explains that he was not alone in the visit:

Renata: Kāti, ko Raimona hoki Māmā, orite, i mahi ia ētahi mea, i te uru ia ki te akomanga o Kura ma.

Mary: Engari me maumahara...

Renata: Whakahōha i a rātou!

Mary: Ahakoa tērā Renata me noho tonu ki a koe anō.

Renata is reminded by his mother of being responsible for his own actions, guidance she also directs at Kura, emphasising that her daughter should get on with her own work and not interfere with others:

Mary: Maumahara Kura, me aro ki tau ake mahi kaua e aro ki ki tamaiti kē.

The detention dialogue ends with Mary simply changing the subject by asking Renata what time his game is the next day. An important point about this narrative is that Renata is able to explain to his mother his experiences at school in an open and untempered way. Mary has kept the dialogue open in a manner that allows for a number of things to happen. Such a manner allows Renata to let her know of the detention without concern for parental remonstrance; it allows Mary to pass comment about his behaviour; it allows Renata to come to some terms about it, recognising what actions caused the discipline, and for Mary to give him some direction about appropriate behaviour management. More importantly, keeping the dialogue open allows Renata to move on without feeling aggrieved about his detention. And in a final strategy, Mary moves the kōrero on to something more positive.

Mary possesses the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1999) of schooling for the general population in Aotearoa New Zealand, and through her active participation she is cognisant of the cultural capital of immersion Māori schooling. In this unique situation she is able to act to ensure that her children have the basis to work through disciplinary aspects of school culture without generating resistance to their school and their schooling.

As a teacher herself, Mary knows how important it is for schools to be able to keep order in their classrooms for the good of all students. At the same time, she knows that her teenage son is feeling somewhat aggrieved about the detention. Despite the shift to talk of sport Renata is not quite over his 'hōha' with having been given a detention and suggests his mother should check with his teacher. By changing the subject to something usually positive, Mary is attempting to use sport to re-motivate her son about his school, reminding him of something he is known to enjoy. Given the cultural congruence of the wharekura with the whānau decision to ensure their children grow up as Māori, Renata is not at the kind of risk a Māori child without this supportive context might experience in a school where Māori learners are not central to the schooling provided (Durie, A.E.1998; Jenkins, 2000; Jones, A., Marshall J., Matthews, K.M., Smith, G.H and Smith, L.T. (1995), Maxim Institute, 2006; Peters & Marshall, 1989).

In this everyday exchange about aspects of school life, Mary has given her son guidance about managing himself at school without seeking to pass judgement on either her son or his wharekura. Being 'hōha' with aspects of school is not uncommon among Māori teenagers, and is a feeling of being out-of-sorts with school for one reason or another. The expression 'hōha' is used widely in whānau Māori whether the home language is predominantly Te Reo or not. English-speaking Māori whānau members will use the word to convey the same sorts of feelings about school or the world at large.

For parents of Māori children, the child being 'hōha' signals a need for some kind of assistance, strategy or guidance if the feeling is not to grow. Such degrees of exasperation can be expressed in the one word 'hōha' that, if the feeling is allowed to continue unremittingly, enthusiasm for school life can wane. In this instance, given the centrality of Mary and Rangi in the schooling of their children and their open style of communication with them, such an outcome is less likely.

9. THEME 5

9.1 Ako

For the Kaiako whānau, the home is an important adjunct to the school and vice versa. As a teacher, Mary sees the value of having her children complete their homework and of using her own knowledge of school curriculum and expectations to help them understand what is expected of them. This is reflected in the following exchange about homework and schoolwork. Once again, the kōrero is mainly between Mary and her son Renata, but there are interjections from his sister Kura from time to time:

Mary: He mahi kainga tau, he aha tau kaupapa apopo?

Renata: Oh, ae Mum, koretake, me, me mahi e au tētahi um, ka taea te wā ka oti pai ōku mahi katoa mo Romeo me Juliet.

Mary: Te, te ta pikitia me te tuhi kōrero e pā ana ki tērā, mōhio koe?

Mary asks Renata whether or not he has homework to do and what he will be doing at school the following day. Again, Renata uses an expressive word to convey his view of the topic he is expected to complete for school next day. The word in this instance is 'koretake', literally translated as useless, in this case expressing the fact that Renata is not impressed with the study topic, or the fact that he is expected to have the work completed shortly. His mother listens without comment while he enlarges on the subject, explaining the exercise and asking her if she knows what he should do. She explains that she does, and that he has to choose a particular topic:

Renata: Ae, te static image.

Mary: Ae, ae, but he aha te kaupapa, nānā i hoatu, nā wai i…

Renata: E ono ngā, ngā pukapuka poto, kua pānui mātou.

Mary: Ae. Noreira, me whiriwhiri mai.

Renata: Ah, me whiriwhiri, engari, he tino uaua Mā, ki te whiriwhiri tētahi.

Mary: I whakaatu ia, i whakaatu ia ētahi um tauira ki a koe?

Renata: Ae. Ae.

Mary: Ae. He tino rawe ne, ae, kua kite au tērā Tauira.

Renata: Tino pai, ae, he miharo, engari nā te mea, kare, i ... kare au e taea te whakaaro i tētahi timatanga.

In the above sequence, Renata explains the difficulty he is having with the exercise, where he cannot think of a way to get started. In the following exchange Mary suggests that he choose a favourite book; and when Renata declares that one of the stories he likes is *Ka Kite Bro* she asks what the story is about:

Mary: The first thing to do Renata is to choose a book that you really like, what book do you especially like? [said in Māori, this sentence is translated].

Renata: Ae, oh, e rua nga mea ahua pai ki au, ko 'Ka Kite Bro' tētahi.

Mary: Ae, he aha te kaupapa o tērā?

In this dialogue Mary the teacher is using her professional knowledge to draw Renata's attention to ways in which he could accomplish his schoolwork tasks. She has moved him on from the less appealing topic of Romeo and Juliet by encouraging him to think of and talk about a story that appeals to him. Her strategy is to prompt him into answering the questions she poses about the story. Seemingly gaining in confidence, Renata gets into his stride in retelling the narrative, but remains uncertain about what to write. He considers other possible topics such as Te Puia or Matariki, but they require further research, which he is reluctant to undertake because, he reasons, his teacher may not think such topics appropriate. So he remains in a quandary about what to choose and where to begin:

Renata: Nā te mea mōhio au te ahua o (kaiako), ka ki, oh kao kaua e whai i a raua. Anei o aku whakaaro, ae, he uaua tērā. A, Mā, kaore au, kaore au te mohio me timata ki whea.

Mary: Nā reira Renata, ko tau mahi tuatahi, me whiriwhiri, he aha te pukapuka pai ki a koe, nā reira ki te kore e taea koe te whiriwhiri, huri noa, e rua ngā ingoa ki roto i te potae, me tango tētahi, nā, nā reira ka timata koe nē…

In this sequence Mary again offers Renata strategies by suggesting he first make a choice about what book or story he would like, and if he cannot, then he should put two titles into a hat and draw one out. However, without a clear image in his mind Renata is not convinced. Mary reminds him about the story *Ka Kite Bro* and asks whether that story can be used in English or in Māori. Mary also reminds him that the Internet is useful for further information, including visual images.

While the kōrero exchange above is primarily focused on assisting Renata with decisions on how he might approach a homework project, his sister Kura's attention is on the upcoming wānanga she will attend. In the following discussion Kura enquires about whether or not her mother will accompany her to the wānanga:

Kura: Kei te haeremai koe ki taku wānanga?

Mary: A, tērā pea, kore e taea e au i ēnei rā whakata Kura.

Kura: Ae, ko koe ka tiki i ahau a te Ratapu?

Mary: Kore e taea Kura, engari ma Pāpā koe e tiki.

It seems that Mary is not only unable to attend the wānanga, but will not be available to collect Kura on the Sunday, suggesting instead that Kura's dad Rangi will fetch her. This kōrero turns to the logistics of whānau activity over a weekend, when each of the three children has separate activities at which they would like their mother to be present. Between the calls on her time made by her daughter Kura and the older son Renata, Mary seeks to make time for her youngest child, Paki. In the following excerpt, Renata expresses his feeling of hōha again and attempts to press his mother into going to the Wairarapa – but not before thinking to ask where Wairarapa is:

Renata: *Hōha au i tērā.* Haere ki Wairarapa.? Kei hea a Wairarapa?

In the Kaiako whānau there was strong evidence in the kōrero that the activities of whānau centred on the children's interests related to schooling, preparation of school work and kapa haka. In the following exchange Kura and her mother discuss Kura's volume of work associated with school:

Mary: E pai ana to haere … Ae?

Kura: Ae.

Mary: He aha au kaupapa apopo Kura?

Kura: Hei te ata ka aro maua ko … Ki te manu kōrero.

Mary: Oh ae.

Kura: A um, a muri i te kai o te ata, ko te rorohiko.

Mary: Ae.

Kura: Katahi hei te ramere, kei te haere mātou ko Rea, ko te Wai ko whaea ... ki taua whakaari.

Mary: Oh ae, ki taua whakaari.

Kura: Me whiwhi au ētahi moni.

Mary: Mo te kai o te rā nei?

Kura: Kao, mo te, he kai a muri, he kai timutimu a muri.

It transpires that besides preparing for the Māori speech competitions Kura intends to go to a performance for which she will need money and permission to attend:

Kura: He aha tōna ki?

Mary: Oh, kei te haere koutou.

Kura: Ae, i whakamarama?

Mary: Ae i whakamarama.

Mary explains she has spoken earlier (i tēnei ahiahi) to whaea (Kura's teacher) thereby confirming her parental permission:

Mary: Oh, ae. I kōrero mai a whaea ... ki ahau i tēnei ahiahi, ra, whakapai…

9.2 Whānau-ā-kura

The term 'whaea', which translates literally as mother (Pere, 1982), is used widely in Māori educational environments as an expression of respect for female teaching staff, whether older or younger. Such usage emphasises the preferred whānau-based philosophy, wherein children and their families are included as if they were kin to other school whānau and staff. The term whānau-a-kura is used here to convey that sense. Loyalty, respect, teaching, learning and discipline are all conditioned by this overriding concept. Given the importance of extended whānau relationships to Māori, it is also likely that some kura whānau will also be kin whānau. Kin whānau connections at the kura are likely to exist for the Kaiako whānau, although it is the whānau-a-kura relationship that is in operation.

9.3 A muri mai: Forward planning

The two older children and their mother are engaged in some forward planning for upcoming school events, especially those that they expect their parents to support. Their mother Mary is paying attention, but also including time for her youngest child Paki in the planning. Mary checks on her older son's programme for the next day.

In the brief kōrero which follows between Mary and her youngest child Paki during a visit to the school where she teaches, she instructs him to stay beside his father after he has had a snack. This is followed by some observations about the artwork and other ornamentation in the surroundings of the school hall:

Mary: I tēnei pō a, Paki, a muri i to kai ki [school], ka hoki koe ki te taha o Pāpā ne? Kei te pai tērā?

Paki: Ae.

Mary: This is a beautiful whare isn't it?

Paki: Mmm.

Mary: Kei te hari etahi mea hou, he whare hou.

Paki: Ae.

Mary: I kite koe tērā mea ki tērā taha, ki tērā taha atu taha?

Paki: I whea?

Mary: Tērā, he mea hou tērā.

Paki: Oh, ae ne.

Although Paki is not particularly responsive to his mother's questions, she is setting him up to become a knowledgeable person, drawing his attention to the detail of his environment and to its beauty, much as a parent may have done when encouraging a younger child to engage with the wider world and expand their expressive vocabulary. While Paki duly follows the directions his mother is giving, albeit without much comment, nonetheless he is being prepared to notice, to recognise and to understand distinctions in what seems to be a particularly Māori environment and to draw conclusions about this.

So far it can be seen all the children in the Kaiako whānau are involved in school activities, drawing on their parents' support to enable them to do so. What might be termed extracurricular school activities seem to have a significant role in the whole-of-school life of the whānau. The kōrero moves from homework to schoolwork to home and school activities with ease, at each point drawing each of the children in to work together in order to accomplish their goals. Whānaungatanga in the kōrero from this whānau is exemplified by the connections between the parents and children in their home and school life. School is clearly central in the lives of this whānau, forming the basis of most of the kōrero. Kai is mentioned in one instance, and food likes and dislikes discussed when Dad is preparing the evening meal. Tasks in the home seem to be shared more between the parents than the children, but it may be that the excerpts selected for recording did not include these aspects of whānau everyday talk.

10. THEME 6

10.1Te Reo Māori

Te Reo Māori is clearly important. The language of choice and attendance at the wharekura and kura have given the children particular views of the world. Renata sees himself as fortunate to be at such a school, drawing comparisons between his school life and that portrayed in a story he is reading. Kura takes her school environment more for granted, a normalising of her wharekura life, with extensions to other Kura Māori forming part of that normality. Little mention is made of extended whānau, and it is possible that in choosing the Kura option, the whānau ā-kura – that is the wider kura community – has become a form of extended whānau for this Kaiako whānau. However, it should also be noted that when this project was first introduced to the father, Rangi, at the kitchen table of his home, almost the entire conversation (about an hour) between him and the researcher centred on whānaungatanga.

The pace at which a whānau lives when both parents are full-time workers and children are of an age when their activities need significant support, also became clear from the kōrero. Without forward planning and whānau talk, the multiplicity of activities the whānau wish to be engaged in would not be possible. The everyday kōrero of this whānau serves to keep them together, to keep on task, to help maintain their progress towards their chosen goals, and to sustain the place of Te Reo Māori in their everyday lives. The phrase 'it's cool to kōrero' comes alive in the Kaiako whānau each time they kōrero with each other.

11. CONCLUSION

It is clear from our investigations that this pilot study has identified a significant gap in the research literature about communication within whānau generally and more specifically interaction in everyday talk, and how it contributes to whānau socialisation in Aotearoa New Zealand. In fact it was found that little is known about the nature of contemporary family communication in New Zealand, so in this respect the research makes an important contribution to our knowledge about New Zealand families.

The Whānau Talk study indicates, at least among the whānau who participated, the extent to which parents and grandparents expend their efforts on behalf of their whānau. Through their talk, the four whānau show that parents and grandparents are involved in supporting and engaging with their children. They are active in raising their children and demonstrating important whānau values through their actions and discussions. Significantly, core values of Māori society such as whānaungatanga, manaakitanga and tautoko were evident in the conversations we analysed and invariably underpinned the whānau talk.

A larger study would offer scope to investigate more fully whether such themes are found across a full range of whānau representing the diverse realities and constituted identities of contemporary Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. The small sample and purposive sampling method employed in this pilot study means that families engaged in different socialisation interactions are not included. An in-depth investigation of whānau across varying economic and social fields, including whānau who have access to the Māori world and those whose access has been compromised through, for example, acculturation would offer further insights. This approach would then examine the extent to which socialisation patterns differ accordingly and are made apparent through talk.

The four case study whānau identify strongly as Māori and signal the continuity in values and parenting styles noted by European observers as early as 1868. William Colenso, for example, made the following observations of whānau life which illustrate some of the synergy between whānau 140 years ago and our four whānau today:

> Their love and attachment to children was very great, and that not merely to their own immediate offspring. They very commonly adopted children; indeed no man having a large family was ever allowed to bring them all up himself – uncles, aunts and cousins claimed and took them, often whether the parents were willing or not. They certainly took every physical care of them; and as they rarely chastised (for many reasons) of course, petted and spoiled them. The father, or uncle, often carried or nursed his infant on his back for hours at a time, and might often be seen quietly at work with the little one there snugly ensconced. (Colenso, 1868, p 30).

There is no doubt that important information has emerged from this study on what whānau talk about in their everyday lives and how talk contributes to whānau socialisation into ways of being Māori in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. For this reason, this pilot provides a very useful platform and basis for examining the role of everyday talk in socialisation processes, which will help us understand what makes not only whānau 'tick' but all New Zealand families.

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