

A Critical Analysis of the Impact of Colonisation on the Māori Language  
through an Examination of Political Theory

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## **ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of two sections. In the first section the thesis will critically analyse the impact of colonisation on *te reo Māori* (The Māori Language). This will be achieved, in part, through an examination of the *whakapapa* (genealogy) of *te reo Māori*. This *whakapapa* begins in South East Asia and concludes in Aotearoa/New Zealand. An examination of the history of *te reo Māori*, before and after the arrival of Pākehā (New Zealander of European origins) will follow and a discussion on the impact of colonialism on the Māori language. Many aspects of colonialism are explored including: religious, political, environmental and ideological factors. In order to invigorate a language one must seek to remember it in its wholeness (Thiong'o, 2009). This section concludes with a critical discussion of the current status of *te reo Māori* and posits some suggestions for its regeneration and survival for future generations.

The second section of this thesis will examine the epistemological, pedagogical, ontological, phenomenological, existential, ideological and critical theories of thirteen *kaiariā* (theorists), to provide greater analysis of the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. For example, Niccolo Machiavelli's theories of leadership define the rules of encounter when colonising a people. Machiavelli's idea that the end justifies the means is a clear example of how colonialism has been justified, without consideration of the impact on the indigenous people, in achieving the objectives of the colonising power (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Antonio Gramsci wrote that economic or physical force alone was not enough to ensure control by the bourgeoisie of the proletariat, but that a system that could manipulate social consciousness had to be devised by the colonising or ruling class, described by Gramsci as hegemony (Woodfin 2004). Hegemony, used as a colonising tool is invasive and attacks the fundamental ideological nature of indigenous beliefs, values, and customs as well as questioning the value of indigenous languages.

This thesis will provide greater understanding of the relationship between political theory and the impact on the Māori language and Māori ideology to use as a tool or a foundation for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* in Aotearoa/New Zealand and possibly beyond by other groups involved in the revitalisation of their endangered languages.

## PREFACE

One of the fundamental aims of this thesis is to identify and critique the far reaching consequences of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology, using political theory, in an effort to further understand its impact in a range of contexts. Within these contexts exist important and interesting ideas that beg consideration. For example, this thesis considers the contrast between what is said and what is not said, also, between what is unequivocal and what is implied, and that popular notions of beliefs and values derive from hegemonic foundations. Furthermore, through knowledge of political theory it is argued that a better understanding will be gained about the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. A desire to see this research used to support the advancement of *te reo Māori* is at the core of this thesis.

The words ‘colonisation’ and ‘colonialism’ should be viewed as interchangeable in this thesis, unless a specific meaning is affixed to them. Most of the *kaiariā* researched in this thesis, use at least one of the following terms, ‘ideology’, ‘philosophy’, ‘world view’ and ‘culture philosophy’, which is mostly used in the same context. Although in some situations the use is specific to their writings. Due to the particular use of these terms in the literature of each *kaiariā*, these terminologies are viewed as interchangeable within this thesis, unless they are used in reference to particular writings where an exact meaning is affixed to them.

The term Aotearoa/New Zealand is used throughout this thesis and its use gives recognition to the promise of partnership between Māori and Pākehā created when *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (The Treaty of Waitangi) was signed in 1840.

Throughout this thesis the term ‘Māori’ is used to describe the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand and topics related to Māori including Māori history, Māori culture and Māori ideology.

All Māori words have been italicized throughout the thesis for ease of identification.

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

The health of *te reo Māori* is described by the Waitangi Tribunal (2011) report, as being in crisis. The Waitangi Tribunal (2011) report is critical of a range of issues, including, a lack of true partnership between Māori and the Crown and the lack of implementation of Tribunal recommendations. The report outlines the lack of teacher supply for Māori-medium education, which has had a profound impact on *te reo Māori* (Waitangi Tribunal Report 2011). The abstract nature of the Māori Language Strategy is also highlighted, a strategy that according to the Tribunal, was created within the constraints of a bureaucratic comfort zone, thus is limited in its application (Waitangi Tribunal Report 2011). The Waitangi Tribunal (2011) report states, that the revitalisation efforts of *te reo Māori* since the 1970s are predominately due to Māori community efforts. The following is an overview of the chapters in the thesis.

Chapter One, the Introduction, provides an overview of each chapter in this thesis.

Chapter Two of this thesis explores the genealogical history of *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture. This is based on the theories and research advocated by some leading archeologists, linguists, ethnologists and those in other fields of anthropology who promote an Austronesianist theory. The rationale for the exploration into the origins of *te reo Māori* is based on a Māori context that suggests one should, *titiro ki ngā rā kua pahure ake nei, hei ārahi i a tātou mō ngā rā kei te haere mai* (look into the past as a guide for the future). According to this ideology, the past holds the answers for the difficulties of today and the successes of tomorrow. Therefore, the justification is, the further we look back in the past, which is what chapter two attempts to do, the more answers we may find to help us understand the decline of *te reo Māori*. There are specific periods where *te reo Māori* has experienced rapid decline. This is referred to in this thesis as the ‘new educational ideology’ and ‘political influences upon *te reo Māori*’. This discussion examines the arrival of the missionaries and the negative aspects of colonisation that have led to the decline of *te reo Māori*. Specific periods of *te reo Māori* history have been highlighted along with certain people of that period to show their relationship to the decline of *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. The struggle by

individuals and groups of Māori and non-Māori to revitalise *te reo Māori* are also examined. Some groups that have emerged from the struggle and who continue to battle for *te reo Māori* are recognised within this chapter. The current position of *te reo Māori* is discussed and a summing up of the research findings is provided, along with some recommendations.

Chapter Two is divided into parts which deliberately create a chronological time line of the history *te reo Māori* starting with, ‘The Origins of *Te Reo Māori*’. This section examines the *whakapapa* of *te reo Māori* and its Austronesian and Polynesian ancestry. While there are a few different theories of Māori and Polynesian *whakapapa*, this thesis approaches Māori genealogical origins from an Austronesian theoretical point of view. According to this particular theory, Māori, Polynesian and Austronesian *whakapapa* begin from central and eastern China, so this is where the research starts. The migration of these Chinese mainlanders to Taiwan and their division into four main groups are examined. The migration of one of these groups from Taiwan to the Philippines, now referred to as Malayo-Polynesians, is discussed. The settlement pauses (how long they stayed in a particular place) and the expansion pulses (when they began to move on to different places) of the Malayo-Polynesians, which includes their journey from Taiwan to Polynesia and finally to Aotearoa/New Zealand, is also discussed (Drummond, Gray, & Greenhill, 2009; Evans, 2010; Moore, 2003; Johnston & Moorfield, 2004; Pawley, 2007; Sagart, 2008; Sneddon, 2003). Alternative theories regarding the migration periods of ancient Māori to Aotearoa/New Zealand, and different notions of the settlement of Aotearoa/New Zealand are discussed. This part concludes with a Māori context that excludes specific arrival times, but concentrates more on oral *whakapapa* that binds *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture to Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The second part of chapter two is called ‘Winds of Change: Aotearoa/New Zealand Revealed’. Relevant periods in Aotearoa/New Zealand history and the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori*, are examined, including the arrival of Abel Tasman to Aotearoa/New Zealand and the events that followed concerning Tasman and Māori. The next period is the arrival of Captain Cook to Aotearoa/New Zealand and the events that transpired with his arrival to Aotearoa/New Zealand. The arrival of the missionaries to Aotearoa/New Zealand is discussed in this section, in particular, Samuel Marsden and Thomas Kendall from the Church Missionary Society. Personal aspects of both Cook

and Marsden's life are mentioned in this part of the chapter to build a clear image of what may be the two most significant Pākehā individuals to arrive in Aotearoa/New Zealand, at that time. Cook came with the might of the English Monarch and their aristocratic ideology behind him and Marsden arrived with the might of European religious ideological dogma behind him. Both powers have remained in Aotearoa/New Zealand and continue to have an impact on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology.

The third part of chapter two is titled the 'Introduction of New Educational Ideology'. The introduction of colonial pedagogy is examined in this section. It begins with Thomas Kendall, a missionary from the Church Missionary Society. Kendall established the first missionary school at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands, where he also became principal (Binney, 2005; Campbell & Sherington, 2007). Māori pedagogy pertaining to the *whare wānanga* (Māori traditional schools) is discussed and the desire of the Church Missionary Society to convert Māori to Christianity is examined. The proposal to formally colonise Aotearoa/New Zealand and the attitudes of the missionaries pertaining to this prospect are discussed. The arrival of William Hobson and the drafting of the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* are also examined. Governor Robert FitzRoy, Hobson's replacement, and his proposal for a Native Trust Ordinance, are also discussed (Hook & Knight, 2009; McCan, 2001). The replacement of FitzRoy by Governor George Grey and Grey's desire to support the work started by the missionaries, in terms of educating Māori, is examined (Hook & Knight, 2009; McCan, 2001).

The fourth part of chapter two is termed 'Political Influences'. In this section, colonial politics is examined including the Education Ordinance of 1847, and the affect it had on *te reo Māori*. The missionaries domination of Māori education is examined up until the Native Schools Act of 1867 which began to redirect responsibility of education through central government. Compulsory state primary schooling, the Education Act of 1877 and the Natives School Code of 1880 are also discussed (Hokowhitu, 2004; Campbell & Sherington, 2007). The decline of *te reo Māori* is examined, including the period of urbanisation of Māori to the cities and the government policies that were implemented. This is followed by a discussion regarding the 1961 Hunn Report which highlighted the deterioration of *te reo Māori*. Some of the groups that were formed in the early 1970's, pertaining to *te reo Māori* and Māori cultural revitalisation are also discussed.

The fifth part of chapter two is the ‘Health of *Te Reo Māori*’. Statistics concerning *te reo Māori* are discussed in this section, starting with the ‘Māori Language Survey of 2001’, undertaken by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission). Further discussion is undertaken concerning the ‘Health of the Māori Language 2006 Report’ conducted by Te Puni Kōkiri (the Government’s principal advisor on the Crown’s relationship with *iwi* (tribe), *hāpu* (sub-tribe) and Māori on key government policies). A discussion about the Waitangi Tribunal (2011) report on the ‘Health of *Te Reo Māori*’ follows and a critique of the government by the Waitangi Tribunal including the government’s failure to implement previous Tribunal recommendations and the abstract nature of ‘The Māori Language Strategies’. The Waitangi Tribunal (2011) report on the ‘Health of *Te Reo Māori*’ recommends establishing Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori as the leading Māori language sector agency allowing *iwi* to have a central role in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. The last part of chapter two is the ‘History of *Te Reo Māori* - Summed Up’. It is not a conclusion of the research of chapter two, but rather a reflection on what was discussed and explored.

Chapter Three includes discussion, examination, application and critique of the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology, through the application of the theories and ideas of thirteen *kaiariā*. These particular *kaiariā* have been chosen for the diversity of their theories and world views. In all cases a particular book, journal, writings, lectures or a combination of these works by the *kaiariā* inform the bases of the discussion. The *kaiariā* will be presented in chronological order. There are two sections within the discussion of each *kaiariā*.

Section One introduces the backgrounds of the *kaiariā* and an examination of their ideology, theories and notions.

Section Two is titled, ‘Theoretical application of (name of each respective *kaiariā*) notions, ideology and theories within a Māori context’. In this section, the ideology, notions and theories of the *kaiariā* are applied to the impact of colonisation on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology, within a Māori context. These applications illustrate how some aspects of the ideology and theories of the *kaiariā* can be used to provide greater analysis of the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology.

## ***Ngā Kaiariā***

*Kaiariā tuatahi:* Plato's allegory of the prisoner in a cave is examined and his notions of striving for knowledge of the shadow world are discussed. Section Two explores the parallels of some of Plato's theories within a Māori context, including the control of power given to those who are trained for the role and who have the ability to comprehend its more complex aspects.

*Kaiariā tuarua:* Niccolo Machiavelli's 'The Prince' and his notions that humans are motivated by power, greed, envy, fear, wealth and security are discussed. Section Two suggests that power and greed squashed the early settler's desires to establish an egalitarian society within Aotearoa/New Zealand, there is also discussion about the relations between Machiavellian ideology and colonialism.

*Kaiariā tuatoru:* Georg Hegel's theories are discussed in this section, in particular, his theory of the unfolding of the absolute through the dialectic. Section Two considers how Hegel's theory of the dialectic could apply to Māori history within Aotearoa/New Zealand.

*Kaiariā tuawhā, tuarima:* The 'Communist Manifesto', written by both Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels is the focus for this section. This section also discusses Marx's theory of 'alienation' which suggests that humanity is only realised through interaction with people and nature. Through the alienating character of capitalism, humanity is robbed of its potential growth and development. Section Two compares the struggle of Māori to retain their language with Marx's notion of alienation. A comparison of Marx's theory of value within capitalistic ventures and government support for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* is also undertaken.

*Kaiariā tuaono:* The 'Prison Notebooks' of Antonio Gramsci and his theory pertaining to hegemony are examined. Gramsci's theory that ideology changes into culture through the function of hegemony is discussed. Section Two discusses and analyses Gramsci's theory of hegemony associated with the decline of *te reo Māori*. The transformation of some aspects of Māori ideology to popular culture and its effects on Māori youth are discussed.

*Kaiariā tuawhitu:* Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' is discussed. His ideas of educating the oppressed and exploited peoples are the focus of this discussion. Freire's problem solving educational approach to teaching is considered, including his rejection of the banking model of teaching and education. Section Two includes a comparison of the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand with Freire's theory of right and left revolutions.

*Kaiariā tuawaru:* Frantz Fanon's 'Wretched of the Earth' is examined and his notions of post-independence colonial politics. The psychological impact of colonisation on the colonised and Fanon's suggestion of a bloody revolution against colonialism is also discussed. Section Two applies Fanon's theories to Māori/Pākehā relations and Māori incarceration is also mentioned.

*Kaiariā tuaiwa:* Michel Foucault's 'Madness and Civilisation' and his definition of madness is discussed. Foucault's notions of the 'Panopticon' and his theory that a carceral continuum permeates modern society are also discussed. Section Two discusses the parallels of Foucault's notions of a carceral society pertaining to the position of Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

*Kaiariā ngahuru:* Edward Said's 'Culture and Imperialism' and the breadth of imperialist tenure within European literature is discussed. Said's definition of imperialism is also discussed and his distinctions he makes between colonialism and imperialism. Section Two looks at how Western literature has pervaded the thoughts and, in some cases, may have affected Māori ideology.

*Kaiariā ngahuru mā tahi:* Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o's 'Decolonizing the Mind' is examined. Thiong'o's notion of indigenous languages being subjected to the dominant West, which he refers to as a form of apartheid, is discussed, as well as one of his most recent books 'Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance'. Section Two explores some of the similarities of Māori history to African history and the oppressive nature of colonialism. The concept of the ideal life, as Thiong'o refers to it, and the influences of the ruling class are also discussed.

*Kaiariā ngahuru mā rua:* Henry Giroux's 'The Abandoned Generation: democracy beyond the culture of fear' which includes his contributions to critical pedagogy are examined. Giroux's strong opposition to religious fundamentalism, neoliberalism, and empire are discussed, including his critique of the American political and economic systems. Section Two explores the parallels between the youth of America and the Māori youth of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Alternative approaches to the incarceration of Māori youth offenders and inclusion of Māori youth within all aspects of society are looked at.

*Kaiariā ngahuru mā toru:* Haunani-Kay Trask's 'From a Native Daughter' including her role as a strong advocate for the Hawaiian people is examined. The continuing decline of the Hawaiian language and culture is considered and the ongoing destruction/pollution of the Hawaiian Islands is also examined. Section Two discusses the comparisons of Hawaiian colonial history with Māori colonial history, along with Trask's convictions and her single minded approach to indigenous Hawaiian issues.

Chapter Four posits a challenge for Māori communities, to develop a greater understanding of the relationship between political theory and the decline of the Māori language and apply this knowledge to creating a theoretical framework from which language revitalisation strategies can be designed to ensure the regeneration and the survival of *te reo Māori*.

## CHAPTER TWO

### HISTORY AND POLITICS OF TE REO MĀORI

#### **Introduction**

*I ahu mai te reo Māori i hea?* (What are the origins of the Māori language?) To appreciate the linguistic journey that has culminated in the development of *te reo Māori*, we must closely follow the accounts of a major group of linguistic researchers and archaeologists. This group of experts has retraced the linguistic and archaeological sign posts scattered across East Asia and the Pacific region and have concluded - supported by an assortment of evidence and plausible theories - that *te reo Māori* and all other Polynesian languages are part of a wider language family known as Proto-Austronesian.

The main objective of this chapter is to research the history of *te reo Māori* as far back as research and historical evidence allows. For *te reo Māori* the journey starts with the origins of the Austronesian language family. Emphasis on identifying the starting point of the Polynesian language and identifying the links between many of the Austronesian languages is a significant part of this chapter. Another aspect of this chapter will be to determine the links *te reo Māori* has with the Austronesian language family. Further discussion will include the journey of isolation and change ancient Māori endured while developing a different language and culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Part of this section will also include different theories (historical and contemporary) as to the arrival of ancient Māori to Aotearoa/New Zealand and the origins of Māori and Eastern Polynesians. Key people and their influences on *te reo Māori* since European contact will be discussed to highlight significant periods for *te reo Māori* including political, educational and religious developments. The chapter concludes with a discussion on utilizing the tenacity and vision of Māori *tīpuna* to sustain *te reo Māori* history and Māori ideology in spite of political and environmental changes, and posits this as a strategy for Māori language revitalisation in a contemporary context with a view to being open about using new tools and technology as aids.

#### **Origins of the Māori language**

Harlow (2007) writes, “Māori is the most southerly member of the Austronesian (AN) language family” (p.10). He also cites that in terms of the number of languages and

geographic area, the Austronesian language family is the largest in the world. Austronesian languages extend as far afield as Madagascar in the west, to Rapanui (Easter Island) in the East, as far south as Aotearoa/New Zealand and as far north as Taiwan, which many linguistic experts regard as the birth place of the Austronesian language (Harlow, 2007). At some point Proto-Austronesian separated into four main sub-groups and all, except the Taiwanese languages, fall under the sub-group Malayo-Polynesian (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004). Proto Malayo-Polynesian underwent a series of two-way splits that ultimately led to Proto-Oceanic, “the original language that separated into approximately 450 Austronesian languages in Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia” (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004, p.36). Linguistic experts generally agree, that there are nine subgroups of Proto-Oceanic, but there is considerable debate as to how these groups fit together (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004). The nine subgroups of Proto-Oceanic consist of Proto-Eastern Oceanic, Proto-Central Pacific, Proto-Fijian and Proto-Polynesian. It then splits into Proto-Tongic, Proto-Nuclear Polynesian, Proto-Samoic Outlier, Proto-East Polynesian and finally into Proto-Central Eastern (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004).

The Proto Central Eastern dialect includes the Hawaiian, Marquesan, Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Mangarevan, Rapan, Togarevan, Rarotongan and Māori (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004). Moorfield & Johnston (2004) state that, “*te reo Māori* descends from the Eastern Polynesian dialect of the sub-group known as Central Pacific” (p. 36). Sneddon (2003) notes that there are many gaps in the understanding of the Austronesian language family, but consensus on a number of key facts presents a theory that most support;

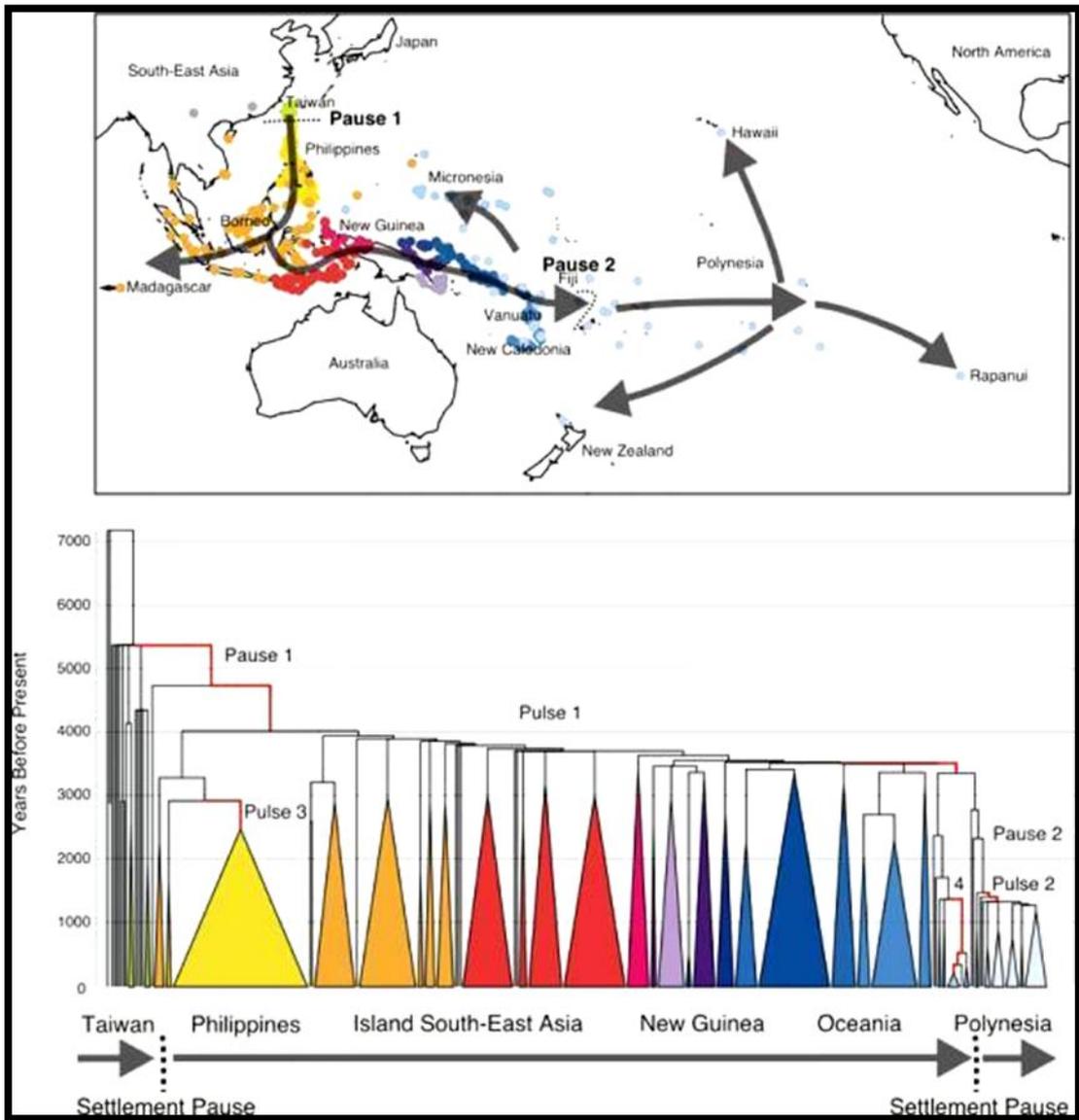
The parent of the language family, Proto-Austronesian, is believed to have been spoken in Taiwan about 6000 years ago. Its speakers were successful agriculturalists, being descendants of people who participated in the development of millet and rice agriculture in central and eastern China - in the lower Yangzi and Yellow River basins - by about 6000 BC. Agriculture led to population growth in China and the subsequent spreading of agricultural people at the expense of hunter-gatherers. The archaeological record provides dates for this initial expansion of between 5000 and 4000 BC. This accords well with the linguistic estimates of the length of time needed for diversification. Some people with an agricultural economy moved across the Formosa Strait from the Chinese Mainland to Taiwan in the period 4000-3500 BC. It may be that Proto-Austronesian was spoken on the Chinese mainland, its speakers then crossing the sea to Taiwan. Alternatively, the language originated in Taiwan following the migration. In either case, the ancestral language of the 1000 or so present-

day Austronesian languages was spoken in Taiwan by 3500 BC and possibly as early as 4000 BC (pp. 25-26).

Sneddon (2003) goes on to write, that the most commonly accepted theory is that the population of Taiwan divided into four groups at an early date. According to this theory, one of the four groups of Austronesians moved to the south of Taiwan and from there to the land of Luzon in northern Philippines, leaving the other three groups, referred to as stay-at-homes and known collectively as Formosans (Sneddon 2003). These Formosan languages (about 20 spoken today) appear not to be a single group, but three distinct groups of Austronesian languages, thus lending support to the four-way split theory (Sneddon, 2003). The group that left Taiwan - in about 3000 BC - is now referred to collectively as Malayo-Polynesians (Sneddon, 2003).

The results of a sophisticated computer analyses undertaken on 400 Austronesian languages, conducted by Drummond, Gray, & Greenhill (2009) reveal what they refer to as “expansion pulses and settlement pauses” (p.479). The expansion pulses and settlement pauses of the Austronesian language spread across East Asia and the Pacific (Drummond et al. 2009). In agreement with the pulse-pause scenario, the research places the origin of the Austronesian language in Taiwan around about 5230 years ago (Drummond, et al 2009). Drummond, et al. (2009) state that, “these results are robust to assumptions about the rooting and calibration of the tree and demonstrate the combined power of linguistic scholarship, database technologies, and computational phylogenetic methods for resolving questions about human prehistory” (p.479). Drummond et al (2009) traced the evolution of the 400 Austronesian languages by studying 210 items of their basic vocabulary; words for colors, animals, numbers, simple verbs and kinship terms. Drummond et al (2009) write, “basic vocabulary is both relatively stable over time and generally less likely to be borrowed between languages” (p.479).

**Figure 1: Settlement of the Pacific**



(Adapted from Science Daily)

Figure 1 above, shows how the settlement of the Pacific proceeded in a series of expansion pulses and settlement pauses. The first Austronesians started from Taiwan where they had a settlement pause for one thousand years before they entered the Philippines. From the Philippines rapid expansion pulses occurred. These pulses reveal that it takes approximately one thousand years for the Austronesians to cross 7000kms of the Pacific Ocean to Polynesia (Drummond et al, 2009). After populating Fiji, Tonga and Samoa, there is another settlement pause which also lasts for one thousand years before expansion pulses occur again (Drummond et al, 2009). During this period, the

Austronesians continue on to other Islands within Polynesia including Hawai'i, Easter Island and finally Aotearoa/New Zealand (Drummond et al, 2009).

The linguistic journey of the Austronesian language is still a matter of debate, in particular the formation of the linguistic table, even among Austronesianists who consider Taiwan the homeland of Austronesian languages (Sagart, 2008). There is general consensus that first diversification occurred in Taiwan and the languages outside of Taiwan created a monophyletic taxon (Malayo-Polynesian) (Sagart, 2008). A clear indicator that Austronesians were a complex and adaptable navigator society, able to accomplish vast sea voyages is demonstrated by the hemispheric extent (from Taiwan in the Northern Hemisphere to Aotearoa/New Zealand and many other Islands in the Southern Hemisphere) of Austronesian languages (Evans, 2010). Furthermore, because Austronesians were traditionally oral cultures, linguistic research has been a significant contributor in tracing Austronesians intricate and complex history (Evans, 2010). Fortunately, most movements in the Austronesian migration were either in unpopulated or sparsely populated areas, revealing what Evans describes as “unambiguous archaeological datings [sic] of first occupations and clear genetic signals” (Evans, 2010, p.115).

Pawley (2007) suggests that given certain circumstances, historical linguistics can provide evidence that supports the archaeological record. Pawley (2007) states that, “the lexicon of a language (its store of words and fixed multiword expressions) is a body of intangible artifacts that tells much about the way of life of the speech community” (p. 18). By tracing the histories of words and sets of words representing particular semantic fields, especially those tight-knit terminologies, a lot can be learned about the continuities and changes in the way of life of a people (Pawley, 2007). Pawley (2007) notes that to try to fit together a reconstructed linguistic history with a reconstructed archaeological history is fraught with many methodological challenges. The most fundamental is to match specific archaeological assemblages with certain languages (Pawley 2007). This has proven difficult to achieve with any degree of confidence in many regions of the world (Pawley, 2007). However, “in Pacific prehistory there is a rare piece of good fortune: there is a well-attested archaeological horizon, namely Lapita, that can be securely correlated with a well-established linguistic dispersal, namely, that of the Oceanic languages” (Pawley, 2007, p. 18). A good example of Lapita

pottery is the early Lapita culture that occupied parts of the Bis-mark Archipelago around 3300 BP (Pawley, 2007).

“It seems likely that the spread of the Oceanic languages followed a similar pattern and timeline to the spread of Lapita pottery” (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004, p. 36). If this was the case the Central Pacific sub-group was probably formed between 1000 and 1300 BC (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004). Before the dramatic change that occurred within Melanesia, with the arrival of Europeans, there was what Moore (2003) describes as, “the last great change” (p.34). This last significant change refers to the arrival of Austronesian speakers and the related Lapita (a name that comes from New Caledonia) culture (Moore, 2003). The Lapita people were an agricultural people with a distinctive style of earthenware (pottery), (Moore, 2003). Lapita pottery is “... a low-fired non-kiln style of pottery, and is thought to have originated in eastern Indonesia. It displays distinctive decorative motifs, with finely carved, toothed, or dentate stamps...” (Moore, 2003, p.35). For archaeologists, it is not only the pottery of the Lapita culture (although very important) that is of considerable interest (Moore, 2003). There are implements and cultural artifacts including the remains of domestic animals and plants, seemingly brought by the Lapita people that contain crucial information (Moore, 2003).

The linguistic researchers and archaeologists discussed in this chapter argue that the Austronesian language family has a substantial and complex *whakapapa* and by consensus, most of them accept the Austronesian language family originated from Taiwan. It could also be concluded through their research, and from a Māori context, that *te reo Māori* and indeed the whole Māori culture is the *pekepoho* (youngest sibling), the Māui (Māori and Polynesian demigod) who according to Māori creation narratives, was the youngest in his family, the last in a great line of explorers of the Austronesian language family. Māori and other Polynesian creation narratives of Māui and many other gods and demigods have been widely written about and studied (Best, 1976; Bishop & Sullivan, 2002; Calman, 2004; Clark 2008; Grey, 1855; Haami, 2004; Haase, 2008; Harvey, 2002; Jordan, 2004; Mead, 1996, 2003; Mitchel & Mitchel, 2004; Radin, 2002; Reeves, 2007 & Thorton, 2004). Although these creation narratives differ from culture to culture, for Māori, Māui was the most daring and adventurous engaging in various feats that were god like, always exploring, always challenging and pushing for the unobtainable, including immortality (Clark, 2008). Māori *tīpuna* displayed a character

somewhat like Māui when they decided to journey to a previously unexplored land not knowing what to expect, perhaps full of trepidation and anxiety, but possibly calmed with the experiences of long sea voyages and fuelled by hope and expectation.

Māori *tīpuna* must have been confronted with spectacular sights and daunting challenges, leaving a warm tropical climate and having to survive in a sometimes cold and harsh climate “the only part of Polynesia lying outside the tropical-subtropical zone” (Kirch, 2000, p. 275). Many of the crops that they brought with them would not grow in this new land, a region where most plant and animal life were unknown to Māori (Kirch, 2000). A place where the extreme weather patterns, immense distance and isolation from the places they were familiar with, should have encouraged ancient Māori to return to the tropics within a few short years of their arrival. This did not happen, instead, over the centuries, the Māori language and culture evolved from within the rugged contours of Aotearoa/New Zealand. A new language and culture that, to a large degree, still held the history, genealogy, beliefs and values of its ancient Polynesian past but underwent change due in part to the new environment and natural cultural change. Biever (1976) alludes to the fact that culture is like religion, when he states, “...religion, like culture, does not and cannot start from a fresh, new beginning; it builds on what has gone before, making additions, to be sure, even radical ones, but always remaining aware of traditions inherited from the past” (pp. 74-75). Biever (1976) cites that, change within a culture is a fundamental part of its development and evolution “man is changeable and erratic: therefore, culture and religion perforce are too” (p. 74).

Naylor (1996) states that, “to say that culture has evolved or continues to evolve is another way of saying that it has changed and is continuing to change over time” (p.45). Furthermore, each new stage of development within a culture’s evolution is merely an adaptation of what preceded it (Naylor, 1996). Although a culture’s physical environment was once the main reason for change, it is now the created socio-cultural environment that demands most change (Naylor, 1996). Weiner (2000) states, “when we think of the enslavement and genocide of traditional peoples by conquerors throughout history, we realise that there is hardly a guarantee that groups will survive. If they do, they must adapt their traditional cultures to new circumstances” (p. 158). Although *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture have gone through, and continue to go through this

adaptation process, many *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* have been able to maintain certain aspects of their *whakapapa*, history and practices.

The Māori language and culture is distinctive to Aotearoa/New Zealand and once reflected a definite ruggedness, such as *pakanga* (war) and *utu* (revenge), equal to its birth place. Alternatively, it can also display a natural peaceful beauty, such as *manaaki* (caring and hospitality) and *mahi toi* (creativity, innovation) which is comparable to the nurturing aspects and breathtaking beauty of Aotearoa/New Zealand. An evolution of change occurred for ancient Māori over the many generations. Within this change, Māori developed an intense *aroha* (love) and profound sense of belonging to Aotearoa/New Zealand, in spite (or perhaps because) of its sometimes unforgiving nature. Although these feelings of *aroha* and belonging for one's homeland are not unique to Māori, one thing is certain, Aotearoa/New Zealand is the only place in the world the Māori language and culture is practised as a living part of its landscape.

There have been many theories of Māori and Polynesian origins over the centuries and as new technology helps us to understand the past more accurately, there will be many more to come. Some of the following theories have become accepted realities for many Māori and Pākehā who still espouse these assumptions (Howe, 2009). The assumptions of Polynesian origins started in earnest with the voyages of Captain James Cook into the Pacific Ocean (Howe, 2009).

Cook charted the region now known as Polynesia. During his journeys, Cook and the scientists he had with him began to identify the similarities between the various Polynesian cultures they came into contact with, including Māori (Howe, 2003). Cook's theories were of a common settlement that was relatively recent, starting far to the west probably in Malay or the East Indies; an opinion many still agree with today (Howe, 2003).

Dumont d'Urville (French Explorer) saw comparisons with Greek towns and landscapes when he viewed Aotearoa/New Zealand and put Māori origins in Europe or Western Asia (Howe, 2003). The missionary Samuel Marsden proposed that there were Jewish or Semitic origins for Māori due in part to their capacity for trade (Howe, 2003).

Thomas Kendall, another missionary, suggested Māori originated from Egypt because he presumably recognised Old Testament ideas in *Māori tikanga* (beliefs), *whakairo* (carvings) and concepts in Māori cosmology (Howe, 2003). Other missionaries proposed that Polynesians derive from one of the lost tribes of Israel (Howe, 2003).

After the Semitic and Jewish theory, Māori and Polynesian origins are replaced by the Caucasian or Aryan Polynesian theory, a theory that suggests Māori and Polynesian originated from India (Howe, 2003). Pacific cultures apparently contained fragments of Aryan culture located within their customs, mythologies and religious practices (Howe, 2003). Edward Tregear, a linguist, claimed Māori language, mythology and customs held evidence of Aryan-Indian heritage. This theory became hugely popular in Aotearoa/New Zealand up until the 1930s (Howe, 2003). By the end of the 19th century, Percy Smith, co-editor (with Edward Tregear) of the Polynesian Society and its journal, was to create an account of Māori origins, presumably founded upon Māori mythology (Simmons, 1976). Smith's account included, Kupe the Polynesian explorer who discovered Aotearoa/New Zealand in 750 AD, followed by two other Polynesian explorers Toi and Whātonga who arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1000 - 1100 AD and discovered a primitive people called Moriori (Simmons, 1976). The last part of Smith's theory included the arrival of the great fleet in 1350 AD which included seven *waka* (canoes) that departed from the Tahitian region and upon their arrival in Aotearoa/New Zealand set about destroying the Moriori and their culture (Simmons, 1976). Smith's theory found support with others who were studying Māori culture, including Elsdon Best, who added his ideas to the Moriori theory (Simmons, 1976). Even Māori scholars such as Te Rangi Hīroa (Sir Peter Buck) promoted the great fleet theory but did not support the idea of pre-Polynesian Moriori in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Howe, 2003). Some contemporary theories of how the Moriori culture developed, suggest that the Polynesians who settled Aotearoa/New Zealand in the late 1200s or between 1300 AD and 1500 AD, eventually discovered and settled in Wharekauri (Chatham Islands), (Howe, 2003).

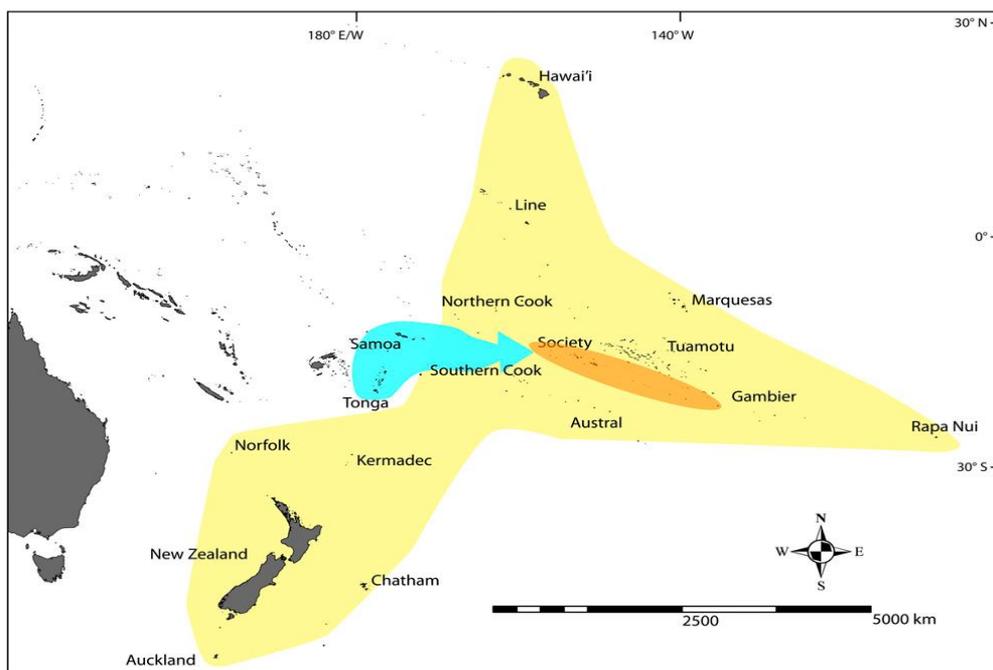
One of the more contemporary theories is that the ancient Polynesian people, who settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand, came from the Southern Cook and Society Islands (Howe, 2009). Their migration was deliberate and included many different *waka* (canoe) which

arrived at different time periods (Howe, 2009). The most recent theory of East Polynesian settlement dates, comes from research undertaken by Wilmschurst, Hunt, Lipo & Anderson (2010) published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS) journal under the title “High-precision radiocarbon dating shows recent and rapid initial human colonisation of East Polynesia”, they write;

The 15 archipelagos of East Polynesia, including New Zealand, Hawaii and Rapa Nui were the last habitable places on earth colonized by prehistoric humans. The timing and pattern of this colonization event has been poorly resolved, with chronologies varying by >1000 y, precluding understanding of cultural change and ecological impact on these pristine ecosystems. In a meta-analysis of 1,434 radiocarbon dates from the region, reliable short-lived samples reveal that the colonization of East Polynesia occurred in two distinct phases: earliest in the Society Islands A.D. 1025 - 1120, four centuries later than previously assumed; then after 70 - 265 y, dispersal continued in one major pulse to all remaining Islands A.D. 1190 - 1290. We show that previously supported longer chronologies have relied upon radiocarbon-dated materials with large sources of error, making them unsuitable for precise dating of recent events (p.1).

The short chronologies of both Aotearoa/New Zealand and Rapanui are confirmed through their research, but what they suggest is significant in their study, are the much shorter chronologies of Hawai’i and the Marquesas, which they argue are 200-500 years later than widely accepted (Wilmschurst et al, 2010).

**Figure 2: Map of Eastern Polynesian Movements**



(Adapted from PNAS <http://www.pnas.org>)

Wilmshurst et al (2010) argue that their evidence suggests that after a long settlement pause in Samoa and Tonga, indicated in blue shading in figure 2 above, ancient Polynesians moved on to the Society Islands to as far as Gambier, indicated in orange shading, in 1025 - 1120 A.D. Ancient Polynesians started to disperse from the Society Islands into all the remote Islands of Eastern Polynesia including Hawai'i, Rapanui and Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1190 - 1290 A.D. indicated in yellow shading (Wilmshurst et al, 2010). Wilmshurst et al (2010) propose that through improvements of radiocarbon dating techniques, they have constructed a reliable model of settlement chronology of East Polynesia, and although falsifiable, will prove robust with further high precision radiocarbon dating. There are many theories of Eastern Polynesian settlement and it is likely there are just as many more to come. Inevitably there must come a time when new technology will conclusively prove the origins and settlement dates of ancient Eastern Polynesians and their languages, whether through linguistic research, archaeological research, genetic (DNA) research or a combination of all these methods. Settlement dates seem unimportant from a Māori context, there are no dates of first settlement or starting times or arrival times in Māori *whakapapa*, or any other East Polynesian cultural *whakapapa*, but simply (yet marvelously) the names of their ancient *tīpuna* who tie them to their language, to their culture and to their *whenua* (land). The one thing that does not change for *te reo Māori* is Aotearoa/New Zealand shall forever remain its birth place, an aspect that needs more recognition by a significant part of Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

### **Winds of change: Aotearoa/New Zealand Revealed**

When watching or listening to old film clips or radio interviews of native Māori speakers, and their mastery of *te reo Māori*, it is not hard to imagine a time when *te reo Māori* was used for every situation imaginable within the Māori world. A time when the politics of *iwi* were forcefully argued in *te reo Māori*, a time when lovers conveyed their sentiments in *te reo Māori* with unparalleled finesse or a time when the transferring of *whakapapa* from *kuia/koroua* (grandparents, elders) to *mokopuna* (grandchildren) in *te reo Māori* was a natural and complete part of everyday existence. For *te reo Māori*, this time existed for the best part of one thousand years and apart from a few dialectal differences between *iwi*, *te reo Māori* was the only language spoken in Aotearoa/New Zealand before the introduction of the English language (Bell & Kuiper, 2000). The following are some of the people who implemented another language and culture into

Aotearoa/New Zealand, and what motivated them to such a task. It would be impossible to mention all those that had some part to play in this drama, but the following individuals, as history shows, had more of a part to play than most others. The introduction of this new language and culture would in some instances enhance *te reo Māori*, through positive aspects like reading and writing, but would eventually lead to the decline of *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture (Mead, 1997).

Rewi (2008) cites that the Dutch language, not the English language, was the second language spoken on the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand although perhaps exceedingly briefly.

**Image 1: Abel Tasman**



(Search.com)

In December 1642 Abel Tasman, a Dutch explorer scouting land for the Dutch East India Company, spotted the west coast of the South Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Rewi, 2008). Tasman and his crew were the first Europeans to witness seeing the majestic shores and imposing lands of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Rewi, 2008). Although Tasman's visit was brief, he still managed to get into a confrontation with Māori who then killed four of his men (Rewi, 2008). Rewi (2008) writes, "Tasman fired at the retreating canoes and departed. Bad weather forced him to proceed up the west coast of the North Island" (p.18). According to Tasman's records, he was unable to find a suitable place to land so he continued on to Tonga and Fiji (Rewi, 2008). Although, at

that time, Abel Tasman's visit had no real impact on *te reo Māori*, his recording of Aotearoa/New Zealand's geographical location would stir up the winds of change. It may have taken 127 years for Māori to start feeling the effects of these changes, but feel them they inevitably would.

King George III had given Captain James Cook, another European explorer from England, orders to sail south to search for the "continent reported by Abel Tasman" (Rewi, 2008, p. 19). Cook's orders are clear, find this continent, and if it is uninhabited claim it for the King (Rewi, 2008). If occupied take possession, but only with the consent of the indigenous people (Rewi, 2008).

**Image 2: Captain James Cook**



(mscschools.net)

Captain James Cook, the son of a Scottish farm labourer, whose name was also James, was born on the 27 October, 1728 (Lace, 2009). He was not born into the English aristocracy, so he did not receive an education in his early years (Lace, 2009). Cook began to do odd jobs as a small boy in exchange for reading lessons, his determination to aspire to extraordinary heights are well documented (Lace, 2009). Lace (2009) states that Captain James Cook, "is the namesake of hotels and inns from New Zealand to Poland and the subject of museum exhibits from Canada to Russia" (p.6). Cook would become

captain of a ship in the King of England's navy named the 'Endeavour' (Lace, 2009). The Endeavour became Cook's vehicle for discovery as he explored the world's oceans; while off on one of his explorations his orders were to search for the continent called 'Terra Australis Incognita', the Unknown Southern Continent (Lace, 2009). This continent was meant to be located south to latitude 40 degrees. Cook's orders stated that, if no continent could be found "he was to find and chart New Zealand, discovered in 1642 by Dutch explorer Abel Tasman" (Lace, 2009, p.33). Cook was unable to find this supposed continent and began sailing towards Aotearoa/New Zealand using the coordinates supplied by Tasman (Lace, 2009). Twenty days before Cook's 41<sup>st</sup> birthday, on 7 October 1769, Nicholas Young, the surgeon's attendant, spotted land that turned out to be the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Lace, 2009). Cook and his crew's first encounter with Māori started out badly (Lace, 2009). On the first day of their arrival they shot and killed one Māori (Lace, 2009). On the second day they shot three more Māori and as Cook continued to chart Aotearoa/New Zealand, more incidents of Māori death occurred (Lace, 2009). By 30 March 1770, Cook had charted both the North and the South Islands of Aotearoa/New Zealand and concluded that it was not part of this mysterious land called Terra Australis Incognita (Lace, 2009). Cook then began heading west to the south of Australia, he was to return to Aotearoa/New Zealand twice more, once in 1773 and again in 1777 (Lace, 2009).

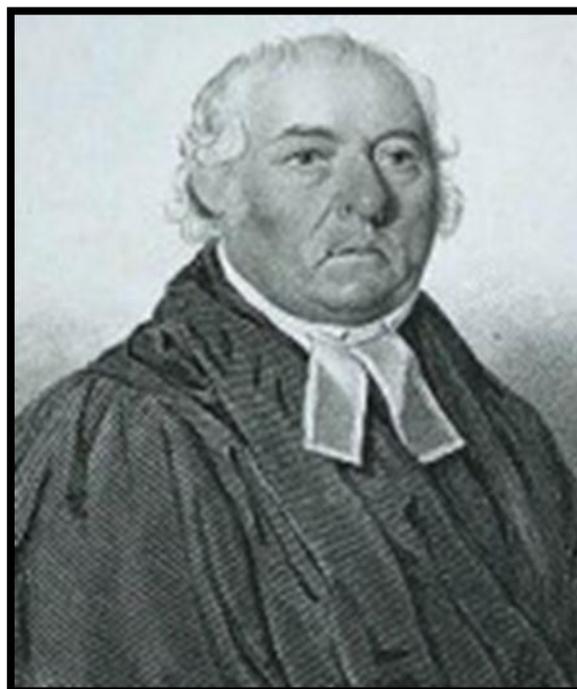
Cook's visits, much like Tasman's visit, had little direct impact on *te reo Māori*. The real differences between their voyages are that, Cook managed to clear up much of the ambiguity as to the location of Aotearoa/New Zealand, its size and some of its geographical features. Cook laid bare Aotearoa/New Zealand's secrets for the entire world to see. He concluded that Aotearoa/New Zealand consists of two large islands and is not a part of this mystic place called Terra Australis Incognita. A Stone Age people lived there and, although they were particularly fierce, they had no advanced weaponry and were just as susceptible to a musket shot as any other human being. This information opened up the flood gates for the advent of all manner of fortune hunters, including those that would change the Māori language forever. It can be assumed that detailed geographical information would not have been available to the general public until a while after Cook's visits to Aotearoa/New Zealand. This would have given King George and those in positions of power, time to assess its value to England. Middleton (2008) writes, "New Zealand was rediscovered by Captain James Cook in 1769, and from the

1790s became the focus of intense but ephemeral commercial exploitation for sealskins, whale oil and timber” (p. 3). Those who were orchestrating this exploitation were not based within Aotearoa/New Zealand, but were 1500kms away in New South Wales Australia, at the recently established (1788) convict’s settlement (Middleton, 2008). The missionaries came a close second to the whalers and sealers, the first of them arriving in 1814 from the Church Missionary Society (CMS), (Middleton, 2008). Mead (1997) writes;

In the accommodating phase of the colonial experience, the frontline troops of domination were the missionaries and the traders. They did not use force but relied instead on creating a need for their product and then being on the spot to supply it. Behind them, however, was the threat of British or French naval power, of reprisals from New South Wales. As the missionaries were the teachers of Western knowledge generally, as well as being the preachers, they were in a position to influence the behaviour and minds of people to perhaps a considerable extent, especially in dealing with the government (Mead, 1997, p.106).

As Mead (1997) alludes to, there were many crucial periods of missionary influence before and after the signing of the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. The first missionary to arrive in Aotearoa/New Zealand was Samuel Marsden (Binney, 1933).

**Image 3: Samuel Marsden**



(newcastle.edu.au)

Born in Yorkshire England in 1765, Samuel Marsden worked as an apprentice blacksmith for his father (Binney, 1933). Eventually, Marsden turned to religion and became a well-known Methodist lay-preacher within the Yorkshire region (Binney, 1933). William Wilberforce, the 19th century humanitarian who led the Christian movement for the abolition of slavery, would have an enormous influence on Marsden, so much so, that at the request of Wilberforce, Marsden accepted a position (in 1794) as assistant chaplain of the recently formed penal colony in New South Wales (Binney, 1933). According to Binney (1933) Marsden was to establish the, “New South Wales Society for Affording Protection to the Natives of the South Sea Islands and Promoting their Civilisation” (p.62) in 1813. The following year, Marsden would arrive for the first time in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Binney, 1933). Binney (1933) writes that Marsden’s reputation as an honorable missionary, churchman and a trustworthy friend to Māori began to take shape in Aotearoa. In stark contrast, Marsden’s ruthless reputation in New South Wales had gained him the rather unenviable title of the “flogging Parson” (Binney, 1933, p. 59).

According to Binney (1933), Samuel Marsden had no desire to minister to the Aborigines of Australia, a position that saw him criticised by other clergy, but had aspirations of ministering to Māori; this desire Marsden based on a few chance meetings he had with Māori in Australia. Binney (1933) writes, that Marsden described Māori as “a very superior people in point of mental capacity, requiring but the introduction of Commerce and the Arts [which] having a natural tendency to inculcate industrious habits, open a way for the introduction of the Gospel” (p. 60). In total, Marsden was to visit Aotearoa/New Zealand seven times between 1814 and 1837 (Binney, 1933). Each visit saw Marsden preaching the gospel and seeking out business opportunities for trade (Binney, 1933). Marsden brought the first horse to Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1814, an event of exceptional consternation to many Māori writes Binney (1933), being the first time Māori had seen a horse. Although, once Māori realised the value of the horse, their arrival would become the prelude of change for Māori concerning ploughing land for cultivation and a faster and less taxing way of travelling across large areas of land (Mead, 1969). There is an extensive list of religious, cultural, political and technological changes introduced by the missionaries and traders to Aotearoa/New Zealand (Harlow, 2007). The most relevant being reading, writing, European religion, Western politics and European technology, the sheer potency of missionary influence on *te reo Maori* would

not be made immediately apparent but would emerge forcefully in the future (Harlow, 2007).

### **Introduction of New Educational Ideology**

In the nineteenth and twentieth century's, educational experience for Māori youth was fashioned by exposure to Western teaching practices (Lee & Lee, 2007). This was achieved by using missionaries and the mission schools as the medium for assimilation (Lee & Lee, 2007). Formal education was not introduced to Aotearoa/New Zealand until 1816 under the patronage of the Anglican Church Missionary Thomas Kendall (Lee & Lee, 2007).

**Image 4: Thomas Kendall**



(nzhistory.net.nz)

Thomas Kendall, another missionary from the Church Missionary Society, opened up the first church school at Rangihoua, in the Bay of Islands, on 12 August 1816 (Lee & Lee, 2007). Binney (2005) writes, that Thomas Kendall, at some stage, began to teach Māori how to read and write in *te reo Māori*, something Samuel Marsden totally opposed. According to Marsden, the missionaries were there to teach Māori the virtues of Christianity through the medium of the English language, not *te reo Maori* (Binney, 2005). Binney (2005) suggested that Thomas Kendall and those that came with him to Aotearoa/New Zealand were ill-educated and under equipped for the rigors of missionary work. Binney (2005) states;

...they were determined to save the souls of the heathen - and to destroy their culture, considered merely indicative of the degradation of its creators. A profound sense of their infallibility was to guide their actions. As instruments of the Divine Will, they could not fail. They had no doubts as to the superiority of the way of life they were to bring to New Zealand. They were sure that the values they would preach were the absolute values of Christianity - when in fact they were the values of English middle-class (p. 32).

Thomas Kendall can be attributed with introducing a Westernised school system that clearly had, and continues to have, an impact on *te reo Māori*. He was also the first mission school principal of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Binney, 2005). Unfortunately, his appointment as the principal of the missionary school, and a missionary in Aotearoa/New Zealand was short lived (Binney, 2005). Kendall began to question his faith due to certain aspects he was learning about the Māori language and its theoretical foundations (Binney, 2005). Binney (2005) writes, “he believed that what he tried to learn from the Māori world, its language and its philosophical basis, was dangerously corrosive of his religious faith” (p.19). Kendall was replaced and sent back to England, due to his frame of mind and the fact he indulged in an adulterous affair with the daughter of a Māori chief (Binney, 2005).

Lee & Lee (2007) write, “prior to the arrival of planned European settlement in the early 1800s Māori youth were not formally educated in schools but in their homes and wider village communities” (p.133). Although Māori did have their own types of schools (*whare wānanga*), these schools were run by *tohunga* (Māori priests, skilled people) and were set aside for the children of high ranking *whānau* (family) (Lee & Lee, 2007). The majority of Māori youth learnt *te reo Māori*, cultural traditions, survival skills and appropriate forms of behaviour from their *mātua* (parents), *kuia/koroua* and wider *whānau* (Lee & Lee, 2007). Lineage was the major factor of inclusion in the *whare wānanga*, but there were exceptions, which included displaying exceptional skill or aptitude in areas of crucial concern to the *hāpu/iwi* (Simmons, 1986). Lee & Lee (2007) write that in short the church wanted to convert Māori to Christianity, “an objective consistent with contemporary British missionary practice in many parts of Africa and the East” (p.134). The mission schools were expected to assist in the conversion of Māori to Christianity. They were to provide Māori access to the Bible and encourage Māori parents to allow their children to come under the influence of the missionaries, who would teach them the English language through religion (Lee & Lee, 2007).

The missionaries had wanted to delay colonisation until what they defined as civilisation for Māori was achieved (Lee & Lee, 2007). But the colonisers were eager for settlement to begin (Lee & Lee, 2007). Through the efforts of the colonisers, formal colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand began in earnest from the late 1830s onwards (Lee & Lee, 2007). A time which saw the official British policy concerning Aotearoa/New Zealand change from one of non-intervention to that of colonisation proper (Lee & Lee, 2007). The inevitability of colonisation could not be halted so a system of self-government for British settlers was introduced by the Colonial Office in London (Lee & Lee, 2007). They also undertook to protect Māori, and Aotearoa/New Zealand was formally given colony status not long after the signing of the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* in 1840, then separation from New South Wales by the imperial government was implemented (Lee & Lee, 2007).

**Image 5: Governor William Hobson**



(nzmonarchy.blogspot.com)

William Hobson was sent to Aotearoa/New Zealand in August 1839 to establish a treaty between the British monarchy and the indigenous Māori of Aotearoa/New Zealand (McCan, 2001). The British Treasury's position, was for Hobson to secure land through amicable negotiation with Māori chiefs as "wars to enforce British authority over subject populations were extremely costly and to be avoided" (McCan, 2001, p.11). Hobson landed at Kororareka (Russell) in the Bay of Islands on the 30 January 1840 and promptly stated that he had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Aotearoa/New

Zealand (McCan, 2001). He then set about drafting the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* along with James Busby, the British resident, and the missionaries of CMS, in particular Henry Williams (McCan, 2001). Temple (2002) states that on the 6 February 1840, Hobson became irritated at the Missionary printer, William Colenso, for suggesting that the ‘chiefly’ signatories did not have a clear understanding of the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. With much fan fare and jubilant attitude of the day, Hobson and the missionaries mollified any concerns Māori expressed with paternalistic assurances of trust (Temple, 2002).

Although Hobson was to govern Aotearoa/New Zealand for three years, the development of the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* was to be his most significant achievement writes Reeves (2007). Hobson would not return to England again as he died in Auckland on September 10 1842 from a prolonged illness (McIntock, 1966).

**Image 6: Governor Robert FitzRoy**



(nzhistory.net.nz)

Governor Robert FitzRoy who replaced Hobson in 1843, wanted to develop an assimilationist philosophy by proposing a Native Trust Ordinance in 1844 (Lee & Lee, 2007). This Ordinance would give the three main denominations, namely Roman Catholic, Wesleyan and Anglican, endowments and financial assistance to extend their church school ventures (Lee & Lee, 2007). However, the Ordinance was not enacted due to low interest in both Māori and European communities and, in part, because of the precarious state of the colony’s finances at that time (Lee & Lee, 2007). FitzRoy came under enormous criticism for his lack of progress in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The last incident involving Hone Heke, a Māori chief from the north, was to be FitzRoy’s

downfall (McCan, 2001). In their efforts to pacify Hone Heke, after he chopped down the British flagpole at Kororareka, English reactions would be followed by a series of blunders (McCan, 2001). Hone Heke, the first chief to sign the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, would chop the British flagpole down four times (Hook & Knight, 2009). On the last occasion Heke would destroy Kororareka, the only building he left standing was the church (Hook & Knight, 2009). FitzRoy had no choice but to accept blame for the inability to assert British superiority in attempts to placate Heke (McCan, 2001). His tenure as Governor of Aotearoa/New Zealand promptly ended in 1845 (McCan, 2001).

FitzRoy was replaced by George Grey, who became Governor of Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1845 (McCan, 2001). At the time, the State was keen to support the work begun by the missionaries in terms of Māori civilisation and began implementing what they termed “requirements of an emerging nation” (Lee & Lee, 2007, p.134). In other words, Māori educational policies that were palpably assimilationist.

**Image 7: Governor George Grey**



(adbonline.anu.edu.au)

Grey was convinced Māori could become civilised citizens given the right kind of education; hence his educational policies included amalgamation of the Māori and European races (Lee & Lee, 2007). Grey's theory that through amalgamation one nation would emerge was perhaps well intentioned but rather ambitious for the time (Lee & Lee, 2007). To continue the work of civilising Māori, Grey enacted legislation that would place Māori children in boarding schools rather than day mission schools to shield them from what he described as the “barbaric and demoralizing influences of the Māori

villages” (Lee & Lee, 2007, p.135). Hokowhitu (2004) highlights missionary influence on Māori culture by stating;

In 1845, the missionary William Brown described Māori dancing and singing but noted with pride that ‘amongst the missionary natives they are entirely discontinued’. Tīmoti Kāretu lamented the effect of missionary policy on kapa haka, noting that many tribes performed them less as the influence of missionaries intensified. Accordingly, kapa haka became obsolete in some tribes. For instance, one tribe had to be taught kapa haka by another so that they were able to host the 1934 Waitangi celebrations (p.158).

Furthermore, missionary practices were not officially endorsed by the State before 1847 and at that time, politicians saw the education of Māori mostly as an inexpensive alternative to social control (Hokowhitu, 2004). The ensuing Education Ordinance of 1847 authorised the expenditure of public funds to set up and maintain schools (Lee & Lee, 2007). The proviso was that, the schools always taught English, included religious instruction and industrial training in their curricula and a religious organisation in receipt of state support (Lee & Lee, 2007). Grey’s theory forms the basis for teaching the English language in schools. By having knowledge of the English language it would make possible a mixing of the European and Māori races, introduce Māori to a superior culture and eventually influence them to aspire to more civilised pursuits (Lee & Lee, 2007).

### **Political Influences**

The Education Ordinance of 1847, with some minor changes, governed Māori education right up until the introduction of the Native Schools Act of 1867 (Hokowhitu, 2004). The missionaries were the sole providers of European education for Māori until 1867 when parliamentarians began debating the Native Schools Act (Hokowhitu, 2004). Europeans feared that Māori would revolt against colonial practices due to a lack of European education (Hokowhitu, 2004). The Under-Secretary of the Native Department, Henry Carleton, would not tolerate a traditional Māori lifestyle any longer and demanded that all Māori were to be civilised (Hokowhitu, 2004). “The parliamentary debates on native education put more emphasis on ‘the assimilation of Māori children into European culture and society’ than humanitarian duty” (Hokowhitu, 2004, p.158).

By the early 1870s, a redirection of focus for education had emerged. Regional differences in schooling practices would give way to the view that responsibility for education should no longer rest with the churches or voluntary societies, but with central government (Lee & Lee, 2007). There had been four months of intensive debate before the New Zealand parliament voted overwhelmingly to introduce free and compulsory primary schooling (Lee & Lee, 2007). Compulsory State primary schooling would also exclude denominational antagonism and controversy by implementing instructions entirely of a secular nature (Lee & Lee, 2007). The Education Act of 1877 applied only to public schools, “these schools were by definition primary schools, including district high schools, its provisions did not apply to post-primary secondary and technical schools, and as a result, these schools operated without legal restrictions and observance” (Manzer, 2003, p.402). After the Education Act of 1877 the government brought in the Natives Schools Code of 1880 which reinforced assimilation (Spolsky, 2005). Spolsky (2005) writes;

The Native Schools Code of 1880 accepted an assimilationist language policy, calling for initial use of Māori and rapid transition to English. By 1903, the new Inspector of native schools saw no reason for any delay in using English and imposed a ban on the use of Māori in school, aiming to implement the Direct Method for the teaching of foreign languages (New Zealand Department of Education 1917). These assimilationist language policies were a major factor in the Development of bilingualism and the growing status of English. Māori was only permitted back into the school curriculum as an optional subject in 1909 (p. 70).

By 1909, a growing number of Māori leaders began to acknowledge the value of Native Schools, although consistency of school practices varied nationally (Spolsky, 2005). Some schools taught English through *te reo Māori*, others allowed *te reo Māori* to be spoken in the playground, while the rest had a policy of zero tolerance of *te reo Māori* and enforced it with physical punishment (Spolsky, 2005). Spolsky (2005) argues that Native Schools created an English language dominated domain within Māori *pā* (villages), the very cradle of *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture. Spolsky (2005) states, “...these schools created ‘modern’ English-speaking space and so played a major part in the eventual process of language loss” (p.71). In 1913, ninety percent of Māori school children could speak *te reo Māori* (Parliamentary Library, 2010). Although these percentages are impressive by today’s standards, it displays a clear indication of language loss considering that nearly one hundred years ago 10 out of 100 Māori school

children did not speak *te reo Māori*. By 1953, some 40 years later, the assimilationist policies of government had certainly exceeded expectations. Only twenty six percent of Māori school children could speak *te reo Māori*. From these gloomy statistics it appeared *te reo Maori* would never recover (Parliamentary Library, 2010).

Māori urban migration commenced around the late 1940s and continued into the 1960s. Due to the Second World War, many Māori families lost young men who would have otherwise been leaders and contributors to the prosperity of the Māori culture (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Post-war migration of Māori to the cities was one of the fastest urbanisations undergone by any people in the world (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Through urbanisation, *te reo Māori* suffered as those who migrated to the cities left behind not only their extended family unit, but also their tribal support of customs, culture and language (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Māori families who moved from a rural setting into urban centres were not permitted to live together in Māori communities, as they had done in rural areas. Instead, houses were found for them in mainly Pākehā neighborhoods, giving little possibility for them to speak *te reo Māori*, this government policy was referred to as ‘pepper potting’ (Muhlhausler, Tryon & Wurm, 1996). The pepper potting policy of the government provided assurance of linguistic dominance for the English language (Muhlhausler et al, 1996). The early childhood education movement cautioned Māori mothers that speaking *te reo Māori* in the home was detrimental to the economic development and educational aspirations of their children (Muhlhausler et al, 1996). Harris (2004) states;

Assimilation took on the modern guise of ‘integration’, and was pursued with new fervor following the publication in 1961 of J. K. Hunn’s Report on the Department of Māori Affairs, popularly referred to as the Hunn Report. The report attempted to address the new challenges facing a Māori population that had rapidly transformed from small, isolated, tribal and rural to large, pan-tribal and urban (p.21).

Harris (2004) argues that the Hunn Report mentioned that integration of Māori people should not preclude the preservation of Māori culture and that instead, Māori could become New Zealanders with distinct cultural characteristics. However, the solutions the Hunn Report proposed to achieve this were more disconcerting than the problems they were supposed to address (Harris, 2004). May (1999) asserts that the Hunn Report highlighted the deterioration of the Māori language, which encouraged various

succeeding governments to create policies that attempted to address some of these concerns, although most proved largely ineffective. May (2001) argues the model and its principles initiated through the Hunn Report reflected a deficit view of Māori culture that “simply reinforced the previous assimilationist agenda and resulted in the continued perception of Māori as an educational problem” (p. 296).

In the 1970s, ‘Ngā Tamatoa’, a group of young Māori who fought for Māori rights, and ‘Te Reo Māori Society’ expressed concerns for the Māori language (Metge, 1972). In 1972, a Māori language petition with more than 40,000 signatures was presented to Parliament (Metge, 1976). Hana Te Hemara, a member of Ngā Tamatoa from Taranaki presented the petition to the Crown on the footsteps of Parliament (Metge, 1976).

**Image 8: Members of Ngā Tamatoa on the steps of Parliament, Wellington 1972**



(tiritiowaitangi.govt.nz)

The petition, according to Metge (1976) stated;

That courses in Māori language and aspects of Māori culture be offered in ALL those schools with large Māori rolls and that these same courses be offered, as a gift to the Pākehā from the Māori, in ALL other New Zealand schools as a positive effort to promote a more meaningful concept of Integration (p. 99).

Harris (2004) states that as a direct result of the petition government introduced *te reo Māori* classes into primary and secondary schools, but participation in these classes were made optional. This was followed by the introduction of a one-year teachers' training course for native speakers to address the shortage of qualified staff (Harris, 2004). The course was known as Te Ataakura (Harris, 2004). The 1973 - 1978 New Zealand Council for Educational Research 'National Survey on *te reo Māori*' showed that only eighteen percent of Māori were fluent Māori speakers placing the Māori language in the context of being an endangered language (National Māori Language Survey, 1995). In 1978, the first bilingual school opened its doors in Rūātoki. This was followed in 1979 by the establishment of the Te Ātaarangi movement by Katerina Te Heikōkō Mataira and Kumeroa Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi which sought to restore Māori language knowledge to Māori adults within the community (National Māori Language Survey, 1995).

The 1980s saw the development of the Māori language movement (National Māori Language Survey, 1995). This included the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 1981, the first Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori immersion early childhood centres) in 1982 followed by Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion primary schools) and Wharekura (Māori immersion secondary schools) (National Māori Language Survey 1995). The Te Kōhanga Reo Movement had its genesis at the Hui Whakatauirā organised by the then Department of Māori Affairs in 1981 (Hale & Hinton, 2001). It started with the idea that Māori people over 40 years old were the most competent speakers and young children acquired language proficiency the easiest (Hale & Hinton, 2001). The idea of forming language nests where the transmission of the Māori language from the older generation to the *tamariki* (children) and *mokopuna* would occur, became the main *kaupapa* (topic) (Hale & Hinton, 2001). Initial funding came from the Department of Māori Affairs and the movement expanded quickly as an organic activity led by Māori parents and communities that, by 1991, was providing twenty percent of all early childhood services (Hale & Hinton, 2001). Te Kōhanga Reo became the most popular early childhood option for Māori parents. Notably the number of children in mainstream centres did not decrease, highlighting the fact that most Māori children did not attend mainstream early childhood centres (Hale & Hinton, 2001).

**Image 9: The first Kōhanga reo set up at Waiwhetu, Lower Hutt, is visited in 1985 by Chief Judge Eddie Durie, then Waitangi Tribunal Chairperson, and Paul Temm QC**



([treaty2u.govt.nz](http://treaty2u.govt.nz))

Within a few years after the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo, pressure began to mount for an extension into Māori-medium and Kaupapa Māori (Māori ideology) schooling that could take the Kōhanga Reo experience to the next level. In 1985, the first Kura Kaupapa Māori School began on the Hoani Waititi Marae site (Hale and Hinton, 2001).

**Image 10: Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru**



([kete.taranakireo.co.nz](http://kete.taranakireo.co.nz))

It was not until 1986, in a landmark case taken to the Waitangi Tribunal by Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru, that serious attempts were made by the government to foster the Māori language (May, 1999). Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru accused the Crown of failing to protect

the Māori language. His claim highlighted the importance of language rights as one factor of the right to culture and an essential aspect of cultural identity (May, 1999). The case was upheld by the Waitangi Tribunal, and in 1987 the Māori language became one of the two official languages of Aotearoa/New Zealand (May, 1999). By 1989, formal recognition of Kura Kaupapa and Whare Wānanga was finally sanctioned with the introduction of the 1989 Education Amendment Act (National Māori Language Survey, 1995). By 1997, there were a total of 54 Kura Kaupapa Māori, 675 Te Kōhanga Reo and three Whare Wānanga in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001). In 1998, the government announced that it would increase funding to Te Māngai Pāho, a funding agency set up to fund for broadcasting. In the same year the government announced that \$15 million would be set aside for Māori language initiatives (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001).

### **History - Health of Te Reo Māori**

In 2001, the total Māori population in Aotearoa/New Zealand was 526,281. The number of Māori language speakers was 130,000 (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001). Table 1 below identifies the number of Māori language speakers by region throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand.

**Table 1: Māori Language Survey 2001**

Regions	Able to speak Māori	Total Māori population	% of speakers in population
Te Taitokerau	12,000	40,700	30%
Tāmaki-Makau-Rau	26,400	127,600	21%
Waiariki	20,000	63,700	31%
Waikato	19,700	72,800	27%
Te Tairāwhiti/Tākitimu	15,200	51,500	30%
Te Taihauāuru	13,200	53,800	25%
Te Upoko o Te Ika/Te Tau Ihu	13,700	63,700	24%
Te Waipounamu	10,200	57,500	18%

(Adapted from Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001 Survey)

Of the 127,000 people living in Auckland who identified as being Māori, only 26,400 stated that they could converse in *te reo Māori* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001). In contrast, of the 57,500 people living in the South Island just over 10,000 people identified that they could converse in *te reo Māori* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori,

2001). The only regions that were above the twenty five percent mark of the total Māori population who could converse in *te reo Māori* was Waiariki, Te Tairāwhiti, Tainui, Te Taihauāuru and Northland regions (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001). It should be noted however, that this survey does not take into account the fluency of *te reo Māori* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001).

House & Rehbein (2004) state that only nine percent of Māori adults in the 2001 survey could speak Māori, ‘well’ or ‘very well’ with the most common settings being a traditional Māori context such as the *marae* (courtyard in front of the *wharenuī*), education and religious activities. The next large scale survey of the Māori language was undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK) in 2006. Their key findings can be found in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: Health of the Māori Language 2006**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ In 2006, 51% of Māori adults had some degree of speaking proficiency, up 9% points from 2001. There were increases at all proficiency levels, and within all age bands.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ In 2006, 66% of Māori adults had some degree of listening proficiency, up 8 percentage points from 2001. This highlights the reservoir of latent ability that exists among the Māori population.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ There have been increases in Māori language use, especially in domestic settings.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ In 2006, 30% of Māori adults used the Māori language as a significant language of communication with their pre-school children. This is an increase from 18% in 2001. A further 48% made some use of the Māori language in their interaction with their infants.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Māori adults reported high levels of uptake of Māori radio and television. Some 85% tuned into Māori radio, while 56% watched Māori language programmes on television. Attitudes towards the Māori language among Māori and non-Māori people have become more positive, as well. This creates a supportive environment for various initiatives to support the health of the Māori language.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ There is strong support among Māori and non-Māori for Māori language use among Māori people. Some 94% of Māori and 80% of non-Māori agreed that Māori people speaking Māori in public places or at work was a good thing.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ In 2006, 95% of Māori agreed that the Government’s decision to establish a Māori Television Service was a good thing (up from 83% in 2003). Some 70% of non-Māori also agreed (up from 51% in 2003).</li> </ul>

(Adapted from [www.tpk.govt.nz](http://www.tpk.govt.nz))

The Health of the Māori Language Report was conducted in 2006 and released for public viewing in 2008. Te Puni Kōkiri mentions that while they had good reason to be positive about the 2006 report, the Māori language is still very much at risk. It is a minority language spoken almost exclusively by Māori, in that only four percent of New Zealanders can speak the language. Clearly, the Māori language is used in a minority of communications and although there is evidence that intergenerational transmission is occurring, it is still in the initial stages and remains extremely fragile. Te Puni Kokiri (2008) states that conscious effort at all levels remains a necessary requirement if *te reo Māori* is to flourish.

The Waitangi Tribunal describes the health of the Māori language as approaching a crisis point and requires urgent and far reaching change to save it (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The Tribunal findings on the health of *te reo Māori* are discussed in the WAI 262, 2011 report. This claim concerns indigenous flora and fauna and Cultural Intellectual Property, described by the late Dr Darrell Posey, an expert on indigenous people’s rights, as one of the most significant claims of its kind anywhere in the world (Briefing Paper to United Nations, 2005). The Tribunal’s assessment of the Crown’s contribution to *te reo Māori* over the last 25 years are identified in Table 3 below.

**Table 3: Waitangi Tribunal Assessment of Te Reo Māori 2011**

We have not seen evidence of true partnership between Māori and the Crown. The 2003 Māori Language Strategy, we believe, is a well-meaning but essentially standard and pre-consulted Crown policy that does nothing to motivate Māori at the grassroots.
Not enough has been done to implement the 1986 Tribunal recommendation that speakers be enabled to use <i>te reo</i> in any dealings with the courts, Government departments and other public bodies. Even in the courts, the use of the language remains heavily circumscribed.
There have been repeated failures of policy. The most profound was the failure to train enough teachers to meet the predictable demand for Māori-medium education demonstrated by the surge in Kōhanga Reo enrolments in the 1980s. So strong was this demand that, in the early 1990s, it had no apparent ceiling. But it soon became choked by the lack of teacher supply, and the language suffers the consequences to this day.
The Māori Language Strategy is another failure of policy. It is too abstract and was constructed within the parameters of a bureaucratic comfort zone. There have also been genuine problems with its implementation due to a lack of leadership and

commitment amongst the responsible Crown agencies.

Given the failures of policy, so must it follow that the resources made available to *te reo* have been inadequate. The level of resources should follow directly from the identification of the right policies.

(Adapted from [www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz](http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz))

The Waitangi Tribunal (2011) report states that the revitalisation efforts of *te reo Māori* since the 1970s are predominately due to Māori community efforts and makes no apology for their far reaching proposals. Table 4 below outlines four fundamental recommendations that the Waitangi Tribunal (2011), proposes.

**Table 4: Recommendations of Waitangi Tribunal 2011**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Te Taura Whiri (the Māori Language Commission) should become the lead Māori language sector agency. This will address the problems caused by the lack of ownership and leadership.</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Te Taura Whiri should function as a Crown-Māori partnership through the equal appointment of Crown and Māori appointees to its board. This reflects our concern that <i>te reo</i> revival will not work if responsibility for setting the direction is not shared with Māori.</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Te Taura Whiri will also need increased powers. This will ensure that public bodies are compelled to contribute to <i>te reo</i>'s revival and key agencies are held properly accountable for the strategies they adopt. For instance, targets for the training of <i>te reo</i> teachers must be met, education curricula involving <i>te reo</i> must be approved, and public bodies in districts with a sufficient number and/or proportion of <i>te reo</i> speakers and schools with a certain proportion of Māori students must submit Māori language plans for approval.</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• These regional public bodies and schools must also consult iwi in the preparation of their plans. In this way, <i>iwi</i> will come to have a central role in the revitalisation of <i>te reo</i> in their own areas. This should encourage efforts to promote the language at the grassroots.</li></ul>

(Adapted from [www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz](http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz))

The Tribunal recognises that the entirety of its report on *te reo Māori* and their recommendations could be seen as a *wero* (challenge) and may even be resisted. But in reality, it would only bring Aotearoa/New Zealand in line with language policies in similar countries worldwide (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011).

## History of Te Reo Māori - Summed Up

This chapter discussed the *whakapapa* of *te reo Māori*, as a part of the Austronesian language family, from China to Taiwan, through New Guinea and finally Polynesia. From Polynesia, the diversification of languages is extensive, but eventually *te reo Māori* becomes fully formed as a language, thus completing the final stage of a long journey which started thousands of years ago; a position that anchors and locates *te reo Māori* as part of the Proto Central Eastern language journey. Unlike all other Proto Central Eastern languages, the *whakapapa* of *te reo Māori* must include every voyage, every relocation, every change made, otherwise it would not exist, according to those theorists that espouse Māori as being the last of the Austronesian explorers; from the vast Austronesian journey to the first settlement of ancient Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, to the arrival of Europeans and the implementation of colonisation, and its effects on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. It was through natural environmental change that Māori *tīpuna* developed the Māori culture and language within Aotearoa/New Zealand. It has been through synthetic, man-made environmental change that *te ao Māori* (the Māori world) has experienced radical change since the arrival of Pākehā. The cost of this change has fallen squarely on the back of *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. This synthetic environmental change is fuelled by colonialism and is not only affecting the physical well being of Māori, but their psychological, spiritual and cultural well-being as well.

Although this chapter is but a mere glimpse into the *whakapapa* of Austronesian languages including *te reo Māori* and history, it has highlighted some fundamental aspects of *te reo Māori* and indigenous languages in general. First of all as Austronesian language history suggests, cultural and language change is systemically environmental. This paradigm has been played out ever since humans first began moving from settled spaces into new environments. For example, each different country, island, or region the explorers settled within the Austronesian language group, they developed a different language and culture including in Aotearoa/New Zealand. While ancient Māori *tīpuna* developed their language and culture for almost a thousand years, Europeans arrived and changed the environment of Aotearoa/New Zealand seemingly overnight. They brought European religion, new technology, European politics, capitalism and a ruling class ideology that directly challenged a Māori context, all neatly rolled up in a parcel called colonialism. This new environmental change would have been similar to the resettlement

of Māori to a different island, country or region, apart from one very important difference, the rule book for this new environment had already been written and it did not include a Māori context. Initially, only a few Māori could see the negative influence of this new environment on the Māori language and culture. For the majority, the impact of language and cultural loss were only fully realised with the onset of urbanisation in the 1950s. This situation has seen the slow demise of *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. Using a conflict perspective, causes of poverty, health disparities and social control, it is clear to see that, synthetic environmental change operates at a macro level as well as at a micro level, since it includes social phenomenology (group behaviour) and exchange theory (the belief that human interaction is ruled by social and psychological exchange).

Natural environmental change has brought about the eventuality of *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture, as it did with all other cultures. Colonialism has deformed this natural change and contains within it a characteristic that cannibalises indigenous languages and indigenous ideologies. As previously mentioned, earlier that change or adaptation is a natural and essential aspect for all cultures, and often because of outside influence, change becomes a necessity for survival (Biever 1976; Naylor 1996; Weiner, 2000). If change is necessary for the survival of *te reo Māori*, then this chapter of change must be written by Māori just as their *tīpuna* did when they arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and not by the deforming ideology of colonialism. When ancient Māori settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand, they held on to many of the *tikanga*, *whakapapa* and creation narratives of their Polynesian ancestors of which are of an intrinsic part of the culture to this day. But they soon realised that there were many aspects of change they had to consider. To a very significant degree, a new way of life awaited them in Aotearoa/New Zealand and they adapted accordingly (Biever 1976; Naylor 1996; Weiner, 2000). This perhaps is the new journey for modern Māori, that is, to create new dimensions to their identity while still holding strong to their beliefs and values as their ancient *tīpuna* did. Change and adaptation is not about losing one's identity, instead, it is about creating new spaces within that identity. It is not about letting go of old beliefs and values, but realising that these values and beliefs are unchangeable and form the fundamental building blocks of *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. Adapting and utilising aspects that are defining the new world, such as the internet; this new tool has unlimited potential. Those internet and technological pioneers, whose efforts will become part of its history, are creating new dimensions within an old environment. However, new world

technology is only one example where adaptability and fortitude can be used to reinforce and strengthen *te reo Māori*.

## CHAPTER THREE

### A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF COLONISATION ON THE MĀORI LANGUAGE THROUGH AN EXAMINATION OF POLITICAL THEORY

Looking into the past for guidance into the future is by no means a new notion for Māori, but rather, part of a Māori context that encourages and embraces aspects of its past that allows the Māori language and culture to thrive into the future. Carmichael, Hubert, Reeves & Schanche (1994) write;

To the Māori the future is behind and is unknown. The past is in front and contains within it signposts and messages which give identity, and which enable the community to plot a path into the future with confidence and assurance, in essence, to know where you are going, you have to know from whence you came (p. 219).

Māori understand and appreciate the importance of this world view within Māori culture and its history. To maximise the many possibilities that this world view may hold for Māori, there must exist the potential to learn from other cultural histories, other cultural theories and ideas. This would include Western culture, indigenous or any other culture that could help Māori further analyse and articulate the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori*.

This chapter concentrates on the many ideas, theories and world views espoused by some of the ancient Western philosophers and some of the contemporary thinkers both from the Western and indigenous worlds. Philosophers since time immemorial have written about the way they see the world and society. Plato, Aristotle and Socrates of the ancient Greek civilisation have a legacy of works which continue to inform and influence the minds of people in the modern world. In more recent times, other philosophers have joined the ranks of those early greats and have impacted on indigenous communities globally in helping them understand their plight as victims of colonisation.

The following is a combination of early and contemporary *kaiariā* and how their ideas, notions and theories can be utilised to further define the impact of colonisation on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. The *kaiariā* are placed in chronological order starting with

Plato, then Niccolo Machiavelli, Georg Hegel, Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels, Antonio Gramsci, Frantz Fanon, Michel Foucault, Paulo Friere, Edward Said, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Henry Giroux and concludes with the theories of Haunani-Kay Trask. This chapter emphasises the importance of some of the works of these *kaiariā* in gaining a deeper insight into the far reaching consequences of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and *te ao Māori*.

### **Kaiariā Tuatahi: Plato - Ideology, theories and notions**

Plato defines his perception of the 'ideal state' using theories of forms and ideas in his work, 'The Philosopher Ruler' first published in 1513 (Plato, 1987). He presents a dialectical reason as the means by which such knowledge could be obtained and dismisses any unreliable data which the senses provide in favour of the conclusions obtained through an abstract of intellectual thought (Plato, 1987). To present his theory of forms and ideas, Plato uses three images, the Sun, which is an image of good and beauty, the Divided Line and the Cave (Plato, 1987). According to Plato (1987) "the good is an intelligible source for the objects of knowledge and enlightenment" (p.226). The Divided Line represents different levels of reality and corresponding degrees of knowledge (Plato, 1987). The Cave is about the mind ascending from a realm of images to that of visible objects. Furthermore, Plato described people as being shackled in the darkness of a cave only able to see shadows on the wall in front of them, radiated by a fire behind them (Plato, 1987).

According to Plato (1987) people believe that this is all there is to reality and strive for 'knowledge' of the shadow world; he uses the analogy of a prisoner leaving the cave and going into the sun. At first s/he would be overcome by the bright light until his/her eyes adjusted (Plato, 1987). Initially s/he would only see shadows and reflections but eventually s/he would be able to see the sun and therefore, be enlightened (Plato, 1987). If the prisoner decides to go back into the cave, s/he would retrench into darkness and temporary blindness as he/she searches to rescue or mentor another in the cave and take them on the journey outside of the cave to enlightenment. Brooks (2006) argues that Plato justifies the concentration and exercise of power for persons endowed with expertise in political governance; meaning their authority stems directly from their training and comprehension of politics in all its forms. This view by Brooks (2006) is broken down into two arguments. The first he calls the 'ideal political philosophy'

described as philosopher-kings absolute power over their subjects. The second is ‘practical political philosophy’ which can be described as the undermining of the philosopher-kings absolute rule through the impure character of all political knowledge. Brooks (2006) argues for a mixing of monarchy and democratic institutions to overcome the insuperable difficulties of Plato’s ideal political thought.

### **Theoretical application of Plato’s ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

As mentioned in Chapter Two, *whakapapa* was the main criterion for entry into the *whare wānanga*. Although entry could also include those that showed an aptitude in the higher skills area, regardless of *whakapapa*, these individuals would be inculcated into the higher echelons of the *whare wānanga* and ultimately into leadership roles (Simmons, 1986). Māori *tīpuna* understood that while it was appropriate to choose leaders from chiefly lineage, consideration and opportunity had to be given to those individuals who displayed exceptional talent and understanding of essential knowledge. In other words, Māori *tīpuna* are in line with Plato’s theory, that power belonged with those individuals who were endowed with the ability to comprehend the political, economic and for Māori, the spiritual aspects of leadership.

The Tāwhaki and Tāne-nui-a-rangi (and his many other names), narratives and oral traditions that have been written about by many writers, such as Best, 1976; Bishop & Sullivan, 2002; Calman, 2004; Grey, 1855; Haami, 2004; Haase, 2008; Harvey, 2002; Jordan, 2004; Mead, 1996, 2003; Mitchel & Mitchel, 2004; Radin, 2002; Reeves, 2007 & Thorton, 2004, directly relate to the quest for knowledge in all its forms which is a fundamental aspect of the Māori world view. These narratives inform Māori, as the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand, of the importance and value of knowledge and its attainment. Māori society established the *whare wānanga*, demonstrating how committed Māori were to the quest for knowledge. The graduates of the *whare wānanga* were taught specialist skills and amongst the graduates there were those that had been educated and groomed solely for the purpose of leadership. These graduates, who were of chiefly lineage the majority of the time, would have the attributes, character and the ability to comprehend political, economic and spiritual knowledge required to become a leader.

Plato's allegory of the cave holds some rather disturbing reflections when applied to the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand. From the arrival of Captain Cook, to the missionaries and then the settlers, Māori were deliberately kept in the dark (cave) as to the real intentions of the colonisers. Māori knew nothing of the coloniser's world or their political and economic motivations. Without proper study of the European world and indeed of world economics of the time, Māori were left chasing the shadows on the cave wall projected by the hand of the coloniser. According to Plato's theory, people (Māori) would believe that this is all there is to reality and strive for knowledge of the shadow world (Plato, 1987). This was a reality for some Māori who had become enchanted by the shadow world and the blissful reality it seemed to promise; a world controlled by the coloniser to support their economic agenda, but for Māori enormous danger waited in the shadows (Walker, 1996).

Plato writes that people could only become free of the shadow world if someone ventured out of the cave into the light. Māori history, since the arrival of Europeans, is scattered with incidents of what could be referred to as partial enlightenment. These incidents of partial enlightenment are created through hard lessons learnt, such as land loss, language loss, cultural loss and loss of autonomy. Due to the fact that Māori could only partially see the light through the shadows, their reactions were not always the most effective choices. Hone Heke chopped down the British flagpole in protest; Tainui and other *iwi* fought the land wars in protest; Te Kooti fought the colonisers in protest; the Taranaki chiefs, Te Whiti and Tohu peacefully resisted in protest (Campbell & Sherington, 2007; McCan, 2001; Walker, 1996; Walker, 2001). It could be argued that these examples of resistance occurred because Māori had become enlightened, to some degree.

Plato writes that those who come out of the cave would at first be overcome by the brightness of the sun, and would at first see only shadows and reflection's but eventually would see the sun, therefore, become enlightened. It is interesting to surmise, using Plato's cave allegory, how many Māori would actually have signed the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* if they were enlightened to the true intentions of colonisation. It is also interesting to contemplate who achieved full enlightenment of the coloniser's true intentions and when or if, indeed, anybody did at all.

It can only be assumed that major events, like colonisation in the history of a people, equates to enlightenment in some form or another. Using this assumption let us consider those individuals who formed the first Māori political party, known as the ‘Young Māori Party’ in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; people such as Āpirana Ngata, Te Rangi Hīroa, Māui Pōmare, James Carroll, Paraire Tomoana (Hill, 2004). Ngata and the rest of the members of the Young Māori Party were educated in universities which take their origins from Europe, and were enlightened to the inner workings of the colonial political arena (Hill, 2004). Ngata expressed fears of Māori losing their culture and language and pleaded for Māori to take steps to stop this from happening (Walker, 2001). Ngata’s most famous *whakataukī* is an indication of his level of enlightenment for the time;

*E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao; ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā, hei ara mō tō tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā taongo a ō tīpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna, ā ko tō wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa ( Grow and branch forth for the days of your world; your hands to the tools of the Pākehā for the welfare of your body, your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as adornment for your head, your spirit with God who made all things (The Story of Arohanui ki te Tangata, opening booklet, p. 32.).*

It is evident, through this *whakataukī*, that Ngata understood the economic realities for Māori who had to contend with colonialism, but he also understood the impact colonialism was having on *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture.

Plato was a political philosopher who believed that political problems like corruption of morals, factionalism and other issues could be solved by a body of knowledge (Plato, 1987). In comparison to this ideology, Māori have *tikanga* (Māori customs) and *kawa* (protocol) as their body of knowledge that has served their people for centuries. Plato’s views on rationality of just behaviour relevant to one’s self interests and his theory of justice gives insight into Plato the philosopher and Plato the political analyst. The many books and articles that have been written about Plato and his ideology give Māori and all other researchers the chance to examine his views from many different perspectives (Arendt, 2004; Brown, 2004; Bruell, 1994; Duerlinger, 1985; Goldsmith, 2007; Heinaman, 2004; Korab-Karpowicz, 2003; Kyong Min, 2007; Lindenmuth, 2007; Meynell, Ray, Sullivan, Williams, O’Gorman, Thomas, Thomas, 2003; Mitias, 2003; Newell, 2007; Pangle, 1998; Pickstock, 2001; Turner, 2004; Waters, 2004; White, 2004).

### **Kaiariā Tuarua: Niccolo Machiavelli - Ideology, theories and notions**

Niccolo Machiavelli's theories are espoused in 'The Prince' where he articulates a belief that people are motivated by envy, fear, novelty and the desire for power, wealth, security and their ultimate loathing of restrictions (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). Machiavelli's 'The Prince' provides the outline for absolute leadership for, not only the Renaissance ruler, but for politicians and those who led armies (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). This is perhaps why his theories remain relevant even in contemporary times (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). In particular, Machiavelli's theories are applied to modern business, modern politics and modern warfare (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). Although some of Machiavelli's theories may seem somewhat extreme, and he is often portrayed as evil personified, it must be remembered that he writes succinctly on how a ruler must act to gain power and maintain that power for an extended period of time (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Machiavelli did not write 'The Prince' to highlight the virtues of morality or to find the measure of one's humanity. Machiavelli's views of leadership and alliances demonstrate how much of an influence not only his contemporaries had on his theories, but also how much he learnt from the history of his *tīpuna* (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). He studied victories and losses inflicted on many rulers and kings throughout Italian and European history to find positive lessons and identify errors made by these leaders (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007).

Perhaps one of Machiavelli's most often quoted *whakataukī* "whether it is better to be loved than feared, or rather feared than loved" (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). This saying exemplifies the extent of his research, which not only delves into strategies for long term leadership, but into the frailties of the human condition (love and hate) (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Although Machiavelli's view of the masses can be seen as cynical and contemptuous, with good cause at times, his pragmatic approach in his instructions regarding how a prince should behave in order to maintain power and control perhaps exacerbates this view. Machiavelli was highly critical of foreign rulers, such as King Ferdinand of Spain, who was needlessly brutal to his subjects (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Such conduct may lead to power writes Machiavelli, but not glory (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Machiavelli argues that loyalty, trust, and obedience can not be fostered if rulers mistreat their subjects over a long period of time, it is only justifiable to use extreme measures when there are clear benefits in sight (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Machiavelli's idea that "the end justifies the means", may be a rather

shocking view of how a prince/ruler must conduct his affairs to be an enduring leader, but in reality it's a scenario that was and still is played out in business, politics and warfare every day (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). By making such a statement, Machiavelli had not fallen upon a new idea or notion, this was something that the people had suspected of their leaders in terms of being less than honest at times, or having ulterior motives; the fact that he wrote it down as clear practical advice was perhaps the most shocking act. Goodwin & Machiavelli (2003) state;

In order to appreciate the Prince at its true value, therefore, the modern reader, imbued with the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, must make allowance for the less civilized methods of an earlier age; he must, moreover, have some idea of the general conditions prevailing in Italy at the time when the book was written, and of the particular object that Machiavelli had in view in writing it; otherwise the violence of method and immorality of conduct recommended by Machiavelli may well appear inexplicable (p.13).

Although Machiavelli may not have intended his ideas to raise complex ethical questions, his ideas have remained the subject of debate since its publication in 1532. While his ideas were offered as practical advice to new rulers, they have since been used to rationalise ruthless political and business ventures (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). In reality, it could be said that Machiavelli was a traditional thinker, yet he had a flexibility as a writer and thinker that raised strong emotions in those that read his work. Machiavelli wrote in 'The Prince', the then revolutionary and prophetic idea, that theological and moral imperatives have no place in the political arena (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). Machiavelli asserted that "human beings were naturally wicked and required strong government to keep them from harming each other and reducing society to ruin" (Machiavelli & Ratliff, 1986, p.10). Boesche (2002) contrasts Machiavelli's 'The Prince' with 'Arthashastra of Kautilya' (c. 300 B.C.E.), written before the birth of Christ, and described by some as rendering Machiavelli's 'The Prince' harmless. Boesche (2002) argues that Machiavelli may have been afraid to reveal to his leaders the harsher aspects of tyrannical rule since he failed to mention certain aspects of political domination such as spies, assassination of enemies, and torture as written about in Arthashastra of Kautilya some 1800 years earlier. One of the first and key topics discussed in 'The Prince' delineates the rest of the issues mentioned, mainly the various kinds of government and how they are established. Machiavelli explains that there are two types of government, hereditary and newly acquired states (Goodwin & Machiavelli,

2003). A hereditary state is one that has been passed down and, as he describes, a much easier position to be governed than a newly acquired state as the citizens have become accustomed to the laws and systems (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003).

A ruler that has just obtained a new state will find it more difficult to govern wrote Machiavelli, as s/he does not know the people as well. In addition, the citizens will have higher expectations from a new ruler (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). When these expectations are not met, the people will readily revolt against him/her. Machiavelli discusses how to prevent this from happening with old and new kingdoms when setting up a new rule (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Machiavelli described how setting up new rule is most dangerous as individuals who benefited from the old system will harshly object while those who stand to gain after will only offer limited support (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Machiavelli also wrote about invading other countries with native troops, mercenaries and militia. He mentions that a ruler should avoid using troops of another country at all costs since they will not be fighting for their own country's pride or will not be prepared to die for the ruler's country (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). If the supporting troops from another country were to be defeated, the ruler would be defenseless and even if he were to win, the ruler would still owe part of the victory to the other country from which he borrowed the troops (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). As mentioned earlier, Machiavelli emphasized the point of gaining reputation, and how important it is to not be despised or hated, and in the final chapters of 'The Prince' he reflects on historical events relating to previous rulers and their failures (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003).

Anton (2009) argues that chapters 3-5 of 'The Prince' contains a distinct subsection that applies to the subject of conquest. This subsection precedes on at least four different levels, first a surface level that provides rules of attainment to current rulers, second a level that explains how to liberate and unify Italy (Anton, 2009). The third level, a metaphoric level, explains the Christian conquest of the ancient world and its effects, and the fourth level argues for a realistic understanding of new politics based on human enterprise and self reliance (Anton, 2009). In contemporary politics, business and even social circles in many countries, Machiavelli stands for the principle that winning is all that matters, regardless of how it is achieved. A Machiavellian, according to the 'Oxford Advanced Learner's Online Dictionary', is described as somebody who is unethical,

cunning and unscrupulous. According to this definition of a Machiavellian person, Machiavelli himself may not be the stereotypical Machiavellian, but his book ‘The Prince’ has gained popular support among those that seek power and wealth at any cost.

### **Theoretical application of Machiavelli’s ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

In relation to Aotearoa/New Zealand, the quest by the early settlers to establish an egalitarian society was squashed by their own desire for power and wealth. Although, this outcome was inevitable considering the principles of colonialism are based mainly on the theories of Machiavelli. Machiavelli states that;

The Prince who establishes himself in a Province whose laws and language differ from those of his own people, ought also to make himself the head and protector of his feebler neighbours, and endeavour to weaken the stronger, and must see that by no accident shall any other stranger as powerful as himself find an entrance there. For it will always happen that some such person will be called in by those of the Province who are discontented either through ambition or fear; as we see of old the Romans brought into Greece by the Aetolians, and in every other country that they entered, invited there by its inhabitants. And the usual course of things is that so soon as a formidable stranger enters a Province, all the weaker powers side with him, moved thereto by the ill-will they bear towards him who has hitherto kept them in subjection (Bowdon & Machiavelli, 2010, p.21).

The colonising process had already been tested on many indigenous peoples worldwide, before it stained the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and its effectiveness pertaining to gains for the coloniser and language loss, land loss, cultural loss and loss of sovereignty for the indigenous peoples had been proven (Walker, 1996). As colonialism eventually made its way to the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the laws and language of the coloniser became dominant over *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*. The coloniser set out to weaken the larger *iwi*, who posed a major threat to their aspirations, such as the Waikato tribes or Ngā Puhi in the north (Walker, 1996). Machiavelli argued that the use of extreme measures is only justified when there are clear benefits in sight (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Colonialism is based on the principle of domination of one people by another for the acquisition of land and or resources. In other words the benefits for the coloniser motivated by their greed for resources, is the justification for the use of extreme measures against the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The consequences of these extreme measures, discussed in chapter two, are not quantified by the coloniser who espouses the notion that the end justifies the means (Goodwin &

Machiavelli, 2003). The effects of these extreme measures are ongoing for *te reo Māori*, evident when current measures to revitalise *te reo Māori*, are half heartedly supported by the government, which is also mentioned in chapter two. The lukewarm support by government for *te reo Māori* revitalisation stems back to its colonial beginnings and is driven by fear and ignorance. Located at the nucleus of this fear and ignorance exists an incubation chamber of Machiavellian ideology.

### **Kaiariā Tuatoru: Georg Hegel - Ideology, theories and notions**

Born in 1770, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, a German philosopher, is known as one of the founding figures of German Idealism (Pinkard, 2001). Hegel was heavily influenced by Plato's theory that only thoughts are real, also Immanuel Kant's (a German philosopher), theory of transcendental idealism and the political thoughts of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, an 18<sup>th</sup> Century Philosopher (Pinkard, 2001; Woodfin, 2004). Hegel formulated an elaborate system of historical development of ethics, government, and religion through the dialectical unfolding of the Absolute (Pinkard, 2001; Woodfin, 2004). Hegel is one of the most well-known historicist philosophers and his thoughts portend 'Continental Philosophy' which is a collection of 20th-century European philosophical movements who attempt to continue the legacy of Hegel and other philosophers whose works include phenomenology, existentialism, hermeneutics, structuralism, deconstructionism and postmodernism (Pinkard, 2001; Sharma & Sharma, 2006; Woodfin, 2004). Hegel lived through a number of major socio-political upheavals, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars and the aftermath of those wars in which Europe began its restructuring according to early nationalist principles (Pinkard, 2001).

Hegel followed all these events with great interest and in great detail, from his days as a seminary student in the late 1780s through his various appointments in high school philosophy departments and on to his days as the foremost intellectual of his time (Pinkard, 2001). The 'Philosophy of History', like his first major work, the 'Phenomenology of Spirit' strives to show how these major historical upheavals, with their apparent chaos and widespread human suffering, fit together in a rational progression toward true human freedom (Pinkard, 2001). Hegel provides answers into the process of how ideas unfold through his theory of the dialectic. Woodfin (2004) writes Hegel apportioned three laws to this theory, these are as follows;

**The Law of the Transformation of Quantity into Quality.** Things tend to change gradually – quantitatively – for the most part, but will sometimes make a sudden leap in a different state. This is a qualitative change that can only happen after a period of quantitative change. **The law of the Unity of Opposites.** Many and perhaps all things in the world exist in opposition. Day and night, hot and cold, good and bad, near and far. But they do not really exist separately to each other. They form unions outside of which neither can exist. Day has no meaning without night, good without bad. The identity of each depends on the identity of the other. **The Law of the Negation of the negation.** Any thesis contains within itself problems and difficulties (contradictions) which will bring about its downfall. This downfall is actually achieved by the antithesis which reveals the contradictions. Thus it negates the thesis. But the antithesis itself contains its own contradictions which are exposed by the synthesis. Thus the negation is itself negated (pp. 24-26).

Hegel argues that every theory (thesis) or idea, apart from the absolute, has a weakness (antithesis), some aspect which would either be incomplete or false leaving the idea or theory open to contradiction, or what Hegel refers to as negation (Woodfin, 2004). The opposition of these ideas would only be eliminated when a third explanation is introduced; this Hegel refers to as the synthesis (Woodfin, 2004). The first aspect or original idea is the thesis, the idea that contradicts the thesis is the antithesis and the idea that leads to reconciliation is the synthesis (Woodfin, 2004). Hegel argues that over time the synthesis itself will inevitably be found to have deficiencies whereby the whole process will begin again until the absolute is established (Woodfin, 2004).

Hegel's philosophy of history is very much a product of its time, particularly for the overarching context of 'Reason' in which he interprets history (Pinkard, 2001). 'The Philosophy of History' is not a work that Hegel lived to see published. The massive text we have today is a reconstruction of a series of lectures Hegel gave at the University of Berlin in the 1820s (Pinkard, 2001). His students, colleagues and friends were stunned at his sudden death in a cholera epidemic in 1831 and feeling that he still had much to contribute, set about organising and publishing his lectures (Pinkard, 2001). This resulted in the posthumous publication not only of 'The Philosophy of History', but also 'The Philosophy of Art', 'The Philosophy of Religion', and 'The History of Philosophy' (Pinkard, 2001). Hegel's basic argument is, instead of thinking about human existence as somehow reduced down to pure physicality, or material form such as the human body, we can begin to see how human existence moves progressively towards pure spirit or essentially absolute mind. History moves in a teleological (the perception of purposeful development toward an end) way, a purely progressive fashion, becoming increasingly

more developed and progressively more aware (Sharma & Sharma, 2006). Hegel argues that humans are gradually, over millennia, moving towards transcendence of their animal nature and into pure reason (Woodfin, 2004). We, the human race, are still moving towards this absolute state of mind argues Hegel, although it will take an inconceivable exertion of will, desire, and intelligence; but human history will transcend animal instincts and become unbounded from acerbic desires that keep us tied to the wretchedness and pettiness of this world (Woodfin, 2004).

Hegel's best-known and most difficult concept would have to be 'Spirit'. The basic notion is that all of human history is guided by a rational process of self-recognition. A process where human participants are guided to an ever increasing level of self awareness and freedom by a rational force that transcends them, Hegel emphasises that we need not think of Spirit as God (Bhaskar, 2008). The only interest of this Spirit or force is to realise its own principle of true freedom (Bhaskar, 2008). It does this by unfolding as human history, where the consciousness of freedom is the driving force (Bhaskar, 2008). A primary feature of the operation of Spirit in history is that its nature is self-reflective (Bhaskar, 2008). Human history progresses as humans become increasingly self-aware and correspondingly become aware of their freedom (Bhaskar, 2008). Hegel captured something fundamental in history when he traced the development of freedom, but he perhaps overlooked the connection of freedom to the biological core of human beings. At this core, humans are immersed in self-interest, in spite of those who purport humans have a great capacity to operate for the good of the whole. In this view of the world, self-interest confronts self-interest. Tension and conflict are resolved through cooperation until new cycles of self-interest emerge that again must be dealt with, changing power dynamics, new laws, etc and this dialectical cycle endlessly repeats itself.

### **Theoretical Application of Hegel's ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

Perhaps perpetual conflict rather than enduring harmony is the essence of human history. If we apply Hegel's dialectic to Aotearoa/New Zealand history then it could look something like this. Māori language and culture develops within Aotearoa/New Zealand for about a thousand years and this development we will call the Māori cultural thesis. We then have the arrival of colonisers who bring with them their language, values and

beliefs. Hegel's dialectic process thus begins in that Māori beliefs, values and practices are critiqued by the colonisers. For example, inappropriate dress (or lack of), glorification of fanciful deities, barbaric cultural practices, misguided cultural ideology, redundant cultural language, under utilization of the land and its resources (Campbell & Sherington, 2007; Hokowhitu, 2004; McCan, 2001; Walker, 1996; Walker, 2001). This we will call the European cultural antithesis. Negation of the Māori cultural thesis by the European cultural antithesis has been ongoing since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, so theoretically (according to the dialectical model of Hegel) what we see today as the Māori culture is actually a synthesis born of the European cultural antithesis relative to the Māori cultural thesis; a hybrid of both Māori and European culture which could be argued creates a platform of commonality for both cultures to interact. However, Hegel's dialectical model in this instance, does not take into account the amount of influence the ruling class can have on the synthesis outcome, thereby creating an imbalance within the dialectical model in their favour.

### **Kaiariā Tuawhā, Tuarima: Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels - Ideology, theories and notions**

Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels published the 'Communist Manifesto' in 1848, a piece of literature that is unsurpassed in its depiction of modern capitalism and the transforming power of industrialisation (Woodfin, 2004). Many have criticised this book for its utopian alternative to capitalism and espouse that capitalism did not fall as predicted by Marx & Engels, which proves the unrealistic ideals of communism are unachievable (Woodfin, 2004). Marx & Engels wrote that the industrial process destabilised all hierarchies and also destabilised all sacred and secular inherited beliefs and practices. It turned everything everywhere into an item for sale; its catchphrase was and still is 'profit' (Woodfin, 2004). The Communist Manifesto splits the world into two spheres, the Bourgeoisie, the owners of the means of production and the Proletariat, the workers (Engels & Marx, 2008). The bourgeoisie all but destroyed feudal society, but at the same time, it created perhaps its greatest adversary, the proletariat (Engels & Marx, 2008). Marx developed a theory of value where the value of goods and services are based firmly on the amount of labour that is put into them (Woodfin, 2004). Furthermore, Marx suggests that the surplus which goes to the capitalist as profit is in reality the property of the proletariat. Marx & Engels introduced the notion of history as a class struggle (Woodfin, 2004). Within this notion, conditions and development of

various strata of society are discussed, including freeman and slave, lord and servant, oppressor and oppressed (Woodfin, 2004). This notion demonstrates how the development of each social stratum in history gave rise to the inexorable historical process which would ultimately culminate in the rise of one working class (Woodfin, 2004).

Karl Marx was to have a profound influence on many of the great minds of his time and beyond. This includes Ludwig Feuerbach, Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Antonio Gramsci, Fredric Nietzsche and many others that espouse the potential of Marxist ideology (Woodfin, 2004). Although Karl Marx has written many theories on many different issues, one particular theory of interest is his theory of ‘alienation’, a theory that is central to his concept of human nature (Churchich, 1990). According to Marx, humanity is realised through meaningful work that is interacting with nature and people in the process of making or changing things (Hodson & Sullivan, 2008). However, through the alienating nature of capitalist types of work, humanity is robbed of its potential growth and development (Hodson & Sullivan, 2008). In addition, Marx states that workers are treated by capitalists like an “inanimate factor of production” (Hodson & Sullivan, 2008, p.8). That is to say capitalists own the means of production, the technology, capital investments and raw material and the basic aim of capitalists is to exploit the poor and oppressed. This exploitation manifests itself through cheap labour, and then the oppressed are discarded when they are no longer needed. In the ‘German Ideology’ Marx (1970) states, “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force” (p.64). In other words, if the individual ideas of the working class do not fit within the ideas of the ruling intellectual force, these ideas are never realised, therefore potential growth and development of the working class position is limited.

### **Theoretical application of Marx’s and Engels’ Ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

Marx’s theory of alienation can be applied to the struggle of Māori to retain their own language, Māori as the working class and the Crown as the ruling class. Although Marx’s idea of revolution by the proletariat to overthrow the Bourgeoisie (capitalists) did not eventuate, Māori protesting in all its forms concerning the continuing loss of the

Māori language and culture can be likened to Marx's idea of revolution. Contemporary challenges for self-determination have taken many forms, as they did in earlier years. Through achievements in health, child welfare, employment and education Māori women have featured prominently, particularly through the Māori Women's Welfare League (Ka'ai, 2004; Linnekin & Poyer, 1990). The literary medium has also been used for gain, predominantly newsletters, as well as the field of drama (Ka'ai, 2004). The 1970s saw Māori using the political arena by protesting and forming their own political parties, the emergence of language advocacy groups, the related Te Kōhanga Reo movement and the cultural renaissance concerning traditional Māori art forms was also a part of this era (Ka'ai, 2004).

Māori are not only continuing to protest but are joining the struggles of indigenous people worldwide to achieve self-determination (Ka'ai, 2004). Māori have fought on many levels for equality and indigenous rights expressed through "...lobbying, making submissions, presenting petitions, mounting deputations, to occupying land under dispute, establishing various movements, organising marches, protests, boycotts, pickets, symbolic acts and demonstrations and establishing political parties" (Ka'ai, 2004, p.181). As previously mentioned, Marx developed a theory of value for capitalistic ventures undertaken by the bourgeoisie. Within this theory, the value of goods and services are based firmly on the amount of labour that is put into them (Woodfin, 2004). Furthermore the surplus, which is the profit, goes to the bourgeoisie but actually belongs to the proletariat (Woodfin, 2004). If we take into account the lack of government support for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*, discussed in chapter two, then quantify this by using Marx's value theory, we can see how little value the government places on *te reo Māori*. The government sees no surplus for them and that the profits are given to Māori, in terms of the survival of their language, therefore Government support is tepid. Māori on the other hand view the survival of *te reo Māori* as a profit for all of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels ideas and theories are at the very least considered by some as controversial and by others as threatening and dangerous to their world views. Be that as it may, there are still many people from all walks of life who continue to research and write about Marx and Engels ideology and theories, whether in agreement or negation.

### **Kaiariā Tūono: Antonio Gramsci - Ideology, theories and notions**

Heralded as one of the major political and social theorists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Antonio Gramsci's ideas and theories have had an influence in many fields of study, in particular educational theory and practice (Fontana, 2002). Furthermore, through his ideas and theories concerning the development of Western Marxism, he is considered to be one of the most important Marxist thinkers of his time (Fontana, 2002). Gramsci wrote 30 notebooks and around 3000 pages of history and analysis after being imprisoned by Mussolini's fascist dictatorship in 1926. These writings are known as the 'Prison Notebooks' (Booker, 2005; Fontana, 2002; Germino, 1990; Woodfin, 2004). The political and social theories of Gramsci lay at the axis of the concept he refers to as 'hegemony' (Booker, 2005; Fontana, 2002; Woodfin, 2004). Hegemony was used by Vladimir Lenin a Russian politician and Marxist Revolutionary 1870-1924, and Nikolai Bukharin a Russian politician and Marxist Revolutionary 1888-1938, to describe the political leadership of the proletariat within a revolutionary class alliance (Booker, 2005; Fontana, 2002; Woodfin, 2004). A concept that endeavours to explicate the reason why workers might not be revolutionary and why they may even turn fascist (Booker, 2005; Fontana, 2002; Woodfin, 2004). Gramsci concluded that Karl Marx's original theory of economic determinism, referred to by Marx as the iron rules of economics, is flawed (Fontana, 2002; Woodfin, 2004). Gramsci disagreed with Marx's notion that only the industrial proletariat are able to carry out the revolution (Fontana, 2002; Woodfin, 2004).

Marx was adamant that historical change must be clarified in terms of the economic substructure (Woodfin, 2004). Furthermore, he stated that the superstructure of institutions like religion, law, and culture is always inferior to the economy and changes of social values in the superstructure are determined by economics (Woodfin, 2004). Gramsci replaced Marx's theory of economic determinism with explanations of social change that lay in the superstructure and were determined by ideas rather than the economy (Woodfin, 2004). Gramsci argues that there are two ways the capitalist bourgeoisie class are able to dominate the proletariat, first economically and physically, through fear of losing one's job and by utter force, or alternatively by controlling the ideas, the very ideology of the workers (Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004). Gramsci states that economic or physical force alone is not enough to ensure control by the bourgeoisie of the proletariat, so a system that could control the ideology of society, a system that

could manipulate social consciousness had to be introduced (Woodfin 2004). Gramsci referred to this control of ideas as hegemony and characterised it in this manner;

Agreement from the majority of a society for the “picture of life” that is represented by those in power. The values, both moral and political, involved in this agreement will be largely those of the ruling class. The ideology comes to be seen as evident “commonsense” by the majority of people. It becomes “natural” to think like that. The consent is arrived at largely peacefully, but physical force can be used to support it against a dissident minority, so long as the majority acquiesce (Woodfin, 2004, pp. 25).

Gramsci cites that ruling class ideology is transformed into an acceptable culture (a world view) for the majority of society through the function of hegemony (Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004). This culture eventually becomes accepted as a normal part of society and is promoted by the ruling class and adhered to by the subordinate class (Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004). Culture in this sense is defined as a whole set of attitudes, values and norms that connect a particular society together into a working entity (Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004). Historically it was mainly religious institutions or educational institutions that converted ideology into culture through the function of hegemony, but today it is mass media institutions that produce the ideas, justifications, attitudes and perspective that form the fabric of everyday ‘commonsense’ (Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004). Although, the bourgeoisie do not have exclusivity on hegemony, as Gramsci notes, in certain circumstances the proletariat is able to use it to their advantage, but they are unable to achieve this on their own and need the assistance of other exploited and disadvantaged groups (Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004). In other words, revolution can take place but the alternative culture (world view) must be accepted by the widest range of exploited and disadvantaged groups (Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004). Jones (2006) states;

Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937) recognized that social power is not a simple matter of domination on the one hand and subordination or resistance on the other. Rather than imposing their will, ‘dominant’ groups (or, more precisely, dominant alliances, coalitions or blocs) within democratic societies generally govern with a good degree of consent from the people they rule, and the maintenance of the consent is dependent upon an incessant repositioning of the relationship between rulers and ruled. In order to maintain its authority, a ruling power must be sufficiently flexible to respond to new circumstances and to the changing wishes of those it rules. It must be able to reach into the minds and lives of its subordinates, exercising its power as what appears to be a free expression of their own interest and desires. In the process, the ruling coalition

will have to take on at least some of the values of those it attempts to lead, thereby reshaping its own ideals and imperatives (pp. 3 - 4).

Gramsci argues that the notion of achieving absolute power is a fallacy, but that maintaining power is a continuing process even during times when the ruling class is unable to maintain wider societal consent and the boundary between the demands of the dominant and the needs of the subjugated become the field of battle (Jones, 2006).

### **Theoretical application of Gramsci's ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

Gramsci's theory of hegemony when applied to the decline of *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture holds many parallels. From the influences of the missionaries, followed closely by colonial influence, and then modern day mass media influence (media in all its forms), have all contributed in some way to the decline of *te reo Māori*. Māori have been confronted with the two evils of the ruling class, firstly economic and physical force and then, perhaps the most insidious, the control of Māori ideas and Māori ideology. This ideological control has in many instances transformed traditional Māori ideology to 'popular culture' through the function of hegemony; a popular Māori culture that continues to be made more palatable by the ruling class and the ruling classes ideal picture of life. But this popular Māori culture is slowly becoming unrecognisable by the culture it is supposed to represent and impacts negatively on *te reo Māori*. It is difficult for most Māori, in particular those who have little understanding of a Māori context, to recognise this change. It is especially difficult for Māori youth to accept that this change is due to ruling class hegemony.

Māori youth and youth in general, consider popular culture to be their domain, their area of original ideas. This is the perfect place for ruling class hegemony to attack *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture. A whole generation of Māori who believe they brought about these changes and continue to support these changes with youthful exuberance. Unfortunately, this is the same generation who are consistently told by the politicians, educationalists and mass media, which is controlled by the ruling class hegemony, that they will amount to nothing, that their future will ultimately include some form of abuse and incarceration. For youth, popular culture is their way of fighting the system, fighting back, but in reality they are the most vulnerable, which also means that the future of the Māori culture and *te reo Māori* remains vulnerable. These 'popular culture' ideas are

unable to include an authentic Māori context or an authentic Māori ideology because they are filtered through a ruling class hegemonic ideology which fundamentally opposes Māori ideology. A popular Māori culture merely implies an indigenous perspective, but in reality is fashioned and promoted by the ruling class to conform to their idea of the ideal life. Ultimately, through ruling class hegemony, this ideal life is supported and promoted by the subjugated as ‘common sense’.

### **Kaiariā Tuawhitu: Paulo Freire - Ideology, theories and notions**

Paulo Freire was an educator/theorist who worked extensively in Latin America and former Portuguese colonies in Africa (Macedo, 2000). As an educator, he saw that he could initiate change by challenging and even defeating the exploitation and suffering that oppressive societies created by motivating the oppressed and finding new ways of approaching education (Macedo, 2000). For Freire, a person who could not read was no less intelligent than a person who could read, they were just a person who had not yet learnt to read (Freire, 1970). Freire (1970) wrote the ‘Pedagogy of the Oppressed’ for those who believed that exploitation of the poor and oppressed in all societies should be eliminated. Furthermore he cites that, education is the greatest medium for change in all societies. Freire (1970) states;

This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both (p.21).

Freire explains that liberation of the oppressed and oppressor can only be initiated by the oppressed, as they are not shackled by the addictive influence of power. This liberation must include change at the highest strata of politics, education and social culture to create a type of sustainable liberation (Freire, 1970). Freire (1970) argues that oppression dehumanises both the oppressed and the oppressors and proposes pedagogies based on trust for the oppressed and builds reflection that would ultimately lead to positive action by the oppressed. Freire (1970) dismisses the ‘banking model’ of education, where the student is seen as passive and knowledge is placed therein. Instead, he advocates problem-solving education, where the students become student-teachers and teachers become teacher-students. Freire (1970), outlines the conditions that must be met to empower the oppressed through education in his book, ‘Pedagogy of the Oppressed’.

His theories suggest that empowerment through education can only happen from the bottom up and that knowledge must be socially constructed for it to be meaningful.

'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' has its beginnings in Freire's life experiences, in particular his physical hunger as a child whose middle-class family fell from its economic podium and landed head first into the land of the poor (Macedo, 2000). Freire's experience of and confrontation with class borders would lead to his radical rejection of class-based society (Macedo, 2000). According to Macedo (2000) Freire understood that, "material oppression and the affective investments that tie oppressed groups to the logic of domination cannot be grasped in all of their complexity within a singular logic of class struggle" (p.13). Freire argues that a clear understanding of oppression inevitably takes a route through some form of class analysis, although it is impossible to "...reduce everything to class, [as] class remains an important factor in our understanding of multiple forms of oppression" (Macedo, 2000, p.14). The fundamental goal of Freire's pedagogical methods concerning education, is to heighten the student's level of consciousness of the world around him/her, while at the same time learning to read (Spring, 2006). Spring (2006) writes;

Reading has an important function in the operation of consciousness because, according to Freire, learning to read is a process of learning how to name the world. Language provides the tools by which people can think about the world and see the world as a place that they can change. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Freire considers his pedagogical methods to be as easy to follow as a cookbook, but their implementation requires an understanding of his definition of human nature. The central feature of his method is dialogue. Freire's concept of dialogue is quite different from that of Socrates... (p. 151).

Dialogue according to Freire's method, is to help both the teacher and student understand the political, economic and social forces that have shaped their lives (Spring, 2006). Although teachers may possess a critical consciousness, they do not necessarily understand the fundamental aspects of their students lives (Spring, 2006). The freeing of consciousness from a necrophilic personality (psychology – longing for death) into a biophilic personality (love of life or living systems – attraction to all that is alive and vital) for all people, is a major goal within Freire's method of education (Spring, 2006). The freeing of consciousness is related to Freire's notion of revolutionary change and offers clear definitions of what he refers to as left and right revolutions (Spring, 2006). Freire considers the revolution in Russia as a revolution of the right considering there

was simply a change of one set of authoritarian figures for another, implying the lack of revolution within the consciousness of the people (Spring, 2006). Spring (2006) illustrates the contrasts between Freire’s notions of left and right revolutions within the following table.

**Table 5: Table of Left and Right Revolutions**

<b>Revolution of the Left</b>	<b>Revolution of the Right</b>
1 - People are subjects of history	1- Leadership knows the future
2 - Leadership and people work together to develop utopian vision	2 - People are domesticated
3 - Biophilic	3 – Necrophilic
4 - Love as liberation	4 - Love as possession
5 - Dialogue	5 – Mutism
6 - Reflective-problematizing	6 – Slogans
7 - People who organize	7 - Organization people
8 - Revolution continuous	8 – Bureaucracy

(Adapted from Spring, 2006)

The contrast between the two columns within this table reflects Freire’s notion of the two forms of consciousness. Numbers 1 - 2 of the left revolution highlight the differences that are shared between people who are consciously working together to shape the future (Spring, 2006). Numbers 1 - 2 of the right revolution indicate self-proclaimed leaders deciding the fate of the people (Spring, 2006). Number 3 of the left revolution has already been discussed in the last paragraph and number 4 of the left revolution refers to Freire’s idea of finding teachers who will initiate social change by developing their biophilic personality and combining it with revolutionary consciousness (also known as critical consciousness) (Spring, 2006). With these two aspects in mind teachers will be able to liberate their students through what Freire refers to as an ‘act of love’ (Spring, 2006). Number 3 of the right revolution has already been discussed in the last paragraph and number 4 of the right revolution indicates possession rather than liberation pertaining to the consciousness of the people/students (Spring, 2006).

Number 5 of the left revolution indicates people/students who are engaged in open dialogue while number 5 of the right revolution refers to keeping the people/students quiet by disallowing open dialogue (Spring, 2006). Number 6 of the left revolution promotes allowing people/students with problems to be solved through conscious reflection and dialogue, and 7 of the left revolution refers to the involvement of the

people/students in organising for social change (Spring, 2006). Number 6 of the right revolution refers to revolutionary leaders hurling slogans at the people/students, treating them as objects rather than individuals while number 7 of the right revolution indicates people/students joining organisations developed by those in power (Spring, 2006). Number 8 of the left revolution indicates social change that remains continuous while people/students seek a better life and number 8 of the right revolution refers to bureaucracy that protects the newly won power of revolutionary leaders against any challenges (Spring, 2006).

### **Theoretical application of Freire's ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

Although Freire's discussion of curriculum deals mainly with the education of the poor and illiterate, Freire's life's mission was to help the poor and oppressed masses to gain insight into alternative ways of education (Freire, 1970). If we apply Freire's 'Left and Right Revolution' to the implementation of colonialism in all its forms, in particular its educational pedagogies within Aotearoa/New Zealand, we can gauge what side these pedagogies lean towards, left or right. The differences that exist between Māori and European pedagogies are not acknowledged and open dialogue pertaining to the future of Aotearoa/New Zealand is non-existent. This implies a lean to the right for numbers 1 - 2 (Campbell & Sherington, 2007). Negative colonial attitudes towards Māori *tikanga*, discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, and their insistent approach to what they refer to as the 'civilising of Māori' implies a desire, or longing, for the discontinuation, or death, of Māori practices and language (Binney, 2005). This implies a lean to the right for number 3. Persistent colonial attitudes that insist Māori must fall under the authority of British rule rather than being an independent ally to Britain suggests possession rather than liberation, implying a lean to the right for number 4 (McCan, 2001).

Māori have had little or no input into the running of Aotearoa/New Zealand following the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, even though *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* was considered a partnership between Māori and the Crown (Walker, 1996). In fact New Zealand's third Chief Justice Judge Prendergast concluded that the Tiriti was a nullity and Judge Myers further reinforced that view (Walker, 1996). This implies a lack of dialogue and inclusion of Māori which leans toward number 5 right. The lack of dialogue and inclusion in 5 right applies to 6 right which suggests that people/students (Māori) are

treated like objects rather than individuals. Māori were encouraged to participate in European forms of education established by the missionaries and then by the Crown and were actively discouraged from being involved in Māori pedagogy (*whare wānanga*) which implies a push towards institutions developed by the ruling class which is a lean towards 7 right (Campbell & Sherington, 2007; Hokowhitu, 2004). The development of a New Zealand government that implemented rules and legislation that dramatically affected the status of Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand indicates bureaucracy that protects the ruling class, which implies a lean to the right for number 8 (Walker, 1996). According to Freire's table of left and right revolution, the colonisation of Aotearoa would be considered a complete right revolution.

### **Kaiariā Tuawaru: Frantz Fanon - Ideology, theories and notions**

Frantz Fanon is a writer/theorist who has written extensively about colonisation and the coloniser. Frantz Fanon's 'The Wretched of the Earth' describes the mind-set and deep rooted fears of the colonist (Fanon, 1963). Fanon (1963) states;

The colonial world is a Manichaeian world. The colonist is not content with physically limiting the space of the colonized, i.e., with the help of his agents of law and order. As if to illustrate the totalitarian nature of colonial exploitation, the colonist turns the colonized into a kind of quintessence of evil. Colonized society is not merely portrayed as a society without values. The colonist is not content with stating that the colonized world has lost its values or worse never possessed any. The "native" is declared impervious to ethics, representing not only the absence of values but also the negation of values. He is dare we say it the enemy of values. In other words, absolute evil. A corrosive element, destroying everything within his reach, a corrupting element, distorting everything which involves aesthetics or morals, and agent of malevolent powers, an unconscious and incurable instrument of blind forces (p.6).

'The Wretched of the Earth', is a brilliant analysis of the psychology of the colonised and their path to liberation, bearing singular insight into the fury and frustration of colonised peoples and the role of violence in achieving historical change (Fanon, 1963). The book astutely assaults the twin perils of post-independence colonial politics, the disenfranchisement of the masses by the ruling class on the one hand, and intertribal and interfaith animosities on the other (Fanon, 1963). Fanon's analysis, a veritable handbook of social restructuring for leaders of emerging nations, has been mirrored all too clearly in the corruption and violence that has and continues to plague present-day Africa. Fanon delves into the entire tribulation of colonisation from the spasms of colonised

animosity, armed conflict and the destruction of the colonial bourgeoisie (Fanon, 1963). He analyses the role of class, race, national culture and violence in the struggle for national liberation (Fanon, 1963). Fanon examines the psychological effects of colonialism on indigenous populations and explores in-depth the psychological effects of colonial warfare (Fanon, 1963). Even after nationalism is achieved, the indigenous population will continue to be affected by the psychological effects of colonisation (Fanon, 1963). For the colonised, to live simply means to avoid death, to exist simply means maintaining life's vital processes (Fanon, 1963). It can be inferred, that Fanon's portrayal of the Algerian Revolution deals with individuals who have had their human faculties of identity removed and are simply forced as human beings to exist in the most basic sense of the word (Bulhan, 1985).

Fanon probes the economic section of decolonisation which demonstrates clearly his intense support for a redistribution of wealth and a unification of resources (Gordon, Sharpley-Whiting & White, 1996). He holds in contempt the urban proletariat, the tribal leaders and the colonised intellectuals who have submitted to Western ideology but he later asserts they can regain their bearing by integrating with their brethren in their struggle against colonisation (Fanon, 1963). Fanon explains clearly that colonisation was a military project, thus the reason he promotes force by the colonised against the coloniser to achieve freedom (Fanon, 1963). Fanon examines Western attitudes towards the colonised, awareness of colonial conditions and of the kinds of people that emerge from both worlds (Fanon, 1963). Fanon's conclusion clearly demonstrates his promotion for change when he calls for the Third World to create a distinct delineation between itself and Europe in order to create, a new man (Fanon, 1963). Fanon details the psychological impact colonisation has had on the colonised and the coloniser in his 'The Wretched of the Earth' (Fanon, 1963). He concludes that colonisation has led to self-hatred among the colonised and pathological delusions of grandeur among the colonisers, thus his suggestion for the Third World to create a new man through engaging in bloody anti-colonial revolution (Fanon, 1963).

### **Theoretical application of Fanon's ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

With reference to Aotearoa/New Zealand, Fanon's assertions apply to Pākehā-Māori relations reflected in the numerous attempts by Pākehā, through Western conventions

including Christianity, law and order and education, to extinguish the Māori language and culture. For example, the 1847 Education Amendment Act was a guise for assimilation and the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act outlawed various experts and Māori repositories of knowledge. Fanon writes that the native is seen by the coloniser as absolute evil, a corrupting element that is the enemy of values. This attitude is reflected in Aotearoa/New Zealand by the high incarceration numbers of Māori, as well as the Government's persistent attitude of harsher disciplines rather than considering Māori alternatives to incarceration. Fanon's notions of redistribution of wealth and unification of resources can be seen in the aspirations of *iwi* through submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning compensation to Māori for past injustices. The return of ancestral lands to *iwi* through the recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal can be seen as unification of resources, although in this circumstance, the land can be referred to as a traditional resource. Fanon (1963) holds in contempt the tribal leaders and colonised intellectuals who have surrendered to Western ideology and argues that the Third World must create a new man through anti-colonial revolution. By comparison, Māori must create a revolution of change through the rejection of ruling class ideology within the government and mainstream institutions that negate a Māori world view. Māori must create a new person with a new world view by encouraging those Māori who have become subjugated by ruling class ideology to engage in aspects of the Māori culture and Māori ideology through participating in the struggle for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*.

### **Kaiariā Tuaiwa: Michel Foucault - Ideology, theories and notions**

Michel Foucault is a writer and theorist whose theories continue to shape inquiring minds. Foucault's 'Madness and Civilization' is a powerful examination of the historical development of what is referred to as madness and what it meant to be mad. In 'Madness and Civilization' Foucault (1965) examines what he describes as the archaeology of madness in Western culture, from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century. Within this period, insanity was considered part of everyday life, but attitudes would slowly change to the point where such people were to be considered a threat to society and its developing norms (Foucault, 1965). In today's society, the term madness is radically different from what it meant during the age of reason (Foucault, 1965). 'Madness and Civilization' takes a chronological approach to the development of madness and illustrates how the term mad was manipulated throughout history in order for society to

redefine itself against 'the other' (Foucault, 1965). Foucault discusses madness as the psychological state of a person who becomes totally absorbed by fantasy to the point where they can not function in the real world (Foucault, 1965). Foucault examines how powerful institutions have functioned in response to the irrational; how the issue has been approached during different eras and how madness is defined, handled and treated (Foucault, 1965). Foucault discovers that the origin of insanity and of psychological confinement corresponds with the reduction of leprosy in Europe (Foucault, 1965). Foucault also identifies how the divisions of institutional power sought to find alternative means of normalisation and social control through public degradation and imprisonment of the mentally ill, the poor and the homeless (Foucault, 1965).

Foucault's 'Madness and Civilization' represents an important contribution in the field of post-modern philosophy. Reading through Foucault's *Madness and Civilization*, it is easy to assume that it is basically a criticism of major institutions and their treatment of the insane. But in actual fact Foucault illustrates how asylums and wards have been used as a tool of power to shape how society wants people to live and how cultural standards and mores come to define madness as being in opposition to supreme reason. Foucault compares contemporary society with Jeremy Bentham's (an English utilitarian philosopher) 'Panopticon' a design for prisons (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). Within Bentham's design, a single guard watches over many prisoners without being visible to them (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). Old style prisons have been replaced by clear and visible ones, writes Foucault, but he cautions that this is a trap. It is through this visibility that modern society implements its controlling structures of power and knowledge (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). The ability of institutions to path individual's movements throughout their lives is clear proof that increased visibility leads to individualised levels of surveillance states Foucault (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997).

Foucault argues that a carceral continuum permeates modern society in subtle ways (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). From penal institutions, to government departments, to the enforcement sector, to educational institutions, even within the offices and factories of society, a standard of acceptable behaviour (control) is demanded and enforced by all (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). Foucault writes that the Panopticon has become a transparent building where society as a whole must become the warders; that it is no accident that prisons bear a resemblance to factories, hospitals, schools and army barracks (Horrocks

& Jevtic, 1997). Throughout history the mad, which is almost never defined in any epoch, are treated dreadfully and detested for their differences in relation to what is perceived as normal (Foucault, 1965). Foucault (1965) highlighted many of these situations in his work, 'Madness and Civilisation'. Foucault's philosophical interests in France were focused on two areas, the philosophies of experience, the subject, meaning and consciousness or namely, existentialism and phenomenology (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). Smart (2002) writes that Foucault's work has received a variety of responses including indifferent criticism for historical inaccuracy to naive admiration for establishing a new political theory and practices. Smart (2002) states that;

Criticisms of historical inaccuracy, principally leveled at two texts namely *Madness and Civilization* and *Discipline and Punish*, have tended to be predicated on an incorporation of Foucault's works within traditional history, in consequence possibly significant differences between Foucault's work and traditional history have been neglected or conflated in order that charges can be made of historical omission, distortion, and invention. For example, in respect of *Madness and Civilization* Foucault has been accused of arguing that the 'humanitarian values and achievements of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment' have been for the worse and that the isolation and confinement of the mad was a product of a conspiracy of medical professionals. Implicit in such criticisms is a conception of the progressive historical development of humanity to which Foucault's work is incorporated and conceived to be in a relation of opposition (p. 63).

According to Smart (2002) to arrive at the conclusion that Foucault's work's view historical events as some type of conspiracy is a clear misunderstanding of his ideas and theories. The necessity of a multiplicity of cause's stems from the study of historical events (Smart, 2002). In addition "...human subjects are conceived to be formed in and through discourses and social practices which have complex histories; and, last but not least, power is conceptualized neither as principally repressive nor prohibitive..." (Smart, 2002, p. 63). In actual fact, social practices and discourses including power, are conceptualised through productiveness and positivity, writes Smart (2002). Thus, the allegation that Foucault has simply developed a social control model of human relationship is devoid of substance (Smart, 2002).

### **Theoretical application of Foucault's ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

Māori incarceration numbers, Māori mental health numbers and Māori poverty are issues that plague Māori society (Barnes & Rowe, 2008; Durie, 2003). If Māori exist in a

carceral society, the type of society Fanon refers to in his book 'Madness and Civilisation', then their warders are the criminologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and even sociologists that demand normality according to the perception of the ruling class. Those who judge Māori on their perceptions of normal and who are too quick to recommend incarceration of the body, of the mind, of the spirit as the panacea do so in order to defend their way of life. Incarceration and reformation do not reduce the crime rate or help those who have a mental disability, or help those who are poor (Cavadino & Dignan, 2006). Even though statistics show that incarceration or reformation does not work, the government's natural inclination is to punish more harshly and demand more reform.

Foucault argues that the 'Panopticon' has become a transparent building where the whole of society has become the warders. In other words, the whole of society (including some Māori who subscribe to this philosophy) critique a Māori context through their ideology of the perfect life and its norms. There is little room for a Māori context within this notion of perfection and in reality, even those Māori who promote society's views of the ideal life are merely tolerated, but are never fully integrated within this ideology, either because of their cultural, genealogical, physical or spiritual differences. Māori will always struggle to exist in a society which is built on the ideology of the ruling class. This particular ideology affords minimal accommodation to a Māori context that promotes *kotahitanga* (unity, collectivism), and ideology that is fundamental to a Māori context and has been practised in Aotearoa/New Zealand for nearly a thousand years.

### **Kaiariā Ngahuru: Edward Said - Ideology, theories and notions**

Edward Said is a writer and theorist who has many views. In Said's 'Culture and Imperialism' he examines what he describes as imperialism in European literature (Said, 1993). He illustrates the broad grasp of imperialism and the tenure of one culture or group of people by another through analysis of Western authors and texts (Said, 1993). Said defines imperialism as an ideology; a set of assumptions that justifies, supports, and legitimates the conquest, control, and domination of lands that are inhabited by other people (Said, 1993). Imperialism as an ideology writes Said, is distinct from colonialism which is the actual activity of dominating other lands and people through fear of physical and economic force (Said, 1993). Furthermore, imperialism goes beyond the political and economic domination and stays in a culture in the most subtle of ways (Said, 1993).

One of the main themes in 'Culture and Imperialism' is the interconnection between culture and society whether in the past or the present.

In 'Culture and Imperialism', Said does not purposely intend to denigrate the West, but attempts to show how one's identity is determined by one's relationship with what he refers to as the 'Other' or the Third World (Said, 1993). His observations on this relationship between the West and the other are enlightening and revealing. Said discusses Western cultural representations of the non-European world, representations which have a tendency to be crude, racist and suffer from a chronic case of reductionism (Said, 1993). He believes this tendency is not accidental but a systematic element of an imperial inclination that suffers from the need to dominate (Said, 1993). Said, writes that the voices of the non-European world in Western culture are not likely to be heard to any significant degree, and are deliberately suppressed by imperialism (Said, 1993). According to Said (1993) politics and culture are one and the same. The developed world depends on the developing world, even though in cultural interpretations, the former often represents itself as separated and elevated from the latter (Said, 1993).

Said examines the power of literature to form and maintain ideological control over cultures, history and their people and how Western literature, the words and ideas, have affected and continue to affect non-Western cultures (Said, 1993). Said's observations go a long way in supporting his assumption that imperialism did not end after decolonisation and that there is still an intense need to justify domination in cultural terms (Said, 1993). Imperialism is viewed by Said as existing both in the material world and in the imagination. This view gives reason for his focus on Western literature (Said, 1993). Thus decolonisation does not put an end to the influence of imperialism in the practices of a nation (Said, 1993). Said's 'Culture and Imperialism' reveals that the tools used by Western imperialism to dominate other cultures are literary in nature as much as they are political and economic (Said, 1993). Said explores Western fiction and contemporary mass media as weapons of conquest and also analyses the rise of oppositional indigenous voices in the literatures of the 'colonies' (Said, 1993). He argues that dominant cultures of imperialistic powers are connected through strong ideological ties to their nations (Said, 1993).

Art is power writes Said, and because of this often unforeseen connection, the repression of the other has been subtly endorsed through poetry, prose and philosophy (Said, 1993). In 'Culture and Imperialism', Said does not argue that authors such as Jane Austin and Joseph Conrad endorse colonialism as their explicit purpose for writing (Said, 1993). Although, he argues, it is the nature of their artistic medium, the novel, which explicitly and implicitly shapes colonial thought (Said, 1993). Said analyses Joseph Conrad's 'Heart of Darkness' and states that it displays an unavailability of European domination, which inevitably leads to the expected subordination of those being colonised (Said, 1993). Although Said mentions that it is not simply through what was written in the 'Heart of Darkness' that supports imperialist attitudes, but also what was left out (Said, 1993). Said argues that Conrad's exclusion of natives and their unique perspectives in the story reinforces imperialistic attitudes (Said, 1993). In other words, this is an extension of how the West, or for that matter any colonising nation, represents the other, as inadequate, passive people who have become nothing more than background scenery for dominant actors.

### **Theoretical application of Said's ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

For Māori, Western literature has permeated every aspect of Māori thought. From the arrival of the missionaries, and their religious doctrine, through to the establishment of colonial rule in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Māori language and culture have been impacted upon. As mentioned in Chapter Two of this thesis, the ruling class attitudes towards the Māori language and culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were openly antagonistic and hostile. These negative attitudes towards the Māori language and culture have not really changed in many institutions across Aotearoa/New Zealand, but the hostility has become more subtle in its delivery (Walker, 2001). For example, the mass media in all its forms plays a more prominent role in reinforcing ruling class ideology than it ever has. Read any mainstream newspaper in Aotearoa/New Zealand to see how negatively Māori are portrayed. Read the many books that have been written about Māori by non-Māori to see how Māori are negatively depicted. This type of literature concerning the Māori culture and its language has been written over many years. Non-Māori researchers often only included Māori in the initial part of their research, the part where Māori have explained to the researcher how their customs and protocols are practiced, but they are not included in the explanations as to why and how these practices have developed (Harrison, 2001;

Harvey, 2000; Liamputtong, 2008; Smith, 1999). Through Said's theory, indigenous cultures, including Māori, are given another area to analyse the impact of colonialism on their languages and culture, apart from the economic and political reasons frequently espoused. This theory is significant, since it suggests that Māori should be selective in what literature they choose to read. Māori should seriously consider the negative affects this specific literature has had and continues to have on Māori ideology and *te reo Māori*. Māori must take into account the books their *tamariki* are reading. Considering how impressionable *tamariki* are, Māori parents must be aware of the affects of romance novels, science fiction novels and popular magazines that their *rangatahi* (youth) are reading, especially as *rangatahi* are the driving force behind popular culture. Furthermore, it is argued that if *te reo Māori*, Māori ideology and indigenous perspectives are excluded from literature, then how will Māori children be able to form a critical opinion of their own environment. With the exclusion of a Māori context or an indigenous world view from print literature, the chance for the survival of *te reo Māori* is markedly diminished.

It is the non-Māori that feel the need to explain to Māori their own customs and practices. This attitude displays an imperialistic world view. It assumes that the natives are unable to articulate the more complex aspects of their own customs and practices and therefore it remains the duty of the Western world to become the parent/teacher. However, in recent years, many exceptional Māori writers have produced books that contradict this paternalistic view of Māori and articulate a truly unique Māori context. Unfortunately the majority of books written about Māori and other indigenous cultures are the types of books Said refers to, as books that shape and reinforce a hegemonic ideology. There is the potential in all forms of mass media for positive change, from novels/literature, to television, to the internet. All have unlimited possibilities, however, these same tools also have the potential to strengthen and solidify a hegemonic world view that could have fatal consequences for the survival of *te reo Māori* and other indigenous and oppressed minority languages.

**Kaiariā Ngahuru mā tahi: Ngugi Wa Thiong'o - Ideology, theories and notions**

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is an African writer and theorist who has written broadly on decolonisation. Thiong'o's 'Decolonizing the Mind' is an important piece of writing in understanding the anti-colonialist struggles. The Western world understands colonialism

in terms of the most visible aspects of a nation, namely its leadership (Thiong'o 1986). However, Thiong'o reminds the reader of other aspects of colonialism, specifically, the domination of language by the Western world (Thiong'o, 1986). This domination of language allows a type of social apartheid to exist by asserting the superiority of European languages over non-European languages (Thiong'o, 1986). Thiong'o (1986) rightly protests that an educational focus that embraces essentially only foreign works, language and culture is destructive. Thiong'o (1986) realised that this foreign language and culture was taking indigenous Africans further away from themselves and their world. Thiong'o (1986) saw a need to create literature that expressed the indigenous African world-view, but that also espoused a local perspective. He clearly understood that the local version held the true identity of its peoples, expressed through their oral traditions and songs (Thiong'o, 1986).

Although Thiong'o received an English education, he eventually turned to writing in his native language of Gikuyu. This is something he suggests all indigenous African writers should strive for (Thiong'o, 1986). Thiong'o primarily writes about African perspectives and his views on colonisation give great insight for Māori culture and its experiences with colonisation. Thiong'o describes how racist notions of the Western world affect how indigenous Africans see themselves, their feelings of displacement, self-hatred and anxiety, feelings experienced by many indigenous cultures worldwide (Thiong'o, 1986). Thiong'o's 'Decolonizing the Mind' is both an explanation of how he came to write in Gikuyu and his encouragement of African writers to embrace their native language through their art (Thiong'o, 1986). The foreign languages most African authors write in, are the languages of the imperialists, suggests Thiong'o (Thiong'o, 1986). These languages imposed on indigenous Africans have and will continue to lead to the destruction of indigenous African identity (Thiong'o, 1986). An examination of some of Thiong'o's writings will reveal that his ideas are not that distant from Karl Marx's ideology and what he refers to as the oppressed and the exploited of the earth (Thiong'o, 1986). According to Thiong'o (1986);

The oppressed and the exploited of the earth maintain their defiance: liberty from theft. But the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage to struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one

wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland, it makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples language decadent and reactionary, all those forces which would stop their own springs of life, it even plants serious doubts about the moral rightness of struggle (p.3).

Thiong'o (1986) posits that the aim is to pacify the oppressed by making them believe they are better off existing in what the ruling class refer to as the ideal life. Through this form of pacification it would seem the oppressed could be better off economically, but it only seems that way. The reality is that the ideal life has only ever been a form of escapism for the oppressed (Thiong'o 1986). The following example is one way of looking at this form of escapism and pacification Thiong'o writes about. This form of escapism and pacification is like the turning on of a television set which allows you into a beautiful house that has delicious foods and a number of things you could desire. But abruptly switch the television set off and you are quickly brought to the realisation that it is impossible to obtain these things simply by watching television, or by conforming to the ideology of the ruling class. They are only images that are there to tantalise, to pacify and to create conformity. Therefore, the main job of the agents to the ruling class, is to keep the television set running by continually bombarding the oppressed with images (through politics, education, mass media and other areas) of how it could be if they only follow the ideology of the ideal life. This bombardment allows no time for the oppressed to articulate their situation; a situation that if fully realised by the oppressed, could lead to a break down in the status quo.

In Thiong'o's most recent book 'Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance' he continues the discussion of the use of language to decolonise the mind and remember the past with the present. He also discusses Africa's historical, economic and cultural fragmentation by slavery, colonialism, and globalisation (Thiong'o, 2009). Thiong'o (2009) explores Europhonism (the replacement of native names, languages and identities with European ones), and posits that the result of Europhonism has seen the dismemberment of African memory. Thiong'o further posits that in order to revitalise a language one must seek to remember it in its wholeness (Thiong'o, 2009). In 'Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance', Thiong'o makes comparisons with the colonisation of Ireland, and the detrimental effects this had on the Irish language and culture, with that of African countries and their languages and cultures (Thiong'o, 2009).

Thiong'o also compares the resurrection of African memory and its ongoing identity struggles within literature, with European writer's victorious emergence from the shadow of Latin literature (Thiong'o, 2009).

### **Theoretical application of Thiong'o's ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

Māori as the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand have experienced oppression in a similar way to what Thiong'o writes about. The traditional names of many places in Aotearoa/New Zealand were quickly changed to European names on first contact and the speaking of *te reo Māori* was actively discouraged. The practising of many aspects of Māori *tikanga* was prohibited and Māori knowledge was seen as backward and redundant (Harlow, 2007; May, 1999; Walker, 1996). Thiong'o writes about the concept of the ideal life and that this particular idea exists within the ideology of the ruling class and is promoted by its followers. This ideology is detrimental to the aspirations and world view of Māori and indeed all indigenous cultures, mainly because it is built to support the ideology of the ruling class; an ideology that is rigid and full of empty promises of inclusiveness and accommodating cultural concerns, in particular, indigenous cultural concerns (Hartley & Mckee, 2000; Tierney, 2007).

Contradiction exists within this idea of inclusiveness and accommodation. How can these things exist within the ideology of the ideal life if the ideology fundamentally opposes the world views of indigenous cultures? The mere suggestion of creating inclusiveness and accommodating for cultural concerns is an indication that the ideology of the ideal life is exclusive of an indigenous world view. Creating accommodation for indigenous ideology within the notions of the ideal life implies that indigenous cultures are *manuhiri* (visitors), therefore accommodation must be found. But like all *manuhiri*, the expectation is they will eventually return from whence they came, meaning accommodation (inclusiveness) is only temporary. Furthermore, inclusiveness could only refer to participation in developed constructions and not inclusion in the reconstruction of fundamental ideology. The idea then is, *manuhiri* (Māori) are guests and must appreciate and abide by the rules of the hosting country or, in the case of Māori, the ruling class (the coloniser).

### **Kaiariā Ngahuru mā rua: Henry Giroux - Ideology, theories and notions**

Henry Giroux is a writer and theorist who has contributed hugely to the field of critical pedagogy. Giroux promotes radical democracy (a strategy that challenges neo-liberal and neo-conservative concepts of democracy), and strongly opposes religious fundamentalism, neo-liberalism, empire and militarism due to the anti-democratic tendencies inherent in these areas (Giroux, 2003). Giroux (2003) critiques the influences of the American political and economic systems on the youth of America in his book 'The Abandoned Generation: democracy beyond the culture of fear'. Giroux (2003) rebukes the 'war on terrorism' which he describes as diversion of public attention and unnecessary waste of public funds, arguing that America's antiterrorist campaign harms the very democracy that defines America. Giroux (2003) argues that America is at war with its youth, a generation of youth that is no longer seen as the future of democratic America. Giroux (2003) states that the youth of America are now derided by politicians, demonised by popular media and ridiculed by certain so-called educationalists that are all looking for a quick fix solution to crime, education and health. Giroux (2003) contends that instead of providing a decent education for all of American's youth, they are being offered the increased potential of being incarcerated. Instead of offering American youth decent health opportunities, they are simply served more tests (Giroux, 2003). According to Giroux (2003) America is projecting its class and racial anxieties on to the youth of America and that this is negatively affecting all sections of American society. Instead of offering the youth of America what Giroux refers to as 'vibrant public spheres', the youth are being served a commercialised culture driven by consumerism which is offered as the only requirement to citizenship. Giroux (2003) states, "educators need to provide spaces of resistance within the public schools and the university that takes seriously what it means to educate students, that is, to question authority, recall what is forgotten or ignored, and make connections that are otherwise hidden" (pp. 40-41). Giroux's (2003) admonishment of the American government, in particular George Bush's approach to the September 11 terrorists bombing of the twin towers in New York, is explicitly derisive.

While Bush and his associates are quick to remind American people that much has changed in the United States since September 11, almost nothing has been said about what has not changed. I am referring to the aggressive attempts on the part of many liberal and conservative politicians to undermine informed debate, promote a remorseless drive to privatization, and invoke patriotism as a cloak for carrying out a reactionary economic and political agenda on the

domestic front, while simultaneously cultivating an arrogant self-righteousness in foreign affairs in which the United States portrays itself uncritically as the epitome of purity, goodness, and freedom, while its opposition is equated with the forces of absolute evil. As a wartime president, Bush enjoys incredibly high popular ratings, but beneath the ratings and the president's call for unity, there is a disturbing appeal to modes of community and patriotism, and security work to stifle dissent, empty democracy of any substance, and exile politics to a realm of power no longer subject to criticism of public debate. Shamelessly pandering to the fever of emergency and the economy of fear, President Bush and his administration are rewriting the rhetoric of community so as to remove it from the realm of politics and democracy (Giroux, 2003, p. 2).

Giroux (2003) states that since the 1980s, and in particular after the September 11 bombing, neoliberalism and a culture of fear have controlled American politics, causing what he refers to as a crisis of democracy. Giroux (2003) writes that security of America also includes its people, their health, education and terrorism including what Giroux calls 'terrorism of everyday life'. This type of terrorism includes the anguish and suffering experienced by millions of Americans, adults and children, who lack adequate food, healthcare, jobs, childcare, retirement funds and basic housing needs (Giroux, 2003). Neo-liberalism is very dangerous in a number of ways states Giroux (2003). For example, the depoliticalisation of society through the construction of cynicism; the construction of a world economy of part-time workers based on commercialisation and privatisation; the destruction of public places and the lack of understanding in relating private dilemma within societal concerns (Giroux, 2003). In Giroux's (2003) 'The Abandoned Generation: Democracy beyond the culture of fear', he examines the privatisation of public schools, the commodification of higher learning, and how these affect the youth of America. There is an obvious influence of Paulo Freire in Giroux's theories of educational pedagogy as well as Marxist political views (Giroux, 2003).

Giroux's earlier work of critical pedagogy focused more on the development of radical democracy writes Eryaman (2010), but by the early 1990's, there was a shift in his theoretical orientation to postmodern, feminist and postcolonial theories. With this type of shift in his theoretical orientation Giroux was better able to address issues such as race, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation (Eryaman, 2010). Giroux's radical democracy and its main tenet, border pedagogy, promote the need to establish a public identity and make available the opportunity to enact that identity in collective democratic processes positing that this is a vital concept in a participatory democracy (Eryaman, 2010). If this aspect is excluded from the democratic process, then the outcome is a

marginalised society which is limited in its ability to become public actors or to contribute to any meaningful dialogue that elicits change (Eryaman, 2010).

### **Theoretical application of Giroux's ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

Giroux's work displays similar concerns for the American youth as Māori show for their own youth. Giroux (2003) writes that American youth are derided by their politicians, demonised by popular media and ridiculed by certain so called educationalists. As was previously mentioned, one only needs to read any mainstream newspaper in Aotearoa/New Zealand to see how negatively Māori, in particular Māori youth, are portrayed and that this is further manifested in many books that have been written about Māori by non-Māori. A paper written by one of Aotearoa/New Zealand's principal Youth Court judges, Judge Becroft, reveals that the New Zealand justice system is failing Māori youth, this is according to the findings of the research material Becroft (2005) used. Becroft (2005) writes;

...young Māori are more likely than other racial groups to receive severe outcomes such as orders for supervision either in the community or a youth justice residence. Researchers concluded these more severe outcomes were due to 'increased vigilance' by the public and the police with regard to Māori youth. Māori youth are more likely to be dealt with in the 'Youth Court' where more severe sentences are meted out, than by family group conference. These more severe outcomes may result from Māori being brought to the attention of the youth justice system more frequently (p.1).

Becroft (2005) also states that according to research carried out by Te Puni Kōkiri, Māori youth are three times more likely to be apprehended, prosecuted and convicted than non-Māori youth. Although Becroft (2005) cites that the findings are controversial and more research into Māori youth offending and effective responses need to be undertaken. According to Giroux (2003) America is at war with its youth. Comparatively speaking, it can be viewed that the New Zealand justice system is at war with Māori youth. Māori youth are not seen as the potential holders of fair democratic governance, but instead are its enemy which needs containing. Giroux's radical democracy and its main tenet, border pedagogy, promote the need to establish a public identity and make available the opportunity to enact that identity in collective democratic processes (Eryaman, 2010). Māori youth need to become part of a collective identity which also allows them to be included in the democratic processes. Instead of Māori youth being offered public sphere's to explore their identity and having places of resistance within

schools and universities that allow Māori youth to challenge authority and make connections that are otherwise hidden, Māori youth are offered the increased potential of being incarcerated. Giroux contends that other alternatives to incarceration must be explored and this is the case for Māori youth where these alternatives must include a Māori approach based on a Māori world view.

### **Kaiariā Ngahuru mā toru: Haunani-Kay Trask - Ideology, theories and notions**

Haunani-Kay Trask is an indigenous Hawaiian writer and theorist. She has been described as a freedom fighter, a political activist and most importantly, a strong advocate for the Hawaiian people and their language and culture. Through these roles, Trask has become a conduit for her people's grievances. In Trask's 'From a Native Daughter' she writes not only about the 110 years the Hawaiian Islands have been administered illegally by the United States, but she also articulates the damaging psychological affect this has had on indigenous Hawaiians (Trask 1999). As indigenous peoples, asserts Trask (1999), "...our nationalism is born not of predatory consumption nor of murderous intolerance but of a genealogical connection to our place, Hawai'i and - by Polynesian geographical reckoning - to the Pacific" (p.59). When Cook stumbled upon the Hawaiian Islands he brought with him a foreign system that was unable to co-exist with that of the Hawaiians, states Trask (1999). Trask had two clear reasons for writing 'From a Native Daughter'. The first was to highlight the historical and ongoing destruction of the lands, language and culture of indigenous Hawaiians, and second, was to find a way forward for the revitalisation of the Hawaiian culture and language (Trask, 1999).

Trask's writings emphasise, with explicit ferocity, the American government's historical and ongoing mistreatment of indigenous Hawaiians (Trask, 1999). American mistreatment she refers includes denying indigenous Hawaiians their indigeneity, while at the same time, recognising Native Americans as indigenous (Trask, 1999). Hawaiians according to the United States government, are no different from any other resident of Hawai'i and that everyone in Hawai'i has equal status. Trask (1999) cities, "...Hawai'i is a militarized outpost of empire, deploying troops and nuclear ships to the south and east to prevent any nation's independence from American domination" (p.17). There are tensions between the military, which have the luxury of exclusive use of traditional lands, beaches and cheap or free housing and indigenous Hawaiians who are paying

phenomenal prices for housing and land, writes Trask (1999). The plight of indigenous Hawaiians is not widely known, even by many Hawaiian residents (Trask, 1999). This is due to deliberate obscuring tactics by missionary descended landowners, local politicians, state and federal government, mass media and certain educational institutions whose system is ideologically and economically dependent on state agencies (Trask, 1999). Trask (1999) states, "...to Hawaiians, *haole* (Americans) seem to cherish their ignorance of other nations (especially conquered peoples who live wretched lives all around them) as a sign of American individualism" (p.18). She contends that Americans are devoid of anything that resembles a connection culturally to each other as brothers, sisters or family, or any such belief that human beings are connected to the natural world (Trask, 1999). Thus, those who suffer and die under oppression, either deserve their fate or have not succumbed to an ordered world were the white man is at the top (Trask, 1999). According to Trask (1999);

Today, Hawaiians continue to suffer the effects of *haole* colonization. Under foreign control, we have been overrun by settlers: missionaries and capitalists (often the same people), adventurers and, of course, hordes of tourists, nearly seven million by 1998. Preyed upon by corporate tourism, caught in a political system where we have no separate legal system status – unlike other Native peoples in the United States – to control our land base (over a million acres of so-called 'trust' lands set aside by Congress for Native beneficiaries but leased by their alleged 'trustee', the state of Hawai'i, to non-Natives), we are by every measure the most oppressed of all groups living in Hawai'i our ancestral lands. Despite the presence of a small middle class, Hawaiians as a people register the same profile as other indigenous groups controlled by the United States: high unemployment, catastrophic health problems, low education attainment, large numbers institutionalized in the military and prisons, occupational ghettoization in poorly paid jobs, and increasing outmigration that amounts to diaspora (pp.16-17).

Trask (1999) discusses the subjugation of Hawaiian culture by America and also by the tourist industry, a situation Trask refers to as cultural prostitution. In particular, the *hula*, which is an ancient form of dance steeped in cultural and religious meaning for native Hawaiians (Trask, 1999). Trask argues that this beautiful form of Hawaiian expression and indeed the whole Hawaiian culture has been made ornamental, an expression of exotica for the glaring tourist hordes. Trask (1999) writes, "Hawaiians exist in an occupied country whose hostage people are forced to witness (and, for many, to participate in) our own collective humiliation as tourist artifacts for the First World (p.17). Trask (1999) states that tourists both from Euro-America and Japanese First

Worlds are naively inculcated with the image of Hawai‘i as a happy, racially accepting paradise; a paradise where the Natives are waiting in anticipation to share their culture. This, writes Trask (1999), is a familiar image encouraged by corporate tourism and a propaganda that entices foreign tourists to spend millions.

Although this image is a world away from the harsh realities for indigenous Hawaiians, for most visitors to Hawai‘i, this reality is at best an unwelcome irritation. This cavalier attitude by visitors to the plight of indigenous Hawaiians is caused by the obscuring tactics of the ruling class and the euphoric nature of their overseas trip (Trask, 1999). Trask (1999) not only discusses the wretched situation of indigenous Hawaiians but also the environmental issues facing Hawai‘i. For example, Pearl Harbour which has been polluted by the American military to such a degree, it is one of the top priorities on the Environmental Protection Agency’s superfund list (Trask, 1999). Other examples include Waikiki and raw sewage problems, Honolulu’s International Airport which is heavily contaminated with jet fuel from the military, commercial and private air craft and valleys and plains on all major island’s that are contaminated with pesticides/herbicides (Trask, 1999).

### **Theoretical application of Trask’s ideology, theories and notions within a Māori context**

There are striking similarities between the Hawaiian culture and its colonial history and the Māori culture and its colonial history. These similarities are due, in part, to the historical links which exist between Māori culture and Hawaiian culture as discussed in chapter two of this thesis, and the influence of colonial powers in particular, Captain Cook and his associates who had a major influence on both cultures. Trask’s examination of the effects on indigenous Hawaiian’s language and culture, after Cook landed in Hawai‘i, and America’s treatment of indigenous Hawaiians, is tinged with déjà vu for Māori and many other indigenous cultures within the Pacific. Chapter Two of this thesis discussed Cook’s influence on Māori history through his charting of Aotearoa/New Zealand. This action would inevitably change traditional Māori life forever. Trask also argues that the Hawaiian language, cultural practices and religion were banned and their kingdom was annexed illegally by America and that these are the main reasons why the Hawaiian language and culture are still suffering to this day (Trask, 1999). In chapter two of this thesis, the very same issues are discussed and for

the most part, the same conclusion is reached. Trask's courageousness and blunt honesty, which radiates from every page of 'From a Native Daughter', is perhaps the strongest message for Māori. Trask's fearlessness and fortitude of conviction to try and define the impact of colonialism on the Hawaiian language and culture is an example for Māori to use to critically analyse the comparisons and contrasts of both Hawaiian and Māori colonial history. Furthermore, Māori could use Trask's book, 'From a Native Daughter' as a lens to identify sign posts and directional indicators that can be used to further understand and define the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology.

### **Conclusion**

Through an examination of theories and notions of the thirteen *kaiariā* researched in this chapter, it can be seen that most share a common view suggesting that due to colonialism and ruling class ideology, the world view, culture and language of oppressed or minority groups, including Māori, can be altered significantly.

The main purpose of this chapter was to critically analyse the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology through the epistemological, pedagogical, ontological, phenomenological, existential, ideological and critical theories of the thirteen *kaiariā*. Through this critical analysis further understanding of the impact of colonialism on the Māori language can be articulated. To reiterate Said, it is contended, that the tools used by Western imperialism to dominate other cultures are literary in nature as much as they are political and economic (Said, 1993). Furthermore, that European literature contains subtle nuances, which denigrate non-European cultures in a number of ways, including the exclusion of indigenous ideology, values and beliefs (Said, 1993). The challenge for Māori is to understand the very core of theorists such as Said, and put into place a counter-plan to put a stop to the eroding effects of colonialism on contemporary Māori society as it continues to manifest in a variety of forms.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored and examined the origins, political history and the current status of *te reo Māori* in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand society. A critical analysis of the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology through political theory has also informed the unfolding chronology of the decline of the Māori language. The challenge is to consider all the theories, notions and ideas of the selected *kaiariā* examined in this thesis to further define and understand in greater depth, the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology and propose a reclamation and repositioning of Māori language and ideology that include aspects such as *whakapapa*, *whakataukī*, *pūrākau* (myth, ancient legend), *waiata* (song, sing), *karakia* (prayer or chant), *kōrero o nehe* (ancient history), *pepehā* (tribal sayings, proverbs), and many other Māori cultural concepts. The research within chapter two suggests that cultural and language change is systemically environmental; an archetype that has been played out all over the world, ever since human ancestors first began moving from their original homelands into new territories. While research in chapter two implies that natural change is inevitable for all cultures, there is a need for caution; as it also implies that if colonialism is seen as part of this natural change, then it follows that the ultimate fate of the Māori language and culture is extinction. Hence the need for Māori to understand that the only way to combat this is to reclaim, embrace and know their language and culture in its wholeness, and begin to identify strategies to revitalise the language and extinguish all form of colonialism which continue to threaten the very survival of *te reo Māori*.

Plato was the first *kaiariā* examined in chapter three. His allegory of the cave is thus our starting point. Let us imagine that Māori are the prisoners shackled in the cave. As Māori stare at the cave wall oblivious to their predicament, a voice is heard asking the question “Who are you and where did you come from?” This is a question pertaining to identity, and belonging. The purpose of this question is to encourage Māori to explore their *whakapapa*, their history, before and after colonisation, and only then will they be able to define the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. For Māori, moving beyond Plato’s allegory of the cave is the future as it is the only space beyond

confinement and thus is not influenced by the shadow world of colonial ideology. This lack of control by the shadow world can only lead to true enlightenment. The expanse beyond the confinement of the cave, which could be referred to as *te ao Māori*, is the only place Māori can truly begin to know themselves once again. *Kaiariā tuarua*, Niccolo Machiavelli and his theories pertaining to leadership and what must be achieved to maintain leadership. Many of Machiavelli's theories and methods, as discussed in chapter three, are being practiced in modern politics, warfare and business (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003; Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). This is an indication that colonialism continues to permeate the super structures of modern society and inevitably impact on *te reo Maori* and Māori ideology. Māori must continue to challenge the leadership and political conventions of the government and within their own tribal communities, to be sure that *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology is sustained for future generations.

*Kaiariā tuatoru*, Georg Hegel and his theory of historical development pertaining to ethics, government, and religion through the dialectical unfolding of the absolute offers many different perspectives (Pinkard, 2001; Woodfin, 2004). Hegel's three laws of the dialectic provide insight into how structures change, how opposites relate to each other and how all theories have an anti-theory. Hegel argues that every theory or idea, apart from the absolute, has a weakness, some aspect which would either be incomplete or false leaving the idea or theory open to contradiction or what Hegel refers to as negation. The opposition of these ideas would only be eliminated when a third explanation is initiated. Hegel refers to this as the synthesis (Pinkard, 2001; Sharma & Sharma, 2006; Woodfin, 2004). The impact of colonialism on the decline of *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology are full of theories and contradictions. An understanding of Hegel's theory of the dialectic and synthesis applied to the history and decline of the Māori language provides the pathway to making positive steps in defining and refining the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology.

*Kaiariā tuawhā, tuarima* Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels wrote that the industrial process destabilised all hierarchies and also destabilised all sacred and secular inherited beliefs and practices (Woodfin, 2004). This theory suggests that the decline of *te reo Māori* may be due to a breakdown in Māori values and beliefs influenced by capitalism. According to Marx, humanity is realised through meaningful work that is interacting with nature and people in the process of making or changing things (Woodfin, 2004).

However, through the alienating nature of capitalist types of work, humanity is robbed of its potential growth and development (Hodson & Sullivan, 2008). It could be implied, using this theory, that *te reo Māori* growth and development is obstructed by the alienating nature of the synthetic environment change introduced by the coloniser. Marx and Engels theories suggest that there should be a reconnection with traditional practices and for Māori, this means renewing and strengthening links with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* and *te ao Māori*.

*Kaiariā tuaono* Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony is insightful and identifies the controlling mechanisms employed by the ruling body. Gramsci stated that economic or physical force alone was not enough to ensure control by the bourgeoisie of the proletariat. A system that could control the ideology of society and manipulate social consciousness had to be developed and implemented to change this. Gramsci referred to this control of ideas as hegemony (Woodfin, 2004). These are the same controlling ideas that are inherent in colonial ideology implemented in Aotearoa/New Zealand by the coloniser and, in some instances, was embraced by some Māori, as hegemony took hold and became accepted as the normal, natural way of seeing and doing things (Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004). In other words, the insidious nature of hegemony has often blinded Māori to not only embrace this controlled culture, but to believe the new environment and ideology is best for Māori. Again, Māori must contest this view by deconstructing the hegemonic control of the ruling class.

*Kaiariā tuawhitu* Paulo Freire's pedagogical methodology of education is to heighten the student's level of consciousness of the world around them (Spring, 2006). By raising Māori consciousness concerning their environment, Māori will become aware of the elements that have minimalised Māori ideology, and the elements that have, and are still influencing, *te reo Māori* decline. The freeing of consciousness is related to Freire's notions of revolutionary change, this revolutionary change must occur to reduce or even eliminate those elements that are challenging the validity of Māori ideology and aiding the decline of *te reo Māori*. Freire makes it clear in his theory of left and right revolutions how to identify a positive and nurturing society that encourages high levels of consciousness. Freire's table of left and right revolutions can be used to identify what has a negative or positive effect on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. Freire's left revolution theory involves people who are consciously working together to shape the

future; people who initiate social change by developing their biophilic personality and combine it with revolutionary consciousness. It also involves people who are involved in open dialogue that allow problems to be solved through conscious reflection.

*Kaiariā tuawaru*, Frantz Fanon examines the psychological effects of colonialism on indigenous populations and explores in-depth the psychological effects of colonial warfare, Fanon suggests that even after nationalism is achieved, the indigenous population will continue to be affected by the psychological effects of colonisation (Fanon, 1963). This is another area where the impact of colonialism is contributing to the decline of *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. Through Fanon's theories, it becomes clearer that the impact of colonialism are psychological as much as they are economic, religious and political in nature.

*Kaiariā tuaiwa* Michel Foucault illustrates how asylums and wards have been used as a tool of power to shape how society wants people to live and how cultural standards and mores come to define madness as being in opposition to supreme reason (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). This situation can be compared to the implementation of colonisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand and how colonial ideology has reshaped Māori ideology to conform to its own ideals. Foucault's comparisons of contemporary society to the 'Panopticon' are pertinent to the confinement of Māori ideology within the shadow world. Old style prisons have been replaced by clear and visible ones, although, through this visibility modern society implements its controlling structures of power and influence (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). In other words, while Māori are not physically shackled in Plato's allegory of the cave, they remain restricted by the dominant ideology which inevitably impact on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology. Foucault's examination of powerful institutions, and how the divisions of institutional power sought to find alternative means of normalisation and social control, highlights what could be referred to as 'colonised institutionalisation', similar in nature to institutionalised racism, and equally as destructive to indigenous aspirations.

*Kaiariā ngahuru*, Edward Said's theories illustrate the broad grasp of imperialism and the tenure of one culture or group of people by another through analysis of Western authors and texts (Said, 1993). Said examines the power of literature to form and maintain ideological control over cultures history and their people and how Western

literature, the words and ideas, have affected and continue to affect non-Western cultures (Said, 1993). The types of literature Said refers to, assists in the reinforcement of dominant ideology, and in particular when he argues that decolonisation did not extinguish the influence of imperialism within the beliefs and practices of a nation. In other words while Māori may live in post-colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand, the existing dominant ideological view from its colonial past continues to exist and have serious impact on *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology.

*Kaiariā ngahuru mā tahi* Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o writes that colonialism is not simply attributed to the leadership of a particular nation, but that there are other influences that can be attributed to colonisation. Thiong'o specifically refers to domination of the English language by the Western world and the concept of the ideal life. This particular idea exists within the ideology of the ruling class and is promoted by its followers (Thiong'o, 2009). The ideology is detrimental to the aspirations and world view of indigenous peoples, as it directly contradicts their values and beliefs. Thiong'o states that in order to revitalise a language one must seek to remember it in its wholeness (Thiong'o, 2009). Understanding the impact of colonisation and the changes in the *whakapapa* of *te reo Māori* and its history, *te reo Māori* and Māori ideology can be remembered in its wholeness.

*Kaiariā ngahuru mā rua*, Henry Giroux and his theory of radical democracy and border pedagogy, promote the need to establish a public identity and democratic processes in order to achieve a participatory democracy (Eryaman, 2010). If this aspect is excluded from the democratic process then the outcome is a marginalised society, with the marginalised society limited in its ability to become public actors or to contribute to any meaningful dialogue that elicits change (Eryaman, 2010). In order for Māori to participate in a collective identity in terms of the democratic process, they must also be able to express their own identity through the use of Māori ideology, values and beliefs. According to Giroux's theory, places must be sought within society where marginalised peoples can express their thoughts and their ideology without fear of influence or control. Without this Giroux argues that the impact on marginalised peoples will be significant as they will not be able to elicit change within their own environment.

*Kaiariā ngahuru mā toru*, Haunani-Kay Trask is a clear example of an indigenous person who has ascended from the shadow world. Trask is fearless in her description of America's illegal administration of Hawai'i (Trask, 1999). Trask is also clear on the psychological impact of colonisation on indigenous Hawaiians (Trask, 1999). Trask destroys the assumption that ascending from the shadow world is the end of the struggle for indigenous peoples, and demonstrates that it is actually the very beginning of the struggle. She gives no guarantees that life will be any easier beyond the shadow world. In actual fact, Māori, like Hawaiians, who are beyond the control of the shadow world, can expect a negative reaction from the ruling class. Trask's writing exemplifies her lack of concern at being labeled a radical or even a terrorist, which is often overridden by her passion and *aloha* (Hawaiian word for love) for her culture and a fear of losing the Hawaiian language, culture, land, ideology, identity, values and beliefs that define Hawaiian identity.

Someone once said, that to campaign against colonialism is like barking up a tree that has already been cut down. This statement seems a little short sighted as the impact of colonialism not only takes into account historical facts, or the period when the tree stood tall, it is also about the continuing impact of residual colonialism on indigenous and oppressed minorities. If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it fall, except the surviving indigenous people who tell the story of how this massive tree fell on their village, killed most of its people and dramatically altered their way of life, can it then be said that because no one else heard the tree fall, that this event really happened? In other words, Māori must clearly identify and define the impact of colonialism on *te reo Māori* so the 'others' can also hear the echo of the falling of the tree. It is argued that the impact of colonialism is not less real, or less traumatic for indigenous peoples, because they are the only ones affected. Normality in the lives of indigenous peoples can only be achieved when all the psychological, physical and cultural influences of colonialism are clearly defined and sufficiently addressed.

It is the hope of the researcher, that this research will be used by those involved in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* as a foundation or theoretical framework to develop strategies to ensure the survival of *te reo Māori* for future generations. An understanding of political theory and its application to deconstructing the genesis of *te reo Māori*

provides a strong foundation to develop language revitalisation strategies that will be useful, relevant and effective.

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**APPENDIX ONE**  
**GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS USED IN THE CONTEXT OF**  
**THIS CHAPTER**

*Most meanings of the terms in this glossary have been sourced from Moorfield, J. C. (2005). Te Aka; Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index and the online equivalent, which can be found at [www.maoridictionary.com](http://www.maoridictionary.com)*

Aotearoa	North Island, now commonly used to refer to New Zealand
Aroha	Love, affection, feel concern for
Hapū	Kinship group, clan, sub tribe
Iwi	Tribe
Kaiariā	Theorist
Kapa Haka	Dance, perform
Karakia	Pray, chant
Kaumātua	Elder
Kaupapa	Matter for discussion, topic
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology
Kawa	Protocol
Kōhanga Reo	Māori early childhood centre
Koroua	Grandfather, Elderly man
Kotahitanga	Unity, collectivism,
Kuia	Grandmother, Elderly woman
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori Language immersion school
Māmā	Mother
Mahi toi	Art forms
Manaaki	Hospitality, care for
Māori	Indigenous person of Aotearoa
Marae	Courtyard; the open area in front of the <i>whare</i> nui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the <i>marae</i> .
Mātua	Parents
Matua kēkē	Uncle, aunty
Māui	Māori and Polynesian demi-god
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Ngahuru	Tenth
Ngahuru mā tahi	Eleventh
Ngahuru mā rua	Twelfth
Ngahuru mā toru	Thirteenth
Pā	Village
Pakanga	War
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pāpā	Father
Papa-tū-ā-nuku	Earth mother, wife of Rangi-nui
Pekepoho	Youngest sibling
Pepeha	Tribal saying, proverb
Pūrākau	Myth, ancient legend

Rangatahi	Younger generation, youth
Rangatira	Leader, chief
Rangi-nui	Sky father, husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku
Reanga	Generation
Tāmaki-makau-rau	Auckland
Tamariki	Children
Taonga	Treasure, valuable item
Te ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Ataarangi	Adult learning in <i>te reo Māori</i>
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Puni Kōkiri	Ministry of Māori Development
Te Māngai Pāho	Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency
Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori	The Māori Language Commission
Tikanga Māori	Māori customs
Tiki	Neck ornament
Tipuna	Ancestor
Tīpuna	Ancestor
Tohunga	Māori Priest, Skilled person
Tuatahi	First
Tuarua	Second
Tuatoru	Third
Tuawhā	Fourth
Tuarima	Fifth
Tuaono	Sixth
Tuawhitu	Seventh
Tuawaru	Eighth
Tuaiwa	Ninth
Tupuna	Ancestor
Tūpuna	Ancestor
Utu	Revenge, avenge
Waiata	Song, to sing
Wairua	Spirit, soul
Waitangi Tribunal	New Zealand permanent commission of inquiry
Waka	Canoe, outrigger
Whaikōrero	To make a formal speech, oratory
Whakairo	Carving
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataukī	Proverb, saying, aphorism
Whānau	Family
Wharekura	College, Māori language secondary school
Whare Wānanga	Higher place of learning, University
Whenua	Land
Wero	Challenge

**APPENDIX TWO**  
**Māori Language Selected Events: 1800 - 2010**  
**Parliamentary Library 16 December 2010**

<b>Early 19th Century</b>	Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand.
<b>1814</b>	Missionaries make the first attempts to write down the Māori language.
<b>1815</b>	Thomas Kendall's <i>A korao (korero) no New Zealand</i> is the first book published in Māori.
<b>1820</b>	<i>A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand</i> is published. This lays the orthographic foundations of written Māori.
<b>1827</b>	Māori Bibles and prayer books appear.
<b>1835</b>	The first pamphlet printed in New Zealand, a translation into Māori of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to the Ephesians, appears.
<b>1842</b>	The first Māori language newspaper, <i>Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni</i> , is published.
<b>1844</b>	The first edition of <i>Williams's Māori Dictionary</i> is published.
<b>1853</b>	Sir George Grey's <i>Ko nga moteatea, me nga hakirara o nga Māori (The songs, chants and poetry of the Māori)</i> is published.
<b>1854</b>	Sir George Grey's <i>Ko nga mahinga a nga tupuna Māori (The deeds of the Māori ancestors)</i> is published.
<b>1858</b>	The Native Districts Regulation Act 1858 and the Native Circuit Courts Act 1858 are the first Acts of the government printed in Māori.
<b>1865</b>	Parliament's revised standing orders stipulate that Māori petitions be translated prior to being presented, and that the Governor's speeches to the New Zealand House of Representatives and bills 'specially affecting' Māori be translated and printed in Māori.
<b>1867</b>	The Native Schools Act 1867 decrees that English should be the only language used in the education of Māori children. Four Māori electorates are established by the Māori Representation Act of 1867.
<b>1868</b>	It is resolved that a 'simple text-book' of parliamentary practice be published in Māori, tabled papers be translated and relevant sessional papers also be translated and printed in Māori.
<b>1872</b>	An interpreter is appointed in Parliament. The first bill (the Native Councils Bill) is translated and printed in Māori.
<b>1880s</b>	From the 1880s there are three interpreters in Parliament.
<b>1880</b>	Parliament's standing orders are printed in Māori.
<b>1881</b>	From 1881 to 1906 a Māori language translation of the <i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)</i> is

	produced. This contains Māori and Pākehā members' speeches on legislation considered particularly relevant to Māori.
<b>1889</b>	Annual series of relevant Acts printed in Māori, to 1910.
<b>1894</b>	Education becomes compulsory for Māori children.
<b>1909</b>	There is a reduction to one interpreter in Parliament.
<b>1913</b>	Ninety percent of Māori school children can speak Māori. Speaker of the House Frederic W. Lang rules that Māori members of Parliament (MPs) should speak in English if able to.
<b>1920s</b>	By the 1920s Māori grammar is taught in only a few private schools. Sir Āpirana Ngata encourages Māori communities to promote the use of the Māori language in homes and communities, while also promoting English language education for Māori in schools. The provision of interpreters in Parliament lapses after 1920.
<b>1925</b>	Māori becomes a language unit for the Bachelor of Arts degree in the University of New Zealand (the actual teaching of courses starts at Auckland University in 1951).
<b>1930s</b>	Māori remains the predominant language in Māori homes and communities. However, the use of English begins to increase, and some Māori leaders continue to support English-only education.
<b>1930s-1940s</b>	Māori MPs are permitted to speak briefly in Māori in the House if they provide an immediate interpretation.
<b>1940s</b>	Māori urban migration begins. This has an impact upon the use of the Māori language.
<b>1943</b>	William (Wiremu) Leonard Parker is appointed New Zealand's first Māori news broadcaster.
<b>1945</b>	Māori becomes a School Certificate subject.
<b>1951</b>	Speaker Matthew H. Oram re-imposes Speaker Lang's ruling of 1913. The ruling is relaxed in the 1960s with Māori MPs permitted to speak briefly in Māori if they provide an immediate interpretation.
<b>1953</b>	Twenty six percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.
<b>1960s</b>	Playcentre supporters encourage Māori parents to speak English to prepare Māori children for primary school.
<b>1960</b>	The Publications Branch of the Education Department begins publishing a Māori language journal for use in those schools where Māori is taught.
<b>1961</b>	J. K. Hunn's report on the Department of Māori Affairs describes the Māori language as a relic of ancient Māori life.
<b>Early 1970s</b>	Concerns for the Māori language are expressed by Māori urban groups including Ngā Tamatoa and Te Reo Māori Society.

<b>1972</b>	A petition calling for courses in Māori language and culture to be offered in all New Zealand schools is presented at Parliament.
<b>1973-1978</b>	A national survey shows that approximately 70,000 Māori, or 18-20 percent of Māori, are fluent Māori speakers, and that most of these are elderly.
<b>1975</b>	The first Māori Language Week is held. Less than 5 percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.
<b>1978</b>	Rūātoki School becomes the first officially bilingual school in New Zealand. Another petition calling for the establishment of a Māori television production unit within the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation is presented in 1978.
<b>1979-1980</b>	Te Ātaarangi movement is established to restore Māori language knowledge to Māori adults.
<b>1980s</b>	Experiments in Māori radio broadcasting lead to the establishment of Te Upoko o te Ika and Radio Ngāti Porou.
<b>1980</b>	During the Māori Language Week a march is held demanding that the Māori language have equal status with English.
<b>1981</b>	A petition calls for Māori to be made an official language of New Zealand.
<b>1982</b>	Te Kōhanga Reo is established to promote the Māori language among Māori pre-schoolers. The number of students using Kōhanga services reaches 14,514 in 1993, but declines to 9,288 by 2009.
<b>1983</b>	The first Māori-owned Māori language radio station (Te Reo-o-Poneke) goes to air.
<b>1985</b>	The first Kura Kaupapa Māori is established to cater for the needs of Māori children emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo. MPs can speak in English or te reo Māori under Parliament's standing orders.
<b>1986</b>	The Waitangi Tribunal acknowledges the Māori language as a 'taonga' under Article II of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi and that the Crown has a responsibility for its preservation.
<b>1987</b>	The Māori Language Act 1987 is passed in Parliament. Māori is declared an official language and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission) is established.
<b>1988</b>	The 'Matawaia Declaration' in which bilingual school communities call for the creation of an independent, statutory Māori education authority to establish Māori control and the autonomy of Kaupapa Māori practices in the education system.
<b>1989</b>	The Education Amendment Act 1989 provides formal recognition for Kura Kaupapa Māori and wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions).

	The Government reserves radio and television broadcasting frequencies for use by Māori.
<b>1992</b>	A survey finds 58 percent of non-Māori and 89 percent of Māori agree Māori should survive as a spoken language. Parliament's Standing Orders Committee recognises that Parliament needs to develop an interpretation and translation service.
<b>1993</b>	The Māori broadcasting funding agency Te Māngai Pāho is established to promote the Māori language and culture. This follows litigation by the New Zealand Māori Council and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori. More than 20 iwi radio stations broadcast throughout New Zealand. Peter Tapsell becomes the first Māori Speaker. With the introduction of the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system the law is changed so that the number of Māori electorates depends, in part, on the choices made by Māori in the Māori electoral option.
<b>1994</b>	New Zealand passports start using te reo Māori on the inside pages, and on the cover from 2009.
<b>1995</b>	He Taonga Te Reo (Māori language year) is celebrated. Hui Taumata Reo Māori is held in Wellington. A survey shows that about 10,000 Māori adults are very fluent speakers of Māori.
<b>1996</b>	The census form is released in te reo Māori. The Aotearoa Māori Television Network broadcasts in the Auckland area (the Network ceases operating in 1997).
<b>1997</b>	The Cabinet agrees that the Crown and Māori have a duty, derived from the Te Tiriti o Waitangi, to take all reasonable steps to actively enable the survival of Māori as a living language. Speaker Doug L. Kidd rules that MPs speaking in Māori do so as of right and an interpreter is provided.
<b>1998</b>	The Government announces funding for a Māori television channel and increased funding for Te Māngai Pāho.
<b>1999</b>	The Government announces objectives and monitoring indicators for its Māori Language Strategy. The goals are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To increase the number of people who know the Māori language by increasing their opportunities to learn Māori;</li> <li>• To improve the proficiency levels of people in speaking Māori, reading Māori, and writing Māori;</li> <li>• To increase the opportunities to use Māori by increasing the number of situations where Māori can be used;</li> <li>• To increase the rate at which the Māori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities;</li> <li>• To foster amongst Māori and non-Māori positive attitudes towards, and accurate beliefs and positive values about, the Māori language so that Māori-English</li> </ul>

- bilingualism becomes a valued part of New Zealand society.
- A contract interpreter is available for duties in Parliament's Chamber.
- 2000** A simultaneous interpretation service in Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga (Māori Affairs Committee Room) is introduced. The Cabinet agrees that the establishment of a Māori television channel is a Government priority within the Māori broadcasting policy area. A survey of attitudes toward the Māori language finds that 94 percent of Māori and 90 percent of non-Māori believe it is good for Māori people to speak Māori on the marae and at home. Another 68 percent of Māori (40 percent of non-Māori) believe it is good for Māori to speak Māori in public places or at work.
- 2001** The 2001 Survey on the Health of the Māori Language indicates that nine percent of Māori adults can speak Māori 'very well' or 'well'. In 2006, 14 percent of Māori adults indicate that they can speak Māori 'very well' or 'well'.
- 2002** Mā te Reo Fund is established to support Māori language growth in communities. 'Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Wēniti' (the Māori language movie version of the 'Merchant of Venice') is released.
- 2003** The revised Government Māori Language Strategy is released. The goals to be achieved by 2028 are:
- The majority of Māori will be able to speak Māori to some extent and proficiency levels in speaking, listening to, reading and writing Māori will increase.
  - Māori language use will be increased at marae, within Māori households, and other targeted domains.
  - All Māori and other New Zealanders will have enhanced access to high-quality Māori language education.
  - Iwi, hapū and local communities will be the leading parties in ensuring local-level language revitalisation. Iwi dialects of the Māori language will be supported.
  - The Māori language will be valued by all New Zealanders, and there will be a common awareness of the need to protect the language.
- The Māori Television Service (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act is passed in Parliament.
- 2004** The Māori Television Service begins broadcasting. In April 2010 the Māori channel achieves its best ratings to date with a monthly cumulative audience of 2,013,600 unique viewers. Inaugural Māori Language Week Awards held in Wellington. Permanent full-time position for Kaiwhakamārama Reo for interpretation, transcription and translation service in Parliament. There are three interpreters.

- The MAONZE Project studying the pronunciation of te reo Māori starts.
- 2005** The Māori Language Commission launches the interactive ‘Kōrero Māori’ website <http://www.koreromaori.co.nz/> Microsoft Office and Windows in te reo Māori are launched.
- 2006** According to Statistics New Zealand in 2006:
- 131,613 (23.7 percent) of Māori can converse about everyday things in te reo Māori, an increase of 1,128 people from the 2001 Census.
  - One-quarter of Māori aged 15 to 64 years can hold a conversation in te reo Māori.
  - Just under half (48.7 percent) of Māori aged 65 years and over can hold a conversation in te reo Māori.
  - More than one in six Māori (35,148 people) aged under 15 years can hold a conversation in te reo Māori.
- A survey of attitudes toward the Māori language finds that 98 percent of Māori and 96 percent of non-Māori believe it is good for Māori people to speak Māori on the marae and at home. Another 94 percent of Māori (80 percent of non-Māori) believe it is good for Māori to speak Māori in public places or at work.
- 2008** The second Māori Television channel, Te Reo, is launched. Google Māori, the Māori interface of online search engine Google, is launched. The first monolingual Māori dictionary is launched by the Māori Language Commission.
- 2009** An independent panel, Te Kāhui o Māhutonga, completes a review of the Māori Television Service Act (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) 2003. Research completed for a media use survey indicates that Māori are more likely than non-Māori to have reported having watched, listened to and/or read something in Māori and/or about Māori language or culture (96 percent compared with 71 percent non-Māori) and to have done so in the last two weeks (88 percent compared with 51 percent). They also are more likely to have done this on a daily basis (25 percent compared with 6 percent). Common te reo Māori words are recognised in the predictive text message function and auto voice dialing on certain Telecom handsets. A fourth interpreter is appointed in Parliament. There are 28,231 students in Māori-medium education with 394 schools offering this.
- 2010** Simultaneous interpretation of te reo Māori into English becomes available in the House and galleries, and on Parliament Television. Victoria University of Wellington’s Faculty of Law announces the completion of the Legal Māori Corpus and the Legal Māori lexicon.

The Minister of Māori Affairs announces a review of the Māori Language Strategy and sector.

The Waitangi Tribunal finds that te reo Māori is approaching a crisis point, and that urgent and far reaching change is required to save it.

(Adapted from [www.parliament.nz](http://www.parliament.nz))