A Critical Analysis of Indigenous Māori Language Revitalisation and the Development of an Ontological Data Base

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DEDICATION

Ki tōku tipuna tāne, Tīweka Anaru, ki tōku tipuna wahine, Paretio (Heremia) Anaru

Ki tōku koroua Hoani (Johnny) Anaru, ki tōku kuia Hikiana (Waenga) Anaru

Ki tōku pāpā Hone (Taip) Anaru, ki tōku māmā Eleanor (Thompson) Anaru

I tāpaea tēnei tuhinga whakapae hai whakamaharatanga ki ōku tīpuna,

ki ōku mātua hoki, hui e tāiki e.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the integration of *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) and political theories as a basis from which to understand Indigenous language revitalisation and in particular, Māori language revitalisation in order to develop effective strategies for the survival of the Māori language for future generations. It asks the question, are Māori language revitalisation strategies and initiatives informed by theory[ies] and *mātauranga Māori*? Or, are Māori language revitalisation strategies ad hoc and reactionary to an environment where native speakers are becoming fewer and the quality of the language very limited? *Kaupapa Māori* research ethics and principles inform the research methodology and Indigenous methodologies provide a framework from which to locate and interpret the research ensuring that the research is managed through a culturally appropriate lens.

The development of an ontological data base is an outcome of this research, where relationships between the concepts and classifications in a subject area or domain pertaining to Indigenous Māori language revitalisation are examined. The aim of this is to develop a store of information to assist those in the revival, survival and or revitalisation of the Māori language. Through using the information contained within the data base, together with Indigenous Māori views and principles, resilient and culturally congruous approaches and strategies to Indigenous language revitalisation can be formed.

This study also highlights a range of other classifications and concepts juxtaposed with Indigenous language revitalisation and although some seem to have minimal connection to each other, the common threads between them all is the domain of Indigenous rights against a background of colonialism, imperialism, hegemony, equality, institutionalised racism, Māori poverty, injustice and health issues. Therefore, this study recommends that these facets must be considered in order to develop robust and enduring Indigenous language revitalisation strategies, methods, initiatives and approaches.

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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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First, I would like to acknowledge all those who work tirelessly for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori, tēnei te mihi maioha, te mihi arotau ki a koutou katoa*. To my supervisor's, Prof (Tania Ka'ai) and Dr Rachael Ka'ai Mahuta, *kāore e kore, kei runga nō atu kōrua*. To Tania Smith, thanks again for your assistance. This research has been a long and tough journey, but largely rewarding. On this voyage, I have met so many interesting and inspiring people, thus, I would like to acknowledge all those who have left a lasting impression on me and in doing so, have enriched my life. All those who have become part of my memories, part of my history, a part of me, *tēnā koutou katoa*.

This journey would have been made more difficult without the support and encouragement of my *whānau*. I acknowledge you all, my Anaru *whānau* my Matangi *whānau* and my *Te Whanau-a-Āpanui, nui tonu whānau whānui, tēnā koutou katoa. Ki āku tamariki katoa* (Bridget, Roni, Joy, Tāniko, Norman, Quentin, William, Santana *me taku moko whāngai* John) *tēnei tāku aroha nui ki a koutou katoa*. To all my *mokopuna* (including those yet to come) *taku hā, taku ngākau, te take mō tōku takakawe*, *kei te aroha nunui e Papa i ia koutou katoa. Ka huri au ki te tūrama o tāku nei ao, te whetu nō Roiata nāku i whānako, kāore au i kimi kupu, heoi anō, kia mōhio mai koe, kāore he tangata ka mōhio te hōhonutanga o tāku aroha mau.*

To all my Indigenous brothers and sisters. To the ongoing strength of your language, cultures and the connections you have to your lands. I acknowledge you and your many ancestors. *Nō reira, ōku whānau taketake o te ao hurihuri, ka here tonu wairua ki te ao tāukiuki* (Thus, my Indigenous families of the modern world, who retain strong spiritual ties to the ancient world), those of you who continue to struggle to keep within you, the breath of your language, "Stay the good fight, and let your tongues never fall silent" (Anaru, 2017). Finally, I would like to acknowledge and offer a spiritual *hongi* (traditional Māori greeting) to all humanity, to every single human being on our earth. Let our differences be the reason for celebration and unification and not the pretext for division and oppression, *mauri ora tātau katoa*.

PREFACE

This preface provides expalantions of various concepts used to help frame this research including an explanation and clarification of terms used within this thesis and an account of the traditional Māori designs that feature at the beginning of each chapter.

Outlook, views and concepts underpinning this study

The views of this study comprise of a strong aspiration to see the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* to a healthy state; where the Māori language no longer appears on the list of vanishing languages and where the language is once again thriving amongst Māori communities. Three models have been developed for this thesis:

1.0   The Moko Mataora Model: A Kaupapa Māori Methodology to Language Revitalisation (introduced in chapter 1)

2.0   Moko Kauae Model: An Evaluation Tool to Measure the Health of *te reo Māori* and level of wellness (introduced in chapter 5)

3.0   Ngā Rauemi mō te Whakarauora o Te Reo Māori Model: Resources for the revitalisation of the Māori language Model (NRWOT) – introduced in chapter 7.

The following table lists concepts used to analyse and deconstruct political theories and apply these to a Māori context. This process shows how understanding political theories can empower Indigenous communities by informing them on decisions and strategies they need to make in the revitalisation of their language[s].

Concept	Meaning of the terms
CC Cultural Codes	These relate to religious, legal, political etc, which have a level of control on people within our society including Māori
CRIE Comparative Reflecting of Indigenous Experiences	This relates to comparing political theory and theorists with Māori experiences, contexts and *kaupapa*
CRIT Comparative Reflecting of Indigenous Truths	This relates to *mātauranga Māori* and our truths such as our oral narratives that are misrepresented by Western thought as legends and myths
ENK Enriched knowledge	This relates to the knowledge shared by political theorists and many others, which is profound and often provocative and appeals to the Indigenous to be critical thinkers as they explore the issues raised such as colonisation

HART Holistic Aspects of the Revitalisation of *te reo Māori*	This relates to the use of Indigenous models to capture the essence of language revitalisation and the associated resources needed
HIIE Holistic Interpretations of Indigenous Experiences	This relates to Māori creating from a Māori world view their own models, theories grounded in *mātauranga Māori*
IOC Intersections of Conflict	This relates to conflict arising between Māori and the Crown. For example, the move of Kōhanga Reo for funding from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education created conflict in terms of the compliance to regulations imposed on Kōhanga Reo that reflected a Western ideology and did not align with Kōhanga Reo philosophy

The motivation for this research includes a view, that has emerged in part, from the harsh and traumatic realities of urbanisation and a *whānau* moving from a small close knit rural community into the largest city of Aotearoa/New Zealand, namely *Tāmaki-makau-rau*, Auckland due mainly, to the ever-deteriorating economic situation within the rural areas of Aotearoa/New Zealand. There are many unseen and unavoidable challenges for a young native speaker of *te reo Māori* in the late 1960s being forced to navigate the unforgiving realities of urbanisation. The recollection of intolerance, racism and bigotry are vivid memories and are defining aspects of growing up in the 1960s within *Tāmaki-makau-rau*. All this is served up with a very generous side order of Eurocentrism and an ever-decreasing engagement with *te reo Māori* and a Māori belief system. Thus, when the once solid grip of knowing and speaking *te reo Māori* weakens, and the subtler considerations of the language become less distinct, what cultural symbols of communications for a native speaker are left to hold on to*? Nō reira, ahakoa ko te reo Māori te reo tuatahi, ka mimiti haere, heoi anō, he aha te mea nui? Arā, ko tēnei, ka mau tonu mai ana, ka tuku atu hoki ki wētahi, te kaha, me te ātaahuatanga katoa o te reo Māori. Ki ēnei rā, kua ngaro haere kē taua āhuatanga, i mua i te hīkaka ki te kōrero i te reo Māori* (When once *te reo Māori* was ones first language, but slowly faded, what then becomes most important? It is to retain and imbue, into others, the indepth understanding of the encompassing power, beauty and prestige of the Māori language which in contemporary times, tends to be overlooked in the urgency of trying to speak the Māori language).

The indepth understanding referred to here, is that *te reo Māori* is not a monotonous form of communication but rather a creative and exciting aspect of conveyance and forms a major pillar that supports all facets of the Māori culture. It is implied, that by using the concepts

of Comparative Reflecting of Indigenous Truths (CRIT) and Comparative Reflecting of Indigenous Experiences (CRIE), that this view is carved onto the hearts of native speakers and on to the hearts of all those who strive to learn the language. Thus, this perspective can be likened to the receiving of a *moko mataora* (male facial tattoo) or *moko kauae* (female facial tattoo) as the *moko mataora* and *moko kauae* conveys through the many patterns and designs, various aspects of a Māori world view, including *whakapapa* (genealogy), the *iwi* (tribe), *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *whānau* connections of the wearer and designs which reflect Māori histories and oral narratives relating to *ngā pukenga* (skills) and *ngā parapara* (talents) of the wearer and their location in *te ao Māori* (the Māori world). Similarly, by the wearer using an *iwi* dialect and specific *iwi* and *hapū kīwaha* (idioms, colloquialisms), *whakataukī* (proverbs, metaphor) and *kōrero tāwhito ā iwi, ā hapū* (ancient stories from a tribe and or sub-tribe), the *whakapapa*, *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* connections of the wearer is known. The *moko mataora* and *moko kauae* also enhances the beauty of the wearer somewhat like a treasured *whānau whakakai marihi* (a precious family ornament, normally made from greenstone) as it is worn with pride by the wearer. Therefore, the *moko mataora* and *moko kauae* can be likened to *te reo Māori*, as the language is also a *taonga* (treasure) of the Indigenous Māori people and is cherished and spoken with pride.

While the *moko mataora* and *moko kauae* can be physically seen on the wearer's face, the *moko wairua* (spiritual *moko mataora* and *moko kauae*) decorates *te ngākau o te pūkōrero* (the speaker's heart) and is metaphorical in nature. The following *whakatauākī* emphasises, the link between the *moko mataora* and *moko kauae* and *te reo Māori*, "*Ko te moko wairua i whakairoirohia te ngākau o te pūkōrero, nā te reo Māori*" meaning the spiritual *moko* that decorates the speakers heart, belongs to the Māori language. Furthermore, this *whakatauākī* can also refer to the eloquence, knowledge and indepth understanding by the speaker, of *te ao Māori* and its many facets.

It may seem to be a contradiction to advocate for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* but then write this thesis in *te reo Pākehā* (English). However, dedicated support to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* is the very reason why this research is written in English. Statistics indicate that 78.7 percent of Māori are unable to hold a conversation in *te reo Māori* (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Thus, when considering language revitalisation, one's main target area should be those that are unable to read or speak *te reo Māori*. Consequently, if this thesis

was written entirely in *te reo Māori*, the potential of meaningful engagement with the target area becomes unlikely, since 79 out of 100 Māori would not be able to read the research. While this view suggests that if the *kaupapa* of this thesis was anything other than language revitalisation, then the research would be written in *te reo Māori*, which is somewhat correct, although, topics relating to Māori kaupapa should be determined on its contextual variants. Although this research can be viewed as more of a language revitalisation guide for those who are unable to speak or read *te reo Māori*, it is substantially easier to develop and implement a Māori language revitalisation approach with the support and assistance of fluent speakers. With that said, normalising the use of *te reo Māori* within the academy (through writing one's research in the Māori language – if one can do so), should be a focus for all Indigenous Māori researchers and academics. Within the context discussed previously, another aspiration to come from this research (apart from developing practical language revitalisation strategies) is that through the ideas and theories contained within this research, assistance would be forth coming, in a shift towards more Indigenous Māori being better equipped to not only speak, but to also read and write in *te reo Māori*.

Writing this thesis in English also makes it accessible to other communities within Aotearoa/New Zealand and internationally, especially those Indigenous communities whose languages and cultures have suffered decline due to influences beyond their control. While this thesis is written in English, the research is located within a *Kaupapa Māori* ideology that includes and conveys the many aspects and cultural principals of an Indigenous Māori world view. These aspects and principles, for the most part, are displayed in *te reo Māori* within this thesis, and are accompanied by what can be described as a satisfactory English translation. While there is some hesitation to promote the idea that this thesis is reasonably bilingual in nature, the hope is that those who read through this research will also acquire an enriched understanding of the numerous facets and values contained within a Māori world view.

Explanation of terms

While the words "language revitalisation" "language regeneration" "language revival" "language restoration" "language renewal" "language recovery" "language survival" "language resurgence" "language reversal" "language shift" "language stabilisation" "language vitality" etc., have their own definition, for the most part, they should be viewed

as interchangeable in this thesis unless a specific meaning is attached to them. The words "colonisation" and "colonialism" should also be viewed as interchangeable in this thesis, unless a specific definition is affixed to them. Most of the political theorists 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 a certain definition in their writings. Due to the use of these terms in the literature relating to each theorist, these terminologies are viewed also as interchangeable within this thesis, unless they are used in reference to particular writings where an exact meaning is fixed 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 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, Māori ideology, Māori Kaupapa and Māori world view etc. The term "Indigenous" will be capitalised to give recognition to those cultures that use the term to describe themselves, and how the term is associated with the close attachments these cultures have to their ancestral territories, and to the natural occurring structures such as mountains, rivers, lakes and other natural resources in these areas. This convention is used by many Indigenous authors, "as it corresponds with the term 'Western' (Kaʻai-Mahuta, 2010, p.5).

Certain terms will be used in this thesis which have their genesis within a Eurocentric ideology. For example, Austronesian, Polynesian, and Malayo Polynesian, Oceanic, Micronesia, Melanesia and several others. While these terms may carry some culturally laden references, unfortunately they are the more generally known terms to describe the areas and the inhabitants.

Most Māori words have been italicised in this thesis (except where the words are nouns) and there are two reasons for this. First, that the Māori words used can be easily identified. Secondly, and most importantly, as this research relates to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* it is appropriate that clear space is given for the use of the Māori language. The first time

the Māori word has been used, a translation is provided in brackets. The word will also be listed in the glossary.

Traditional Designs

At the beginning of each chapter a traditional Māori design is featured. The designs are used to illuminate the main topic of the chapter and to uphold a *kaupapa Māori* aesthetic. The derivation of the designs will come from three areas of traditional Māori art such as, *whakairo* (carving), *tā moko* (tattooing) and *kōwhaiwhai* (rafter patterns). An explanation of the original meaning, relating to the traditional Māori design is provided. An explanation of its relevance and application to this thesis follows, and the accompanied *whakataukī* (proverb), will provide further contextual depth of insight into its various cultural gradations.

Glossary

A glossary is provided with all the Māori words found in this thesis. The glossary will provide the English translation of the Māori term used in the thesis.

The use of Māori sayings and proverbs

The use of Māori sayings throughout the thesis has been purposefully used as a way of creating a cultural connection to readers in order to highlight the importance of language within academic writing. The Māori sayings and proverbs are also metaphors for the themes that have emerged in the literature and in the findings.

Quick Reference

List of Abbreviations used in the thesis

CC	Cultural Codes
CRIE	Comparative Reflecting of Indigenous Experiences
CRIT	Comparative Reflecting of Indigenous Truths
ENK	Enriched knowledge
HART	Holistic Aspects of the Revitalisation of *te reo Māori*
HIIE	Holistic Interpretations of Indigenous Experiences
NRWOT	Ngā Rauemi mō te Whakarauora o te reo Māori Model: Resources for the Revitalisation of the Māori Language Model

IOC   Intersections of Conflict

UMIN   Uncensored Managing of the Indigenous Narrative

<u>Chapter Outline</u>

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the research topic and the important themes that form the basis of the thesis including language loss, language endangerment, language revitalisation and the right to use one's language. Discussion about the efforts of *te reo Māori* revitalisation by Māori are explored and the design of the research is described including the significance of Indigenous methodologies. The 'Rangihau Conceptual Model" is used as an example of an Indigenous Research Methodology located within a Māori world view. Other models emerging from the Rangihau model are described as a background from which to introduce "The Moko Mataora Model: A Kaupapa Māori Methodology to Language Revitalisation" (in chapter 1) and The Moko Kauae Model: An Evaluation Tool to Measure the Health of *te reo Māori* and level of wellness (introduced in chapter 5). These have been designed for this thesis as a framework to locate this research. *Kaupapa Māori* and ownership of the Māori language is also discussed.

Chapter Two: *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, Genealogy, History and Politics of *Te Reo Māori*

Chapter two begins with an examination of the genealogy of *te reo Māori.* A linguistic overview begins with the Austronesian language family, including theories of Māori and Polynesian origins and settlements of the Pacific. This is followed by a comprehensive overview of the history of *te reo Māori* and in particular, issues relating to Te Tiriti o Waitangi are discussed to show the intent of the covenant and the impact of the deceit that followed. Issues such as the historical landscape leading up to and including the signing of *te Tiriti* are discussed as well as, the influence of the New Zealand Company, the controversy around the English and Māori version of *te Tiriti* and the journey of Te Tiriti o Waitangi documents that also have their own historical journey. The history of *te reo Māori* and its decline are critically examined and the health and restoration of *te reo Māori* is critiqued.

Chapter Three: Indigenous Political Theorists

Chapter three focuses on political and critical theories and the examination of the views of several Indigenous Māori theorists. Some of their philosophies are discussed including, political and world views, critical assumptions, notions and ideas, *tino rangatiratanga* and how Māori can continue to move forward in a globalised world with the language and culture intact. Theories from Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are also explored, including how their ideas can be used to identify aspects within government policies and approaches, including mainstream attitudes and world views that can have a detrimental effect on Indigenous languages, such as, *te reo Māori* and its revitalisation.

Chapter Four: Political Theorists – Early Contemporary and Ancient Political Philosophers

Chapter four discusses the views and theories of early contemporary and ancient political philosophers. There are three aspects examined in relation to each theorist. First a brief profile of their background is provided to contextualise their political and/or critical theories. This is followed by a critical analysis of their theories, ideas and notions. The third and last aspect examined is the application and relevance of their theories to Indigenous Māori in a contemporary context in Aotearoa/New Zealand. An overview of the chapter is given in the conclusion.

Chapter Five: Language Revitalisation Models

Chapter five discusses international and national language revitalisation approaches, strategies and methods including themes such as language management, policy theory, documentation and materials development. Language revitalisation models developed by Joshua Fishman, Hinton and Hale, UNESCO and a number of other sources are examined. A discussion of the newly established Te Mātāwai Board and its functions in relation to the Māori Language Bill 2016 and the context of language revitalisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand is also discussed. The Moko Kauae Model: An Evaluation Tool to Measure the Health of *te reo Māori* and level of wellness is introduced and examples of the models and approaches they use in language revitalisation are discussed.

Chapter Six: Language Revitalisation Theory

This chapter examines language revitalisation theories, models, programmes and resources that are being used by endangered language communities, nationally and internationally. Case-studies have also been incorporated which show communities under stress in terms of the severity of language loss and others that have recognised the need to mobilise their community and develop language revitalisation strategies to resuscitate their language.

Chapter Seven: Findings, Analysis and Recommendations

This chapter reviews the research question in association with the emerging themes and the key findings particularly from the various interviews undertaken. It will also link the Indigenous models developed to the key findings in recognising the importance of utilising Indigenous Models in Māori language revitalisation strategies which contain Māori values and concepts located in *te ao Māori*. Finally, it will propose a series of recommendations on what Māori language revitalisation initiatives are considered a priority and require urgent attention, reflecting the sentiment expressed by Tā Tīmoti, that time is what *te reo Māori* does **not** have; a common factor that features across all endangered languages globally.

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

Image 1: Raperape

The above design is known as "Raperape" and is seen in *whakairo* or *tā moko*. This pattern is used by all *iwi* of Aotearoa/New Zealand and it represents continuity towards and evolving future. It is used in this chapter as a symbol of an evolving aspiration of Māori, relating to moving as one towards language safety of *te reo Māori*. "*Ka ora pea i a koe, ka ora koe i au*" (perhaps I survive because of you, and you survive because of me). Each member of the tribe is essential to the survival of all the others. Likewise, in any group enterprise [such as language revitalisation] the performance of each member is important to its success (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 173).

Introduction

This chapter introduces the research topic and the important themes that form the basis of the thesis including language loss, language endangerment, language revitalisation and the right to use one's language. Discussion about the efforts of *te reo Māori* revitalisation by Māori are explored and the design of the research is described including the significance of Indigenous methodologies. The 'Rangihau Conceptual Model" is used as an example of an Indigenous Research Methodology located within a Māori world view. Other models emerging from the Rangihau model are described as a background from which to introduce "The Moko Mataora Model: A Kaupapa Māori Methodology to Language Revitalisation" (in chapter 1) and The Moko Kauae Model: An Evaluation Tool to Measure the Health of *te reo Māori* and level of wellness (introduced in chapter 5). These have been designed for this thesis as a framework to locate this research. *Kaupapa Māori* and ownership of the Māori language is also discussed.

The Status of Languages Globally

Worldwide, an estimated 6,900 languages are spoken today (Harrison, 2007; Te Ipukarea, 2013). The United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) suggests that by 2100 over 90% of these languages may be gone if language retention or language revitalisation strategies are not implemented (Moseley, 2010). Ruakere Hond (2013) writes;

It is a well-documented fact that the number of languages spoken in the world is diminishing at a rapid rate (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Most susceptible to being lost are languages with only a few remaining elderly speakers past childbearing age. Fishman describes this tragic situation as a loss of capacity for intergenerational language transmission. This is predominantly due to the disruption of local language use by a dominant language, along with its associated culture and norms. Language revitalisation is the restoration of community capacity for intergenerational transmission of local language through its use in normal everyday interaction, especially among families. Revitalisation of a local language is achieved in spite of a strong tendency for patterns of language use to shift toward the dominant 'other' language. Language revitalisation is the antithesis of language endangerment (p.304)

The loss of a language includes the loss of the integral and specific cultural knowledge inherent in a language (Crawford, 1995; Krauss, 1992). With the continual loss of many languages around the world, through the lack of, or poor language retention strategies, humanity will lose not only cultural diversity on a large scale, but also important ancestral knowledge embedded in Indigenous languages (Moseley, 2010). Reasons for language endangerment have been linked to the decline and endangerment of cultures and biodiversity worldwide (Krauss, 1992; Maffi, 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Since contact with colonising countries, Indigenous cultures and their languages have been pressured to assimilate (Te Ipukarea, 2013). Even today, dominant cultures and technologies continue to encroach on the traditional ways and places of Indigenous communities, which contribute to the current state of language endangerment (Crawford, 1995).

The right to use one's own language is a human right (Te Ipukarea, 2013). The United Nations has recognised this in various treaties and declarations and makes specific reference to rights and responsibilities in relation to Indigenous languages, minority languages and learning and using one's mother tongue (United Nations, 1966; United Nations, 1992). Notable outcomes include, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights–General Assembly of the United Nations (1948), The Kari-Oca Declaration entitled 'Indigenous Peoples' Earth Charter (1992), and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2007). Yet, despite these international fora and their declarations, language health continues to be an on-going challenge for Indigenous communities worldwide (Te Ipukarea, 2013).

People need proficiency in their own language for important social and cultural reasons such as intergenerational communication and security of personal identity (The Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). Rationales for revitalising Indigenous endangered languages also

include the maintenance of Indigenous cultures, the importance of maintaining linguistic diversity, and issues of social justice (Fishman, 1991; Krauss, 1992). In 2008, the New Zealand Human Rights Commission published a paper to promote discussion on language policy. Importantly, the paper advocates that,

> Languages are an important national resource in terms of our cultural identities, cultural diversity and international connectedness. They are vitally important for individuals and communities, bringing educational, social, cultural and economic benefits. They contribute to all three national priorities of national identity, economic transformation and families young and old (The New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2008).

As can be seen, there are many accounts and details that validate the quest of Indigenous language revitalisation and the need to hold on to or learn one's language. However, on the opposite side of the argument, there are many Indigenous peoples who are not only unable to speak their native tongue, but also propose several reasons why they have little desire to learn their language (Hale & Hinton, 2001). There are many explanations for this attitude, as this research will show. Furthermore, this research will validate that:

- It is only through the learning of your language, that one can truly understand and identify the emotional, cultural and spiritual disconnection that exists.
- It is only through knowing the adverse and oppressive history of one's language, can indissoluble resolve be created to strengthen the want, to obtain one's mother tongue,
- and it is only through one's own language can its people find enduring freedom, dignity, and the pathways that lead to their Indigenous strength and harmony.

Language Revitalisation Models

Models and instruments to promote and facilitate language revitalisation are a recent development and first emerged with the seminal language revitalisation model referred to as the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), developed by Joshua Fishman (Fishman, 1991). Since the early 1990s, linguists and international organisations committed to maintaining linguistic diversity have expanded on these early developments of language revitalisation. In 2010, the Waitangi Tribunal described the health of the Māori language as approaching a crisis point (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). The late Dr Darrell Posey, an expert on Indigenous people's rights, described the Tribunal findings on the health of *te reo Māori*

contained in the WAI 262 claim on Indigenous flora and fauna and Cultural Intellectual Property, as one of the most significant claims of its kind anywhere in the world particularly (in this case) to the status of *te reo Māori* and the lack of government support to ensure its survival (Briefing Paper 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 1 below.

Table 1: Waitangi Tribunal Assessment of *Te Reo Māori* 2010

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 te reo 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 Te 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, Indigenous Flora & Fauna WAI 262)

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 its far-reaching proposals. Table 2 below outlines four fundamental recommendations that the Waitangi Tribunal (2011) proposes.

Table 2: Recommendations of Waitangi Tribunal 2011

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.
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 te reo revival will not work if responsibility for setting the direction is not shared with Māori.

Te Taura Whiri will also need increased powers. This will ensure that public bodies are compelled to contribute to te reo's revival and key agencies are held properly accountable for the strategies they adopt. For instance, targets for the training of te reo teachers must be met, education curricula involving te reo must be approved, and public bodies in districts with a sufficient number and/or proportion of te reo speakers and schools with a certain proportion of Māori students must submit Māori language plans for approval.

These regional public bodies and schools must also consult iwi in the preparation of their plans. In this way, iwi will come to have a central role in the revitalisation of te reo in their own areas. This should encourage efforts to promote the language at the grassroots.

Source: Adapted from www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz

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

A Māori World View

All human cultures, past and present, have or had certain myths, stories, legends, oral narratives, Indigenous truths, or what Māori refer to as *pūrākau, pakiwaitara* or *kōrero tawhito*, particularly those pertaining to the creation of the world and how specific skills, arts or similar knowledge was gained (Morvillo, 2010). *Pūrākau* helped to explain who a specific people were, how they came to be, their world views and most commonly how they lived their lives. Every society, from the smallest known cultures to the most complex post-industrial societies, have, in some form or other, sacred knowledge, sacred literature, creation narratives, Indigenous truths or other forms of traditional knowledge (Morvillo, 2010). For Māori, Indigenous truths form an important part of Māori ideology, conveying, what Ranginui Walker refers to as "myth-messages", messages, that he suggests people practice as ideals and norms in their every day lives (Walker, 1978). The *moko* is one aspect of the Māori culture that has many *pūrākau*, in particular, pertaining to its origins.

The *moko mataora* (male *moko*) and the *moko kauae* (female *moko*), that have adorned *Māori tīpuna* for centuries is one aspect of the Māori culture that sets it apart from, not only many other Polynesian cultures within the Pacific, but from most other Indigenous cultures of the world (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011). While many cultures around the world have their own style and methods of tattooing, the *moko mataora/kauae* is unique to most other

forms as it involved literally carving the lines into the skin with an *uhi* (chisel). Because of this method deep indentations within the skin are visible when the healing process is complete (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011).

The metaphysical transformation of the *moko mataora* and *moko kauae* from being a pattern of symmetrical lines and shapes on the wearer's face to becoming a vital part of their identity and connection to the wearers *whakapapa*, culture, values and world view should not be understated (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011). The *moko mataora* and *moko kauae* and its *tikanga* not only dramatically changed the physical appearance of the wearer; it became the embodiment of the inner *mana*, *kaha* (fortitude), *ihi* (essential force), *wehi* (awesome, afraid, fear) and *wana* (awe, exciting, inspiring) of the wearer (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011; Ihimaera, Adsett & Whiting, 2005). The *moko mataora/kauae* captures and reflects many aspects of the Māori culture in its own unique manner through facets such as, *whakataukī, pūrākau, whakapapa, waiata, haka, mōteatea* (posture dance, and chants) etc. (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011). All these Māori principles, including *pūrākau* and more, are essential elements of Indigenous Truths. Certain *pūrākau* articulate, within a Māori paradigm, *te orokohanga o te moko* (the origin of *moko*) how it was applied and who was given this knowledge to pass on to proceeding generations (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011; Ihimaera, Adsett & Whiting, 2005; Best, 1942; Reed, 2004).

Insights of *Pūrākau*

Marsden (2003) writes that Māori *pūrākau* are an integral part of a Māori mind-set, he argues that "Modern man has summarily dismissed these so-called myths and legends as the superstitious and quaint imaginings of primitive, pre-literate societies" (p.55). This assumption, argues Marsden, could not be further from the truth. *Pūrākau* are measured concepts used by Māori *tīpuna* to give form and structure to Māori values, beliefs and a Māori world view (Marsden, 2003). Accordingly, Indigenous truths lie at the heart of Māori culture, interacting with and influencing all aspects that give description to its form. Within *iwi* and *hapū* there are often many variations of the same *pūrākau*.

Therefore, according to the following *pūrākau*, (which is a condensed account of the original) the ancestor Mataora is attributed with bringing the *moko* into the human world from *Rarohenga* (the Underworld – not to be mistaken for the European concept of hell) (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011; Ihimaera, Adsett & Whiting, 2005; Best, 1942; Reed, 2004). It was Niwareka, a *tūrehu* (a type of fairy), and a small group of *tūrehu*, from

Rarohenga, who first ventured into the human world. Niwareka and her group were seen by Mataora who immediately fell in love with her and proceeded to ask her to be his partner. They lived happily for a long while but one day, in a jealous rage, Mataora struck Niwareka who then left him and returned to *Rarohenga*. In his shame and loneliness Mataora decided to search for Niwareka. It was Te Kuwatawata (the guardian to the entrance of *Rarohenga*) who allowed Mataora to enter the underworld to search for Niwareka. While in *Rarohenga,* Mataora came across Uetonga who was tattooing a *moko* on the face of an individual. Mataora asked "Why does this person bleed from applying his *moko*; in the human world, we apply *moko* without the shedding of blood, this is how the *moko* that I wear was applied" stated Mataora.

Uetonga examined Mataora's *moko* and while doing so, a part of the *moko* rubbed off. Uetonga declared, "Yours is not a *moko* but merely a mark that is able to be wiped off, here in *Rarohenga* our *moko* does not smear when touched, because it is applied with the *ngau* (bite) of the *uhi* which can never be removed". Mataora immediately felt shame and beseeched Uetonga if he could receive a *moko* in this fashion. Uetonga agreed to give Mataora a *moko* because it was he who had smeared the mark on Mataora's face; it was at this moment, that Mataora experienced the intense pain associated with the application of the *moko*. Unbeknown to Mataora, Uetonga was the father of Niwareka and when Uetonga realised why Mataora had entered *Rarohenga* he stated, "if it is the custom of those from the human world to strike a woman, then you are to leave Niwareka in *Rarohenga*". Mataora told Uetonga that he was profoundly ashamed of what he had done and was looking for Niwareka's forgiveness. Mataora also promised Uetonga and Niwareka's family that upon his return to the human world he would adopt the ways of *Rarohenga* and abandon the ways of the human world. Mataora stated that after being adorned with *moko* from Uetonga he had gained a new perspective of the spiritual depth and the many defining aspects of *moko* and how it had now become a part of his being. Mataora felt urgency in revealing this understanding to his people, to correct their misunderstandings and misguided beliefs concerning *moko* and to imbue in the humans these newly found aspects produced by the *moko* of Uetonga. Through this revelation, Mataora was permitted to return with Niwareka, to the human world.

On his arrival Mataora did as he had promised Niwareka's *whānau* and as time passed he never deviated from the ways of *Rarohenga*, particularly, maintaining his respect and *aroha*

for Niwareka and teaching those of the human world about the in-depth aspects of *moko*, this is how (as some suggest) the male facial *moko* became known as the *moko* of Mataora (*moko mataora*) (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011; Ihimaera, Adsett & Whiting, 2005; Best, 1942; Reed, 2004). "*Nā Mataora I ako te mahi a Uetonga, te mahi tā moko*" (Mataora taught the art of Uetonga, the art of tattooing) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.314). The *pūrākau* above, relating to the origin of *moko mataora*, can also serve as an example of the difference between Indigenous Māori tattooing methods and how many other cultures applied tattoo. The following can be viewed as the *whakapapa* of Niwareka. Ranginui and Papatūānuku begot Rūaimoko (*atua* of earthquakes - also known as Rūaumoko) who begot Manuongaonga, who begot Uetonga whose daughter Niwareka bonded in sacred union with Mataora of the human world (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011; Ihimaera, Adsett & Whiting, 2005; Best, 1942; Reed, 2004; Mead & Grove, 2001).

As previously stated, Indigenous truths or creation narratives and Indigenous experiences can give real insight into a Māori world view. And aspects of *pūrākau*, along with Indigenous experiences can be positioned alongside many happenings to reflect an Indigenous Māori perspective. These concepts, were previously touched on in, "Outlook and views of study" page one, and are referred to as CRIT, CRIE and includes their outcomes, referred to as HART and HIIE. For example, Niwareka's arrival into the human world and Mataora's *aroha* for her can be compared with the arrival of *Māori tīpuna* to Aotearoa/New Zealand and their *aroha* for the culture and language that emerged from both their past and from the land that would eventually become their home. Mataora's abuse of Niwareka can be viewed as the abuse of the colonisers on Indigenous Māori, their language and culture. Mataora's loneliness and *aroha* for Niwareka and his shame can be regarded as the realisation by Māori that their language and culture is in decline thereby causing feelings of impending loss, and the shame can be seen within the context of the many Māori who feel unable to halt the rapid decline of both their language and culture. Mataora's chance meeting with Uetonga and the profound understanding that was imparted to him, can be viewed as the many voices that have been advocating for the Māori language revitalisation, and who continue to be involved in the ongoing battle for the survival of *te reo Māori*. Both Māori and some Pākehā are involved in this battle and they provide examples of the importance of *te reo Māori* for the spiritual, mental and physical wellbeing of Indigenous Māori people through discussing intergenerational cultural trauma relating to language loss and cultural recovery as a form of healing (Carey, 2016; Pihama 2001).

The *moko* and associated *tikanga* given to Mataora can be viewed as the language and culture handed down from generation to generation to Indigenous Māori as they continued to develop within Aotearoa/New Zealand. It can also be viewed as the birth right of every Indigenous Māori, in that the *moko mataora/kauae* of *te reo Māori* is chiselled onto their *ngākau*. Like the mark that was wiped from Mataora's face by Uetonga no substitution for the *moko mataora/kauae* of *te reo Māori* is possible; thus, when a dominant cultural language is introduced into Indigenous domains, the risk of Indigenous language death and identity loss increases exponentially. *"E kore e piri te uku ki te rino"* (clay will not stick to iron) (Mead & Grove, 2001). As clay dries it falls away from the metal. This saying comes from a *haka*, *'Mangumangu Taipo'*, originating in Taranaki. The cultural inheritance of the Māori is the iron and must be preserved to maintain Māori integrity, whereas Western culture (the clay) fails to provide real support (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 33). This *whakataukī* can also be applied to (monolingual) Māori who speak only English. No matter how proficient they become in the English language, this form of communication does not reveal the true essence and importance of their *whakapapa*, or Māori identity (thus they remain aloof about their Māori connections), since the Māori culture in its fullness, can only be contained within the *moko* of *te reo Māori*. No other language has the capacity to support these aspects and any attempts will ultimately reveal their failings.

> There is a short word, in the Māori language, a word of four letters, yet it expresses something which is very hard to put in English. I refer to the word 'mana'. Even the interpreter in the New Zealand Parliament could not translate it into English (Beattie, as cited in Kaʻai-Mahuta 2010, p.15).

Mataora's return to the human world, his promise to forever care for Niwareka and his discarding of human ways pertaining to *moko*, can be compared to the realisation that Māori must care for their language, and they need to discard all negative views they hold, relating to *te reo Māori*, and understand that there are no other replacements or equivalents for the Māori language relating to the Indigenous Māori people. Pihama (2001) writes;

> In placing the validity and legitimacy of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga at the centre of Kaupapa Māori theory we are challenging the assumed supremacy of English by saying that we as Māori have a fundamental right to our language and our culture, and that the call for the revival is a valid and legitimate one. It is also a call for survival (p.119.).

In other words, by moving *te reo Māori* and its culture to the centre of Māori attention, the fundamental right to speak *te reo Māori*, live its culture and be a part of its survival, not only realigns the focus, but manifests into a self-evidential truth.

Approaches and Indigenous Methodologies
Kaˈai-Mahuta (2010) argues; "As part of regaining and maintaining control of Māori knowledge, Māori focussed research should be viewed through a Māori world-view-informed lens and not forced into preconceived Pākehā methodologies (p. 24)". This view is supported and reflected within this research, which is positioned within *Kaupapa Māori* Ideology that emanates from within *te ao Māori*. While a qualitative research method has been used, as interviews were undertaken. The methodological framework is based on *Kaupapa Māori* Ideology which include cultural principals, values and *tikanga* (customs), such as, *moko*, *whakapapa*, *pūrākau, pakiwaitara, kōrero tāwhito* (Indigenous truths, creation narratives), *aroha*, *wairuatanga* (spirituality) and *manaakitanga* (caring, support). Including several other principles contained within Māori knowledge, practices, beliefs and values, accordingly, this research will be conducted following *kaupapa Māori* research methodologies that are acquiescent of a Māori world-view.

A model that was developed by the late John Te Rangianiwaniwa Rangihau, an eminent Māori intellectual, who typified and exemplified Māori values and beliefs, provides a diagrammatical theoretical model from which to understand a Māori world view (Kaˈai & Higgins, 2004).

Figure 1: Rangihau's Conceptual Model

(Kaʻai & Higgins, 2004, p. 16)

Rangihau's model, which seems somewhat one-dimensional, provides a sturdy platform that Māori can utilise in developing strategies on how to best develop physically, spiritually, emotionally, socially and intellectually as *whānau, hapū* and *iwi*. Additionally, the model provides a set of cultural concepts and when examined closely these provide insight into Māori identity (Kaʻai & Higgins, 2004). Each concept should be considered as a portal or *waharoa* (gateway) leading to a whole range of other concepts that extend deep into the Māori world, couched in oral narratives and traditions which inform the Māori world view (Kaʻai, 2012). One of the most important aspects of Rangihau's model is that he locates the Pākehā world (*Pākehātanga*) on the periphery of the framework, illustrating an interface with the Pākehā world, but not the subjugation and assimilation of the Māori culture by the dominant culture (Kaʻai & Higgins, 2004).

Another example of an Indigenous methodological framework is the Tīenga Model (see Figure 2 below) developed by Dr Rachael Kaʻai-Mahuta (2010). Kaʻai-Mahuta used the Rangihau Model as a template to illustrate "the holistic nature of a Māori world-view" (p.20). The Tīenga Model has been adapted by Kaʻai-Mahuta from the Rangihau Model for her doctoral thesis.

> The model demonstrates how different concepts can be woven together in the form of traditional *raranga,* the art of Māori weaving. This traditional art form is closely linked to the performing arts as they both belong to Te Kete Aronui. Te Kete Aronui is one of the three baskets of knowledge and pertains to love, peace and the arts and crafts. Furthermore, they are linked through whakapapa. *Raranga* falls under the mantle of Hine-te-

iwaiwa, who is the *atua* of childbirth, *raranga* and anything pertaining to women (p.20).

Figure 2: Tīenga Model
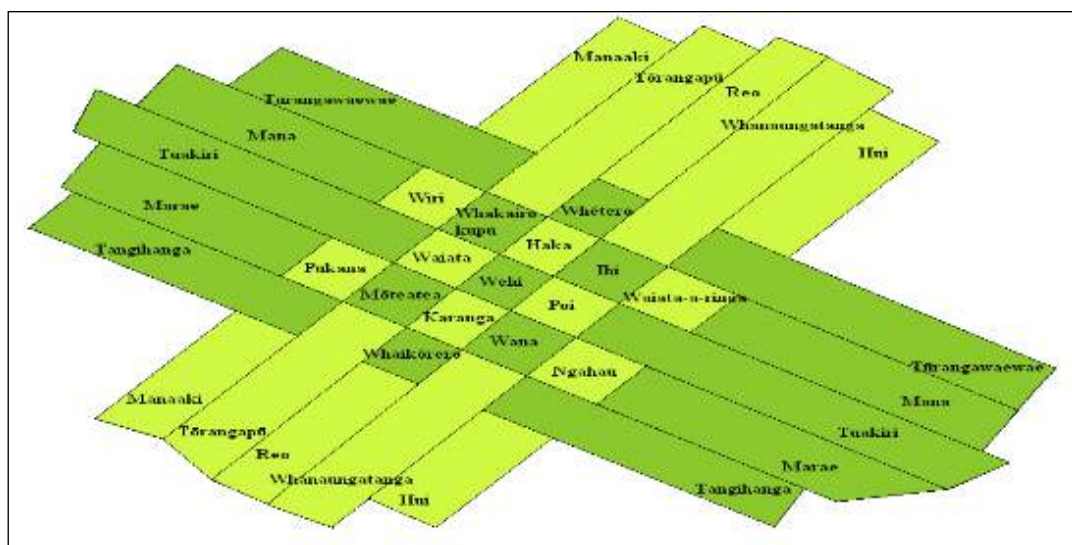
(Rachael Kaʿai-Mahuta, 2010)

The title of Kaʿai-Mahuta's doctoral thesis is, *He kupu iho mō tēnei reanga: A critical analysis of waiata and haka as commentaries and archives of Māori political history.* Her thesis argues the validity of Māori song known as *waiata* as commentaries and archives of Māori political history. Another model developed by a *kaiwhatu* (weaver of *muka*), Gloria Taituha for her Masters exegesis is a "visual representation of the processes, techniques, methods and tikanga involved in the making of korowai (traditional woven cloak with adornments) within the Maniapoto rohe" (Taituha, 2014). Like Kaʿai-Mahuta, Taituha used the Arts and Crafts portal in the Rangihau Model from which to develop her model.

Figure 3: *Te Kawau Mārō* Model
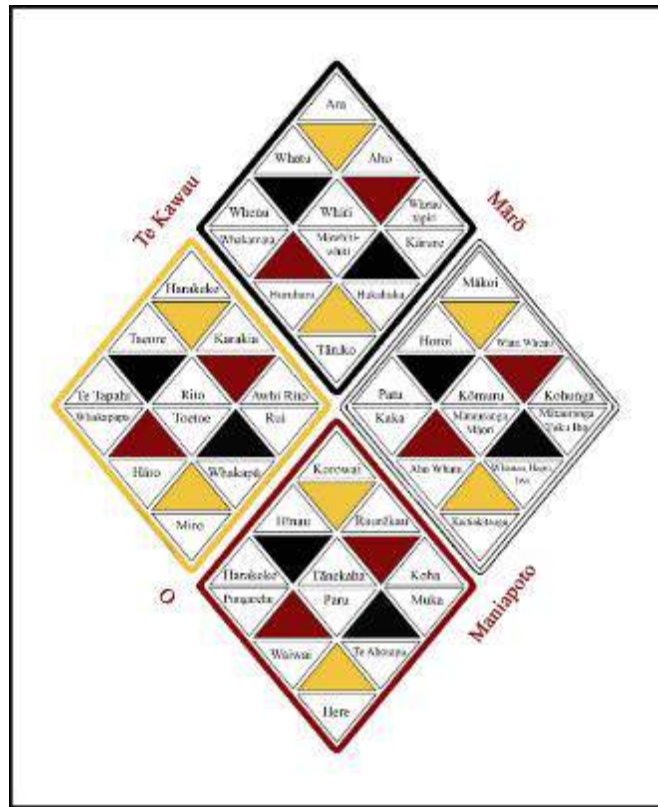
(Gloria Taituha, 2014)

The *Kawau Mārō o Maniapoto* model,

> ...consists of four diamonds with 18 triangles in each diamond, a total of
> 72 innner triangles. Each of the four diamonds shapes can be seen as two
> triangles joined together, one reflecting the other as a mirror image. The
> nine inner triangles within each of the eight larger triangles symbolise the
> battle formation, Te Kawau Mārō, a hallmark of the leadership of the
> ancestor Maniapoto. Furthermore, this formation symbolises the strength
> of weavers and their commitment to the preservation of this art form in
> contemporary society (Taituha, 2014).

Therefore, using the domains of Art and Craft, *Reo* and *Mana*, within the Rangihau Model,
as a *waharoa* (gateway), the following model has been developed, from which to connect
Indigenous and non-Indigenous language revitalisation approaches, to what Rangihau refers
to as Māoritanga (a Māori world view).

**The Moko Mataora Model - A *Kaupapa Māori* Methodology to Language
Revitalisation**

The Moko Mataroa Model was developed to articulate the many facets of language
revitalisation through an Indigenous Māori perspective. Although, emphasis is also
concentrated on the decline of the Māori language, and its impacts pertaining to the overall

wellbeing of the Indigenous Māori people and their culture. Below is the *waharoa* that displays the physical representation of the Moko Mataroa Model. To acquire knowledge within this model the seeker must enter the *waharoa* with an open mind to Indigenous Māori perspectives. Clear understanding will remain elusive if the seeker enters with preconceived notions of Indigenous Māori views. Thus, the *waharoa* is a gateway or portal that will transport the seeker to the information that is being sought.

Figure 4: *Waharoa* of the *moko mataora*: A *Kaupapa Māori* Methodology to Language Revitalisation

The *moko mataora*, with its many elements, marks, patterns and designs has been used to form the basic framework of this model. *Pūrākau, whakataukī, pēpeha* (tribal sayings), *tikanga Māori* and other features of a Māori world view, have been integrated throughout the model. The use of Māori constructs, through the concepts of CRIT and CRIE relating to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori,* are applied. *Whakataukī* or *pēpeha* are often described as proverbs, however these terms cover many other facets including witticisms, figures of speech, charms, and boasts (Mead & Grove, 2001). But perhaps most importantly, these aspects are part of the many Indigenous truths that give an indepth view into the Māori world. Thus, *whakataukī* and *pēpeha* are invaluable within both the *moko mataora and moko kauae* models (seen in chapter 5). The combination of arts and crafts, *reo* and *mana* from Rangihau's model, creates a structure of depth and complexity articulated in each

āhuatanga hoahoa (design element), transporting the seeker to any given *āhuatanga hoahoa* of their choosing. Within the exploration of each *āhuatanga hoahoa* several cultural principles can be observed that are derived from a Māori world view.

A relevant point within this research is that the names given to the many *moko* patterns and the many other meanings associated with the names of the *moko* designs, have deeper significance (within a Māori world view) but seem to have been lost in the immenseness of time. However, one way of rediscovering some of these lost meanings could be found within both the names associated with the *moko mataora* designs and their many other related meanings. As previously discussed certain Māori principles have been utilised to cultivate a model for language regeneration. Thus, the *moko mataora* model applies the concepts CRIT, CRIE and display the critical outcomes through the concept HART, which has been previously discussed. The *moko mataora* model can be viewed as individual elements (or parts) or one complete unit, which will inform *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* in the development of robust and culturally appropriate language revitalisation strategies.

It is not possible to include, within the *moko mataora* model, a complete and comprehensive list of all the elements used in the development of *moko*. Since there are many variations of the *moko* and its many marks, patterns or designs from *iwi* to *iwi*, *hapū* to *hapū* and even from *whānau* to *whānau*, pertaining to *whakapapa* (Walker, 1985; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011; Best, 1942). As Walker (1985) states, it was normal for some observers to give a certain tattoo pattern a specific name and then to have another observer give the same name to a totally different pattern. The names used to describe the elements in the *moko mataora* model, are derived from the research of Horatio Gordon Robley: Te Ropere, 1840 – 1930, whose study was assisted predominantly by Elsdon Best and are generally descriptive physiognomic features (facial features or characteristics) or rather, they relate to specific areas on the face and head (Walker, 1985). Robley is purported to have assembled one of the most extensive account of *moko* marks, designs and patterns and his research remains significant relating to specific areas and characterisations of *moko* patterns (Walker, 1985). Figure: 5 and table: 3 below, list the various features of the *moko mataora*.

Figure 5: Facial Moko
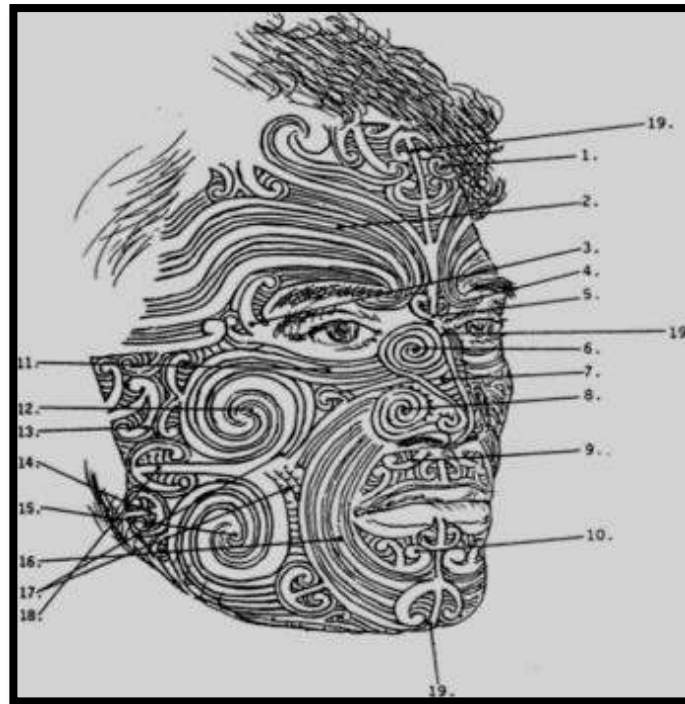
Source: Adapted from Walker (1985, p.107)

Table 3: *Moko* Patterns

1. *Titi* - Radiating lines of tattooing on the centre of the forehead	2. *Tiwahana (Tiwhana)* - Lines of tattooing over the eyebrows	3. *Pukaru* - Fine lines of tattooing on the temple, at the outer end of the eyebrows
4. *Rewha* - Tattoo marks above the eye	5. *Kōhiti (Kōwhiti)* - A pattern in tattooing	6. *Ngū* - Tattoo marks on the side of the nose
7. *Whakatara* – tattoo lines on the bridge of the nose	8. *Pōngiangia (Poniania)* - Tattoo marks on the side of the nose	9. *Hūpē* - Tattoo marks at the point of the nose
10. *Kauae (Kauwae)* - Tattoo marks on the chin	11. *Kumikumi* - Tattoo marks (Shortland writes are under the eyes)	12. *Kowhiri (Kowiri)* - The upper cheek spiral
13. *Paepae* - Upper curl of tattooing on the cheek	14. *Pūtaringa* - Tattoo marks under the ear	15. *Korowaha (koroaha)* - Large curl of tattoo marks on the cheek
16. *Rerepehi* - tattooing on the breech, and beside the mouth	17. *Wero* - Tattoo marks on the cheek	18. *Kōkiri* - Lines of tattooing on the cheek
19. *Waiora* - Spaces between lines of tattooing		

Source: Adapted from Walker, 1985)

As previously mentioned, the names attached to these designs have other meanings (or homonyms, words which have the same spelling and pronunciation, but have different meanings), beyond the ones described within the above table. It is within the meanings above and the alternative meanings that alternate understandings are expressed, to link the

intricate *moko mataora* designs and patterns with explanations of robust and culturally informed approaches to the revitalisation and survival of *te reo Māori* and the outlook and mindset that is needed when considering language revitalisation. There are four areas of study within each "*Ripanga*" (table of information) that follows. The first study area is, *Āhuatanga hoahoa,* this aspect includes the name, characteristics (where stated) and location of the design element on the face or head. The second aspect comes under the heading "*Tērā atu māramatanga*" (other meanings relating to the name of the design element). The third is "*Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori*" (applicable concepts pertaining to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*) and the last is "*Te Matū*" (the essence, the crux) of the study. There are nineteen *ripanga* to be surveyed within the *moko mataora* model, the first of which commences below.

Ripanga Tuatahi

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuatahi: the first design element to be explored, in the *moko mataora* model above, is known as *"titi"* and is described as radiating lines of tattooing on the centre of the forehead (all tattoo designs are illustrated in figure 5, table 3).

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings of *Titi* include, peg or pin, a comb for sticking in the hair, long streaks of clouds, shine (as in sun shine), adorn by sticking feathers in the hair, however most of its meanings refer to fasten or to stabilize with pegs (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. The location of the *titi* element, on the centre of the forehead, closest to the *hinengaro* (mind) is appropriate since the urgent need for the implementation of language revitalisation strategies (pertaining to *te reo Māori*) must first be firmly lodged within the *hinengaro* raising the consciousness levels of *Māori whānau* to the realisation that *te reo Māori* is in decline and the vital need for language revitalisation strategies. In the construction of the *moko mataora* model for language revitalisation, this is the first and one of many crucial steps towards language safety. *Titi* also refers to the notion of stabilising with pegs, and in this instance, can relate to the future and ongoing stability, through the implementation of robust language revitalisation strategies or what can be referred to as language stabilising approaches, of *te reo Māori*.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *titi* refers to the vital need of recognising that *te reo Māori* is declining and the urgent need to start developing language revitalisation strategies for the stabilisation and survival of the Māori language.

Ripanga Tuarua

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuarua: the second design element is known as *"tīwhana/tīwahana"* and is defined as lines of tattooing over the eyebrows.

Tērā atu māramatanga: another meaning for *"tīwhana/tīwahana"* is, to be curved (Williams, 1975). *Tiwhana kau ana Uenuku I te rangi* (curved like the rainbow in the sky).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. The following *whakataukī* refers to working together and reads *"he pōkēkē Uenuku I tū ai, he tāpui tāmaka I tau ai, ko whero anake e kore e tika,*

erangi ko whero, ko pango, ka tika" (a rainbow stands out against dark clouds as visible as a plaited boundary marker, red alone is not meaningful but red and black is), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.109). The colour red alludes to a chief and the colour black refers to the many members that make up the tribe. The chief alone does not stand out like the rainbow; however, stood amongst the members of the tribe, the chief and the tribe are well defined (Mead & Grove, 2001). In other words, nothing is achieved by one person alone but involves a collective effort, particularly true when trying to achieve an outcome that affects everyone within a culture, such as language revitalisation. Language regeneration must involve all *iwi*, all *hapū*, all *whānau*, all Māori groups and all non-Māori groups or individuals who want to see *te reo Māori* flourish. It is only through the collective efforts of all, will *te reo Māori* become a safe language.

Te Matū. Thus, the element *tīwhana/tīwahana* refers to the fact that only through united efforts by all, relating to developing language revitalisation strategies, will *te reo Māori* become a safe and living language.

Ripanga Tuatoru

***Āhuatanga hoahoa tuatoru*:** the third design element is *"pukaru"* having the meaning of, fine lines of tattooing on the temple, at the outer end of the eyebrows.

Tērā atu māramatanga: to examine *pukaru* as two words (*pū* and *karu*) it is seen that *pū* has several meanings including origin, base, foundation, the root of a tree or plant, heart or centre, source or cause and *karu* has the meaning of eye (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. As detailed in this thesis, the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* can be achieved when three elements are present. One of those elements is the understanding of the genealogy and the history of *te reo Māori. I ahu mai te reo Māori i hea?* (What are the origins of the Māori language?). To be aware of the origin, the genealogy and history of *te reo Māori*, gives understanding into its centre, its development, its growth and provides insight into the reasons for its initial decline and why it continues to decline. As already stated, *karu* refers to the eye; conversely, it is the function of the eye, or rather, an alternative view of its function that is relevant. To view is the basic purpose of the eye; however, to have vision beyond one's own experiences and knowledge is the natural occupation of those that are able to implement a language revitalisation plan that is culturally compatible and functionally robust.

Te Matū. Accordingly, the element *pukaru* refers to the need to understand the origins, genealogy and history of *te reo Māori*, and to have vision relating to the development of language revitalisation strategies.

Ripanga Tuawhā

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuawhā: the fourth design element is *"rewha"* having the meaning of a curved tattoo mark just above the eye.

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings for *rewha* are, eyelid, eyebrow, squinting or raising the eyebrows as a sign of assent (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. The location or movement around the eye area is a prominent aspect of *rewha*, therefore the following *whakataukī* is applicable, *"Titiro tō mata ki a Rehua ki te mata kīhai I kamo"* (look at Rehua, the unblinking eye), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 402). While *Rehua* in this instance refers to Antares, a navigational star, the underlying message of this *whakataukī* pertains to a characteristic of a warrior. The eye of the warrior must never blink, nor may the warrior's attention be diverted. Therefore, if one's task is the revitalisation of

te reo Māori, then complete commitment is a requirement. The eye of the warrior must not be distracted, or vision affected by other matters but must remain focused on the task at hand. In other words, Māori language revitalisation requires total commitment, and any deviation of focus can have dire consequences for *te reo Māori*. Much like the warrior who becomes distracted from his duty of protecting the *iwi, hapū or whānau*, serious and fatal circumstances can quickly develop.

Te Matū. Hence, the element *rewha* refers to the fact that it requires unequivocal and focused commitment when trying to achieve comprehensive language revitalisation, anything less will lead to failure or abandonment of one's objective.

Ripanga Tuarima

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuarima: the fifth design element is *"kōwhiti/kōhiti"* meaning a pattern in tattooing, which Walker (1985) indicates in figure 5, is in the area between the eyes and just above the nose.

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings for *kōwhiti/kōhiti* are, pull out or pick out, rise as a star, appear as the new moon or a place where *aruhe* (fern root) has been dug (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. The *aruhe* was a staple diet of *Māori tīpuna* due to its abundance and availability during all seasons of the year. The importance of *aruhe* to traditional Māori society is highlighted by the fact that *aruhe* had its own atua (god) *Haumia-tiketike*, who is also associated with all other uncultivated or wild food plants (Reed, 2002). Much like the *aruhe*, *te reo Māori* was most important to *Māori tīpuna* within all aspects of life. However, after the arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa/New Zealand *te reo Māori* has (for the most part) and continues to be slowly replaced by the English language (Spolsky, 2005). *Te reo Māori* is basically traveling the same path as the *aruhe*, who's use as a staple food within the diet of Māori is non-existent today and has been replaced by a multitude of foods from outside of Aotearoa/New Zealand, such as the English *rīwai* (potato). Therefore, Māori must rediscover the importance of *te reo Māori* within their lives, they must extent the areas (or domains) where *te reo Māori* is spoken and reignite their appetite to speak and to think in *te reo Māori*. *"Ānō ko te marama kua ngaro, kua ara anō"* (Just like the moon that disappears and rises again), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 17), like the moon, so can the desire to speak *te reo Māori* rise again amongst Māori.

Te Matū. And so, the element *kōhiti/kōwhiti* refers to recommitting, increasing, reviving, renewing or developing the desire to speak *te reo Māori* and extending and developing areas for *te reo Māori* to be spoken.

Ripanga Tuaono

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuaono: the sixth design element is *"ngū"* having the meaning of spiral tattoo marks on the upper sides of the nose.

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings are, a person unable to swim, ghost, silent or speechless, greedy and moan or groan (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. For many Māori (78.7 percent) who are unable to understand or hold a conversation in *te reo Māori*, find it distressing when they are placed in awkward situations, pertaining to the Māori culture (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Circumstances where the expectation is, because they are Māori they should know how to lead the *karanga* (call to the visitors) or be the *kaikōrero* (speaker) or *kaikarakia* (person who gives the prayer) or have in-depth knowledge concerning *te reo Māori* and *Māori tikanga*. The feeling of being thrown in the deep end and drowning (unable to swim), is an all too real experience, for

many Māori. For those who have experienced these situations the natural inclination is to avoid similar predicaments, if this is not possible, another strategy is to appear invisible like a ghost, or remain as silent as possible so as not to bring too much attention to one self. Trying to learn *te reo Māori*, for Māori and non-Māori, is a huge undertaking, however, add to that the expectation that one should also be contributing somehow to Māori language revitalisation and the whole journey can quickly become overwhelming. The reality is those who are trying to learn *te reo Māori* are contributing to Māori language revitalisation, however, if further assistance can be made to *te reo Māori* regeneration it is incumbent on the individual to provide support.

The idea that one must first learn the Māori language before assisting in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* is incorrect. In fact, much is owed to those who are not fluent in *te reo Māori* but have, for many years, assisted in its regeneration. However, it must also be acknowledged that if *te reo Māori* is to be completely regenerated, then there needs to be as many Māori as possible speaking the language.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *ngū* in the *moko mataora* model has three aspects, first as a reminder to those who stand at the forefront of *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* to pause for a moment and acknowledge that silent group who toil away behind the scenes, without moaning or groaning, for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. While this silent group of individuals may not get the recognition or accolades like many others, without their contribution and assistance, language revitalisation would be that much more difficult. The second aspect is as an example to those who want to contribute, in some way, to *te reo Māori* revitalisation but have reservations due to a lack of knowledge of the Māori language. Knowing how to speak *te reo Māori* is not a prerequisite to assisting in the revitalisation of the Māori language. The third aspect of *ngū* is to demonstrate how important giving *mihi* (or acknowledgement) to an individual or group is, within a Māori world view.

Ripanga Tuawhitu

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuawhitu: the seventh design element is *"whakatara"* having the meaning of angled tattoo lines on both sides of the bridge of the nose.

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings for *whakatara* are, challenge, put on one's mettle, invoke, and consult (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. It takes an enormous amount of courage for Indigenous peoples to challenge the dominant culture through demonstrations, petitions and other forms of protests, for the recognition of an Indigenous language and its culture. However, this is what several Māori groups have achieved (discussed in chapter two). As detailed previously, language revitalisation can be achieved when three elements are present. To begin to develop robust language revitalisation strategies and transform *te reo Māori* from an endangered language into a safe living language. Māori must not just possess a clear understanding of the genealogy and history of *te reo Māori* (previously discussed), they must also have a clear understanding of political and critical theory. Political and critical theory can be viewed (in many instances) as theories in which an ongoing struggle exists between the powerful (those who have a wealth of economic and political influence) and the powerless (those who have either scarce, or no economic and political influence). Political theory can be used to create a crystallisation, thus, an exposing of the inequalities created when a colonial, or hegemonic power, influences or replaces an indigenous or minority world view, with their ideas of normal and acceptable. Or what is referred to in this thesis as "UMIN" (Uncensored Managing of the Indigenous Narrative). Consequently, if change is to be had, then Māori must recognise and highlight the powers that have created the disproportions, so they can be confronted and challenged. There are many recorded instances of Māori challenging the dominant power within Aotearoa/New Zealand,

occasions when Māori have adorned the mettle of *mana* (prestige/power), *ihi*, *wehi*, *wana* and invoke the Māori aspect of *wero*.

Te Matū. Thus, the element *whakatara* refers to taking steps towards language revitalisation by confronting, side-lining and disassembling the forces of division brought by the annexing group and their language, using the ideas and concepts of political theory. The other aspect of *whakatara* refers to critical theory or awareness which, in this situation, is the ability to transform the thinking of a community who may see themselves as powerless to alter the decline of their indigenous or minority language. However, it must also be noted that within this challenge meaningful and comprehensive consultation must not be excluded.

<div align="center">Ripanga Tuawaru</div>

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuawaru: the eighth design element is *"pōngiangia/poniania"* having the meaning of tattoo marks on the lower part of the nose.

Tērā atu māramatanga: another meaning for *pōngiangia/poniania* is, a pair of feathers thrust one from each side through the septum of the nose, and worn during a haka (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. Both meanings for *pōngiangia/poniania* are associated with aspects of *te ihu* (the nose), *"He ihu waka, he ihu whenua"* (a headland, a human nose), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 73). This *kupu whakarite* (simile) is the expression of satisfaction and relief as a *waka* (canoe) safely reaches its desired landing place. It likens the waka and headland to the human nose which press together in the *hongi* (a custom of greeting) (Mead & Grove, 2001). The relief and satisfaction felt when a *waka* arrives safely to its chosen destination, can be related, in this context to the returning of *te reo Māori*, to what Te Wharehuia Milroy implores in the paean (song of praise, hymn, psalm, anthem, shout of praise) of *te reo Māori*, *ki te mata o te arero* (to the tip of the tongue). *"Kī mai nei a Te Wharehuia, whakahokia mai, whakahokia mai. Mai i te mata o te pene ki te mata o te arero. Kei noho kau noa hei reo mō te pepa, te pene…"* (Te Wharehuia has issued the dictum, return it to its rightful place. From the tip of the pen to the tip of the tongue lest it remain a language destined solely for pen and paper…) (Kāretu, 2012, p.5). *Te reo Māori* in the *kupu whakarite* mentioned previous, is a *waka* and its landing place is the tip of the tongue or in other words it is only through the speaking of *te reo Māori* will the language again become a living language and not a language that is destined to be found only in its written form.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *pōngiangia/poniania* refers to the fact that *te reo Māori* revitalisation can only be achieved if the language is spoken. The *haka* aspect of *poniania* is a *wero*, for those that want to see *te reo Māori* flourish, to express the language through speaking, discussing and communicating within *te reo Māori*. Rather than leaving the language to languish within the pages of books and documents, which for a language that is striving to once more become a strong living language, can be likened to, *he urupā* (a graveyard) for many lifeless and forgotten tongues.

<div align="center">Ripanga Tuaiwa</div>

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuaiwa: the ninth design element is *"hūpē"* having the meaning of tattoo marks at the point of the nose (Williams, 1975); however, Walker (1985) suggests that *hūpē* refers to the tattoo marks on the lip, just below the nose rather than at the point of the nose.

Tērā atu māramatanga. Other meanings are discharge from the nose or mucus and a pattern in carving (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. *"Ka heke te roimata me te hūpē, ka ea te mate"* (when tears and mucus fall the death is avenged), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 153). This *whakataukī* refers to a death mourned on the *marae* (*tangihanga*) wailing, crying and mucus falling from the nose is *tika* (correct, right) for such a time, thus it is said that the death has been avenged (Mead & Grove, 2001). While death for human beings, or even demi-gods, is an inescapable part of life, as *Maui-tikitiki-a Taranga* discovered when he tried to evade death (Reed, 2004). However, the death of a language can be avoided, if there is a desire to keep its overall life force alive. *He mana tā te reo Māori, he wairua tā te reo Māori, he mauri tā te reo Māori* (the Māori language has its own prestige, the Māori language has its own spirit, the Māori language has its own life force). *Te reo Māori* has its own *mana*, *wairua* (spirit) and *mauri* (life principle/life essence) which work in tandem with the *mana*, *wairua* and *mauri* of a person, however, without people speaking *te reo Māori* the language and its many aspects would cease to exist. The Māori language has *mana* due to its eloquence and natural expressive nature (displayed by many people), moreover, its *mana* exists in the fact that it conveys the Māori culture in its entirety. The Māori language has a *wairua* which can be seen, in the emotions of the people, and heard in all types of *waiata* (songs), *karakia* (prayer), *whaikōrero*, *karanga* and many other aspects within *te ao Māori*. The Māori language has a mauri, and this is evident when *ngā tangata Māori* (Māori people) are given the *kōrero* of their *whakapapa, pepeha* (as tribal sayings), *iwi pūrākau, iwi hītori* (tribal stories, tribal history), *iwi, hapū or whānau kaitiaki* or *taniwha* (stories of tribal, clan or family guardians). This also includes all kōrero relating to a person's *iwi, hapū* and *whānau* given by their parents, grandparents or members of their *iwi, hapū* or *whānau*. The more *kōrero* a person evokes and expresses, relating to their *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, the stronger the *mauri* is within their *reo*.

Te Matū. Therefore, one aspect of the element *hūpē* in this instance refers to the fact that regardless of how desperate the situation may appear in terms of the health of *te reo Māori*, with a lot of commitment and hard work, language death can be avoided. The other aspect *hūpē* refers to is that *te reo Māori* must be spoken for its life force to be revitalised, maintained and enhanced.

Ripanga Tekau

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru: the tenth design element is *"kauae/kauwae"* described as tattoo marks on the chin, and as figure 5 indicates, immediately underneath the lower lip.

Tērā atu māramatanga. Other meanings for *kauae/kauwae* are the chin and a pattern in carving (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. *"Ka kati te kauae runga ki te kauae raro"* (the upper jaw will close on the lower), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 162). Te Rauparaha apparently used these descriptive words, within this *whakataukī*, when describing to Te Wherowhero the military manoeuvre known today as the pincer movement (Mead & Grove, 2001). While the literal meaning of te *kauwae runga* is upper jaw and *kauwae raro* is lower jaw, they both have a deeper meaning within Māori cosmology and *te orokohanga* (the genesis) of all earthly aspects. *Te kauwae runga* refers to celestial knowledge, things beyond the earthly world including *ngā atua* (the gods), such as *Io matua-kore* (parentless one), *Tama-nui-te-rā* (the sun), *whatukura and māreikura* (akin to male and female angels), *ngā rangi maha* (the many heavens) and all aspects contained therein (Whatahoro & Smith, 2011). *Te kauwae raro* refers to terrestrial knowledge, things related to and encompassed within *Papatūānuku* (the earth), such as plants and planting skills, fish and fishing techniques, carving, weaving, birds, animals, trees, mountains, oceans, lakes etc (Whatahoro & Smith, 2011). *He tika ana, me mihi atu* (it is right that acknowledgement is made) *ki ngā tohunga* (to the priests, experts or skilled people) Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu who shared their knowledge of *te kauwae runga* and *te kauwae raro* of *Te Tai Rāwhiti* (East Coast) (Whatahoro & Smith, 2011). However, it is through the sharing of these two terms within the context discussed (*te kauwae runga, te kauwae raro*) by these two *tohunga*, that Māori owe the most appreciation. Since there are many differences in Māori celestial and terrestrial

knowledge (in terms of *pūrākau, whakapapa*, skills, techniques, customs etc.) within each *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, through these two terms, it is made easier to differentiate whose knowledge is being referred to. Examples: *te kauwae runga, te kauwae raro* of *Ngāpuhi*, *te kauwae runga, te kauwae raro* of *Tūhoe*, *te kauwae runga, te kauwae raro* of *Tainui* and *te kauwae runga, te kauwae raro* of *Te Whānau-a-Apanui* etc. Māori cosmology and *te orokohanga* of all earthly matters, are important and essential knowledge pertaining to Māori ideology and Māori identity. This type of esoteric or ancient knowledge was contained and taught in every *whare wā*nanga (place of higher learning) that existed within the many *iwi* and *hapū* of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Whatahoro & Smith, 2011; Best, 1942). This knowledge must not only be disseminated and maintained within each *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* but must also be a part of *te reo Māori* revitalisation.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *kauae/kauwae* refers to the importance of utilising the knowledge and aspects of *te kauwae runga* and *te kauwae raro* of each *iwi* and *hapū*, to assist in the revitalisation and survival of each individual *reo*, moreover, the regeneration of *te reo Māori* across Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Ripanga Tekau mā tahi

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā tahi: the eleventh design element is *"kumikumi"* and defined as tattoo marks under the eyes.

Tērā atu māramatanga. Other meanings are the white throat feathers of the *tūī* (parson bird), black whalebone of the right whale (species of the North Atlantic baleen whale), beard or facial hair of a person and byssus of mussel etc. (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. The following *whakataukī* refers to a characteristic of the *tūī* and two other manu (birds). *"E koekoe te tūī, e ketekete te kākā, e kūkū te kereru"* (the parson bird chatters, the parrot gabbles, the wood pigeon coos), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 30). The meaning of this *whakataukī* refers to the idea that it takes all kinds of people, their philosophies, views, experience and skills, to achieve a huge undertaking (Mead & Grove, 2001). In terms of developing language revitalisation strategies, *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* must not only look towards Māori communities and agencies within Aotearoa/New Zealand for knowledge and guidance. They must also seek knowledge, views and theories of language regeneration from the international community, where a plethora of information awaits. As detailed in this thesis, the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* can be achieved when three elements are present. One of these elements is the understanding and knowledge of international and national research relating to language revitalisation. These are essential elements to inform the development of effective language revitalisation strategies by *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and Māori communities generally, to ensure *te reo Māori* blossoms. The *tohorā* (whale) was a source of bountiful food and materials for Māori, when a whale stranding occurred Māori would use the meat for food, the bones of the *tohorā* were used for weapons like *patu parāoa*, *kotiat*e, *wahaika* (types of clubs) and *hoeroa* (a long spear type weapon made of whalebone), the teeth of the *tohorā* were used by carvers to create striking neck ornaments (Reed, 2002). Again, this is an example of using all the resources made available like the resources that are available nationally and internationally pertaining to language revitalisation. The byssus (hairy tuft) of the mussel and the *paihau* (beard or facial hair) of a person can be likened to the *huruhuru* (feathers) of a *manu* in the following *whakataukī*. *"Mā te huruhuru te manu ka rere, mā te kākahu te tangata ka tika ai"* (by feathers a bird flies and by clothing is a person presentable), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.286). This proverb refers to having the means to achieve a goal, such as the *manu* having *huruhuru* so it can fly. This situation can be compared to Māori who want to develop language revitalisation strategies, but do not have the knowledge and experience to achieve such a sizable objective. Through national and international information pertaining to language revitalisation approaches and strategies, *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* will obtain

essential knowledge towards accomplishing the development of robust language regeneration strategies.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *kumikumi* refers to the many different people (their notions and views) that it takes to revitalise a language. It also denotes the use of all the resources available in achieving an objective. The third aspect of *kumikumi* symbolizes the seeking (far and wide), recognising and acquiring the knowledge to attain one's goals.

Ripanga Tekau mā rua

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā rua: the twelfth design element is *"kowhiri/kowiri"* and is described as spiral tattoo marks on the upper cheek, however, Walker (1985) suggests that Robley used the word *paepae* to describe this area of the *moko* but changed it to *kowiri* on the suggestion of Elsdon Best. The word *paepae* was then transferred to the tattoo marks between the cheek spiral and ear, by Best (Walker, 1985).

Tērā atu māramatanga. Other meanings of *kowhiri/kowiri* are select and whirl round.

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. "Ka whakarērea te puha, ka whai ki te matariki" (inferior toetoe is discarded while that of high quality is sought after), (Mead & Grove, 200, p. 198). The purpose of this *whakataukī* is to emphasise the importance of selecting quality. The best quality *toetoe* (*arundo conspicua*) reeds were selected to line houses but crooked or unsuitable pieces were discarded (Mead & Grove, 2001). The selection process is important when developing quality language revitalisation strategies, including what approaches are culturally appropriate, do the methods vary according to the problems faced and opportunities encountered. To whirl around or to change direction within a moment's notice is to display the ability to be agile, active and responsive. *"He ringa whiti"* (a hand for sudden action), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 117). This *whakataukī* refers to one who can be counted on when immediate and responsive action is required whatever the circumstances maybe (Mead & Grove, 2001). These are sort after attributes in all areas of life, including the area of language revitalisation, when referring to developing receptive and malleable language revival strategies. Language regeneration success relies substantively on developing approaches that adapt well to change, but at the same time, are still able to maintain the integrity and fundamental principles of an Indigenous culture and their world view.

Te Matū. Hence, the element *kowhiri/kowiri* refers to the selection of appropriate language revitalisation strategies that have been sufficiently researched, analysed and considered. The other aspect of *kowhiri/kowiri* refers to developing language regeneration strategies that are responsive to sudden change but can maintain the cultural principles and ideological views inherent within an Indigenous language and its culture.

Ripanga Tekau mā toru

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā toru: the thirteenth design element is *"paepae/pae"* and is described as an upper curl of tattooing on the cheek however, Walker (1985) suggests that *paepae* now refers to the area between the cheek and ear and serves as a type of border.

Tērā atu māramatanga. Other meanings for *paepae/pae* are horizon, any type of transverse beam, circumference, lie on one side, surround with a border, dish or open shallow vessel, orators bench and a pattern in carving (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. "Ko te pae tawhiti, whāia kia tata; ko te pae tata, whakamaua kia tīna" (seek to bring distant horizons closer and sustain and maintain those that have been attained), (Mead and Grove, 2001, p. 257). This *whakatauākī* by *Rangi Mete-Kingi* of

Whanganui encourages people to look towards new horizons while retaining and upholding those that have been arrived at (Mead & Grove, 2001). Maintaining certain language revitalisation strategies employed by *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, which has and is still having a positive influence on the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* (such are *Te Kōhanga Reo*), must be upheld. However, if it is obvious that more needs to be done to reach a safer level of language well-being, different and innovative strategies need to be incorporated within the approaches currently used, in other words new horizons must be sort after and acquired. Within a Māori world view, a *wharenui* (meeting house) is likened to the human body in structure, and usually represents a *tipuna* of the area it's located in. The *tāhuhu* or ridge beam of a *wharenui* represents the spine or back bone of the *tipuna* and the many other aspects such as the *koruru* (head of the ancestor), the *maihi* (arms of the ancestor), the *raparapa* (the fingers of the ancestor), the *heke* (the ribs of the ancestor) etc., complete the *tinana* (body) of the *tipuna*. Without a sturdy and robust ridge beam the *wharenui* is in danger of collapsing, like inefficient language revitalisation strategies, if the framework of the approaches is not structurally sound (or need further reinforcement) then the declining language will continue to remain in a precarious position. The *paepae* on a *marae* can refer to the orator's bench and to the speakers who sit on the *paepae*, although some *iwi/hapū* from *Te Tai Tokerau* (Northland) refer to the orator's bench as *te taumata* (the summit). The *kaikōrero*, sitting on the *paepae* for the *tangata whenua* (home people) speak on behalf of their *iwi hapū* and or *whānau*. The *manuhiri* (visitors) represent their *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, or often, these days the *manuhiri* would represent a *kura/wānanga* (school or university), government department or other organisations. The idea is while revitalisation of *te reo Māori* must include everybody who want to see the language flourish. The individual dialects or the *reo* of each *iwi* and or *hapū* must be maintained and reinforced by those who physically and metaphorically sit on the *paepae* of their respective *iwi* or *hapū* (meaning every single person of that *iwi* or *hapū* has a responsibility to promote their reo and *tikanga*). In other words, while Māori have they own unique identity as a people. There are some very subtle and significant differences from *iwi* to *iwi*, *hapū* to *hapū* within *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* and when developing language revitalisation strategies, these differences must be considered.

Te Matū. Thus, the element *paepae/pae* refers to extending the search for knowledge of language revitalisation strategies, beyond the methods being used, including incorporating different approaches within the current areas being used as a reinforcement apparatus. Another aspect of *paepae/pae* refers to developing culturally appropriate language revitalisation strategies that will maintain its integrity under pressure. The last aspect of *paepae/pae* refers to the responsibility to uphold the unique character and distinctive aspects relating to the *reo* of each *iwi* and *hapū*.

Ripanga Tekau mā whā

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā whā: the fourteenth design element is *"pūtaringa"* and is described as tattoo marks under the ears (Williams, 1975).

Tērā atu māramatanga. To observe *pūtaringa* as two words (*pū* and *taringa*) we discover the meaning for *pū* is origin, base, foundation, the root of a tree or plant, heart or centre, source or cause and *taringa* has the meaning of ear (Williams, 1975). The aspect *pū* was previously discussed in the *āhuatanga hoahoa "pukaru"* and refers to the importance of understanding the genealogy and history of *te reo Māori*. While this definition of *pū* remains significant within *pukaru*, however, within the *āhuatanga hoahoa* of *pūtaringa*, reference is concentrated more on the meaning of *pū* relating to, heart, centre or source.

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. *"Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua"* (the permanence of the language, prestige and land), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 405). According to this *whakataukī*, at the heart, centre, source or *pū* of the Māori culture are three prominent aspects, first is *te reo Māori*, second is *mana* and the third is *whenua* (Mead & Grove, 2001). The inference of this *whakataukī* suggests that without *te reo Māori*, *mana* and *whenua* the Māori culture would

cease to exist. While there are slight variations to the interpretation of this *whakataukī*, what remains most important is the inclusion of all three aspects (language, *mana*, *whenua*) by *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* when considering ways of developing language revitalisation strategies. As an example, in the first instance the development of language regeneration strategies refers directly to the first aspect, *te reo Māori*. The second aspect, *mana*, can be included when choosing and developing language survival strategies that uphold the *mana*, *tikanga*, *whanonga pono* (principles and values) of a Māori world view. In other words, not all language revitalisation approaches consider an Indigenous or minority world view, however, correct and suitable adaptation of certain language revitalisation strategies is possible. The third aspect, *whenua*, can be incorporated when considering the revitalisation of *iwi* and *hapū reo* or dialects and the inclusion of *pūrākau* and *iwi*, *hapū whakapapa* relating to their *rohe* (region, district and territory). The *reo* of *Tūhoe* is synonymous with the land around *Te Urewera* (national park) and *Maungapōhatu* (sacred mountain of *Tūhoe* where the prophet *Rua Kēnana* established a home for his followers) (Mead & Grove, 2001). The *reo* of *Ngāti Porou* is synonymous with the east coast area north of *Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa* (Gisborne), close to Mount Hikurangi (sacred mountain of the East Coast of the North Island where it is purported that the demi-god *Maui-tikitiki-a Taranga's waka* remains to this day) (Reed, 2004). These and many other aspects, pertaining to an *iwi*, *hapū* and their *rohe* must be built into the foundational framework of all existing and developing language revitalisation strategies.

"Kia kotahi anō taringa hei ngaunga mā te hoariri" (let there be only one ear to be bitten by the enemy), (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 212). This *whakataukī* refers to the forces of a war party to be concentrated rather than dispersed in small groups, which would leave them vulnerable to attack. The concentrated efforts of a war party can bring maximum strength to bear on their enemy (Mead & Grove, 2001). This situation can be likened to the efforts of all Māori pertaining to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. First and foremost, Māori must work together as a people to have the greatest affect relating to language revitalisation; only through consolidated and focused efforts will the desired outcomes be realized. However, the united energies of Māori as a people should not impede the efforts of individual *iwi* and *hapū* concerning the revitalisation efforts relating to their own *reo*.

Te Matū. Thus, the element *pūtaringa* refers to the inclusion of the essential aspects of the Māori culture such as language, prestige and land within *te reo Māori* regeneration strategies. The other aspects of *pūtaringa* refer to concentrated efforts of Māori as a people, pertaining to language revitalisation, but also within these efforts, allowing space for individual pursuit, concerning the *reo* of various *iwi* and *hapū*.

Ripanga Tekau mā rima

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā rima: the fifteenth design element is *"korowaha/koroaha"* and is described as large curl of tattoo designs on the lower part of the cheek (Williams, 1975). Although Walker (1985) writes that Robley referred to the outer lines of the *koroaha* as *"rito"*.

Tērā atu māramatanga. To view *korowaha* as two words (*koro* and *waha*) *koro* can mean, noose or old man. The replication of *koro*, as in *korokoro*, can mean throat, loose or slack and *waha* can mean mouth, entrance or voice (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. Observing the aspect of *koro* as having the meaning of old or elderly man certain comparisons can be viewed within the following *kupu whakarite* and *whakataukī*. *"Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi"* (when the old net lies in a heap, the new net goes fishing) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.181). This *kupu whakarite* likens and old fishing net to a retiring elder who finds the physical aspects of fishing (or physical labour) too taxing. Whereas the new net in this *kupu whakarite* is likened to a youthful and physically strong person who can tolerate the rigors of strenuous physical work. While there is truth within the above *kupu*

whakarite pertaining to the demands of strenuous physical work on the elderly, the following *whakataukī* suggests other avenues for *koro/koroua* (elderly man) and *kuia* (elderly woman) to contemplate. *"Rākau papa pangā ka hei ki te marae"* (a weapon discarded can be an ornament on the marae) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.348). Mead and Grove, (2001) give an example of the meaning of this *whakataukī* using a broken whale bone weapon in suggesting, that although it may be broken it can still be used as a fine neck ornament. Thus, the meaning of this *whakataukī* alludes to the fact that while *koro* and *kuia* lack the agility to be active in many physically vigorous activities, they however still possess other abilities such as teaching and transferring their knowledge and skills to others. There can be no equivalent to the experience and knowledge *koro* and *kuia* have acquired concerning the *reo* and *tikanga* of their *iwi* and *hapū*, as well as the *whakapapa* and *hītori* pertaining to their *whenua*. As discussed previous, *waha* has the meaning of mouth, entrance or voice and *korokoro* can refer to throat. The following two *whakataukī* (referring to *waha* and *korokoro*) provide insight into how *Māori tīpuna* viewed the world around them and how they articulated naturally existing forces. *"Te waha o Tāne"* (the voice of Tāne), referring to the songs of nature and or the morning chorus of birds (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 396*)*. *"Te korokoro o Te Parata"* (the throat of *Te Parata*), *Te Parata* was a *taniwha* (guardian, water monster) that lived deep within the ocean and it was thought that the sea water would rush into the mouth of this giant *taniwha* and was then expelled, causing the ebb and flow of the tide (Reed, 2004, p.385; Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 396). Apart from giving insight into the articulations of *Māori tīpuna*, what these two *whakataukī* demonstrate is, that trying to make sense of vast and overpowering forces is nothing new for Māori. Consequently, through this view, the articulation of the forces that contribute to the ongoing decline of *te reo Māori* (whatever or whoever they may be) must be included when considering the development of language revitalisation strategies. In other words, while it is most important to consistently develop strategies that assist in language regeneration, attention must also be given to those forces beyond *te ao Māori*, powers that had and may still have some influence, in relation to the decline of *te reo Māori*.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *korowaha/koroaha* refers to the idea that *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* must consider the knowledge, experience and skill of their elders to guide them in their endeavours relating to the development of language revitalisation strategies. The other aspect of *korowaha/koroaha* refers to the notion that Māori have a natural inclination to seek answers to vast and difficult questions; this attribute must be exploited and utilised whenever possible concerning aspects that have a negative effect on *te reo Māori* or positive facets that assist in the regeneration of the Māori language.

Ripanga Tekau mā ono

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā ono: the sixteenth design element is *"rerepehi"* and is described as tattoo marks on the side of the mouth in half circle outlines, similar marks can sometimes be seen on the breech (Williams, 1975). Walker (1985) writes that Robley was advised by Elsdon Best that the *rerepehi* design could also be referred to as *"pakiwaha"*.

Tērā atu māramatanga. To observe *rerepehi* as two words (*rere* and *pēhi*) *rere* has many meanings, the following are but a few. *Rere* can mean fly, flow, be carried on the wind, waterfall, sail and rush, flee, fall of rain, leap, descend, pace to and fro etc. (Williams, 1975). *Pēhi* has the meaning of press down, oppress, repress, abolish, cover or ballast of a canoe (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. *"Ka rere te atua iti, e kore e mārama te rangi; ka rere ko Tama-nui-te-rā, ka mārama te rangi"* (when the lesser god flies, the sky is not bright; but when *Tama-nui-te-rā*, or the sun, takes flight, then the sky is lit up) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.182). In several *pūrākau* and *kōrero tāwhito*, it was thought that *Tama-nui-te-rā* was the first to learn how to fly, however his flight was rushed and gave little time for people to complete their everyday tasks. It was the demi-god *Maui-tikitiki-a Taranga* who slowed the flight of the sun down to give sufficient time within a day to allow the completion of the many day to day tasks

(Reed, 2004; Whatahoro & Smith, 2011; Mead & Grove, 2001). The meaning of the *whakataukī* above, given by Mead and Grove (2001), indicates, that since it was *Tama-nui-te-rā* (or *Te Rā*, *Te Manuiterā* and *Rehua* are also other names the sun is known by) who first learnt how to fly. Thus, it is *Te Rā* who carries the mantle of being the main *tohunga* pertaining to the knowledge of flight. Therefore, in the first instance, it is *Te Rā*, who can radiate the strongest light, relating to the skill and knowledge of flight, the information and understanding (or light) of others is secondary (Reed, 2004; Mead & Grove, 2001). In other words, when seeking knowledge and enlightenment on any issue, including the development of language revitalisation strategies, seek out the experts, those who have developed and tested their own ideas and theories, before deciding on a strategy. It was also presented (within the *pūrākau* given previous) that *Maui* slowed down the flight of *Te Rā*; this situation can be observed as an adaptation of the approach of *Te Rā*. Similarly, while the knowledge and expertise of *tohunga* must be sought in the first instance, thought must also be given to the adaptation or the reworking of their ideas, theories and approaches. This is undertaken so that the theories and practices of the *tohunga* can be aligned sufficiently within the requirements and requests of *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*. If *pēhi* is viewed within the meaning of ballast for a canoe, it can refer to stability, balance and support of the *waka*, or in relation to *te reo Māori* revitalisation, stability, balance and support of the language. *"He nui maunga, e kore e taea te whakaneke; he ngaru moana, mā te ihu o te waka e wāhi"* (a big mountain cannot be moved along, but a great ocean wave can be pierced by the prow of a canoe) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.102). This *whakataukī* refers to the fact that the solution to some problems are as difficult as moving a mountain. While other problems can be solved as easily as a *waka* parts a great wave, with the right navigation, balance and support (Mead & Grove, 2001). In other words, using the right instrument, method or technology (referring to online or digital learning applications) a seemingly overwhelming objective (such as language learning or language revitalisation) can be made much easier to achieve.

Te Matū. Thus, the element *rerepehi* refers to seeking knowledge from experts in the first instance, but also, not to be afraid of adapting ideas to align with *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* desires. The other aspect of *rerepehi* relates to finding solutions, to language revitalisation, that make easy work of seemingly overwhelming tasks, including, considering new technologies and examining new areas and methods that can be used for language recovery.

Ripanga Tekau mā whitu

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā whitu: the seventeenth design element is *"wero"* and is described as tattoo marks on the cheek close to the *rerepehī* markings (Williams, 1975).

Tērā atu māramatanga. Other meanings for *wero* are pierce, spear, challenge, a charm, a greenstone ornament, bite, sting of insect, spine of a sting-ray etc. (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. "He tara whai ka uru ki roto, e kore e taea te whakahokia" (a stingray's barb that penetrates cannot be withdrawn) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.123). The *kōrero tāwhiti*, from which this *whakataukī* is derived, refers to the long-lasting hostility held by a person (however, there are other interpretations of this *whakataukī*) (Mead & Grove, 2001). Thus, the *whakataukī* illustrates the notion that once and idea or situation has been set in place, it is not able to be easily removed or changed (Mead & Grove, 2001). This *whakataukī* is a *wero* (relating to Māori) of developing awareness, to the rigors of supporting and committing to the regeneration of *te reo Māori*. The barb of language loss has pierced the heart of *te reo Māori* and it is not just a matter of wrenching the barb out, as this could cause irreparable damage. But rather, the removal of the barb is about a change in attitudes towards *te reo Māori*, it is about the realisation that the development of appropriate and flexible language revitalisation strategies, is a delicate process that needs finesse and tact. Within this situation two features are most important, first the development of adequate approaches to slowly dislodge and remove the barb (or aspects that contribute to the decline of *te reo Māori*). Secondly, finding the endurance to be

present and participating (in the support of the language) during the convalescence of *te reo Māori*, until it has sufficiently recovered. However, as part of the ongoing upkeep of the language, speaking *te reo Māori* must become a normalised aspect of everyday life. In other words, language revitalisation is a very long process and fast fixed approaches, or lack of endurance or support, serves no purpose, but will only quicken the decline of the Māori language. If *wero* is viewed with the meaning of greenstone ornament, the following *whakataukī* reinforces the previous characterisation. *"E kore nei e taea i te rā ki te waru"* (a day will not suffice for the scraping) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.35). Traditionally, the shaping (or scraping) of *pounamu* (greenstone) was a long and painstaking task, therefore the *whakataukī* can be likened to the well know European idiom "Rome was not built in a day" (Mead & Grove, 2001). Thus, reference here is being made to the fact that a difficult undertaking (such as language revitalisation) requires sufficient time to be achieved and that nothing of great consequence can be completed within a short period of time.

Te Matū. Consequently, the element *wero* refers to the need for Māori to be consciously appreciative of how extensively long language revitalisation can be and appreciate the importance of ongoing commitment and fortitude when developing and initiating language regeneration strategies.

Ripanga Tekau mā waru

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā waru: the eighteenth design element is *"kōkiri"* and is described as tattoo marks on the cheek (however, *kōkiri* is closer to the ear than the elements *korowaha* and *wero* which are also located on the cheek) (Williams, 1975).

Tērā atu māramatanga. Other meanings for *kōkiri* are dart, throw, thrust, rise in a column (as smoke), spear, meteor, body of men rushing forward. (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. *"Me te Kōtiritiri"* (like a meteor) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 303). This *whakataukī* refers to someone that comes and goes frequently, much like the many meteors (or shooting stars) that are seen flashing across the sky during clear nights (Mead & Grove, 2001). Firstly, it must be acknowledged that there are many groups and individuals who have and continue to give their absolute all when supporting *te reo Māori* revitalisation. However, for the many, ongoing support for language revitalisation initiatives can be likened to the *whakataukī* above, as it frequently comes and goes. Whether it is support from the Government, wider community, individuals or *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, for the most part, advocating and participation remains inconsistent (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008; Fishman, 2001). Therefore, those groups, individuals, *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* who are considering developing a language revitalisation plan, must include in their strategies, an aspect that encourages consistency of support and participation of their approaches. In other words, one may develop the most comprehensive and logically robust language revitalisation plan ever, but if it does not inspire people to participate or feel a sense of investment, then the championing and contribution to language revitalisation initiatives, will remain sporadic. If *kōkiri* is viewed through the meaning of a body of men rushing forward (such as a war party), who are also carrying weapons (spears) used to either thrust or throw at their enemies and as a group, raise up like a column of smoke, when directed by the *Rangatira* (chief/leader) to fight, then the following w*hakataukī* is relatable. *"Kia tū rangatira ki te tohu, ka toa te kairākau; tā te ware he whakapāhunu I ngā toa"* (a chief should stand forth to lead for he will give courage to those who bear weapons, while a commoner would only dishearten the warriors) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 219). The meaning of this *whakataukī* refers to the idea that when choosing a leader to follow in battle, whatever that battle maybe (such as, a battle for language regeneration) than the group, *iwi*, *hapū* or *whānau* must choose the appropriate person or persons to lead the charge (Mead & Grove, 2001). Those who have a recognised history of being in battle and have displayed commitment and courage should be considered as a first choose. If those who are chosen to lead a battle or *kaupapa* (topic) are

unknown, or have displayed weakness during battle, or otherwise have not yet proven their mettle within the heat of combat. Reservation and doubt will be raised as to their strength and resilience which will create a lack of fortitude and trust within the advancing group, this will have a negative effect on the overall success of the objective.

Te Matū. Thus, the element *kōkiri* refers to the need to develop language revitalisation plans that include aspects which create a sense of investment and commitment and inspires *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, to participate for the long term. The other aspect of *kōkiri* refers to the fact that when choosing people to lead and give strength to the selected language revitalisation strategies, chose those who are trusted and who inspire courage and endurance, through example.

Ripanga Tekau mā iwa

Āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā iwa: the nineteenth and last design element is *"waiora"* and is described as spaces between tattoo lines (Williams, 1975).

Tērā atu māramatanga. Other meanings for *waiora* are health and soundness (Williams, 1975). Consequently, the element *waiora* is not a tattoo pattern as such but rather the spaces, gaps or channels that exist between the many tattoo marks, patterns or designs.

Hāngai ki te whakarauora o te reo Māori. Accordingly, it is fitting that the exploration of the element *waiora* is left till the last, since its function is to frame and define all the elements of the facial moko. The spaces, channels or gaps between the tattoo marks, patterns or designs give each element, definition and shape. Without these spaces, it would virtually be impossible to discern which element is which, or where one element starts and where another would finish. *Te reo Māori* can also be viewed as existing within the spaces, gaps or channels, between the many aspects relating to *te ao Māori*, since the Māori language gives definition, shape and provides clarity to these very facets. Thus, *te reo Māori* can also be observed as the energy and vitality that flows about the many features, of a Māori world view, acting much like a conductor that connects and illuminates. While at the same time generating health and soundness for *te ao Māori*, overall, by maintaining the *mauri* of the culture. There are also spaces and gaps between different generations of Māori, spaces or gaps represented by different ages, differing attitudes and experiences. However, it is the deficiency of understanding from one generation to another (due to the lack of language and essential cultural information not being transmitted to succeeding generations) that will ultimately lead to the demise of *te reo Māori* and its culture. In other words, without intergenerational language transmission *te reo Māori* will be lost, and eventually, the Māori culture will suffer the same fate. But also, the communication gap between *koroua, kuia, matua* (father/uncle), *whaea* (mother/aunty), *whānaunga* (cousin), *tama* (boy), *kōtiro* (girl) and *mokopuna* (grandchild), will grow exponentially (causing the breakup of the *whānau, hapū* and *iwi* unit), if *te reo Māori* is not present to act as a conductor to connect and supply illumination (or give identity) to all the generations of Māori. While the term intergenerational language transmission may seem to imply that it refers to language only, this is incorrect. The term refers to the transmission of both the language and all cultural concepts of an Indigenous people, because for the longest time, these two aspects have and are being taught and learnt simultaneously. Therefore, it is most important that Māori retain *te reo Māori*, to be able to transmit the language to the next generation, but that they also hold strong too and transmit *ngā taonga tuku iho* (treasures past down by the ancestors).
"Kia ū, kia mau ki tō Māoritanga" (be firm in holding on to your Māori culture) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.219). Mead and Grove (2001) write that this *whakataukī* refers to the numerous ethnographical (culture of a group of peope) aspects, such as the complex blend of *tikanga*, principles, *pūrākau, kōrero tāwhito, te reo Māori* and many other cultural concepts which Māori take pride in. Through these aspects, Māori can maintain and fortify their identity and refocus on the areas that provide real meaning, within their lives.

> *Te Matū.* Therefore, the element *waiora* refers to the importance of intergenerational language transmission, which includes both *te reo Māori* and the many cultural principles within *te ao Māori*. The other aspect of *waiora* refers to the maintaining and reinforcing the lines of communication between the many generations of Māori, for the health and soundness of *te reo Māori* and *te ao Māori* overall, to strengthen the bonds between the *whānau, hapū* and *iwi* entities.

As can be seen, the use of the concepts CRIT and CRIE in the *moko mataora* model, provide a critical view into the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* and the outcome or HART is available to be utilised by language revivalists (as a working model or as an example). This concludes the clarification and explanation of all *ripanga* relating to the *moko mataora* model. *Ko te tēpu e whai ake nei, he kōrero whakarāpopoto ō ia āhuatanga hoahoa, ō ia āhuatanga hoahoa ō te moko mataora tauira. Kia whāki mai, kia pūrangiaho mai te ngako, te matū ō ngā kōrero ki roto* (The following table is a summary of every design element, within the *moko mataora* model. The explanation, essence and substance of each design element is presented).

Table 4: Summary of design elements of the *Moko Mataora Model*

Moko Mataora Model - A *Kaupapa Māori* Methodology to Language Revitalisation		
Titi (1) The element *titi* refers to the vital need of recognising that *te reo Māori* is declining and the urgent need to start developing language revitalisation strategies for the stabilisation and survival of the Māori language.	**Tīwahana /Tiwhana (2)** The element *tīwhana* or *tīwahana* refers to the fact that only through united efforts by all, relating to developing language revitalisation strategies, will *te reo Māori* become a safe and living language.	**Pukaru (3)** The element *pukaru* refers to the need to understand the origin and history of *te reo Māori*, and to have vision relating to the development of language revitalisation strategies.
Rewha (4) The element *rewha* refers to the fact that it requires unequivocal and focused commitment when trying to achieve comprehensive language revitalisation, anything less could lead to failure or abandonment of one's objective.	**Kōhiti /Kōwhiti (5)** The element *kōhiti/kōwhiti* refers to increasing, reviving, renewing or developing the desire to speak *te reo Māori* and extending areas for *te reo Māori* to be spoken.	**Ngū (6)** The element *ngū* has two aspects, first as a reminder to those who stand at the forefront *of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (Māori language and customs) to pause for a moment and acknowledge the silent group who toil away behind the scenes, without moaning or groaning, for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. The second aspect of ngū is to demonstrate how important mihi (or acknowledgement) is within a Māori world view.
Whakatara (7) The element *whakatara* refers to taking steps towards language revitalisation by confronting, side-lining and disassembling the forces of division brought by the annexing language, using the ideas and	**Pōngiangia /Poniania (8)** The element *pōngiangia* or poniania refers to the fact that *te reo Māori* revitalisation can only be achieved if the language is spoken. The *haka* aspect of poniania is a wero, for those that	**Hūpē (9)** One aspect of the element *hūpē* refers to the fact that regardless of how desperate the situation may appear in terms of the health of *te reo Māori*, with a lot of commitment and hard work,

concepts of political theory. The other aspect of whakatara refers to critical theory or awareness which is the ability to transform the thinking of a community who may see themselves as powerless to alter the decline of their indigenous or minority language. However, it must also be noted that within this challenge meaningful and comprehensive consultation must not be excluded.

want to see *te reo Māori* flourish, to express the language through speaking, discussing and communicating within *te reo Māori*.

language death can be avoided. The other aspect that the element hūpē refers to is that if the life force of *te reo Māori* is to be revitalised, maintained and enhanced, it must be spoken.

Kauae /Kauwae (10)
The element *kauae/kauwae* refers to the importance of utilising the knowledge and aspects of *te kauwae runga* and *te kauwae raro* of each iwi and hapū, to assist in the revitalisation and survival of each individual reo, moreover, the regeneration of *te reo Māori* overall.

Kumikumi (11)
The element *kumikumi* refers to using all the resources available in achieving an objective. The other aspect of kumikumi refers to recognising and acquiring the means to attain one's goals.

Kowhiri /Kowiri (12)
The element *kowhiri/kowiri* refers to the selection of appropriate language revitalisation strategies that have been sufficiently researched, analysed and considered. The other aspect of kowhiri or kowiri refers to developing language regeneration strategies that are responsive to abrupt change but can maintain the cultural principles inherent within an Indigenous culture and its language.

Paepae (13)
The element *paepae* refers to extending the search for knowledge beyond the current areas being used. Another aspect of *paepae* refers to developing culturally appropriate language revitalisation strategies that will maintain its integrity under pressure. The last aspect of paepae refers to the responsibility to uphold the unique character and distinctive aspects of each *iwi* and *hapū*.

Pūtaringa (14)
The element *pūtaringa* refers to the inclusion of the essential aspects of the Māori culture such as language, mana and whenua within language regeneration strategies. The other aspects of pūtaringa refer to concentrated efforts of Māori as a people, pertaining to language revitalisation, but also within this area, allowing space for individual pursuit, concerning the *reo* of *iwi* and *hapū*.

Korowaha/(koroaha) (15)
The element *korowaha/koroaha* refers to the idea that *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* must consider the knowledge, experience and skill of their *koro* and *kuia* (elders) to guide them in their endeavours relating to the development of language revitalisation strategies. The other aspect of *korowaha/koroaha* refers to the notion that Māori have a natural inclination to seek answers to vast and difficult questions; this attribute must be exploited and utilised whenever possible, concerning *te reo Māori* decline and the development of language revitalisation strategies.

Rerepehi (16)
The element *rerepehi* refers to seeking knowledge from experts in the first instance, but also, not to be afraid of adapting their ideas to align with *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* desires. The other aspect of *rerepehi* relates to finding less overwhelming solutions, to language revitalisation, by considering alternatives or new areas and methods, when trying to

Wero (17)
The element *wero* refers to the need for Māori to be consciously appreciative of how extensively long language revitalisation can be and appreciate the importance of ongoing commitment and fortitude when developing and initiating language regeneration strategies.

Kōkiri (18)
The element *kōkiri* refers to the need to develop language revitalisation plans that include aspects which create a sense of investment and commitment and inspires *iwi*, hapū and *whānau*, to participate for the long term. The other aspect of *kōkiri* refers to the fact that when choosing people to lead and give strength to the

| achieve a language revitalisation plan. | developed language revitalisation strategies, chose those who are trusted and who inspire courage and endurance, through example. |

***Waiora* (19)**
The element *waiora* refers to the importance of intergenerational language transmission, which includes both *te reo Māori* and the many cultural principles within *te ao Māori*. The other aspect of waiora refers to the maintaining and reinforcing the lines of communication between the many generations of Māori, for the health and soundness of *te reo Māori* and *te ao Māori* overall, to strengthen the bonds between the *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* entities.

The Spiritual *Moko* of *Te Reo Māori*

As previously discussed, *te reo Māori* (within this research) replicates the transformative nature of the *moko mataora/kauae* in many ways. *Ko te moko wairua i whakairoirohia te ngākau o te pūkōrero, nā te reo Māori*, this *whakatauākī* was developed to give expression to the connections, the resemblances and links, between the *moko mataora/kauae* and *te reo Māori* (it can also refer to an exceptional speaker). Like the *moko mataora/kauae* and its *tikanga*, *te reo Māori* is unique to Aotearoa/New Zealand having an extensive *whakapapa* that reaches back into the Pacific Islands and beyond (discussed indepth in chapter 2). While some languages of the Pacific have several similarities to *te reo Māori* in many ways, there are also fundamental differences. Through the long period of seclusion in Aotearoa/New Zealand by Māori and through natural language development, the language *Māori tīpuna* spoke when they first arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand was transformed into *te reo Māori*. Like the *moko mataora/kauae*, *te reo Māori* captures, reflects and encapsulates the Māori culture in its entirety.

Thus, continual change and development transpired for Māori over the many generations of separation from their Pacific brothers and sisters. Within this change, Māori developed a new language, different cultural practices and beliefs, and a strong bond between them and this newly developed language and culture (King, 2011). While strong feelings of belonging to one's culture, language and land are not exclusively a Māori quality, however, *te reo Māori* was given birth to, in Aotearoa/New Zealand and will always remain te *ūkaipō* (real

home, place of origin) of the Māori language. While this fact may be of little comfort for Māori as they experience the ongoing decline of their language, it's within the cultural concept of *"te ūkaipō"* truth exists. A truth that may well encourage some Māori to take ownership of their language and for others, to find renewed energy in their efforts to revitalise *te reo Māori*.

If *te reo Māori* suffers language death/sleep and is ultimately entombed within the pages of history and not returned, as Te Wharehuia Milroy beseeches, *ki te mata ō te arero* (to the tip of the tongue), the impacts for Māori will be many. Without the speaking of the Māori language, will Māori remain aware of the guiding whispers of their ancestors, or be able to listen to the voices of their *atua o tua whakarere* (ancient gods) and their warnings? Will they be able to hear the subdued cries of Ranginui as he watches Papatūānuku being ill-treated, simply for human greed? (Kāretu, 2012). These are but a few of the questions to be asked if *te reo Māori* is lost, however, Te Wharehuia Milroy states an important fact, every language that was and is still spoken in the world has a similar *ūkaipō*, that of *te arero* (the tongue). To return something back to some area or place implies that it was there to begin with, so, within this definition, it is reasonable to conclude, that the speaking of *te reo Māori* must be returned to *te arero* of Māori (whence it originally resided). Or in other words, for *te reo Māori* to be revitalised, it is only Māori themselves that have the *whakapapa*, therefore the intrinsic "cultural codes" or CC's, to achieve such an undertaking. Every culture has their own specific codes that can be liken to the DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) of a person. The CC's of a people refer to their *whakapapa*, their ideology, their cultural principles and many other aspects (such as *moko* for Indigenous Māori) that belong to a culture, which allows the people of that culture to naturally and harmoniously fit into their environment. However, apart from natural change, when the CC's of a people are disrupted, or their environment is altered, then the possibility of an underdeveloped or transmuted culture, is highly probable.

The spoken word of any language has infinite power, the ability to carry an entire culture, the capability to articulate any given situation. The very sounds a language makes when spoken, the ideas and emotions that are elicited through the listening and speaking of a language. Spaces or domains that are created through the spoken word, the unique nature of an enunciated language that sets it apart from all other forms of communication. Thus, if *te ūkaipō* of a language resides within *te arero* of its people, it stands to reason that every

person of that culture, to which that language represents, has an obligation to participate, in some way, to its revitalisation. Regardless of the value or lack thereof, they apportion to their cultural language. This then is the basic truth; every single Māori must accept a share of responsibility for the survival of *te reo Māori* or bear a share of accountability for its loss. This statement, on the face of it, seems to challenge certain views that are advocated within the upcoming chapters; that colonisation must take the lion's share of the blame for the decline of *te reo Māori*. Although there is a fundamental truth to this account (pertaining to the Māori language), however, reference here is being made to the cultural responsibility every Māori is born with relating to the revitalisation and survival of their language and not the responsibility of its initial decline.

There are two issues here, one deals with the causes that led to the decline of *te reo Māori*, causes which may still exist. The other deals with actions that could lead to *te reo Māori* revitalisation, or non-action that could lead to its complete demise. It is incorrect to assume that both concepts are emphatically wielded together however, it is inevitable that both, at some stage, will cross paths. It is these, (what is referred to in this research as) "intersections of conflict" or IOC, that give raise to the assumption that these two separate constructs are inextricably connected. For an example, let us take a quick look at Te Kōhanga Reo movement (which will be discussed in-depth in chapter two), arguable one of the most successful language revitalisation programs, pertaining to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. Within the initial first few years of expansion Te Kōhanga Reo seemed to be out of reach of the proverbial glass ceiling. However, Te Kōhanga Reo inevitably arrived at an IOC and unavoidably its rapid advancement drastically slowed, consequently, *te reo Māori* revitalisation has experienced serious inversion (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010).

Some of the reasons why Te Kōhanga Reo arrived at an IOC are discussed in chapter 2, although evidence suggests, its downturn is substantially due to Te Kōhanga Reo seeking recognition of their pedagogical approaches and lobbying for change within governmental policies towards the Kōhanga movement (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). In relation to *te reo Māori* revitalisation, Māori must identify areas they themselves can change, including areas where different approaches and resources need to be considered. However, there must be nation-wide acknowledgement that *te reo Māori* decline is not just a Māori issue, but an issue that involves the whole of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

These far-reaching changes for the most part have gone unacknowledged by most New Zealanders, but Māori continue to remember, in truth it is impossible for Māori to forget. From the chopping, down of the British flagpole at Kororāreka (Russell) in 1845 to the urgent issue of Māori language survival in 2017 (and the untold events of Māori protest within these last three centuries). Māori continue to voice their concerns, continue to protest, and continue the struggle. It is only through the many forms of protest that Māori have been able to express their loss and frustration. *Waiata* (song) is used for many purposes in the Māori culture such as, supporting a speech. *Waiata* were also used to pass on knowledge, or in lamenting a death, or remembering historical events and conflicts. *Waiata* were used to resolve past disputes and they were also used in support of issues of conflict (Higgins & Loader, 2015). As stated previously in this chapter Kaʿai-Mahuta's (2010) thesis argues the validity of Māori *waiata*, as commentaries and archives of Māori political history. Thus, the following *waiata* is an example of Māori protest as it highlights the negative impacts colonisation and imperialism has had and continues to have on a Māori world view, *te reo Māori* and the well-being of Indigenous Māori.

Table 5: *TE MĀTAURANGA O TE PĀKEHĀ*

Te mātauranga o te Pākehā	The knowledge of the Pākehā
He mea whakatō hei tinanatanga	Has been instilled into us
Mō wai rā mō Hātana	For whose benefit? For Satan's
Kia tūpato i ngā whakawai	Beware of the temptations
Kia kaha rā.	Be strong.
Te mātauranga o te Pākehā	The education of the Pākehā
Patipati a ka muru whenua	Has made us realise how we were exploited
Kia kaha rā, e hoa mā	Be strong friends
Ka mutu anō, te tanga manawa	Hold on to our land
oranga.	Our remaining means of survival.
Te mātauranga o te Pākehā	Furthermore the Pākehā education
Ka tuari i te penihana oranga	Has given us benefits
Hei aha rā, hei patu mahara	For what purpose?
Patu tikanga a Māori e	It deadens Maori thought
A Maori e, a Māori e.	And kills our Maori customs

Source: Lyrics provided by Tania Kaʿai (2016)

This *waiata* is also an example of strength of will, the recognition of change and a never-ending defiance that demands justice and the right to be able to live and exist as Indigenous Māori. Thus, this *waiata* can be viewed as an aspect of, and specifically conveys Indigenous

truths and Indigenous experiences. The *kaitito* (composer) was Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi of Ngāti Porou.

Conclusion

Chapter one provides examples that stress the urgent need for the immediate development of many language revitalisation strategies and approaches concerning *te reo Māori*. Thus, chapter one highlights the need for Māori to be vigilant against complacency, pertaining to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. Due to the high profile of several *te reo Māori* programmes and promotions, including Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Māori television and many others (discussed in this thesis), the general outlook tends to be, that *te reo Māori* is thriving. This is certainly not the case, as this research will demonstrate. The Māori language is at a tipping point, therefore, Māori and those that want to promote *te reo Māori*, must be actively involved in the revitalisation and survival of the language. Chapter one also sees the introduction of The Moko Mataora Model, designed to assist Māori or non-Māori individuals, *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* in their endeavours to develop language regeneration strategies relating to *te reo Māori* with a *kaupapa Māori* focus. As previously stated, an additional reason for why The Moko Mataora Model was constructed is due to the lack of comprehensive Indigenous Māori models relating to the development of *te reo Māori* revitalisation strategies. The Moko Mataora Model as an example, utilises and places the many principles and concepts of *te ao Māori* at the centre of *te reo Māori* regeneration. Discussions in chapter one is also positioned around, not only the legitimate right Māori have to their language and culture under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, or social justice, but a fundamental and natural right to one's culture and language. An underlying right, afforded to all cultures of the world, long before the existence of colonialism, imperialism or the various other dominant forces and their many personae. Conversely, in most situations when an Indigenous culture or minority culture exists beneath the consuming shadow of a dominant ideology and its language, this basic and natural right to one's language and culture, is consistently challenged or purposely ignored.

To reiterate, there are two other models relating to developing language revitalisation approaches yet to be discussed in upcoming chapters. One is "The Moko Kauae Model: An Evaluation Tool to Measure the Health Level of *te reo Māori*" discussed in chapter 5. The other is NRWOT, used as an overarching tool to highlight the three necessary facets in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*, discussed in chapter 7. The three examples of language

revitalisation models in this thesis are designed as examples to be used by *whānau, hapū and iwi* in developing their own models. However, the three models are working models, meaning, *whānau* can also choose to use them in their current form.

CHAPTER TWO:
TE TIRITI O WAITANGI, GENEALOGY, HISTORY AND POLITICS OF *TE REO MĀORI*

Image 2: Koru

The above design is known as "*Koru*" and is seen in *whakairo*, *kōwhaiwhai* (rafter patterns) and *tā moko*. This pattern is used by all *iwi* of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The single *koru* frond can represent many things, such as, new life, growth and strength. It can also symbolise an individual or a group. A *koru* with many fronds growing from the main stem can represent a person's *whānau* and or their *whakapapa*. It can also represent guardianship. Thus, many individuals are seen to display their genealogy, on their *tinana* in the form of *tā moko* using the *koru* design. Within this chapter the *koru* design is used to represent the genealogy of *te reo Māori*. The Māori language in the above image, is a single *koru* connected to the many stems that make up the Austronesian language w*hakapapa*. "*Ko wai ahau, no hea ōku hononga*?" (Who am I, where do my connections lead?).

Introduction

Chapter two begins with an examination of the genealogy of *te reo Māori*. A linguistic overview begins with the Austronesian language family, including theories of Māori and Polynesian origins and settlements of the Pacific. This is followed by a comprehensive overview of the history of *te reo Māori* and in particular, issues relating to Te Tiriti o Waitangi are discussed to show the intent of the covenant and the impact of the deceit that followed. Issues such as the historical landscape leading up to and including the signing of *te Tiriti* are discussed as well as, the influence of the New Zealand Company, the controversy around the English and Māori version of *te Tiriti* and the journey of Te Tiriti o Waitangi documents that also have their own historical journey. The history of *te reo Māori* and its decline are critically examined and the health and restoration of *te reo Māori* is critiqued.

The Genealogy and History of *Te Reo Māori*

The purpose of this chapter is to explore and examine the etymological journey and recent history of the youngest member of the Austronesian language family, namely *te reo Māori*. As discussed in chapter one, the genealogy and history of *te reo Māori* is one of three essential facets (within NRWOT) relating to the revitalisation of the Māori language.

Titiro ki tō whakapapa, ki tō hītori hei kāpehu mōu (look to your genealogy, to your history as a compass to guide you). In many respects, the *whakapapa* and history of a people can be used as a guide or compass to navigate the future. To know how one has arrived at the place frequently referred to as the "now" and to know the many genealogical connections of what the journey entailed, not only gives a person their identity but also provides an idea of what to avoid for future prosperity and how to move forward into the future. Thus, within the *whakapapa* and history of an Indigenous culture there are positive examples to be followed (examples that enhance the language and culture of its people) and there are instances where having knowledge of past events, proves to be extremely valuable in terms of saving time, resources or even a language and its culture. While there are many arguments (relating to language revitalisation) in favour of knowing the links and connections of one's language (some which have already been discussed), there are also reasons that may not have a direct effect on the language itself, but could benefit the people of that language. Such as, researching where certain physical traits of a people come from or wherein the genealogical time line did these traits develop or change. Or, where views, values or customs may have originated, or where the use of a word or concept in a language changed or began. Or why certain cultures seem more susceptible to aliments or diseases (such as diabetes, gout or many other afflictions). To know the genealogy of one's language and how this genealogical table fits together opens a path that can be viewed much like time lapse footage. As each culture (or frame) of every language is researched (and there are 1200 different languages in the Austronesian language family) the physical, psychological, cultural, social, linguistic, religious and ideological changes can be observed and studied. It takes little thought as to the many possibilities this type of information could afford.

However, the focus of this study is the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*, therefore, it can be said that for Māori language revival, including many other Indigenous languages, the most valued information within its genealogy, exist within the *tikanga*, *whakapono* (beliefs) and *uara* (values) handed down from their ancestors. All Polynesian cultures were traditionally oral cultures (like most Austronesian cultures) thus; most aspects relating to Polynesian culture were transferred verbally. Therefore, the genealogy of a Polynesian/Austronesian language not only displays the origin of its beginnings and the extensive linguistic journey of diversification but also exhibits the many aspects that remain the same and the many that have changed, some dramatically.

The history of *te reo Māori* began a little while after *Māori tīpuna* arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand, around a thousand years ago. On the other hand, *te reo Māori whakapapa* can be mapped back to about six thousand or so years, even though, many writers refer to the genealogy of a language as its history (Sneddon, 2003). *Te reo Māori whakapapa* can be traced back to the Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, Sneddon (2003) and many others, write that Austronesian language *whakapapa* itself leads back to Eastern and Central China (lower Yangzi and Yellow River basin) at around eight thousand years ago. Sneddon (2003) states;

> 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).

Thus*, Te reo Māori hītori* and all other Polynesian language histories can be measured by periods of linguistic diversification (in relation to the timeline of their Austronesian ancestry). *Te reo Māori whakapapa* can be retraced from the period *Māori tīpuna* first landed on the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, back to the lands they came from and beyond. *Māori tīpuna* did not speak *te reo Māori* when they first arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand, but rather the original language of their most recent *tīpuna*, although ultimately this language would experience linguistic diversification and the outcome would be the emergence of *te reo Māori* (Hay, Maclagan & Gordon, 2008; King, 2011). It must also be noted that the Māori language that was spoken when the likes of Abel Tasman (1642) or Captain James Cook (1769) first arrived on the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, has changed. The degrees of change are varied, within *iwi* and *hapū,* due in part to linguistic diversification but also, much like many other Indigenous cultures, owing to the influences of other languages, due mainly to colonisation.

Accordingly, viewing the genealogy of the Austronesian language, it too is but a consequence of linguistic diversification. And regardless of how large or diverse its interconnected languages have become, the Austronesian language will continue to retain the linguistic associations (or *whakapapa*) from the languages that came before it (Sneddon, 2003). Consequently, the Austronesian language family (and all other languages in the world) can be traced back to a people who developed and defined their specific style of verbal communication. As Sneddon (2003) claims, due to population growth within eastern and central China, there was a need to find more land, thus due to expansion; linguistic diversification began to impact the parent language of what became known as the Austronesian language.

At a rudimentary level, the genealogy of a language can (theoretically) be mapped back to the very moment a sound from that language was associated with an object, a person, a place, an occasion, a thought, an idea, a certain food, a skill or an emotion etc. The culmination of these aspects would eventually produce a language, which in the beginning would be a rather basic form of communication, but with time, usage, experiences and further development of the language a well-rounded and clearly defined form of communication would be fashioned (Fitch, 2010). One can but marvel at the astonishing journey that lead to the development of *te reo Māori* considering the beginnings of this journey started thousands of kilometres away from Aotearoa/New Zealand. To grasp the vast distances travelled by ancient *Māori tīpuna*, a shortened version of the Austronesian language family journey, relating to *te reo Māori*, (which of cause would be factually inaccurate) is provided here. Thus, from Taiwan to Tonga is 8516km and from Tonga to Samoa is 887km and from Samoa to the Society Islands is around 2000km. From the Society Islands to Hawaii is about 4000km and from Hawaii to Rapanui (Easter island) is 7468km and from Rapanui to Aotearoa/New Zealand is 6930km, giving a total of around 29,801kms. While one can add thousands more kilometres to the full historical voyage of the Austronesian language family, it can be seen here, that in their constant desire to explore, discover and populate the many islands/lands of the Pacific, great distances were navigated. Consequently, major parts of this Austronesian language journey have been mapped and continues to be defined by several notable linguists and archaeologists who have managed to piece together (reinforced by a variety of evidence and credible theories) the genealogy of, *te reo Māori* and most other Polynesian languages, to the Austronesian language family.

The discovery of the existence of the Austronesian language family goes back to the seventeenth century, when members of the Schouten and Lemaire expedition collected a vocabulary from East Futuna (Wallis and Futuna) in the South Pacific, some of which was found later to bear a striking resemblance to Malay. However, it was not until the nineteenth century that Austronesian studies really took on a systematic flavor, particularly with the work of Dutch linguists in what is today Indonesia and that of a number of missionaries in the South Pacific. A discussion of the history of research in Austronesian linguistics is not called for here. Suffice it to say that the major advances in Austronesian studies have been made this century, beginning with the systematic comparative work of such linguists as Stresemann (1927) and Dempwolff (1934-38). Since that time there has been a great deal of systematic research carried out right throughout the vast region where Austronesian languages are spoken (Tryon, 1995, p. 19)

Therefore, the following information is but a small part of the research that has been carried out relating to Austronesian language *whakapapa* and the linguistic journey that has led to the development of *te reo Māori.*

Austronesian Language Family

Figure 6: Map of Austronesian Language Diversification

Source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Austronesian-languages
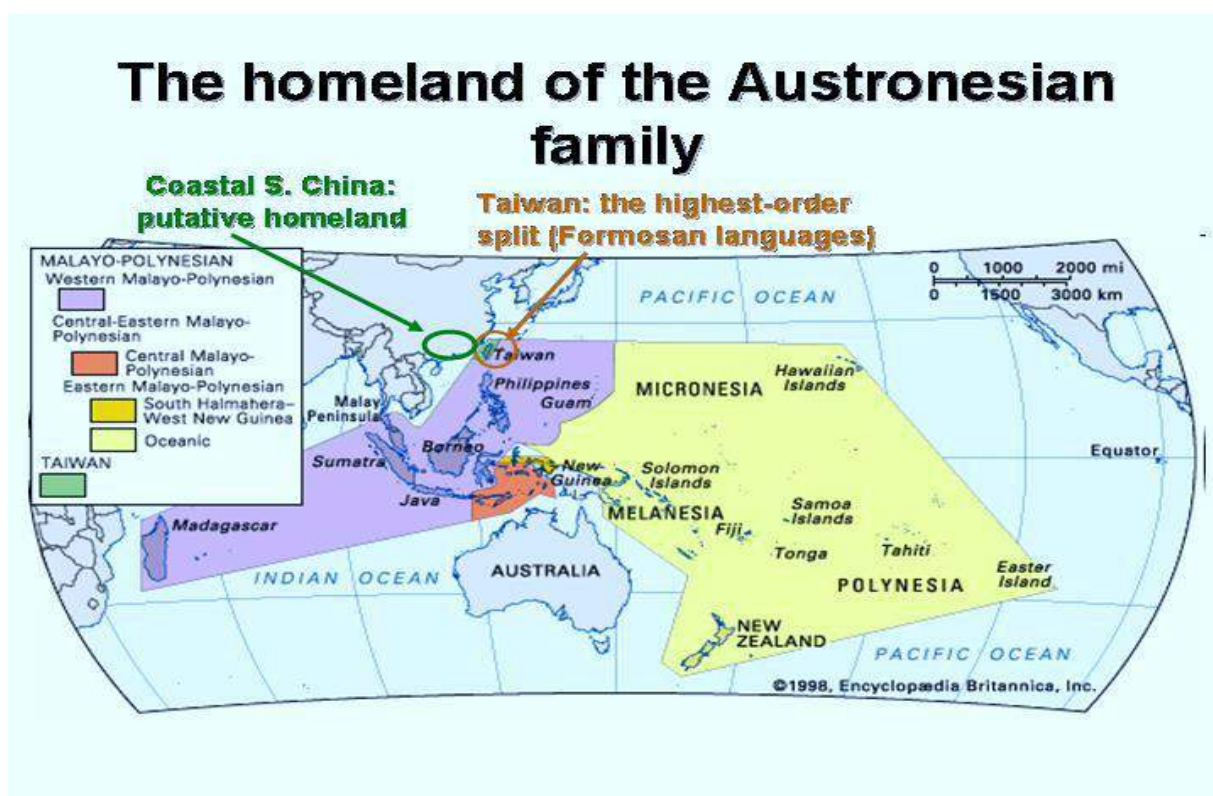
Tryon (1995) also promotes the idea that the first Austronesians resided in China before moving from the Asian mainland to Taiwan. However, his research includes more detail to the movements of the Austronesian people from Taiwan. The Austronesians remained in Taiwan for quite an extended period until one of the four communities moved south to the Philippine's (Tryon, 1995). From the Philippine's there was what can be referred to as a two-way split and one group ventured south-west into Borneo, Sumatra and Java, they also extended their exploration into the Malay Peninsula, parts of east Vietnam and Cambodia (Tryon, 1995). While the second group who migrated from the Philippine's traversed south into Sulawesi where two major pathways were developed. The first pathway was through Sulawesi, then through the Seram-Ambon and the Timor area. The second pathway was towards Halmahera and Irian Jaya. The theory is from this point the Austronesians ventured eastward along the coast of Papua New Guinea finally reaching the Bismarck Archipelago. From this area, the pre-Proto-Oceanic community remained until the next migration proceeded into the Pacific (Tryon, 1995).

Blust (2014) states that the Austronesian language family (previously referred to as Malayo-Polynesian Languages) is spread far and wide. From Madagascar to the Indonesian archipelago, the Philippines, Malaysia parts of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Taiwan including the island groups of Central and South Pacific. Although, what is interesting is that all Indigenous Australian languages seem to have no linguistic connections to the Austronesian language family and much of New Guinea have few links (Blust, 2014). However, in the face of the vast geographical extension of the Austronesian language family, Blust (2014) argues that for the most part, the connections of these many languages can be simply ascertained through the basic building blocks (subsystems) such as the personal pronouns or the numerals.

However, while the research undertaken on the Austronesian language family by linguists (including Blust) is extensive, at a basic level, Blust's (2014) argument is somewhat accurate. With around 1200 different languages within the Austronesian family, (or one-fifth of the world's languages) the Māori language has the auspicious position of being the last in line of this very large language family. The geographical range of the Austronesian language family is displayed in figure 6 above. Harlow (2007) writes, "Māori is the most southerly member of the Austronesian (AN) language family" (p.10). In relation to the

number of languages and geographic area, the Austronesian language family is the largest in the world.

Figure 7: Proto-Oceanic
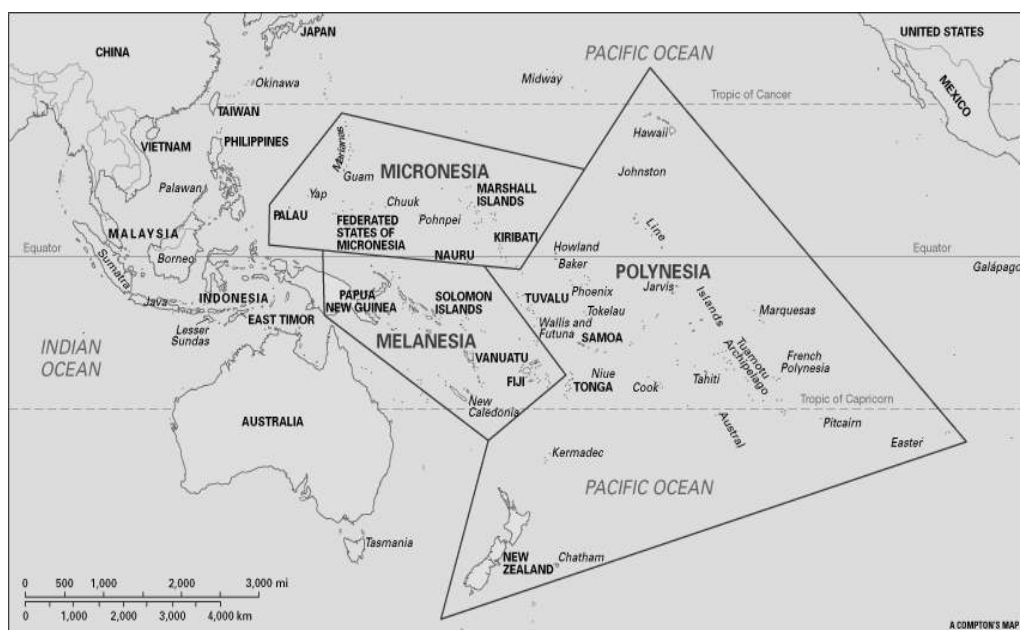
Source: Encyclopaedia Britannica

The largest subgroup of the Austronesian language family is 'Oceanic' writes, Lynch, Ross and Cowley, (2002), and the speakers of Oceanic languages reside in Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, however, there are also speakers of non-Oceanic languages in both Melanesia and Micronesia. Depending on whose account is acknowledged, there are between 450 and 600 languages classified as Oceanic, the exact number is unknown due in part to the lack of knowledge relating to some of the languages and difficulties in determining where the boundaries between language and dialect occur (Lynch et al. 2002). In comparison to many other Austronesian languages (such as the Indonesian language which is the mother tongue of 185 million people), the Oceanic languages are very small, according to Lynch et al. (2002), at this point, there are no Oceanic languages that have more than half a million speakers. Many Oceanic languages are spoken by only a few hundred people and unfortunately there are even a number of these languages which have only a hundred or less native speakers (Lynch et al. 2002).

While several Oceanic languages are poorly known, others have been known to scholars for a long period of time, due (most significantly) to the work of missionary-linguists within the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly Polynesia and Fiji. While sufficient

information concerning the Oceanic languages of Melanesia and Micronesia emerged, for others, data was slow to appear (Lynch et al. 2002).

> The existence of wide-ranging linguistic relationships in the Asia-Pacific area was first recognised over 300 years ago. The first semi-formal statement of the relationship between Polynesian languages and Malay and its closer relatives was made by Hadrean Reland in 1708 on the basis of Polynesian wordlists collected by Jacob Le Maire in 1615. The early history of Austronesian studies is recounted in Ray's landmark study of Melanesian languages (see Preface; Ray 1926: 19-25). Ray writes, '…in the table at the end of the account of Cook's second voyage [Cook (1777)] Mr Anderson drew attention to the striking resemblance of the Polynesian numerals to those of the Malay Archipelago and Madagascar.' It was not long before the Austronesian language family was firmly established, by Lorenzo Hervas y Panduro, who devoted to this subject the last five volumes of his twenty-one volume Idea dell' Uneverso, published between 1784 and 1787. Ray writes of Hervas; His 'Catalogo delle lingue' affirmed the close relationship of the languages west and east, and in the 'Aritmetica delle Nazioni' he gives a table showing the agreement of the numerals in Cook's specimens and those of the Marianas, Philippines, Java, Madagascar and Malay…. He considered that only two language stocks were represented in the Pacific. One was the mother speech of the black races [of Melanesia] and the other the Malayan, According to Hervas, the latter included the languages of the Malay Peninsula, the Maldives, Madagascar, the Sunda Isles, Moluccas and Philippines, with the languages eastward to Easter Island (Lynch et al. 2002, p. 1).

While linguistic experts generally agree that there are nine subgroups of Proto-Oceanic, there remains considerable debate as to how these groups fit together (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004). The nine subgroups of Proto- Oceanic are made up 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 subgroup Proto Central Eastern is the last in the Austronesian language family to experience linguistic diversification. This subgroup is made up of the Hawaiian dialect, Marquesan dialect, Tahitian dialect, Tuamotuan dialect, Mangarevan dialect, Rapan dialect, Togareva dialect, Rarotongan dialect and the last dialect of this subgroup is *te reo Māori* (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004). *Te reo Māori* and all other dialects of the subgroup Proto Central Eastern descend from the main subgroup known as Central Pacific (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004).

Figure 8: Formosan – Malayo-Polynesian (and Proto-Oceanic) subgroupings
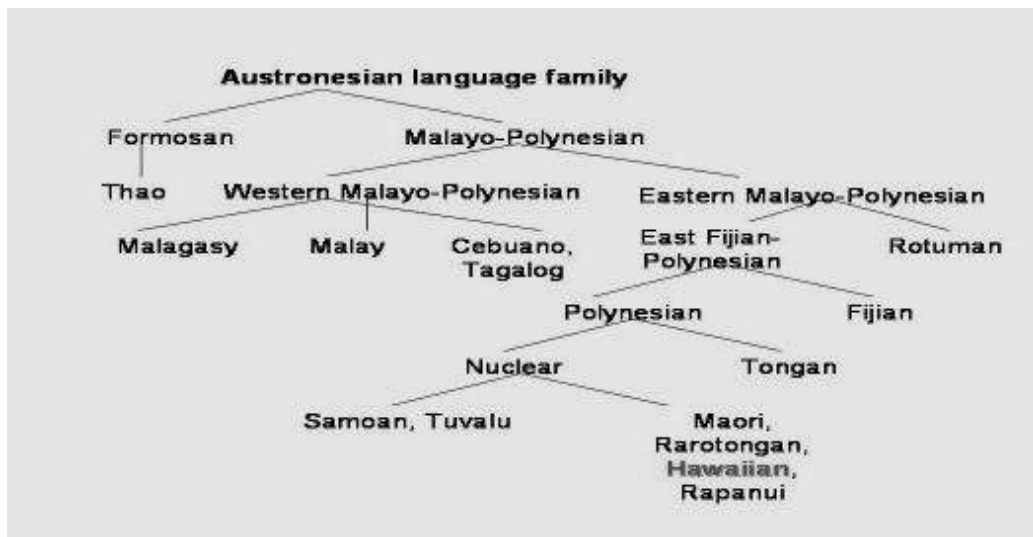
Source: Languages of the World

Sneddon (2003) also subscribes to the theory that the population of Taiwan divided into four groups at an early date. As mentioned previous, 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 leading to the four-way split theory stated previous (Sneddon, 2003). The group that left Taiwan, in about 3000 BC, is now referred to collectively as Malayo-Polynesians (Sneddon, 2003).

Figure 9: Formosan and Malayo-Polynesian Dialects
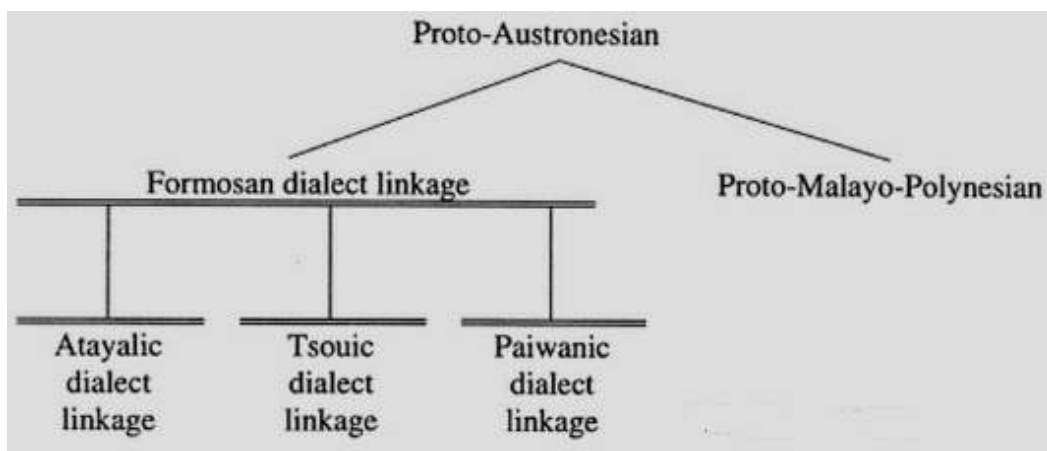
Source: Tryon (1995)

Tryon (1995) writes that predominantly, the traditional comparative-historical method is used to subgroup the Austronesian languages. This method was largely developed last century, and at a basic level, consists of systematically comparing regular sound correspondences between the languages compared, as a first step towards recreating the proto-language (prototype) from which succeeding languages have descended. When the recreation of the proto-language is completed focus then turns to the individual languages and sets of languages to determine the originations or the lexical (words or vocabulary of a language), phonological (systematic organisation of sounds in language) and morpho-syntactic (study of grammatical categories or linguistic units that have both morphological and syntactic properties), which are replicated in relation to the proto-language. It is the examined innovations that set and leads the subgrouping structure (Tryon, 1995).

> Ross (1994) has made two very pertinent observations concerning the way in which these innovations are distributed across languages. He notes that innovations pattern across languages in two different ways reflecting two different developmental sequences. In the first, groups of languages share discrete bundles of innovations. Thus taking, for example languages A to Z, members of the family whose proto-language or putative ancestor language is AZ, languages A-P may share one bundle of innovations not shared by languages Q-Z and vice versa. These languages would then fall into two distinct subgroups, AP and QZ. This is the distribution of innovations which results when languages have diversified by separation, that is when two or more communities speaking the same language become geographically separated. However, this is not the only way in which languages diversify. They also diversify without physical separation through dialect differentiation in their home territory. In this situation, instead of discrete bundles of innovations there are overlapping bundles which form a chain. Both of these distributional phenomena are observable in the Austronesian family, and will be seen to have important consequences for Austronesian subgrouping today (Tryon, 1995, p. 22).

Consequently, while all Austronesian languages share the same *whakapapa*, the Polynesian languages share discrete bundles of innovations; these same innovations are not necessarily shared by some Melanesian or Micronesian languages, due in part to the reasons Tryon (1995) discloses above. All the languages in figure 10 below are Austronesian languages, what is significant are the observable similarities and the striking differences between them, at a lexical level. However, using the comparative method (discussed previously) to find the language groupings, rather than relying solely on the lexical aspects, clearer and more robust subgroupings of the Austronesian language family are made more obvious.

Figure 10: Austronesian Languages

Language	one	two	three	four	five	six	seven	eight	nine	ten
Hawaiian	kahi	lua	kolu	ha	lima	ono	hiku	walu	iwa	'umi
Rarotongan	tai	rua	toru	a	rima	ono	itu	varu	iva	tai'ngauru
Samoan	tasi	lua	tolu	fa	lima	ono	fitu	valu	iva	sefulu
Tuvalu	tasi	iua	tolu	fa	lima	ono	fitu	valu	iva	sefulu
Rapanui	tahi	rua	toru	ha	rima	ono	hita	vau	iva	angahuru
Rotuman	ta	rua	folu	hake	lima	ono	hifu	valu	siva	saghula
Maori	tahi	rua	toru	wha	rima	ono	whitu	waru	iwa	tekau
Tongan	taha	ua	tolu	fa	nima	ono	fitu	valu	hiva	hongofulu
Fijian	dua	rua	tolu	va	lima	ono	vitu	walu	civa	sagavalu
Ceuano (Visayan) Philipines	usa	duha	tulo	upat	lima	unum	pito	walo	siyam	napulo
Aklanon Philipines	isaea	daywa	tatlo	ap-at	lima	an-um	pito	waeo	siyam	napueo
Tagalog	isa	dalawa	tatlo	apat	lima	anim	pito	walo	siyam	sampu
Bahasa Malaysia	satu	dua	tiga	empat	lima	enam	tujuh	lapan	sembila	sepuluh
Sawu	ahi	due	tallu	apa	lami	anna	pitu	aru	heo	henguru
Bahasa Indonesia	satu	dua	tiga	empat	lima	enam	tujuh	delapa	sembila	sepuluh
Javanese	siji	loro	telu	papat	lima	nem	pitu	wolu	sanga	sepuluh
Balinese	besik	dua	telu	papat	lima	nem, ne	pepitu	aktus,	sia, as	dasa
Madurese	settong,	dua	tello	empa	lema	enem	petto	bellu	sanga	sapolo
Toraja	misa	dua	tallu	a'pa'	lima	annan	pitu	karura	kasera	sang pulo
Sundanese	hiji	duwe	tilu	opat	lima	genep	tujuh	dalapa	salapan	sapuluh
Nauruan	ion	aro	aiju	aeoq	ajimo	ano	aeiu	aoju	ado	ata
Tarawan (Kiribati)	te	ua	teni	a	nima	ono	iti	uanu,	ua, uai	tanaun
Gilbertese	touhana	houa	tenoua	ahoua	nimahoua	onohoua	itoua	onoua	louacho	tepouina
Chamoro	hatsa	hugua	tulo	fatfat	lima	gunum	fito	gualuo	sigua	fulu
Kiribati	teuana	uoua	tenua	aua	nimaua	ono	itiua	wanua	ruaiwa	tebwina
Marshallese	juon	ruo	jilu	emen	lalim	jiljino	jiljilimjuon	rualit	ruatimj	jonoul
Malagasy	isa	roa	telo	efatra	dimy	enina	fito	valo	sivy	folo

Source: maoli.wikispaces.com

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 China and migrated to Taiwan. It could also be concluded, through their research, *te reo Māori* is the fledgling, or the youngest of the Austronesian language family. Thus, as the Austronesian language family descent line proceeds, *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture, is the last and youngest culture and language of a long line of Austronesian explorers, navigators and researchers who not only discovered and settled the numerous islands of Polynesia but had also settled in Melanesia, Micronesia and beyond (Drummond et al, 2009; Moorfield & Johnston, 2004; Moore, 2003; Evans, 2010).

While there are many different creation narratives or Indigenous truths within most Austronesian language families, for many Polynesian cultures, the exploits of *Māui* (a demigod whose travels are well known) differ little from culture to culture. Thus, it can be seen (through the concepts CRIT and CRIE) that Austronesian *tīpuna* displayed a character

somewhat like *Māui* when they decided to journey to previously unexplored lands, not knowing what to expect, perhaps full of apprehension and cautiousness, but calmed with the experiences and skill of long sea voyages and fuelled by the expectation of new and advantageous discoveries. 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; Westervelt, 2015). However, many comparisons between the exploits of the gods and Māori/Polynesian *whakapapa*, can be seen in the courage, skill, ingenuity and the continual testing of the human spirit displayed by Austronesian *tūpuna* as they sailed and settled the inconceivable vastness of the Pacific ocean (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 & Thornton, 2004).

It can be said that *te reo Māori* and the Māori people, are in rather a distinctive and defining position linguistically and genealogically, since they are the *pōtiki* (youngest) of the Austronesian language family. Thus, the closest linguistic connections of *te reo Māori* are first, to the proto central eastern dialects and then to the many languages spoken within the Polynesian triangle. Equally, the close linguistic and genetic *whakapapa* of all the Polynesian cultures within the Polynesian triangle ultimately connect Polynesians to their distant and ancient *tūpuna*, the Proto Oceanic and the Proto Austronesians, including all the cultures that came before them.

Theories of Māori and Polynesian origins and settlement of the Pacific
There have been many theories and notions of Māori and Polynesian origins and their settlement of Polynesia over many years (and new notions and theories continue to this day), however, these theories and notions have an origin that stem back to the first European explorers of the Pacific. Finney (1994) writes that one of the most intriguing questions pertaining to the spread of humankind over the earth was how Polynesians populated their island realm using canoes hewn by stone tools and using the wind, the moon, the stars and ocean swells as their compass. One of the reasons why it has been difficult to answer this question writes Finney (1994) is the lack of appreciation concerning the vastness of Polynesia. This triangular region stretching from Hawai'i north of the equator, to Rapa Nui – *Te Pito o Te Henua* (Easter Island), a tiny Island on the world map across the equator (far to the southeast), to the southwestern side of the Pacific where two large continental

fragments, and many small offshore islands, form the country of Aotearoa/New Zealand and back to Hawai'i (Finney, 1994).

To give some example of the Polynesian triangles immensity, Finney (1994) states that if the triangle was superimposed over a map of Europe, one point starting from London, it would extend across Northern Europe and Siberia to just before the Pacific coast of the Russian Republic, down across China and Tibet to South India, across Southwestern Asia and Southern Europe and back to London, making what Finney (1994) describes as a 'Eurasian triangle' that encompasses almost two continents.

Figure 11: The Polynesian Triangle
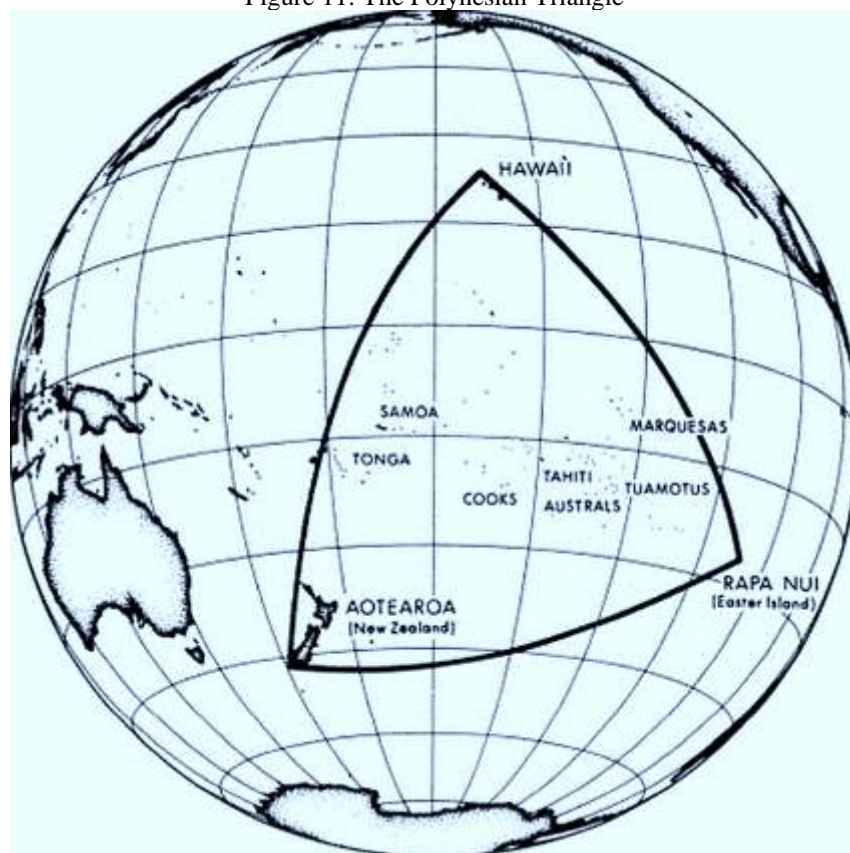
Source: A few small Polynesian settlements lie outside this triangle, Finney (1994, p.2.)

Christopher Columbus, one of the earliest European explorers, mistakenly thought he had reached the threshold of Asia on his arrival to the Caribbean islands in the late 1400's, early 1500's (Irving, 2008). While Christopher Columbus never sailed on the Pacific Ocean, however, his voyages lead to the belief that a large continental landmass existed between the western coast of Europe, Africa and the eastern coast of Asia, which encouraged further exploration (Irving, 2008). A little while later (1520) Ferdinand Magellan penetrated what

was described at the time as a New World barrier to Asia by sailing through the straits at the tip of South America into the Pacific Ocean (Finney, 1994). Magellan's major mistake was to assume that the sea stretched out before him could be crossed in a matter of weeks, however, after three months and three weeks (where many of his crew had died due to starvation) he reached the Philippines. Of the Pacific Ocean Magellan was to write "a sea so vast the human mind can scarcely grasp it" (Finney, 1994).

Image 3: Christopher Columbus & Ferdinand Magellan

Source: Biography online/Antarctic Guide

Also, basic to the reason why it was difficult to comprehend how Polynesians discovered and settled their island region was the contrast between the Oceanic world view held by Polynesians and the thinking of the first European visitors who ventured into the Polynesian triangle (Finney, 1994). It is fair to say that those European explorers who sailed into the largest ocean in the world were shocked to realise that the islands they initially thought they were discovering for the first time, had not only been discovered prior to their arrival, but had been settled for a long period of time by the Polynesian people (Finney, 1994).

> When early European explorers did happen across one of the Polynesian islands, the presence there of thriving communities of tall, handsome people puzzled these intruders from another ocean. As proud Atlantic seamen who had only recently developed the technology of ocean-spanning vessels and of ways of navigating far out of sight of land, they had trouble conceiving how these seemingly primitive islanders who were without ships or compass could have preceded them into this greatest of the world's oceans. Some refused even to consider the idea that the ancestors of these Stone Age islanders could have ever sailed great distances into the Pacific to discover and settle the islands there, and they sought to explain the presence of the voyagers' descendants in the middle

of the ocean by other means Consider, for example, the comments made in 1595 by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, navigator of the Spanish expedition that chanced upon a collection of rugged volcanic islands some 4,000 miles west of Peru that the expedition's leader, Alvaro Mendana, named Las Marquesas de Mendoza after his patron, the Viceroy of Peru. Although Quiros admired the physical beauty of the Marquesans, he was not at all impressed by their sailing canoes or their tales of overseas voyaging. Indeed, because they did not have large sailing vessels and navigational instruments, the navigator judged them to be a "people without skill or the possibility of sailing to distant parts." Thus, when they tried to tell Quiros how they sailed their canoes to islands lying to the south of their archipelago, Quiros refused to believe that these islands could be very far away (Finney, 1994, p.5).

Quiros believed that due to the simple state of the Polynesian maritime technology, the islands mentioned by them were probably just over the horizon. The belief by Quiros in the so called Southern Continent also formed his reasoning. His assumption was that the islands spoken of were nearby and that they formed a part of a chain of islands (that lead to the Southern Continent), where by the Polynesians were provided with stepping stones from Asia into the Pacific, without having to sail the vastness of the Pacific (Finney, 1994). Jacob Roggeveen (Dutch navigator) was also mystified as to how a Stone Age people had travelled to Rapa Nui (which he called Easter Island since he had stumbled on Rapa Nui during Easter Sunday 1722, a century and a quarter after the expedition of Quiros) (Finney, 1994). Jacob was in a quandary as to how there came to be people on this small island considering that the outrigger canoes of Rapa Nui were a lot smaller than the Marquesan doubled canoes and were built by binding many small scraps of wood together. Jacob completely dismissed the notion that the ancestors of the people of Rapa Nui had settled their island by sailing there. He concocted the idea that the Spanish may have brought them to the island or that these people were specifically created by God on this island (Finney, 1994).

For these explorers (and several others), their attempts to explain the presents of the Polynesian people on the many islands they stumbled on to, were based on the idea that the Polynesian methods of seafaring, including their canoes and methods of navigation were incompatible with intentional exploration and settlement of the numerous islands of the Pacific. Therefore, from a completely European perspective (of this era) it seemed logical that the answer to this puzzling question must lie beyond the elementary sailing technology and navigational capabilities of the Polynesians. However, as Finney (1994) suggests, it wasn't until the second scientific age of European exploration, did a reasonable hypothesis begin to transpire as to the origin of the Polynesian people and how they settled their

expansive island environment. Rather than exploration to find new paths to the riches of Asia (such as the explorations of Columbus, Magellan and others) the second scientific exploration concentrated more on obtaining new information about geography, the natural world and cultures of different people (Finney, 1994).

> To be sure, this quest for information about new places, their minerals, flora and fauna, and peoples was hardly divorced from the geopolitical designs of England, France, and the other countries that sent their ships to reconnoiter distant seas. But the approach was fundamentally different and did yield a wealth of knowledge. In the Pacific the leaders of this new approach to oceanic exploration-driven by the Enlightenment ideal of scientific investigation, and aided by better ships, more precise navigational methods, and more nutritious foods that allowed some respite from scurvy criss-crossed the ocean, finding and charting island after island, cataloging the plants and animals found there, and investigating the islanders, their languages, and customs. Only then was the reality and extent of Polynesia realized and credence given to the idea that the ancestors of the people living there could have intentionally sailed into this great ocean to find and settle so many scattered islands (Finney, 1994, p. 6).

One of the more well-known explorers of the second scientific exploration period was Captain James Cook who was the first to realize that although Polynesia existed within an extremely vast expanse of ocean, the Polynesians who lived on the numerous islands of this water world shared a common cultural heritage (Finney, 1994). The term Polynesia was not given by Cook, as many believe, but was given by Charles de Brosses (a provincial French Magistrate and scholar) who in 1756 combined the Greek word for "many" and "islands" to form the word "Polynesie" to represent all the islands of the Pacific. However, in the early 1800s Dumont-d'Urville (a French explorer, of the Pacific Ocean) demarcated the term Polynesie to only encompass the closely related peoples within the triangle which is shaped by Hawai'i, Rapa Nui and Aotearoa/New Zealand (Finney, 1994). The word Polynesie was rendered "Polynesia" in the English language and has become the most well-known term when referring to the people and area within the Polynesian triangle (Finney, 1994). The term Polynesia has been translated into many languages, including Māori "Poronihia", Hawaiian "Polenekia" and Tahitian "Porinetia" just to name a few.

Image 4: Captain James Cook

Source: Fotolibra

For Cook it was the linguistic similarities of the languages spoken by the Polynesians that assisted in the development of his theory, Cook was amazed at the small difference between many of the languages he came across (Finney, 1994).

Figure 12: Map of Captain Cooks Exploits
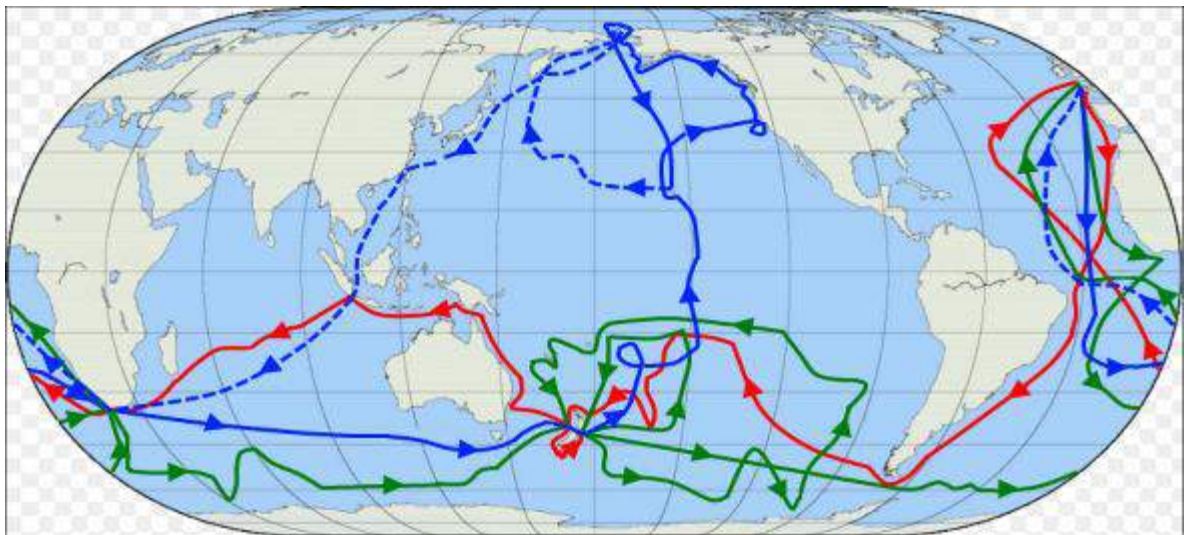
Source: Wikipedia

In Figure 12 above, Cooks first voyage is shown in red, his second in green and his third and last voyage is shown in blue. On Cook's first expedition he was accompanied by and Indigenous Tahitian known as Tupaia who guided Cook south from Tahiti to the island of Rurutu in the Austral islands. Cook found that the language spoken on this island was virtually identical to the Tahitian language (just as Tupaia had told Cook prior to their arrival at Rurutu). Cook then sailed south toward the more temperate latitude's and arrived on the east coast of the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. As Cook observed, the people (Indigenous Māori) of this island looked like the Tahitians, so he began to address them in

the basic Tahitian he knew, at first it appeared that they did not understand him, however, when Tupaia began to address them, it was obvious that they understood him. On further investigation by Cook and the number of researchers he had with him, it was concluded that the people of Tahiti and Aotearoa/New Zealand sheared a basic cosmology and thus shared the same *whakapapa* (Finney, 1994).

How instrumental Tupaia was in assisting Cook in his journey, with his vast knowledge of traditional navigational skills and the many other skills he possessed, has never really been justly acknowledged. Although, there is some research done which gives more than a glimpse into Tupaia's life. Such as the book written by Joan Druett (2011) titled "Tupaia: the remarkable story of Captain Cook's Polynesian Navigator" which supplies a rather extended account of his background, knowledge, abilities and the invaluable assistance he offered to Cook.

On another one of his exploits, Cook journeyed across the tropical Pacific on the eastern, South American side to search for the island Roggeveen had named Easter Island (Rapa Nui), a half a century previous. On their arrival to the island of Rapa Nui they were greeted by two men who had paddled out to meet them, Cook and his crew were amazed when the men yelled for a rope using the same name as given by the Tahitians. From the similarities in appearance, customs and language, Cook would write in his journal "it is extraordinary that the same Nation should have spread themselves over all the isles in the Vast Ocean from New Zealand to this Island which is almost a fourth part of the circumference of the Globe" (Finney, 1994, p. 8). The discovery by Cook, of settlement in the North Pacific Ocean by Polynesians came on his last voyage; two and a half weeks after coming across the island he would call Christmas Island (as the discovery was made the day before Christmas) (Finney, 1994).

The Tahitians had not told Cook about islands that far North, however, while searching for a waterway through or around the North American continent, to the Atlantic Ocean (the so-call Northwest Passage), Cook would observe high mountains in the distance, and realised that they had come across more unknown islands (the Islands of Hawai'i) (Finney, 1994). Initially Cook had assumed that like Christmas Island, these islands would also be uninhabited, however, as Cook and his crew drew closer to the second of the two islands (Kauai) they saw people who were similar in appearance to the Tahitians. Cook would

eventually name these islands the "Sandwich Islands" in recognition of John Montagu, the 4th Earl of Sandwich, who was one of Cooks benefactors as the First Lord of the Admiralty (Finney, 1994).

Figure 13: Map of Hawaiian Islands

Source: Oahu Central Office

One of Cook's officers (Lieutenant King) recorded in his journal that when the people of the island had paddled out to greet them, he could make out Tahitian words in their speech, so he used his understanding of basic Tahitian to communicate that they wanted food supplies such as yams, breadfruit and pigs, where he was promptly understood. In his summing up Cook concluded that the Polynesians had indeed spread across the equator into the Northern Hemisphere, he wrote in his journal "How shall we account for this Nation spreading itself so far over this Vast Ocean?" (Finney, 1994, p. 10). Finney (1994) states that while Cook's life ended on the shores of Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai'i, as he tried to take the ruling rangatira (noble, chief, high born) hostage to secure the return of an alleged stolen boat. The written work of his explorations has left a substantial amount of information, particularly theories of Polynesian genealogy from the information he had gathered at the time.

Although, according to Finney (1994) Cook had niggling doubts as to the possibility of Polynesians sailing from the Asian side of the Pacific against the direction of the trade winds. While Cook agreed that Tahitian canoes sailed well with and across the wind, he

doubted they could be forced windward the long distance required to reach Far East across the Pacific, as the linguistic pathway suggested. It was Tupaia who quelled these doubts harboured by Cook when he revealed that a series of islands located far to the west of Tahiti, were frequented by his people and when they wanted to return to Tahiti they would wait for periods of favourable westerly winds that regularly replaced the trade winds during the summer period (Finney, 1994). With this additional information Cook began to appreciate how the Polynesians could have moved from island to island trekking further into and across the largest ocean in the world.

There are many theories of Eastern Polynesian settlement (some credible and others incredibly unbelievable) and it is likely there are just as many more yet 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. Traditionally, settlement dates by Māori, and other Polynesians, of their islands did not carry the importance it seems to carry these days; however, *whakapapa* has always been an important part of a Polynesian world view. To conclude the study of *te reo Māori whakapapa*, it can be proposed that what Indigenous Polynesians can gain from this seemingly obsessive attitude towards settlement periods, arrival times, departure times and so on, are the reinforcing of the strong genealogical ties all Polynesians, Melanesians, Micronesians and Austronesians clearly share.
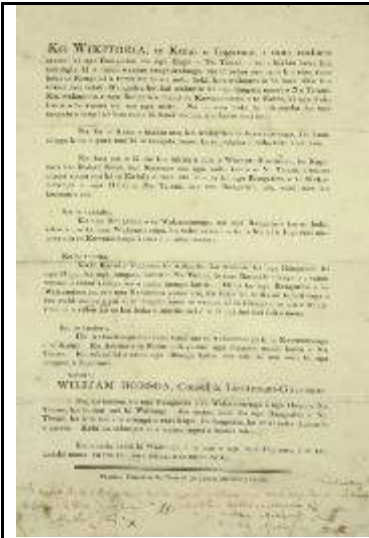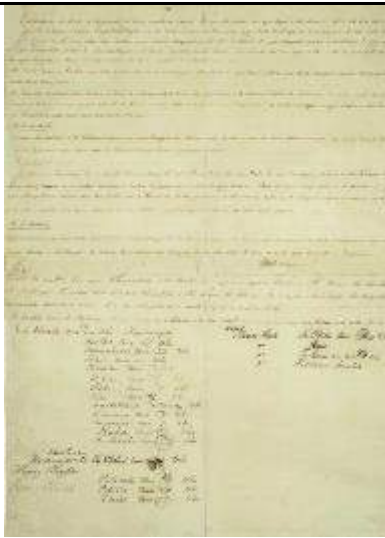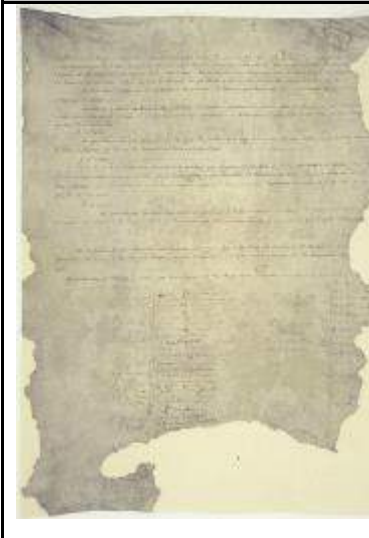
Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi)
Te Tiriti o Waitangi and what was to follow its signing, without a doubt, had a major impact on the decline of *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture. The event that would see the shifting of Aotearoa/New Zealand from a recently recognised sovereign nation (in 1835 relating to the Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand) into becoming another appendage to the British colonial megalith (Orange, 1989). Te Tiriti o Waitangi was not drafted or signed on a single long stroll of paper, like many believe, but rather it is made up of a group of documents. There are nine documents in total, seven on paper and two on parchment. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is named after the place it was first signed at, on the 6 February 1840; however, after the initial signing at Waitangi the same document was taken to other locations in Northland for signing, including the Waitematā (Archive NZ, 2014). Aiming to quicken the process the then Governor William Hobson, and a little later the Colonial

Secretary Willoughby Shortland (after Hobson had suffered a heart attack), sent several copies of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi around Aotearoa/New Zealand for signatures, such is the reason there are nine documents. All have the Treaty daft written in Māori on them (except the Waikato-Manukau sheet, which is the only Treaty document written in English) but were taken to different locations for signatures.

Most of the sheets (documents) were named after the places the signatures were collected or named after the person who carried the sheets. Sheet one is known as "The Waitangi Sheet", sheet two is called "The Manukau-Kāwhia" Sheet, sheet three is termed "The Waikato-Manukau" Sheet (the only Treaty draft written in English), sheet four is identified as "The Printed Sheet", sheet five is recognised as "The Tauranga" Sheet, sheet six is named "The Bay of Plenty" (or Fedarb) Sheet, sheet seven is known as "The Herald" (or Bunbury) Sheet, sheet eight is recognised as "The Cook Strait" (or Henry Williams) Sheet and the ninth and final sheet is called "The East Coast" Sheet, examples in image 5 below (Archive NZ, 2014).

Image 5: The nine sheets of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The Waitangi Sheet 1	The Manukau-Kāwhia Sheet 2	The Waikato-Manukau Sheet 3
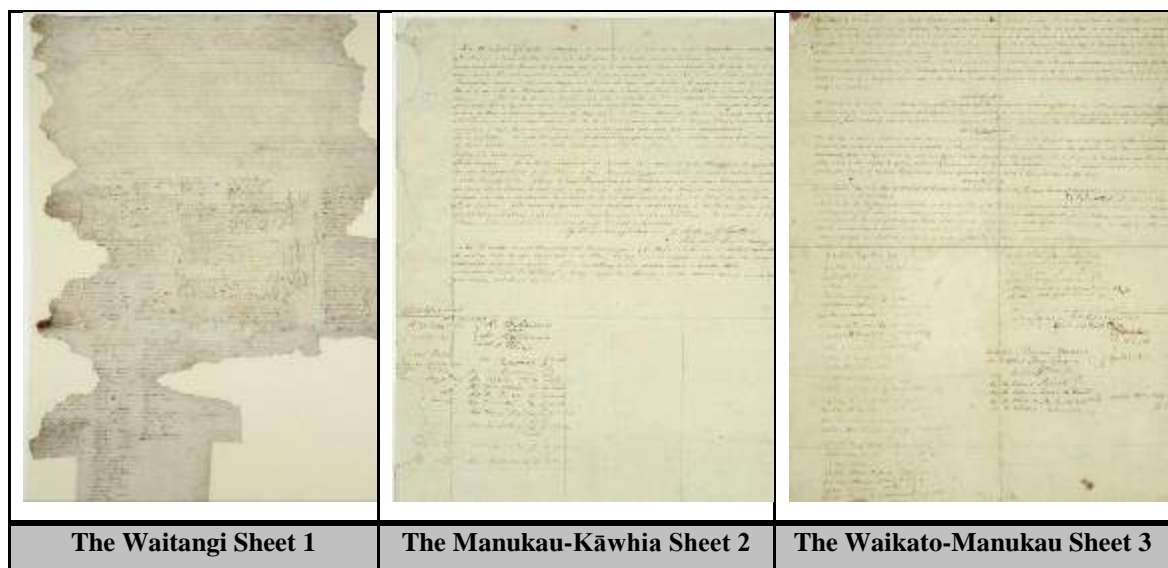
The Printed Sheet 4	The Tauranga Sheet 5	The Bay of Plenty (or Fedarb) Sheet 6
The Herald (or Bunbury) Sheet 7	The Cook Strait (or Henry Williams) Sheet 8	The East Coast Sheet 9

Source: Archives NZ

There were several significant incidents leading up to the signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi; therefore, this account starts a few years before 1840. In 1830 fears expressed by Samuel Marsden (a missionary) and Governor Ralph Darling (who resided in New South Wales) to the Colonial office, concerning events happening in Aotearoa/New Zealand, such as the trading of preserved tattooed heads and occurrences of violence. These concerns also included a serious incident where an English ship captain had agreed (for a cargo of flax) to take Te Rauparaha (Ngāti Toa Chief) and his war party to Te Waipounamu (the South Island) to exact revenge on an unsuspecting Ngāi Tahu (tribe from the South Island) people

living at *Akaroa* (Orange, 1989). Many Ngāi Tahu people were killed during the raid including the Ngāi Tahu chief Tamaiharanui, who was tortured to death, despite protests from both Māori and Pākehā, the captain of the Elizabeth and its crew were never punished (Orange, 1989). However, on the recommendations of Governor Ralph Darling for the appointment of a British resident in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Colonial office agreed to the endorsement and sometime later, James Busby was appointed to the new position.

Image 6: James Busby
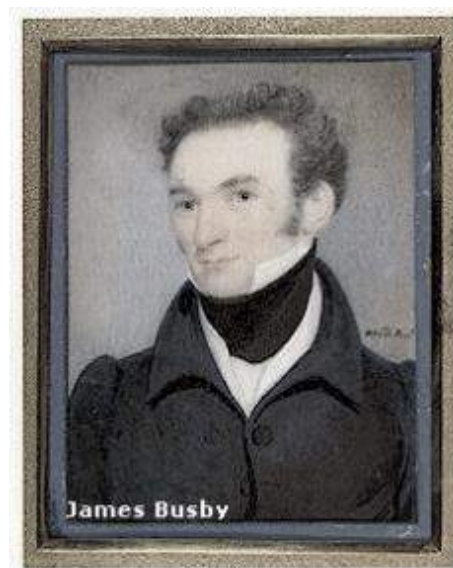
Source: wineoftheweek

A small European settlement based at Waitangi (in the Bay of Islands) would become James Busby's place of dwelling. His official purpose as resident was to apprehend escaped convicts and offer some protection to settlers, traders and be the go between when dealing with Māori (Orange, 1989). However, Busby had no real means of implementing his duties, since he was not given any forces to achieve his objectives. Although, history suggests that his position was more about developing a pathway for colonisation, which inevitably came with the many other British officials who were to arrive in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Although his position as the official British resident to Aotearoa/New Zealand had, from a Māori perspective, *mana* since it appeared to have the backing of the British Empire and indeed all its resources, if called upon (Orange, 1989). Busby's instructions also included developing what was referred to as "a settled form of government" amongst the Indigenous Māori (Orange, 1989, p. 11). Busby initially started the development of this so called settled form of government for Māori by calling a *hui* (meeting) at Waitangi on March 1834, at the

hui he discussed the reason for the gathering and asked the Māori chiefs present to choose one of the three flags he had supplied. The chosen flag would allow ships made in Aotearoa/New Zealand to be recognised according to British navigation laws and the law of the sea in general, thus a flag was selected and duly hoisted which was then followed by a twenty-one-gun salute (Orange, 1989).

Image 7: Flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand
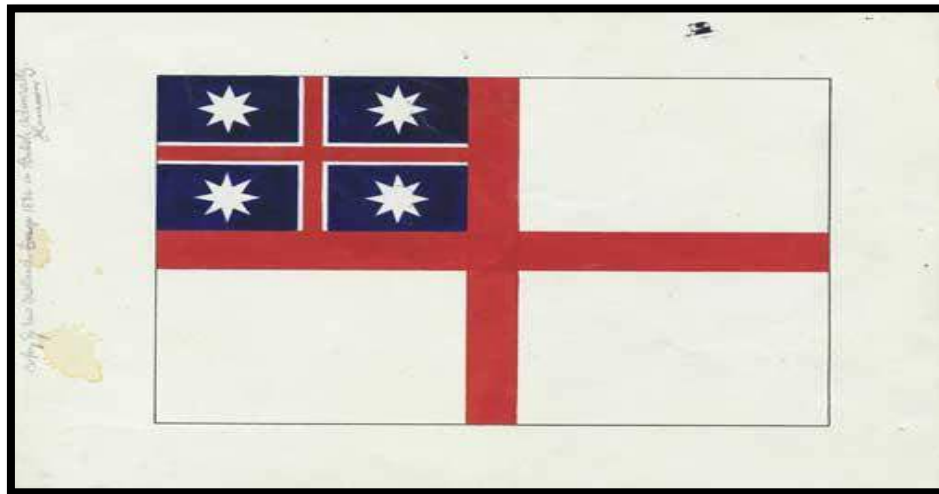
Source: Te Ara NZ

The situation relating to the development of a flag began due to the seizure of the trading ship "Sir George Murray" in Sydney, since it did not display a recognised flag. The ship was built in the *Hokianga* and since Aotearoa/New Zealand was not (at the time) a British colony a system to recognise ships built in Aotearoa/New Zealand needed to be established, or risk having these ships and their valuable cargo continually seized. It was also considered by Busby that Māori would work closer together within the notion of "unity under one flag" (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2014). When the chosen flag was taken back to England, King William IV gave his approval and drawings of the flag were circulated throughout the admiralty with specific instructions that ships displaying this flag were from Aotearoa/New Zealand and as such were to be given unmolested passage at international ports. Thus, ships made in Aotearoa/New Zealand began flying the flag as Busby registered each ship under the name of "Independent Tribes of New Zealand", the flag was also flown on land, particularly at the Bay of Islands (Orange, 1989).

On October 1835 Busby would convince thirty-four chiefs from the Northland area to sign

a Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand (Orange, 1989). This action was brought about by the information Busby had received concerning Baron de Thierry (a French man) who was, allegedly planning to develop his own independent state in the Hokianga (Orange, 1989). The chiefs who signed the declaration referred to themselves as the "Confederation of United Tribes", and at the request of the chiefs, Aotearoa/New Zealand's independence and the protection of Māori were agreed to by the British government. An annual congress at Waitangi was proposed but according to Orange (1989) the congress never met (due for the most part, to tribal fighting) nevertheless, Busby kept on collecting signatures and invited chiefs further south to join the confederation.

In 1837 Captain William Hobson was sent to the Bay of Islands by Governor Richard Bourke to evaluate the extent of fighting among Māori, (due possibly to the perceived threat to trade and the safety of British subjects) (Orange, 1989). Reports of the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the Bay of Islands, were completed by both Busby and Hobson. The recommendations suggested by Hobson was to take over several sites where the safety of British subjects and traders could be secured, however Hobson acknowledged that discussions must be held with Māori *Rangatira* of these areas (Orange, 1989). Busby's recommendations on the other hand went further and called for a "protectorate" over the whole country. In other words, while Māori *Rangatira* would continue to guide their people and be the middle men when dealing with British officials, all dealings would be controlled by the Crown (Orange, 1989). Both reports were submitted to the Colonial office in London accompanied with letters of support from traders. The image of tribal fighting, crimes committed by British subjects and the disagreements between Māori and Pākehā described in both reports, painted a grim but somewhat bloated picture of the situation. However, while the Colonial office sympathised with the situation, it had been side tracked by the intentions of a private group calling themselves "The New Zealand Company" that were developing plans to send British settlers to Aotearoa/New Zealand (Orange, 1989).

Those at the Colonial office were concerned that if British subjects were sent to Aotearoa/New Zealand in great numbers, there could be a violent back lash from Māori and if Aotearoa/New Zealand was to become a British colony, the Crown was determined that they would be the only negotiators relating to Māori and Crown interests. This was around the same time a report of British dealings with native peoples in their colonies had just been released; the report was scathing of Crown relations with Indigenous peoples, as Orange

(1989) postulates, they desired to have a better approach concerning the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The British government made it clear to the New Zealand Company that if they were to implement their plans they would need government permission. Nevertheless, the New Zealand Company moved forward with their plans without government approval and in May 1839, a group of people representing the New Zealand Company boarded the ship "Tory" to sail to Wellington (or Port Nicholson) to purchase land for settlement. By September of the same year, the first of several ship-loads of people were transported to Wellington.

The New Zealand Company

In the 1830's Edward Gibbon Wakefield developed the New Zealand Company, designed to organise settlement of British subjects in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Image 8: Edward Gibbon Wakefield

Source: NZ History

Wakefield's theory relating to colonisation was to become the corner stone of the New Zealand Company which started off with the name "New Zealand Association" and was floated as a company in 1839 (Tai Awatea, 1998). Wakefield claimed that the British colonies were not being run efficiently enough, mainly, relating to an overabundance of labour and capital, the outcome being low wages and mass unemployment, a situation Wakefield believed, fuelled civil unrest. According to Wakefield, cheap land sales in the colonies hindered economic growth in two ways; the availability of large land blocks meant that the people were too extensively dispersed, so a concentration of wealth (or a civilised society) did not eventuate. Secondly, because land was so cheap anybody could become a

landowner resulting in a shortage of labourers. These two problems, argued Wakefield could be remedied by increasing land prices thereby preventing labourers from purchasing land until they had worked long enough to have filled the labour shortage problem and had saved enough money to afford land. This according to Wakefield would relieve population pressure on resources, wages would rise, and Britain would gain from the new colonial markets (Tai Awatea, 1998). Wakefield's vision of creating a little England in Aotearoa/New Zealand, free from over population and the evils of England, was threatened by the news that the colonial office was intending on acquiring sovereignty over Aotearoa/New Zealand and would forbid private purchases of land by anyone other than the Crown.

Thus, Wakefield and the other directors of the New Zealand Company began selling land orders (around one thousand), even before they had purchased the land, and began preparing its first ship load of settlers to sail to Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Image 9: Plaque of New Zealand Company

Source: wikipedia.org

It quickly became obvious, by the first New Zealand Company settlers (who began settlement in Wellington), that the company's titles relating to much of the land they supposedly owned, was dubious. Disputes with local Māori ensued almost immediately (Tai Awatea, 1998). The New Zealand Company propaganda machine worked overtime in England when trying to sell a picture of Aotearoa/New Zealand as a Garden of Eden and the economic prospects, which according to the Company, were unlimited for the conscientious hardworking man. The New Zealand Company had portrayed the Indigenous Māori as enthusiastic for the British man's ways and commodities as they buffed over the challenges of settlement in a new and demanding land. However, despite the settler's

frustration the New Zealand Company pushed on, and by the early 1840's had developed three other settlements, one in Whanganui, one in what became known as New Plymouth and the other in what became known as Nelson (Tai Awatea, 1998).

By the mid 1840's all four settlements of the New Zealand Company were experiencing similar difficulties, fuelling the anger and frustration of the settlers who at the Wellington settlement began departing in droves leaving only eighty-five out of the original four hundred and thirty-six settlers. Although the Colonial office would eventually recognise the New Zealand Company as an effective tool in the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the Company would receive a charter of incorporation, including a substantial land title. The then New Zealand Government succumbed to settler and New Zealand Company pressure by validating its dubious purchases of Māori land, which was used to establish the city of Wellington (Te Ara, 2014). Not one of the Company's settlements would prove that Wakefield's theory of colonisation was correct, since capital and labour continued to be unstable, and the methods employed by the Company to attract land buyers had encouraged land speculation and deterred genuine farmers. Thus, since land was being brought for investment only, there was not enough work for the labourers who had arrived in numbers. By 1850 the Company stopped functioning as a colonising entity, finally surrendering its charter and being dissolved in 1858 (Tai Awatea, 1998).

The situation with the New Zealand Company and a few others (including Busby's and Hobson's reports) quickened the idea of setting up a colony in Aotearoa/New Zealand by the Colonial office. However, Britain had already recognised the independence of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Orange, 1989). Therefore, a different approach had to be designed to convince Māori to transfer their sovereignty to the British Crown without creating resentment or animosity. This task was left to Captain William Hobson, the then newly appointed consul to New Zealand. After his first visit to Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hobson would state in a letter to his wife Liz, that by all accounts British intervention was needed to keep other nations from setting up in Aotearoa/New Zealand, including the need for protection and governance of the British subjects residing there. Hobson wrote that Britain had invested a great deal of capital and labour in the country and in his opinion, he would fully support a move by Britain to set up a colony in Aotearoa/New Zealand. He also mentioned in his letter, that from his observations the Māori population seemed to be declining due to the number of introduced European diseases, which was an accurate

judgment of the situation at that time (Orange, 1989).

On his second trip to Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hobson arrived in Kororāreka (Russell) on Wednesday 29 January 1840 (onboard the 'Herald'), where he was welcomed by Busby who promptly offered to set up a meeting with Māori *Rangatira* at his Waitangi residence the following Wednesday. In the meantime, Hobson along with his secretary (and with advice from several missionaries), began sketching out a bunch of notes as the beginnings of a treaty. Hobson had no formal legal training writes Orange (1989) thus he felt awkward about developing such a document. On viewing the notes written by Hobson and the others, Busby felt they were inadequate for the type of treaty Māori would be willing to sign. So, Busby offered to provide an alternative draft which Hobson received on the 3 of February. Busby had added some important aspects that he felt would encourage Māori *rangatira* to sign the document, such as; Britain would guarantee Māori possession of their lands, their forests their fisheries and other prized possessions (refer to table 6) (Orange, 1989).

Hobson retained a significant portion of what Busby had offered in his treaty daft but made changes to be sure, in particular the preamble (Orange, 1989; Ministry of Culture & Heritage, 2014). Translating the treaty document into Māori was given to Henry Williams (a missionary) and his son Edward, who were proficient in the Māori language. Thus, they received the document for translation on the evening of February 4, suggesting the translation was rather rushed since it was needed the very next day (Orange, 1989; Ministry of Culture & Heritage, 2014). Like many others Henry Williams believed Māori would be better off if Aotearoa/New Zealand was to become a British colony, and as the Māori translation of the Treaty was presented to about five hundred Māori on the 5 February, Henry Williams was on hand to illuminate and clear up points of concern for Māori (Orange, 1989; Ministry of Culture & Heritage, 2014).

Orange (1998) writes, that on Wednesday 5 February 1840, Waitangi was a hive of activity, canoes, boats and ships filled the bay and several stalls (outside Busby's grounds) were selling a quantity of food and refreshments. Provisions of food were made ready to accommodate the large number of Māori expected that day and a huge marquee was erected (made of ship sails) for the discussion (Orange, 1998). Hobson came ashore at about nine o'clock and began looking over the Māori translation of the Treaty, however, he had to take the word of its translator as to its accuracy as he was unfamiliar with *te reo Māori*. Late in

the morning many people made their way to the marque including Hobson (Orange, 1998). Hobson first addressed the Europeans present, relaying to them what was about to happen. He then turned and began speaking, in English, to the Māori present while Williams translated his words into Māori. Hobson explained that because Aotearoa/New Zealand was outside of British territory the Queen had no authority to restrain or rein in lawlessness, but she was ready to protect her subjects and would also restrain them if she was given authority to do so through the signing of the treaty. Hobson went on to say that he would give Māori time to consider the treaty terms however in his opinion, what is written in the treaty is for the expressed good of all Māori (Orange, 1998). After long vigorous discussions, Hobson adjourned the meeting, relaying that he would meet again with them on Friday. Debate raged through the late afternoon and into the night amongst Māori and while a great number of chiefs were against the signing of the treaty others were in favour. As Williams had noted;

> There was considerable excitement amongst the people; greatly increased by … ill-disposed Europeans, stating to the chiefs … that their country was gone, and they now were only taurekareka (slaves). Many came to us to speak upon this new state of affairs. We gave them but one version, explaining clause by clause, showing the advantage to them of being taken under the fostering care of the British Government, by which act they would become one people with the English, in the suppression of wars, and of every lawless act; under one Sovereign, and one Law, human and divine (Orange, 1989, p. 20.).

As Orange (1989) writes, no one really knows what was involved in the discussions by Māori that night but by Thursday morning most chiefs were ready to sign the treaty as many were in a rush to return home. It is assumed that the missionaries who were present that Thursday morning realised that an opportunity to gain several chief's signatures was available, so they summoned Hobson ashore to convene a meeting (Orange, 1989).

Hobson was caught off guard by the change of plans (as stated previous, he had planned to meet with Māori on Friday 7 February) and as he arrived late that morning promptly stated that he would not allow discussion of this issue but would only be taking signatures, as the meeting had not been publicly announced. Williams, Busby and several other Europeans (the Catholic Bishop Pompallier amongst them) were in attendance, as well as a very large number of Māori (about five hundred) inside and outside of the marquee, who were waiting for Hobson. Williams read the Māori version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi out for the last time and as Hobson prepared the way to take signatures Bishop Pompallier stood and asked

Hobson if he would give assurances that all peoples in New Zealand have a right to follow their own religion, which Hobson agreed to, and directed Williams to verify this to Māori which he did; including Māori customs (practices and or religion) (Orange, 1989). As the signing went ahead, the chiefs were called upon to sign the document by Busby and as each chief signed, writes Orange (1989), Hobson would shake their hand and state in Māori (presumably encouraged by Williams to do so) "*he iwi tahi tatou*" (we are one people). This statement writes Orange (1989), would have substantial meaning to the Māori who were signing the treaty and presumably to those who were there but had yet to sign.

Although initially Hobson was uneasy about the change in plans, however, after observing the positive results of the meeting, immediately began writing a letter to those of his superiors in England stating that he had achieved with good will and conviction what he had been sent to do. Hobson wrote, within the signatures he had obtained, twenty-six of the chiefs that signed the Te Tiriti o Waitangi, had previously signed the Declaration of Independence in 1835 (Orange, 1989). From the initial signing at Waitangi Hobson was expecting overwhelming Māori agreement to *te Tiriti* throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand, however, for many reasons (including, several chiefs refusing to sign, to other chiefs not been given the opportunity to read or sign *te Tiriti*) Hobson's expectation was never realised.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi Document
Within this section, focus is given to what is written in the Te Tiriti o Waitangi document, however, further information relating to the Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been provided within Appendix Two. The first two articles of the Te Tiriti draft covered the desires of the British Crown such as the ceding of sovereignty by Māori *Rangatira*, or in other words that Māori give the rights to the British Crown to exercise power and authority over everyone in the country. Including the buying and selling of land (which involved buying land from Māori and selling to settlers) that would be completely controlled by the British Crown. As stated previous, Busby had also added aspects he thought would inspire Māori to sign the document. In the third part of *Te Tiriti* Māori were offered all rights and privileges of British subjects, an offer many English compatriots of the time thought was a most encouraging aspect for Māori (Orange, 1989). As previously stated the Māori version of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi is what most of the Māori chiefs signed, there were 40 who signed at Waitangi and about 500 other *Rangatira*, among them 13 female *Rangatira*, signed the Te Tiriti o Waitangi as copies of the document were taken around Aotearoa/New Zealand to gather

signatures (nzhistory, 2014). Table 6 below is the Māori translation given by Henry Williams and his son Edward of the English version of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi (see table 7 for English version).

Table 6: Māori version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

KO WIKITORIA te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira – hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani – kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira Maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te wenua nei me nga motu – na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.
Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana.
Na kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianei amua atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.
Ko te tuatahi **Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.**
Ko te tuarua **Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangitira ki nga hapu – ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.**
Ko te tuatoru **Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini – Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.**
(signed) William Hobson, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.
Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu. **Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.**

Source: nzhistory

Table 7: English version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favor the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands – Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the first [Article 1]
The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.

Article the second [Article 2]
Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the third [Article 3]
In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

(signed) William Hobson, Lieutenant-Governor.

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified. Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Source: nzhistory

While it is stated that the Māori version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a translation of the English text, it is notably a rather ambiguous interpretation relating to the definition of the English word "sovereignty" and the Māori word "*Kawanatanga*".

Table 8: Explanation of the Preamble and Articles of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*

The Preamble, Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi: The Queen of England's main promises to Māori were to provide a government while securing tribal rangatiratanga (chiefly autonomy or authority over their own area) and Māori land ownership for as long as they wished to retain it.
The Preamble, English version of the Treaty of Waitangi: The Queen of England's intentions were to protect Māori interests from the encroaching British settlement, but also to provide for British settlement and establish a government to maintain peace and order (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012).
Article one, Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi: chiefs give to the Queen of England "te Kawanatanga katoa" (the governance or government over the land).
Article one, English version of the Treaty of Waitangi: chiefs give to the Queen of England "all rights and power of sovereignty" over the land.
Article two, Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi: confirmed and guaranteed the chiefs "te tino rangatiratanga" (the exercise of chieftainship) over their lands, villages and "taonga katoa" (all treasured things). Māori agree to give to the Queen of England and her appointees, a right to deal with them over land transactions.
Article two English version of the Treaty of Waitangi: confirmed and guaranteed to the chiefs "exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties". However, Crown sought an exclusive right to deal with Māori over land transactions.
Article three, Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi: The Queen of England gives her assurance that Māori would have her protection and have the same rights (tikanga) afforded to all British subjects. Both the Māori and English version of article three are most similar (Te Ara, 2014, p. 2; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012, p. 3).

Source: Te Ara Encyclopedia of NZ, Ministry of Culture and Heritage

Table 9 below provides the English text of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and a modern English translation of the Māori text along with footnotes of the Māori text by the late Professor Hugh Kawharu, a notable elder and *Rangatira* of Ngāti Whātua. The footnotes provide insight into a Māori world view both from an 1840 perspective and a modern viewpoint. Thus, the modern translation of the Māori text offers a few different outlooks and tortuously offers insights as to what Māori may have been thinking at the time and or why Māori may have signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Table 9: English Text and Modern English translation of Māori version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

TE TIRITI O WAITANGI
THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

English Text	Modern English translation of Maori version	Footnotes of the Maori text by Prof. Hugh Kawharu (used with permission)
Preamble	**Preamble**	
HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands - Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.	Victoria, the Queen of England, in her concern to protect the chiefs and the subtribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their chieftainship (1) and their lands to them and to maintain peace (2) and good order considers it just to appoint an administrator (3) one who will negotiate with the people of New Zealand to the end that their chiefs will agree to the Queen's Government being established over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands (4) and also because there are many of her subjects already living on this land and others yet to come. So the Queen desires to establish a government so that no evil will come to Maori and European living in a state of lawlessness. So the Queen has appointed "me, William Hobson a Captain" in the Royal Navy to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand (both those) shortly to be received by the Queen and (those) to be received hereafter and presents (5) to the chiefs of the Confederation chiefs of the subtribes of New Zealand and other chiefs these laws set out here.	(1) "Chieftainship": this concept has to be understood in the context of Maori social and political organization as at 1840. The accepted approximation today is "trusteeship". (2) "Peace": Maori "Rongo", seemingly a missionary usage (rongo - to hear i.e. hear the "Word" - the "message" of peace and goodwill, etc). (3) Literally "Chief" ("Rangatira") here is of course ambiguous. Clearly a European could not be a Maori, but the word could well have implied a trustee-like role rather than that of a mere "functionary". Maori speeches at Waitangi in 1840 refer to Hobson being or becoming a "father" for the Maori people. Certainly this attitude has been held towards the person of the Crown down to the present day - hence the continued expectations and commitments entailed in the Treaty. (4) "Islands" i.e. coastal, not of the Pacific. (5) Literally "making" i.e. "offering" or "saying" - but not "inviting to concur".

English Text	Modern English translation of Maori version	Footnotes of the Maori text by Prof. Hugh Kawharu (used with permission)
Article the First	**The First**	
The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.	The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government (6) over their land.	(6) "Government": "kawanatanga". There could be no possibility of the Maori signatories having any understanding of government in the sense of "sovereignty" i.e. any understanding on the basis of experience or cultural precedent.
Article the Second	**The Second**	
Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.	The Queen of England agrees to protect the chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise (7) of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures (8). But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell (9) land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.	(7) "Unqualified exercise" of the chieftainship - would emphasise to a chief the Queen's intention to give them complete control according to their customs. "Tino" has the connotation of "quintessential". (8) "Treasures": "taonga". As submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning the Maori language have made clear, "taonga" refers to all dimensions of a tribal group's estate, material and non-material heirlooms and wahi tapu (sacred places), ancestral lore and whakapapa (genealogies), etc. (9) Maori "hokonga", literally "sale and purchase". Hoko means to buy or sell.

English Text	Modern English translation of Maori version	Footnotes of the Maori text by Prof. Hugh Kawharu (used with permission)
Article the Third	**The Thrid**	
In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.	For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties (10) of citizenship as the people of England (11).	(10) "Rights and duties": Maori " at Waitangi in 1840 refer to Hobson being or becoming a "father" for the Maori people. Certainly this attitude has been held towards the person of the Crown down to the present day - hence the continued expectations and commitments entailed in the Treaty. (11) There is, however, a more profound problem about "tikanga". There is a real sense here of the Queen "protecting" (i.e. allowing the preservation of) the Maori people's tikanga (i.e. customs) since no Maori could have had any understanding whatever of British tikanga (i.e. rights and duties of British subjects.) This, then, reinforces the guarantees in Article 2.

English Text	Modern English translation of Maori version	Footnotes of the Maori text by Prof. Hugh Kawharu (used with permission)
(signed) William Hobson Lieutenant Governor. Now therefore We the Chiefs of the C onfederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof: in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified. Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty. *(Here follow signatures, dates, etc.)*	*(signed)* William Hobson, Consul and Lieutenant Governor. So we, the Chiefs of the Confederation of the subtribes of New Zealand meeting here at Waitangi having seen the shape of these words which we accept and agree to record our names and our marks thus. Was done at Waitangi on the sixth of February in the year of our Lord 1840. *(Here follows signatures, dates, etc.)*	

Source: Nzhistory

While Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed over a hundred and seventy-seven years ago debate continues as to the meaning of certain aspects within Te Tiriti o Waitangi, particularly, whether Māori ceded their sovereignty to the British Crown or that Māori granted British representatives the right to control British subjects, but that Māori would retain their *tino rangatiratanga* (autonomy and full chiefly authority). The Waitangi Tribunal released its report on stage one of its inquiry into the *Te Paparahi o te Raki* (the great land of the north) *Te Tiriti* claim. The following passage was printed in the NZ Herald on November 14, 2014;

> The Waitangi Tribunal's finding that Maori chiefs who signed the Treaty of Waitangi did not cede sovereignty does not change the fact the Crown has sovereignty in New Zealand, Treaty Negotations [sic] Minister Chris Finlayson says. The tribunal today released its report on stage one of its inquiry into Te Paparahi o te Raki (the great land of the north) treaty claims. "Though Britain went into the Treaty negotiation intending to acquire sovereignty, and therefore the power to make and enforce law over both Maori and Pakeha, it did not explain this to the rangatira (chiefs)," the tribunal said. Rather, Britain's representative William Hobson and his agents explained the treaty as granting Britain "the power to control British subjects and thereby to protect Maori", while rangatira were told that they would retain their "tino rangatiratanga", their independence and full chiefly authority. "The rangatira who signed te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) in February 1840 did not cede their sovereignty to Britain," the tribunal said. "That is, they did not cede authority to make and enforce law over their people or their territories."

But Mr Finlayson today said: "There is no question that the Crown has sovereignty in New Zealand. This report doesn't change that fact." Mr Finlayson said the report drew together existing scholarship on the Declaration of Independence and Treaty of Waitangi and that the tribunal noted that its report "represents continuity rather than dramatic change in current Treaty scholarship". "The Tribunal doesn't reach any conclusion regarding the sovereignty the Crown exercises in New Zealand. Nor does it address the other events considered part of the Crown's acquisition of sovereignty, or how the Treaty relationship should operate today." Mr Finlayson said the Government would consider the report as it would any other Tribunal report. "The Crown is focused on the future and on developing and maintaining the Crown-Maori relationship as a Treaty partner. That's why we are so focused on completing Treaty settlements in a just and durable manner." (Bennet, Quilliam, 2014).

While the Tai Tokerau Labour Party MP, Kelvin Davis suggests that the sovereignty decision by the Waitangi Tribunal is a big issue for Ngāpuhi, since it confirms what Ngāpuhi have always claimed, their sovereignty was not ceded to the Crown, thus correcting the historical narrative that has persisted since 1840. However, Davis has asked for calm and argues that there is a need for wise heads to discuss this issue. As he states some "rednecks" could see this situation as Māori separatism but he believed that honest and clear discussion, relating to this matter, could have positive outcomes (NZ Herald Staff Reporter, 2014). Accordingly, what is important to point out about the Waitangi Tribunal report is that it states, its report represents continuity rather than dramatic change in *Te Tiriti* scholarship, or in other words, the tribunal doesn't see any of their decisions affecting current understanding of *Te Tiriti*. Conclusions as to the sovereignty the Crown exercises or its acquisition of sovereignty and how the relationships of *Te Tiriti* partners should operate are not part of the Tribunals task. However, for many Māori of Te Taitokerau (including other *iwi*), this situation is viewed as some acknowledgement of their ongoing claims that their *rangatiratanga* was never ceded to the Crown. Stage two of the Waitangi Tribunal report relating to *Te Paparahi o te Raki* will cover events after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and whether agreements were honoured between *Te Tiriti* partners (Bennet, Quilliam, 2014).

The Declaration of Independence signed in 1835 by the Māori chiefs who (under the declaration) became known as the, Confederation of United Tribes of New Zealand, seemingly secured the sovereignty and ownership of Aotearoa/New Zealand under Māori (or was this simply to allow ships made in Aotearoa/New Zealand to travel into overseas ports without being harassed, since, it can be argued, that Māori already had natural

sovereignty over *Niu Tireni*), in particular, within the eyes of Britain and the international community of that era. However, just five years later with the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in 1840, the recognition of Māori sovereignty over Aotearoa/New Zealand was supposedly ceded to Britain. Conversely, this is the heart of the debate pertaining to *Te Tiriti*. Was the Māori translation of the English text of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi, sufficient to adequately explain to Māori that by signing *Te Tiriti* document, they would be ceding to the Crown their sovereignty forever? Or was the Māori version of the *Te Tiriti* written (purposefully or unwittingly) in such a way as to entice Māori to sign the document? (Orange, 1989). Whatever the circumstance, the very fact that the English language has become, by far, the dominant language spoken in all domains of New Zealand society and the Māori language has become a threated language, on the edge of oblivion, is testament to the impacts that have transpired since Māori *tīpuna* first signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Te Reo Māori History

As stated previous, the history of a language is different to the genealogy of a language. While it can be said that the genealogy of the Austronesian language contains the history of many languages, these accounts became language histories due to the development of a viable variation of the old language and culture (or language and cultural diversification). Thus, *te reo Māori* history started in Aotearoa/New Zealand but its genealogy can be traced back to the Proto-Austronesian language and beyond. Not only can Māori use the history of their language as a guide to discern why, how and when their language began its decline but the history of *te reo Māori* can be used to recognise past impediments, that may remain obstacles in relation to the regeneration of *te reo Māori*. The genealogy of a language displays diversification and expansion while revealing the many genealogical ties that connect people to their numerous *tīpuna*. As previously written (in chapter one), language decline can be seen within many Indigenous languages for those that have been exposed to colonialism, imperialism and interventionism or the many other influences that have contributed to Indigenous language and cultural decline. Thus, Māori can also utilise the experiences and accounts of other Indigenous languages pertaining to language degeneration and language revitalisation, to move forward within an informed outlook of several causes relating to Indigenous language decline and revitalisation.

Without a doubt, the adversity and challenges ancient Māori *tīpuna* experienced within the first few decades of living in Aotearoa/New Zealand would have drastically changed their

view and knowledge of their then, known world forever. The diverse flora and fauna, the constantly changing weather patterns, the frost, the cold conditions, since Aotearoa/New Zealand geographically, is within the temperate zone (similar climate conditions to Europe and other countries) "the only part of Polynesia lying outside the tropical-subtropical zone" (Kirch, 2000, p. 275). A region that is thousands of kilometres away from the Islands and conditions Māori were accustomed to. It would certainly have been understandable if Māori *tīpuna* had decided to return to their warm and more familiar surroundings after a time, but as history illustrates, this was not the case. Instead Māori weathered out the challenges, in all areas, including food, as many of the food they brought with them would not grow in such a climate. Thus, over the centuries, the original Polynesian travellers to Aotearoa/New Zealand experienced language and cultural diversification on a large scale, becoming the last (or youngest) of the Proto Austronesian language family. Conversely, while *te reo Māori* is considered the most recently developed dialect of the Austronesian language family, fundamentally, it has maintained its close linguistic and genealogical ties to other Polynesian cultures. Through aspects such as *kōrero tāwhito* and *pūrākau*. Including concepts such as "*Hawaiki*", considered the ancient homeland for not only Māori but several other Polynesian cultures, or "*Rangiātea*" (a sacred place within *Hawaiki*), and maintaining many of the customs, beliefs and values of its earlier Polynesian ancestry (Howe, 2003).

Cultures change over time, and what many Indigenous cultures see as ancient customs are aspects of that change. Furthermore, each new stage of development within a culture's evolution is merely an adaptation of what preceded it (Naylor, 1996). Within many Indigenous histories, horizons of major change occurred in relation to their languages and cultures, mainly, when the spectre of colonisation was present. As Weiner (2000) argues, there was never a guarantee that Indigenous cultures would survive such aspects as enslavement, genocide or colonisation and if they did, without a doubt their traditional views, language and culture would have been forced to change, and change for some meant the destruction of their entire culture. Although *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture have gone through, and continue to go through this cultural and linguistic diversification caused by many factors, *whakapapa* is the only aspect that remains unchanged. Change within a culture is a fundamental part of its development and evolution, however, natural diversification as opposed to forced change produces principal differences in the development of a language and culture (Biever 1976). Through *whakapapa* all languages within the Polynesian triangle (and a few outside of the triangle) have the most recent and

fundamental connections, however, *te reo Māori* is distinctive to Aotearoa/New Zealand just as much as the Hawaiian language is distinctive to the islands of Hawai'i or the language of Rapa Nui is distinctive to the island of Rapa Nui. This notion of distinctiveness most certainly applies to all other Polynesian languages that continue to be spoken on the islands that are part of Polynesia.

Thus, before the arrival of Europeans to Aotearoa/New Zealand there was only one language spoken, and that was the Māori language, a language that was mostly similar from *iwi* to *iwi*, apart from some dialectal variations (Bell & Kuiper, 2000). It could also be assumed (at the time) that it would have been absurd for Indigenous Māori to entertain the notion that their language would one day be under threat. However, today that ludicrous view is a reality, accept it or not, *te reo Māori's* distinctive voice within its place of origin, is becoming fainter by the day, and its survival and or its imminent death, must be sufficiently addressed. The impracticalities of discussing (in this thesis) every situation or individual who played a role in the decline of *te reo Māori* is incontrovertible, however, as history illustrates the following situations and individuals had more of a part to play than most, thus this history starts from the arrival of the first Europeans. Abel Tasman (a Dutch Explorer) was the first European to arrive on the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand. He was there scouting land and trying to find the elusive southern continent.

Image 10: 1840-1940 New Zealand Centennial Stamp (depicting Abel Tasman)
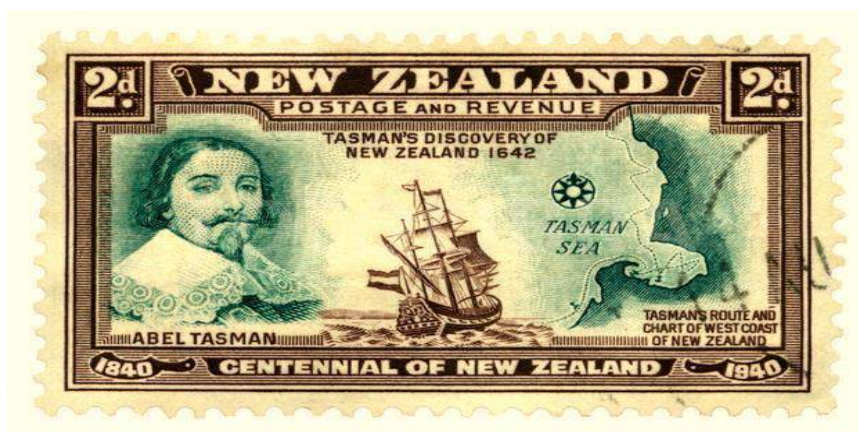
Source: Fotolibra

As can be seen in image: 10 above, New Zealand celebrated its centennial of 1940 by crafting a stamp depicting Abel Tasman. Within the stamp the words "Tasman's discovery of New Zealand 1642" are clearly readable. Now, how is one meant to define or translate this statement, that, Tasman discovered New Zealand? Or can it be defined as he was the

first Dutch explorer to discover New Zealand, maybe, but the word discover in this scenario still seems awkward since Indigenous Māori had already discovered Aotearoa/New Zealand several centuries earlier. Another view of this statement could suggest that Indigenous peoples are unable to lay claim to discovering islands/lands but rather only sanctioned and detailed expeditions of exploration by European explorers have the right to be deemed discoveries. However, the downside of this view suggests that Indigenous Māori and many other Austronesian cultures, were not discoverers of their islands/lands but wondered aimlessly around waiting for their lands to be officially discovered by some European explorer.

While this scenario may seem ridiculous, the fact is within the New Zealand school system, children are taught that Abel Tasman certainly discovered Aotearoa/New Zealand. One example is an interview undertaken by Dale Husband in November of 2015 for the E-TANGATA magazine. He was interviewing a Samoan man called Eliota Fuimaono-Sapolu, who was 35 years old and had come to Aotearoa/New Zealand when he was three. He was raised in South Auckland but ended up going to Auckland Grammar. Eliota argued that there are white supremacy attitudes throughout the New Zealand school system, and he shared, with Dale, certain aspects of his experiences in that system;

> I remember this general knowledge question in primary school: "Who discovered New Zealand?" And I wrote "Māori discovered New Zealand". And that was wrong. I was told the correct answer was Abel Tasman. Even though there were Māori people already here in New Zealand, it was very important for us to learn that a white person was "first". That was at primary school. And then you go to Auckland Grammar where it's complete white supremacy, and you concentrate on white history no matter how irrelevant. Try finding a practical situation where knowing all the British kings and queens is relevant. See if you need that anywhere in life. But that's what I learned at Auckland Grammar. Then, after five years there, I go to university and they ask us about the Treaty of Waitangi. And I'm like: "What the hell is this?" I knew nothing about Māori. I knew everything British. I knew everything white. I knew nothing about the Pacific. I learned nothing about Māori. Nothing at that school. We're taught a lot of lies at school. A lot of rubbish. We're not taught a lot of truth. I look back now — it's just so bad. We learn about Captain Cook, but we don't learn about his Polynesian navigator, Tupaia, who showed him where to go. Cook even writes about Tupaia who was telling them, for instance, to stay away from that island because there's a reef right there, or to call in on this island because it has more supplies. Cook has this Polynesian navigator right there with him in his very first voyage, and he's spelling that out in his diary. But there's nothing about Tupaia in the New Zealand school curriculum. Instead, there's all this irrelevant stuff about the English kings

and queens — and, if you don't learn that, you don't pass. They force us to learn it. And yet it has no use. Absolutely no practical use (E-TANGATA magazine, 2015).

Therefore, are New Zealand schools complicit in this act of European hegemony? Are there rational reasons why Māori or Polynesian history are not part of the New Zealand school curriculum? Is this the same outlook that ousted *te reo Māori* out of schools and had Indigenous Māori being punished for speaking their language? And does it also have some connection to the reasons why so many stringently object to the teaching of *te reo Māori* being made compulsory in schools, even though it is one of the official languages of Aotearoa/New Zealand?

It can be assumed that much like Quiros, Roggeveen and several other European explorers; Tasman was also surprised to find that the islands of the Pacific, or in this case Aotearoa/New Zealand (the most southerly islands of the Pacific) had been previously discovered and settled by Polynesians. Tasman's visit was rather brief, he was there seeking land, thus he had limited interest in the flora and fauna of Aotearoa/New Zealand or the Indigenous peoples that (to his surprise) had established themselves on the two large islands of Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, Tasman still managed to get into conflict with the Indigenous Māori who according to his notes, killed four of his crew. During the skirmish Tasman fired at the Māori warriors, who retreated in their canoes (Rewi, 2008).

To understand certain aspects of ancient Māori weaponry, perhaps poses some questions as to Tasman's account of first contact with Indigenous Māori ancestors. Māori weapons were made of stone and wood, not iron or metal, thus could easily be shattered by any type of gun fire. They were designed for close contact fighting, since ancient Māori did not use bow-and arrows or spears to throw at their enemy. The point is Tasman had guns and canons on the two ships that were used for his explorations but somehow Indigenous Māori *tīpuna* were still able to get close enough to kill four of his crew members without a shot being fired.

Image: 11 Drawn by Isaac Gilsemans who travelled with Able Tasman.
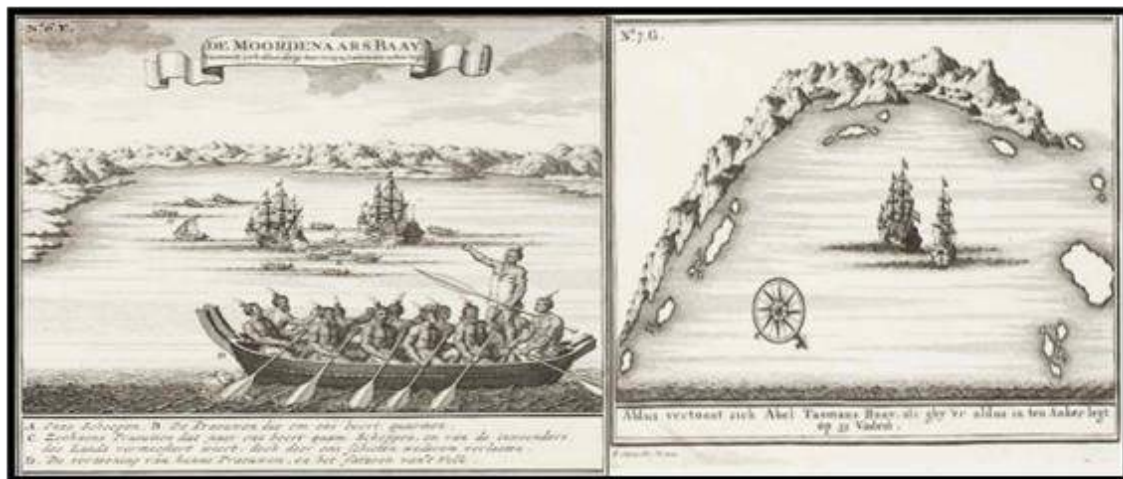
Shade (2012) writes that it was possible the superstitions and beliefs of Indigenous Māori, were the major reason for the conflict between them and Able Tasman, and perhaps there is some validity in this view. However, one must also consider the superstitions and beliefs of Able Tasman and his crew members. While in all writings relating to Able Tasman and many other early European explorers, the view is of a civilising European pioneer who had balanced and fair thought and was free of superstition and irrational behaviour. However, at that time in European history woman, men and children were being tortured, burned at the stake and having other unspeakable acts done to them, due to the belief of witch craft and sorcery. Farmer, (2016) writes that it is estimated that around 90,000 to 100,000 people were persecuted for sorcery and witchcraft in Europe and North America from the 14th century to the 17th century. The last recorded executions of so called witches in Europe was a woman named Anna Goldi who was accused of spellbinding a Swedish child in (1782) and two women from Poland who were accused of using witch craft to harm their neighbour's cattle in (1793). Satanism and demonology were aspects that occupied the thoughts and dreams of Europeans within Tasman's time, particularly the sailors, who were well known for their highly superstitious and credulous nature (Franthorpe & Franthorpe, 2011; Rappoport, 2012).

According to Tasman's journal, after the incident, bad weather forced him toward the west coast of the North Island where he was unable to find a suitable place to land so he continued towards Tonga and Fiji (Rewi, 2008).

Image 12: Abel Tasman's Voyages

Source: http://kids.britannica.com/elementary/art-164438/The-red-line-shows-Abel-Tasmans-voyage-of-1642-43
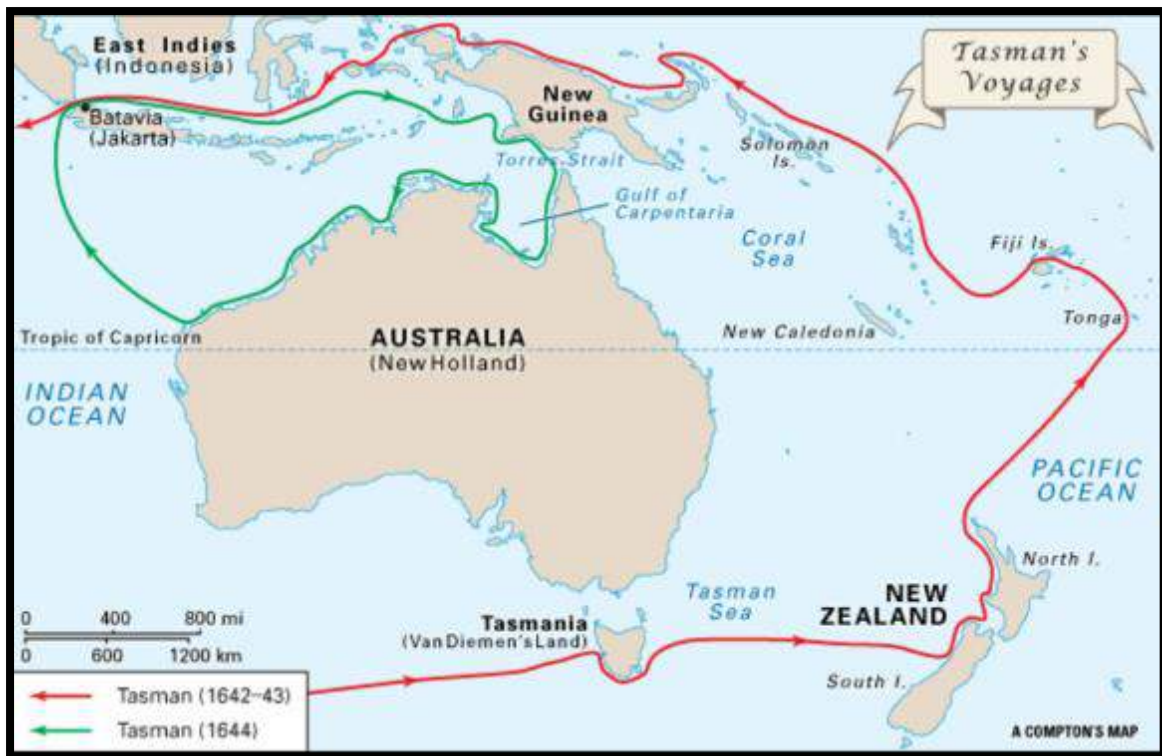
It could be argued that Tasman's visit had no influence on the decline of the Māori language, however, it can also be reasoned that due to his revealing the geographical location of Aotearoa/New Zealand a chain of events would ensue which would have dire consequences for the Māori language, the Māori culture and the Indigenous Māori people. As historical records indicate, 127 years after the visit of Tasman, another European explorer, although this time from England, would arrive on the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand. He was known as Captain James Cook and he had knowledge of Tasman's visit to Aotearoa/New Zealand and what had purportedly transpired during his visit. This is perhaps one of the reasons why during Cook's contact with Māori (in the first instance) several Indigenous Māori were shot dead.

Cook had been given his orders by the then King, George III of England. He was to sail south to search for the so called southern continent referred to as Terra Australis Incognito (Unknown Southern Continent), assumed to be located south to latitude 40 degrees (Lace, 2009). The second part of his orders were to be enacted if he could not locate this continent, which was to pinpoint and chart the island stumbled on by Abel Tasman and referred to as

New Zealand (Lace, 2009). As most now know these days, the supposed unknown southern continent did not exist.

Image 13: Stamp of Captain James Cook and a Māori Warrior

Source: Colnect.com

Using the coordinates of Tasman's journal, (and the assistance of Tupaia – an Indigenous Tahitian) Cook began sailing towards Aotearoa/New Zealand. On the 7th of October 1769, the surgeon's attendant, Nicholas Young, spotted land which turned out to be the east coast of the North island of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Anaru, 2011, Lace, 2009). Initially it was thought that Aotearoa/New Zealand may be part of Terra Australis Incognito, however, Cook would find this idea to be incorrect. According to information written by Cook, his initial encounter with the Indigenous Māori was disastrous, on the first meeting one Indigenous Māori was shot dead. On the second meeting, three more Indigenous Māori were shot dead, and while Cook charted the two islands of Aotearoa/New Zealand, more incidents of Indigenous Māori deaths occurred (Lace, 2009). Just under six months after Cook's arrival to Aotearoa/New Zealand, on the 30th of March 1770, the charting of both islands was completed. In Cook's journals, he wrote that it is just as he suspected, New Zealand is not part of the so called unknown southern continent, thus, as Cook felt he had fulfilled his instructions, he began sailing west towards the south of Australia. Cook was to visit Aotearoa/New Zealand three times during his exploits, his first visit was in 1769, his second was in 1773 and his last visit was in 1777 (Lace, 2009).

Cook's first visit to Aotearoa/New Zealand can be described as more involving than

Tasman's and the negative impact of his sharing the precise geographical location of Aotearoa/New Zealand, on *te reo Māori* and the Māori culture would not be long in the waiting. Sailors, escaped convicts, missionaries, adventurers, settlers and colonialists would make up parts of the many individuals and groups who would eventually make their way to Aotearoa/New Zealand and become part of its society and eventually become a part of the settler government and its law makers. 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).

While Middleton (2008) is correct in stating that Aotearoa/New Zealand was being exploited for its resources at the time, however, her choice of the word rediscovered within the statement above is rather presumptuous, and seems to lean toward the same outlook and philosophy as displayed within the New Zealand 1940 centennial stamp, discussed previous. While the word rediscover may not possess the exact same connotations as the word discovery, there is still that subtle suggestion that, for some period (during the time of *Māori tīpuna*) Aotearoa/New Zealand was lost until it was rediscovered by Cook. The argument could be made that Middleton (2008) is referring to a situation like when someone rediscovers the beauty of something or someone, or when someone rediscovers their passion for painting or playing music etc. Although for the most part the statement above is quite straight forward and is not ambiguous or vague, and would be difficult to misconstrue. Consequently, Middleton (2008) writes, the missionaries came a close second, after the whalers and sealers, the first of them arriving in 1814 from the Church Missionary Society (CMS). 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) suggests, there were many critical periods of missionary influence before and after the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. The first missionary to arrive in Aotearoa/New Zealand was Samuel Marsden (Anaru, 2011; Binney, 1933).

Image 14: Samuel Marsden
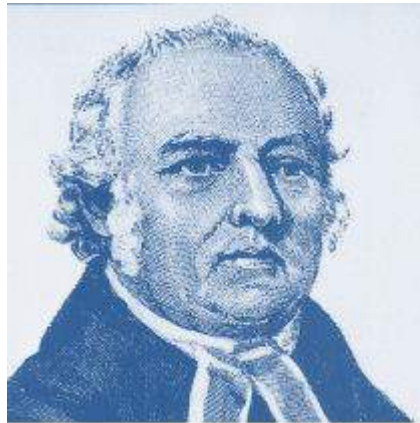
Source: eHive

Samuel Marsden was born in 1765 in Yorkshire England and started his working life out as a blacksmith before becoming a priest. The 19th century humanitarian and leader of the Christian movement for the abolition of slavery, William Wilberforce would have a major influence on Marsden. So much so that at the behest of Wilberforce Marsden would take up a position, in 1794, as assistant chaplain of the recently formed penal colony in New South Wales (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 Civilization" in 1813 (Binney, 1933, p.2). Marsden was to visit Aotearoa/New Zealand seven times within a period of twenty-three years, each visit saw Marsden preaching the gospel and seeking out business opportunities for trade (Anaru, 2011; Binney, 1933).

There is an extensive list of religious, cultural, political and technological changes introduced by the missionaries and some traders to Aotearoa/New Zealand but perhaps the most significant being reading and writing. While the missionaries influence on Indigenous Māori, their language and culture were seen early in the piece, the real potency of their contact can be seen in the overall dominance and longevity of their introduced views (Harlow, 2007). It can be argued that many Māori *whānau* embraced Christianity and its teachings from its first introduction, and many still hold firm to its beliefs right up to this very day. However, not all the actions or intentions of those who spread the teachings of the bible, were of a truly Christian nature, while other missionaries whose absolute belief in their task were vulnerable to the influences of those that were seeking financial, political or ideological ends (Harlow, 2007; Binney, 2005; Lee & Lee, 2007; Mead, 1997).

However, it would be another missionary besides Marsden who would have the most impact on the Indigenous Māori people, their culture and language.

Image 15: Henry Williams

Source: http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/2146/henry-williams-about-1865

According to information supplied by his family, Henry Williams was born in Hampshire England in 1792. He entered the navy at fourteen years old and remained with the navy for ten years (Fisher, 1990). In 1819 Williams joined the CMS (Church Missionary Society) and would become a priest and a curer of souls in his majesty's foreign possessions. On the third of August 1823 Williams, his wife and their three children would arrive in the Bay of Islands of New Zealand. Henry Williams would assume the leadership of what was described as a CMS mission post beset with problems (Fisher, 1990). After pulling the mission into line he set about decreasing the missionaries' association with trading captains at Kororāreka and ended the dependency they had on Māori for all their supplies. Unlike Marsden he was not interested in the civilisation of Māori, but rather, he wanted to convert as many Māori to Christianity (to acquire their spiritual loyalty), thus he began devoting more time (within the missions) to religious teachings. However, to convert more Māori to Christianity, Williams believed that mission members needed to learn the Māori language (Fisher, 1990). Thus, Paihia was to become the major headquarters for Williams and his personnel to learn *te reo Māori*. Williams programme would find extra impetus with the arrival of his brother in 1826, William Williams, who had a talent for languages. Henry

Williams is described as having a forceful personality and his interaction with Indigenous Māori was at times constrained due to his Christian beliefs. However, the action he is most notable for, happened in 1840 with his involvement in the signing of the *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Fisher (1990) states that;

> The ambiguity of his position was apparent at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Henry translated the English draft of the treaty into [Māori] and, at the meetings with the Crown's representative, William Hobson, at Waitangi, he explained its provisions to [Māori] leaders. Later he travelled to the west coast of the North Island, between Wellington and Wanganui, and to the Marlborough Sounds to persuade other [Māori] to sign the treaty. However, his Māori version of the treaty was not a literal translation from the English draft and did not convey clearly the cession of sovereignty. Moreover, in his discussions with Māori leaders Henry placed the treaty in the best possible light and this, and his mana, were major factors in the treaty's acceptance. Undoubtedly, therefore, he must bear some of the responsibility for the failure of the Treaty of Waitangi to provide the basis for peaceful settlement and a lasting understanding between [Māori] and European (Fisher, 1990, p.1).

Perhaps one view of the Indigenous Māori argument relating to Te Tiriti o Waitangi is that, the importance of what was written in the English version of *Te Tiriti* and or what the original intentions of the crown were, are less significant than what was written in the Māori version by Henry Williams. Since Māori (who had sovereignty over Aotearoa/New Zealand) signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi based on the information contained within the Māori document. As stated above, Māori were encouraged by Henry Williams and the like, to sign *Te Tiriti*. And as the document was taken around Aotearoa/New Zealand, no doubt many Māori would have been encourage by other missionaries and would have been spurred on by hearing that several other Māori had signed the document. This attitude is evidenced in the signing of the English version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi at the Waikato heads by 39 chiefs who would have had minimal understanding of what the English version entailed. Although it must be noted that while Te Wherowhero and several other chiefs were present, they declined to sign the document (Archive NZ, 2014). After the intentions of the crown relating to Te Tiriti o Waitangi became clearer, Māori begin to accuse Henry Williams of misleading them in his clarification of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Suspicion was also raised when British troops were stationed at Waimate mission, however, loyalty issues began to be raised by some Europeans because of his many dealings with Māori (Fisher, 1990). While these issues were a major concern for Williams, what was to come was even more disconcerting. A while after George Grey became the Governor of New Zealand in 1845, he accused

Williams of wrong doing in the purchasing of large tracks of Māori land. Although Williams denied the accusations, he was dismissed from the CMS for several years and would eventually move to Pakaraka to the land that his children were farming (which was also the land that caused the problems between him and Grey) (Fisher, 1990).

The decline of *te reo Māori* and Māori pedagogy
From as early as 1816 the educational experience for Māori was to begin changing into what can be viewed now as a virtually wholly European constructed practice, fashioned by the implementation of Western beliefs and pedagogy (Lee & Lee, 2007). Initially missionaries were used to integrate Māori into European structures of education via religion, thus formal European education of Māori started under the benefaction of Thomas Kendall, from the Church Missionary Society (Lee & Lee, 2007).

Image 16: Thomas Kendall, Hongi Hika, Waikato

Source: Wikipedia

Kendall was to open the first school in the Bay of Islands in Aotearoa/New Zealand on August 1816. While lessons were initially in English, at some point Kendall began to teach Māori how to read and write in *te reo Māori*, a circumstance Marsden completely opposed. The main goal of missionaries in Aotearoa/New Zealand (and indeed all the South Pacific) was to civilise the Māori (stated Marsden) by inculcating within them the virtues of Christianity through the medium of the English language not *te reo Māori* (Anaru, 2011, Binney, 2005). Kendall and the group that came with him, were insufficiently trained and ill-equipped to deal with the severities of missionary work however, the absolute belief in their faith would render them pervious to the scrupulous nature of a few individual, as Binney (2005) writes;

> 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).

While Kendall can be attributed with introducing into Aotearoa/New Zealand a European school system that clearly had, and continues to have, an impact on *te reo Māori*. Binney (2005) writes, that Kendall's time in Aotearoa/New Zealand was short lived due to several reasons, "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 would return to England, but the school system that he initially implemented remained and flourished (to the detriment of *te reo Māori*).

The requests of the missionaries to delay the onset of colonisation until what they defined as the civilisation of the Indigenous Māori, went unheard. Due to the fervent nature of the settlers in Aotearoa/New Zealand and those waiting to come from England, as well as geopolitical pressures of the time, the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand moved forward with increased momentum (Lee & Lee, 2007). Through the efforts of the colonial office (Crown) formal colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand began in the late 1830s. Thus, the official British policy concerning Aotearoa/New Zealand changed from one of non-intervention, to that of colonisation proper. Thus, the inescapability of colonisation became a foregone conclusion, accordingly; a system of self-government for British settlers was introduced by the Colonial Office in London and assurance to protect the Indigenous Māori was also given (Anaru, 2011, Lee & Lee, 2007). Aotearoa/New Zealand was formally described as a British colony not long after the signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, which was followed sometime later, by separation from New South Wales by the imperial government (Lee & Lee, 2007).

As covered previous, Captain William Hobson was sent to Aotearoa/New Zealand to establish a treaty between the British monarchy and Indigenous Māori. The official position of the British treasury was for land to be secured by Hobson through amicable negotiations with Māori leaders. But this approach was only due to the costly nature of wars and the fact that Aotearoa/New Zealand had already been recognised as a sovereign nation in 1835 by England and several other countries (McCan, 2001).

Image 17: Governor William Hobson

Source: NZ Museums

Hobson was to govern Aotearoa/New Zealand for three years, and during this time, the development of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi was to be his most significant achievement (Reeves, 2007). However, he remained the figure head for colonial rule until his death on the 10 September 1842 in Tāmaki-makau-rau, from a prolonged illness and was buried at what is now known as Grafton cemetery (Mclintock, 1966).

Governor Robert Fitzroy, who replaced Hobson in 1843, wanted to develop an assimilationist philosophy by proposing a Native Trust Ordinance in 1844 (Anaru, 2011, 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

Image 18: Governor Robert Fitzroy

Source: Nzhistory

However, the Ordinance was not enacted due to low interest by both Māori and European communities and, in part, because of the precarious state of the colony's finances at that time. Fitzroy came under enormous criticism for his lack of progress in the political, economic and social affairs of Aotearoa/New Zealand and his governorship would end prematurely in 1845 (Anaru, 2011, Lee & Lee, 2007).

George Grey would eventually replace Fitzroy and became Governor of Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1845 (McCan, 2001). At the time of Grey's appointment, the State was keen to support the work begun by the missionaries in terms of what they saw as the civilising of Māori and began implementing what they termed "requirements of an emerging nation" (Lee & Lee, 2007, p.134), or in other words, Māori educational policies that were extensively assimilationist. As can be identified within this chapter, the different approaches of certain missionaries and governors continued to change conditions for Indigenous Māori. While Marsden leant more to the civilising of Indigenous Māori, Kendall like Williams saw the need to learn *te reo Māori* and leaned more to Christianising rather than civilising Māori. It can be argued that Hobson leaned more to the civilising of Indigenous Māori when he stated at the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* "*he iwi tahi tātou*", but Robert FitzRoy (who replaced Hobson) wanted Māori to be further Christianised. George Grey however, would

move the focus back to the civilising of Indigenous Māori.

Image 19: Governor George Grey
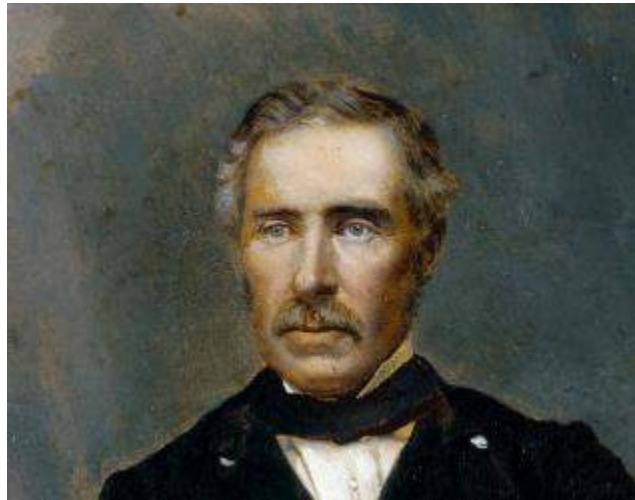
Source: Nzhistory

Grey was convinced Māori could become contributing citizens, to the developing system, given the right kind of education; thus, his educational policies included amalgamation of the Māori and European races (Lee & Lee, 2007). Grey's theory that through the merging of the two cultures, one nation would emerge can be seen, in part, as an egalitarian outlook, but, for this ideal to really take hold, a whole different political and societal structure was needed, not the worn out European structures that he was governed by. To continue the work of what Grey referred to as the continual civilising of Māori, he 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).

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). 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

polices 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, it was seen by some in the Māori community that Native Schools had some value, but certain practices at many schools were concerning (Spolsky, 2005). A few schools taught English through *te reo Māori*, while others allowed *te reo Māori* to be spoken in the playground, but the rest had a policy of zero tolerance of *te reo Māori* being spoken and were quick to enforce this view with corporal punishment (Spolsky, 2005). Native Schools created an English language dominated domain within Māori *pā* (villages), argues Spolsky (2005) the last bastion of *te reo Māori* survival. He writes, "...these schools created modern English-speaking space and so played a major part in the eventual process of language loss" (Spolsky, 2005, p.71). It was estimated that in 1913, ninety percent of Māori school children could speak *te reo Māori,* however, these stats are nearly completely opposite in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand, which also includes a substantial loss of knowledge relating to *tikanga Māori* (Parliamentary Library, 2010). Mead (2003) argues that these days, there are only a select few who have a considerable grasp of what *tikanga Māori* encapsulates, for the majority, knowledge is limited and varied. The reasons he gives for this situation is the active suppression of Māori aspects by the agencies of the Crown, and the belief within the educational sector and the political area that moving forward meant rejecting Māori knowledge and promoting Western ideals. This was thought to be a critical part toward the accelerated assimilation of Māori into Western ways of thinking and acting (Mead, 2003).

What can be described as the Māori urban migration commenced around the late 1940s and continued into the late 1960s. Post-war migration of Māori to the cities was one of the fastest urbanisation undergone by any people in the world (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Thus, the Māori language, culture and *tikanga* would suffer due to those who migrated to the cities leaving behind their *whānau, hapū* and *iwi* support of all aspects relating to the Māori world (Anaru, 2011, Bishop & Glynn, 1999). This was exacerbated by the fact that Māori families who moved from their rural roots into urban locations were not permitted to live together in a situation that resembled a Māori community, as they had done in their home areas. Instead, houses were found for them in mainly Pākehā neighbourhoods, giving little possibility for them to speak *te reo Māori*, this government policy was referred to as "pepper potting" (Anaru, 2011, Muhlhausler, Tryon & Wurm, 1996). English language dominance was

assured with the pepper potting policy of the government and Māori language decline was a part of its design. Even 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 (Anaru, 2011, 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).

The Hunn Report stated that integration of Māori people should not prohibit the conservation of Māori culture (Harris, 2004). Māori could become New Zealanders with distinct cultural characteristics. It can be seen within this view that there has been a major reversal of roles, initially Māori were referred to as New Zealanders and the colonisers as Europeans, but in this report non-Māori are viewed as New Zealanders and Māori may have the opportunity to become New Zealanders but with separate cultural differences. The Hunn Report highlighted the decline of the Māori language, writes May (1999) which saw various governments attempt to address these concerns, but their efforts proved to be mostly ineffectual. 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" (May, 2001, p. 296). It can be argued that the Hunn report, at some level, encouraged ongoing attempts to strengthen the Māori language and culture. However, for many Māori this was not the view, thus the report became a catalyst for the development of several new Māori groups (some from certain Universities around Aotearoa/New Zealand) who had become weary of short sighted and ineffective approaches to Māori education and Māori language and culture survival.

Māori language restoration strategies
Metge (1976) writes, that the 1970's saw the development of a number of Māori groups including *Ngā Tamatoa,* a Māori activist group who fought for a number of political issues including Māori language revitalisation (discussed further in chapter 3). There was also the *Te Reo Māori* Society (established at Victoria University Wellington), whose aim was to promote and revitalise the Māori language (Te Rito, 2008).

Image 20: Joseph Te Rito (Original member of Te Reo Māori Society)

Source: http://www.ogmios.org/conferences/2008/index.htm

The pillars of the *Te Reo Māori* Society were people such as Te Kapunga (Koro) Dewes (lecturing in the Māori language and culture at Victoria University Wellington), Te Uenuku Rēne, Mēre Te Awa and Terri McIntyre. However, the boots on the ground members were mainly undergraduates of Victoria University, including, Cathy Dewes, Whaimutu Dewes, Pineāmine Dewes, Rangi Nicholson, Robert Pouwhare, Rāwiri Rangitauira, Miki Rikihana, Tom Roa, Lee Smith, Pia Tamahōri. Joseph Te Rito and Hākopa Te Whata. Including a few Pākehā supporters such as John McCaffery, Adrian van der Schaaf, Kath Stoddart and Anne Garrick (Te Rito, 2008). *Ngā Tamatoa* and the *Te Reo Māori Society* were heavily involved with the 1972, Māori language petition w h i c h s a w more than 30,000 signatures presented to Parliament (Metge, 1976, Te Rito, 2008).

Image 21: Māori language petition 1972

Source: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/maori-language-petition-1972

The petition 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 (Metge, 1976, 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 teacher 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).

Te Ataarangi

In 1978, the first bilingual school opened its doors in Rūātoki. This was followed in 1979 by the establishment of Te Ataarangi.

Image 22: Katerina Te Heikōkō Mataira and Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi

Source: http://teataarangi.org.nz/, https://ckaraka.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/ngoi-pewhairangi.jpg, http://www.stuff.co.nz/waikato-times/news/5305324/Te-reo-pioneer-mourned

Te Ataarangi, an adult Māori language learning movement, initially developed by Katerina Te Heikōkō Mataira and Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi, sought to restore Māori language knowledge to adults (Māori and non-Māori) within the community (National Māori Language Survey, 1995). Te Ataarangi is a grass roots initiative that requires no prior knowledge of *te reo Māori* to be a participant (other than a commitment to language learning) and targets second language learners of the Māori language. A central belief of Te Ataarangi is that students will not gain an in-depth knowledge of *te reo Māori* by using their first language as a translating tool. But rather all situations for language learning are contextualized within a Māori world view and taught in *te reo Māori* from the outset, eventually reducing the need to revert to their first language for interpretation. This aspect is reflected in the five main *ture* (rules) of Te Ataarangi in particularly *te ture tuatahi* (the first rule) (Pohe, 2012).

Table 10: Ngā Turi o Te Ataarangi

1. *Kaua e kōrero Pākehā* (do not speak English).
2. *Kaua e poka tikanga* (do not breach known or class room tikanga).
3. *Kaua e ākiāki tētahi i tētahi ki te ahu atu te pātai ki a koe kātahi anō koe ka ahei ki te whakahokia* (only answer questions aimed at you, do not interrupt others).
4. *Kia ngākau māhaki tētahi ki tētahi* (be tolerant of other's differences).
5. *Kia mau ki te aroha mō ake tonu e* (keep a constant focus on the main objective).

Source: Pohe (2012)

While Katerina Mataira, had always been concerned for the welfare of *te reo Māori,* her concerns were ushered further when reports, research and lectures pertaining to the decline of the Māori language began to increase. Including the early 1970's reports and lectures of Dr Richard Benton (Wakahuia, 2010). In his lectures Dr Benton posed the question "is *te reo Māori* a battered waka washed up on the reef?" or in other words was the Māori language on the verge of disappearing? Thus, according to Dr Benton's research *te reo Māori* would not survive on its current path. Katerina became inspired to find new ways of reviving *te reo Māori* and decided that learning another language would assist, in some way, to this journey. Katerina and a friend travelled to Fiji to begin learning the Fijian

language. By her own admission trying to learn another language was extremely difficult since the learning program she was attending lacked an indigenous pedagogical view point (Wakahuia, 2010). However, as fortune would have it Katerina was invited to attend lessons where students from the American Peace Corp were present. The first thing Katerina noticed was that all the Peace Corp students were fluent in the Fiji language, a situation that amazed her. On inquiry, Katerina found that the Peace Corp students had only studied the Fijian language for just under three months, before traveling to Fiji, an admission she found hard to believe since the students were well understood and could clearly understand the local people. On further inquiry Katerina was told that the students followed a method of language learning that was taught to them by Dr Caleb Cattegno, a lecturer from the New York Institute of Languages. Cattegno used cuisenaire rods (coloured sticks) to assist in this method of language learning, which he called the "silent way" (Wakahuia, 2010).

Through her questioning and inquiries, Katerina was given the opportunity to attend a silent way learning class, this would be her first (but certainly not her last) encounter with the silent way, an occasion that obviously inspired her. On her return to Aotearoa/New Zealand Katerina secured a job as a researcher at the University of Waikato and spent much of her time researching ways to revitalise *te reo Māori*, concentrating her efforts on ways to encourage Māori/non-Māori adults, who were passionate about *te reo Māori* survival, to learn the language. Katerina's Master's thesis included an analysis of many strategies relating to language revitalisation including Caleb Cattegno's silent way. As time went on, Katerina would become part of the NZ Council of Adult Education, as a cultural adviser. It was around this time she began to collaborate with Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi who at that time was delivering classes in cultural activities such as *waiata*, *haka*, making of *tukutuku* panels, weaving and other cultural aspects (Wakahuia, 2010). The main message given in a report by Ngoi was, that while the students she taught enjoyed learning about *haka*, *waiata*, weaving and the like, their passion was more towards the learning of *te reo Māori*.

The challenge was put to Katerina by John Bennett (chairman of NZ Council of Adult Education) as to what she proposed to do about this situation. Katerina and Ngoi got together to discuss the issue and review some language revitalisation strategies. Within these discussions Katerina introduced Ngoi to the silent way method. Katerina states that

while she was demonstrating the silent way (using cuisenaire rods) nothing was said by Ngoi, and apart from going outside for a smoke every now and then, Ngoi just observed. During this time Katerina was not sure whether Ngoi was at all interested in the silent way method, it took all day before Ngoi began to interact with Katerina and start using the Cuisenaire rods (Wakahuia, 2010). It wasn't long after that both Katerina and Ngoi would put a strategy and a booklet together pertaining to the silent way, this was when Te Ataarangi was conceived. In 1978 Katerina and Ngoi was asked to introduce the concept to several of the Māori affairs cultural officers. Initially there was resistance to the concept by the officers, mainly because most of the cultural officers were fluent speakers of *te reo Māori* and they felt there was nothing else they could learn about the language. So, a learning lesson was arranged for them at Waikeria prison where they would teach *te reo Māori* to the young inmates using the Te Ataarangi method. From the many successes of the Te Ataarangi teaching method at Waikeria, the officers began to warm to the concept (Wakahuia, 2010).

The Māori affairs cultural officers began finding people in their communities who they felt could lead the *kaupapa*. While Katerina and Ngoi went around Aotearoa/New Zealand recruiting the appropriate people as tutors/teachers of Te Ataarangi. However, on one occasion, both Katerina and Ngoi were asked by Kara Puketapu (secretary of Māori affairs) to leave Te Ataarangi and get behind a new *kaupapa* that had emerged, which was Te Kōhanga Reo. While both Katerina and Ngoi supported the teaching of *te reo Māori* to young children they felt that teaching the Māori language to Māori/non-Māori adults was the area that they had more of a passion for. According to Katerina, this was the time Te Ataarangi was left to fend for itself (Wakahuia, 2010). However, for those who believed in Te Ataarangi, this was just another obstacle to overcome. In 1981 Te Ataarangi was set up as an incorporated society to be able to have more opportunities for funding, although, finding funding to assist the tutors remained difficult for the executive committee of Te Ataarangi. So, the committee decided to elect and education trust, since an incorporated society could basically only lobby locally for support and funding, but an education trust could lobby government directly. Thus, an education trust was set up and pathways for funding and the autonomy of Te Ataarangi began to develop.

From this point Te Ataarangi went under the auspices of the Waikato Polytechnic (WINTEC) at the request of Katerina (Wakahuia, 2010). While initially Katerina was one

of the tutors at WINTEC eventually several other tutors were employed to deliver the program due to the raising number of students and the fact that Katerina was asked to go to Auckland to assist Pita Sharples in the development of the first *Kura Kaupapa Māori Language* Immersion School (at Hoani Waititi Marae). Consequently, a little while later WINTEC begin to advocate that the Te Ataarangi concept belonged to them and that the tutors were only employees of the institute. Because of this situation, Katerina and most of the other tutors moved on from WINTEC leaving a handful of tutors to continue with the classes (Wakahuia, 2010). A little while later, Ruakere Hond, one of the old students of Te Ataarangi, became the head of the Māori Department of Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. It was Ruakere who created a place for Te Ataarangi at Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and relations between both groups prospered for about six years, however, for reasons unknown to Katerina, Awanuiārangi decided to follow a different path in relation to the teaching of *te reo Māori* (Wakahuia, 2010).

In 2009 Te Wānanga o Aotearoa opened their doors to Te Ataarangi, and offered them a one-year contract for 2010. From then to now, Te Ataarangi continues to struggle to find funding and places where they can deliver their *kaupapa*, however, there remains a solid commitment by many to move Te Ataarangi forward. While Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi would become one of the strongest advocates for Te Ataarangi, unfortunately she would only see the beginnings of the journey, as she sadly passed away on the 29 January 1985. Katerina would continue to experience the many highs and lows that Te Ataarangi would go through from its conception. Regretfully Katerina Te Heikōkō Mataira passed away on the 16 July 2011, *nō reira, kāore e kore e ngā māreikura, ngā pou tokomanawa o Te Ataarangi, ka maumahara tonu mātou i a kōrua mō ake tonu atu*. Without a doubt *Te Ataarangi* has touched the lives of many people, from Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hawai'i, Tahiti, Australia, and Rapanui etc. (Wakahuia, 2010). Te Ataarangi has also touched the life, heart and soul of the author of this research who (many years ago now) attended a few of Te Ataarangi initiatives, to revive and invigorate his then, reluctant and hardly used, native tongue. While this discussion centers mainly on Katerina and Ngoi, they would both be the first to give acknowledgement to all those who have and all those who continue to support and promote the *kaupapa* of *Te Ataarangi, nō reira*, *tēnei te mihi nui, te mihi remurere ki a koutou katoa o Te Ataarangi*.

Māori language movement

After the likes of *Ngā Tamatoa*, The Māori Language Society and Te Ataarangi, the Māori language movement would firmly establish itself in the 1980s (National Māori Language Survey, 1995). Including the development of Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 1981, the first Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori immersion early childhood centres) in 1982 followed by the first Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion primary schools) which was established in 1985 on the Hoani Waititi Marae site (National Māori Language Survey 1995).

Image 23: Te Kōhanga Reo Trust Board

Source: http://www.newswire.co.nz/2011/11/waitangi-tribunal-will-look-at-kohanga-reos-treatment-by-the-crown/

The concept for the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo Movement was basically simple, it started with the idea that Indigenous Māori over the age of forty were the most capable of speakers and young children (from 0 to 6) acquired language proficiency the easiest (Hale & Hinton, 2001). Thus, the idea of forming *kōhanga reo* (language nests) where the transmission of *te reo Māori* from *pakeke* (adults) to *tamariki* and *mokopuna* would be able to occur, became its focus (Hale & Hinton, 2001). However, like many Māori language initiatives fashioned from an Indigenous view point, adequate funding would always be an issue for *Te Kōhanga Reo*. Regardless, the movement expanded quickly led by *kuia*, *koroua*, *pakeke* and the Māori community that, by 1991, was providing twenty percent of all early childhood services (Hale & Hinton, 2001). Te Kōhanga Reo would become the number one choice relating to early childhood options for Māori parents. Within Te Kōhanga Reo, Māori children were not only

being immersed in *te reo Māori* they were being shown how to see and interact with their environment through an exclusively Māori perspective, helping to recreate the pathways to their Indigenous identity (Anaru, 2011, Hale & Hinton, 2001).

Iritana Te Rangi Tawhiwhirangi (a Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board member since its establishment in 1982) states that initially Kōhanga Reo was given minimal support by the government, each developing centre would only receive five thousand dollars for start-up costs (no other funding was given at that stage) (Tawhiwhirangi, 2011). Thus, the Kōhanga Reo Movement relied heavily on Māori community support, meaning that each Kōhanga Reo had to be cost effective in the everyday running expenses of their centers. However, (after a few years of the Trust Board advocating and garnering support for Te Kōhanga Reo) in 1986 to 1987 funding of $9.1 million was received by the Trust Board from the government (through the then Māori Affairs Department). Again in 1987 to 1988 and 1988 to 1989 a bulk amount of funding was given to the Trust Board for Kōhanga Reo. The Department of Māori Affairs left the distribution of the funds to the Trust Board. So, a grant of $18000 was made to each Kōhanga Reo (Tawhiwhirangi, 2011).

However, in 1989 a significant change came about with the disestablishment of the Māori Affairs Department and the transfer of funding support for Kōhanga Reo to the Ministry of Education, without consultation with the Kōhanga Trust Board. Tawhiwhirangi (2011) and the other Trust Board members hoped that the understanding Te Kōhanga had with the Māori affairs Department would continue under the Ministry of Education, this did not happen. *Kaumātua* (elders) who volunteered their time, would no longer be acknowledged (for their experience and knowledge of *te ao Māori*) because they lacked qualifications in early childhood. All Kōhanga Reo centers were required to operate in buildings approved by the Ministry, this became a problem for several centers as many worked out of buildings situated on *marae* (which, from the perspective of the Ministry, were inadequate for the teaching of young children) (Tawhiwhirangi, 2011). Although the Trust Board did its best to work within the parameters of the Ministry initially, it became clear that the *kaupapa of* Te Kōhanga Reo was being substantially compromised. This situation along with many other issues contributed to the decline of Kōhanga Reo centers. Tawhiwhirangi (2011) states that "Kōhanga Reo were never intended to have a narrow focus on education for

school, as is the focus of an early childhood education service. Rather the focus was on learning for life (p. 3)". The aims of Te Kōhanga Reo focused on:

Table 11: (Tawhiwhirangi, 2011)

1.	**The entire well-being of the whānau**
2.	**Full immersion in Te Reo Māori**
3.	**Whānau decision making**
4.	**Learning and training**
5.	**Wider matters, such as health, employment and economics**

Source: http://img.scoop.co.nz/media/pdfs/1107/WAI_TKR_Dame_Iritana_Te_Rangi_Tawhiwhirangi.pdf

The above aspects are the foundation stones the Te Kōhanga Reo *kaupapa* was founded upon, but have been eroded over the years (Tawhiwhirangi, 2011). Due to the concerns of the Kōhanga Reo *whānau*, the Trust Board approached the Crown (particularly, Hon Trevor Mallard and Hon Parekura Horomia) to establish a direct relationship. The outcome of this meeting resulted in the Ministry of Education developing a working group which included members of the Trust Board, the Crown and an independent Chair (a retired high court judge, Hon Sir Rodney Gallen QC) (Tawhiwhirangi, 2011). A report was undertaken by Gallen (known as the 2001 Gallen Report) whereby he recommended that a tripartite relationship be made between the Trust, Ministry and Te Puni Kōkiri, even though the Trust continued to advocate for direct association with the Crown. Nonetheless, in March of 2003 a tripartite agreement was signed between the three entities stating the following aims:

Table 12: Tawhiwhirangi (2011)

1.	**Foster the participation of children and adults in quality early learning within a whānau and Māori cultural environment.**
2.	**Ensure the survival of te reo Māori and its use within whānau and early childhood education**
3.	**Foster the participation of Māori children and adults in quality early learning within a whānau and Māori cultural environment**

Source: http://img.scoop.co.nz/media/pdfs/1107/WAI_TKR_Dame_Iritana_Te_Rangi_Tawhiwhirangi.pdf

Tawhiwhirangi (2011) writes that the tripartite agreement aims seemed to address several of the concerns held by the Trust Board and *whānau* of Te Kōhanga Reo. However, the relationship failed to generate strong collaboration in achieving the aims, thus the decline of Kōhanga Reo and of *te reo Māori* continued unabated, along with the incessant cementing of Kōhanga Reo into early childhood education regulations (Tawhiwhirangi,

2011). Over the years the situation (for the Trust Board and Kōhanga *whānau*) became intolerable, so much so, that in March 2012 the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board put claims forward to the Waitangi Tribunal accusing the Crown of breaching the principles of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi pertaining to a few issues affecting a cohesive relationship between the Crown and Kōhanga Reo (Rautia Report, 2012). These issues directly resulted in the decline of enrolments in Kōhanga Reo and the lack of *te reo Māori* transmission (the claims were heard over two weeks). In October 2012, a pre-publication report on the claims of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board was sent to the Prime Minister (Hon John Key), Minister of Māori Development (Hon Dr Pita Sharples) and Minister of Education (Hon Hekia Parata) (Rautia Report, 2012). The report (known as the *Matua Rautia* Report 2012, The Report on the Kōhanga Reo Claim - Wai-2336) is quite comprehensive and is around 450 pages in volume. While it's impractical to include (within this thesis) the full report, the findings and recommendations of the report are extremely substantial for both Kōhanga Reo and *te reo Māori* thus, a summary of the report is provided in the following table.

Table 13: Matua Rautia: Report on the Kōhanga Reo Claim

…the early childhood education sector reforms that commenced over the period from 2000 to 2011 have resulted in the Crown developing an early childhood education policy framework, quality measures, funding mechanisms and a regulatory regime that has not focused on the particular circumstances and environment of Kōhanga reo to any significant degree, but has rather concentrated on incentivising participation in mainstream early childhood education services. That has occurred despite the Crown and the Trust entering into a Tripartite agreement in 2003 which was intended to address these issues. Consequently, we have found the claim to be well founded and that the Crown should reprioritise its expenditure on te reo Māori in ECE. We have also found that the Trust and kōhanga reo have suffered significant prejudice from the Crown:

- failing to provide a sound policy framework that addresses the Crown's duty to actively protect te reo Māori in the early childhood education sector through support for immersion services, particularly kōhanga reo to whom the Crown owes Treaty obligations
- failing to promote participation and targets for the numbers of children moving through early childhood education who can speak Māori with the competency necessary to enter the school system long enough to become bilingual and biliterate
- omitting to develop, in partnership with the Trust, appropriate quality measures for assessing and improving quality in kōhanga reo for transmission of te reo
- imposing a funding regime that incentivises teacher-led ECE models and does not provide equitable arrangements for kaiako holding the degree qualification designed for kōhanga reo
- imposing a regulatory and licensing regime that does not adequately address the specific needs of the kōhanga reo movement and in part stifles their motivation and initiative
- failing to accurately measure the achievements of kōhanga reo at any time during the 30 years since the movement started.

Source: www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz

We have, therefore, found that the Crown's failures to address the place of kōhanga reo has led to actions and omissions inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty, namely the principles of: partnership; the guarantee of rangatiratanga; the obligations on the Crown to make efficient and effective policy and to actively protect te reo Māori in ECE through kōhanga reo; and the principle of equity. There has been serious prejudice to the Kōhanga reo movement as a result of these Crown actions and omissions. In particular there has been:

- inadequate recognition in ECE policy for kōhanga reo
- a decline in the proportion of Māori participating in kōhanga reo
- adverse impacts on the reputation of the kōhanga reo movement
- serious underfunding of the Trust for services provided and insufficient funding to kōhanga reo, which has led to a decrease in capital expenditure posing a relicensing risk and exposing 3,000 mokopuna to the possibility of losing their kōhanga reo buildings
- imposition of a regulatory regime including licensing criteria that has paid insufficient regard to the particular kōhanga reo environment; and
- an ERO evaluation methodology that remains focused on teacher-led models unbalanced against the important results that kōhanga reo provide for te reo transmission and whānau development.

The relationship between the Crown and Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and Kōhanga reo has deteriorated over the 2000 to 2011 period as a result of mismatch between government policy design with the aims and objectives of kōhanga reo. The fractured relationship has been exacerbated by the failure of the Ministry of Education to ensure that a recent Early Childhood Education Taskforce, appointed in 2010, consulted with the kōhanga reo movement prior to releasing its report. The Ministry then published that report, which was critical of kōhanga reo, against a background where the Trust had no proper opportunity to respond to the criticisms levelled. Responses from the chief executive officers of the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri to the report have been the cause of complaint from the claimants. The result is that the relationship between the Trust, the Ministry of Education, and Te Puni Kōkiri has deteriorated to a point where the Trust has lost trust and confidence in the ability and willingness of these agencies to understand and provide for kōhanga reo.

Source: www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz

We therefore make the following recommendations:

- *Recommendation 1:* We recommend that the Crown, through the Prime Minister, appoints an interim independent advisor of sufficient standing, Treaty knowledge, reo, and policy acumen, chosen after consultation by the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet with the Trust, the Ministry of Education, and Te Puni Kōkiri, and reporting to the Prime Minister (or Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet), to oversee the implementation of the Tribunal's recommendations, to redevelop the engagement between government agencies and the Trust, and to ensure that the progress to achieve effective transmission of te reo Māori through kōhanga reo proceeds with the dedication and urgency required given the vulnerable state of te reo Māori.
- *Recommendation 2:* We recommend that the Crown, through the DPMC and the independent advisor, oversees and facilitates the urgent completion of a work programme developed by the parties in accordance with the Shared Vision, Values, Goals, Outcomes and Understandings in the Tripartite Agreement. The work should address the following urgent goals:
- a policy framework for kōhanga reo
- policy and targets for increasing participation in kōhanga reo and for reducing waiting lists

- **identification of measures for maintaining and improving quality in kōhanga reo**
- **a supportive funding regime both for kōhanga reo and the Trust**
- **a more appropriate regulatory and licensing framework specific to kōhanga reo**
- **the provision of capital funding to ensure that existing kōhanga reo can meet the required standards for relicensing by the end of 2014 and**
- **support for the Trust to develop the policy capability to collaborate with the government in policy development for kōhanga reo.**

Engagement with kōhanga reo on these issues should be facilitated by the independent advisor and should involve at least some Crown officials who have a high level of competency in te reo me ngā tikanga, a good knowledge of Treaty principles and practice, and of the kōhanga reo movement.

- *Recommendation 3:* **We recommend that the Crown, through the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri, discusses and collaborates with the Trust to scope and commission research on the effects and impacts of the kōhanga reo model including how to support and build on the contribution that kōhanga reo make to language transmission and Māori educational success as Māori.**
- *Recommendation 4:* **We recommend that the Crown, through the Ministry of Education, Te Puni Kōkiri, and the Trust, informs Māori whānau of the relative benefits for mokopuna in attending kōhanga reo with respect to te reo Māori and education outcomes. They should also be informed of the importance of bilingual/immersion programmes if te reo Māori is to survive as a living language.**
- *Recommendation 5:* **We recommend that the Crown formally acknowledges and apologises to the Trust and kōhanga reo for the failure of its ECE polices to sufficiently provide for kōhanga reo. This apology is important to the process of reconciliation between the parties. In making such an acknowledgement and apology the Crown should also agree to meet the reasonable legal expenses of the Trust in bringing this claim.**

The 2011 report of the Waitangi Tribunal, *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei*, noted that urgent steps are needed to address recent Crown policy failures if te reo Māori is to survive. If te reo is lost, then the very vibrancy and strength of the Māori culture which is unique would also be lost and New Zealand would have changed forever. We appreciate that the survival of te reo is not solely reliant on Crown action. The situation requires that the Treaty partners, both Māori and Crown, take whatever reasonable steps are required to protect and promote te reo Māori.

Source: www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz

While the above recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal are significant and offer a glimmer of hope for the *kaupapa* of Te Kōhanga Reo, what remains, is for the government to start making sufficient inroads into addressing these recommendations. However, because there is no legislative impetus (on the part of the Crown) to implement these recommendations, the position of Te Kōhanga Reo remains in abeyance. There has been extensive discussion and research cited in this thesis relating to Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Wānanga in relation to the emergence of immersion and Māori-medium education and the contribution they have made and continue to make to the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Without a doubt, Kura Kaupapa Māori schools have had and continue to have a positive effect on the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

Kura kaupapa Māori are state schools that operate within a whānau-based Māori philosophy and deliver the curriculum in te reo Māori. The first kura kaupapa Māori, Te Kura Kaupapa Maori o Hoani Waititi, was established in West Auckland in 1985. As with kōhanga, in the early stages parents were forced to fundraise to run kura until they received government recognition and funding. Kura kaupapa Māori gained recognition in the Education Act 1989 and from 1990 the Ministry of Education supported the establishment of new kura. Kura numbers grew rapidly through the 1990s, and more slowly in the 2000s. In 2009 there were 73 kura kaupapa Māori with just over 6,000 students. Many kura are composite schools (years 1–13), having started as full primary schools and then adding wharekura (secondary departments) in order to retain students within a Māori-medium environment. In 2001 the Ministry of Education recognised kura teina status as a stepping stone for schools that have applied to become a full stand-alone primary school. Kura teina are mentored by an established kura, designated the kura tuakana (older sibling) (Calman, 2012, p.5.).

Thompson (2017) writes, that it is more likely for Māori students who attend Kura Kaupapa Māori schools to stay in school until they are seventeen, in contrast to those that attend main stream schools who are less likely to stay at school and less likely to pass NCEA level 2. Kura Kaupapa Māori also reinforces students personal and Indigenous Māori identity. Therefore, all of these aspects give more weight to the decision that a number of parents have made to have their tamariki educated through Kura Kaupapa Māori (Thompson, 2017). Whare Wānanga are, "Māori tertiary institutions developed by Māori to revitalise te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), and to raise the achievement of Māori in tertiary education. The majority of the wānanga student body are 'second chance' learners…" (Calman, 2012, p. 6.). The three Wānanga which include, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi are recognised as tertiary institutions under Section 162 of the Education Act 1989 (Te Tauihu, 2014). In 2012, 40,989 students were enrolled and studying within the above three wānanga and collectively, they employed a total of 1,563 Full-Time Equivalent (FTEs) staff (Te Tauihu, 2014). Te Tauihu o Ngā Wānanga in their 2014 report, provides the following description in relation to the development of Ngā Wānanga.

Wānanga have been established by iwi as independent institutions to meet the developmental needs of iwi and, through iwi, Māori generally. Each Wānanga enjoys the participation of all sectors of the iwi, from young members as students through to elders as both teachers and learners. Mātauranga Māori and its maintenance, development and dissemination are central to Wānanga activities. Each Wānanga operates according to the tikanga of the founding iwi, and is identifiably Māori in its

environment and operations. The development of spiritual strength and depth among students is an integral part of the Wānanga programme. The Wānanga, as a whole, is guided, directed and controlled by Māori people (Tauihi, 2014, p.7.)

Therefore, Wānanga can be seen as holistic Indigenous approaches to education and the promotion of te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori, while also contributing to the overall health (*hinengaro*, *tinana* and *wairua*) of their students, staff and their immediate and wider community which include *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Māori language health

The number of Māori language speakers in 2001 was 130,000 with an overall population of 526,281 Indigenous Māori (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001). Table 14 below identifies the number of Māori language speakers by region throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Table 14: 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%

Source: Adapted from Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001 Survey

As can be seen in table 14 above, of the 127,000 Indigenous Māori living in Auckland, only 26,400 stated that they could converse in *te reo Māori*. In contrast, of the 57,500-Māori living in the South Island just over 10,000 indicated that they could speak *te reo Māori*. The regions that were above the twenty-five percent mark of the total Indigenous Māori population who could converse in *te reo Māori* were Waiariki, Te

Tairāwhiti, Tainui, Te Taihauāuru and Te Taitokerau (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2001). It should be noted however, that this survey did not consider the level of fluency of *te reo Māori* of those surveyed.

Only nine percent of Indigenous Māori adults in the 2001 survey could speak *te reo Māori*, "well" or "very well" with the most common settings being a traditional Māori context such as the *marae,* including educational and religious activities (House & Rehbein, 2004). TPK (Te Puni Kōkiri) would undertake the 2006 Māori language survey, their key findings can be seen in Table 15 below.

Table 15: Wellbeing of the Māori Language 2006

▪ **In 2006, 51% of Māori adults had some degree of speaking proficiency, up 9% from 2001. There were increases at all proficiency levels, and within all age bands.**
▪ **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.**
▪ **There have been increases in Māori language use, especially in domestic settings.**
▪ **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.**
▪ **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.**
▪ **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.**
▪ **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).**

Source: Adapted from www.tpk.govt.nz

It can be argued that the increases in *te reo Māori* usage across many areas according to the 2006 survey in comparison with the 2001 survey, can be, in part, attributed to the commencement of Māori Television in 2004. Te Puni Kōkiri mentions that while there is good reason to be positive about the 2006 report, *te reo Māori* is still very much at risk, since only four percent of all New Zealanders speak the Māori language. Which means that its ongoing survival remains in a precarious position. A conscious effort to

assist in the maintenance and ongoing restoration of *te reo Māori*, at all levels, remains an essential condition, states Te Puni Kokiri (2008).

The statistical data in Figure 14 below shows that there has been a decline of Māori who are able to converse in their mother tongue, within almost all age groups. According to these stats from the 2013 census (which makes comparisons with the 2006 census results), in 2006, 32.5 percent of Māori under the age of 15 could converse in *te reo Māori*, it is now down to 26.3 percent a drop of 6.2 percent. In 2006, 31.5 percent of Māori aged 15 to 29 could converse in *te reo Māori*, it is now down to 23.3 percent a drop of 8.2 percent. In 2006, 40.6 percent of Māori age 30 to 64 (the largest group of speakers) could converse in *te reo Māori*, it is now down to 35. 6 percent, a drop of 5.0 percent. The only group that has experienced an increase in speakers are Māori aged 65 and over, however, they only make up 9.8 percent of the overall pool of speakers. In 2013, 125,352 Māori (or 21.3 percent) could hold a conversation in *te reo Māori* this is a 4.8 percent decrease from the 2006 census. These comparisons clearly demonstrate a decline in the speaking of *te reo Māori* within all age groups (apart from the 65 and over age group).

Figure 14: Māori language Statistics
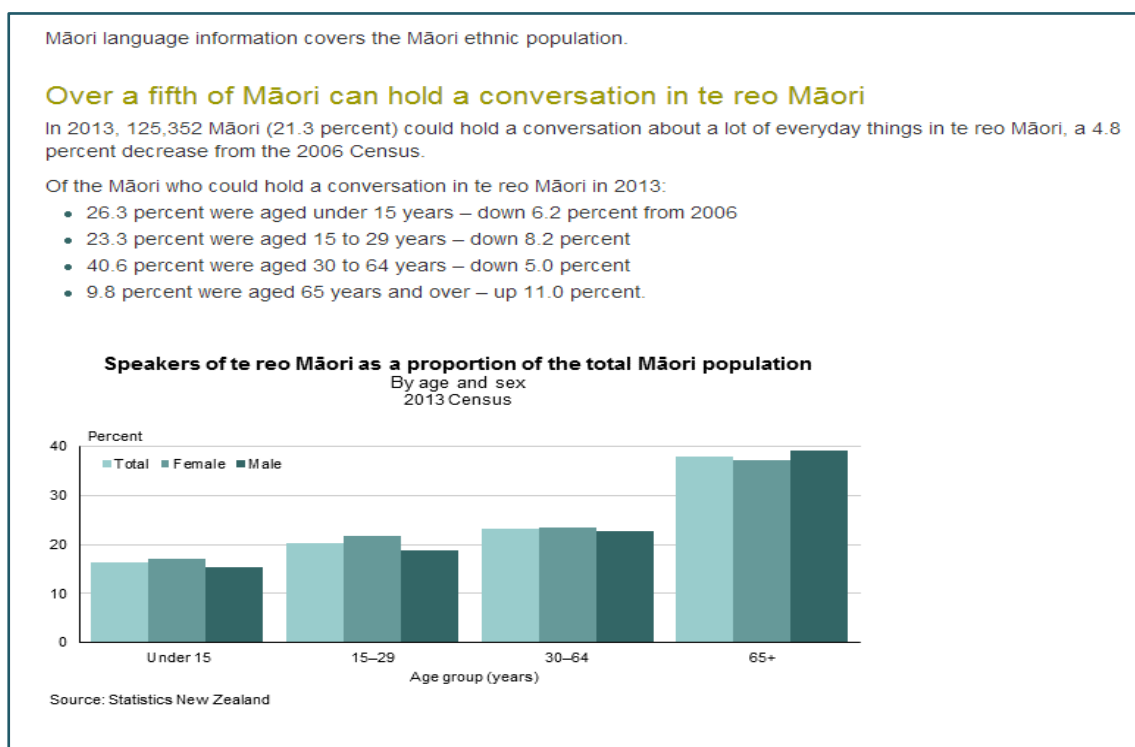
Source: Statistics New Zealand (2013)

The New Māori Language Strategy (MLS) produced by Te Puni Kōkiri (2013) places enormous responsibility of Māori language revitalisation with Māori communities. Therefore, it is critical that *whānau, hapū, iwi* and Māori communities in general develop language revitalisation strategies, and recognise the importance of increasing their capacity and capability now, or run the risk of their language and culture becoming like the moa bird; extinct.

> There have been two reviews of the Māori Language Strategy in recent years: Te Reo Mauriora (2011) produced by an independent panel commissioned by the Minister of Māori Affairs and Ko Aotearoa Tēnei (2011), the Waitangi Tribunal report of the WAI 262 claim that included a chapter on the Māori language. In addition, the Office of the Auditor-General published a performance audit of the Māori Language Strategy in 2007. These reviews found that the Māori Language Strategy promulgated in 2003 needed overhauling. The reviews also identified some common themes, including: the fragile state of the Māori language requires urgent attention, and there is a need for intensive support on an ongoing basis; there is a need to strengthen Crown-iwi and Māori relationships in this sector; there is a need to make provision for greater opportunities for iwi and Māori leadership; and the importance of support for whānau, hapū and iwi language development (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013, p. 5.).

Therefore, with these and other recommendations in mind a new proposed Māori Language Strategy (MLS) has been developed, figure 15 below outlines its basic form.

Figure 15: Proposed New Māori Language Strategy 2013
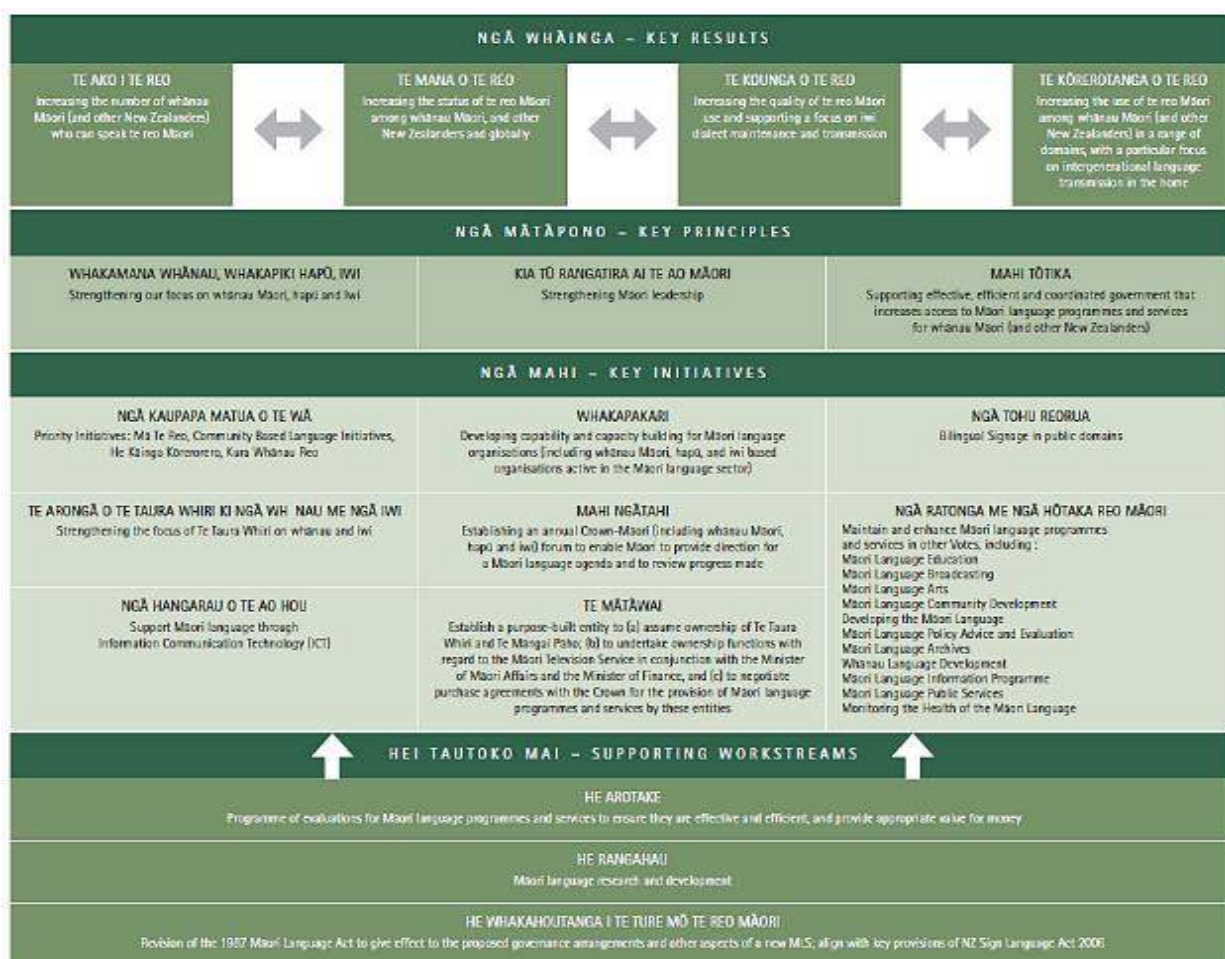
Source: www.tpk.govt.nz

Within the new MLS a strong focus will be aimed at *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Consultation concerning the proposal commenced in February 2014. After the consultation process was completed and an analysis of the results were concluded, the Minister of Māori Development sought agreement from Cabinet to finalise the new MLS. The four result areas (shown in figure 15) provide direction for the regeneration of *te reo Māori*, and allows the tracking of progress over time to evaluate the effectiveness of programmes and services. The three principles are based on key themes identified in several reviews and have been developed to guide and assist in the overall implementation of the new MLS. Intergenerational language transmission is a major focus of the new MLS, and suggests that this will develop major inroads to increasing the number of Māori speakers and normalising the use of *te reo Māori* within *whānau* and community settings.

The key initiatives are designed to develop capability and capacity building for *te reo Māori* organisations and increase focus on *whānau* and *iwi* through Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. Opportunities to increase bilingual signage in several public domains and support for Māori language initiatives will be undertaken through Information Communication Technology (ICT). It is proposed that an *iwi* entity known as "Te Mātāwai" (Iwi Electoral College) is to be established to be responsible for many roles in the Māori language sector (for an update relating to Te Mātāwai, see chapter five).

> To provide for an appropriate balance of full participation and effective and efficient process, it is proposed that: (a) seven regional clusters of iwi would appoint one member each to the iwi electoral college; and (b) two appointments would be by a Māori language stakeholders group. The regional clusters would be based on the seven broadly recognised dialect regions of the Māori language. This approach is broadly similar to the arrangements for Te Kāwai Taumata, the Māori Fisheries Electoral College established by the Māori Fisheries Act 2004. It is proposed to use the arrangements for appointments to the Independent Māori Statutory Board developed as part of the Local Government (Auckland Council) Act 2009 (in particular, Part 7 and Schedule 2) as the model for appointments to Te Mātāwai. In this model, the selection body for the Independent Māori Statutory Board retains responsibility, within broad parameters that are set out in legislation, for the processes that it uses to appoint members. This approach enables the selection body to apply tikanga Māori as it undertakes its business. This is appropriate in the context of the Māori Language Strategy, because it recognises and enables iwi and Māori leadership of issues associated with the Māori language entities (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013, p. 11).

However, an amendment to the Māori Language Act 1987 is necessary to give effect to the recommended governance changes. In May 2014, Cabinet approved the Government's new Māori Language Strategy (*Te Puni Kōkiri*, 2014). The Māori language Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives on 3 July 2014, the Bill seeks legislative changes to the 1987 Māori language Act in relation to the following:

- Recognition of the Māori language
- The establishment, roles, functions, powers and membership of a new independent statutory entity to be known as *Te Mātāwai*
- The roles, functions, powers, and membership of *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, *Te Māngai Pāho* and the board of the Māori Television Service
- The transferal of the roles, functions and powers of *Te Pūtahi Paoho* to *Te Mātāwai*
- The disestablishment of *Te Pūtahi Paoho*

(Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014)

On July 24, 2014, the Bill passed its first reading in the House of Representatives and was referred on to the Māori Development Committee for deliberation. On 14 April 2016, government passed the Te Ture mō te reo Māori 2016 (The Māori Language Act 2016), This act establishes Te Mātāwai to lead the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* on behalf of iwi and Māori. Te Mātāwai has 13 members:

•   Seven appointed by iwi
•   Four appointed by reo tukutuku (Māori language stakeholder) organisations
•   Two appointed by the Minister for Māori Development.

Thus, the following table identifies the eleven areas where government agencies will provide support for *te reo Māori* revitalisation. Government agency support is broken down into responsibilities such as, incorporating planning and reporting for Māori language programmes, working with other agencies to undertake similar planning and reporting. These programmes and services will be monitored and evaluated by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori *and* Te Puni Kōkiri who will also provide an annual report pertaining to the progress of the new MLS (Puni Kōkiri, 2014).

Table 16: Leading Roles

Role	Lead Agency
Whānau Language Development	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori
Hapū and Iwi Language Development	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori
Māori Language Information Programme	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori
Developing the Māori Language	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori
Māori Language Broadcasting	Te Māngai Paho and The Māori Television Service
Māori Language Education	Ministry of Education
Māori Language Arts	Ministry for Culture and Heritage
Māori Language Archives	Department of Internal Affairs and Ministry for Culture and Heritage
Māori Language Public Services	Te Puni Kōkiri
Monitoring the Māori Language	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (in consultation with Te Puni Kōkiri)
Policy Advice and Evaluation	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori and Te Puni Kōkiri

Source: Te Puni Kōkiri (2014)

Estimates released by Statistics New Zealand in 2014 relating to the total population of Indigenous Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand reveal a figure of 701,700. Information gathered by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in their 2011 census reveals that there were 128,430 Māori residing in Australia, a figure which has no doubt increased over the preceding years. While it would be a major undertaking to research how many Māori reside in all other countries of the world, it wouldn't be unreasonable to suggest that there are over a million Indigenous Māori worldwide. The point being made here, is that while the Māori population keeps expanding, the ability by Indigenous Māori to speak their language (according to research previously mentioned) is continuing to decrease and if effective language revitalisation strategies are not developed and put into place, *te reo Māori* will continue to advance toward its tipping point.

While many people are holding out hope for the new MLS, others believe the major floor in the approach of the new MLS, is giving overall responsibility of language revitalisation to *whānau, hapū and iwi* where (as some argue) a conscious decision was made, at varying periods, by many native speakers not to transmit *te reo Māori* on to following generations

(Kāretu, 2014, Rangihau, 1978). Whether there is validity in this argument or that this view is contextually deficient in its evaluation is perhaps an issue that needs to be addressed further by Māori themselves.

Conclusion

Chapter two provides insight into the *whakapapa* of *te reo Māori*, its connections to Asia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. A review is provided on current research relating to the many cultures and languages that developed during the extended journey of the Austronesian language family, from South East Asia to the furthest reaches of the Pacific Ocean. The settlement of the Pacific is also examined, including the explorations of certain European explorers and their notions of Polynesian origins. A comprehensive consideration of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, its implementation and its impact on *te reo Māori*, the Māori culture and its people is carried out, including the wording and translation of the Māori text and some views behind the ambiguity between the English version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Māori version.

The Declaration of Independence of New Zealand is discussed, and an analysis is made into the dealings and the ultimate demise of the New Zealand Company. *Te reo Māori* history and its decline is also examined, from the arrival of European explorers, to the missionaries, to the colonisation process and impact on Māori and the development of several Māori groups who fought for the survival and regeneration of *te reo Māori*. Certain strategies and groups relating to *te reo Māori* revitalisation are looked at including the development of Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Ātaarangi, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Te Whare Wānanga. Finally, the health of *te reo Māori* and the new Māori Language Strategy (MLS) were critiqued.

CHAPTER THREE:
INDIGENOUS POLITICAL THEORISTS

Image 24: *Whakarare/Korurangi*

The design *Whakarare/Korurangi* is used in *whakairo* and *tā moko* and represents movement and experience. It is used by all *iwi* of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Within this chapter the design *whakarare/korurangi* symbolises the movement of ideas, thoughts, philosophies, concepts and theories. Thus, it represents the experience, views, inner thoughts and fore-sight of the many theorists referred to in this chapter. "*He ao te rangi ka uhia, he kai te whare wānanga ka tōroa*" (As the clouds deck the heaven, so food prolongs the wānanga). The food of knowledge leads to extended sessions of the *whare wānanga*, the house of learning (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 65). *Ko ngā tangata mataku ki te ruku hōhonu mātauranga, ka mau i a rātou te mātauranga o te Marakuha. Ko ngā tangata ruku hōhonu i te mātauranga, ahakoa te mataku, ka mau i a rātou te mātauranga o te Parāoa.* Those who allow fear to limit their depth of knowledge, will only gain the knowledge of *te Marakuha* (the sprat, who lives in shallow waters), while those who are willing to dive deep in the search for profound knowledge, despite fear, will gain the knowledge of *te Parāoa* (the sperm whale, who dives deepest of all the great whales) (Anaru, 2016).

Introduction

Chapter three focuses on political and critical theories and the examination of the views of several Indigenous Māori theorists. Some of their philosophies are discussed including, political and world views, critical assumptions, notions and ideas, *tino rangatiratanga* and how Māori can continue to move forward in a globalised world with the language and culture intact. Theories from Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are also explored, including how their ideas can be used to identify aspects within government policies and approaches, including mainstream attitudes and world views that can have a detrimental effect on Indigenous languages, such as, *te reo Māori* and its revitalisation.

Indigenous Māori Theorists – Critical Theories

As previously stated, for *whānau, hapū* and *iwi* to begin to develop robust language revitalisation strategies, and transform *te reo Māori* from an endangered language into a safe living language, a clear understanding of the history of *te reo Māori* is essential along with an indepth understanding of political and critical theory combined with national and international research on language revitalisation. These are the critical elements that assist in the development of effective language revitalisation strategies. The following are the theories, notions and ideas of several Indigenous Māori Academics and theorists.

Dr Margaret Mutu. In a presentation given by Dr Mutu (titled "Indigenising the University of Auckland") at the University of British Columbia in 2013 (sponsored by the Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies), Dr Mutu postulated about the Indigenising of the University of Auckland in Aotearoa/New Zealand. She was/is (at the time of writing this chapter), the head of the Department of Māori Studies within the faculty of Arts, and her presentation included her views and ideas of how a relatively small and under resourced Māori Department can be brought to the forefront of Pākehā, or what she referred to as white consciousness (although she reiterated that Māori do not normally use the term white when referring to Europeans).

Image 25: Margaret Mutu

According to Dr Mutu, Māori staff numbers are only a third of what they should be, Māori student numbers are only half of where they should be, course and degree completion rates for Māori students are far less than what they should be and far less in comparison to non-Māori students. Dr Mutu suggests that this unfortunate situation is a direct result of all Māori aspects, at the University of Auckland, being subjected to white hegemony, or in other words, managed and controlled by non-Māori. Dr Mutu states that from the inception of the Māori Department at the University of Auckland in 1951, the struggles against institutional racism, marginalisation and lack of consultation relating to Māori aspects, has not abated and while Māori have made certain hard-fought gains, these advances are continually under attack and surreptitiously watered down (even with the vigilant guard of those like, Dr Mutu, who continue to stand at the watch tower of Māori advancement). While Dr Mutu gives credit to several Pākehā and non-Māori who have and continue to fight alongside Māori, she refers to the fact that despite the hard-fought gains, parity, for the Māori Department in

all aspects in comparison with other departments at the University of Auckland has still such a long way to go.

Dr Mutu suggests that had Te Tiriti o Waitangi been correctly followed, in terms of what Māori *tīpuna* understood they were signing, then the many universities in Aotearoa/New Zealand would be very different places of knowledge to what they are now. Māori Studies in the most expansive sense of the word would underpin all disciplines and the ability to study in many aspects of other cultures would be made more accessible. However, what can be implied, in relation to Dr Mutu's presentation, is that the Indigenisation of Auckland University is but one step in the journey of the Indigenisation of the Academy worldwide, relating to equity and equality of Indigenous and minority knowledge and management thereof, against dominant cultural knowledge and control (Mutu, 2013).

Dr Moana Jackson. As a keynote speaker at "He Manawa Whenua Indigenous Research Conference 2013" Moana Jackson, a stalwart on Te Tiriti o Waitangi issues, sovereignty issues and issues of Indigenous rights, spoke about ethics.

Image 26: Moana Jackson

Source: http://www.stuff.co.nz/stuff-nation/assignments/who-was-your-most-inspiring-teacher/9369049/Inspiring-teacher-Moana-Jackson
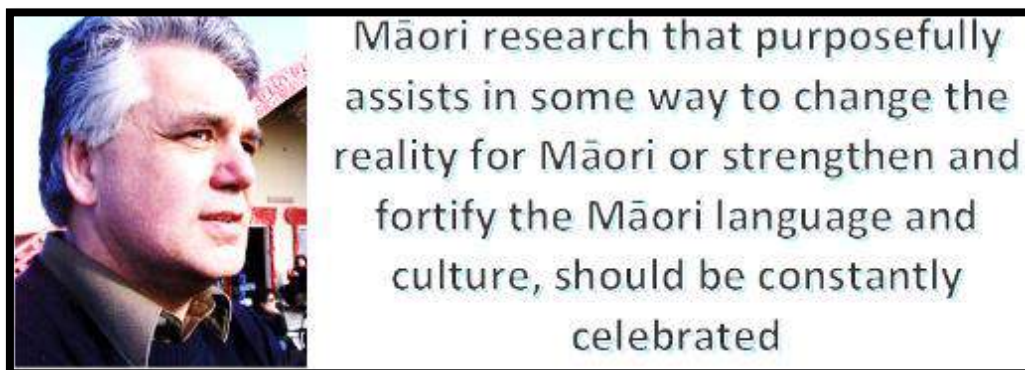
He also spoke about people like Elsdon Best and other ethnographic trappers, as he referred to them, and how they did not only write about Māori history, narratives, customs and knowledge, given to them by *Māori tīpuna*, they also developed and defined particular deleterious images of Māori (Jackson, 2013).

Unfortunately, these negative images still tend to dominate the consciousness of many non-Māori, and regrettably the thoughts of a few Māori who continue to give credence to the interpretations of the likes of Elsdon Best and their subjective opinion of Māori. As the following statement by Best illustrates "uncivilised folk such as our Māori are not bound to do much thinking, or to indulge purposefully in metaphysics" (Jackson, 2013). If Best and his ilk explored Māori culture and its language, with true ethical intent, then the negative images and definitions they advocated relating to Māori, would seem immediately foolish, argues Jackson (2013).

Thus, Jackson has developed several ethical pathways which he states are by no means a definitive or programmatic list of decisive ethics, but rather ethical views that Māori may well include while exploring and undertaking research, predominantly, when enquiring on the lives of others.

Table 17: Ten Ethics of Research – Moana Jackson

Ten Advocated ethical Māori pathways for research
• Ethic of Prior Thought………………………………………………..1
• Ethic of Moral or Right Choice………………………………….…2
• Ethic of Imagination………………………………………………3
• Ethic of Change……………………………………………………4
• Ethic of Time………………………………………………………5
• Ethic of Power……………………………………………………6
• Ethic of Courage………………………………………………....7
• Ethic of Honesty………………………………………………...8
• Ethic of Modesty…………………………………………………9
• Ethic of Celebration……………………………………………10

Source: Adapted from, "He Manawa Whenua Indigenous Research Conference 2013".

The first ethic Jackson (2013) discusses, is the "ethic of prior thought", he defines this ethic in this fashion, if one is to research, if one is to make sense of who they are, or what is happening to them then one must be able to have confidence to reach back to the prior thought that has been left for them by their *tīpuna* (Jackson, 2013). Indigenous Māori

peoples have, despite what the likes of Elsdon Best have written, a proud and noble intellectual tradition announces Jackson (2013). *Tīpuna Māori* have given voice to the understanding of the world, and of relationships with and within the world, that are rich in meaning and poetry and which Jackson (2013) declares, should be the foundation of ethical research or at least the literature review for any research undertaken by Māori or for Māori. Without acknowledging prior thought, or without having this ethic in mind, Jackson does not think Māori can properly protect and nurture the whole idea of *kaupapa Māori* research.

The following ethic discussed is "the ethic of moral or right choice". Research requires a moral focus argues Jackson (2013) which he bases on the notion that traditionally Māori people could ask any question or methodically follow the path of their inquiries, but they had to first ask themselves were these questions right or *tika* in all aspects. Thus, traditionally the decision to either undertake research, or not, was underpinned by the ethic of moral or right choice. Jackson (2013) contends, that when one researchers a subject, no matter what theory is used, one must realise that theory does not exist in isolation from people, and ideas do not exist in isolation from the lives of those that are being researched. The third ethic Jackson (2013) elaborates on is "the ethic of imagination", part of the joy of any intellectual tradition surmises Jackson (2013), is to identify the flights of imagination which first starts when one begins to observe a phenomenon and then begins to define and describe that phenomena. It often takes a leap of poetic imagination, maintains Jackson (2013), to lead people to the facts that then leads them to the evidence through which they can draw a conclusion, however, as he inferences all too often the whole idea of objectivity denies the role of the imagination.

The next ethic is the "ethic of change", whether it's the immutability of change (which he describes as looking at a mountain and seeing the subtlest or fleeting of changes) or the need for rapid change. Research should be dedicated to transforming or changing the realities in which people live, a static piece of research which does not seek change, that which does not seek to improve the lives of Māori in some way fails the ethic of change (Jackson, 2013). The "ethic of time", Jackson (2013) describes as the notion of Māori time, although as he states, this concept of time has become associated with the rather negative meaning of being late or careless with time, however, this view puts a Pākehā gloss on the Māori construct of time. The Māori notion of time is *whakapapa* based and as such is a series of never ending beginnings. That is, a notion of time that turns back on its self to bring the past into the

present and then into the future (Jackson, 2013). With the ethic of time, one does not need to jump into a research just because someone says it's important, or cautions that one may miss a one-time opportunity, if action is not taken immediately. Through the ethic of time, argues Jackson (2013), researchers are given space to clearly decide whether they should take up the study straightaway or decide that right now is not the best time for the research or alternatively cancel the study altogether. When exercising the construct of Māori time, as an ethical base for research, one can say that it is perhaps best to catch the next *waka*, rather than attach oneself to research where there is a lack of passion or belief, or a research topic that does not include change within the realities of Māori (Jackson, 2013).

The succeeding ethic discussed is "the ethic of power", or ethic of overseeing research that is about Māori and ultimately for Māori. If knowledge is power states Jackson (2013), and it is the knowledge of the coloniser, then we must be careful that it does not consume us. However, if it is Māori knowledge handed down then it gives us power to be who we are, thus we can conduct the ethic of power within our research. The following ethic is the "ethic of courage", to undertake research Māori need to be brave argues Jackson (2013), to research in a way that is transformative requires courage. If one does not bravely seek when undertaking research, then the study will lack vitality and authenticity. Courage for Māori may mean including the knowledge of Māori *tīpuna*, stories of the land, *whakapapa*, and history of one's *iwi*. If one fails to include *mātauranga Māori*, or *kaupapa Māori* but includes quotes or theories of deceased white men, disputes Jackson (2013), then it could be said that the research lacks, from a Māori outlook, the ethic of courage. However, courage in research can be more extensive, and it may include directly challenging the dominant power or attempting to reclaim ones (Māori) identity, or promoting a Māori world view, this for Jackson (2013) epitomises the ethic of courage.

The ensuing ethic is the "ethic of honesty". All research, particularly research that includes Māori people, culture or language needs to be honest states Jackson (2013). Māori people, as wonderful as they are, are not infallible and they make mistakes, and can often be hurtful to people. Thus, the ethic of honesty is to be able to be honest about ourselves, without being mean spirited but to do so with a wise and loving heart that is lacking in meanness (Jackson, 2013). Even though it is hard sometimes to be lacking in meanness, maintains Jackson (2013), because the culture of colonisation is a mean-spirited culture, however, there is strength in gentle criticism and mana and respect for those we disagree with, so if we can

be honest then we are pursuing the ethical path of honesty. The next ethic is the "ethic of modesty", the seductions of academic success are very alluring claims Jackson (2013), the very notion promotes elitism. However, if Māori continue to remember that they are the *mokopuna* of those that came before them, they will remain modest and appreciate, nurture and promote the knowledge left for them by their ancestors. Therefore, to be an expert for Māori, is to be the modest carrier of knowledge (Jackson, 2013).

The final ethic Jackson (2013) discusses, is the "ethic of celebration". Research and the simple act of wanting to know more about the world, should be cause for celebration contends Jackson (2013). Indigenous peoples must celebrate their survival, celebrate their uniqueness, they must celebrate the journeys taken and the ones that lie ahead for them. They must celebrate the hope they have for their *mokopuna*, celebrate the change and understanding research can provide and celebrate the continuance of the Māori language and culture (Jackson, 2013). Thus, Māori research that purposefully assists in some way to change the reality for Māori or strengthen and fortify the Māori language and culture, should be constantly celebrated. While Jackson (2013) states that these ethical views are suggested pathways only, if one is to engage in *kaupapa Māori* research then these ethical pathways become, for the most part, a naturally inclusive and exciting freeway of discovery.

John Te Rangi-Aniwaniwa Rangihau. John Rangihau (whose conceptual model was discussed in chapter one), offers insight into the teaching of *te reo Māori* in New Zealand schools, in a radio interview given by him in 1978 and hosted by Herewini Murupaenga.

Image 27: John Te Rangianiwaniwa Rangihau

Source: Adapted from http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/3480/john-rangihau-october-1984

Rangihau covers several issues within the interview, including the quality of teacher training given to Māori speakers (which he suggests is too short and thus are not informative or rigorous enough to give Māori speakers sufficient knowledge in teaching approaches). Or the extra roles (beyond teaching *te reo Māori*) that are foisted on Māori teachers in schools (such as the social worker types of roles, in dealing with, what the schools deem as, troublesome *Māori tamariki*) (Rangihau Interview, 1978). There is also discussion relating to main stream media being accused of neglecting *te reo Māori* through inept pronunciation of Māori words and a blatant disregard for issues that affect Māori views and concerns. As mentioned this interview was given in 1978, however, the number of issues Rangihau confronts during the interview, not only gives a view into his thoughts and ideas but also gives some insight into issues of the past that to a large degree, continue to exist for Māori language teachers and for the Māori language today. From the tone of the interview and the measured and well-articulated responses by Rangihau, it is easy to understand why some saw him as the consummate Māori ambassador and diplomat who could voice Māori concerns without being seen (from a Pākehā perspective) as threatening or overbearing.

However, within this interview, his views relating to those Māori language speakers who have not transmitted *te reo Māori* to their children or to the preceding generation, is somewhat condemning (Rangihau Interview, 1978). Rangihau believes that the lack of language transmission in relation to these types of individuals is a direct effect of a decision made not to teach their children the Māori language but rather indoctrinate them in all aspects of a Pākehā world. The value they give to speaking *te reo Māori* is minimal, however, Rangihau believes that the pendulum is beginning to swing back for the Māori language since many are beginning to understand its importance. And while he acknowledges that there are outside influences that can affect a Māori perspective relating to the significance of the Māori language. However, he argues that, there is a point where Māori language speakers must begin transmitting the language, they must become active and give of their time in speaking and teaching *te reo Māori*. Forget the long-winded rationalisations of why one is unable to actively participate in intergenerational language transmission, contends Rangihau, and just get on with it (Rangihau Interview, 1978).

He includes himself in the criticism of fluent Māori language speakers that, for whatever reason, have been lacking in the transmission of the Māori language. Since he admits that

while his older children are fluent in *te reo Māori*, his younger children do not speak the language, but they can understand what is being said. He acknowledges that his excuse of being too busy with modern day life to be able to engage in significant language transmission lacks credibility and substance, and he concedes, it is a situation he himself must deal with. However, Rangihau categorically refuses to subscribe to the notion that the education system must become the surrogate parent in teaching Māori children *te reo Māori* but rather Māori language speakers themselves must ultimately shoulder the load. As previously stated, this interview was undertaken nearly forty years ago, before the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori schools and Indigenous *Wānanga*. Thus, to some degree it can be said that the pendulum had swung in favour of *te reo Māori* development and revival. But that advancement for the most part has slowed, and is beginning to turn back, therefore new and creative approaches to Māori language revitalisation need to be developed to give renewed emphasis to successful Māori language approaches (such as the three mentioned above) and to open new avenues of Māori language revitalisation.

Dr Graham Smith (2003) writes, for Indigenous communities and minority peoples to transform themselves they must first confront the coloniser and then themselves, a strategy he calls the 'inside – outside' model which he compares to Paulo Freire's (1971) quote 'first free ourselves before we can free others'.

Image 28: Graham Smith

Smith (2003) proposes six areas of change (below) that assist Indigenous communities to transform themselves.

Table 18: Smith, Areas of Transformation

- A need to be aware of the divide between indigenous communities and the Academy
- A need to be aware and respond to the new formations of colonisation
- A need to be mindful and respond to politics of distraction (being kept so busy there is no time to question the status quo)
- A need to understand and construct an ultimate vision (clearly know what is being struggled for)
- A need to be aware and react to the struggle for the Academy (to regain the legitimacy and validity of *te reo Māori*, the Māori culture and Māori ways of knowing)
- A need to understand and to be involved with the State (to encourage the State to work for indigenous issues as well)

Source: Smith (2003)

The above aspects of transformation can be utilised by Indigenous Māori to engender change argues Smith (2003) as he states;

> …a shift away from waiting for things to be done to them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics to an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation. (p. 2)

Thus, a shift in mind set must occur for many Māori where the areas of transformation (according to Smith, 2003) can be implemented and developed.

Dr Ranginui Walker can be described as a *pou tokomanawa* (centre support post) within *Te Ao Māori*. While this Māori theorist, researcher and academic has been referenced several times within this thesis since, one could not write about Māori theoretical notions without making mention of him, this profile of him is an acknowledgement to all that he has been able to achieve for *te reo Māori* and for the Māori culture and its people, including his perseverance and fortitude (in many instances) against what would seem to most as, unsurmountable odds.

Image 29: Dr Ranginui Walker

Source: http://thedailyblog.co.nz/2016/03/01/obituary-ranginui-walker/

Haruru ana te karanga (the roaring call is heard) of the passing of one of Māori's stalwarts, a person who not only championed the Māori cause but who also became the conduit between the Māori world and Pākehā conscience. Much has been written about the exploits of Dr Ranginui Walker. In his last interview with Fairfax, Dr Ranginui Walker talked about his life's work, as one of Sunday magazine's 25 most influential New Zealanders over 75. As one of the members of the Waitangi Tribunal, he was working on the Ngāpuhi claims. Below are excerpts from that interview. Walker died on Monday [29 Feb 2016] aged 83.

What drives you to keep working? I carry on working because I love my country. I want our country to be the best it can be. The British came to this country with a sense of intellectual, racial, cultural superiority. They looked on the natives [as] inferior. That's the colonial mentality. They came here with a sense of entitlement. When [Māori] resisted, they pulled out the guns, the might of the British Empire. We've been given a one-sided history of New Zealand. But all that has been changed because of the work of revisionist historians. There's a whole lot of revisionist historians who are putting out the correct version of history, and the Waitangi Tribunal is adding to that work. That's what life is about: dealing with truth. And truth is hard to pin down. The state has the power to generate knowledge and truth because it has the resources and it's putting the resources, as meagre as they are, into the tribunal. The tribunal is really uncovering the nasty side of the colonial history, the "scorched earth" policy.

Have things really improved for [Māori]? I have great optimism that things are getting better. In the last quarter century, there's been a tremendous [Cultural Revolution] and renaissance of [Māori] people. That has gathered pace and the state has gone along with it. New Zealand culture is undergoing a tremendous transformation as a consequence of that. I've lived through that, been part of the revolution, the struggle for a place in the sun. We are a much better society now than we were 30, 40 years ago. It's all happening.

Have your thoughts about colonisation changed as you've gotten older?
I've become more aware of colonisation as I've gotten older. As a kid at primary
school, 1937, the history book we read was called Our Nation's Story. I grew up in
a little valley where my [whānau] and my [hapū] and my people were put on a
reservation. It was a little world of its own, where traditional values in life continued
as before – hunting, fishing, gathering. I knew I belonged to this land in the
fundamental way. And yet, outside was another world, which I decided I would
succeed in. Now I'm better acquainted with colonialism, the attitude of the British,
their sense of entitlement as superior beings. They denied natives their humanity.
The British were so bloody up themselves; they thought they could pound the
[Māori] into submission with their big guns. But they didn't. Ever since colonisation
and the end of the land wars, there has been an unquiet peace in the lands. [Pākehā]
have suffered from pangs of conscience from that bad history. Now the thing is being
dealt with through the tribunal. [Pākehā] want it to come to an end – that unquiet
feeling that [Pākehā] have. That unquiet feeling won't change until [Pākehā] realise
the [Māori] is their social and intellectual equal. [Māori] are not really angry to
[Pākehā]. That's something [Pākehā] don't understand. [Māori] are being very
philosophical about it and they're trying to reverse what happened.

What do you see your role as in that revolution? The front-line troops were the
activists, who put their heads on the line. I was doing it at the intellectual level at
university. It was a different ball game – you have intellectual freedom to do that.
It's the right of an academic to be the critic and conscience of society. I embraced
that role and tried to educate [Pākehā] through the Listener columns I wrote. That
was an eye-opener – for [Māori] as well. That is the job of an intellectual – to try and
change society and public perceptions. Teaching is a very important job. I love my
teaching. I taught primary school, started with infants, then I taught high school kids,
and I loved every level of teaching. I taught teachers training college students and
university students and students from all those levels constantly thank me for
teaching and informing them, opening their eyes and encouraging them to do
likewise. I constantly get letters of thank you. I was working in adult education and
the professor asked me to teach Introduction to [Māori] Society. He would do the
pre-treaty stuff and I'd do the post-treaty stuff. I'd read all the history books and
literature and I was in the front line as chairman of Auckland District [Māori]
council, a statutory body interfacing with the community and the Government. A lot
of the stuff I was teaching was coming straight from the field into my lectures. In the
stage one course, at the start, the [Pākehā] used to get pissed off. You could tell by
their questions they were outside their comfort zone. They were angry. It was a
picture different from their world view. That didn't last long though.

In the end, at the end of the year, at the last lecture, someone would get up, a [Pākehā]
student usually, and complement me on what they'd learned, to a standing ovation.
The ramifications of things that you're asked to do as a frontline academic are never-
ending. And that's one of the great satisfying things about my life – [which] I didn't
have to go into politics to try and change the world. As Archimedes said, 'Give me a
lever and a place to stand and I will move the earth' (Olds. J, 2016).

E te rangatira, kāore koe i warewaretia, nō reira, haere, haere, haere atu rā. Haere i te

Aoturoa ki te Aokume, i kunea ai ki te Aohirere, haere ki te rua o Tapokorau, ki te huarahi

i heke ai i Maui ki te po, ki te anu mātao. Haere ki te kāhui ariki o ngā rangitūhāhā, ki te

ara tiatia i pikitia e Tane ki Ranginui, haere te kawa tūnuku, tūrangi, tūpapa, tū ai a Tane.
E te pāpā, moe mai, moe mai, moe mai i tō moenga roa, e te hunga ora, tihei mauri ora.

Critical Theory

Some describe critical theory as a concept that holds the view that the social world is considered by the conflict between the powerless and the powerful, consequently, "for change to occur it requires an understanding of the forces that have created the disparities so that they can be exposed, confronted and challenged" (Eketone, 2008, p.2.)

Table 19: Critical theory

Source: http://slideplayer.com/slide/5837700/

Fishman (2001) states,

> Thus, any theory and practice of assistance to threatened languages—whether the threat be a threat to their very lives, on the one hand, or a much less serious functional threat, on the other hand—must begin with a model of the functional diversification of languages. If analysts can appropriately identify the functions that are endangered as a result of the impact of stronger languages and cultures on weaker ones, then it may become easier to recommend which therapeutic steps must be undertaken in order to counteract any injurious impact that occurs. The purpose of our analyses must be to understand, limit and rectify the societal loss of functionality in the weaker language when two languages interact and compete for the same functions within the same ethnocultural community and to differentiate between life-threatening and non-life-threatening losses (Fishman, 2001, p.2).

In other words, Fishman (2001) argues that before language revitalisation strategies can be developed and implemented, language revivalists should first understand the influences that are negatively impacting aspects of the endangered language. It could also be seen (from an

Indigenous Māori perspective) that in relation to *te reo Māori*, *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and Māori communities must evaluate the negative influences (whatever those influences are) that have and are still hindering the advancement of the Māori language, including the level of disruption that these influences have on *te reo Māori*. This then is the fundamental reason why an analysis of political theorists and their critical theories is being undertaken in the following two chapters. As touched on in chapter one, the concept CRIE will be employed, in this examination, to highlight the historical and ongoing oppressive experiences of Indigenous Māori (and many other Indigenous peoples), which have, and may still be impacting on them, through the critical theories of the following theorist.

Political and critical theorists
The following are the critical theories, ideas, opinions and concepts of several political theorists whose experience, knowledge and insight, illuminate and offer awareness to situations that can dislocate and sequester a people's language and culture. Within this study the views and notions held by political and critical theorists are viewed as "enriched knowledge" or ENK, and supply outlooks, Indigenous and minority peoples can use to gain awareness and insight into issues that affect their languages and cultures. Through the analysis of the fundamentals of human nature, local and world politics, issues of racism, poverty, socioeconomics, international and local power structures etc., by political and critical theorists, issues of an overwhelming nature are put into perspective. Thus, when ENK is used in conjunction with concepts such as CRIT, CRIE, HART and HIIE, powerful and insightful viewpoints can be the addendum.

Cornel West (African American writer and political theorist) may not be Indigenous to America, however, he has written many books and essays that cover issues affecting Indigenous cultures, including identity, gender, despair and sexuality.

Image 30: Cornel West
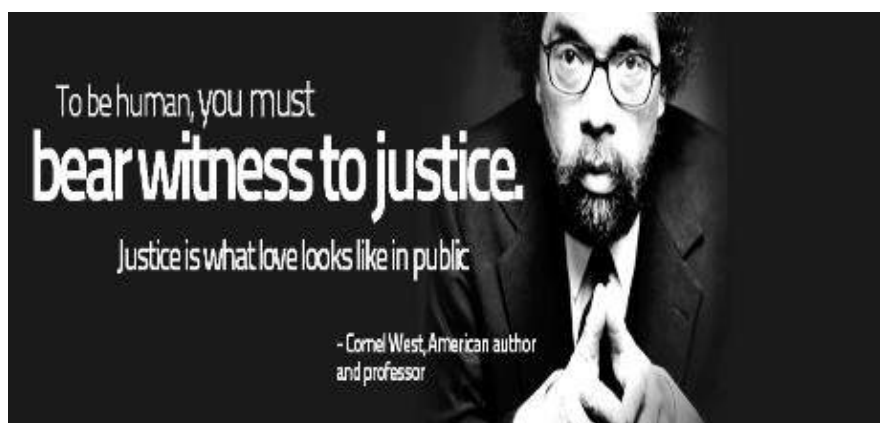
The studies, writings and notions of Cornel West and a number of other African Americans, can be seen as examples that inform indigenous peoples relating to effective approaches against racism, discrimination, intolerance, bigotry and prejudice. The revitalisation of an endangered language is made more difficult when aspects of such a negative nature are present, creating a lack lustre attitude of Government support for Indigenous issues, or resentful support from the community at large or even reluctant indigenous support due to the fear of an intolerant reaction.

Indigenous peoples must confront issues of this type; however, confrontation is made easier when a well-informed awareness as to the fundamental nature of such injurious outlooks (through the experiences and theories of political theorist) is obtained. From a Māori view point, aspects of Cornel West (2001) writings can be contextualised within a Māori framework, such as matters concerning both black and white Americans (or Māori and Pākehā), but are often sidestepped; issues such as the long-term consequences of slavery (or colonisation) or the effects white American culture has had on black identity (or the impacts of a colonial world view on a Māori world view and identity) and how a crisis of identity has left many African Americans vulnerable to corporate greed and capitalism at its worst (a situation identifiable from the beginning of Māori and Crown relations). West (2001) writes about the lack of dialogue between White and Black American society concerning race issues and how major events (such as the L.A. riots) can vanish from public view without adequate dialogue (or race issues between Māori and Pākehā and the absence of teaching Māori history or the impacts of colonialism on Māori, in schools). Race issues exist within liberal and conservative views states West (2001);

> …most of us remain trapped in the narrow framework of the dominant liberal and conservative views of race in America, which with its worn-out vocabulary leaves us intellectually debilitated, morally disempowered, and personally depressed. The astonishing disappearance of the event (L.A. riots) from public dialogue is testimony to just how painful and distressing a serious engagement with race is. Our truncated public discussions of race suppress the best of who and what we are as a people because they fail to confront the complexity of the issue in a candid and critical manner (p. 2.).

Thus, West (2001) insists that honest and critical discussion relating to race, is the only way for Black and White Americans to advance their relationship and until this type of discussion takes place, the pathway forward will continue to be restricted by irrelevant and muffled dialogue of little consequence. Very similar to the relationship between Māori and the Crown, a lack of critical and meaningful discussions relating to many matters including Te Tiriti o Waitangi and issues of partnership or issues of language and cultural loss must at some point be willingly and openly discussed. While his book Race Matters was originally published in 1993, the issues that West discusses within a succession of essays in his book, continue to remain relevant (if not more so now than ever) for Black and White Americans in 2017, since these issues are continually insufficiently addressed and for the most part never critically discussed. While West (2001) highlights a number of controversial issues, he avoids descending into hatred and anger against white America in his book but delivers a rational and easily readable analysis of how Americans have come to this point (in terms of white-black race relations) and gives an overall recommendation for both the white and black community to begin critical dialogue. By examining and analysing social issues through a humanistic (concerned for human welfare, values and dignity) and often persuasive point of view, West (2001) converts discussions of the failings of black leadership into wide-ranging inquiries on the human condition, when he states;

> The liberal/conservative discussion conceals the most basic issue now facing Black America: the nihilistic threat to its very existence. This threat is not simply a matter of relative economic deprivation and political powerlessness -- though economic well-being and political clout are requisites for meaningful Black progress. It is primarily a question of speaking to the profound sense of psychological depression, personal worthlessness, and social despair so widespread in Black America. (pp. 12-13.)

In other words, West (2001) acknowledges that economic and political issues concerning African American progress must be addressed (or Māori poverty and Māori political

powerlessness), but the most pressing issue is the psychological state of the African American community. A psychological condition he describes as "nihilism" (a sense of worthlessness and despair) that, according to West (2001), exists among most African Americans and argues this is the main obstacle to harmonious race relations between black and white Americans. A similar sense of hopelessness and despair that many indigenous people, including Māori, experience when faced with the decline and or the lack of engagement with their language and culture. West (2001) writes that Americans should understand that American history is flooded with racism and the only way to come to terms with these parts of American history is to recognise that "race matters" in all things considered American. From a Māori perspective, New Zealand colonial history is full of issues that affect Māori, issues that have not been sufficiently addressed or have yet to be critically discussed, such as, identity issues, poverty issues, health issues, incarceration issues, mental issues, addiction issues etc.

With the ever-increasing influence of America and its capitalistic mega machine, it is perhaps no surprise that many Indigenous youth today identify with various aspects of American culture, particularly, Afro-American culture, including music, fashion, gaming, sports and even the gang culture and its depictions of brutality and death as the unescapable conclusion of a "thug life lived" (or over played by the American main stream media to seem that way). However, what is seen on the big screen or television, the internet and the many other forms of entertainment, is not a true reflection of Afro-American culture according to West (2001). Within the accurate portrayal of Afro-American culture, several parallels, in terms of harmful issues relating to Indigenous Māori (and indeed many other Indigenous peoples), can be recognised, including, high incarceration numbers, poor health, alcoholism, drug dependency, poverty and high suicide rates.

Cornel West was arrested on October of 2014 outside of the Ferguson police station (St Louis) after being denied a meeting with local officials relating to the shooting by a white police officer of Michael Brown an unarmed young black man from Ferguson in August of the same year. West was also arrested on Aug 10, 2015 at the Federal Court house in St Louis for highlighting not only the lack of justice for Michael Brown's death, but for the plight of all black Americans trying to survive within the American system, particularly black youth (Time, 2014, CNN, 2015). In an interview by a CNN reporter relating to his arrest, West stated that he went to the St Louis Federal court house not for a speech but to

be arrested as part of the collective fightback against the criminal justice system, the economy, the educational system and the political system that have and continue to fail not just the black community in America but white, brown, red and all other Americans who are experiencing poverty in its most encompassing definition (Time, 2014, CNN, 2015).

While West (2001) polarizes several issues, pertaining to the Afro-American people and their community, within his book, issues which the general American public find hard to digest. He however is not as readily critical of capitalism as one of the major causes of Afro American woes but rather nihilism, or the loss of hope and privation of meaning. Or in other words, there is no future if there is no hope of change and without meaning, struggle becomes obsolete, thus, the idea of nihilism becomes a self-perpetuating cycle. Coping with a life that is meaningless, hopeless and loveless, writes West (2001) is about discussing and confronting the psychological depressive state of Black America.

However, while West (2001) identifies many reasons for the existence of nihilism and the tools that one must use to reduce its destructive force, he however is not as readily critical of capitalism as one of the major causes of Afro American woes but rather nihilism, or the loss of hope and privation of meaning. However, one must ask the question, when confronted with a lack of self-meaning, a lack of hope and a lack of self-love, is not the genesis of these feelings directly connected with subjugation and persecution? As Thiong'o (2009) writes that while the exploited and oppressed must maintain their defiance against the oppressor, their resolve to believe in their history, their names, their language, the love they have for themselves, the hope of change and the justification of struggle are continually attacked and consistently challenged creating distance between the meaning of struggle, their identity and a move closer to an identity and world view far removed from their own.

However, West's (2001) assertions that race does matter are prophetic and relevant not only for Afro Americans, but for Indigenous peoples world-wide. Cornel West is one of a large number of political theorists whose views and theories give focus and clarity to a myriad of issues experienced by oppressed and marginalised peoples (including, Indigenous peoples) who exist on the periphery of dominant cultural world views. Thus, the next and following political theorists their ideas, assumptions, theories and notions (similar to those of Cornel West) will provide transparency and insight into overt and masked repression and the repercussions that arise from unencumbered exploitation of minority groups.

Noam Chomsky a linguist, humanitarian, theorist and writer of many books, particularly, books relating to racism, imperialism, hegemony, class and power struggle and the legitimacy of U.S. authority.

Image 31: Noam Chomsky
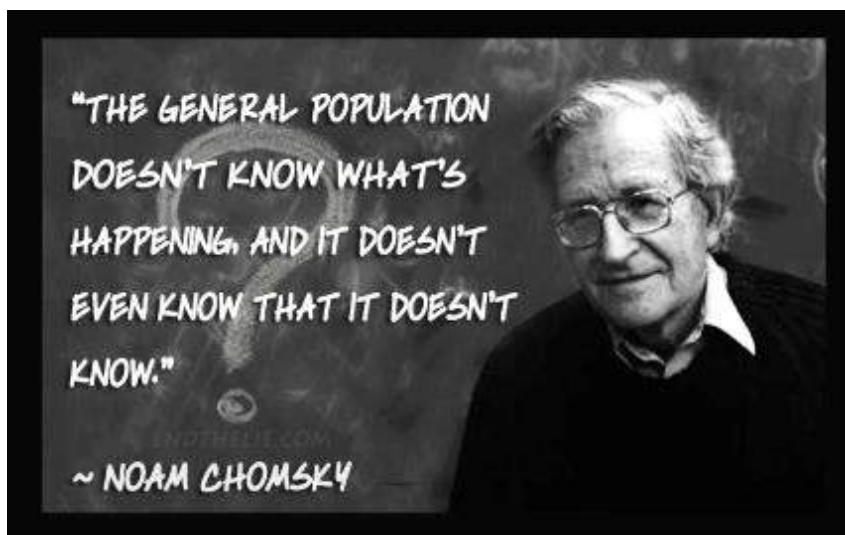
Tribalism, religious fanaticism, nationalism and racism have always existed, in one form or another, one must remember that this is not a recent development like some suggest, writes Chomsky (2011), however, in certain parts of the world it has become more manifest (Chomsky, Barsamian & Naiman, 2011). Eastern Europe as an example is a very racist region of the world, a place where ethnic hatreds run deep argues Chomsky and although racism exists across the world, its definition (so to speak) has developed as a central aspect of thought and observation contextualized within the excesses of colonialism (Chomsky et al, 2011). Chomsky states that this development of thought is understandable because when a people fall under the oppressive power of a dominant aggressor, the justification used by the oppressor for their domination, is the depravity of the oppressed, this situation is all too familiar for not only Indigenous Māori but other Indigenous peoples worldwide (Chomsky et al, 2011). Racism doesn't derive from an economic system of capitalism, as some Marxists espouse, but rather it is to do with conquest and in turn oppression of a people, contends Chomsky. If you are to take the resources (land, minerals, etc.) of a people, it's not acceptable or advisable to say, I have taken these resources for my own gain, writes Chomsky, thus, I have no regard for the people whom these resources belong, or in other words I could not careless if you see me as a monster! While Chomsky argues that racism

does not stem from capitalism but rather from a licentious sense of conquest, however, capitalism can be viewed as the definitive definition of conquest of ultimate power and influence (Chomsky et al, 2011). Chomsky states that;

> A standard technique of belief formation goes along with oppression, whether it's throwing them in gas chambers or charging them too much at a corner store, or anything in between. The standard reaction is to say: It's their depravity. That's why I'm doing it. Maybe I'm even doing them good. If it's their depravity, there's got to be something about them that makes them different from me. What's different about them will be whatever you can find. Then it becomes racism. You can always find something – they have a different color hair or eyes, they're too fat, or they're gay. You find something that's different enough. Of course, you can lie about it, so it's easier to find (Chomsky et al, 2011, pp. 118-119).

This idea of depravity as a justification to oppress a people can be seen within many areas of Aotearoa/New Zealand society, take for example the continual highlighting of negative statistics relating to Māori, such as over representation of Māori within the justice system, mental health, alcoholism, drug addiction, suicide or abuse of many forms, the message is, this is the difference between Māori and their oppressor. This is how deprived Māori are, and as such, they will always need the oppressor to guide them on the correct path, they are incapable of doing this for themselves and cannot be offered the opportunity to try as their inevitable failure would have direr consequences for Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, first and foremost there is more to the state of overall Māori health, welfare and action than just a perceived characteristic or an imaginary genetic disposition. Look at the many Indigenous communities world-wide who have been oppressed and you will find the same statistics and the same justification by their oppressors (Te Ipukarea, 2013). Mention here must also be made about the continual inaccuracies and ease of manipulation relating to negative statistical information regarding Māori, however, it is curious that there is a form of selective amnesia or memory loss when it comes to promoting positive Māori statistics within the mainstream media of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Chomsky maintains that statistics relating to the quality of life, infant mortality, life expectancy, etc, are typically categorized by race, consequently, blacks will always feature higher relating to negative statistics in comparison to whites or Māori compared to Pākehā (Chomsky, et al, 2011). A study was done by Vicente Navarro, who is a professor at Johns Hopkins, writes Chomsky, Navarro decided to reanalyse the statistics by separating out the issues of race and class. What he found was rather interesting, by researching white workers

set against black workers and white executives versus black executives, he found that much of the difference between black and white were class issues. When Navarro compared white workers against white executives the gap between these two groups was enormous. Navarro submitted his study to several major American medical journals (considering its relevance to epidemiology and public health), his study was rejected by all. He then turned to Lancet, the world's leading medical journal in Britain, his research was accepted immediately (Chomsky, et al, 2011). Chomsky suggests that the rejection of Navarro's research by American medical journals is typical of American attitudes to the word "class", in America it is unacceptable to talk about class differences, Chomsky writes;

> …only two groups are allowed to be class-conscious in the United States. One of them is the business community, which is rabidly class-conscious. When you read their literature, it's all full of the danger of the masses and their rising power and how we have to defeat them, it's kind of vulgar, inverted Marxism. The other group is the high planning sectors of the government. They talk the same way – how we have to worry about the rising aspirations of the common man and the impoverished masses who are seeking to improve standards and harming the business climate. So they can be class-conscious. They have a job to do. But it's extremely important to make other people, the rest of the population, believe that there is no such thing as class. We're all just equal, we're all Americans, we live in harmony, we all work together, everything is great (Chomsky, et al, 2011, p. 120).

There are distinct similarities with the class situation in the United States, in relation to the desire of the masses to improve their situation and Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand to improve their circumstance. But much like the ruling class attitudes of America, Māori advancement is seen as something detrimental to the social and economic development of Aotearoa/New Zealand. As an example, Māori not only wish to see the Te Tiriti o Waitangi being honoured, in terms of a balanced partnership, but also to be officially recognised as the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand, which can be viewed as Te Tiriti o Waitangi's ultimate purpose. Although there are several issues Māori would like to see sufficiently addressed and advanced, however, the attitude of the ruling class is apathetic to Māori advancement as they continually espouse that we are all New Zealanders we are all the same, we are all equal, we all live in congruence but in reality, old attitudes, racial and ethnic stereo types and racist viewpoints limit the advancement and perpetuate the declining circumstances of Māori.

Chomsky writes, all oppressors rely, at some stage, on the fundamental rule of divide and conquer, one of the examples he puts forward was when Britain controlled India, arguing that around 90% of the forces they used, were Indian. In the development of these forces, Britain relied heavily on the animosities between Hindu and Muslim Indians (Chomsky, et al, 2011). Other examples Chomsky gives is the invasion and conquering of the Philippines by America and how the Americans exploited traditional hostilities amongst local tribes to elicit help for their conquest. So- called civilized places in Western Europe, writes Chomsky, were rounding up Jews due to Nazis inciting hatred and fear. Belgium, Holland and particularly France were gathering up Jews so fast that the Nazis could not cope with the volume, Chomsky maintains that the Nazis were even using Jews to control Jews (Chomsky, et al, 2011). This particular strategy (using traditional antagonisms amongst iwi) was used in Aotearoa/New Zealand when the colonisers first arrived, and it is still being used today, but in a slightly different context (Orange, 1989). As stated previously, the ruling class consistently reiterate that we are all Kiwis and we are all the same, however, when Māori look for change or when the ruling class feel threatened by Māori requests, the low whining screech of the ruling class propaganda machine ramping up its normal dose of half-truths, innuendo and dread, becomes most obvious.

There are many examples of the ruling class propaganda machine at work but none so blatantly racist as the 2005 general election where the National Party advertisement showed that they support the ordinary everyday "Kiwi" but the labour party support "Iwi" by displaying posters and placards with "Kiwi" or "*Iwi*", this was during the height of the debacle over the foreshore and seabed and the ownership of the beaches. At that time, the National Party were using half-truths and fear to garner votes from non-Māori, however, what is most evident about their campaign strategy was the adage of, "we are all Kiwis, and we are all the same" was thrown out the window. According to the National Parties advertisement, Māori are not Kiwis but the dreaded and menacing "*Iwi*" and all Kiwis must rally to the patriotic call of their nation to battle this threatening foe. In reality, Māori lost yet again in what some describe as the biggest resource grab since the Māori land wars.

Chomsky wrote;

> …when educated classes line up for a parade, people of conscience have
> three options – they can march in the parade, join the cheering throngs on

the sidelines, or speak out against the parade (and, of course, expect to pay the price for doing that) (Chomsky, et al, 2011, p. 305).

Without a doubt, many Māori will continue to speak out about inequity, inequality, racism and discrimination, they will continue to protest and hold high their placards of disapproval as the obligatory parade passes, and while some Māori will be aggrieved and appalled at being targeted for speaking their truth (a totally justified view by the way), others will steady themselves for the inevitable hostile backlash. Miriama Aoake (2017) writes that mainstrain media continues to insist that their coverage of Māori stories within the news is non-partisan and free of bias, however, for Māori, mainstream media remains submerged within its colonial roots and consistently misrepresents and excludes Māori and a Māori world view. According to Miriama, to a certain point, mainstream journalism was once informed by Westernised teachings that emphasised objectivity, but that ideal has shifted, and personal journalistic bias is on the up. However, the most worrying aspect suggests Miriama, is that eradicating this unmoderated bias, is seen by many as an impossibility. The most recent example would be the mainstream media attack on Metiria Turei which was unforgiving and lead to the Green Party co-leader resigning her position. Miriama states;

> Media treatment of Māori and Māori issues is deeply prejudiced. Research conducted by Māori academics between 2006 and 2007 analysed close to 2000 stories across *One news, 3News and Prime*. In total, only 1.8 percent of stories referenced Māori. Of that 1.8 percent, 56 percent were concerned with child abuse. Representations of Māori, and our stories, remain under the control of Pākehā-owned television, radio, and print media. The need for Māori to establish an independent body to monitor media performance is imperative, and the UN agrees. In 2005, Aotearoa was visited by UN Special Rapporteur Rodolfo Stavenhagen – he was responsible for assessing the human rights and fundamental freedoms of Māori. The report, published in 2006, was damning. His findings suggested there was a systemic attitude of racism towards Māori within the media. He found that potential Māori ownership of resources is portrayed as a threat to non-Māori and that a recurring theme is Māori as incompetent managers or as fiscally irresponsible (Miriama, 2017).

Thus, the colonial narrative (through mainstream media bias and arrogance) of Māori depravity and ineptitude continues unabated and unchallenged.

Gloria Jean Watkins, or known more widely by her pen name (which she does not capitalise) **bell hooks** is an African American writer, social activist and feminist. bell hooks has written more than thirty books, copious articles, both mainstream and scholarly and has given numerous lectures relating to the many topics of her focus. Including, class, gender,

race and their interconnectivity and the ability of these aspects to yield and propagate structures of oppression and control.

Image 32: bell hooks

Source: http://quotesgram.com/bell-hooks-quotes/
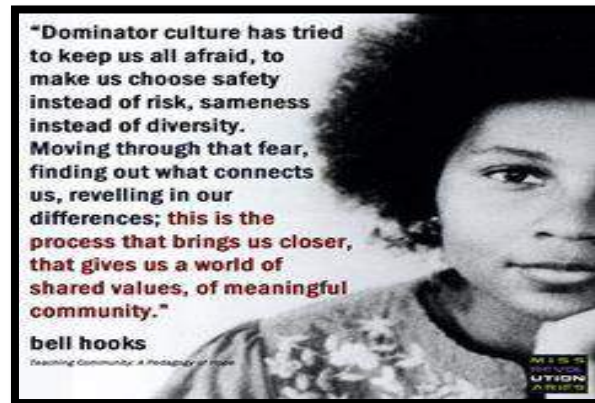
In her book, "Belonging: A Culture of Place", hooks (2009) thoughts reflect the views of Indigenous eyes. To write about seeing nature as the place of escape, a place of solace, a place that nurtures, protects and provides, unequivocally resonate within an Indigenous mind. But to also write with such depth of belonging and love for the place of one's childhood reveals that at some point within her life span, her *mauri* (life-force) was infused with the essence of a culture, though a culture undefined, yet a culture so familiar, to her, the very thought of its reality, stimulates images of her past. From an Indigenous perspective, this view of the world, recognises that hooks has been made aware of the infinite views and influences of *Papatūānuku* (defined in this situation as an holistic view point). However, adding to that, to maintain such a view within a climate of racial animosity and bigotry and within a part of America that not only fought for the perpetuation of slavery but continues to foster an allegiance to its Southern Confederate history, is affirmation of an unbreakable link to this essence of culture which stems, for her, from her birth place of Kentucky. hooks (2009) writes;

> Nature was the place where one could escape the world of [sic] man made constructions of race and identity. Living isolated in the hills we had very little contact with the world of white dominator culture. Away from the hills dominator culture and its power over our lives was constant. Back then all black people knew that the white supremacist State with all its power did not care for the welfare of black folks. What we had learned in the hills was how to care for ourselves by growing crops raising animals, living deep in the earth. What we had learned in the hills was how to be

self-reliant. Nature was the foundation of our counter hegemonic black sub-culture. Nature was the place of victory. In the natural environment everything had its place including humans. In that environment everything was likely to be shaped by the reality of mystery. There dominator culture (the system of imperialist patriarchy) could not wield absolute power. For in that world nature was more powerful. Nothing and no one could completely control nature (pp. 7-8).

hooks (2009) experiences of leaving the hills of Kentucky and the immediate influences of white dominator culture on the lives of her and her family are reminiscent of the urbanisation of Māori in the 40's through to the 60's. Māori moved from their traditional lands (as discussed in chapter two) into the cities of Aotearoa/New Zealand. For most Māori who lived on their traditional *whānau* lands in the mid 1900's, customary life, as such, did not radically change (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). They continued to plant their crops, sought food in the bush, lakes, rivers, streams and of course within *Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa* (The Great Ocean of Kiwa - Pacific Ocean) and most of their internal affairs were sorted out on the *marae*. However, for Māori who moved into the cities, the message from the dominator was simple, assimilate (although assimilation did not engender egalitarianism), discard your language, discard your culture and its belief systems and take on this language, this world view. As aspects that are foreign to the dominator language and ideology, are viewed as threatening. While, some Māori have tried to emulate the dominator, such as, following and reinforcing dominator ideology, a situation where some have even begun to see their own people, culture and language as an obstruction to achieving within the vitriolic world of the dominator. But the true outlook of the dominator however, remains stoic in his belief that, there will only ever be the few begrudged similarities that exist in a sea of difference between them and Māori. Nevertheless, for those Māori who take on the persona of the dominator culture, the spiritual pathways that existed between them and *Papatūānuku*, have been severely eroded and the privileges so quietly referred to by the dominator, for their cultural defection, have and will remain continuously elusive.

It is little wonder that there are generations of Māori who do not speak *te reo Māori.* And who are so oblivious to the existence of these ancient spiritual pathways and the many aspects of the Māori world (such as *tikanga*, *whakataukī* and *pūrākau*) that their attitudes towards facets relating to Indigenous Māori aspects and metaphysical awareness, border on excessively aggressive. Marsden (1992) writes, that according to so called modern views, these ancient Māori fables or tales hold antiquated and rather quaint views. However, they

are only the imaginings of a time of ignorance. Marsden writes that *pūrākau* were neither fables or fire side stories relating to times of old, but rather they were constructed deliberately by Māori seers and sages to capture and to summarise (into digestible form) their views of the world, their relationship with the Maker, *ngā tangata* (people) and the cosmos. hooks (2009) writes that her initial feelings towards her birth place were not feelings of belonging but rather of fear and of wanting to leave and to never return. It was only after many years away from Kentucky and living in many different states of America, did she recognise her most suppressed desire to return to her birth place and reconnect with her essence of culture. Like the children of those Indigenous Māori who moved into the cities back in the 40's through to the 60's, many suffered and many still suffer, from a lack of a strong identity, feelings of never quite belonging (either in the dominator world or the Māori world) and the constant sense of loss, a sense of mourning for a language and culture never truly celebrated.

These same outlooks were the motivation that inspired a number of young Māori (with the support of some non-Māori), in the early 70's, to begin questioning and searching for answers to their identity, culture and language. And for many, finally finding some relief and comfort from such turmoil, on their returning journey to retrace and strengthen the connections to their *whakapapa*, language, culture, *whenua*, *iwi* and *hapū* (Harris, 2004). Through this voyage of reconnection, the damage done to the spiritual pathways leading to *Papatūānuku* have (to a point) and are still being slowly and meaningfully restored. Consequently, on this journey of relinking, Māori are discovering the joy of being Māori, and the freedom of spirit where fear of being different was once the principal obstacle, questions are now being asked, and answers are being pursued with fair purpose.

A fundamental aspect of the human character is to ask questions, to be inquisitive. It is not possible for an inquiring mind to survive long on a diet of conformity and silence without enduring some form of intellectual and or spiritual damage. In her book "Teaching critical thinking: practical wisdom" hooks (2010) suggests that the dominator culture is constantly educating children with two aspects in mind, first conformity and then obedience. By the time these children transition into higher learning they dread independent thinking as they have been taught to ingest information and then regurgitate the necessary parts at the appropriate moments. Somewhat like a hard drive, able to store a mass of information, made available when prompted to retrieve it, but there are built in limitations to a hard drive (much

like this form of pedagogy). The functioning of a critically thinking mind are developed over time, argues hooks (2010), thus, students (and a few teachers) must first be introduced to the joys and liberating power of thinking itself. They must also cultivate an open mind, when considering other points of view, as it is so easy to become precious and protective of one's own outlook. Critical thinkers must constantly question so called unquestionable knowledge, they must analyse and scrutinise accepted theories and assumptions. They must probe beneath the surface of visible truths and discover the true girth of these so-called undisputable certainties that lie beneath the water line. hooks (2010) writes;

> Therefore, critical thinking does not simply place demands on students, it also requires teachers to show by example that learning in action means that not all of us can be right all the time, and that the shape of knowledge is constantly changing. The most exciting aspect of critical thinking in the classroom is that it calls for initiative from everyone, actively inviting students to think passionately and to share ideas in a passionate, open manner. When everyone in the classroom, teacher and students, recognizes that they are responsible for creating a learning community together, learning is at its most meaningful and useful. In such a community of learning there is no failure. Everyone is participating and sharing whatever resource is needed at a given moment in time to ensure that we leave the classroom knowing that critical thinking empowers us (hooks, 2010, pp. 10-11).

In other words, to be a part of a critically thinking environment, everyone must have a say, everyone must have input into decisions made and everyone must understand that they are all responsible for creating their communities together. However, using Pākehā culture and Māori cultural relationships as an example of critical thinking, the situation is in total opposition to what hooks (2010) describes. Māori are offered minimal say or input into decisions relating to education, health, justice, and other social issues, including a lack of in-put regarding national or international issues affecting Aotearoa/New Zealand. While many Māori have and continue to offer their opinions, advice, theories and points of view to create a more enriching and inclusive environment, for the most part, their input is going unheard and thus change is not being evoked. While student safety within the classroom is paramount argues hooks (2010), conflict exists within aspects of critical thinking.

To question someone's point of view and to critically analyse their belief systems can lead to conflict and a whole gamut of emotions. As classrooms become more diverse, student safety issues become more prevalent. However, hooks (2010) maintains that moving away from the assumption that students and teachers are safe within the classroom when everyone

agrees is a must, and moving towards developing strategies that allow one to cope in risky situations opens the possibility for honest and critical dialogue. This view can be applied to Pākehā and Māori relationships, instead of avoiding conflicting situations and skirting around major issues, they must at some point, engage in critical conversations that address concerns on both sides. Through critical discussion strategies can be developed that can deal with confronting and volatile issues, and thus positive change can begin to take place.

Albert Memmi was born in a predominantly Muslim colony in Tunisia, with Jewish ancestry. Memmi (2003) writes that when he wrote his book, "The colonizer and the colonized" back in 1957, he could not have anticipated the full implications of its relevance.

Image 33: Albert Memmi
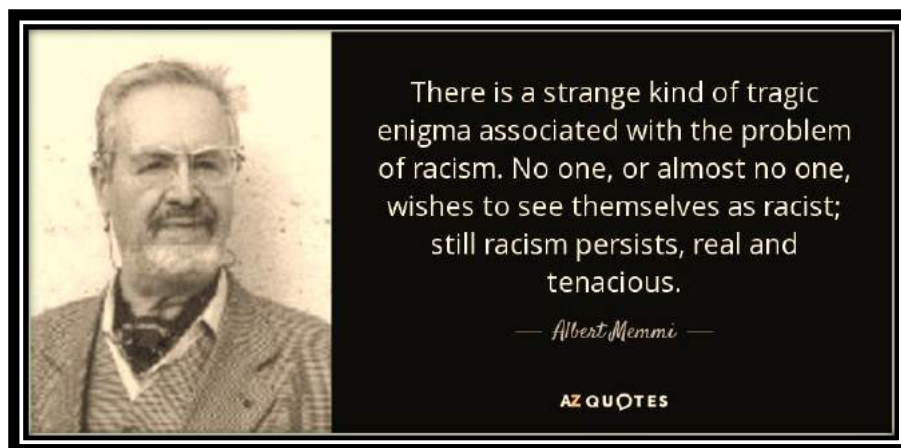
Source: http://www.azquotes.com/author/58297-Albert_Memmi

He points out that his book took its own path, a path, on reflection he had little control over. In the preface of his book, signed A.M. Paris, 1965, Memmi wrote the following;

> I must admit I was a bit frightened of it myself. It was clear that the book would be utilized by well-defined colonized people – Algerians, Moroccans, African Negroes. But other peoples, subjugated in other ways – certain South Americans, Japanese and American Negroes – interpreted and used the book. The most recent to find a similarity to their own form of alienation have been the French Canadians. I looked with astonishment on all this, much as a father, with a mixture of pride and apprehension, watches his son achieve a scandalous and applauded fame. Nor was all this uproar totally beneficial, for certain parts of the book of great importance to me were obscured – such as my analysis of what I call the Nero complex; and that of the failure of the European left in general and the Communist Party in particular, for having underestimated the national aspect of colonial liberation; and, above all, the importance, the richness, of personal experience (Memmi, 2003, p. 7).

Memmi's fear relating to some of the content of his book, was justifiable (due to the period, he wrote this book in). However, he states that he did have some idea certain aspects of his book would be used by many colonised peoples and interpreted in such a way as to shed light on their own form of disaffection, which is how this research is viewing his work. He maintains that due to his character and education, he wrote the book in a disciplined manner, embracing the possible consequences (or as far as one possibly could). He states that; "I saw, then, what help to fighting men the simple, ordered description of their misery and humiliation could be" (Memmi, 2003, p. 6). Although, it is perhaps less to do with the ordered description of colonised despair that gave the fighting men motivation to make change. But rather more to do with the open articulation of their plight by Memmi. Someone the fighting men would have seen as standing outside of their colonised world, yet he was able to identify with and comprehensibly define their situation. Thus, the act of reading Memmi's thoughts and notions would have reinforced their desire to question, and rally against the oppressor. A situation well known to many Māori who see the ideas, theories and articulations of people such as Memmi, as circumscribed forms of illumination within contexts of denial and ignorance. Situations of such enormous mendacities that Māori struggle to believe that human beings are capable of such ongoing deceit and falsehood.

What is perhaps the most depressing aspect about Memmi's book is the fact that after 60 years, since the book was written, Indigenous peoples can still identify with and recognise the portraits Memmi has painted relating to oppressed peoples. In his portrait of the dominator, Memmi states that the romantic view of the coloniser (a view created to deflect the tyrannical and avaricious nature of the coloniser) is one of a tall hard-working man whose gaze is fasten to the extremities of his land. Apart from being engaged in taming the wilderness, his achievements are for all mankind, including the spreading of that most wondrous of cultures (European) and he is just and truthful, however, most feared when angered. Thus, this portrait is "one of a noble adventurer, a righteous pioneer" (Memmi, 2003, p. 47). However, Memmi (2003) maintains that "Today, the economic motives of colonial undertakings are revealed by every historian of colonialism. The cultural and moral mission of a coloniser, even in the beginning is no longer tenable" (p. 47).

Memmi (2003) differentiates between what he refers to as the coloniser who refuses the colonial view and the coloniser who accepts the same view, or the migrant who is transformed into a colonist, and the native-born coloniser. The definitions he provides all

have a similar thread which seem economic in nature, but mainly originate (for most) from a fear of being ostracised by the dominator. While he suggests that for the coloniser who refuses the colonial outlook, his experience is more challenging, although he too (in part) has available privileges, because of the seeming differences between him and the colonised. From an Indigenous Māori view, one can see several similarities between the coloniser who refuses the colonial view and the many non-Māori who have and are still fighting against what they see as oppression relating to Indigenous Māori. They stand on their view of what is right, and they are (for the most part) willing to accept the consequence of not conforming to the will of the majority (and one can be sure there will be consequences). However, apart from their ideals, in many instances, they remain affiliated to privilege, or more precisely "White Privilege" (like it or not), since they seemingly represent the image favoured by the dominator. The coloniser who accepts the colonial position, is aware of the oppressive nature of the dominator world view on the colonised (or Indigenous Māori), but for the reasons discussed previous, chooses to remain indifferent and regresses into the comfortable illusion that there is really nothing he can do to change the situation; thus, he embraces the colonial world view and begins to defend it with fevered gusto.

The migrant who is transformed into a colonist, this is perhaps one of the more ambiguous situations of colonial view transference. There are a few migrants who, while building a new life in Aotearoa/New Zealand begin to take on the colonial outlook and display negative and arrogant attitudes towards Indigenous Māori, although admittedly, the majority are sensitive to the plight of Māori. Reasons for this behaviour are numerously varied and include, coming from being an oppressed people into a situation where the colonial gaze is directed at someone else, offering them a feeling of reprieve, after years of oppression. Thus, to maintain this delusion of accepted assimilation into dominator society, they begin to take on some of the attributes of the coloniser. Other reasons are the promise of economic stability, fear of being rejected by their new community and not being made aware of aspects of Māori and Pākehā relationships, or Te Tiriti o Waitangi (or even the existence of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi), and or the partnership between the Crown and Māori and the true colonial history within Aotearoa/New Zealand. But perhaps one of the main reasons for their indifference pertaining to Māori, is not being given the opportunity to acquire understanding relating to an Indigenous Māori world view.

The native-born coloniser is seen somewhat differently (in this research) to Memmi's definition. From the 1960s back into the mid-1800s, those who can be described as the native-born coloniser had an attitude of superiority and entitlement (and reference, at this stage, is not being made to those who initially came to Aotearoa/New Zealand looking for work and a better life for their family). The native-born coloniser (or bourgeois) and his family were a substantial part of the colonial machine, they were the privileged few who clearly understood the financial opportunities colonisation created and they were present at the beginning of each colonial assault on unsuspecting Indigenous populations. However, as time moved forward demographics relating to the native-born coloniser split into several factions. On the one hand, there are the bourgeois and their attitudes, then the proletariat (which Māori themselves are now, a large part) began taking on more of a negative attitude towards the Indigenous Māori struggle, and then we have the migrants and their children who were born in Aotearoa/New Zealand and their developing attitudes toward Māori issues. These groups are native born colonisers, and not just because they have had one or more generations born in Aotearoa/New Zealand, but rather because of their developing sense of entitlement and their belief (or need to believe) in the false and deceitful view of the colonial narrative relating to Māori. However, since the 1980s generations of young New Zealanders (who would, to some degree, fit into the above groups) have begun to question and demand answers to issues such as Te Tiriti o Waitangi and whether it should be the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand or the true account of colonial history or more to the point, where they are placed in this multicultural hodgepodge known as Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The coloniser, writes Memmi (2003), constantly berates the colonised and attributes to him many negative traits, these negative aspects are a part of what Memmi refers to as the "mythical portrait of the colonised" and suggests that without the constant berating of the colonised by the coloniser the oppressive circumstances of the colonised would be made more apparent, he writes;

> Just as the bourgeoisie proposes an image of the proletariat, the existence of the colonizer requires that an image of the colonized be suggested. These images become excuses without which the presence and conduct of a colonizer, and that of a bourgeois, would seem shocking. But the favored image becomes a myth precisely because it suits them too well. Let us imagine, for the sake of this portrait and accusation, the often-cited trait of laziness. It seems to receive unanimous approval of colonizers

from Liberia to Laos via the Maghreb. It is easy to see to what extent this description is useful. It occupies an important place in the dialectics exalting the colonizer and humbling the colonized. Furthermore, it is economically fruitful. Nothing could better justify the colonizer's privileged position than his industry, and nothing could better justify the colonized's destitution than his indolence. The mythical portrait of the colonized therefore includes an unbelievable laziness, and that of the colonizer, a virtuous taste for action (Memmi, 2003, p.123).

Without a doubt Indigenous Māori are berated by the dominator and consistently associated with areas such as idleness, crime, substance abuse, mental abuse, physical abuse or the many other negative aspects that reinforce the illusion (in the mind of the dominator) of Māori depravity. And while at times, many slate Indigenous Māori through a thin veneer of humour, the underlying assumptions dwell deep within the racist tendencies of the dominator and ultimately adds to fuelling their delusional sense of superiority and entitlement. However, this is not to suggest that all criticisms of Indigenous Māori are racist or biased, but rather to pin point inconsistencies, inequalities and disparities in the attitude and behaviours of those that engage in the misrepresentation of the Indigenous Māori narrative and promote the so-called ascendency of the dominator. All aspects of racism have the same goal, whether it's a life threating situation or an intolerant racist verbal attack, its basic tenant is to create doubt and a lack of self-confidence (within the minds of the oppressed – the inner struggle), which allows the oppressor to limit and manipulate the choices and ambitions of the oppressed.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o is an African writer and theorist whose writings include descriptions and articulations of decolonisation, Indigenous identity, Indigenous language restoration and colonial oppression.

Source: http://www.azquotes.com/quote/646244
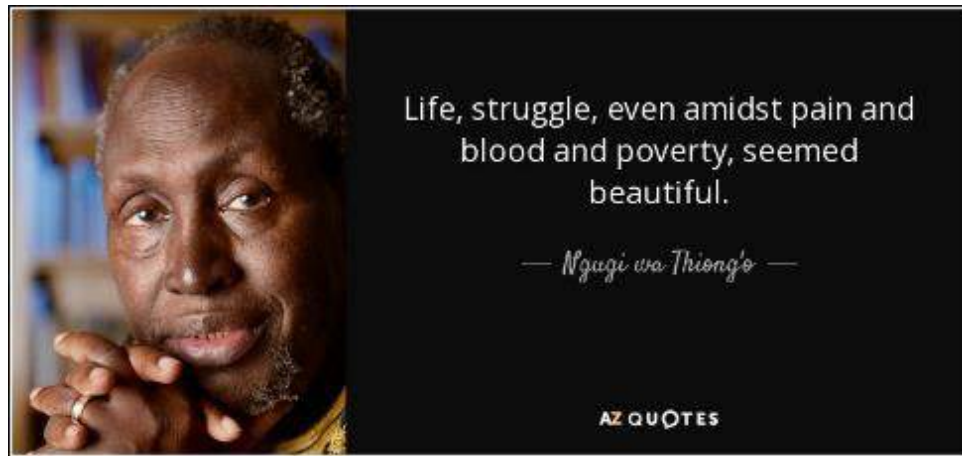
Within Thiong'o's book, "Decolonizing the Mind" he gives many examples in relation to understanding the anti-colonialist struggles. He discusses how the Western world sees colonialism as a view and attitude of a nation's leadership, however, he gives numerous alternative views of colonialism, including the domination of Indigenous languages by the western world (Thiong'o, 1986). An educational focus that embraces essentially only foreign works, language and culture, is destructive to an Indigenous view states Thiong'o (1986). Indigenous Africans were and still are being distanced from their language, culture and traditional views through the intrusive nature of foreign languages (Thiong'o, 1986). A situation that Indigenous Māori and many other Indigenous cultures around the globe have and continue to experience. Thus, Thiong'o (1986), concentrates on developing literature that express an Indigenous African world view, with focus on a local perspective, since the identity of a people are expressed through their oral traditions and songs of their regions and localities (Thiong'o, 1986).

Thiong'o primarily writes about African perspectives although his views on colonisation gives insight for Indigenous Māori and their experiences with dominator oppression. Thiong'o describes how racist notions from a western world view affect how Indigenous Africans see themselves, their feelings of displacement, self-hatred and anxiety, feelings experienced by most Indigenous cultures worldwide, including Māori (Anaru, 2011; Thiong'o, 1986). Thiong'o (1986) states;

> 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 people's 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).

He, argues that the aim is to mollify the oppressed by making them believe they are better off existing in what the ruling class refer to as the ideal life. This idea exists within the ideology of the ruling class and is promoted by its followers. This view is detrimental to the aspirations and world view of Indigenous peoples because it is built to support the ideological outlook of the ruling class (Hartley & Mckee, 2000; Tierney, 2007). Thus, through this form of pacification it is made to seem that life would be much easier on all fronts for the oppressed, if they embrace this concept of the ideal life, but this view is false in the extreme. It is made easier for the dominator when the oppressed start chasing this notion of "the ideal life" since engaging with this concept requires the surrendering of one's language, culture, world view, basically one's entire identity. The deeper the oppressed descend into this view of the ideal life, the more they must relinquish, until they are unable to recognise themselves, or remember how crucial a place their language, culture and ideological views have, in their identity as an Indigenous person. The disturbing aspect is that they now carry a different world view, and their values and priorities have changed dramatically. The ideal life will always be unobtainable for the oppressed and rather than this notion of the ideal life being structured around the idea of attainment of a better life, it is designed around the concept of containment of what is viewed by the ruling class as, undesirables.

In Thiong'o's book, "Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance", he discusses the use of language to decolonise the mind and remember the past with the present, he also examines Africa's historical, economic and cultural fragmentation by slavery, colonialism, and globalisation (Thiong'o, 2009). Europhonism (the replacement of native names, languages and identities with European ones), is explored, to which he argues, the result of Europhonism has seen the dismemberment of African memory. Indigenous Māori of Aotearoa/New Zealand, their language and culture have experienced Europhonism in many situations. The traditional names of many places in Aotearoa/New Zealand were changed

to European names, the Māori names of many individuals were changed to the closest English alternative because they were too difficult to pronounce. The speaking of *te reo Māori* was discouraged, the practicing of many aspects of *Māori tikanga* were prohibited and Māori knowledge was viewed as regressive and redundant (Anaru, 2011; Harlow, 2007; May, 1999; Walker, 1996). To revitalise a language, one must seek to remember it in its wholeness argues 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 their language and culture, with that of African countries, their languages and cultures (Thiong'o, 2009). He 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. Thus, the views and theories of Thiong'o can hold several answers to the ongoing struggles and challenges that Māori and their language are experiencing.

Conclusion

Chapter three provides an examination of the views of Indigenous Māori theorists, academics, intellectuals and their theories, notions and ideas relating to politics, health, education, poverty, ethics, language, Indigeneity and many other issues that affect Indigenous Māori peoples, and their ideology. Theoretical views of non-Indigenous theorists are also explored and analysed in this chapter to determine whether their theories, notions and ideas can be utilised to identify and contest aspects within government policies, dominator ideology main stream attitudes, that could or, is having a detrimental effect on Indigenous cultures and their languages, particularly, *te reo Māori* and its revitalisation. In the early years of colonisation blatant acts of oppression, racism and showings of dominator superiority and entitlement were only barely glossed over. However, Indigenous cultures are consistently holding to account these ongoing oppressive and detrimental attitudes, this view is one of the main intentions of this chapter and indeed a major thread throughout this entire thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR:
POLITICAL THEORISTS – EARLY CONTEMPORARY AND ANCIENT POLITICAL PHILOSPHERS

Image 35: *Mangotipi*

The above design *Mangotipi* is used in *tā moko* and *kōwhaiwhai*. This particular pattern is used in the *Mataatua* region (however, as stated previously many Māori patterns have become communal with the advent of contemporary *tā moko*). The pattern is a representation of the white pointer shark and is a depiction of strength, power and movement. Within this thesis and in particular, within this chapter, the design *Mangotipi* symbolises strength and power of thought, ideas and theories that have, in many cases, stood the test of time. Ideas and philosophies that have kept moving, developing ever evolving ever ready to devour those that test its fundamental strength. "*Tangaroa kiriūka*" (Unflinching Tangaroa), Tangaroa, god of sea creatures, stands here for the courageous and ferocious shark and therefore symbolises the menacing and unwavering warrior (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 358). Many of the notions and concepts within this chapter have challenged researchers and intellectuals for eons, such is the purpose of great thinkers, not to earn favour but to create furious debate to foster penetrating and fearless thought. "*Kia matenga ururoa te tangata*" (a person should die like a shark); accordingly, a person must be ferocious within the ongoing debates of life and not concede at the slightest hint of adversity and rejection.

Introduction
Chapter four discusses the views and theories of early contemporary and ancient political philosophers. There are three aspects examined in relation to each theorist. First a brief profile of their background is provided to contextualise their political and/or critical theories. This is followed by a critical analysis of their theories, ideas and notions. The third and last aspect examined is the application and relevance of their theories to Indigenous Māori in a contemporary context in Aotearoa/New Zealand. An overview of the chapter is given in the conclusion.

Political Theorists – Early Contemporary and Ancient Political Philosophers
Like chapter three, the examination of the following theorists and their critical theories is undertaken to illuminate the resemblances between the historical and ongoing oppressive experiences of Indigenous Māori (and all Indigenous peoples). As with chapter three, the views and notions held by political and critical theorists are considered within this thesis as ENK and when used in unification with concepts such as CRIT, CRIE, HART and HIIE the outcomes can be thought provoking. The critical theories, within this chapter, display an earlier historical outlook, as opposed to those in chapter three, which focus extensively (but not exclusively) on modernity. However, the contrasts within both chapters provide unique

positions and viewpoints that allow extensive reflection. For the following theorists, three areas of focus have been provided.

Three areas of focus

- The first area of focus is indicated as "A brief intro"

- The second area of focus is shown as "Analyses and critique"

- And the third area of focus is titled "Indigenous Perspective"

While the first and third areas are evident in the discussion of the previous theorists in chapter three, the second area has been included "Analyses and Critique" (which includes several small synopsis of research) to demonstrate the diverse areas of study that the views, ideas and theories of these particular theorist are being used in and how their writings continue to push the boundaries of research, while at the same time igniting energetic and informative debate and investigation. The three areas of focus are succinct and pertinent in the given context, as they serve to highlight how this research can define multiple areas of study, including an Indigenous perspective. Thereby creating extensions (or extending the margins of research) into the usage and application of the following theories.

A brief intro: Paulo Freire
Paulo Freire is a well-known educator/theorist who worked with and supported many oppressed groups, particularly, those from Latin America and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa (Macedo, 2000).

Image 36: Paulo Freire

Source: https://biaesmer.wordpress.com/2014/03/13/paulo-freire-pedagogy-of-the-oppressed/
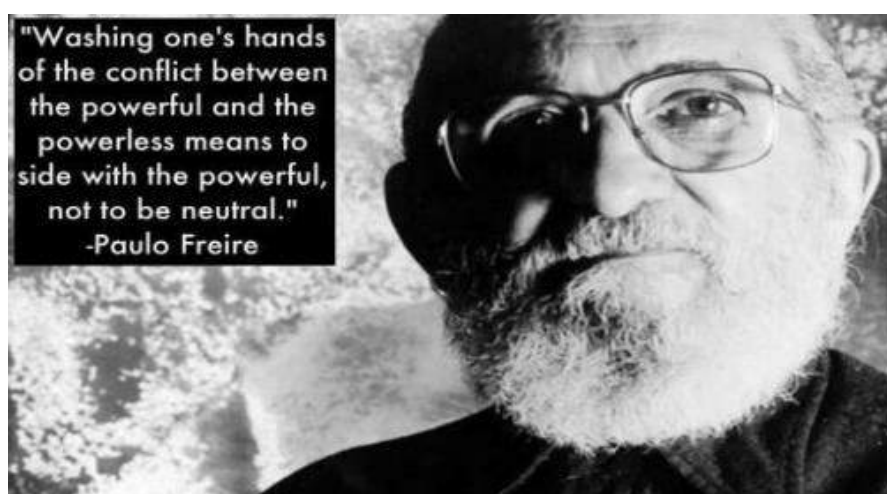
Through the development and implementation of different approaches to education, Freire began challenging and overcoming the exploitation and suffering of oppressed societies by inspiring and giving the people options to successfully navigate their own way back where they have a sense of control over their lives (Macedo, 2000). Reading and writing are learnt skills, not skills one is born with or are intuitive to humanity, states Freire (1970), thus to judge a people less intelligent, due to the fact they have not learnt to read or write is a foolish and unintelligent analysis of a readily changeable situation. Education is the only real standard for positive change within beleaguered societies; nothing else can equip the oppressed with the necessary skills and essential knowledge then education argues Freire (1970). He wrote, '*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*' for all those who believe that exploitation of the most vulnerable people in societies (such as the poor and oppressed in all countries of the world) should be eradicated. Freire (1970) writes;

> 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).

To view the oppressed as the liberator of their oppressors can be seen as a rather abstract view, however, Freire (1970) explains that liberation of the oppressed and oppressor can only be instigated by the oppressed, since they are not chained by the mesmerizing effect of power. He argues that subjugation debases both the oppressed and the oppressors and offers pedagogies based on trust for the oppressed, and confidence that through honest reflection, positive change will be initiated by both the oppressed and oppressor (Freire, 1970). He disagrees completely with the 'banking model' of education, where the student is viewed as a receptacle and knowledge is placed therein by the educator. Instead, he advocates problem-solving education, where the students become student-teachers and teachers become teacher-students (Freire, 1970). In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1970) argues that empowerment via education can only happen from the bottom up, and that knowledge must be socially constructed for it to be meaningful.

Freire's book "*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*" had its beginnings in his life experiences, particularly his physical hunger as a child. His middle-class families' economic situation changed dramatically, thus, as a child he would experience the unforgiving reality of

enduring poverty. This would, according to Macedo (2000), motivate Freire to write *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Through his childhood experiences, he would reject class borders and continually confront the concept of a class-based society with its many limiting boundaries, "Material oppression and the affective investments that tie oppressed groups to the logic of domination cannot be grasped in all their complexity within a singular logic of class struggle" (Macedo, 2000, p.13). Although he continued to argue that a clear understanding of oppression inevitably takes a route through some form of class analysis, while it is impossible to "...reduce everything to class, [however] class remains an important factor in our understanding of multiple forms of oppression" (Macedo, 2000, p.14). Freire's pedagogical methods can be viewed as concepts that intensifies student's levels of consciousness of the world around them, juxtaposed with learning to read and write (Spring, 2006).

> 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. (Spring, 2006, p. 151).

A major aspect of Freire's method of education is the freeing of consciousness from a necrophilic personality (psychological position to long for death) into a biophilic personality (love of life or living systems and attraction to all that is alive and vital) for all oppressed peoples (Spring, 2006). Spring (2006) suggests that the freeing of consciousness is associated to Freire's notion of revolutionary change and offers clear definitions of what he refers to as left and right revolutions (Anaru, 2011; Spring, 2006). For example, the revolution in Russia is seen by Freire as a revolution of the right since there was simply a change of one group of authoritarian figures for another, implying a lack of revolution within the consciousness of the people (Spring, 2006). An illustration of Freire's notions of left and right revolutions are represented in Table 20 below (Spring, 2006).

Table 20: Table of Left and Right Revolutions.

Revolution of the Left	Revolution of the Right
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 - Organisation people.
8 - Revolution continuous.	8 – Bureaucracy.

Adapted from: Spring, J. H. (2006, p. 149)

The distinctions between the left and right revolutions (or LR and RR) within Table 20 above, reflects Freire's notion of the two forms of consciousness. Numbers 1 and 2 of the LR, highlight the differences that are shared between people who are consciously working together to shape the future. Numbers 1 and 2 of the RR, indicate self-proclaimed leaders deciding the fate of the people (Spring, 2006). Number 3 of the LR as previously discussed, refers to possessing a love for life and all that is contained within. Number 4 of the LR, refers to Freire's idea of finding teachers who will initiate social change by developing their biophilic personality and combining it with a revolutionary consciousness (or critical consciousness) (Spring, 2006). Within these two aspects teachers will liberate their students through what Freire refers to as an 'act of love' (Spring, 2006). Number 3 of the RR (as previously discussed), refers to possessing a disdain and disrespect for life and all that is contained within. Number 4 of the RR, indicates possession rather than liberation pertaining to the consciousness of the people/students (Anaru, 2011; Spring, 2006).

Number 5 of the LR, indicates people/students who are engaged in open dialogue while number 5 of the RR, refers to keeping control of the thoughts of people/students by prohibiting open dialogue (Spring, 2006). Number 6 of the LR, indicates allowing people/students to solve problems through conscious reflection and dialogue, and 7 of the LR, refers to the involvement of the people/students in organising for social change (Spring, 2006). Number 6 of the RR, refers to leaders pitching slogans at the people/students, treating them as objects rather than individuals, and number 7 of the RR, indicates people/students having to attach themselves to organisations developed by those in power (Spring, 2006). Number 8 of the LR, indicates social change that remains continuous while people/students

seek a better life and number 8 of the RR, refers to bureaucracy that protects the newly won power of authoritarians against any challenges (Anaru, 2011; Spring, 2006).

Analyses and Critique

Webb (2010), argues that while Freire's philosophy of hope contains contradictions and ambiguities, it remains significant, as Freire suggests, it was human hope that rendered education possible. Freire's hope in its wider contextual meaning is explored by Webb, particularly, Freire's divergent interpretations regarding the objective and the experience of hope. Many of the contradictory demands placed on the radical educator argues Webb (2010), originate from the tensions and vagaries one is confronted with in Freire's philosophy. The wider implications of Freire's complex hope are discussed which, according to Webb, continues to develop within educational studies. Gottesman (2010), contends that Freire's field work in education illuminates contemporary issues, particularly Freire's ideas in educational conversations concerning social structure and agency. Freire's writings, particularly, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, need closer contextual reading to invigorate discussion about Freire's main claim, that education must be the essential attribute of building movements for radical social change (Gottesman, 2010). The common assumption argues Gottesman (2010), is that Freire's influence relating to education in America began to gain ground after the publication of the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* which is incorrect, as Freire's approaches to education began to influence American thought in the 1980s.

Lewis (2009), argues that the underlying linguistic resolution of the student/teacher dialectic in the problem-posing classroom is an accompanying shift in the very aesthetics of recognition. The role aesthetics occupies is examined by Lewis, within Freire's, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and suggests that aesthetics plays a more centralised function in pedagogy, above and beyond arts-based curricula. He suggests that aesthetic events need to be taken more seriously and should regain primacy in discussions of critical pedagogy (Lewis, 2009). Singh (2008) examines Freire's ideas concerning information and communication or what Singh refers to as representational technologies. He explores whether technologies help foster emancipation of the voiceless, the marginally oppressed, and can technology achieve this outside of the context of radical struggle. Singh's somewhat unconventional argument leans toward emancipatory possibilities within a market-driven information age.

Roberts (2003), argues that there is tension between a form of constructivism and a type of essentialism in Freire's epistemology. Freire is implying, argues Roberts, that we construct a view of the world and ourselves through social practice and interaction with society. The presence of Freirean thought within Indonesia has been used to analyse schools of Islamic thought, writes Nuryatno (2005). While Freire's theories have been connected to aspects of Indonesian politics and education, however, the distribution of Freire's literature is hampered by Indonesia's oppressive regime (Nuryatno, 2005).

Indigenous Perspective
From a Māori perspective, if Freire's concept of a left and right revolution is applied to the implementation of colonisation and its educational pedagogies that were forced upon Indigenous Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, we can ascertain what side these aspects lean towards, that is, a left or a right revolution. The differences that exist between Māori and European pedagogies are not acknowledged often enough and open dialogue pertaining to education, social issues and the future of Aotearoa/New Zealand is virtually non-existent. This implies a lean toward numbers 1 and 2 RR (Anaru, 2011; Campbell & Sherington, 2007). Negative colonial attitudes towards *Māori tikanga*, as discussed in 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 toward number 3 of RR. Persistent colonial attitudes that insist Māori must fall under the authority of Crown rule rather than being an equal partner with the Crown suggests possession rather than liberation, implying a lean-to number 4 of RR (Anaru, 2011; McCan, 2001).

After the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, Māori authority over their *whenua* and all those important aspects they see as *taonga* changed dramatically. New Zealand's third Chief Justice Judge Prendergast (1877) concluded that *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* was a nullity and Judge Myers (1935) further reinforced that view (Walker, 1996). Thus, this lack of inclusion and denial of equal partnership leans to both number 5 of RR and number 6 of RR which suggests that Māori are treated like objects rather than individuals (Anaru, 2011). Māori were encouraged to participate in European forms of education established by the missionaries and then by the Crown and were discouraged from being involved in Māori pedagogy. This can be viewed as a shove towards institutions developed by the ruling class which is a lean towards number 7 of RR (Anaru, 2011; Campbell & Sherington, 2007;

Hokowhitu, 2004). The development of a New Zealand Government that implemented rules and legislation that dramatically affected Māori authority in Aotearoa/New Zealand indicates bureaucracy that protects the ruling class, which implies a lean to the right for number 8 of RR (Anaru, 2011; Walker, 1996). As demonstrated, the colonisation of Indigenous Māori, their language, culture and world view can be considered a complete right revolution.

A brief intro: Edward Said

Edward Said was a literary theorist who advocated for Palestinian rights and whose writings can be described as post-colonial. Said is viewed as a prominent cultural critic particularly, his idea that Orientalist scholarship is wielded to imperialist societies that created it. Thus, he saw this type of scholarship as intrinsically political and subservient to power, therefore questionable.

Image 37: Edward Said
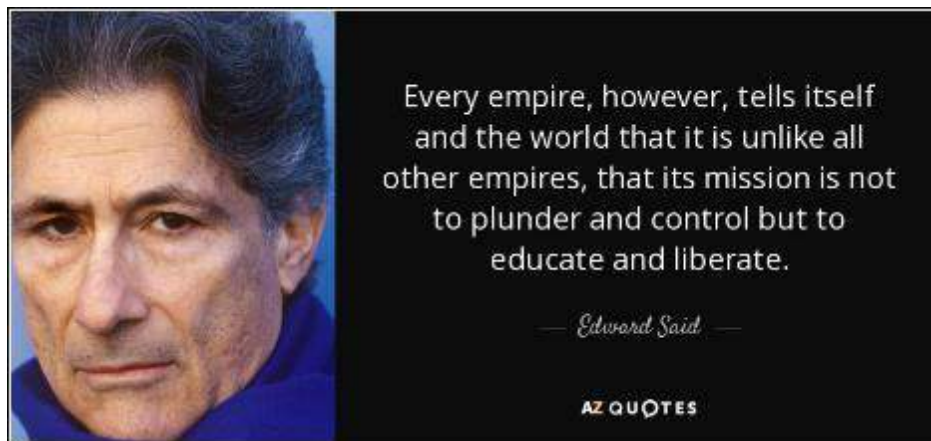
Source: http://www.azquotes.com/author/12888-Edward_Said

In Said's book, *'Culture and Imperialism'* he examines what he describes as imperialism in European literature (Said, 1993). Imperialism, as an ideology argues Said (1993), are a set of assumptions that rationalises and attempts to legitimise the subjugation and control of lands that are occupied by other people. Therefore, this view of imperialism writes Said (1993), 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 subtlest 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 (Anaru, 2011).

Said attempts to demonstrate how one's identity is determined by one's relationship with what he refers to as the 'Other' or the third world. His observations on this relationship between the West and the third world, are revealing such as, his discussions of Western cultural representations of the non-European world, representations which tend to be crude, bigoted and permeated with the distinct odour of reductionism. Thus, 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 (Anaru, 2011; Said, 1993).

The power of literature to form and maintain ideological control over cultures, history and their people is discussed by Said (1993) and the affect Western literature has on non-Western cultures. He writes that imperialism did not end after decolonisation and that there is still an intense need to justify domination in cultural terms (Said, 1993). He explores Western fiction and contemporary mass media as weapons of conquest and analyses the rise of oppositional Indigenous voices in the literatures of the 'colonies' argueing that dominant cultures of imperialistic powers are connected through strong ideological ties to their nations (Anaru, 2011, Said, 1993).

Art has power, writes Said (1993), and because of this often-unforeseen connection, the repression of the other has been subtly endorsed through poetry, prose and philosophy (Said, 1993). Authors such as Jane Austin and Joseph Conrad do not purposefully endorse colonialism as their explicit objective for writing argues Said (1993), however, he maintains that it is the nature of their artistic medium, (the novel) which implicitly shapes colonial thought (Anaru, 2011; Said, 1993).

Analyses and Critique

Lachman (2010), explores Said's theory of counterpoint, alongside the work of Assia Dieber (an Algerian writer) and states, that according to Said, the fundamental mission of all artists, must include the safeguarding of diversity, without succumbing to the desire to dominate. Said's *Culture and Imperialism* proposes counterpoint as a model of how inconsistent texts and historical narratives could be brought together on equal terms writes Lachman, and considered a part of a complex whole.

Landes (2007), argues that Said's Orientalism prohibits the study of acceptable postcolonial analysis of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Said achieved this by highlighting racist ideology which purportedly espouse, that Arab culture is fundamentally different from Western culture. Said's writings on the Arab-Israeli conflict, maintains Landes (2007), embodied the very Orientalist traits he so volubly denounced as a racist caricature of the Arab mind. Symes (2006), explores Said's contribution to music and writes that Said was a proficient pianist who studied at Julliard. Music for Said formed a landscape that gave further insight into his intellectual thought, providing methodological insight such as 'contrapuntal reading' of literature and history (Symes, 2006).

Roman (2006), examines how Said's work informs the praxis of democratic and critical secular humanism as he explores the educational and socio-political implications of his work to gain understanding of what secular humanism could mean within the post-Cold War and September 11 discourses that have penetrated America and other parts of the world. He examines the outcomes of moving beyond corporate and neo-liberal notions of 'global citizenship' and into more robust communities of affiliation, dialogue and democratic participation (Roman, 2006). Rizvi (2006), analyses the four inter-related themes representing Said's academic and political writings. Orientalism is the first theme examined and discussed, followed by political interventions into the subjugation of the Palestinian people by the Israeli state. The third is Said's critical ideas of intellectualism, concluding with Said's themes and his commitment to the principles of humanism, democratic criticism and cosmopolitanism, which according to Rizvi (2006), forms the basis of Said's theoretical and political work.

Indigenous Perspective
From an Indigenous Māori perspective, Western literature has and continues to pervade every aspect of Māori thought. It started with the missionaries, and their religious dogma, and moved into the establishment of European-styled schools, that afforded little to no space for Māori thought, ideas, pedagogy or ideology. In contemporary times, this negative outlook seems to be subsiding. However, in truth, these attitudes continue to permeate many institutions across Aotearoa/New Zealand and its continual survival is because the loudest voice heard, is the denial that this viewpoint exists (Anaru, 2011; Walker, 2001). Chomsky (2011) wrote that the justification a dominant culture will use for their oppression of a people is to paint the oppressed as depraved and immoral. One only needs to read the many

books that have been written about Māori by non-Māori to see how Māori are depicted. This type of literature concerning Indigenous Māori people, culture and its language has been written about for many years. The new breeding ground for articles, stories, books and all manner of material that view Indigenous Māori in a negative light however, is the internet. While it can be argued that social media has given Indigenous peoples a voice to be heard, the internet for the most part, is still controlled by the dominator, thus, the truth can be regulated (Anaru, 2011; Harrison, 2001; Harvey, 2000; Liamputtong, 2008; Smith, 1999).

In recent years, many exceptional Māori writers and producers have created books and films that contradict this depraved and debauched view of Māori and have begun to articulate an honest and truthful outlook of Indigenous Māori adopting a view that identifies a strong and embracing people who have survived the worst of colonisation and who continue to strive toward the partnership promised to them when their *tīpuna* signed *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. However, not all European writings relating to Indigenous Māori behaviour are negative, although one must go back in time to find these types of texts, which are not often seen and less often talked about. Anne Salmond (NZ Herald, 2016) wrote that a number of European men observed loving behaviour by Indigenous Māori parents towards their children including, John Savage - 1807 "The children here appear to be treated with a great degree of parental affection. They are robust, lively, and possess, in general, pleasing countenances" or Samuel Marsden - 1814 "I saw no quarrelling while I was there. They are kind to their women and children. I never observed either with a mark of violence upon them, nor did I ever see a child struck" or what Richard Cruise -1824 penned;

> In the manner of rearing children, and in the remarkable tenderness and solicitous care bestowed upon them by the parents, no partiality on account of sex was in any instance observed. The infant is no sooner weaned than a considerable part of its care devolves upon the father: it is taught to twine its arms round his neck, and in this posture it remains the whole day, asleep or awake (NZ Herald, 2016)

Or the artist Augustus Earle – 1832 who wrote, "On a journey, it is more usual to see the father carrying his infant than the mother; and all the little offices of a nurse are performed by him with the tenderest care and good humour". Or what the missionary Richard Taylor – 1839 stated "One of the finest traits I have noticed in the New Zealanders is that of parental love; the men appear chiefly to nurse their children, and are generally to be seen with one on their back covered up under their mats…). Or even one of the traders named Joel Polack – 1840 had positive words relating to Māori parenting when he wrote "It is not uncommon

to see young children of tender years, sitting next to their parents in the councils, apparently listening with the greatest attention ... They ask questions, [and the chiefs] answer them with an air of respect…) (NZ Herald, 2016). Salmond argues, that blaming Māori ethnicity or Māori culture for the origins of abuse and domestic violence is wrong, and instead, one should be focusing on the real problems, such as, poverty, alcohol, drugs, gang culture, prisons and even sports, for the root causes of domestic violence in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NZ Herald, 2016).

However, Salmond does not discuss (in this article) the demoralising and long-term effects of colonialism and cultural imperialism on Indigenous Māori. But the long-term impacts of colonialism on Indigenous peoples, must also be considered, studied and scrutinised for its many causes and effects.

A brief intro: Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault was a writer, historian social theorist and French philosopher whose theories continue to be scrutinised, and admired by generations of inquisitive and abstract thinkers.

Image 38: Michel Foucault
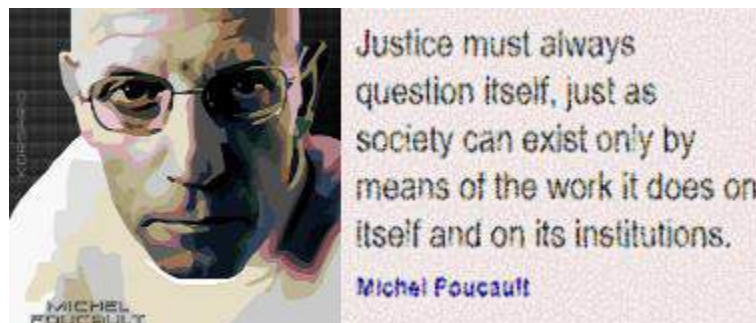
Foucault (1965) supplies an authoritative consideration of the historic development of madness and its many definitions in his book, '*Madness and Civilisation'*. Through what he refers to as the archology of madness, Foucalt examines Western cultures relationship with those that are declared mad, from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century. For a long period, insanity was considered part of everyday life, but attitudes would slowly change where such people were considered a threat to the developing norms of a civilised society (Foucault, 1965). Foucault (1965) employs a chronological approach in examining the

development of madness illustrating how the term 'mad' was manipulated throughout history, for society to redefine itself against 'the other' (Foucault, 1965). He analyses 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). He also identified how the divisions of institutional power sought to find alternative means of regulation and social control through public degradation and imprisonment of the mentally ill, the poor and the homeless (Anaru, 2011; Foucault, 1965).

Madness and Civilisation, is basically a criticism of major institutions and their views of the insane. But Foucault (1965) demonstrates how asylums, wards and prisons have been used as a tool of power to shape how hegemonic influences want people to live and how these standards and morals come to define madness as being in opposition to supreme reason. Jeremy Bentham's (English Utilitarian philosopher) "Panopticon" a design for prisons, is compared to contemporary society by Foucault (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). Within the panopticon, a single guard watches over many prisoners without being visible to them. While old style prisons have been replaced by transparent and visible ones, caution is needed, as it is through this visibility that the dominator implements its controlling structures of power and knowledge (Anaru, 2011; Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). Increased visibility leads to individualised levels of surveillance, this is seen through the ability of major institutions to track individual's movements, literally throughout their lives states Foucault (Anaru, 2011; Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997).

A carceral continuum pervades contemporary society argues Foucault. This includes penal institutions, governmental departments, the enforcement sector, educational institutions etc. Even within the offices and factories of society, a standard of acceptable behaviour (or control) is demanded and enforced by all (Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). Society has become the warders of an ideology that embraces the concept of the panopticon writes Foucault; it can only be by design that prisons bear a resemblance to factories, hospitals, schools and army barracks (Anaru, 2011; Horrocks & Jevtic, 1997). Smart (2002) states that;

> Criticisms of historical inaccuracy, principally levelled 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 eighteen-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).

Those who believe that Foucault sees historical events as some type of conspiracy of some sort have clearly misunderstood his ideas and theories writes Smart (2002). The necessity of a diversity of cause's stems from the study of historical events contends Smart (2002) "...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..." (p. 63). Social practices and discourses including power, are conceptualised through productiveness, and positivity therefore, the allegation that Foucault has simply developed a social control model of human relationship lacks substance (Smart, 2002).

Analyses and Critique

Smeyers and Waghid (2010), argue that Foucault's examination of the self in relation to the other remains contentious, due to it ostensibly appealing to an independent self as opposed to a social self. The problems confronted by philosophers of education and educators in general, are studied by Smeyers and Waghid (2010), including which types of values one would want citizens to take on board or to what degree social practices of a particular group may differ from what is normally held. Post-colonialism is embedded deeply at the root of post-structural thinking, argues Ahluwalia (2010), and suggests that for many, Foucault is at the very base of post-colonial thinking and for others, at the very least, his work adds to the embedding of the post-structural in the post-colonial. Substitute reading, and closer analysis displays how the relationship between the post-structural and the post-colonial can be read as the opposite of one which embeds post-structuralism at the beginning, contends Ahluwalia (2010).

Soussloff (2009), argues that Foucault used the medium of painting and its history to explore the differences in the concept of realism and supplies a historiographical analysis of Foucault's input to art theory. Foucault's four essays on painting pertain to the relationship between painting and knowledge argues Soussloff (2009) and proposes that Foucault understood painting as it is related to the human perception of how knowledge is

communicated or felt rather than its philosophical existence. Terranova and Venn (2009), argue that in spite of Foucault's deficiencies within the special issue of Theory, Culture and Society, he extracts from his work the promise of new critiques of the present and new paths for the future, both for research in the social sciences and for imagining different ways of being. Foucault's examination of power, subjectivity and what it means to be and to think continue to be pertinent as a starting point for a choice of reflections within our own times writes Terranova and Venn (2009). Deacon (2006), examines Foucault's work in reference to education and develops a Foucauldian account of the rise of the modern school through analysing the mass schooling system within the seventeenth and nineteenth century. A Foucauldian perspective of the rise of schooling as a disciplinary technology, argues Deacon (2006) suggests that an early focus on the exclusion or confinement of disorderly groups was steadily outmoded by a focus on the insertion of attachment of diverse individuals and on the advancement of their potential.

Roberts (2005), writes that Foucault's theory of power has much to offer in relation to contemporary mental health care. Foucault's original explanation of power and knowledge is examined by Roberts (2005), power in knowledge in the context of psychiatry and mental health nursing. Foucault's work argues Roberts (2005) not only adds to contemporary notions of power and knowledge, but offers important analysis whereby new concepts of the theoretical basis and related therapeutic and diagnostic practices could be developed, such as psychiatry within the mental health industry relating to nursing (Roberts, 2005).

Foucault and Marxism share a political and ethical commitment in terms of challenging traditional ideas by viewing them as historically complicit with the exercise of power. This theory of traditional ideas has been the feature of the critical theory project since *The Communist Manifesto* although it was Foucault who extended the critical theory project (Wandel, 2001).

Indigenous Perspective
Statistics indicate that Indigenous Māori make up over fifty percent of prison numbers but total just over fifteen percent of the New Zealand population. Māori mental health figures are also very high in comparison with non-Māori and Indigenous Māori poverty can be described as shameful (Barnes & Rowe, 2008; Durie, 2003). These statistics are a clear indication that Indigenous Māori exist in a carceral society, an environment designed to

contain Indigenous Māori and maintain the dominators view. There is no reduction in the crime rate when incarceration and reformation remain the only alternatives. This approach does not support those who have mental disabilities and certainly does not assist those who live in poverty. However, while statistics indicate that incarceration or reformation does not work, the dominators natural tendency is to demand longer sentences and insist on improved reform (Anaru, 2011; Cavadino & Dignan, 2006).

The panopticon as a concept functions in Aotearoa/New Zealand society and the Indigenous Māori have and still bear the brunt of this, in particular, because all individuals in society take on the role as the warders. Indigenous Māori have their own world view, their own beliefs, and customs and they have their own idea of what the ideal life should include. For the most part, one perhaps could not get any further away from the dominators view than looking at the world through a Māori cultural lens. This outlook includes *kotahitanga* (unity, collectivism), and *manaakitanga* (respect, generosity and caring for others) and many other cultural principles that exist in *te ao Māori*. These are the types of principles and values that are fundamental for not only Indigenous Māori but for most other Indigenous cultures (Anaru, 2011).

A brief intro: Frantz Fanon

Frantz Fanon was born in Martinique and could be described as an Afro-Caribbean. Although he is remembered as a writer/theorist, he had many titles including psychiatrist, writer, revolutionary and a theorist whose ideas and notions remain influential in political and critical theory and post-colonial studies (Cherki, 2006).

Image 39: Frantz Fanon

Source: http://quotesgram.com/frantz-fanon-quotes/
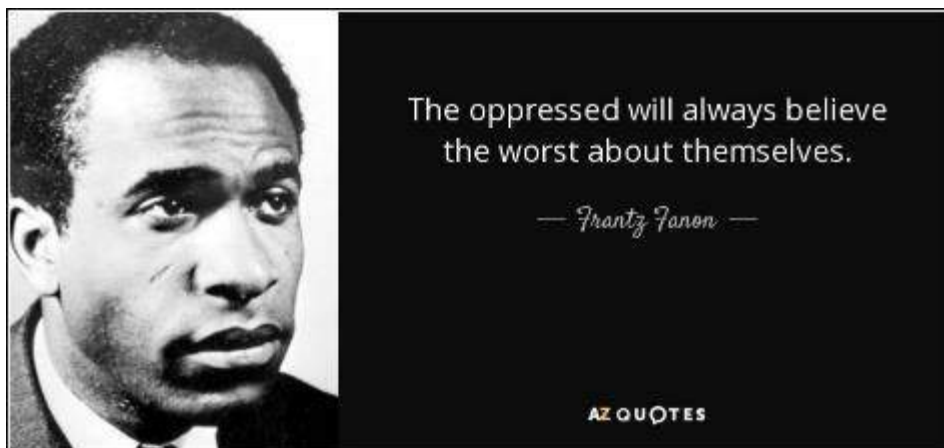
Fanon's book *"The Wretched of the Earth"* gives a perceptive view into the mind-set and the many dreads and anxieties of the colonist. He writes;

> 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 (Fanon, 1963, p.6).

Cherki (2006) writes that Fanon's writings relating to racism, colonialism, his predictions of emerging nations and the association between the colonised and the oppressor, were innovative and discerning. *The Wretched of the Earth*, provides an in-depth examination pertaining to the mind-set of the oppressed and their thoroughfare to liberty, highlighting the ferocity and frustration of dominated peoples as they are forced to turn to violence to initiate enduring transformation (Fanon, 1963). Fanon explores the adversities of colonisation from the outbursts of colonised hostility, armed encounters, to the purging of the colonial bourgeoisie (Anaru, 2011). Fanon examines the psychological effects of colonialism on Indigenous populations and argues that even after nationalism is achieved, the Indigenous populace will still have the psychological effects of colonisation to deal with (Fanon, 1963).

For the colonised, writes Fanon (1963), to evade death manifests into a daily occupation, thus for the oppressed, maintaining one's essential life functions becomes the very basis of their existence. Bulhan (1985) writes, that Fanon's portrayal of the Algerian Revolution deals with people who have had their social capacities of identity removed and are forced to live life in its most basic form. Decolonisation is at the centre of Fanon's writings, which includes his economic approaches relating to the redistribution of wealth and a unification of what can be viewed as the traditional resources of the oppressed (Gordon, Sharpley-Whiting and White, 1996). While he has little time for the urban proletariat, the tribal leaders and the colonised intellectuals who have abandoned their ideological beliefs in favour of a Western outlook. He maintains the hope that they will come to realise that they are the leaders of the oppressed, and must display leadership in the struggle against colonisation (Fanon, 1963).

Colonisation was enforced with military procession and ferocity writes Fanon (1963), therefore a violent undertaking must be met with a violent reaction, if freedom is to be achieved. The development, by the Third World, of a clear distinction between themselves and Europe is essential if they are to achieve what Fanon (1963) refers to as, creating a new man. He details the psychological impacts of colonisation on the colonised and the coloniser in his book and determines that colonisation leads to self-hatred among the colonised and irrational misconceptions of superiority among the coloniser. Fanons instructions to the colonised suggests that the only way to create a new man is by engaging in bloody anti-colonial revolution (Anaru, 2011; Fanon, 1963).

Analyses and critique

Pile (2011), reconsiders the relationship between race and space in Nella Larson's novel "Passing" which provides an account of highly racialised space and uses Fanon's notions of corporeal schemas and epidermal schemas to argue that by focusing on skin itself, it is possible to open up another way of seeing race and space within Larson's novel. Krautwurst, (2003) argues that there is a tendency in anthropology to read Fanon's theories reflectively, referentially and phenomenologically, consequently, Fanon's analysis has been regarded as reductive and crude. Thus, Krautwurst (2003) promotes a reflexive, relational and historical reading of Fanon's work, *"Concerning Violence"* which forms the basis of his alternative deconstructive and political critique to current anthropological studies of colonial discourses which are reliant on epistemologically base critiques. Moreover, Krautwurst (2003), is one of the very few who have analysed the less examined concepts and typologies of Fanon.

Gibson (2001), discusses the Algerian revolution as described by Fanon in his *"A Dying Colonialism"* while examining whether the revolution liberated and transgressed the restrictive physical and mental boundaries of the colonial spatial order. He considers Fanon's conceptualisation of lived experience during the revolution as a result of the dialectic of subject and object and proposes new social relations which disrupt the community, work and family (Gibson, 2001). Mazrui (1993), examines Fanon's role in the mental liberation of Africa and argues that the deterministic relationship between language, culture and cognition is an important dimension in the quest for mental liberation. Language controls human thought and behaviour and sets the boundaries of cultural ideology maintains Mazrui. African linguistic determinism is often extended to second language

situations, leading to the assumption that the world view intrinsic in any particular language can be transposed onto speakers of an additional unrelated language (Mazrui 1993).

Kipfer (2007), examines postcolonial theorists who appreciate the prevalence of spatial metaphors in Fanon's work and see it as a representation for the latter's discomfort with dialectical thought and matters of historical transformation thus, as a sign for "third-space" thinking. Spatial aspects in Fanon's theories and ideas argues Kipfer (2007), are neither a function of a philosophical imperative of non-represent ability nor in opposition with his concerns about temporal transformation.

Indigenous Perspective

Fanon's examinations of the oppressor and oppressed can be applied to Pākehā and Indigenous Māori relations reflected in the numerous attempts by Pākehā, through Western conventions including religion, education and law to control an Indigenous Māori world view. Many examples of this controlling influence, can be seen within the colonial history of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Orange, 2004). Fanon (1963) writes that the native is depicted by the coloniser as an unqualified evil, a corrupting force that is the enemy of truth and honesty (Anaru, 2011). This attitude is reflected in Aotearoa/New Zealand by the ruling class with their continual reiteration of the depravity of Indigenous Māori, which they use to justify their historical cruelties, oppression and ongoing abuses. Thus, for the ruling class in Aotearoa/New Zealand, who palliate subjugation in this form, their efforts can only be seen as defending the unconscionable. Fanon (1963) writes that even after nationalism is achieved, the Indigenous populace will still have the psychological effects of colonisation to deal with. While comparisons are made between *te reo Māori* and the *moko mataora/kauae* in chapter one, little can compare to the onslaught of brutality and disadvantage the Indigenous Māori people experienced through colonisation. An experience that scarred the land, the Indigenous Māori people, their language and culture. A psychological scarring and pain far greater than the chiselling of the *moko mataora/kauae* on one's face, a disfiguring and manipulation that changed the face of the Māori world forever. Nonetheless, oppression in many forms persists, Indigenous Māori are six times more likely to be incarcerated than non-Māori, for similar crimes, writes Gilbert (2016). He states that;

> …the discourse that New Zealand has a relatively high overall incarceration rate is rather misleading. It's more accurate to say that New

> Zealand has pockets of incarceration rates at such high levels in its indigenous population that they distort the national picture. These are troubling findings that we ought to confront. Yet I fear discussions around this topic will be difficult given it involves two flash points of conversation - "[Māori]" and "crime" - that tend to draw out the worst in political and public debates. When it comes to crime, we too often allow rhetoric and emotion to elbow past logic and reason. And in discussing [Māori] issues, we [Pākehā] often seem to forget our manners (NZ herald, 2016).

Thus, the lack of consideration for alternatives to incarceration for Indigenous Māori, within the ideology of the ruling class, is not an accidental omission, but rather a calculated measure of containment. Fanon's (1963) notions of redistribution of wealth and unification of resources can be seen in the aspirations of Indigenous Māori through submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning the return of ancestral lands to *iwi*. The return of these lands can be seen as the unification of resources, although Indigenous Māori do not see their land as a resource, but part of their *whakapapa* and their identity (Anaru, 2011).

A brief intro: Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist theorist who is viewed as one of the major political and social theorists of the 20th century. His influence covers many fields of study, including political theory, sociology, linguistics and educational theory and practice (Fontana, 2002).

Image 40: Antonio Gramsci

Source: http://art-and-anarchism.tumblr.com/post/117770980488
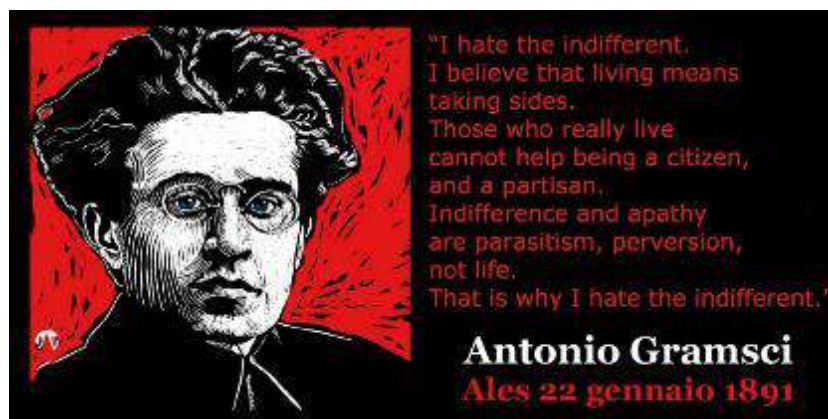
While imprisoned in 1926, due to Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship, Gramsci would write what would become known as the *Prison Notebooks*, which contained 30 notebooks and around 3000 pages of history and analysis (Anaru, 2011; Booker, 2005; Fontana, 2002; Germino, 1990; Woodfin, 2004). Within *Prison Notebooks*, it is made clear that the concept

he refers to as "hegemony" lays at the centre of his political and social theories (Booker, 2005; Fontana, 2002; Woodfin, 2004). Gramsci considered hegemony as an agreed view of the "ideal life" by the majority of a society, a perspective the dominant powers encouraged and supported. This view of the model life would be designed from the values and ideological outlooks of the dominant power and over time would come to be seen by the majority as their values, morals and ideology which they would readily join in battle to protect (Anaru, 2011; Booker, 2005; Fontana, 2002; Germino, 1990; Woodfin, 2004). Adamson (1983) wrote;

> The political and cultural theory of Antonio Gramsci rests on a triple irony. Committed during his lifetime (1891- 1937) to political and journalistic activity as a "unity of theory and practice," he began to achieve his greatest recognition as a theorist only in 1947, long after his tragic death had shattered this unity. What gave him this recognition was the publication of his Prison Notebooks, written mostly in the early 1930s, smuggled to Russia upon his death, and returned to Italy at the war's end. Though enormously diverse in content, these notes are shot through with a desire to free Italy from fascism. Yet, as a second irony, it must be conceded that without fascism's victory and his resulting imprisonment, Gramsci might well never have undertaken any such sustained theoretical reflection. And thirdly, while this reflection remains bound to the problems of his epoch and his people, by the time his work appeared it was appreciated less for its historical value than for the suggestiveness of its categories for the politics of a new post-fascist and "technological" society (p. 1)

While many see Gramsci as a Marxist theorist, he did not agree with one of Karl Marx's fundamental theories, that is, the theory of economic determinism referred to by Marx as the iron rules of economics (Anaru, 2011; Fontana, 2002; Woodfin, 2004). Marx was adamant that historical change must be clarified in terms of the economic substructure. 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). Thus, Marx's theory of economic determinism was supplanted by Gramsci with descriptions of social change that were located within the superstructure and were set by ideas and notions not by the economy (Anaru, 2011; Woodfin, 2004). There were two avenues for the dominant class to control the subordinate class, first economically and physically, the threat of losing one's lively hood and shear force or through the concept of hegemony, by controlling the ideas, the very ideology of the subordinate class. However, economic threats and brute force could not achieve full control, consequently, a structure that could control the ideology of the majority of a society, a

system that could manipulate social consciousness was constructed (Anaru, 2011; Pilario, 2005; Woodfin, 2004).

Jones (2006) states;

> 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).

Thus, the notion (by the dominant culture) of achieving absolute power is a misconception, and that merely sustaining power is an ongoing process even during times when the ruling class is unable to maintain wider societal agreement and the borderline between the demands of the dominant and the needs of the subjugated become the subject of contention (Anaru, 2011; Jones, 2006).

Analyses and Critique
Jubas (2010), examines Gramsci's writings within *Prison Notebooks*, its social relations, and argues that his notions and theories are related to contemporary scholarship from a critical race theory perspective, as well as a feminist critical perspective. While Garrett (2009), argues that social work has much to gain from Gramsci's ideas and theories, particularly, his ideas relating to common sense, intellectuals and intellectuality. To neglect Gramsci's critical reflection during a period of neoliberal inspired transformation, works toward the detriment of social work today argues Garrett (2009).

Ledwith (2009), discusses the influence Gramsci had on her feminist consciousness in relation to the notion of hegemony. She examines several of Gramsci's ideas in particular, pertaining to key feminist critiques of class and patriarchy in order to develop analysis based on numerous sites of coercion and action which reaches from local to global. Gramsci's theories on adult education are examined by Mayo (2008), particularly adult education for industrial democracy, adult education and cultural preparation, prison education and adult literacy. In-depth analysis of adult education from the perspective of intellectual and moral reform is also undertaken by Mayo (2008). Green and Ives (2009), identifies the areas in Gramsci's writing where he relates common sense to the questions of language and subalternity (oppressed or disadvantaged groups). Gramsci provides alternative options

both to the celebration of fragmentation in liberal multiculturalism and uncritical postmodernism, contends Green and Ives (2009) and he attempts to overcome it through recourse to some external, transcendental or imposed culture.

Indigenous Perspective

The decline of *te reo Māori*, and Indigenous Māori ideology can be viewed through Gramsci's concept of hegemony. From the influences of the missionaries, followed closely by the Crown and their colonial entourage, *te reo Māori* and a Māori world view, have been negatively impacted upon. However, the most recent influences are coming via mass media (both contemporary and traditional) which are contributing to the decline of *te reo Māori*. Radio, television, newspapers, magazines, journals and the internet, which is coming via most social media websites. All these types of media continue to allow and in some cases, encourage, the incorrect pronunciation and spelling of Māori words, place names and people's names. While at the same time continually providing space for ill-informed self-appointed researchers whose attempts to articulate an Indigenous Māori world view, Indigenous Māori genealogy and Māori social inequities, lacks robust academic analysis and includes pseudo archaeological and historical inaccuracies all based on untrustworthy and suspect sources of information. Thus, from a historical and contemporary perspective, it can be said that Indigenous Māori have been confronted with what can be described as the two iniquities of ruling class hegemony. First are the economic and physical consequences that is, being physically punished at school for speaking *te reo Māori* and having to move into the cities due to economic challenges within rural areas. While at the same time having their ideology and thoughts controlled by the ethnocentric views of the ruling class. This ideological control has by design, changed how many individuals, including some Indigenous Māori, see *te reo Māori*, *Māori tikanga* and many other aspects of traditional Māori thoughts. In terms of viewing these principles as being redundant and archaic; a waste of time and an impediment to achieving that elusive and most desired state, that is the ideal life, according to the ruling class. Thus, the concept of hegemony encapsulates and clearly defines the insidious and controlling nature of ruling class desires for complete domination.

A brief intro: Karl Marx & Freidrich Engels

Karl Marx a German philosopher/theorist who is described as a writer, sociologist, economist, and revolutionary communist who also studied political economy and Hegelian

philosophy. Freidrich Engels also a German philosopher/theorist is also described as a socialist, writer and a businessman. Both Engels and Marx together were to become the founders of Marxist theory and published the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848, a piece of literature that is unparalleled within its era in its portrayal of modern capitalism and the transmuting power of industrial development (Engels & Marx, 2008; Hodson & Sullivan, 2008; Woodfin, 2004).

Image 41: Friedrich Engels – Karl Marx
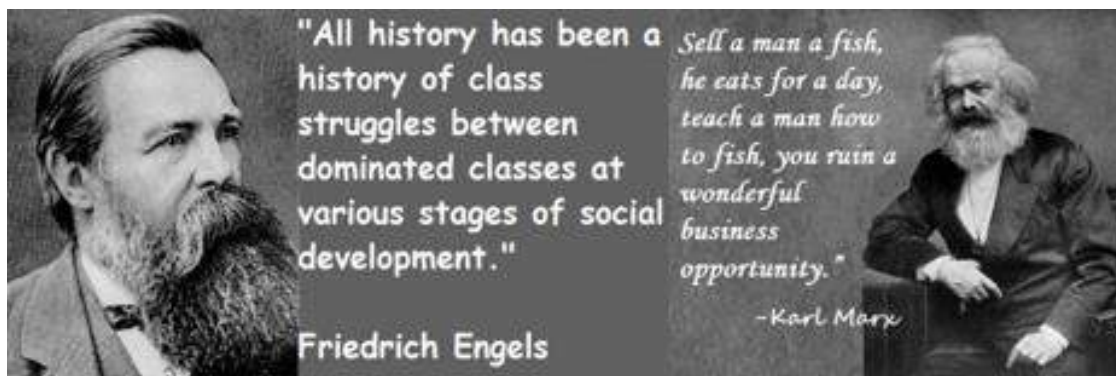
There have been many critics relating to the ideas and notions within the *Communist Manifesto*, for its idealistic naivety in terms of an alternative to capitalism. The prediction by Marx and Engels that capitalism would fail has proven to be false, thereby questioning the concepts and ideas of communism and the attainment of such elevated ideals (Woodfin, 2004). It attached a dollar value to all items which changed the entire structure of society, which at that stage were largely feudal (Woodfin, 2004). The Bourgeoisie, the owners of the means of production, would be the initiators of feudal society's lingering demise. However, through industry and the need for labour, perhaps the Bourgeoisie's most vital and staunchest adversary was formed, that being the proletariat, the worker (Engels & Marx, 2008). Possibly another reason why the Bourgeoisie would not embrace communism, apart from its anti-capitalistic stance was Marx's theory of value where the value of goods and services are based firmly on the amount of labour that is put into them. Thus, according to Marx's theory, the surplus which goes to the bourgeoisie as profit, in fact belongs to the proletariat (Anaru, 2011; Woodfin, 2004).

The theory of history as a class struggle is examined by Marx and Engel's, within this concept, conditions and development of various strata of society are discussed, including

freeman and slave, lord and servant, oppressor and oppressed, including bourgeoisie and proletariat (Anaru, 2011; Woodfin, 2004). Through this notion, the development of each social echelon in history is identified and its connection to the inevitable process which would culminate in the augmentation of one working class, can be recognised (Woodfin, 2004). Fundamental to human nature argues Marx, is what he refers to as the theory of "Alienation". It is within the idea of meaningful work, such as interacting with people, the environment and or the act of producing something or changing things, humanity is realised, contends Marx (2008). But due to the alienating nature of capitalist types of work, humanity is robbed of its potential growth and development (Anaru, 2011; Churchich, 1990; Hodson & Sullivan, 2008). Thus, the treatment of the workers by the bourgeoisie, according to Marx (2008), can be seen as distancing the proletariat from their names, history and all those aspects that connect them to their humanity and replacing these essential facets with an employee tag and dollar value (Hodson & Sullivan, 2008).

Apart from the negative effect on one's humanity, if unchecked, this type of behaviour can manifest itself into horrid forms of capitalism such as, sweat shops, working conditions that resemble labour camps, having to work with materials without appropriate safety gear that cause sickness or death and even enforced child labour, including many other callous and inhuman practises. These types of practises are forced on the worker by the ruling class within many regions of the world, as Marx (1970) argues, "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). While the above practises can be seen as extreme, if the ruling class and its intellectual force are not regularly questioned or held to account for inappropriate activities, potential growth and development of the working-class position becomes limited or regressive.

Analyses and Critique

Chattopadhyay (2010), makes a distinction between communism and socialism by contrasting the conceptualisation of socialism in the 20th century with how Marx envisioned socialism and argues that Karl Marx's notions of a socialist paradigm have failed. Fuchs (2010), systematically reconstructs Marx's works to identify aspects of the media and communication and negates the assumptions of scholars such as Marshall McLuhan and Jean Baudrillard who accuse Marx of not considering the media and communications in his analysis of capitalism. Marx provided major insights for analysing the function of the media

in commodity and ideology production, circulation and consumption argues Fuchs. Furthermore, Marx provided significant groundwork for media and communication theory that can be connected to modern critical media and communication studies (Fuchs, 2010).

Roth (2010), researchers the views Marx espoused concerning technical change in the work place and its effect on the proletariat and states that Marx was fascinated by the revolutionary power that technical innovation offered and allocated such innovations a major role in the progression of modern society. In-depth research is conducted by Roth (2010), into the origin and development of Marx's views concerning technical innovation by using technological literature of his time. Hunt (2009), argues that the *Communist Manifesto* bar none, recognises the unstoppable wealth-creating power of capitalism and envisaged that it would conquer the world, furthermore, it warned that this inevitable globalisation of national economies and cultures would have divisive and painful consequence. Thus, there are those who have begun to consider Marx to be the first great theorist of Globalisation (Hunt, 2009). Blackledge (2010), studies the influence Marx had on the English-speaking world concerning his theories on social and political ideologies by examining the scholarly journals that emerged in the 21st century and argues many of these journals benefited from the Marx and Engels "*Collected Works*", a book that compiled the postulations of Marx and Engels. He also refers to the many additional books and credits the wealth of written material to the resolve of Marxian economics and socialist thought (Blackledge, 2010).

Fischer (2009), argues that ideology, as discussed in the *"German Ideology",* is primarily a negation of idealist philosophy while pointing out that Karl Mannheim broadened the term ideology in the 1930's to such a degree that its function in the struggle against idealist metaphysics was lost. Karl Mannheim severely reduced the negation of Marx's theories of idealism with his theories of unified meaning and his notion of social conflict as the expression of ideal differences composing a harmonious whole, argues Fischer (2009). Rodden (2008), researches the views of Marx and Engels regarding Ireland and why they considered Ireland to be an agrarian culture, a society that is based on agriculture for its subsistence and surplus wealth. Marx and Engels' notions that deem Ireland to be a colonial possession and the influence religion has within the Irish culture, particularly concerning class struggle, are examined and analysed by Rodden (2008).

Indigenous Perspective

Marx and Engels notions relating to the undermining of all known hierarchies by industrialisation, including sacred and secular inherited beliefs can be seen as the arrival of colonisation to Aotearoa/New Zealand and the destabilising affect it had on the Māori language, *tikanga Māori* and all the values and beliefs passed down by their *tīpuna*. Marx's theory of value rejected by the bourgeoisie, suggesting that there should be an equal sharing of the profits for both the bourgeoisie and proletariat, can be seen as the Crown rejecting the Māori understanding of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, since it involves equal partnership. Marx and Engel's concept of history being seen as a class struggle reflects the accounts of colonialism within Aotearoa/New Zealand where Indigenous Māori initially possessed all lands of *Nui Tireni* (New Zealand). However, what was to transpire would see Europeans manipulate and influence the situation to become the ruling class and Indigenous Māori become the subordinates., Māori were at a huge disadvantage, technologically, militarily, population wise since those Europeans who immigrated to Aotearoa/New Zealand began to outnumber Indigenous Māori. Gradually, Indigenous Māori autonomy dissolved. If this situation was compared to a one hundred meter running race between Indigenous Māori and European, it would be seen that Māori started the race at the one-hundred-meter line and Europeans started at the ten-meter line.

Thus, the situation between European and Indigenous Māori can not be seen in comparison to the bourgeoisie and the proletariat scenario, but rather more poignantly compared to the situation of the oppressor and the oppressed. Indigenous Māori have been distanced from their names, history, and other aspects that connect them to their culture and spiritualty. They have been given European names and an ideological viewpoint that is not theirs. But perhaps the most disturbing aspect is that they have been labelled by the ruling class as, depraved and untrustworthy, to justify the treatment they have and continue to receive from the oppressor (Chomsky et al, 2011).

A brief intro: Georg Wihlm Friedrich Hegel

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel is a German philosopher/writer, who is seen as one of the founding figures of German Idealism. Plato's theory that only thoughts are real, and Immanuel Kant's theory of transcendental idealism including the political notions of Jean-

Jacques Rousseau would hugely influence Hegel's views and notions (Anaru, 2011; Pinkard, 2001; Woodfin, 2004).

Image 42: Friedrich Hegel

Hegel would analyse many of the political turmoil's and conflicts of his era including, the French revolution, the American revolution and Napoleonic wars, examining these events from their violent beginnings to the devastating aftermaths and how Europe would restructure itself through employing early nationalist principles (Anaru, 2011; Pinkard, 2001). Hegel's writing known as the *Philosophy of History*, much like his earlier writing, the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, attempt to display how these major historical conflicts, with their extensive disorder and pervasive human suffering, fit together in a rational progression toward what Hegel refers to as, true human freedom (Anaru, 2011; Pinkard, 2001). Descriptions into how the process of ideas unfold are provided by Hegel through his theory of the dialectic. He allocated three laws to the concept of the dialectic, a description by Woodfin, (2004) of these three laws is seen below;

> 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).

A fault can be found in every theory or notion (other than the absolute) states Hegel, whether it is a certain aspect or view which may be incomplete or even false thereby opening the theory to criticism or what Hegel refers to as negation (Anaru, 2011; Woodfin, 2004). Hegel contracted cholera and died in 1831, however, Hegel's friends, colleagues and students would put together a huge volume of texts remodelled from many of his lectures he gave at the University of Berlin. Thus, he would not see several of his works published including "*The Philosophy of History, The Philosophy of Art, The Philosophy of Religion* and *The History of Philosophy*" (Anaru, 2011; Pinkard, 2001). Hegel's theory of history, suggests that history moves in a fashion of focused development towards a conclusion, therefore one must not see human existence as purely physical but rather that humanity is progressively heading towards pure spirit or principally, absolute mind (Sharma & Sharma, 2006).

Hegel's concept of Spirit suggests that all of human history is directed by a balanced progression of self-awareness. Humanity is guided by a spirit or force towards a continuous level of consciousness of one's self. This spirit or force is not seen as a superior entity or god but rather a form of energy that desires only to achieve its own source of true freedom. The spirit can only achieve this through the unravelling of human history, where consciousness of freedom becomes the forward moving vehicle (Anaru, 2011; Bhaskar, 2008). Thus, a major facet of Spirit in history is self-reflection, therefore as humanity evolves and becomes more self-aware it also becomes additionally more evidently cognisant of its own freedom.

Analyses and Critique

Good & Garrison (2010), examined the theories of Hegel and Dewey (John Dewey, American Philosopher) concerning cause and effect under the theory of causation. They researched the non-metaphysical interpretation of terms under dualism where human thought and physical objects are based on consciousness, according to Hegel, and human experiences, according to Dewey. Jameson (2008), researched Hegel's theory of logic and argues Hegel translated Aristotle's logical mechanism into philosophical concepts. He also states that Hegel modified Kant's spatial groups onto temporality. Furthermore, Jameson (2008), explores, in-depth, Hegel's idealism, symbolic logic and categories. Ciavatta (2006), examines Hegel's concept of the rights of choice of an individual to choose one's own path, to reflect on and determine one's own particular interests without interference and to be granted unconditional value and respect, while he posits, that subjective freedom

is the main principle of an all-encompassing sphere of human interaction. Hegel's grammar of recognition unearths the suppressed social conditions for rights of individuality that are often misconstrued as foundational by liberal theorists, claims Feola (2010). Lagerspetz (2004), suggests that Hegel's and even Thomas Hobbes' (English Philosopher) criticism of popular sovereignty poses important questions, maintains Lagerspetz, such as, how do collectives like "The People" exist? Or what is meant by proclaiming "the collective" perform actions? Although, Lagerspetz (2004) suggests that in order to perform an action, an entity should possess will, but then postulates the question, what is meant by the notion of "a collective" having a will?

Indigenous Perspective
Much like Hegel's *Philosophy of History*, Māori can use aspects of their own history to make some sense of the chaos and suffering that was perpetuated by the coloniser through the advent of colonisation within Aotearoa/New Zealand. Without a doubt, colonisation was the critical point of change for the Indigenous Māori language, culture and ideology. Thus, within this history of colonisation, Māori can use these experiences to inform a rational and clear understanding to address the many imposed changes that have and still affect Indigenous Māori. Like Hegel's theories, Māori can also begin to see their history as a progressively forward moving entity that is heading towards equality and impartiality. Arguing from the viewpoint and rationality of Hegel's theory of history, it could be said that critical Indigenous Māori theory (and all critical Indigenous theory) relating to colonisation, imperialism, racism and bigotry etc., is a fundamental part of moving humanity away from its vicious and cruel behaviour, toward what Hegel refers to as pure spirit. To achieve pure spirit, absolute mind and divine existence, humanity must traverse the outer boundaries of its own identity and beliefs and must begin to dismantle these so-called fortified barriers of permanent and unalterable ideology.

Humanity (through ideological views) builds walls, barriers, fortifications and defences to protect itself against who? Against humanity itself! All of human history is a progression of self-awareness argues Hegel, but what initiates that awareness (Woodfin, 2004). Long standing beliefs, attitudes and ideological perspectives do not change without a strong motivational lever for transformation. It can be argued that there are many causalities that motivate change, but being informed about the injustices transmitted upon Indigenous cultures over the centuries, would rank lowly on the scale of causativeness. However, this

situation must not cause disheartenment or a decrease in Indigenous resolve to continue the forward evolution with what can be viewed as supplying humanity with situations to contemplate and assist in the alacrity of change towards equity and equality for Indigenous people's world wide.

A brief intro: Niccolo Machiavelli

Niccolo Machiavelli often referred to as the forefather of modern political science, was an Italian Renaissance historian, politician, diplomat, philosopher and writer.

Image 43: Niccolo Machiavelli

What motivates people argues Machiavelli, is envy, fear and a desire for power. Encapsulated within these motivations is a detestation for restrictions in any form. This is perhaps why capitalism contains a minimal number of restrictions when it comes to developing investments. Within Machiavelli's book, *"The Prince"* are the iron rules of leadership, for the Chief Executive Officer, the politician, the military leader or any ruler that must enforce their power with authority and longevity (Machiavelli & Marriott, 2007). Machiavelli's approach to leadership is seen as extremely confronting and totally lacking in humanistic representations. He pulls back the many layers of human emotion, mollifying euphemisms and sterile outlooks of a utopian democracy to expose the raw and unmoving absolutes of power.

> 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 (Goodwin and Machiavelli, 2003, p.13).

Thus, Machiavelli was to highlight the hardened actions that a potential leader must display to gain power and maintain that power for a prolonged passage of time although his responses were governed by the circumstances of his epoch (Anaru, 2011; Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Consequently, Machiavelli was critical of leaders who were unnecessarily brutal to their subjects for long periods, arguing that such actions may lead to power but not to exaltation; that if leaders mistreat their subjects in the short term, there must be clear benefits (Anaru, 2011; Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Machiavelli studied Italian and European history, the battles that were fought, both victories and losses and he formed an analysis of the approaches that led to triumphs and those that led to defeat. This analysis included not only what needed to be achieved for long term leadership, but also the infirmities of humanity (the human condition) such as love, hate, sympathy and incomprehension, etc. (Anaru, 2011; Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Machiavelli produced several adages and sayings that have become synonymic with Machiavellianism. The following two are perhaps the two most often quoted, "whether it is better to be loved than feared, and or rather feared than loved" and "the end justifies the means". While these quotes give some insight into the inner depths of Machiavelli's views, they also supply, to some degree, a measure of the durability and strength of Machiavellian outlooks since the ideas behind both these sayings continue to be used in management processes, political manoeuvres and military strategies in contemporary times (Anaru, 2011; Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003).

The views of Machiavelli relating to the ruler's subjects (or the masses) can be seen as disparaging and rather aloof as he stated 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). He writes that citizens react differently to given situations, such as, attitudes towards a new ruler and his new system, as opposed to an old ruler and his known processes. Furthermore, a recently acquired state is more difficult to rule than an inherited state argues Machiavelli, since the subjects have long since become accustomed to the laws and systems of the inherited state. Ruling a new state begins with many problems, as those who benefited from the old system will bitterly object to change, while those who will benefit after the changeover, will offer negligible support.

Although, what is perhaps most concerning is the heightened expectation of the citizens regarding a new ruler and when these expectations are not met, rebellion may ensue, leading possibly to the overthrow and expulsion of the new ruler (Goodwin & Machiavelli, 2003). Within his book, Machiavelli explains how rulers can avoid such an outcome when setting up new rule. Consequently, Machiavelli may have had reservations revealing aspects such as assassination of rulers, or torture and the introduction of spies, since he does not mention these approaches in *The Prince*, even though these types of strategies had been known for a number of centuries before he wrote his book (Boesche, 2002). *The Prince* includes a separate subcategory relating to conquest (Anton, 2009). The subcategory operates on four different levels, including a surface level (rule of attainment), second level (rules to liberate and unify) third level (metaphoric level of Christian conquest) and the forth level (a relevant understanding of new politics). Machiavelli has become synonymous with the idea, winning at all cost is the main objective to obtain ultimate power, and if collateral damage becomes a major concern, recapitulate that weary and overused quotation that, the end result justifies the actions taken to achieve it (Anton, 2009).

Analyses and Critique

Barnett (2006), examines Machiavelli's political theories, ideas and notions while theorising the question whether Machiavelli as the philosopher-king of political manipulation is justified in many of his controversial theories applying to a ruler or, was he motivated to theorise on such matters primarily by his desire to occupy political office. His research is focused mainly on Machiavelli's *The Prince*; however, he also examines the First Ten Books of Titus Livius (Barnett, 2006). Harris (2007), explores Machiavelli's theories of morality and philosophy. He uses these theories as a guide for some of the key issues modern businesses are confronted with today. Harris (2007), also examines the realities of power and decision making concerning the modern public affairs industry and develops key strategies for success using Machiavelli's theories. Kennedy (2004), argues that Machiavelli's and Bernard Mandeville's (1670-1733 - British philosopher of Dutch decent) theories need to be taken more seriously. He refers to Machiavelli and Mandeville as the precursors of modernity and the liberators of politics from the church and the freeing of conventional moralising from human desire.

Ferrero (1939), discusses Machiavellism and its inability to recognise any binding moral laws in its obsession for success. Ferrero examines the creation of modern thought through Machiavelli's theories and notions of leadership and how it freed politics from theology. Prior to Machiavellism, politics were either empirical or a branch of theology writes Ferrero (1939), but through Machiavelli's political doctrine it became a science dependent of reason only.

Indigenous Perspective

As Machiavelli contends, a desire for power is the motivation behind many vicious and cruel actions of people. However, there are certain types of actions and approaches that can have the most effect on a culture, in particular, Indigenous cultures. If any strategy exemplifies a Machiavellian perspective, it would be colonisation. Machiavelli's book, *The Prince* is a veritable almanac for the coloniser, as it provides the absolute rules of leadership without the involvement of human emotions or the rules of higher society relating to what actions are seen as right and wrong. Colonisation is propagated on Indigenous cultures and even when what can be seen as a dissipation of the physical wretchedness of colonisation occurs, Indigenous cultures must still contend with the psychological and spiritual damage caused to them. As well as having to deal with ongoing institutional racism, stereotype casting, the continual barrage of Indigenous people bashing where their language, beliefs, values and customs are disparaged, and they are shown as depraved, dishonest and not so savvy as their non-Māori counter parts. These types of actions are tools to gain power and maintain its permanence over Indigenous peoples. As Machiavelli states;

> 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 Crown as the colonising power, would eventually establish itself within Aotearoa/New Zealand, with a people whose laws and language differed from their own. And, as history shows, they also made themselves protector and ruler of several Pacific Islands (including

Aotearoa/New Zealand) to limit access to other colonising powers such as the French, the Dutch, the Americans and others (Orange, 2004). Unlike the Greeks, Māori and other Polynesian nations did not have the Romans to call on to defend their way of life. When colonialism eventually made its way to the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand (and the many shores of the Pacific Islands) the concept had already been tested on many Indigenous people's world wide and was found to be extremely effective, thus, the same outcomes were to be seen in *Niu Tireni*, as had been seen elsewhere, including land loss, language loss, cultural loss and loss of Indigenous sovereignty (Walker, 1996).

A brief intro: Plato

Plato, the Greek philosopher, was a student of Socrates and the teacher of Aristotle. His ideas, vision and theories were far reaching and included political philosophy, equality, justice epistemology, cosmology and the philosophy of language, just to name a few.

Image 44: Plato
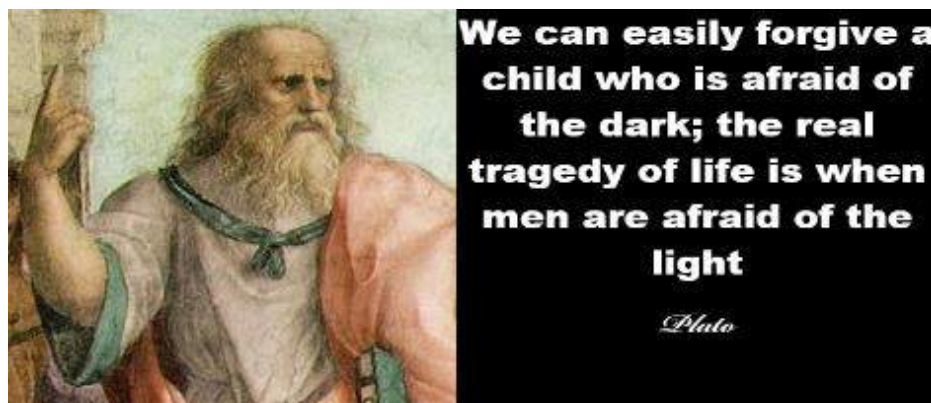
Source: https://www.emaze.com/@AWZCTLT/Classical-Greece

Plato and his work, *"The Philosopher Ruler"* depicts the ideal state - forms, theories and notions (Plato, 1987). All ideas are acquired through an abstract of intellectual thought argues Plato, as he disregards all thoughts that originate from the senses as unreliable. There are three elements Plato uses to present his theory of forms and ideas. The first is the "Sun" which represents beauty and goodness, which is, according to Plato, a logical spring for information and erudition. Another element is the "Divided Line" which characterises differing levels of reality and parallel degrees of knowledge. And the last element is "The Cave" which signifies the mind rising from a realm of images to that of observable entities (Anaru, 2011; Plato, 1987). Plato would use the analogy of people who had not obtained

enlightenment as prisoners shackled in a cave who observe shadows on the wall in front of them, which is emitted by a fire behind them.

Those who have not reached enlightenment argues Plato, believe that reality revolves around the shadows on the wall, thus they strive, in vain, to obtain knowledge of the shadow world (Plato, 1987). To achieve enlightenment, they must first escape from the cave, only through leaving the cave and emerging into the sun light will true illumination be achieved. After escaping the cave, the adjustment made by the prisoner to the brightness of the sun will last for a while and initially the prisoner will see only dark and unfocused images, but if he continues to stay in the sun, his vision will become clearer, and he will eventually achieve enlightenment. After gaining clarity, the prisoner is free, and may go back into the cave to release other prisoners, but he must be cautious while freeing prisoners, since going back into the cave renders him blind. He must also convince them to go outside the cave and stay in the sun until enlightenment is reached (Anaru, 2011; Plato, 1987). Plato believed that power belonged to those who gained their expertise through training and experience in the political arena, (Brooks, 2006). This theory is based on two aspects which Brooks (2006) has identified within Plato's writings, as the "ideal philosophy" (or the philosopher-kings complete authority over their subjects) and "practical political philosophy" (or the undermining of the philosopher-kings complete rule through the impure character of all political knowledge). To solve the challenging difficulties of Plato's theory of ideal political thought, Brooks (2006) suggests the collaboration of democratic institutions with monarchy.

Analyses and Critique
Sharpe (2009), contends that Plato presented his philosophy as dialogues, that is, works of literature and that Plato's writing of *Philosophy* corresponds to his comprehension of philosophy as a transformative way of life. Lacan's (Jacques Marie Emile Lacan – Psychiatrist/Psychoanalyst) reading of Plato's *Symposium* is examined by Sharpe (2009), in particular, who maintains that Plato's view on the ideal state of the Republic has been unfairly compared with a totalitarian state. Korab-Karpowicz (2003) argues that Plato's political philosophy is not in conflict with open society but provides a dynamic source of inspiration for inquiry into political and moral issues of modern times. He adds that Plato's theory of factionalism and corruption of morals in politics can be remedied by a body of

knowledge, but in many cases this body of knowledge has been overly simplified and misunderstood (Korab-Karpowicz, 2003).

McFarland and McDaniel (2002), examines the goal of Plato's physical education curriculum pertaining to the development of men and woman's life long physical activities and they contend that Plato was first and foremost an educationalist whose theories were based within a matrix of social concern. This aspect of Plato's nature, argues McFarland and McDaniel (2002) naturally directed him to develop a system of education that inculcated virtues of goodness within both private and public life. Truitt (1978), discusses Plato's theory of art pertaining to the imperfect imitation of an imperfect object. Furthermore, he draws the conclusion that the Platonic theory of art is a form of realism. There is an equally compelling argument, states Truitt (1978), that Plato's theory is not realism at all since realism and imitation are so closely equated in aesthetics that the discussion typically begins at realism as regards to the Platonic theory, regardless of our interpretation of Plato's theory.

Indigenous Perspective
Colonialism was a successful method of apprehending the land and resources of Indigenous peoples. When colonialism first became embedded in New Zealand society, Māori were unaware of its processes and ultimate purpose, thus it can be said that they were not enlightened. It can be argued that the colonisers had purposefully kept Māori in the dark, or in Plato's cave of shadows and darkness to gain the acceptance of Māori so they would become passive and relinquish all that was theirs. Thus, after the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, Māori were left chasing shadows on the wall, believing this was their reality. But when some Māori began to see that they had been chained in a cave and what they were looking at on the wall had nothing to do with reality, many ventured out into the sun light and were enlightened such as Hone Heke and the Northland wars; or the battles of the Kīngitanga (King Movement) and the wars around the King Country, and the resistance at Parihaka and many more expressions of enlightenment throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand by Indigenous Māori (Anaru, 2011; Campbell & Sherington, 2007; McCan, 2001; Orange, 1989; Walker, 1996; Walker, 2001).

While enlightenment brings understanding, this does little to change oppressive situations on its own, therefore, strategies and approaches need to be worked through to activate this

understanding. This can be likened to Plato's idea that those who are trained and experienced within the political arena have the right to wield power much like the "Young Māori Party" which was developed in the early 20th century by Āpirana Ngata, Te Rangi Hīroa, Māui Pōmare, James Carroll and Paraire Tomoana (Anaru, 2011; Hill, 2004). These giants of Māoridom were all trained within Pākehā universities and became aware of the processes of European politics. Thus, they became enlightened not only to the inner workings of politics, but to the reality of losing their culture and language. Perhaps the most illuminating *whakatauākī* written (of that period) to reflect the realities of life for Māori within that epoch, is Ngata's "*E tipu e rea*".

> *E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao; ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā, hei ora mō tō tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga 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.).

Within the above *whakatauākī* it is clear Ngata had a firm grasp on what Indigenous Māori had to achieve to maintain and acquire strength in both the Māori and Pākehā world. While Plato believed that there was a collection of information that could solve anomalies within a political system, such as corruption of values and morals, factionalism etc. Māori also believe in the realigning of nature, of *tikanga Māori*, *kawa*, *tohi* (preforming ceremonies) *karakia* (prayer) etc, which has assisted Indigenous Māori in difficult situations for eons (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 and Thomas, 2003; Mitias, 2003; Newell, 2007; Pangle, 1998; Pickstock, 2001; Turner, 2004; White, 2004).

Conclusion

The ideas, theories, assumptions and views of early and ancient political/critical theorists, discussed within this chapter, provide a unique perspective for Indigenous peoples to consider. Unlike the theorists in chapter three, most of the theorists within chapter four do not directly confront the struggles of minority and Indigenous peoples and the impacts colonialism and racism have had and continue to have on minority and Indigenous cultures and their languages. This position is provided within the third area of focus, "Indigenous

perspective" which offers an analysis as to how the theorist's views and ideas can be rendered through the expression of Indigenous experiences, or as previously stated, the concept of CRIE. As previously mentioned, this has created an extension and expanded the margins of research into the usage and application of the already varied areas of study and practise relating to the thoughts, notions and concepts of the theorists studied in this chapter. Furthermore, the use of the concept CRIE, can provide in-depth illumination of Indigenous issues.

While certain criteria were used in the selection of the theorists used in this thesis in relation to factors such as time periods and contemporary and ancient political theorists, the main criteria for selection was based on whether their theories could inform this doctoral research. The Māori theorists used within this thesis, provide significant coverage, to a large degree, to Polynesian and Indigenous perspectives regarding Indigenous rights and language revitalisation. However, it must be acknowledged that while it is impossible to include all theorists that could contribute to this research, there are theorists that should be recognised for their work in advancing Indigenous peoples rights. Theorists such as Epeli Hau'ofa (*Mekeo*: *Inequality and ambivalence in a village society*; *Tales of the Tikongs*; *We are the Ocean*; *Our Sea of Islands*, etc.), Konai Helu Thamon (*Songs of Love*; *Kakala*; *Hingano*; *Langakali*; *You the choice of my parents*), Albert Wendt (*Leaves of the Banyan Tree*; *Comes the Revolution*; *Sons for the Return Home*; *Pouliuli*; *The Adventures of Vela*; *Breaking Connections* etc.). There are also other Pacific theorists whose works can be attributed more to language survival or who have focused more on particular Indigenous peoples within the Pacific, such as Haunani-Kay Trask (*From a Native Daughter* etc.), Teresia Teaiwa (*Real Natives Talk about Love* etc.), and Sam No'eau Warner who was involved in the revitalisation of the Hawaiian language and who has written copious children's books in the native Hawaiian language, to name a few.

CHAPTER FIVE:
LANGUAGE REVITALISATION MODELS

Image 45: *Rauru*

There are a few variations of the *Rauru* pattern above, but this is one of the most common forms seen in carving. It is also used in tattooing where it can be seen on the buttocks (known as rape) and other areas of the *tinana*. Several *iwi* use this pattern including, *Tai Rāwhiti, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Waikato, Tai Hauraki*. However, with the advent of contemporary *tā moko*, the design is seen on many *iwi* and on many places of the *tinana*. The *Rauru* design represents journeying and displays two similar elements (*haehae*) embracing a central figure (*pākati – niho taniwha*). In this thesis, the design *Rauru* represents the journey of survival (past, present and future) regarding *te reo Māori* and the two elements embracing the central figure, are symbolised by the two *moko* models (both male and female of chapters one and five) as they *mirimiri* (massage) *te reo Māori* to reinvigorate its energy. The central figure is symbolic of *te reo Māori,* but it is also a representation of the language revitalisation development model in chapter seven. "*Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua*" (The permanence of the language, prestige and land). The translation is due to Ihaka who credits the proverb to Tinirau of *Whanganui*. The meaning is that without the Māori language, prestige and land, Māori culture will cease to exist (Mead & Grove, 2001. p. 405).

Introduction

Chapter five discusses international and national language revitalisation approaches, strategies and methods including themes such as language management, policy theory, documentation and materials development. Language revitalisation models developed by Joshua Fishman, Hinton and Hale, UNESCO and a number of other sources are examined. A discussion of the newly established Te Mātāwai Board and its functions in relation to the Māori Language Bill 2016 and the context of language revitalisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand is also discussed. The Moko Kauae Model: An Evaluation Tool to Measure the Health of *te reo Māori* and level of wellness is introduced and examples of the models and approaches they use in language revitalisation are discussed.

The plight of endangered languages

Indigenous languages that continue to lose native speakers are languages that are treading a pathway to oblivion. These languages fall under the category of endangered languages and it is these languages that must be given a boost of vitality with assistance from the community, government, and individuals. Only then can these languages begin the long and arduous journey of recovery through the implementation of language revitalisation strategies. Historically, it is initially only individuals, a small group at the start, committed

to language retention, language survival and language regeneration, who are prepared to sacrifice and give their time and resources to the restoration of these endangered languages. Although, once the endangered language is seen to have made movements towards Reversing Language Shift (RLS), it becomes easier to encourage those who initially had minimal desire in assisting language revitalisation to get on board. This may seem like an unreliable way to look at reviving an endangered language, however, this is the reality of language restoration. There are many terms that refer to language revitalisation (touched on in chapter one), and just as many reasons for language decline. Nevertheless, at a basic level, one common aspect that must be present from the beginning within all language revitalisation initiatives, is the development of what Fishman (2007) refers to as a "community of belief", or the core group of people who will, regardless of circumstance, persevere with the *kaupapa*. Within this chapter, language revitalisation models and strategies are discussed and analysed, and The Moko Kaua*e* model is introduced. However, first and foremost it is essential that there is a reiteration of the current state of peril *te reo Māori* is facing, by looking at some recent findings concerning its decline.

Te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Bill and Te Mātāwai

Historian Professor Paul Moon argues that if *te reo Māori* were likened to a patient, then it would most definitely be on life support. While the heart beats and the blood continue to flow, without the many apparatus of life support, the language would be in a most hazardous position (Howe, 2016). He sees the *Kōhanga Reo, te reo Māori* in schools, the Māori Language Commission and many other organisations, that lend support and assist in *te reo Māori* revitalisation, as being a part of the life support machinery for the Māori language. Although he advocates that more assistance needs to be forthcoming from the government, his views on *te reo Māori* being compulsory in schools are clear; he states that making it compulsory to learn *te reo Māori* will not work. His idea is that forcing people to take on board anything, whether it be a language, or a world view does not work and has never worked (Howe, 2016). While Moon advocates for a national effort to help revitalise *te reo Māori*, he is adamant that any form of compulsion would be a waste of time and precious resources. Nonetheless, it could be argued that compulsion is an effective tool of getting people to speak another language, since the major reason why most Indigenous cultures are experiencing language decline is due to being compelled to speak a different language. They were forced into speaking the coloniser's language, as evidenced throughout this research, and as touched on previously, 78.7 percent of Māori are unable to have a conversation in *te*

reo Māori, due significantly, to this approach (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). While admittedly it is not the ideal situation to start learning *te reo Māori*, one thing is for sure, it would not involve the severe colonial experience Indigenous Māori had to endure, when compelled to speak English.

Moon's book, "*Ka Ngaro Te Reo*" charts the near demise of *te reo Māori*. He maintains that in the nineteenth century the State had an active programme that for about 60 years tried to do everything it could to eliminate the Māori language and consequently, intergenerational language transmission was interrupted, thus, the State was a major contributor to the language damage *te reo Māori* has and is still experiencing (Howe, 2016). Moon argues that the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* must be based on a desire by people to speak the language (or creating a community of belief) rather than being compelled to communicate in the language (Howe, 2016).

This idea of developing a desire to speak *te reo Māori* rather than being compelled or forced, fits well with several elements within the *moko mataora* model (chapter one), such as, *āhuatanga hoahoa tuarima "kōwhiti/kōhiti"* which refers to recommitting, increasing, reviving, renewing or developing the desire to speak *te reo Māori* and extending and developing areas for *te reo Māori* to be spoken. A similar element is *āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā waru "kōkiri"*, which refers to the need to develop language revitalisation plans that create a sense of investment and commitment and inspires *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, to participate for the long term. The other aspect of *kōkiri* refers to the fact that when choosing people to lead and give strength to developing language revitalisation strategies, select those who are trusted and who inspire courage and endurance, through setting an example. These two examples and several others from the āhuatanga *hoahoa* of the *moko mataora* model can be attributed to creating a desire within people to speak *te reo Māori* and promote its revitalisation. The release of Moons book, *Ka Ngaro Te Reo,* coincided with the amendment to the Māori Language (*Te Reo Māori*) Bill, by the Minister of Māori Development, Te Ururoa Flavell, which acknowledges how the Crown's past actions have contributed to the decline of *te reo Māori* and which continues to impact on *iwi* Māori (Gardiner, 2016).

Flavell states that "Maori are familiar with the painful memories recalled by our grandparents and parent's generations who were discouraged and in some cases physically

abused for speaking *Te Reo Māori* at school or in public places" (Newshub, 2016). Flavell also argues that the amendment is in line with evidence given at Waitangi Tribunal hearings and Treaty settlement deeds which have recorded the many impacts the Crown's practises and policies (pertaining to *te reo Māori*), have had on many *iwi* (Newshub, 2016). The amendment inserts a clause into the Māori Language Bill which states, "The Crown acknowledges the detrimental effects of its past policies and practices that have, over the generations failed actively to protect and promote the Māori language and encourage its use by *iwi* and Māori" (Newshub, 2016). Naida Glavish maintains that an important aspect of moving forward is to acknowledge the transgressions of the past, thus, within the amendment to the Māori language Bill, the Crown pledges to protect and promote *te reo Māori* into the future (WaateaNews, 2016). After the amendment to the Māori Language Bill is passed, there are plans to move forward with the new Māori language governance organisation known as Te Mātāwai (Māori Language Commission, 2016).

The Māori Language Bill to set up a new entity to foster the Māori language was passed into law on the 14th April 2016 with the support of all political parties other than New Zealand First. The Māori Language Act established Te Mātāwai, a new body charged with working with the Crown to revitalise the Māori language at an *iwi* and community level, including joint oversight of Māori Television with the Minister of Finance. The Bill was amended to include an acknowledgement from the Crown that it had failed to protect the Māori language through its past policies and put into law a commitment by the Crown to work with Māori to actively promote it for future generations, as previously touched on (NZ Herald, 2016). The Bill has been enacted in Māori and in English and specifies that the Māori version has precedence over the English version if there are conflicting interpretations.

Under the Bill, the Crown must establish Māori language strategies in conjunction with Te Mātāwai. Te Mātāwai will also have the right to appoint four of the seven members on the Māori Television Board. However, the law specifies it can not interfere in Māori Television editorial functions, in news and current affairs, or direct it to make any specific decision on programming (NZ Herald, 2016). The following table contains a list of the current board members of *Te Mātāwai*.

Table 21: Te Mātāwai Board

Iwi Cluster	Appointees
Te Tai Tokerau	Waihoroi Shortland
Tainui	Pānia Papa
Mātaatua	Bentham Ohia
Te Arawa	Dr Cathy Dewes
Te Tai Rāwhiti	Jeremy Tātere MacLeod
Te Tai Hau-ā-uru	Dr Ruakere Hond
Te Waipounamu	Nuki Tākao
Te Reo Tukutuku Clusters	**Appointees**
Education	Mereana Selby
Media	Scotty Morrison
Community	Dr Hiria Hape
Urban	Willie Jackson (now replaced by Hēmi Dale)
Appointment by Minister of Māori Development	**Appointees**
	Professor Rawinia Higgins
	Robin Hapi

According to Willie Jackson, his appointment onto Te Mātāwai has been criticised by some who are ill informed. Willie Jackson was the first to be appointed to Te Mātāwai, he was selected by the National Urban Māori Authority to represent urban Māori. Jackson states,

> I have been accused of being a sell-out and a disgrace for apparently not knowing how to speak *te reo Māori*. My son showed me comments on Facebook from elite students of the Māori language who were scathing about my selection to the new Māori language board, Te Mātāwai. Sadly, these people are products of a section of Māori language fundamentalist leaders who have created a group of new Māori language speakers who think they are superior to your average Māori (Stuff, 2016).

Jackson also argues that he does speak *te reo Māori*, although he admits that he is not the most fluent of speakers, but has nevertheless, managed to bring his children up speaking the language. He contends, the continual arrogant and demeaning attitude from some of the language leadership to people who do not speak the Māori language, must stop or the future for *te reo Māori* will remain in serious jeopardy (Stuff, 2016). A recent turn of events has seen Willie relinquish his seat on the board of Te Mātāwai since he announced his intentions

of re-entering politics, although not for the Māori Party, but rather for the Labour Party. His position on the board of Te Mātāwai has been filled by the director of Māori-medium education at the university of Auckland, Hemi Dale (MTS, 2017). Waihoroi Shortland is the official chair of Te Mātāwai and Mereana Selby deputy chair, with the most recent appointment being Te Atarangi Whiu as the inaugural Chief Executive Officer (MTS, 2017).

A member of the New Zealand First political party Pita Paraone states that, "Greater transparency is needed in the appointments of board members of the newly established Te Mātāwai otherwise the body will struggle to revitalise *te reo*. If Te Mātāwai is to revitalise *te reo* then it needs experts in the language on the board, providing the best advice" (Scoop, 2016). This statement is partially correct, some of those who are experts in *te reo Māori* are not necessarily experts in language revitalisation approaches. Accordingly, as will be seen in this chapter, a non-speaker can be the driving force behind language revitalisation of an endangered or sleeping language. As previously discussed, 78.7 percent of Māori are unable to hold a conversation in *te reo Māori*. Therefore, having only *te reo Māori* experts on the Te Mātāwai Board, means that the largest percentage of Māori will be excluded from assisting in the development of language revitalisation strategies at the national level because they are considered non-speakers. This approach seems counterproductive to creating support for language revival as an array of skills are needed to revitalise a language, not only being fluent in the endangered language; skills that linguists and researchers have. It is important that Te Mātāwai makes decisions that are informed and underpinned by research and relevant knowledge such as using technology as tools for language revitalisation especially in building capability nationally amongst *iwi*. Therefore, there should be provision for these kinds of people with specialist skills and knowledge (some of whom may be less fluent speakers than others or indeed learners of the language) to be co-opted to the Te Mātāwai Board.

Language Revitalisation Approaches
Language revitalisation emerged originally out of linguistics around the late 1960s (Ellis & Mac a' Ghobhainn, 1971). However, up until the late 1980s, the subject lingered on the periphery, but by the early 1990s as a linguistic focus, language revitalisation took a substantial step forward (King, 2001). With the release of several books relating to language revitalisation, such as, Joshua Fishman's book, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and*

empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages (1991), the topic acquired substantive attention and thus began its shift from the periphery (King, 2001).

Image 46: Joshua Fishman

Fishman (1991) proposed a rational and systematic approach to language revitalisation by RLS. He offered a model whereby languages are ranked on a scale or stages, ranging from stage eight (language severely endangered, few remaining elderly speakers) to stage one (language well supported in education, government, media, communities, etc.) (Fishman, 1991).

Figure 16: Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

STAGES OF REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT
SEVERITY OF INTERGENERATIONAL DISLOCATION
(read from bottom up)
1.Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels
2.Local/regional mass media and governmental services
3.The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen
4b. Public schools is for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control
4a.   Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control

II. RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment
5. Schools for literacy acquisition for the old and or the young, and not in lieu of compulsory Education
6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood: the basis of mother tongue   transmission
7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation
8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL.
I. RSL to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)

(Fishman, 1991, p.395)

Fishman's 8 stage Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is regarded as being one of the top evaluative frameworks of language endangerment for over two decades (Lewis & Simmons, 2010). The intergenerational transmission of a language, according to the GIDS, is crucial for language sustainability. Fishman (1991) argues that if parents do not teach their children their language, there is little possibility that their children will, in turn, pass it on to proceeding generations. He declares, "Without intergenerational mother tongue transmission, no language maintenance is possible. That which is not transmitted cannot be maintained" (Fishman, 1991, p.113). Fishman insists on the power of the family over the power of the Internet stating that, nothing from the internet "can substitute for face-to-face interaction with real family embedded in real community. Ultimately, nothing is as crucial for basic RLS success as intergenerational mother tongue transmission" (Fishman, 2001, p.458).

Figure 17: Phase of ideological clarification
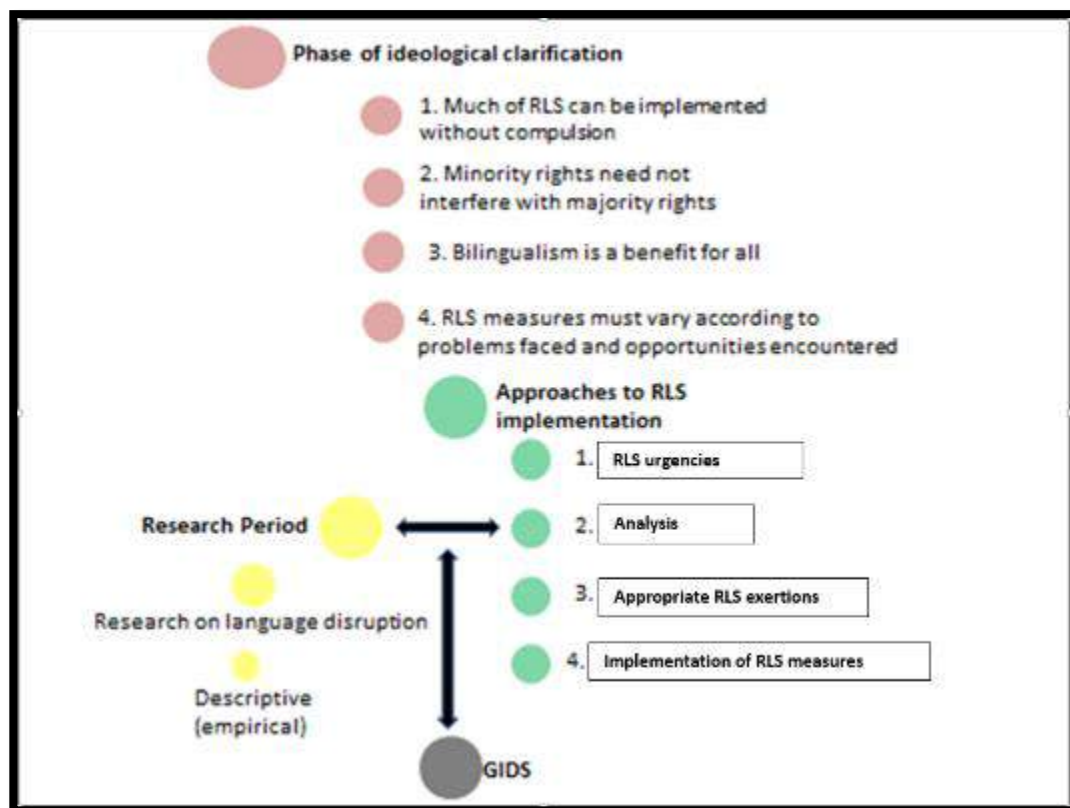
(Adapted from, Fishman, 1991, pp.82-87.)

There are several steps within Fishman's RLS model that should be followed before the evaluative strategies of the GIDS can be applied (Fishman, 1991). Fishman suggests that all those involved in language revitalisation should initially undergo what he refers to as a phase of ideological clarification; the steps to achieving this conceptual illumination, are out-lined in figure 17 above. This process states Fishman (1991), is necessary to create a "prior value consensus among those who advocate, implement and evaluate RLS" (p. 82.). In other words, Fishman (1991) promotes a type of ideological collective view to a certain degree. This collective view is created to prevent the plundering and misuse of scarce resources available for RLS matters and to avoid RLS becoming a bone of contention, this view also includes the discontinuation of strategies that are collectively viewed as having undesirable outcomes (Fishman, 1991). Step 1 to 4 of the "Phase of ideological clarification" creates an alignment of a few RLS views which in turn forms a type of collective view. There are similarities relating to the four steps of the phase of ideological clarification and the *moko mataora* model, for example, step 1, much of RSL can be implemented without compulsion. As pointed out previously, *kōkiri* refers to the need to

develop a desire within the people to speak *te reo Māori* rather than being compelled to communicate in the language. Step 4, RLS measures must vary according to problems faced and opportunities encountered.

The *āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā rua* "*kowhiri/kowiri*" refers to the selection of appropriate language revitalisation strategies that have been sufficiently researched, analysed and considered. The other aspect of *kowhiri/kowiri* refers to developing language regeneration strategies that are responsive to abrupt change but can maintain the cultural principles inherent within an Indigenous culture and its language. Steps 1 to 4 of "Approaches to RLS implementation" includes, identifying the attainable urgencies within a declining language. The similarities with the *moko mataora* model align with these factors. For example, the *āhuatanga hoahoa tuawhitu* "*whakatara*" which refers to taking steps towards language revitalisation by confronting, side-lining and disassembling the forces of division brought by the annexing of the endangered language, using the ideas and concepts of political theory. The other aspect of *whakatara* refers to critical theory or awareness which is the ability to transform the thinking of a people and or community who may see themselves as powerless to alter the decline of their Indigenous or minority language. However, it must also be noted that within this challenge of *whakatara*, meaningful and comprehensive consultation must not be excluded.

Step 2 includes analysis and research of language revitalisation approaches. The *āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā rima* "*korowaha/koroaha*" refers to the idea that *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* must consider the knowledge, experience and skill of their *koro* and *kuia* (elders) to guide them in their endeavours relating to the development of language revitalisation strategies. The other aspect of *korowaha/koroaha* refers to the notion that Māori have a natural inclination to seek answers to vast and difficult questions; this attribute must be exploited and utilised whenever possible when concerning *te reo Māori* decline and the development of language revitalisation strategies. Step 3 includes, appropriate RLS exertions. The *āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā toru* "*paepae*" refers to extending the search for knowledge beyond the current areas being used. Another aspect of *paepae* refers to developing culturally appropriate language revitalisation strategies that will maintain its integrity under pressure. The last aspect of *paepae* refers to the responsibility to uphold the unique character and distinctive aspects of each *iwi* and *hapū*. Step 4, implementation of RLS measures is the final stage of approaches to RLS

implementation, which then leads into Fishman's evaluation model, that is, the GIDS. The *āhuatanga hoahoa tuangahuru mā ono* "*rerepehi*" refers to seeking knowledge from experts in the first instance, but also, not to be afraid of adapting their ideas to align with *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* desires. The other aspect of *rerepehi* relates to finding solutions that are easier to implement, relating to language revitalisation, by considering alternatives or new areas and methods, when developing a RLS plan.

In his book*, 'Reversing Language Shift',* Fishman (1991) details twelve languages as case studies at various stages of language decline, according to his GIDS model. These include, the Irish language, Basque and Frisian, Navajo, Spanish, Yiddish, (Secular and Ultra-Orthodox), Aboriginal (Australian), Modern Hebrew, French in Quebec, Catalan in Spain and *Te Reo Māori*. However, within these case studies there are several examples of overlap between the stages (example: a declining language that is identified to be in stage 6 of the GIDS could also have aspects that overlap into stage 5 or alternatively into stage 7. This overlapping of the stages is discernible within Fishman's case study of *te reo Māori*. The evaluation provided by Fishman of the status of *te reo Māori* status and his assessment of certain language revitalisation strategies, such as the "*Te Kōhanga reo* movement" (language nests), "*Te Ataarangi* movement" (adult language learning), "*Tu Tangata Whanau*" (family development programme) and "*Kura Kaupapa*" (Māori Language immersion schools) is adequate considering a number of these programme's had only been running for a relatively small amount of time or had basically started at the time (1989) Fishman was collecting his data. Further to this are his assertions in his book that Te Kōhanga Reo and its growing reliance on funding from the Department of Māori affairs could be its demise, is very perceptive. Fishman (1991) states;

> Having acknowledged the powerful potential of the kōhanga reos, particularly for a language that was almost literally without child-speakers, and noting their rapid growth, from four in 1982 to roughly 520 in 1988 with a total enrolment of 8,000 children, we must also be careful not to exaggerate their current effectiveness or their carry-over into the future. Not all of them, by any means, are pedagogically effective, nor is their nearly total reliance on an untrained, volunteer staff a completely unmixed blessing, neither in the educative connection nor even in connection with childcare *per se*. While a large proportion of Maori pre-schoolers now attend these centers, there are probably even more who still do not do so. Finally, the growing dependence of these centers on funding by the Department of Maori Affairs may ultimately turn out to be a fatal flaw, not only because government priorities are subject to change, particularly as overall budget crises grow more severe, but because this dependence undercuts local and national Maori responsibility for their own ethnolinguistic fate (pp. 238-239).

There are certain aspects of Fishman's predictions relating to Te Kōhanga Reo that have become a reality, such as, the change in government priorities which have affected funding for *kōhanga,* (Nixon, 2014). However, there are other aspects not mentioned by Fishman which are also impacting on the effectiveness of Kōhanga Reo, such as the lack of recognition by the Education Council of Aotearoa New Zealand (formally known as the Teachers Council) relating to the qualification developed by the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, for *kaiako* (teachers) who teach within *kōhanga*. This relates to the "Tohu Whakapakari" qualification which is equivalent to a Level 7 diploma, and focuses on Māori knowledge and pedagogy that is conveyed in *te reo Māori* (Nixon, 2014).

What has not changed though, is the commitment by all those involved within the Te Kōhanga Reo movement, to bear a large part of the responsibility concerning the ethnolinguistic fortune of *te reo Māori*. However, what is perhaps most evident in Fishman's (1991) case study relating to *te reo Māori*, is not what has been written, but rather what has not been included. He gives little mention to groups such as *Ngā Tamatoa* who, as mentioned previously, were instrumental in highlighting the plight of Māori, their culture and language in the early 1970's, also the "*Te Reo Māori* Society" whose membership consistently expressed grave concerns for the survival of *te reo Māori*, or the first *Kaupapa Māori Wānanga* (tribal college at the tertairy level) to be developed in 1981 which was Te Wānanga o Raukawa. All these groups (and others) had a major part to play in Māori language revitalisation and emphasising the ongoing need for RLS strategies to be implemented concerning the regeneration of *te reo Māori*. Although without a doubt, Fishman's experience, ideas, theories and insights relating to language revitalisation is clearly the bench mark of research within the field.

A decade on and Fishman (2001) revisits the number of case studies written about in his book *Reversing Language Shift'*. In this next book titled, '*Can threated languages be saved*', Fishman as the editor, includes the research and thoughts of several writers who make comparisons between the various case studies he wrote about these languages relating to RLS, and what has happened in the intervening decade. In a sense, their research reflects on the cogency of the GIDS as a suitable tool for language revitalisation. Benton and Benton (2001) write, towards the end of the 1980s, that *te reo Māori* was balancing on the edge of stage 8 (at a macro level) and at that time, a few people claimed that the Māori language was more secure than it actually was. This idea emanated more from wishful thinking than

interpreting the actual research available at the time. However, they state that *te reo Māori*, by 1999, began to move away from its impending fate, due to several strategies and approaches but the move was only slight (Benton & Benton, 2001). They suggest that Fishman's (1991) idea of parent's involvement and "relinquification" as a requirement to allow their children into Kōhanga Reo is not feasible, since "there are now too many vested interests at stake and furthermore the danger of throwing the babies out with the bath water is too great to contemplate such draconian measures" (Benton & Benton, 2001, p.431). The Māori language Commission had similar thoughts writes Benton and Benton (2001) suggesting that they would had preferred 80 well established and properly organised Kōhanga Reo centres as opposed to 800 under-developed centres.

Spolsky on Language Management and Language Policy Theory

Language management regularly require choices, argues Spolsky (2009), as to what languages or dialects to speak in a society and domains within that society, whether the circumstances are bilingual, multilingual or monolingual.

Image 47: Bernard Spolsky

Source: http://www.news.aut.ac.nz/news/2015/may/aut-public-lecture-professor-emeritus-bernard-spolsky-hails-te-reo-mori-as-model-of-language-management

He writes that these choices are consciously manipulated, and options controlled by what he refers to as language managers. In his book, '*Language Management*', Spolsky (2009) suggests that these controlled options are the result of language managers reflecting mindful and obvious efforts in exercising their control to acquire a specific financial or ideologically motivated outcome. He refers to areas within a society as domains,

characterised by Fishman as having three facets, "participants", "location" and "topic". Participants are categorised by the roles within the domains, such as father in a family or home domain, or supervisor within a work domain, or teacher within a school domain etc... (Spolsky, 2009). A domain has a location, normally represented by its name, example: church, school, government departments, work place, universities and homes, including many others (Spolsky, 2009). Finally, a domain must have a topic, such as, education in schools or religion in churches or health in hospitals. This view of what is appropriate to discuss in specific domains can also be extended to what language is appropriate to use within a domain, thereby limiting areas where language revitalisation strategies could be implemented.

A specific theory of language management is presented by Spolsky (2009) as he reviews current research of the workplace domains, the family domains, the media domains, school domains, religious domains, legal and health domains, the military and government domains. He also includes a discussion on language activists, international organisations, and human rights relative to language. The home domain is significant for language management relating to language reinforcement or language revitalisation since it is largely controlled by the parents or other members of the extended family (Spolsky, 2009). However, the attitudes, beliefs and values promoted within workplace domains, religious domains, school domains, including the many other domains discussed in '*Language Management*', can have a major influence on family members and how much value they attribute to their indigenous, ethnic or minority languages (Spolsky, 2009).

School domains are probably the most decisive test of a theory of language management, as Spolsky (2009) suggests. Language practices of students are managed by teachers, who are managed by school management, who are ultimately managed by those within the educational system, pertaining to the language, style and ideological preferences taught. Although he indicates that the choices parents make when deciding which school their children will attend is very important to the reinforcement of language choice and language revitalisation. Spolsky, (2009) gives an example of how teachers and school management, within Israel, are involved in language revitalisation programmes that encourage students to not only use Hebrew at school but also within the home domain as well (Spolsky, 2009). This situation from a Māori language reinforcement or revitalisation perspective may exist on similar lines as to those parents who have chosen to enrol their

children in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori immersion schools, (including parents who do not speak *te reo Māori*) rather than in mainstream early childhood centres or primary schools that offer limited support for Māori language initiatives. The domain theory espoused by Spolsky (2009) provides real insight into the influences that may attribute to *te reo Māori* decline, such as language management, language managers and domain influence, he has also used *te reo Māori* as a case study in his writings and has included several aspects that Fishman gave little attention to. Spolsky (2005) writes;

> The regeneration (Hohepa 2000) of Māori in New Zealand also began as a grassroots movement (Spolsky 2003a). In 1973 a radical Māori youth movement collected 30,000 signatures on a petition asking for a better Māori language policy. In the late 1970s, another movement for Māori self-sufficiency was active. Both helped prepare the way for the government decision to establish the Waitangi Tribunal charged with determining remedies for the failure to implement the 1840 treaty. The Tribunal found that the treaty did require the government to protect the Māori language (Waitangi Tribunal 1986). As a result, the government brought to Parliament the Māori Language Act of 1987, which made the Māori language official and established a Māori Language Commission to promote the language. In Māori education too, there was a transition from grassroots to government. There were three contributing strands. *Te Ataarangi* was established in 1979 to promote a unique method of teaching the Māori language, based on the use of Cuisenaire rods (Gattegno 1976). The goals of the movement were to encourage the use of Māori and teach it to adults in the community. Its programs continue to be provided free of charge to participants. The program was created by Katarina Mataira and the late Ngoi Pewhairangi (Mataira 1980) (p. 195).

Spolsky (2005) goes on to identify the other two strands related to Māori education, and gives information relating to their development. He explains, that the remaining two strands were Te Kōhanga Reo, (covered in previous chapters of this thesis) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (also previously discussed).

Ken Hale and Leanne Hinton (Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice)
Hinton (2001) writes that those Indigenous languages that have an extended history in the location their people still frequent, are the main focus of the "*The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*" edited by both Leeann Hinton and Ken Hale. Indigenous languages that are overshadowed by a dominant language are in danger of language shift where the Indigenous language is replaced by the dominant language and eventually may become extinct (Hinton & Hale, 2001).

 Other cultures and peoples, such as immigrant minorities are also susceptible to language shift (either by their own choice or someone else's) due to the assimilation process of their new location. However, there is a major difference between Indigenous languages and immigrant languages. In most situations, the heritage language of the immigrant is still widely spoken in their country of birth. In many instances, those of immigrant decent who are unable to speak their heritage language most often make visits to the old country in an effort to learn the ancestral language and culture or perhaps to have an experience of the motherland. Not so for Indigenous peoples who have no such place to return in an effort to reinvigorate their ancestral language or even have an experience of how their culture once functioned. The vast majority of Indigenous peoples are engulfed by a language and culture that they really have no ancestral connections to, apart from the children/parents/grandparents who have Indigenous and non-Indigenous parents although, Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships are more common than many realise. However, the internal conflicts that are experienced by these individuals and their families are many and varied. An inner conflict that causes a lack of strong identity and feelings of indignity and culpability related both to their Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage. Hinton (2001) states;

> In the past, and even today in some nations, repressive measures have been taken against minority languages. Even without overt repression, minorities may shift to the dominant language. This shift is sometimes made through voluntary, conscious decision. A group that does not speak the language of government and commerce is disenfranchised, marginalized with respect to the economic and political mainstream. Furthermore, language other than the languages chosen for government and education may take on a low status in

the eyes of a nation's citizens and be denigrated as inferior. Prejudice against "foreign" languages is so strong in the United States, for example, that it is very easy to hear negative comments from "the man on the street" when someone is speaking a different language or speaking English with an accent" (p.3).

Why should the majority of the world care if an Indigenous language is declining or is close to extinction? Aren't there so many reasons why it is beneficial for a nation to speak the same language and is it not true that languages have been lost throughout human history? There are a number of perspectives that could begin to answer these questions, which are constantly asked by the general public, states Hinton (2001). From a linguist point of view, linguistic theory relies on linguistic diversity writes Hinton (2001) "The study of historical linguistics, language universals and typology, sociolinguistics, and cognitive linguistics has been driven by the study of the very indigenous languages whose existence is threatened" (p.5). From a broader perspective, the loss of a language is normally accompanied with the loss of an entire culture, including their knowledge systems that cover areas such as environmental knowledge and medical knowledge. There is also the loss of vast amounts of cultural practices that include philosophical knowledge, oral, musical and artistic knowledge. Human knowledge is not infinite, when knowledge is lost it has a bearing on the sum of human understanding. Perhaps the most important perspective relating to language loss is the human rights issue. Hinton (2001) contends that Indigenous language loss is a symptom of the marginalisation and subjugation of Indigenous peoples who continue to lose their lands and traditions through the all-encompassing forces of national or world economics and national and international politics. The 'Green Book of Language Revitalisation' is written as a reference for those individuals and groups who are actively participating, or who are contemplating the development of an approach relating to the revitalisation of an endangered language, writes Hinton (2001). It discusses various ways of how individuals and groups are striving to keep their languages from becoming extinct and the approaches people are implementing to reinvigorate their endangered languages.

Hinton (2001) writes that the main hope, for all those who have contributed to the book, is that its contents will assist those who are involved in language revitalisation with ideas of what are successful approaches and how to design programmes that fit their own needs. The term "language revitalisation" is used by Hinton (2001) in a broad sense since there are varying degrees of language endangerment. At one extreme, you have a language that has no speakers and is technically a dead language. However, due to the amount of

documentation available relating to this extinct language, there is the possibility for language revitalisation, but the process is a long and complicated undertaking. At the other extreme there is a language that is being spoken in all domains, intergenerational language transmission is ongoing, but the language is experiencing some contraction in the government domain. Unlike developing a language revitalisation strategy for a language which is extinct, a strategy to reinvigorate a speech domain requires a lot less effort and time. However, the term language revitalisation applies to both situations, even though the requirements pertaining to language revitalisation interventions of both extremes are worlds apart.

One committed person can achieve so much pertaining to language revitalisation without major assistance from the community, argues Hinton (2001). The first step is to start collecting as much documentation as possible, related to the endangered language. Make contact and get to know some native speakers (if there are some still living), learn the language or as much as one can with the resources available (if one is not already a fluent speaker). Develop learning materials and make them available to others. Begin to cultivate interest with the language through community gatherings and involve those that are experienced in language revitalisation strategies. The support of the community may come later, and although the committed person will continue on regardless, there must be a belief that the work they are carrying out is not only for the short term but could still be used after the committed person's lifetime. Hinton (2001) states that Joshua Fishman (1991) constructed eight steps in support of reversing language shift (previously discussed). For the most part, these steps are based on the Hebrew RLS model contends Hinton (2001) and other large-scale examples of language development. Fishman's model includes steps that many Indigenous languages can never hope to reach, writes Hinton (2001), such as step one developing the language to a degree that it is used in government and most other domains. While there are comments made on the other levels of Fishman's (1991) GIDS, Hinton (2001) explains that she and others have developed a revised model of steps toward language revitalisation. The following table displays the nine steps used in the revitalisation of an endangered language, developed by Leanne Hinton and others. Hinton (2001) writes;

> …we would like to make a modified model of steps toward language revitalization that expands on earlier steps and focuses less on the steps that can bring a language into national use. (We also number the steps in the opposite direction so that you can read from the top down!). I must emphasize

here that the order of many of these steps may be conducted simultaneously. For example, step 1 (language planning) might in fact take place after some of the later steps have already begun. In fact, what often happens in language revitalization is that a few dedicated individuals begin activities at some later step, such as learning the language from elders (step 3) or teaching the language to their children at home (step 7), which then provides inspiration to the community as a whole, whereupon language planning might begin to take place. We should also point out that for many small communities, a realistic goal might be no more than to reach step 3 or 4. It may well be that some languages will survive from generation to generation only through one or two individuals in each generation who take the initiative to learn it (p. 6).

Table 22: Nine Steps of Language Revitalisation

The 9 Steps of language revitalisation '*Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*'	
Step 1	Language assessment and planning. Find out what the linguistic situation is in the community. How many speakers are there? What are their ages? What other resources are available on the language? What are the attitudes of speakers and non-speakers toward language revitalization in this community?
Step 2	If the language has no speakers. Use available materials to reconstruct the language and develop language pedagogy.
Step 3	If the language has only elderly speakers. Document the language of the elderly speakers. (This may also take place at the same time as other steps.)
Step 4	Develop a second-language learning program for adults. These professional-age and parent-age adult second-language learners will be important leaders in later steps.
Step 5	Redevelop or enhance cultural practices that support and encourage use of the endangered language at home and in public by first-and second-language speakers.
Step 6	Develop intensive second-language programs for children, preferably with a component in the schools. When possible, use the endangered language as the language of instruction.
Step 7	Use the language at home as the primary language of communication, so that it becomes the first language of young children. Develop classes and support groups for parents to assist them in the transitions.
Step 8	Expand the use of the indigenous language into broader local domains, including community government, media, local commerce, and so on.
Step 9	Where possible, expand the language domains out-side of the local community and into the broader population to promote the language as one of wider communication, reginal or national government, and so on.

Source: Adapted from the '*Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*'.

Some of the steps, such as step 9 could be beyond the capacity of small Indigenous groups to achieve declares Hinton (2001), thus some of the earlier steps may not be necessary for those Indigenous languages that are experiencing the initial stages of language decline. However, language planning is a must, regardless of the stage of decline the language is undergoing. Most language revitalisation programmes fall into one of the five categories below (Hinton, 2001).

Table 23: Language Revitalisation Approaches

Language Revitalisation Programmes	
Category 1	School-based programs
Category 2	Children's programmess outside the school (after school programmes, summer programmes)
Category 3	Adult language programmes
Category 4	Documentation and materials development
Category 5	Home-based programmes

Source: Adapted from the *'Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice'*.

School-based Programmes

Every language programme has its positives and negatives and languages that are taught at school normally for a small amount of time each week, as a subject, is no different. While these school programmes are probably the most common form of language learning, there is little chance of students becoming fluent while working through these types of programmes due to time constraints and lack of experienced staff (Hinton, 2001). Most schools have a structure and for the most part, language learning comes a long way behind subjects such as Maths, English, Science, etc. Nonetheless, if a language is taught using a suitable method, and given an hour a day to teach the language, these language classes can go a long way in helping the child achieve a level of fluency. But perhaps just as important, with regular exposer to a language, a sense of appreciation and willingness is developed within the child. However, regardless of the potential of some school language programmes, a language learnt outside of a traditional cultural context, lacks the ability to truly reflect a traditional cultural circumstance (Hinton, 2001).

The differences between traditional learning of a language and classroom learning are varied. For example, the importance given to traditional storytelling by Indigenous cultures are unable to be taught in the classroom since many are accompanied with customs that inhibit their teaching outside of traditional settings. The traditional stories may also be accompanied with, cultural proverbs, idioms, historical references and cultural orientations that is beyond the capability of the teacher to provide sufficient cultural understanding. Hinton (2001) argues that a major reason why many people have a desire to speak their cultural languages is that they want to reclaim contact with their traditional cultural practices, values beliefs and the many other facets that make up a culture.

Children's Programmes Outside of School

Language programmes developed outside of schools are a direct result of either a supplementation of the school programmes themselves compensating for what school programmes lack, or, a desire to be independent from the school programmes altogether. After school language programmes have the unfortunate circumstance of receiving the children when they are most tired and fatigued from being at school all day. However, Hinton (2001) writes that a most important aspect of after school programmes is that they combine language learning with recreation that are geared to developing abilities in the target language. Summer schools or language camps seem to be a very popular choice of the various outside of school language learning programmes. They have the advantage of being able to involve the children in language learning throughout the whole day, since the children are normally on summer break, and because of this, the summer school's session can be very intensive. Much can be learned during a two or three-month summer language programme, however, ongoing reinforcement of the language needs to be present during the school year so what was gained at summer school takes permanent root within the child. Thus, an intensive summer programme combined with a non-intensive classroom programme can garner some positive long-term outcomes. The family can also fortify what was learnt by the child and can even begin to develop the child's knowledge further (Hinton, 2001).

Adult Language Programmes
Language is the key to the heart of the culture although one does not necessarily acquire the culture by learning the language as Hinton (2001) maintains "Language is a very changeable form of behaviour, and if language is taught outside of and without reference to the traditional culture, then that language will be devoid of the traditional culture" (p. 9). One of the most common methods relating to adult language programmes is the evening classes for adults or families. The normal practices of these evening language programmes are one evening a week classes and for the vast majority they are not inclusive of immersion, however, there are evening classes that do cater for immersion. Hinton (2001) gives an example of a group from 'Oahu in Hawai'i who ran an immersion programme where events such as volleyball and cookouts were a part of the programme and where only Hawaiian was spoken. These types of programmes where immersion language learning is combined with other activities are particularly favourable since it brings the language into real communication situations, which is essential if a language is to survive. Those types of

programmes remove the language from the classroom and replants it back into the community (Hinton, 2001).

Another example of immersion language learning that Hinton (2001) provides is a programme called, "California Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program" (which will be discussed in-depth in chapter six of this thesis). Young relatives who want to learn their heritage language are paired with some of their elderly speakers of the California Indian languages, and are taken through immersion-style learning methods and learn to speak their language through one-on-one interactions with their elders. Hinton (2001) stresses that the lessons must include undertaking normal everyday work together rather than only using the classroom style lessons. This includes cooking, housework, working in the garden or the simple act of taking a walk or even a drive; the most important aspect is that they communicate using the target language during all activities. In this way, language learning takes place within the context of real community situations and achieves what can be seen as the two most important aspects of language revitalisation. That is the teaching of the language and bringing the language back into daily use.

Documentation and Materials Development
Documentation is essential for languages that have no children or young people using the language. However, documentation is important to any language that is experiencing language decline. Too many language learning programmes are more concerned about speaking the language first and see language documentation as an afterthought. Many see a language that has no living speakers but a large resource of documentation, as a completely dead language rather than a language that could be described as a sleeping language since there is a possibility, through documentation, that the language can be revived (Hinton, 2001). There are some so called 'dead languages' that by using documentation and strong commitment by dedicated people, are being brought back to life or being revived. The following is a small part of Jessie Little Doe Baird's journey to revive her people's Indigenous American language of Wampanoag (or Wôpanâak);

> Jessie Little Doe Baird is a linguist who is reviving a long-silent language and restoring to her Native American community a vital sense of its cultural heritage. Wampanoag (or Wôpanâak), the Algonquian language of her ancestors, was spoken by tens of thousands of people in southeastern New England when seventeenth-century Puritan missionaries learned the language, rendered it phonetically in the Roman alphabet, and used it to translate the King James Bible and other religious texts for the purposes of

conversion and literacy promotion. As a result of the subsequent fragmentation of Wampanoag communities in a land dominated by English speakers, Wampanoag ceased to be spoken by the middle of the nineteenth century and was preserved only in written records. Determined to breathe life back into the language, Baird founded the Wôpanâak Language Reclamation Project, an intertribal effort that aims to return fluency to the Wampanoag Nation. She undertook graduate training in linguistics and language pedagogy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where she worked with the late Kenneth Hale, a scholar of indigenous languages, to decipher grammatical patterns and compile vocabulary lists from archival Wampanoag documents. By turning to related Algonquian languages for guidance with pronunciation and grammar, this collaboration produced a 10,000-word Wampanoag-English dictionary, which Baird continues to develop into an essential resource for students, historians, and linguists alike. In addition to achieving fluency herself, she has adapted her scholarly work into accessible teaching materials for adults and children and leads a range of educational programs (MacArthur Foundation, 2010).

This and several other language revitalisations journeys exemplify how crucial documentation of a language can be relating to not only languages that are sleeping languages, but languages that are seriously endangered and currently lack insufficient documentation that if these languages lost all speakers, the possibility of bringing them back to life would be impossible. When considering starting a language revitalisation programme Hinton (2001) proposes that the initial process must include finding out what kind of documentation of the language exists and how obtainable is the documentation. In the Unites States there are libraries, Smithsonian's and other places and groups that will make available the documentation they have relating to a language. There are also private individuals that have in their possession important documentation that add much to the overall understanding of a language although for the most part, access to these types of documentation is often limited. However, the most important thing is that the existence of this documentation is known, the person who allows access is known and the protocols around handling the documentation is followed. It must be remembered that these types of documentation can come in the form of private letters, genealogy papers, and issues relating to land or issues of dispute. Nonetheless, whatever the documentation pertains to, it is normally of a highly personal nature, so care must be taken and being mindful of cultural restrictions is essential. While no language (yet) has been documented in its entirety, documentation of bygone days is invaluable, however, this type of documentation is becoming all the rarer (Hinton, 2001).

Home-based Programmes

Hinton (2001) writes that language programmes that elicit results that see large numbers of families using their Indigenous language as their home language and which is also the first language of their children, have a great reason to celebrate since the language can be taken off the endangered list. However, Hebrew is really the only language that is large enough and advanced enough to have reached the stage of being taken off the endangered list maintains Hinton (2001). She states, "Hawaiian and Māori are now at the stage at which Hebrew was about 75 years ago: at this time, they are being used in only a few homes in which the parents are second language learners" (Hinton, 2001, p. 12).

When one considers using an Indigenous language as the language of the home one aspect must be looked at, due to the exclusivity of the Indigenous language in the home, will the children involved become less proficient in the national language. For some, this is not so much of a concern as higher fluency in the Indigenous language is the main objective. However, for others, it is a situation full of guilt and anguish. Furthermore, the status of the endangered language within the country/nation can also play a major part in a parent's decision whether or not to use the endangered language as the language of the home. Thus, for those Indigenous minorities who rely heavily on the national language for work situations or educational situations or even health situations will find the decision to only speak the Indigenous language at home a lot more difficult. Since the feeling of their children being at a disadvantage from achieving higher fluency in the main stream language becomes a real concern. While Hinton and Hale (2001) see the above situations as the five main categories of language revitalisation programmes, they give insight into a number of other language learning approaches.

Raising Bilingual Children

Hinton (2001) writes that instead of parents raising their children to be more fluent in the Indigenous language and to avoid the feeling of disadvantaging their children in some way, that perhaps considering bilingualism is a realistic alternative. Much research has been undertaken relating to the advantages of bilingualism, stating that bilingual children as opposed to monolingual children are cognitively more capable, thus bilingualism (according to research) is beneficial to a child's development (Hinton, 2001). Raising one's children to be bilingual is not as easy as it may seem however. While over half of the world's population are bilingual, to deliberately raise a child to be bilingual comes with many problems. For

those who were not deliberately raised to be bilingual but have become bilingual anyway, (which is more common than not) can be attributed to a number of reasons. Either they have attended a school which had very good language teaching such as many schools within Europe for example, or they were nurtured within an environment that consisted of speaking one language at home and another language being spoken outside of the home (Hinton, 2001).

However, if the home environment is made the area to teach both languages simultaenously it can become a complex situation. In most cases, argues Hinton (2001), when children are encouraged to speak only the endangered language at home, the national language is still learnt, due to the interactions of the child outside of the home. Hinton (2001) sees the Hawaiian language as an example, in that since many Hawaiian's use their language in the home and their children attend immersion schools, "there is enough English all around them - in the marketplace, at the playground, among family friends and so on – that the children learn English simultaneously" (p.13) However, the level of fluency of the national language would depend on the number of different experiences the children became exposed to. Thus, in terms of bilingualism, if parents attempt to give equal time to both languages, ultimately it is the endangered language that will suffer because outside of the home, there is minimal or no exposer to the endangered language. The most common mistake parents make when attempting to raise bilingual children, argues Hinton (2001) is that they use the dominant language as the language of communication. Perhaps this is to be expected if the parents themselves are not fluent in the endangered language. However, if they are fluent then the endangered language must be the main language of communication between the child and the parent. Accordingly, to be able to rear a sufficiently bilingual child, the Indigenous/endangered language must be spoken more than the dominant language.

One Parent, One Language
Many parents employ the "one parent, one language" approach. This method involves one parent speaking the endangered language to their children, while the other parent speaks the dominant language to their children. Research undertaken in Australia by Dopke (1992) writes Hinton (2001) shows that this particular approach has a low success rate. While the children quickly learnt the dominant language, their use of the endangered language declined to a stage where they became "passive speakers" in that they understand most of the discussion but do not respond back in the endangered language. However, three common

threads were identified within the approach of the parents that were successful in the rearing of bilingual children through the one parent approach. Firstly, that the parent who spoke the endangered language to their children spent as much time with the children as the parent who spoke the dominant language. Secondly, while no punitive action was meted out by the parents, the parent who spoke the endangered language would refuse to accept a response given in the dominant language by their children. Repeating words in the Indigenous language that could be translated into the dominant language as, what, or excuse me, or I did not catch that, until the child responded back in the endangered language. Thirdly, there was reinforcement of the endangered language outside of the home environment, such as, school programmes, family gatherings where the endangered language was spoken, or having discussions and practical experiences with elders and other fluent speakers. Children that live in a community that actively supports language revitalisation stand more of a chance to gain positive outcomes of the one parent, one language approach.

Developing and using endangered languages
Native speakers of Indigenous languages can be seen as the heart of their languages. At a fundamental level, the basic reason for language death writes Hinton (2001) is that the native speakers stop using their language as the main form of communication. For the most part, a conscious decision to stop speaking the language is made by the native speaker, however, this decision is predominately influenced by the dominant culture attitudes, whether direct or indirect, towards the Indigenous language. Hinton (2001) describes the process of language death as being like the stopping of a heart beat, "…when trauma or disease or deterioration stresses the body beyond that which life can tolerate, the heart stops beating and death ensues" (p. 13). Similar to the stresses and demands of the dominant culture on a minority culture that leads to the cessation of Indigenous languages by their native speakers. Thus, when the heart stops and the death of a person is imminent, the first reaction is to try and get the heart pumping again. Similar to an endangered language, the initial process is to get the native speakers to start speaking the endangered language again. However, this task is not as easy as it may sound and the longer the native speakers have been silent (not speaking the language), the more difficult it is to get them to recouple with the language.

The reality is that the many factors that are attributed to the initial silencing of the language may still be operating. Perhaps the most challenging of situations is the lack of domains

where the language can be used communicatively and meaningfully (Hinton, 2001). A lack of the number of people the native speaker can communicate with and a dwindling of confidence and/or competency to speak the language by the native speakers due to the long duration of silence, can be stumbling blocks which can stop altogether or drastically slow down the reconnection process to the endangered language by the native speakers. Nonetheless, an important question is how can native speakers be encouraged to speak the endangered language? Hinton (2001) maintains that if a person knows a language and is spoken to within that language they will respond accordingly. Thus, the second language learner must be the prodder or the one who encourages the native speaker to re-engage with the language. This situation can be seen as a symbiosis between an individual, and/or group, who desire to speak the endangered language, and the native speakers who want to reconnect with the endangered language but need some type of motivation or starting point.

While the second language learner will initially be limited in their communication skills when interacting with the native speaker, the simple act of greeting someone, or the act of sharing cultural customs, stories, histories and being involved in the everyday tasks of life with a native speaker, can be encouragement enough for the native speaker to not only reconnect with the endangered language, but also build both the learners and the native speaker's confidence. Fundamentally, this approach to encouraging native speakers to re-engage with the endangered language can be seen as enticing them to become teachers of the language. Whether they know how to teach or not is only a small part of the equation, rather, it is about encouraging them to share their essential knowledge and experiences for the long-term survival of the endangered language. Prolonging a language revitalisation plan to the point where only the older generations speak it is not the ideal situation. Unfortunately for most Indigenous languages, this situation is common and for others they are left to try and revive a dead or sleeping language.

Language Change
Without a doubt, language change is inevitable, whether it is desirable or not. Even the most conventional of young speakers or second language speakers regardless of how much exposure they have with native speakers, will display some noticeable differences in their speech, compared to their elder's generation, even though it may not be immediately obvious to them (Hinton, 2001). While speaking to a learner of a Native American language from California, Hinton (2001) was told that no matter which elder this learner had spoken

to, all had a different way of saying certain things. Each elder would say they were right and that all the rest were wrong with the word or pronunciation. So, the learner became familiar with the preference of each elder and spoke accordingly. Most language change is gradual over generations, however, when a dominant culture moves into a location where an Indigenous culture exists, change for the Indigenous culture and its language can be rapid, violent and irreversible. Language change or development is also a necessity in a number of situations.

A language that is not used as the main form of communication will begin to fall behind in terms of the development of new words for such things as new technology, new discourse or new ideas and concepts. For languages that want to extend their reach into new domains such as microbiology, nanotechnology or universology or any domain that has not been discussed in the language before, a change or adaptation or variations in the language are necessary. However, this problem is not isolated to endangered languages only. Hinton (2001) writes that, "The developing countries of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific have taken on this problem and created a whole field, often called "language engineering" to discuss vocabulary development and other issues in language expansion" (p.15). Even international languages are consistently developing new vocabulary for old and new fields of study. Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori – The Māori Language Commission can be seen as one of the major contributors to the development of contemporary words within the Māori language, although, there is some resistance by native speakers when new or unfamiliar words are introduced to the Māori language lexicon. There are a number of reasons for this, such as some native speakers feeling inadequate and frustrated since they can barely follow the gist of a discussion when these unfamiliar words are being used.

One example of the consistent use of these new words (or words from antiquity that have been resurrected but are unfamiliar to most speakers) is on the Māori news channels such as Māori Television, TV1, Marae Investigates, etc., where a large amount of the new vocabulary is heard. Whether the Māori news context by some people is considered a strategically prime setting to introduce new Māori words, or that it just happens to be a favourite watch for native speakers is for the most part unimportant. The main issue confronting people is the implantation of unfamiliar words into *te reo Māori* and this remains a controversial topic. Nonetheless, it is crucial for new vocabulary to be introduced into a language, including *te reo Māori*, since inaction can lead to limitations of the

language, stagnation of the language and ultimately abandonment of the language. Languages must evolve to reflect new environments, contexts and technologies.

Language Planning

Language planning is without a doubt a crucial aspect of language revitalisation. Language learning and the development of language learning resources are normally established before a language plan is even considered. However, when a language plan needs to be implemented, the following five components that have been developed by Hale and Hinton (2001) will help toward creating a comprehensive language plan.

Table 24: Language Planning

Language Planning	
Component 1	The thought processes and research involved in language planning help a community establish reasonable and realistic goals and help find the most effective methods and strategies of reaching those goals.
Component 2	Language planning helps a community keep an eye on long-term goals and the "big picture" in which various projects take place.
Component 3	Community-based language planning is a way of making sure that the community, rather than outside agencies such as governments, public schools, and so on, stays in charge of its own language policy. Outside agents may be an important component in language revitalisation and may even help in language planning, but they should not be the ones to determine the future of the language.
Component 4	Language planning can help to coordinate what might otherwise be disparate or conflicting efforts by different people and groups
Component 5	Good language planning can help to prevent or reduce factionalism and rivalry that might otherwise arise around language and reduce the effectiveness of revitalisation efforts.

Source: Adapted from the *'Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice'*.

A language plan can be implemented by a community, school, a family or even an individual for their own language learning. Hinton writes that, "One of the first things to know about language planning is that it is an open-ended, ongoing process that continues to take place even during implementation of the program" (p. 52). There are a number of stages and steps that must be taken into consideration when developing a language plan (Hinton, 2001);

Table 25: Stages of Language Planning

Language Planning Continued	
Stage/step 1	**The introductory stage**: In this stage, highly motivated people initiate activities, recruit others, and seek community involvement. Committees may be formed at this point, and community meetings might be held.
Stage/step 2	**Goal setting**: What do you want to accomplish? Do you have an overall goal of reversing language shift so that the language becomes the language of communication in the community? (Such a goal may take generations to accomplish). Or perhaps the goal is really something else, such as the maintenance

	of traditional religion or lifeways, with language as a means to an end. Do you have a goal of developing fluent speakers? Whatever the goal maybe, it must be clear and devoid of ambiguity.
Stage/step 3	**Pre-planning and research**: This is the stage at which planners survey their communities, discover their resources, research their language, and find out what other revitalisation programs are doing.
Stage/step 4	**Needs assessment**: Once you know what you have in the way of resources you will also know what you need, do you need funding? How much? Will you need to bring in consultants? What kin go training will be needed? What kind of equipment will have to be obtained? What kind of space will you need etc.?
Stage/step 5	**Policy formulation**: Language policy consists of a set of statements and mandates about language based on philosophy and ideology within the language community. Language policy need not always be a part of planning, and it need not be a formal document, but it may be.
Stage/step 6	**Goal reassessment and developing strategies and methods to reach your goals**: At this stage, the planners are well informed about general community goals, resources, needs, and policies within the context of which a language plan will be implemented. Now is the time to do a more detailed look at goals, and strategies and methods to reach those goals, along with a proposed timeline. Here is where planners will design the nature of specific programs and projects, adopt methodologies, decide on funding strategies, training methods, and so on. Writing proposals and holding training seminars may be taking place at this point.
Stage/step 7	**Implementation**: Now the program begins. Whatever you have planned now takes place. Materials, reference books, and curriculum are developed. Archives grow. Teaching happens. The community is doing the real work of language revitalisation.
Stage/step 8	**Evaluation**: the people involved in revitalisation must evaluate the progress and effectiveness of the program on a regular basis. Evaluation may include such things as the assessment of language proficiency of learners, the amount and quality of materials developed, the degree to which desired groups are involved (such as the elders who are the speakers of the language), and so on.
Stage/step 9	**Re-planning**: evaluation of the program leads back to planning. Given that problems were identified in stage 8, how should the program be modified to solve them? Given that successes were identified in stage 8, does this mean that the community is ready to implement a more advance goal? Re-planning will take place on a constant basis once a program is under way.

Source: Adapted from the *'Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice'*.

Hinton (2001) suggests that language planning is not a huge obstacle that needs to be navigated before language revitalisation can proceed. If one has a project for language regeneration, waiting to see how it will fit in this overarching language plan is not necessary. Furthermore, language planning should never be viewed as completed as Hinton suggests, "A continuous evaluative and re-planning component to a language program can help coordinate different projects within a community, develop funding for them, reduce the intensity of factionalism and ensure that language revitalisation efforts develop effectively" (2001, p. 58).

UNESCO

The UNESCO model, Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) is another language revitalisation model to be considered. The UNESCO model in Figure 18 below establishes six categories in a scale of language vitality. For the purpose of assessing the status of a language, the framework provides a set of nine factors (table 25 below) that can be analysed to determine the category, the most significant of these factors is intergenerational transmission. In contrast to Fishman's GIDS, the UNESCO model provides a more comprehensive set of categories at the weaker end of the scale. However, it does not differentiate the status of languages which are above Level 6 on the GIDS scale and includes them all together under the single label of "Safe" (UNESCO, 2009). The LVE model was developed by a group of experts consisting of linguists from a number of regions in 2001- 2002 and accepted at an international meeting, 'Safeguarding Endangered Languages' convened at the UNESCO Headquarters in 2003 (UNESCO, 2011). LVE identifies the following nine criteria to be used in determining the degree of vitality/endangerment of a language and developing measures for its maintenance or revitalisation.

Figure 18: Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE).

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Safe	The language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
Vulnerable	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
Definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely endangered	The language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
Critically endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
Extinct	There are no speakers left

Source: UNESCO 2009

Table 26: Nine Criteria

Criteria 1	Intergenerational language transmission
Criteria 2	Absolute number of speakers
Criteria 3	Proportion of speakers within the total population
Criteria 4	Shifts in domains of language use
Criteria 5	Response to new domains and media
Criteria 6	Availability of materials for language education and literacy
Criteria 7	Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use
Criteria 8	Community members' attitudes toward their own language
Criteria 9	Amount and quality of documentation

Source: Adapted from (UNESCO, 2011, p.3)

Another language revitalisation model is the Ethnologue Vitality Model shown below in Figure 19. This model classifies language vitality in terms of a five-level scale which, concentrates more on first language speakers. However overall, this model can be seen as a well-rounded effort of evaluating the status and the extent of the endangerment of a language. On the negative side, this model fails to give clear distinction between languages at the higher end of Fishman's GIDS scale, including a lack of definition between levels of development and diversity between the languages defined by the Ethnologue model as "living" (Lewis, 2009).

Figure 19: Ethnologue Language Vitality Model

Category	Description
Living	Significant population of first-language speakers
Second Language Only	Used as second-language only. No first-language users, but may include emerging users
Nearly Extinct	Fewer than 50 speakers or a very small and decreasing fraction of an ethnic population
Dormant	No known remaining speakers, but a population links its ethnic identity to the language
Extinct	No remaining speakers and no population links its ethnic identity to the language

Source: Lewis (2009)

While the UNESCO (LVE) model and the Ethnologue language Vitality model incorporate aspects of Fishman's GIDS, the EGIDS (Expanded GIDS) model in figure 20 below, is perhaps one of the more expansive examples of a language revitalisation strategy that integrates Fishman's GIDS. The EGIDS model lists thirteen levels, with the inclusion of the extra levels (Levels 0, 9 and 10) giving new descriptive categories that allow the EGIDS to be applied to all languages. Lewis and Simmons (2010) have included Level 0 (International) to permit a categorisation of all the worlds languages. Level 9 (Dormant) describes languages that have gone out of use fairly recently, however, in some situations revitalisation strategies may well be underway. Level 10 (Extinct) accounts for those languages that have no remaining speakers and no immediate desire, by the community, to have a relationship with the language. Lewis and Simmons (2010) describe the EGIDS as a harmonisation of Fishman's GIDS, the UNESCO Language Vitality Endangerment model (LVE) and the Ethnologue Language Vitality model. The EGIDS, can be seen as an example of how a number of language evaluation and revitalisation models can be combined to extend the effectiveness and inclusiveness of the initial models. It can be argued that this type of model is what is required to develop robust language revitalisation strategies.

Figure 20: Expanded GIDS Model

LEVEL	LABEL	DESCRIPTION	UNESCO
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

Source: Lewis & Simmons (2010)

UNESCO DOCUMENT

The document was supplied by UNESCO and its content was developed by a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization ad hoc expert group on endangered languages.

Image 49: UNESCO headquarters

Source: http://mosaicofchange.org/gallery-event.html

The data relates to language revitalisation with specific reference to the LVE model developed by UNESCO. However, it provides good insight into some of the language revitalisation strategies being developed by UNESCO and highlights key aspects. The document was submitted to the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages, Paris, 10 -12 March 2003. The document has been included in this thesis (appendix three) for a number of reasons. Firstly, it provides an authentic view of where international experts in the field of language revitalisation are moving and what type of language revitalisation strategies they consider relevant. The document supplies a type of historical view of linguistic processes and the critical characteristics of language documentation that explain UNESCO's involvement with the regeneration of endangered languages.

The document gives detailed accounts of where and how to begin to develop a language revitalisation approach. It reveals what important aspects to look for when evaluating the endangerment level of declining languages and many more concepts and tools that would assist individuals and groups when considering the development of a language restoration strategy. Thus, it is most important to display the document in its entirety as it holds some significant information relating to language revitalisation. The UNESCO document is informatively extensive and covers a multitude of aspects relating to language revitalisation. The many aspects within the document are readily assessable and relatively straight forward to implement. As stated in previous chapters, the Māori community have

been viewed as one of the leaders in terms of Indigenous language revitalisation (Hinton & Hale, 2001). For instance, many Indigenous communities in other countries have adopted the model of Te Kōhanga Reo. Language immersion schools in Indigenous languages are an on-going developing trend following Māori models (Te Ipukarea, 2013). Most models of language revitalisation share commonalities that include well-organised and thoughtfully implemented language polices. Development and enhancement of on-going efforts of speaker communities to maintain, or revitalise their cultural languages and of course political will and investment by governments (Fishman, 1991; Moseley, 2010). However, language revitalisation has a better chance of success when it emerges from local communities, spreads to important societal domains (i.e. government, education, media, communities) and receives on-going and targeted support from the larger national non-Indigenous community and government (Te Ipukarea, 2013). As previously stated, the entire UNESCO document can be viewed in appendix three of this thesis.

Moko Kauae **Model. An evaluation tool to measure the health level of** *te reo Māori.*

The *Moko Mataora* model developed in chapter one, used the male facial *moko* as a compass to navigate the many aspects involved in the development of language revitalisation strategies. The following model has been developed using aspects of the female *moko* (or *moko kauae*) to evaluate the health of *te reo Māori*. While the following model is quite specific to Māori, with a few adjustments, it can be applied in the evaluation of many other Indigenous languages. The research undertaken by Robley (1896) relating to *moko kauae* was not as comprehensive as his study of the male facial *moko* writes Walker (1985), mainly because Robley relied on, to a large degree, *mokamokai* (preserved heads) for material relating to *moko*.

Female *mokamokai* states Walker (1985) were rare, Robley obtained only two examples and of these, one was tattooed in an uncharacteristic manner. While Robley's (1896) research relating to *moko kauae* is minimal and does not add significantly to the information pertaining to the Māori female *moko*, he was one of the only individuals of that period, to undertake such research and his efforts (although they seem rather unconventional in a contemporary context) have captured parts of an era and practices that otherwise may have been lost. Below is the *waharoa* (gateway) that displays the physical representation of the *moko kauae* model, but to gain understanding of this model, one must enter the *waharoa*

with a Māori world view in mind. Thus, the *waharoa* is simply a gateway or portal that will transport the inquirer to the information they seek.

Figure 21: The Moko Kauae Model: An evaluation tool to measure the health level of *te reo Māori*.
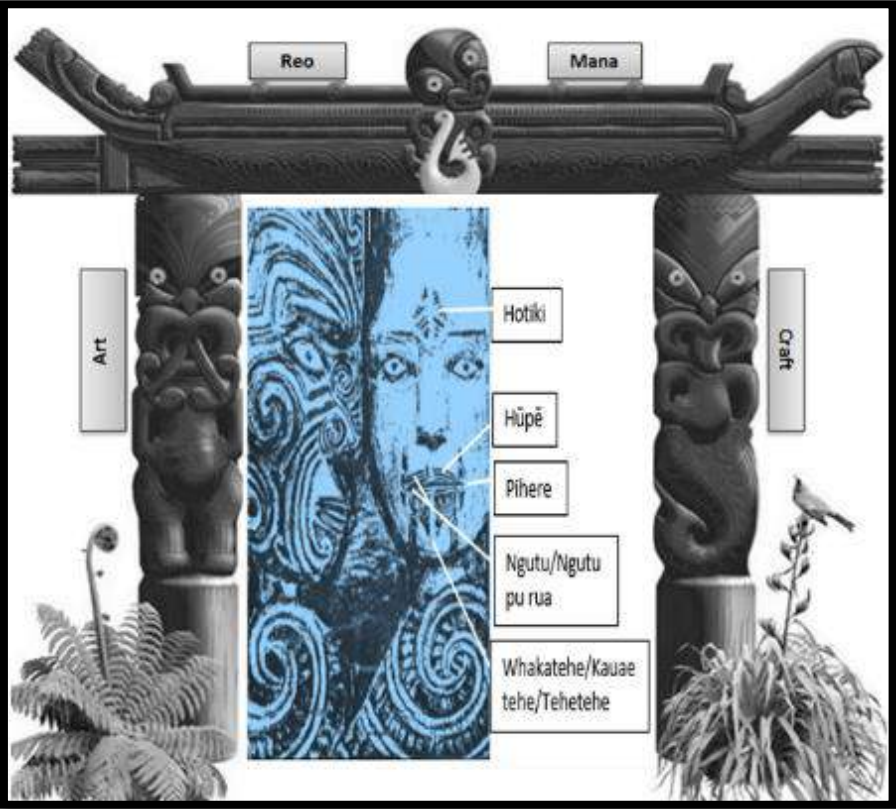
The Moko Kauae Model was developed as a tool to measure the health levels of *te reo Māori*. It was impractical to include, within the model, a complete and comprehensive list of all the elements of the female *moko* since there are many variations of the *moko kauae* and its various marks, patterns and designs from *iwi* to *iwi*, *hapū* to *hapū* and even from *whānau* to *whānau*, pertaining to *whakapapa* (Walker, 1985; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2011; Best, 1942). However, the names used to describe the elements in the Moko Kauae Model, are derived from the research of Horatio Gordon Robley: Te Ropere, and are generally descriptive physiognomic features or rather, they relate to specific areas on the face and head (Walker, 1985). The dictionary of the Māori language (Williams, 1975) was used to clarify the definitions of the elements in the Moko Kauae Model. The following table lists the various tattoo marks/designs of *moko kauae* and their locations on the face. There are five listed designs in the table below.

Table 27: *Moko kauae* patterns

5 – *Hotiki*	Tattoo marks on the forehead of a woman (Robley, 1896, Williams, 1975)
4 – *Pihere*	Tattoo marks on the side of the mouth (Robley, 1896, Williams, 1975)
3 – *Hūpē*	Tattoo marks on the upper lip (Robley, 1896)
2 – *Ngutu/Ngutu pu rua*	Tattooing of both lips (Robley, 1896)
1 – *Whakatehe/Kauae tehe/Tehetehe*	Tattoo marks on the chin of a woman (Robley, 1896, Williams, 1975)
0 – *Kanohi mā*	(Clear face). The absents of any tattoo designs (Anaru, 2017)

Source: Adapted from
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/Language_vitality_and_endanger
ment_EN.pdf

As previously mentioned, the names attached to these tattoo designs have other meanings beyond the ones described within the table above. The concepts in table 27 above have been linked to the intricate *moko kauae* designs and patterns with explanations of culturally informed methods pertaining to the evaluation and the health level of *te reo Māori*.

There are four areas of study within each *Ripanga* (table of contents) that follows. The first study area is, "*Pūmotu*" (element). This aspect includes the name, characteristics (where stated) and location of the design element on the forehead, mouth, lips and or chin. The second aspect comes under the heading "*Tērā atu māramatanga*" (other meanings relating to the name of the element). The third is "*Hāngai ki te arotakenga o te reo Māori*" (applicable concepts pertaining to the evaluation of *te reo Māori*) and the last aspect is "*Te Matū*" (the essence, the crux) relating to the evaluated position of the endangered language. The model starts with *Pūmotu rima* and works its way down to *Pūmotu kore*.

Ripanga tuatahi

***Pūmotu tuarima*:** the fifth element within the *Moko Kauae* Model above, is known as *"Hotiki"* and is described as tattoo marks on the forehead of a woman, (all tattoo elements are illustrated in figure 21, *Moko Kauae* Model above).

***Tērā atu māramatanga*:** other meanings of *Hotiki (sometimes displayed with a macron on the 'ō')* is tie, fasten, attach with cord etc. (Williams, 1975).

***Hāngai ki te arotakenga o te reo Māori*.** The position of the *Hotiki* element, on the forehead indicates that *te reo Māori* is strongly fastened within the mind of a person. It is attached to the mind, heart and spirit of an individual and represents the pinnacle of language safety. *Hotiki* indicates that the Māori language is used in all aspects of daily life, including, work, schools, homes, communities, government and international communications and indicates that intergenerational language transmission is ongoing. *Kia mau ki te kupu o tōu mātua* (hold fast to the words of your parents) similarly, hold fast to the language spoken by your parents and all

those before them (Mead & Grove, 2001). Thus, the element *Hotiki* reflects the essence of the above *whakataukī*.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *Hotiki* refers to the unconditional vitality of *te reo Māori*. Thus, the language is "Thriving".

Ripanga tuarua

Pūmotu tuawhā: the fourth element within the *Moko Kauae* Model, is known as *"Pihere"* and is described as tattoo marks on the side of the mouth.

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings of *Pihere* is to ensnare or bind (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te arotakenga o te reo Māori. The position of the *Pihere* element, on the side of the mouth points to the fact that while *te reo Māori* is being spoken, its use is limited to a few areas within society, excluding international communication, government, a few work areas, some schools and areas of the community. Suggesting that the vitality of *te reo Māori* is diminishing and there is a need to bind (or encase) the resolve of individuals to speak the Māori language and to ensnare (or capture) other domains where the language is experiencing decline. "*Kia mau ki tō toko; Titiro whakaute*" (Hold fast to your support; look after it) (Mead & Grove, 2001). In this *whakataukī*, the Māori language is a support post for the identity and ongoing survival of the Māori culture and it must be cared for.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *Pihere* refers to a noticeable decline of *te reo Māori* within several domains and the language is "Potentially at risk".

Ripanga tuatoru

Pūmotu tuatoru: the third element within the *Moko Kauae* Model, is known as *"Hūpē"* and is described as tattoo marks on the upper lip (Robley, 1896).

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings of *Hūpē* are discharge from the nose, tattoo on point of nose, pattern in carving (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te arotakenga o te reo Māori. The position of the *Hūpē* element, on the upper lip (according to Robley, 1896) points to the fact that *te reo Māori* is being spoken only in the home. While there is still intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori (in the homes that *speak te reo Māori*), its decline is increasing. "*Ka heke te roimata me te hūpē, ka ea te mate*" (when tears and mucus fall the death is avenged) (Mead & Grove, 2001). In other words, when one laments, in this instance, the deterioration of *te reo Māori*, it is part of a grieving process. The assumption is the feeling of impending loss creates a nucleus of support to push back or avenge the continual decline of *te reo Māori*.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *Hūpē* refers to the continual decline of *te reo Māori* and the language is "Categorically threated".

Ripanga tuawhā

Pūmotu tuarua: the second element within the *Moko Kauae* Model, is known as *"Ngutu/Ngutu pu rua"* and is described as tattooing on both lips (Robley, 1896).

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings of *Ngutu/Ngutu pu rua* are lip, beak, rim of a vessel, mouth, entrance of a cave/river, talk, gossip (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te arotakenga o te reo Māori. The position of the *Ngutu/Ngutu pu rua* element, on both lips, points to the fact that *te reo Māori* is being spoken by an ever-decreasing number of Māori and intergenerational language transmission is minimal. *He hanga nā te waha o te ngutu nō mua iho anō* (although seeming to be only from the lips, it is of ancient origin). Ancient sayings and customs gain force from their antiquity, providing precepts for modern times (Mead & Grove, 2001). These teachings are found in a cultures language and when a language is in danger, it includes the diminishing of many aspects.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *Ngutu/Ngutu pu rua* refers to the furthering decline of *te reo Māori* and the language is "Acutely imperilled".

Ripanga tuarima

Pūmotu tuatahi: the first element within the *Moko Kauae* Model, is known as *"Whakatehe/Kauae Tehe/Tehetehe"* and is described as tattooing on the chin of a woman (Robley, 1896).

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings of *Whakatehe/Kauae-Tehe/Tehetehe* is a course white edible fungus which grows on the ground in the scrub. (Williams, 1975).

Hāngai ki te arotakenga o te reo Māori. The position of the *Whakatehe/Kauae-Tehe/Tehetehe* element, on the chin of a woman points to (within this model) the situation that *te reo Māori* is being spoken by only a few across the generational divide and intergeneration language transmission has ceased, however, a few Māori still connect with their Indigenous identity. *Kei tua i te awe kāpara, he tangata kē māna e noho te ao nei, he mā* (behind the tattooed face stands a stranger who will inherit the earth). This particular translation was given by Best (1907a) and Gudgeon (1907), however Buck (1974) suggests that prophecy is susceptible to more than one interpretation, thus he supplies the following, "Behind the tattooed face a different man appears. He will continue to inhabit this land - he is untattooed" (Mead & Grove, 2001). The relevance of this prophecy (relating to language decline) is the fact that when this untattooed man appeared, he brought with him another language. A language which has now become the first language of most Māori.

Te Matū. Therefore, the element *Whakatehe/Kauae-Tehe/Tehetehe* refers to the desperate situation of the Māori language and is "Gravely endangered".

Ripanga kore

Pūmotu kore: the negative element within the *Moko Kauae* Model, is known as *"Kanohi mā"* and is described as an untattooed face (Mead & Grove, 2001).

Tērā atu māramatanga: other meanings of *Kanohi mā are* plain face/white face (Anaru, 2016).

Hāngai ki te arotakenga o te reo Māori. The *pūmotu kore*, *Kanohi mā* holds the lowest position within the *Moko Kauae* model. This element refers to an untattooed face, a face that is plain without patterns or markings, a naked face. Thus, within the moko kauae model the *pūmotu kore* refers to the fact there are no more Māori speakers. Thus, all Māori are *Kanohi mā*, where there are no speakers and no connections to Māori Indigenous identity.

Te Matū. Therefore, *Kanohi mā* refers to language demise and is a "Sleeping language".

As can be seen in the Moko Kauae Model above, the concepts CRIT and CRIE provide a critical view into the evaluation of *te reo Māori* and the outcome (the model) or HART, is

ready to be employed into evaluating language health. The table 37 below is a summary of the above *ngā ripanga* relating to the Moko Kauae Model. The table's contents provide an estimation of the level of language endangerment pertaining to *te reo Māori* when used in conjunction with the "five-point scale" (table 38). It also identifies the elements of the Moko Kauae Model and their functions.

Table 37: Evaluation model for *te reo Māori*

An evaluation tool to measure the health level of *te reo Māori.*
Taumata (level)	*Pūmotu* (element)	*Āhuatanga* (function)	*Nohonga* (position)
5	*Hotiki*	*Hotiki* indicates that the Māori language is used in all aspects of daily life, including, work, schools, homes, communities, government, international communications and intergenerational language transmission is ongoing.	Thriving
4	*Pihere*	While *te reo Māori* is being spoken, its use is limited, thus excludes several areas within society, such as, international communication, government, most work areas, some schools and areas of the community.	Potentially at risk
3	*Hūpē*	*Te reo Māori* is being spoken only in the home. While there is still intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* (in the homes that speak *te reo Māori*), its decline is increasing.	Categorically threated
2	*Ngutu/Ngutu pu rua*	*Te reo Māori* is being spoken by an ever-decreasing number of Māori and intergenerational language transmission is minimal.	Acutely imperilled
1	*Whakatehe/Kauae-Tehe/Tehetehe*	*Te reo Māori* is being spoken by only a few across the generational divide and intergeneration language transmission has ceased altogether, however, a few Māori continue to connect with their Indigenous identity.	Seriously threated
0	*Kanohi mā*	Within this element all Māori are *Kanohi mā* (literal meaning, plain face/white face). Wider meaning, there are no living speakers and little connection to Māori Indigenous identity exists.	Sleeping

The table below is what is referred to as the "Five Point Scale". There are five possible points to be acquired. To claim a point requires a criterion to be met. For example, if

intergenerational language transmission is present in the context of an individual or groups language efforts, one point is earned. If the endangered language is being spoken in the home, another point is earned giving a total count of two. These points are used against the "evaluation model for *te reo Māori*" above, thus two points equates to level two, the element *Ngutu/Ngutu pu rua*. Meaning the health of *te reo Māori* is "Acutely imperiled". If no points can be claimed then the endangered language is "*Kanohi mā*" meaning the language is "sleeping", although a sleeping language can move into being "dead" if insufficient documentation is available to revive it from its slumber. Therefore, whenever a point is earned, the health of the endangered language is seen to increase. The five-point scale was developed to be used by an individual, a *whānau*, a *hapū*, an *iwi* and groups of the wider community. As an example, an individual who has no understanding of the Māori language, would start with no points, and would choose one of the points (in the five-point scale) to achieve in each time frame (utilising the *moko mataora* as a guide). When this point has been successfully attained, the individual can move on to another point. This same scenario can be played out by *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and community groups.

If an individual or one of the groups already mentioned have skills relating to *te reo Māori*, they can immediately claim certain points, making their way to achieving language safety within their context. However, as Joshua Fishman (2007) states, to achieve full success in developing communities of belief, pertaining to the revitalisation of a language, is very rare, and only a very few have been able to attain a high level. This statement can be intepreted in several ways, in relation to language revivalists who do not attain complete success in language revitalisation planning. This situation should not be viewed as a failure, but rather as a success. The *moko* models, can be used by other Indigenous groups (and adjusted according to their situation) to assist in the revitalisation of their precious languages. Therefore, in relation to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*, and viewing the approach of the models at a basic level, the fundamental idea is working towards achieving all five points to reach a language level that is "thriving". Nevertheless, as Hinton and Hale (2001) suggest, most Indigenous cultures could never hope to achieve the higher levels of Joshua Fishman's GIDS. Therefore, one must hold realistic expectations, although, this should not decrease the desire to reach for the highest possible pinnacle of language safety. When all five points (or the best level possible) has been achieved, the ongoing task is to maintain that level, since if due diligence is not shown, descending back down the five-point scale could be a reality.

Table 29: Five Point Scale - Aspects for language health

Points	Five Point Scale
1	Continually achieving new levels of competency in *te reo Māori*
1	Intergenerational language transmission is being practised
1	Furthering the domains where *te reo Māori* is used
1	The main language spoken in the home is *te reo Māori*
1	Continually strengthening one's knowledge in relation to all aspect of *te ao Māori* and aiding those who are making strong efforts in connecting with *te reo Māori*

Source: Adapted from (Anaru, 2017)

Conclusion

There are numerous language revitalisation programmes and approaches that are currently being used world-wide. However, it should be remembered, that while some language revitalisation programmes work for certain endangered language communities, they may not necessarily work for others. As discussed in this chapter, there are many forms and levels of language decline and language endangerment, thus one approach does not fit all. The programmes, approaches, strategies and methods that are included in this chapter are proven to produce positive results relating to language revitalisation, however, the success of any type of plan relies heavily on individuals or groups to constantly evaluate and adjust their plan according to the changing circumstances. Two important aspects of language revitalisation to remember is that all language revitalisation programmes are slow-moving processes without exception. The message in this is that communities should not be too quick to become disheartened if results are not immediately seen, and that they should stick at it as positive results will be forthcoming. Secondly, when considering implementing a language revitalisation programme, one must have a clear goal in mind; if the goal is unclear then it follows that the language plan will most probably be ineffective. The Moko Kauae Model has been developed combining several of the approaches discussed in this chapter and embedding these in a Māori cultural frame. While it is designed to evaluate the health of *te reo Māori*, with some adjustments, it is proposed that the model can be adapted for use by other Indigenous communities who are also experiencing language decline.

The moko kauae and the moko mataora models can make a significant and original contribution to the fields of revitalisation of te reo Māori, Māori studies, Indigenous studies and to the field of language revitalisation generally. First and foremost, the models are based on the traditional Māori practise of tattooing, located on the head and facial area, and is

referred to as tā moko (making aspects of this research clearly unique and original). Furthermore, relationships and connections are identified between language revitalisation approaches and strategies with the elements, patterns and designs of both the moko kauae and moko mataora (which is also a unique and original concept connected to this research). These connections are expressed through an Indigenous Māori world view which include Indigenous truths, Indigenous principles and many other aspects contained within mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori. These models (which includes the NRWOT model) not only display a uniquely Indigenous Māori view but can be used by other Indigenous peoples as examples of how they could utilise their own tikanga, world views and oral narratives in their own research to help revitalise their own respective languages. At the time this research was undertaken, no other researcher had developed models such as these or have used similar approaches and strategies in the revitalisation of the Māori language, thus, these models are distinct to this research and can be seen as authentically Indigenous and genuinely original in their approach to the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

CHAPTER SIX:
LANGUAGE REVITALISATION THEORY

Image 50: Koiri

The design *Koiri* is used mainly in *kōwhaiwhai* but its use can be seen in *whakairo* as well as *tā moko*. This pattern means to flourish and be bountiful. This design is extensively used in *Tai Rāwhiti*, however, in contemporary *tā moko* its use is quite communal (like many other Māori designs). Within this thesis the design *Koiri* represents the bountiful and ongoing flourishment of *te reo Māori* through the efforts and determination of those committed groups and individuals who want to see the Māori language recover and flourish. "*Ahakoa he iti te matakahi, ka pakaru i a ia te tōtara*" (Although the wedge is small, it overcomes the *tōtara*) (Mead & Grove, 2001). In other words, great and inspiring results can be achieved (like the flourishing of *te reo Māori*) by an individual or small group when efforts are properly applied, and commitment is unfailing. Ngata (1959, p, xiv cited in Mead & Grove, 2001) wrote "*Utaina*!" meaning load it! He was referring to the Māori language urging Māori people to record *te reo Māori* for prosperity so that the present and future generations can carry it forward. These recordings and many other aspects relating to the Māori language, are a part of its corpus and or documentation.

Introduction

This chapter examines language revitalisation theories, models, programmes and resources that are being used by endangered language communities, nationally and internationally. Case-studies have also been incorporated which show communities under stress in terms of the severity of language loss and others that have recognised the need to mobilise their community and develop language revitalisation strategies to resuscitate their language.

Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata (One thousand homes, one thousand aspirations)

Ngāi Tahu is an *iwi* which asserts its *mana* across most of Te Waipounamu (South Island) of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Ngāi Tahu's history of land alienation and cultural loss is one of the many incidences of Indigenous Māori persecution, especially the Ngāi Tahu *reo*, since for many years the whereabouts of the small number of speakers relating to their dialect, were not widely known.

Image 51: Kotahi Mano Kāika (KMK)

Source: Adapted from http://www.kmk.maori.nz/

In 2000 as a consequence of several *hui* of tribal members, Ngāi Tahu engaged in major strategic planning. These initiatives included health, education, employment, development of regional tribal councils and language revitalisation of the southern dialect. Leigh (2010) writes that "Ngāi Tahu set strategic goals and long-term visions to be achieved for all of its tribal members by 2025, as well as intermediary goals to check progress on the journey" (p. 67). Within their language initiative Ngāi Tahu identified that intergenerational language transmission was not occurring and had not occurred for 80 years in most locations and 130 years in others. They could only claim three remaining native speakers who spoke the southern dialect. Therefore, the challenge was set down for Ngāi Tahu to create a nucleus of speakers within their region where the aspiration of intergenerational language transmission could be possible. A formal language planning committee was set up in 2000 which consisted of members experienced in language teaching, tribal development and different sectors of education. Leigh (2010) states that;

> The language Planning Committee also consulted with world renowned language expert, Joshua Fishman from New York, who advised the group to 'focus on the home and intergenerational transmission'. In his opinion this was the only way language revitalisation would be achieved if the parents and children were speaking te reo and Ngāi Tahi dialects in the home. Following his advice and after deliberating over other accompanying priorities the Ngā Tahu (Ngāi Tahu Development, 2001) language strategy KMK was developed. Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata (Translation: thousand homes where the language is alive and transferred from one generation to another to achieve a thousand dreams and aspirations) (p. 68).

The KMK strategy focuses primarily on the intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* supported by an extensive range of language initiatives and resources for learners of all

levels. To support this strategy, four contestable funds are available for Ngāi Tahu *iwi* members in the development and leadership of *te reo Māori*. Several key goals drive the work of KMK including: raising the awareness of the importance of language and the benefits of bilingualism; increasing the number of fluent speakers; supporting *whānau* to use *te reo Māori* as a communicative everyday language within the home. To date more than 1500 *whānau* (4500 individuals) are registered with *Kotahi Mano Kāika* and are committed to learning and using *te reo Māori*. Around 50 *whānau* have committed to normalising and using *te reo Māori* as the language of first choice in their homes and with their families (kmk.maori.nz, 2016). The current (2016) strategies and priorities for KMK can be observed in the following table 38.

Table 30: KMK Current Strategies

Current Strategic Priorities 2016
For the past fifteen years Kotahi Mano Kāika has focused on building enthusiasm, capacity and capability amongst Kāi Tahu whānau, papatipu rūnanga and our communities towards achieving our vision of Kotahi Mano Kāika -1000 Ngāi Tahu homes speaking te reo Māori. Since the first strategy was released in 2000, the strategy has been reviewed every five years. Our three current priorities are;

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Goal 1:
Magnetising the core
'Making te reo and the lifestyle choice incorporating intergenerational transmission more attractive and desirable'

Objectives:
•Raising the value of te reo Māori and intergenerational transmission as a preferred lifestyle choice for Ngāi Tahu.
•Ngāi Tahu making a mark as a role model in Language Revitalisation.

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Goal 2:
Mobilising the masses
'Enabling more people to become actively involved in reo revitalisation initiatives and commit to intergenerational transmission within their homes.'

Objectives:
•Increasing the number of quality Ngāi Tahu reo speakers.
•Supporting Ngāi Tahu whānau to use te reo as an everyday language.

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Goal 3: **Advocating for Influence, Cohesion and Coordination** 'Increase the number of active advocates and build strategic relationships to deliver and achieve greater outcomes.' Objectives: •Ngāi Tahu have increased influence in the strategic direction of efforts and activities in te reo Māori revitalisation across all sectors in the Ngāi Tahu Rohe. •Increased number of Ngāi Tahu advocates actively support and champion KMK and reo revitalisation amongst the wider tribal populace and beyond.
Major Issues Affecting KMK
Despite our successes and achievements over the past 15 years, there are several major issues that are challenging the success of te reo revitalisation amongst Ngāi They are;

Value: Te Reo Māori is dwarfed by other priorities both at the individual and tribal levels and therefore given little attention or recognition.
Apathy: A lack of stimuli or urgency which motivate people to become active participants in language revitalisation efforts.
People Power: Severely limited capacity within the Ngāi Tahu rohe (and beyond) of competent people who can fulfil and drive te reo positions/projects including but not limited to: teachers, champions at local and national levels, drivers of reo initiatives
Access to education: There are limited choices for quality te reo Māori education options from early childhood through to tertiary for residents of Te Waipounamu.
Leadership: Ngāi Tahu requires a greater number of tribal leaders to champion and advocate for KMK and role model language revitalisation and intergenerational transmission if critical mass is to be achieved.

Source: Adapted from http://www.kmk.maori.nz/our-strategy/

A long-time advocate and staunch supporter of KMK, and the Māori language in general, Dr Hana O'Regan has fought on many fronts to save the Ngāi Tahu dialect of *te reo Māori* and through her, and the few others who are like minded thinkers, *te reo Māori* in *te Waipounamu* is making a steady come back. During a visit in 2013 to the Hualien Tribal College and the College of Indigenous Studies at NDHU in Taiwan by Hana O'Regan and Megan Grace from the Centre for Māori and Pasifika Studies at Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology, Hana spoke about some of the difficulties the KMK initiative was experiencing. Kerim (2013) states;

> Hana admitted that they were overly ambitious when they first launched the program [KMK]. They are still far from having 1000 homes. They made a mistake by thinking it would be enough to simply offer the resources for language learning and assume that there would be enough interest that the program would take off on its own. After a few years they switched focus to instead helping a few, highly dedicated, families start using Maori in the home. They provide materials and training to help these families learn the skills necessary to use the language in the home. (Hana, herself a Maori teacher, had found that the existing textbooks were of little use in the homes.) As a result of their efforts there are now about 50 children being raised as native-speakers of Southern Maori. Hana and Megan spoke about the kind of training and resources families needed to begin using Maori in the home, as well as some of the principles underlying their approach to language revitalization (p.2).

Hana and Megan described the kind of training and resources families needed, to begin using *te reo Maori* in the home, including some of the principles underlying their approach to language revitalisation (Kerim, 2013). Table 39 below is a summary of these approaches and principals.

Table 31: Learning *te reo Māori* in the home

Point: One	The language used in schools, between a teacher and a student, is not appropriate for the home. They needed to develop and model linguistic resources so that non-native-speakers could use Māori with their children. In doing so they focused on daily activities, such as bathing, nursing, cooking, or getting ready for bed.
Point: Two	Young people also need language that they can use with other young people. This might include "cursing" (although they tried to create curses that "sound good" and respect traditional culture).
Point: Three	They constantly had to re-coin new words. While traditionally many Māori had borrowed words using Māori pronunciations of foreign words, they worked hard to re-coin many of these loan words. For instance, rorohiko (lightening-mind) for "computer." (They also held workshops to coin new Māori idioms.)
Point: Four	Much time was spent on creating fun activities for all the families and children engaged in the programme [KMK], so that the children's fondest memories would be associated with Māori. This also helped encourage other people to join the program.
Point: Five	Emphasised that it is very hard to change the language you use with someone after you initially establish a relationship with that person. For this reason, they begin to create activities whereby people could establish new relationships with their peers in Māori.
Point: Six	A map was developed where you can find schools, businesses, and services with Māori speakers. Hana described driving past four markets in order to take her kids shopping at one where they could speak Māori. This also encourages the employment of Māori speakers.

Source: Adapted from http://savageminds.org/2013/06/18/kotahi-mano-kaika-kotahi-mano-wawata-learning-an-endangered-language-part-7/

Thus, while KMK has experienced success on several levels, its progress in terms of reaching its goal of a thousand homes, within *Te Waipounamu*, where *te reo Māori* is spoken, by 2025 seems a rather distant aspiration.

Tapuika – Language Revitalisation Strategy: Preparing for the next 50 years
An article written by Pauline Carney in the Te Puke Times (see full article below) gives a good summary of what language revitalisation strategies Tapuika (an *iwi* from Te Puke – Bay of Plenty) are considering for the future of their *te reo Māori* dialect. While the article was written in 2012 the language initiatives of *Tapuika* are ongoing and are consistently being developed.

Image 52: Tapuika – *Iwi* in the Bay of Plenty

Source: Adapted from http://tapuika.iwi.nz/

[Ngāti] Moko marae, at Waitangi [Te Puke], has been hosting ''the Maori language brain's trust'' for the launch of the online resource Te Whanake, as part of an Indigenous Language Revitalisation pilot of which Tapuika is a part. The Tapuika Iwi Authority and Te Matai Te Kura a Iwi o Tapuika (the school at Waitangi) are excited and honoured to be a part of the digital learning platform to revitalise, capture and strengthen the Tapuika dialect. This is a first for any Maori tribal group which has Auckland University of Technology/Te Ipukarea helping in developing a body of resources that will benefit present and future generations of Tapuika across the globe. Tapuika representatives, Dr Hinematau McNeill and Anthony Wihapi, attended the Language Revitalisation Symposium at the New York City University on behalf of their iwi at the end of May. They are passionate advocates of the language and Tapuika dialect. Technology is advancing so quickly and Tapuika is excited to be able to harness and use it (technology) to strengthen itself as an iwi. It is also excited to be developing apps across the curriculum in its own language to enhance the education of its tamariki (children). Speaking about the history and development of Auckland University of Technology/Te Ipukarea, Professor Tania [Ka'ai] thanked Tapuika for providing a point where academic study meets people living regular lives. She promised exciting times for iwi and kura as they embrace the potential of new technology, which is enormous.

Under the auspices of Te Ipukarea (National Maori Language Institute), Tapuika is a participant site in an endangered languages project involving the Salish (Montana US) Yiddish and Hawaiian language groups. The first phase involved launching Te Whanake online Maori learning platform (developed by Professor John Moorfield) at Te Matai Kura a Iwi oTapuika. The kura (school) recently invested in 20 iPads for students to access online resources to support learning and teaching of te reo Maori. To support this initiative another project, Computers in Homes, has produced its first batch of graduates (parent/pakeke). A professional development programme for staff and whanau to support digital learning in the kura has been running this week. Apple IT consultants, digital experts and trainers will be working with Tapuika to train whanau and teachers in the teaching and learning of Te Whanake. Other experts will train teachers in the use of digital learning applications across the curriculum, including maths and science. The main focus for Tapuika is the online Maori language acquisition platform, Te Whanake, which will be supported by a Tapuika dialect development, which includes a Tapuika dictionary, pod casting of Tapuikatanga me era atu tumomo mahi [including other types of initiatives]. Saturday's launch showcases the digital revolution in learning being spearheaded by a kura Maori in primary schools. The launch of Te Whanake online platform was conducted by Anthony Wihapi [a kaumatua for Tapuika].

The guest speakers included Te Ururoa Flavell, the MP for Waiariki and Maori Party spokesman for education. From Tapuika, Dr Bryce Kihirini: Te Matai Kura a Iwi o Tapuika and from AUT Dr Pare Keiha and Professors Tania Ka'ai and John Moorfield. Professor Moorfield (BA, Auckland), MEd (Wales), LittD (Otago), DipTchg, RSA/Cambridge CTEFLA) is a professor in Maori Innovation and Development at Te Ara Poutama, the Faculty of Maori Innovation and Development at Auckland University of Technology. He is a specialist in Maori, literature and culture. Included in his publications are a series of four graduated textbooks and resources teaching Maori to teenagers and adults called Te Whanake. Teachers' manuals, audio tapes/CDs, videotapes, study guides and a dictionary/index (hard copy and online) accompany the textbooks.

The series is widely used in tertiary institutions for learning Maori. Recently the four textbooks have been rewritten as second editions and an online resource for independent learning has been developed to complement the other resources of Te Whanake. Prof Moorfield has also published a dictionary, Te Aka Maori-English, English-Maori Dictionary and Index. In 2006, this dictionary was made available free online and new entries continue to be added. Before joining AUT University John Moorfield was a professor in Te Tumu, the School of Maori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago for 10 years. Before that, he spent 21 years at the University of Waikato as a lecturer, senior lecturer and associate professor. He has also taught Maori at secondary school level (Carney, 2012).

An interview conducted with Dr Hinematau McNeil (a member of the Tapuika *iwi*) reveals her passion to see the revival of the Tapuika dialect of *te reo Māori*. However, as one would expect from an academic, she also wants to see the children of Tapuika excel in both Māori and mainstream environments. Interviews were also undertaken with several *kaumatua* and members of Tapuika, without a doubt *te reo Māori*, particularly the Tapuika dialect is a major issue. However, when asked if *te reo Māori* should be compulsory in all schools, the consensus was split down the middle. A number of people expressed views in favour of both outlooks. Those who wanted *te reo Māori* to be compulsory in all schools, raised the argument that it is already compulsory for children to learn several subjects in school so why not *te reo Māori*. For those that disagreed with *te reo Māori* being compulsory in schools, their argument was, that it is a losing battle to begin with in that if children are forced to learn the Māori language; that *te reo Māori* belongs to those who want to speak it.

Māori 4 Grown Ups – Māori 4 Kids Inc.

Image 53: Māori 4 Grown Ups

Source: Adapted from https://www.facebook.com/groups/Maori4GrownUps/
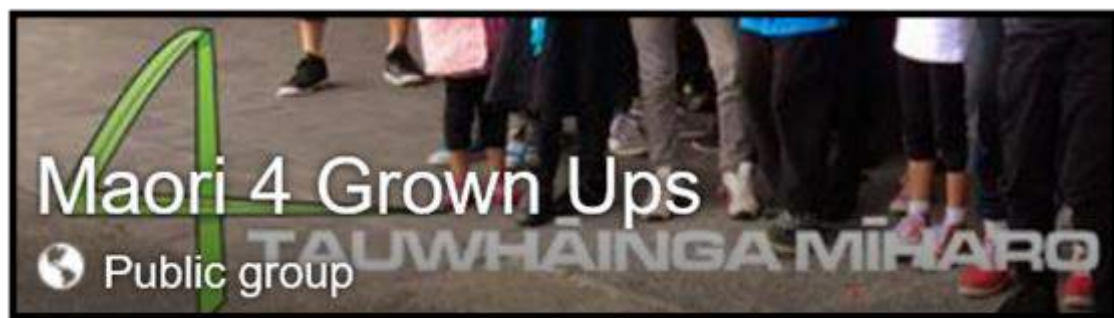
Māori 4 Grown Ups is becoming very popular with parents and *tamariki* (children) alike. The programme is delivered through *noho wānanga* (residential intensive workshops) by Māori 4 kids Inc., a charitable organisation whose focus is mainly on *whānau* centred

language learning. The Māori 4 Grown Ups programme has been running for about three years. However, the programme Māori 4 kids has been running for quite a few years more. To learn *te reo Māori* as an adult and to teach *te reo Māori* to adults, is no easy task. But Māori 4 Grown Ups as a *whānau*-centred learning programme is attempting to tackle this job within communities. For those who run the Māori 4 Grown Ups programme, survival of *te reo Māori* lies in the hands of *whānau*. Thus, a group of like-minded people who are passionate about learning and assisting in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* met (at the *noho wānanga*) in an effort to discuss new and exciting ways of teaching and learning *te reo Māori* (Māori TV, 2015).

For the many who are participating in the programme, a large number are learning *te reo Māori* alongside their children, while others are quite fluent but need more experience in dealing with every day at home situations. For example, one *Ngāi Tahu iwi* member, who became fluent in *te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori*, was challenged when she had her own baby as her word list for describing many situations involving her baby and situations at home were insufficient. Thus, she attends the Māori 4 Grown Ups programme and is involved in the Māori 4 Kids programme to extend her *te reo Māori* vocabulary and understanding of situations with her children in the home environment. Māori 4 Kids Inc., hope to deliver a range of *whānau*-centred learning programmes aimed at all levels of language acquisition (Māori TV, 2015). Stacey and Scotty Morrison have been involved in both programmes from the beginning along with a number of others. While the information relating to these programmes is minimal, they are initiatives that seem to be having a lot of success drawing in new *whānau* to participate. Therefore, these methods of language learning and language revitalisation can only go from strength to strength.

Te Whanake Māori Language Resources

Image 54: Te Whanake Website

Source: Adapted from http://www.tewhanake.maori.nz/
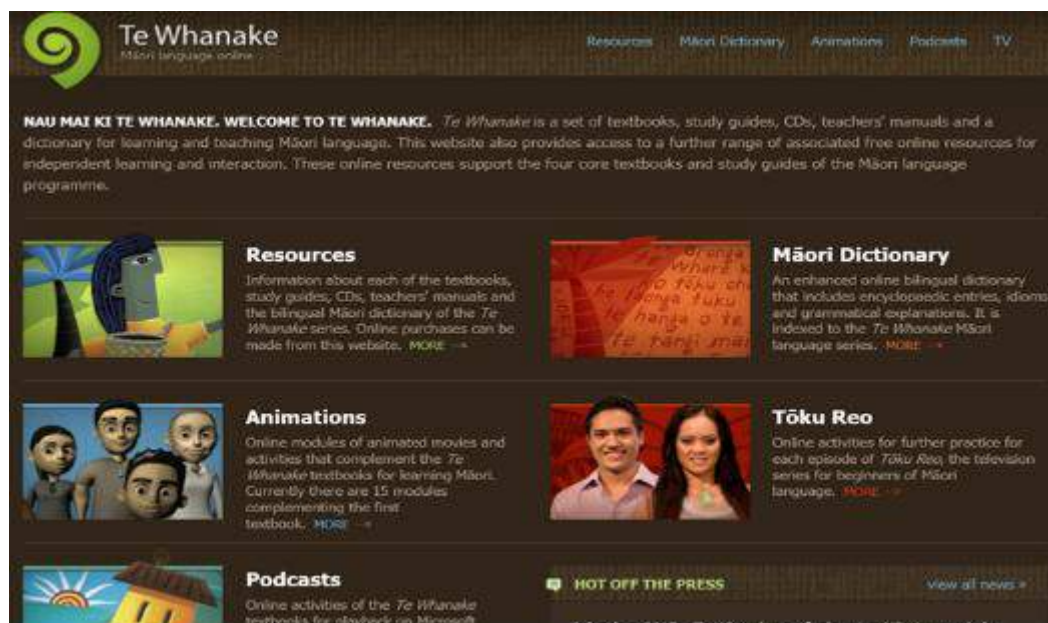
The amount of electronic media and information technology, relating to language revitalisation, available online are numerous. However, digital resources in relation to *te reo Māori* revitalisation are limited. A small number of those that are available have been developed over many years. Some initially started with the use of older technology such as cassette tapes in conjunction with work-books, but have now evolved into digital platforms. This is the case with the *Te Whanake* Māori language resources developed by Professor John Moorfield and over his lifetime as an academic and supported by senior researchers within Te Ipukarea. *Te Whanake* is a comprehensive suite of print and digital Māori language teaching and learning resources.

Duder (2010) maintains that in the 1960s the resources available for teaching *te reo Māori* was basically Hoani Waititi's books *Te Rangatahi* 1 and 2. This was followed by the book, *Te Reo Rangatira* written by Tīmoti Kāretu in 1974. Professor John Moorfield, an old boy of *Hato Tipene* (St Stephens School) and a secondary school teacher of the Māori language, began working at the University of Waikato in 1976 teaching *te reo Māori*. Apart from the books of Hoani Waititi and Tīmoti Kāretu, there were scarce resources to assist his students in learning *te reo Māori* outside of the classroom. Thus, he began developing a series of four books, namely *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri* and *Te Kōhure* ranging from

beginner and proceeding to the advanced learner. These books were initially accompanied with cassette tapes which were later changed to CDs (Duder, 2010). Professor Moorfield's resources writes Duder (2010) "…were based on contemporary second language learning (L2) methodologies and in particular on the way that learners in natural bilingual situations acquire a second language" (p. 40). All *Te Whanake* resources available online are based around the four books developed by Professor Moorfield. Duder (2010) illustrates the transition of *Te Whanake* resources from print and older technology to digital technology in figure 22 below.

Figure 22: Te Whanake – Transition from print to digital
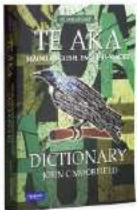
Print/Analogue	Digital		
	Te Whanake website	LMS (Learning Management System)	Mobile resources
Student textbooks: *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri & Te Kōhure*			
Teacher Manuals: *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri &Te Kōhure*			
Study Guides: *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri & Te Kōhure*			
Te Aka Dictionary & Index	*Te Aka* interactive dictionary & index		Apple app SMS text function
Audio CDs of exercises	Podcasts for *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri* and streamed videos for *Te Māhuri* and *Te Kōhure*	Podcasts for *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri & Te Kōhure*	
		Wimba Voice Tools for *Te Kākano & Te Pihinga*	
VHS/DVD of *Te Kai a te Rangatira & Te Kākano* TV series	Te Whanake TV – streaming videos of the two television series		
	Animations – *Te Kākano* only		
	Tōku Reo – television series based on *Te Kākano*		Streamed videos of episodes 1 – 100 (end of 2010)
	Forum		

Source: Adapted from (Duder, 2010)

The full suite of *Te Whanake* resources are shown in Figure 23 below.

Figure 23: Te Whanake Resources (http://www.tewhanake.maori.nz/)

Print Resources	Online Resources	Mobile Resources
▪ Student textbooks – *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri, Te Kōhure* ▪ Study guides – for *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri* ▪ Teachers' manuals – for *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri* ▪ *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary*	▪ Animations – animated movies & exercises for independent learning ▪ Podcasts – listening and speaking exercises ▪ Te Whanake TV – two 13-part drama serials and learning activities (*Te Kākano & Te Kai a Te Rangatira*) ▪ *Tōku Reo* – 300 half-hour programmes for *Te Kākano* ▪ *Te Aka* dictionary online	▪ *Te Reo Māori* dictionary app – for iPhones, iPads, Android phones and tablets ▪ *Te Whanake* apps – 4 apps for purchase, *Te Kākano, Te Pihinga, Te Māhuri, Te Kōhure*. This is a structured programme that has all the textbooks content as well as tapping into all the online resources at the appropriate times. Needs an iPad or tablet. ▪ Te Whanake Resources website – describes each hard copy resource and their purchase.

Source: Courtesy of Professor John Moorfield (2017)

Te Kete Ipurangi and the Ministry of Education

According to Duder (2010) a large part of education technology is the digitisation of resources to develop better accessibility and interaction between learners and facilitators and in this situation, *te reo Māori* (the target language). Duder (2010) states;

Digital and online resources can support a more learner-centred style of delivery. They can extend the range of content, and allow greater access to the language. L2 [second language learners] learners are not so reliant on contact with their teachers for access to the language. Access to native speakers and Māori-only speaking contexts is not as easy [as it is] for learners of other target languages who can access large communities either in the country of origin or through large immigrant communities. Contact with Māori-only speaking contexts is completely dependent on the willing and resourcing of a small number of organisations: Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Māori Television, the Māori Language Commission, Te Māngai Pāho, and institutions like Te Ātaarangi (p. 42).

Thus, digital and online resources are beginning to play an ever-increasing part in the learning and revitalisation of Indigenous languages. Other resources relating to *te reo Māori* learning and language revitalisation can be found on the *Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education) site below, which promotes many resources that are designed to support learners in the learning and revitalisation of the Māori language.

Image 55: TKI – *TE KETE IPURANGI*

Source: http://tereomaori.tki.org.nz/Reo-Maori-resources

These include, digital resources aligned to *te reo Māori* curriculum guidelines, resources that support the many aspects related to Māori language learning and digital resources that assist in the understanding and articulation of *tikanga* and *kaupapa Māori*.

Māori Television Service, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori online resources and the Internet
Other areas that promote resources relating to *te reo Māori* revitalisation are Māori Television online, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Māori Language Commission) online and several others. Keegan, Keegan and Laws (2011) write, that online digital resources

play an important role in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. And while existing resources are examples for other Indigenous cultures relating to language revitalisation, maintaining these resources is becoming one of the main concerns. Clearly the internet and digital technology is becoming more integrated into the lives of Māori people. According to figure 23 (below), in 1993 there were virtually only a handful of internet users worldwide. However, by 2005, just twelve years later, there were over one billion users connected to the internet. Five years later in 2010, there were two billion internet users and four years after that in 2014, there were over three billion internet users. This means that in 2016, over 40% of the world's population are connected to the internet daily and the numbers keep climbing (Anaru, 2016; Brown, 2014). From these statistics, it is hard to imagine whether any other entity or event in human history has had such an immediate impact on human behaviour in such a small corridor of time, other than perhaps the all engulfing circumstance of a world at war.

Figure 24: Internet Stats

Source: Adapted from http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/
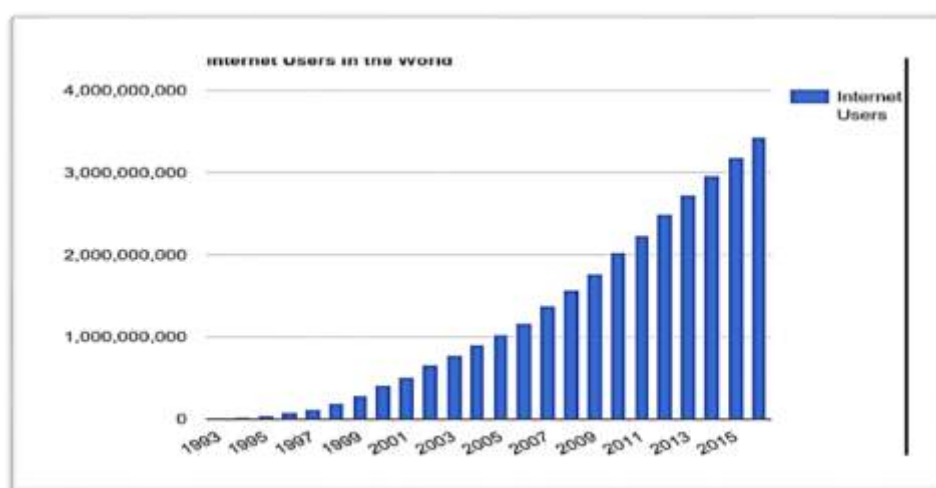
Brown (2014) writes that the use of the internet by New Zealanders is (per capita) amongst the highest in the world. A survey taken in 2013 by the World Internet Project found that 92% of New Zealanders aged sixteen and above were internet users and 73% of those users stated that the internet was an important aspect in their everyday live's (Brown, 2014). Location and ethnicity had a strong correlation in a survey taken in 2007, in terms of the lack of internet usage, but by 2013, usage in rural areas was greater than same small towns and Māori and Pacific peoples displayed the biggest increase as internet users. Around 67% of Māori and Pacific respondents in 2009 stated that the internet contributed to the health of their languages (Brown, 2014). This statistic is an indication that in 2009, over half of Māori

and Pacific peoples were using or considered the Internet as more than just a social media tool or a place to download music; that they were involved in some way in relation to learning or viewing resources related to the revitalisation of their respective languages.

Figure 25: Internet usage by age and ethnicity
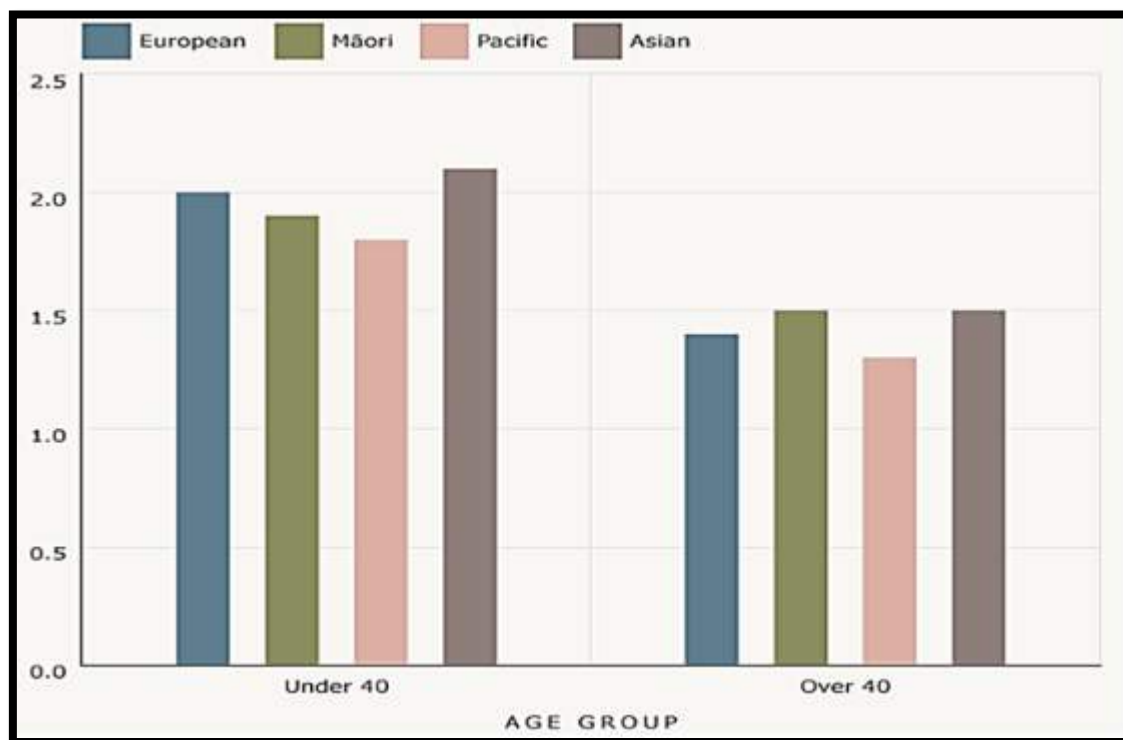
Brown (2014) states that according to the World Internet Project survey of 2013, the information in the above graph, concerns the Internet usage of different age groups and ethnicities. In the survey taken, these groups are recognised as European, Māori, Pacific and Asian. Within the graph a mark of 0 is given for low usage, and a mark of 2.5 is given for the highest usage. The marks are attributed to 47 different online activities undertaken by the user. The activities include using and searching the internet for information (which covers several activities including online learning), sending emails, social media, gaming, buying and selling, etc. It is without a doubt that internet usage from its humble beginnings has increased exponentially. It is also evident that Māori and Pacific usage (according to the survey) of the internet has increased. However, if *te reo Māori* is to survive, all resources pertaining to language revitalisation must be utilised to their greatest potential, so their use remains consistent (Anaru, 2016; Keegan et al, 2011). Nevertheless, Māori must also

consider the possibility that there may be negative implications relating to *te reo Māori* learning and language revitalisation online resources, and aspects of *kaupapa Māori*.

Interviews with *Tohunga* (experts) *Reo Māori*

The researcher was extremely fortunate to be given the opportunity to interview three *tohunga reo* (language experts) about the Māori language and Māori language revitalisation. Thus, the following excerpts are based on interviews conducted with three well-known, respected and extremely knowledgeable *tohunga o te reo Māori me ōna tikanga.*

Image 56: Dr John Moorfield, Dr Te Wharehuia Milroy & Sir Tīmoti Kāretu

Source: Adapted from http://teipukarea.maori.nz

Professor John Moorfield (aka, Te Murumāra)

Professor John Moorfield, or more affectionately known as Te Murumāra (a name given to him by the late John Rangihau) within *te ao Māori*, argues that the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* is about encouragement of people to speak the Māori language. But it is also an insurance that the Māori language must remain a living language, meaning it must be used within a wide range of domains, and in as many contexts as possible. There are many reasons for the decline of an Indigenous language but like most, Te Murumāra maintains that colonisation has proved to be the catalyst for language decline. In colonised contexts, normally an Indigenous culture is hosted by a dominant language and culture. He explains that over time, the dominant language becomes the language of commerce, the language of government and the language of social interaction. Thus, the domains where speaking the Indigenous language becomes severely restricted amounting to the ongoing decline and possible extinction of the language. Te Murumāra suggests that there needs to be a wide range of measures to ensure that the speaking of the Māori language not only continues but that many more embark on the journey of learning *te reo Māori*. However, Te Murumāra contends that while a few people speak *te reo Māori,* their proficiency is not very high,

hence encouragement to speak the Māori language is a must. Improving the quality of the language so people can express themselves clearly and coherently while still retaining the *wairua* of the language, is the ultimate objective.

Nonetheless, he argues that there is always the threat when dealing with the idea of language improvement that *te reo Māori* could become English put into Māori words, explaining that it is a real danger with younger speaker's states Te Murumāra. This relates to the distinction between *whakaaro Māori (*Māori thought) and *whakaaro Pākehā* (Western thought) meaning that the way speakers of the Māori language express themselves must reflect Māori thought and thinking and expressions in a Māori way.

Language quality and language revitalisation work hand in hand maintains Te Murumāra. Throughout his life's journey he has seen areas that *te reo Māori* has improved in such as *kapa haka* (Māori performing arts), with those groups where the language of instruction is *te reo Māori*. Using *te reo Māori* to communicate about an area of knowledge, such as *kapa haka* which is a very effective form of language learning and language revitalisation. Other areas also include Māori art, or *tā moko* where a lot of the old traditions are being revived, such as the traditional form of *karakia* and *te reo Māori* for the most part, is the language of instruction. It is so important to use the language to teach other subjects, therefore bilingual and immersion education is also critical for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* states Te Murumāra and as such the development of more domains and contexts for the language are being developed and language specific to these domains used more frequently. Te Murumāra maintains that there are many language initiatives relating to *te reo Māori* but if one is looking for an initiative that concentrates on the quality of *te reo Māori* then it would be impossible to go past Te Panekiretanga o te Reo ~ Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language.

While some criticise *Te Panekiretanga* of being elitist, Te Murumāra suggests that most who go through *Te Panekiretanga* are quite fluent to begin with and their journey is about learning those nuances, shades and tones of the language that provide a polish to their speaking ability and understanding of *te reo Māori*. Thus, Te Panekiretanga o te Reo, is key to progressing *te reo Māori* and the revitalisation of the Māori language and creating a cohort of highly proficient speakers of the language across tribal communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is critical in a landscape where there are few native speakers of *te reo*

Māori left who have always filled our *paepae* and *mahau* (verandah of the *wharenui* where those elderly women who do the *karanga* normally sit during *pōwhiri* (rituals of encounters) and other *hui)* as they led our tribal communities. Graduates of Te Panekiretanga o te Reo are equipped to assume these positions in their respective communities. The contentious issue confronting *whānau, hapū* and *iwi* now, is will their communities permit them to speak on *marae* or welcome visitors to their *marae* despite the fact that they may be more proficient in *te reo Māori* than some of their elders? The reality is that some *iwi* such as Ngāti Kahungunu are indeed showing support of their *Panekiretanga* graduates to assume these leadership positions within the tribe and on behalf of the tribe. For example, Jeremy (Tatare) McLeod, has spoken for the *iwi* at the annual celebration of the Kīngitanga Coronation at Turangawaewae, he speaks on *marae* such as Waimārama within Ngāti Kahungunu, and he has been nominated by his *iwi* and was successful in being appointed to Te Mātāwai. He also works for the *iwi* and leads out the tribe's language revitalisation strategy. Unfortunately, at the present time, this does not appear to be a common development across all *iwi* and could have a serious impact on *iwi* who resist following the same pathway in the future.

There are other initiatives as well which cannot be ignored in terms of the need for highly proficient speakers of *te reo Māori*, such as the importance of Māori immersion teachers as their knowledge will have a huge impact on the students in their care; or those who work as *te reo Māori* advocates in television or radio or for the government or other high-end institutions because, by default, they become representatives of the Māori people and must display a high level of proficiency in *te reo Māori* to ensure they are able to represent the Māori community effectively.

While the three *Wānanga* namely, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, and Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi promote *te reo Māori*, Te Murumāra advocates that all educational institutions need to assist with the rejuvenation of *te reo Māori* including mainstream universities. He provides an example of his time at Waikato University where he led the development of a degree called, *Te Tohu Paetahi,* a Bachelor of Arts degree taught in *te reo Māori*. In the first year of the programme, the students understanding of *te reo Māori* is developed through speaking and learning the language all day every day and completing several Māori language papers from beginner to advanced in the one year. In

the second and third years the students are taught other subjects through *te reo Māori* which means the students language is maintained and further developed across several domains. According to Te Murumāra, Waikato University was one of the few institutions to take on board a language revitalisation strategy such as this. At the time Te Murumāra states that for him the ideal situation would be to see many more subjects across several subject areas being taught in *te reo Māori*. Unfortunately, this was not possible as the challenge was finding the teachers who were not just qualified to teach in those areas, but who also had high proficiency in *te reo Māori* to teach their subject area effectively. Te Murumāra argues that there are many things Māori can do to help in the recovery and retention of *te reo Māori*, but perhaps one of the most less talked about and the very best of resources are those who are fluent in the Māori language. The frustrating issue is that these people are not speaking the language, and so they have become an underutilised resource and therefore must be encouraged to use *te reo Māori* all the time. This is a consistent criticism of Tīmoti Kāretu contends Te Murumāra, and he is right, in that if you are a native speaker or fluent in *te reo Māori* you must use it as often as you can.

There are many situations where fluent speakers could converse in *te reo Māori* and just as many more opportunities to assist those who are trying to learn the language. In his experience Te Murumāra says, "that students learning *te reo Māori* advance more quickly if they have access to and can converse with fluent speakers outside of the university" (Personal communication: 2016). Te Murumāra recalled a student who started in *Tohu Paetahi* with literally no understanding of the Māori language. But due to his positive approach and his zeal in searching out fluent speakers to converse with everyday, his progression and development *in te reo Māori* was rapid. This student had only been in the programme for a short period of time, but one night when he had given the student a lift home, he was surprised to find that throughout their entire conversation, not a word of English was spoken. Most of the other students had not progressed as fast as this student, thus, it become clear he had gained a lot of knowledge and confidence by conversing with fluent speakers of *te reo Māori*. This is not to say that the students *reo* was perfect, however, he was confident enough to continue in the conversation even after self-correcting his words and pronunciation a few times.

Many Māori are *whakamā* (shy or ashamed) to make mistakes and there are some Māori who can be quite critical of other Māori who speak *te reo* and make mistakes. Te Murumāra

admits, this never happened to him, as he was always encouraged by those around him when he was learning *te reo Māori* positing that perhaps being Pākehā helped as it was rare for Pākehā to want to learn *te reo* at the time he was learning it at secondary school. But if you were Māori, other Māori expected you to know and if you did not get it right they would let you know. This approach can create barriers in student's learning states Te Murumāra, so his approach has always been to create a classroom environment that is non-threatening to give students the confidence to make mistakes but continue regardless. So, it goes without saying declares Te Murumāra,

> …that chastising students for making mistakes is counterproductive, rather if students are trying to communicate in *te reo Māori*, allow them to proceed but take mental or physical notes relating to their errors. Then at some later time, approach them and while concentrating on the positives of their conversation make suggestions on how to improve on whatever errors they had made (Personal Communication: 2016).

Adult students who are trying to learn a language have several obstacles to climb argues Te Murumāra,

> While they already have a language that most can articulate their thoughts in to a high level, being put into a situation where they have limited vocabulary, restricted grammar and very few structures can be a threatening and frustrating situation. Unlike children who take their errors of language learning in their stride, adults will endeavour to try for an error free conversation every time they converse in the new language. While this approach is admirable, it is not very practical since being overly concerned about making errors when learning a language obstructs the learning process resulting in an extended period to obtain the language. In other words, if adults become a lot less self-conscience about making mistakes when learning a language, fluency could be obtained sooner (Personal Communication:2016).

All those who are involved in language revitalisation can help each other, contends Te Murumāra, much like the examples that were taken from the Welsh language revitalisation strategies. When he visited Wales in 1980 he was amazed at how many young people were speaking the Welsh language, because they had learnt it at Welsh-medium schools, so from his point of view, the Welsh were about 20 years ahead of Māori in terms of language revitalisation at that time.

All language revitalisation initiatives have a place, maintains Te Murumāra, whether government-led or community-based initiatives and while he has only skimmed over the most recent version of the new Māori Language Strategy (MLS) (discussed in chapters two and five), his concern is that its implementation should not be at the detriment of other language revitalisation initiatives happening in schools, tertiary institutions or within the community as all these programmes or initiatives are essential in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. He argues that there are certain language revitalisation inititiatives that have been at the forefront of *te reo Māori* regeneration, such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori, and it is important that they continue to be supported by government as Māori communites have fought over many years for their establishment and in some circumstances, continue to fight for their existence. A recent example of this is the the Waitangi Tribunal Claim filed by the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust where they raised wide-ranging allegations of breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and mistreatment by the Crown sustained over 20 years.

> In particular, they said, the Crown had effectively assimilated the kōhanga reo movement into its early childhood education regime under the Ministry of Education, stifling its vital role in saving and promoting the Māori language and leading to a long decline in the number of Māori children participating in early childhood immersion in te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/news/wai-2336-matua-rautia-report-on-the-kohanga-reo-claim-2/).

The WAI2336: Matua Rautia: Report on the Kōhanga Reo Claim by the Waitangi Tribunal, 2012 and WAI2336: Waitangi Tribunal Report 2012 provide detailed accounts of the wide-ranging issues raised.

Te Murumāra emphasised the importance of quality Māori language teacher education programmes where teachers are able to become fluent and attain a high level of proficiency in the language. This is an ongoing problem throughout the education sector states Te Murumāra. While there are many capable second language learners who have become teachers of *te reo Māori*, which is a good thing, if their *reo* is deficient in any area, these deficiencies will be passed on to their students, which can be difficult to correct. This is where programmes such as Te Panekiretanga o te Reo and Kura Reo (an immersion Māori language school normally held on a *marae* or educational institution over several days with the purpose of speaking and learning Māori) should be fully utilised. One possibility to

consider is that Māori-medium teacher education programmes could be linked to these programmes and course credit be attributed to student's participation. This is particularly significant as all of these initiatives share similar aspirations such as ensuring that the quality of *te reo Māori* amongst Māori language teachers is high, that is, *whakareia te kounga o te reo.* Both Kura Reo and Te Panekiretanga o te Reo are proposed as being robust forums from which to iron out those errors in teacher's language and make a real difference in the quality of the language in the people who attend. Te Murumāra has worked with both Tīmoti Kāretu and Te Wharehuia Milroy and holds them both in high regard. Te Murumāra states, "The thing I admire about these two guys, is that they give their knowledge without reservation. Experts in most fields can be quite reserved about their knowledge, however, I can say categorically that these two are the exception to that outlook" (Personal Communication: 2014).

The ongoing development of the Māori language is also in danger argues Te Murumāra when it is limited by some folk using familiar Māori words, so the majority can understand the conversation, rather than using specific Māori words especially *kupu* that have been revived by native language experts from *nō tua whakarere,* our ancient past, that capture the true essence of what is being spoken about. The idea is to extend and broaden the learners understanding of *te reo Māori*. When limitations are imposed or used in whatever form, the affected areas are normally growth and development.

Te Murumāra is ambivalent about *te reo Māori* being made compulsory in schools. On the one hand he sees that there are already several subjects that children must take at school, thus, these subjects can be seen as compulsory, so why not *te reo Māori*. However, in his experience as a teacher, he knows that forcing children, or anyone for that matter, to do something that they do not want to do, rarely ever works. He would rather that more focus be given to Kura Kaupapa Māori and similar schools that promote *te reo Māori*, because at least the children at these schools want to engage with the Māori language and their parents continually give support and encouragement to their children to nurture *te reo Māori*. However, 'A Report on the Findings of the Eight Questions from the *Te Aka Māori- English, English-Māori Dictionary* Online Pop-Up Survey', commissioned by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori in 2016, showed that New Zealanders attitudes are in fact changing. Key finding 6.0 states,

The findings of the survey showed an unexpected correlation between Pākehā and Māori respondents in that both samples of respondents agree that the Māori language should be made compulsory in New Zealand primary schools. Māori showed the highest rating in either agree or strongly agree with 83.4%. Pākehā respondents followed closely behind with 80.2% either agreeing or strongly agreeing (p.6).

It is difficult to impress on people how important the survival of *te reo Māori* is, contends Te Murumāra. There is evidence across the world (Hinton & Hale, 2001) related to Indigenous peoples whose languages and cultures have been decimated, that there are real problems in these communities and the problems only get worse the further away the Indigenous peoples get from their languages and cultures.

Te Murumāra has always wondered what Aotearoa/New Zealand would be like if our society had become completely bilingual. From his perspective, Aotearoa/New Zealand would not only be more culturally and linguistically rich, but it would also be a more tolerant society if the nation was completely bilingual (Māori and English) and reflected the spirit of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Te Murumāra remains very modest when people refer to his knowledge pertaining to the Māori language and culture and he is quick to give credit to all those that have assisted him on his journey (Personal Communication: 2014). But the fact remains, Te Murumāra has fought for the survival of *te reo Māori* for many years and he sees his ongoing work in relation to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* as a life's work, thus Māori owe a large debt of gratitude to this humble language warrior of Scottish and English ancestry. *No reira, tēnei te mihi nunui ki tētahi o ngā matapopore o te reo Māori. E te rangatira, kāore e kore he mārakerake ai te kitea, he nui ake tō aroha ki tō tātou reo rangatira.*

Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori ~ Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language
Ko te reo kia tika, ko te reo kia rere, ko te reo kia Māori meaning, the language must be impeccable, the language must be spoken widely, the language must be Māori. This is the *kīanga* (expression) that is prescribed consistently at Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori without abate.

Image 57: Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori

Source: Adapted from, http://tvnz.co.nz/content/801746

Sir Tīmoti Kāretu and others have for many years promoted excellence within *te reo Māori*, thus the development of an initiative that strives to achieve such a lofty goal was inevitable. *Tīmoti* was involved in the development of *Kura Reo* which are run for a week and are held every three months in different regions around Aotearoa/New Zealand and accommodate those with intermediate and above *te reo Māori* skills. However, for Tīmoti, what the *kura reo* highlighted was the need for another initiative that would concentrate on the *kounga* (quality/excellence) of *te reo Māori* at an advanced level. Thus, Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori was established under the auspices of Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa and opened its doors in 2004 inviting (which is the only way one can become a student) 25 hand-picked students as the first intake (TVNZ, 2007). The programme was conceptualised and initially delivered by Tīmoti Kāretu and Wharehuia Milroy; later Pou Temara joined the programme.

Professor Te Wharehuia Milroy
Māori language revitalisation, for Professor Te Wharehuia Milroy is about a person living side by side with their language. We all have different views on language revitalisation because our interactions with the Māori language are quite dissimilar suggests Te Wharehuia. Te Wharehuia was born in a time that all the people who lived within his valley spoke *te reo Māori*. As a young person, every minute of his waking day was spent side by side with the Māori language. He was imbued with the notions, ideas and beliefs about who he is as a Māori through *te reo Māori*. He related with his environment and the people around him through *te reo Māori* and he states that the most effective way of relating to

someone is by talking to them in a language that allows them to fully express themselves. As a young person, he remembers having several friends/peers (which were in actual fact, all his relatives) who as a group would develop certain sayings or popular expressions much like the young generation of today. However, they were not influenced by African American culture (or any other culture) like many of this recent generation, but at some level they felt understood only amongst themselves. This is not to say that they did not communicate well with their parents or *kuia* and *koroua*, because this is where Te Wharehuia received most of his teaching relating to the Māori world.

However, it is more about communicating in different ways. His communication with his parents, which had a lot to do with completing daily work and engaging with home life, was different from his communication with his *kuia* and *koroua*, which was about learning *tikanga*, creation narratives, Indigenous truths, sharing *iwi* history and learning many other aspects of the Māori world, alongside other youth of his community. And his communication with his friends was different altogether. Such are the variations of language within a *whānau* or community and this situation is an aspect of why language revitalisation can mean different things to different people argues Te Wharehuia. Without a doubt Te Wharehuia sees his upbringing as extraordinary; he remembers every evening at 7:00pm the bell would ring, and the community would gather at the *marae* for *karakia*. After *karakia* the *kaumatua* would talk about many different topics, perhaps a historical event or maybe about the stars or traditional ways of catching *tuna* (eel), etc. Te Wharehuia recalls,

> Looking back, it is easy to see that what seemed like random *kōrero* at the time was about keeping *te reo Māori, tikanga*, *whakapapa* and all those tribal narratives alive for the coming generations (Personal Communication: 2016).

He sees the work of elders as 'conditioning the emotions and senses of the youth' as he gives an example of how elders may communicate. He said,

> An elder may say something to you as a youth that indicates how you should act towards a person because of a given situation. Something like "*ka aroha mea*" (give him/her consideration) but you may not know the situation, so you reply, "*he aha ai*" (why?) and the elder may reply with "*kua mate tōna hoa*" (their partner has just passed on) or "*kei te raruraru ia*" (he/she is having problems) or so on. However, as you get older you realise that the elder used that way of communicating because they did not really want to get into a long discussion about the person's situation but just wanted you to know there

was a problem. If they had wanted a long discussion they would
have started the conversation with "his/her partner has passed
on so tread carefully" or "there are some issues in their family"
or whatever it maybe. So not only do you have to listen to the
words of a language but also the inflections and nuances readily
enacted by native speakers (Personal Communication: 2016)

A similar view was given by Te Murumāra relating to nuances of *te reo Māori*. He was referring to a conversation he and Te Wharehuia had relating to *whaikōrero*. Te Wharehuia had used the phrase "*nāku te hē*" meaning as "I made that mistake deliberately" rather than using "*nōku te hē*" which has the meaning "I unwittingly made the mistake". Thus, one example for "*nāku te hē*" could be - yes, I know eating *kina* (sea urchin) gives me gout, but I still eat them anyway, and by using "*nāku te hē*", it gives more of a punch line theme to it. One example of "*nōku te hē*" could be - I had no idea that using this type of pesticide around the farm could pose a health risk, so using "*nōku te hē*" has a more serious connotation. Te Wharehuia states that we are all learners when it comes to *te reo Māori*, even himself, as every now and then he will hear an unfamiliar word that encompasses the essence of the *whaikōrero* or discussion taking place and he will keep that word in mind since for him not to utilise all the words and phrases of *te reo Māori* would be to the detriment of the language. Thus, a lack of understanding of those subtitles of a language can lead to many perplexing situations Nonetheless, for Te Wharehuia, obtaining these nuances is an important part of language revitalisation but also, in his opinion, "to encapsulate and experience, that feeling of singularity, of being as one with the language, is essential" (Personal Communication: 2014).

However, some do not see *te reo Māori* in all its variations but rather as a single part of Māori identity and their Indigenous form of communication by right. Te Wharehuia argues, "that the Māori language gives Māori people cultural integrity that the English language does not nor any other language for that matter" (Personal Communication: 2014). He maintains, that only *te reo Māori* offers this outlook, which is followed closely by a deep-rooted sense of belonging "*mai tō upoko ki ōu waewae, titi atu ki te whenua*" meaning 'your entire physical being, is imbued in the land' thus, the Māori language allows total expression of one's entire existence. This is not to suggest that if a Māori does not speak *te reo Māori* they are any less Māori; however, it does mean that they do not currently possess a fundamental element of their natural being. When Te Wharehuia sat on the Waitangi Tribunal and listened to the many claims that were brought forward, he frequently heard

testimonies from Māori people about the loss of *te reo Māori*, and all the many reasons why *te reo Māori* had declined within different regions and from different *iwi*. From his perspective, he saw that in all instances, it was the *mana* of the language that was damaged and in many situations lost. He maintains that this is the first thing to be affected once one stops using *te reo Māori* as their main form of communication; whatever the reasons given for its decline, it is the *mana* of the language that suffers.

A loss of *mana* can be understood in terms of Māori going from being a first language that was used in all situations within a culture, into becoming a language that is only spoken by one out of every five members of that culture. A loss of *mana* therefore, through the decline of dialects or words and phrases amounts to damage and injury to the *mana* of *te reo Māori*. Te Wharehuia also states that when looking for effective initiatives relating to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* there are a number that can be mentioned such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori that have produced many speakers of the Māori language. Many of those speakers emerging from both initiatives have gone on to become teachers of the Māori language, and their children are now going through the same method of language revitalisation that they did. Nevertheless, the number of children that have gone through both initiatives are still not sufficient enough to flood the Māori community with speakers of the language. This is a serious issue which needs serious discussion bringing together all Māori language stakeholders to find solutions.

Te Wharehuia believes that the quality of *te reo Māori* being taught in most *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* is of a good standard, nevertheless, he maintains that it is human nature to be drawn to the success stories of a given situation. But he also argues that as Māori we must also address the shortfalls, thus, there is always room for improvements to be made in *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa*. One issue Te Wharehuia cites as a real problem are the teacher colleges and related places that teach Māori students how to become effective Māori teachers. He believes that most of these places are not meeting the critical needs of those Māori teacher trainees relating to Māori teaching practices. He said,

> They are being taught Pākehā teaching practices, which is fair enough, but when it comes to Māori pedagogy it is woefully lacking. Consequently, when these Māori teachers start teaching in *kura kaupapa Māori* their outlook reflects, for the most part, a non-Māori view pertaining to teaching practices. Which can leave the students in their care feeling confused and

disconnected from the learning approaches that they are familiar with and that reinforces their identity as Māori (Personal Communication: 2014).

While Te Wharehuia acknowledges the effectiveness of several language revitalisation approaches and institutions that promote *te reo Māori*, his involvement with the development of Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori is where much of his time and effort has been given and where his passion lies. Thus, he is very familiar with what Te Panekiretanga is trying to achieve.

> Within Te Panekiretanga we endeavor to introduce our students to more expansive styles of oratory, rather than traditional forms maintains Te Wharehuia. Styles which utilise words that have been lying dormant for many years. We are not trying to take people back into the past but are reviving these old words to illuminate and idea or thought within the minds of the students and listeners with words that were once used in a relatively similar context but can also relate to contemporary situations.
>
> One of our approaches in Te Panekiretanga is to get our students to create as many situations where they are using a revived word so the listeners can get a clear idea of what the word means and the context it can be used in. However, the idea is for the students to introduce these words within their own environment (work, home or where ever) in a fashion that won't overwhelm the listener (example, by using too many revived words in one sentence) but allows the listener to work out for themselves what is being conveyed (Personal Communication: 2014).

Te Wharehuia contends that while there are many other aspects covered within Te Panekiretanga relating to cultural principles, values, customs and facets of *te ao Māori*, if one were to try and capture the essence of Te Panekiretanga, it could be said that its purpose boils down to providing the final touches to the current skills of the attending students.

Kura Reo, is also another language revitalisation initiative states Te Wharehuia, 'It has some success, although due to the short duration of the programme its effectiveness is limited. However, if more time could be spent with the students and the rule of not speaking *te reo Pākehā* is religiously adhered too, then the initiative could become a lot more effective' (Personal Communication: 2014).

Te Wharehuia also makes reference and pays tribute to Te Ipukarea ~ The National Māori Language Institute and their work. In his opinion, Te Ipukarea seems to be going in the

right direction in order of raising the consciousness and the interest of the people to learn *te reo Māori*. Unlike some other institutions that continue to maintain the same old ideas that have long since become ineffective and lack creativity and inventiveness in their approaches, Te Ipukarea is creating new pathways for many Māori; a place for Māori to gather together in the pursuit of furthering Māori knowledge and in particular, *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori* in the modern world. This is what the word *ipukarea* can mean states Te Wharehuia, a place where a pool of like-minded thinkers and speakers of *te reo Māori* gather to imbibe in the language, to bathe in the language, a place to strengthen one's *mana* and to practice the many principles of *te ao Māori* (Personal Communication: 2014).

He also cites the *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori* online dictionary as providing the following definitions for the word *ipukarea*.

> *Ipukarea* describes a body of water within a vessel, a place that represents the history and emotional attachment of the tribe, a place central to the identity of the people where they can go to be rejuvenated, a place that represents the hopes and aspirations of the people, the life-giving waters from which they drink. It is also the place associated with significant battles of the tribe and where the bones of their ancestors lie. As an example, Lake *Waikaremoana* is the *ipukarea* of *Ngāi Tūhoe* (personal Communication:2014)

Te Wharehuia provides important insights into Māori language revitalisation and what he considers are the most important issues to be addressed moving forward.

Tā Tīmoti Kāretu
Tā Tīmoti Kāretu sees Māori language revitalisation, as getting back to where Māori used to be in terms of being able to "speak about anything that is possible to speak about; to get back to the level of command of *te reo Māori* which is rapidly being lost" (Personal Communication:2014). Many may consider his definition of *te reo Māori* revitalisation as an unachievable dream, but as he contends, "dream big when it is a dream worth dreaming" (Personal Communication:2014).

For Tā Tīmoti, Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori is all about the quality of the Māori language. *Ko te reo kia tika,* if the reo you are speaking is of high quality then, *ko te reo kia rere*, let it be put out far and wide, and thus, *ko te reo kia Māori*, it can truly be said that it is the Māori language' (Personal Communication:2014). This is the view Tā Tīmoti has

about the Māori language and its revitalisation. He does not see the settlement of Te Tiriti of Waitangi claims being a big part of *te reo Māori* revitalisation, and the notion that Māori must wait to get their claims settled before something is done for the language. Tā Tīmoti contends, "These thoughts and views are red herrings in the journey for language revitalisation as it just gives people more excuses not to get involved and causes apathy", something Tā Tīmoti has been saying for a long time (Personal Communication: 2014).

> One must make the decision to learn the language or help to revive it, despite reservations or *iwi* claims and a host of other reasons. If people carry on waiting because of this reason and that reason or because of government funding etc., it is the language that becomes the biggest loser (Personal Communication:2014).

He sees Te Kōhanga Reo as one of the better language revitalisation initiatives to be developed although he suggests that in its initial stages, Kōhanga Reo was achieving great success. However, in recent times, there are a number of aspects that intrude on the philosophy of Kōhanga Reo and are impacting on their success to operate according to this philosophy. One major aspect he identified was that a number of *kaiako* (teachers) within the Kōhanga Reo do not have the same command of the language as those that first started within the movement, and the same can be said about Kura Kaupapa Māori. Perhaps this context is best undertood by recognising that this factor can be attributed to the number of native speakers who were engaged with Te Kōhanga Reo from its inception having been recruited and inspired by its main founder, Dame Iritana Tawhiwhirangi. As these *kuia* and *koroua* have passed on they have been replaced by second language speakers who are less proficient in *te reo Māori*. However, Tā Tīmoti states, it is up to those within the Māori world who have the wherewithal to create the opportunities for individuals that need assistance. He states, 'We must make sure those involved get the pedagogical and linguistic assistance that is necessary so the knowledge and *reo* that is being fed to our children is *tika* (correct) (Personal Communication: 2014). Unfortunately, Tā Tīmoti, claims that this is not happening, 'We are not offering these opportunities, so we are doing both our teachers and our children a disservice' (Personal Communication: 2014).

Using an analogy for teaching the teachers of *te reo Māori*, Tā Tīmoti suggests that "there are too many little fires burning in isolation, in relation to developing the skills of Māori language teachers, but there is no fire big enough to radiate the amount of heat needed to melt the permafrost that has *te reo Māori* within its grasp" (Personal Communication: 2014).

For example, he says, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa has something going, Te Wānanga o Raukawa has something going, AUT has something going, Massey has something going, Te Wānanga o Takiura o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa has something going, including several others. What is needed, maintains Tā Tīmoti,

> …is the development of one institution that can cater for many Māori teachers that would undergo the same high-level quality of training. The best applicants of the institutions involved can be chosen to lead such an initiative and aspects such as dialect and *iwi* knowledge (if the students do not already have these facets) can be reinforced by the student's *hau kāinga* (home people). We must give our teachers the best possible support and all the opportunities that help them to become great teachers of *te reo Māori* and Māori practices. Whether that means adding to their current skills or redeveloping their skills from the very beginning, is irrelevant, the main outcome is producing consistently great Māori language teachers whose command of *te reo Māori* is extensive. Thus, such an initiative could mean running one programme across several different locations to bring everyone up to the same level of understanding, competency and language proficiency (Personal Communication: 2014).

All those that are involved in the running of Māori language revitalisation initiatives need to find a way of working together contends Tā Tīmoti. Te Ipukarea is doing things most others are not doing pertaining to Māori language revitalisation and so they should be commended. Toni Waho and Co', are doing positive things at their Kura Kaupapa Māori in Palmerston North, and there are so many more out there that are doing good work in relation to *te reo Māori* revitalisation but they all need to begin to work together. It is about capitalising on all the experience, skills, expertise and knowledge, which makes sense. For individual groups to try and reinvent the wheel every time, when developing language revitalisation initiatives, is not only a waste of valuable resources but also a waste of precious time, which *te reo Māori* does not have. Language revitalisation also includes developing the will of those around you to want to speak *te reo Māori,* states Tīmoti. Ngāti Raukawa did it from scratch with only six speakers left, so did Ngāi Tahu an *iwi* with barely any speakers left, and although language revitalisation is an ongoing issue for both tribes, they have developed ways to stimulate the will of their *iwi* to embrace the learning of *te reo Māori*, which must be admired, argues Tā Tīmoti (Personal Communication: 2016).

While both Tā Tīmoti and Te Wharehuia have very strong views on the revitalisation and teaching of the Māori language, however, what has been glaringly obvious (during these

interviews), is their absolute *aroha* and total commitment to the survival of *te reo Māori*. Admiration is perhaps a word that falls rather short when it comes to giving recognition to both these partisans of Māori language survival. A life time of commitment and devotion to *te reo Māori* provokes adjectives such as awe-inspiring, remarkable or extraordinary. Suffice to say, when it comes to the changing attitudes relating to the importance of *te reo Māori* in modern times "*kei konei mātou, te mea ai, i korā koutou*" (we are here, because, you were there). *Nō reira, e ngā rangatira, e ngā tūtei, e ngā poutiriao o te reo Māori. Ngā toihuarewa o te ao Māori, o te ao hurihuri hoki, tēnei te mihi nui, te mihi maioha. E hika mā, ahakoa ko te tihi o te maunga e hūhia ana e te huka inaianei, kei raro tonu iho te ahi tipua e hāruru ana.*

Te Ipukarea ~The National Māori Language Institute

Image 58: Te Ipukarea ~ The National Māori Language Institute

Source: Adapted from http://www.teipukarea.maori.nz/

Te Ipukarea is involved in many projects relating to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*, including research and examination of other Indigenous languages and the approaches their speakers have developed relating to language survival. The Te Ipukarea website (see http://www.teipukarea.maori.nz/) profiles several language revitalisation projects and developments in New Zealand and in the Pacific, the latter listed under Te Whare o Rongomaurikura ~ The International Centre for Language Revitalisation (The Centre) which is nestled inside Te Ipukarea. Te Ipukarea is a stand-alone research institute that was established from funding from the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) in 2008 and is hosted by the Faculty of Culture and Society at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT). As indicated on the website, at the core of the Institute is the pursuit of excellence

in scholarship, teaching, and research in the Māori language. Te Ipukarea has also developed and advanced a digital strategy for the creation, delivery, and assessment of Māori language curriculum and the collection and dissemination of Māori knowledge. From online language tutorials and animations to digital recordings of interviews with native speakers of the Māori Language, Te Ipukarea provides a broad range of online resources to support Māori language learning.

The International Centre for Language Revitalisation is located within Te Ipukarea and its vision is to develop research and expertise in endangered, minoritised, and Indigenous language revitalisation with strong collaboration between researchers and language communities. The Centre is a revolutionary space where academics, researchers, students and practitioners in the field of endangered, minoritised, and Indigenous language revitalisation can collaborate, exchange ideas, and learn from the experiences of other groups working for the rejuvenation of their languages (Te Ipukarea, 2017).

Researchers from Te Ipukarea have recently completed a short documentary titled, "*Te Oranga o te Pae*" which examines the state of *te reo Māori* within a small rural coastal community in Tokomaru Bay on the East coast of the North Island. The interviews undertaken for the documentary are insightful, thought provoking and display the concerns of a people in a Māori community who are deeply worried for the survival of their *reo*. The following are excerpts of some of those interviewed for the documentary and provides a case-study of the health of the language in two *hapū*, Te Whānau a Ruataupare and Te Whānau a Te Aotāwarirangi in Tokomaru Bay:

1.0 Renata Kururangi (respected by many as one of the *kaumatua* of Tokomaru despite being young) states that those who hold knowledge of the Tokomaru *reo,* such as, *whakataukī* (a proverb or formulaic saying)*, kīwaha* (colloquial saying)*, ngā kupu* (words) and the many other aspects that define their language, are but a very small group. By his admission, there is little in the way of documentation relating to these aspects, however, from his perspective, if the *reo* of Tokomaru is to be revitalised, first and foremost, the foundation of such an endeavour must be built upon aspects related to the *reo* of Tokomaru. Many *kīwaha, whakataukī* and other aspects of *te reo whanui* (the wider Māori language) have been brought here by those from outside of Tokomaru declares Renata, and "while in some instances these aspects are still being

used, what is important is that we maintain the unique characteristics of our *reo*". While he sees their *reo* moving forward within the *tamariki* (children) and *mokopuna* (grandchildren) of Tokomaru, his main concern are the parents who, in most cases, have a tenuous hold of *te reo*. The challenge states Renata, for all those who belong to Tokomaru, is that "we must begin to work together to achieve a sustainable level of language revitalisation and to strengthen the knowledge of our people in relation to the *reo* of Tokomaru".

2.0   Tumanako Kururangi (one of the first graduates of Te Kōhanga Reo o Marotiri kei Pakirikiri Marae) contends that the survival of their *reo* does not depend on those experts within the Māori language who live outside of Tokomaru. He asks, '*Mā wai rā e taurima ngā marae e waho nei*? (who will tend these marae?); who will revitalise the *reo* of Tokomaru? The answer is simple states Tumanako, "it is those of us of *te hau kāinga* (the home people), those of us who continue to speak our *reo*, practise our customs, those of us who continue to normalise our existence within a Māori world within Tokomaru Bay". Tumanako recognises the urgency of *te whakarauora o tō rātou reo* (the revitalisation of the language) and thus, he suggests that those who are wanting to learn and those that are learning, must speak the language, regardless of how little they know or whether its back to front or upside down, the most important thing is that they are speaking *te reo Māori*. It will be those of the *hau kāinga* who will *whakatika* (correct) their *reo* and broaden their understanding over time affirms Tumanako. Those who are connected to Ruataupare (the ancestor who along with her great-aunt Te Aotāwarirangi established *mana whenua* (jurisdiction over the land in this region) are many, however, the majority live outside of our traditional lands states Tumanako, and while the small group that keep the home fires burning will continue to do so, there are times when one's strength begins to wane, and the demands become overly prodigious. While Tumanako bears the *moko mataora*, this young man is also an exemplar of the ideal of the *moko wairua* espoused in this thesis and embodied in the following *whakatauākī*, "*Ko te moko wairua i whakairoirohia te ngākau o te pūkōrero, nā te reo Māori*" (Anaru, 2016).

3.0   Ngoi Pewhairangi concludes that the *reo* of Tokomaru is disappearing and she expresses absolute sorrow, grief and frustration claiming that "language loss will only

get worse if this situation is not meaningfully addressed and soon", states Ngoi. She laments a time when those old people of Tokomaru Bay who were native speakers of the language, would all gather at the *marae* almost everyday; they would communicate and converse in te *reo*, uphold their *tikanga*, and express their views, values and beliefs on various *kaupapa*. Ngoi promotes the adage, *hoki atu ki tō marae* meaning return to your *marae* if you want to learn your *reo me ōna tikanga*. Her voice trembles as she describes how lonely the *marae* at Tokomaru are for the people and expresses her wish for the *marae* to become once again, the heart of the Tokomaru community. It is her generation that were given the cultural treasures and knowledge of their elders and ancestors contained within the language and customary lore through growing up with native speakers and through community-led initiatives such as *Kōhanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Māori* declares Ngoi. Therefore, she feels that it is encumbant on her generation to carry the *reo* and *tikanga* for Tokomaru, regardless of their age; that they must sit on the *paepae* (orators bench) and *karanga* (call of welcome) to the visitors on marae, a situation admits Ngoi, that her *tīpuna* would not have endorsed, but considering the rapid loss of the language within the community would come to understand. The *wharenui* (meeting house on the *marae*) is the place of learning affirms Ngoi, a place of sanctuary, a place of solace, a place that not only connects you to every aspect of the Māori world but to every facet that binds you to your *whānau*, your *hapū* and your *iwi*. One gets a sense that although Ngoi is deeply saddened to observe the decline of the *reo* of Tokomaru, she holds strong hope that their *reo* can be reinvigorated, through the efforts of her generation. Those who have left Tokomaru Bay and those from Tokomaru Bay who have been raised in the city she urges to return to and assist in the revival and revitalisation of the language and customs of their *rohe* (region). While Ngoi does not bear a *moko kauae*, through the strength and passion of her words, relating to her *reo*, it is obvious, that her heart (much like her *whanaunga* Tumanako) is also decorated with the *moko wairua o te reo Māori*.

4.0 Iwiata Williams suggests that from her observations most of the *kaikōrero* (speakers) that she sees on the *marae*, these days, are hesitant to speak in length relating to the *kaupapa* of the day. She calims that while they all know their *pepeha* (tribal saying) and aspects of the *whaikōrero* (oratory) when it comes to elaborating on the *kaupapa*

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of the day, they display fear and uncertainty, thus, their *kōrero* (speech) is too short, thereby leaving the people uninformed about the reasons they have gathered together. The reason behind this behaviour, suggests Iwiata, is a lack of knowledge and understanding of *te reo Māori*.

5.0   Maera Pihema contends that learning *te reo Māori* is not an individual activity but must be practised with the *whānau, hapū* and *iwi*. One of her major aspirations is that all those of Tokomaru become bilingual in Māori and in English. There would be nothing better than hearing our *reo* spoken within all areas of *te hau kainga* declares Maera. All those of Tokomaru must work together and not apart to revive our *reo*, and all those who are fluent in *te reo Māori* must speak the *reo* in their homes as this is the place to nurture the *reo*; it is, *he whakaruruhau mō te reo* (a place of shelter for the language).

While there were several people interviewed in the documentary, all of the participants view in terms of language revitalisation, share a common thread of urging *whānau* from Tokomaru Bay to return home to assist in the language revitalisation efforts. For example, Karla Kohatu wants to see the *whānau* of Tokomaru return home to warm the *marae*, the *wharenui* and the *wharekai* (dining room), while participating in the teaching and learning of their language and customs. Kura Tihore states that while there are only a few of them in Tokomaru Bay who speak *te reo Māori*, they will continue to speak their *reo* whatever the occasion, regardless of whether most others of the *hau kainga* tend to speak *te reo Pākehā* (English). However, from what she has seen, those that return to Tokomaru are normally interested in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*, most want to learn *te reo me ōna tikanga* and they want to assist those of the *hau kainga* with whatever it takes to maintain our language and customs. *Kuia* (very elderly woman) Hinetautope Wilcox, is part of the *whānau* that have returned to the *hau kainga* to learn *te reo Māori* and the many *tikanga* of Tokomaru Bay. While she is learning to speak *te reo* through engaging with *whānau* at *tangihanga* (traditional Māori funeral) and many other occasions at the *marae*, she is also learning *te reo* through Te Ataarangi at Tuatini Marae. Te Ataarangi (as previously discussed) was developed in the late 1970's by the late Dr Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira and the late Ngoingoi Pewhairangi, who is herself from Tokomaru Bay. It was designed as a community-based programme for adult Māori language learning. Te Ataarangi is modeled

on 'The Silent Way Method' developed by Caleb Gattegno, which utilises cuisenaire rods (rākau) and spoken language. His methodology was further developed to incorporate Māori values and customs, and it is against this background that Te Ataarangi was born.

The *whānau* of Tokomaru are not alone in terms of language loss, because this documentary and the many viewpoints expressed from the local Māori people in this small coastal community, potentially mirror the viewpoints of others in other Māori communities all over Aotearoa/New Zealand faced with language loss and language decline. Despite the fierce commitment and passion of the small dedicated groups within these communities to maintain their language and customs. Thus, this documentary is a *wero* (challenge) to Te Mātāwai and the government to firstly understand the health of the language within each community, assess its viality by using all the models available and then assist in the development of language revitalisation strategies that consider all variables and situations that many *iwi* and *hapū* are confronted with when contemplating a language revitalisation strategy for their *reo*. It is about making available the appropriate funding, resources, tools and information to allow *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to exceed their language revitalisation expectations and arrive at a place that defines their *reo* as safe and no longer at risk or endangered. The documentary can be seen on the Te Ipukarea YouTube channel https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t60sI5p1Y4M&list=PLMljX3dBuig99g2mQW2f7kwf E4QfdvfCp.

In summary, Te Ipukarea and Te Whare o Rongomaurikura are important spaces which bring together academics, researchers, postgraduate students and community language activitists to work together in undertaking research to increase awareness about the importance of the revitalisation of endangered languages, particularly, Māori and Pacific languages, and to develop tools to support language revitalisation initiatives and strategies to be shared at no cost with communities.

The Master Apprentice Language Learning Programme (MAP)
Like most interventions and initiatives relating to language revitalisation there are always several historical events that have led to such approaches being introduced and the Master Apprentice language learning programme is no different.

Figure 26: MAP

Source: Adapted from, http://www.rnld.org/MALLP

Hinton (2001) writes that California could have more languages that are extinct or dying than anywhere else in the world. Before the missions began moving northward in the 18th Century, it is estimated that around one hundred languages were spoken within the Californian region. However, the missions of Baja California del Norte literally enslaved the Indigenous peoples and the diseases that they brought with them devastated and completely wiped out many of the Indigenous communities. However, for the Indigenous Indians their troubles did not stop there because after the missions, there was the war between Mexico and America resulting in America acquiring California as the spoils of that war. Thus, began the great Gold Rush within California creating the biggest migration in the history of the world (Hinton, 2001). Within the new landscape of California, Indigenous peoples were enslaved or killed for bounty and their cultures and languages suffered the same fate as their people. In the late 19th Century many treaties (around 80 or so) were signed between the Indigenous peoples and American agents, however, these treaties were taken back to Washington, tabled, sealed, and never acted upon. Consequently, only some of the Indigenous languages have survived and only in small numbers.

Hinton (2001) states that out of the original one hundred or so languages "50 are now extinct, and the other 50 languages are spoken only by a few elders. At last count, only 4 of these 50 languages had more than 100 speakers" (p.217). From the beginning of the 20th

Century anthropologists and linguists began documenting the Indigenous languages of California (or what was left of them). Hinton states that;

> In the 1970s with the development of federally funded bilingual education programs, a number of bilingual education programs were established in California, resulting in the development of writing systems and language materials. But none of these efforts slowed the steady loss of native speakers, and none succeeded in bringing about fluency in indigenous languages for second language learners. The benefits to language learning of language immersion and of specific methods such as "total physical response" (TPR) were obvious by the 1980s. Immersion schools were developing in Hawai'i and elsewhere that had great promise for the survival of indigenous languages. But California did not have the resources to plunge into these methods. Native speakers were few, old, and generally untrained in language teaching methodology. The younger California natives who had become teachers and teacher's aides in bilingual education were generally not fluent, and language teaching could rarely go beyond the level of simple vocabulary and rote phrases. Nor were there and university classes in California where young adults could get intensive training in their languages. Native California's tremendous and admirable diversity of languages puts us at a disadvantage: unlike the Hawaiians, the Māoris, the Welsh, and the Irish, California's Indians have no one language that can become the symbol of indigenous rights or an official state language, nor is there one language into which human and financial and university resources can be poured. Where, then, could young Indian language teachers learn the language they were supposed to teach? Where could parents learn the language they wished their children to learn? How could these dying languages ever be transmitted at all? (pp. 217 – 218).

The answer to the perplexing questions that Hinton raises in the above quote were found within the last of the fluent native speakers. A symbiosis of a type was created between the native speakers and those who wanted to learn the language. Therefore, an interdependent team was created, consisting of one native speaker (who is referred to as the master or expert) and one young adult (who is referred to as the apprentice). Thus, the Master Apprentice Programme was fashioned to deal with the peculiarities of the Californian situation and to develop a group of young adult speakers who would become the conduit for language transmission. The Master Apprentice Programme writes Hinton (2001), has used ideas from a number of sources, including, TPR, linguistic elicitation techniques, conversational competence models, the use of technology and good old common sense. The following are the main principles that were developed to create an effective language learning situation for the young adult learners:

Table 32: The Master Apprentice Language Learning Program Principles

1	No English is allowed: the master speaker must try to use his language at all times while with the apprentice, and the apprentice must use the language to ask questions or respond to the master (even if he or she can only say "I don't understand).
2	The apprentice must be at least as active as the master in deciding what is to be learned and in keeping communication going in the language.
3	The primary mode of transmission and learning is always oral, not written
4	Learning takes place primarily in real-life situations, such as cooking, washing clothes, gardening, taking walks, doing crafts, going to traditional ceremonies, and so on.
5	The activity itself along with other forms of nonverbal communication will provide the context in which the language can be understood by the beginning learner.

Source: Adapted from – '*The Green Book of Language Revitalisation in Practice'*.

While the Master Apprentice Programme was developed in 1992 by the Native Californian Network (NCN) on the suggestion of Julian Lang, a Karuk speaker, the initial design of the programme was developed by Leanne Hinton, Nancy Richardson, and Mary Bates Abbott, and others. However, the programme is consistently being refined, added to and changed based on the differing situations they encounter. Further enhancement of the Master Apprentice Programme is due to many advanced workshops provided by the California Foreign Language Project which is administered by the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (AICLS) (Hinton, 2001). The selection process (in terms of choosing teams) is a yearly affair where application forms are sent out to several mailing lists, to tribal offices and to the well-known journal (widely read by Californian Indians) referred to as "News from Native California". One can only apply as a team, not as individuals, meaning the 'master and apprentice' must contact each other and then develop some grounds rules between themselves before they even apply for possible selection.

Once all the applications are received it is the AICLS board that decide which teams are selected. There are several criteria for selection but perhaps the most important aspects are, the fluency of the potential master, and how involved the apprentice has been in promoting the Indigenous language and their interest in not only learning the language but also teaching the language as a second language learner. Other factors also come into play. such as how close the master and apprentice live to each other. The following table includes aspects of what a master should display and aspects of what an apprentice should display.

Table 33: Attributes of Master and Apprentice

	A master should be:
1	A fluent speaker of the language. Usually a master spoke the First Nations language as a child and as a mother tongue. The master does not have to be a language teacher. Knowing how to speak the language is all the expertise needed.
2	A patient individual with some understanding of the language learning process. Language learning is not a quick process and it takes a lot of time and repetition for the apprentice to pick up the language.
3	Willing to spend a lot of time with the apprentice speaking only in the language
4	Willing to overcome any fears, inhibitions or negative feelings about speaking and sharing the language. These feelings are understandable and very common due to the effects of the Residential School experience, but it is important to create a positive space for the language to grow.
5	Open to learning and using different techniques to pass on the language to the apprentice.
	An apprentice should be:
1	Either a semi-speaker (know some of the language) or a total beginner. Either situation is fine.
2	A patient individual who has some understanding of the language learning process.
3	Willing to spend a lot of time with the master speaking only the language. In addition to the time spent together, many apprentices spend extra time on their own listening to recordings and reviewing.
4	Deeply committed to learning the language.
5	Committed to making the most out of the time spent with the master.
6	Responsible for guiding the language learning process by choosing what she/he wants to learn.
7	Willing to take risks and overcome fears of making mistakes in the language.
8	Interested in and committed to passing on what she/he learns, to others.

Source: Adapted from – B. C's 'Master-Apprentice Language Program Handbook'

As stated in the table above, having some understanding of the language learning process is an advantage for both the master and apprentice, nevertheless, an important part of the Master Apprentice Programme includes learning and becoming familiar with the many approaches related to language learning. The following table includes 10 key points for successful language learning within the Master Apprentice Language Learning Programme.

Table 34: Successful Language Learning

Ten Key Points for Successful Language Learning	
Point 1: Leave English behind – communicate using only your language	Resist speaking English even though it would be much easier in many situations. Think of English as a habit you are trying to break. If you catch yourself using English, switch right back into your own language. This may happen quite regularly at first but keep reminding each other to use your language only. In the beginning learn basic questions and phrases in the

	language so that you don't have to use English. For example: *How do you say………? Could you repeat that please? Or, could you say it more slowly? I don't understand. Or, what is this, what is that, what is this called, what are those? What am I doing, what are you doing, what should I do now? Am I correct, am I right?* Learn some phrases in the language to help each other stay in the language. Some of these phrases may need to be reworded to fit with your language, for example: *Please speak to me in our language. Now say that in our language. Tell me a story, legend or traditional story. Tell me about an event. Tell me what's in this picture or photo (or some other visual object). What is happening here (pointing to the picture)? Tell me what is happening in this picture.*
Point 2: Make yourself understood with non-verbal communication	Instead of switching to English, use actions, gestures, facial expressions, pictures and objects to show what you are trying to say. For example: *act out what you are trying to say. Gestures and facial expressions: point to things you are talking about and use facial expressions that show what you are thinking and feeling.* Use pictures, photos, books and magazines as well as objects around you to help make yourself understood, and talk together about what you see. The apprentice could develop a personal collage of events or things they want to learn (family relationships, family events) for example: *Use a photo album to talk about your family, use a children's storybook to tell a story in your language. Use a fashion magazine to talk about clothing and what people look like. Use a home magazine to talk about food, furniture or houses. Use stuffed animals or puppets to act out stories.*
Point 3: Use full sentences	Hearing words in the context of full sentences will help the learner remember and understand their real meanings. Words on their own don't have as much meaning and are more difficult to remember than words in full sentences, for example: *when teaching the word for "cup" instead of just pointing at the cup and saying the word, you can say things like, here is a cup. This is a cup. That is a cup. It's a blue cup, my cup is red, and your cup is black and white. Where is your cup? Do you want a cup? Now I am going to pour some tea into the cup. Now I am going to give you your cup. The cup is hot! Give me your cup.* Follow the 20x20 rule. To learn a new word or phrase, an apprentice needs to hear/see/say it 20 times in 20 different situations.
Point 4: Use your language for real communication	Try to do everything in your language. Don't think of your language as something you do only during lessons, but as the everyday language of your community. Learning a language means learning to communicate. The best way to learn is by using real communication in the language. An apprentice needs many opportunities to practice and ask questions in the language during real-life activities, for example: *a master and an apprentice can talk about washing the dishes as they are actually doing the dishes. This will give the apprentice the opportunity to see, feel, touch, hear and speak about the topic.*
Point 5: Languages are unique and represent a culture.	Your language is not just a translation of English. Some ideas, phrases and thoughts we say in English may be impossible to say in exactly the same way in your language, and some things in your language may be impossible to say in exactly the same way in English. Each language expresses unique ideas and thoughts. It is important to keep this in mind and to be willing to put your "English ideas" aside. It may not be polite or proper protocol to talk about some things in your language that we usually talk about in English. It's important to listen to the master and not try to force him/her to talk about certain topics, for example*: In some languages and cultures it is only appropriate for one gender (male or female) to make certain speeches and tell certain stories. In some languages, it is only appropriate to talk about things in certain ways, such as by being humble.* There may be important culture-specific points to keep in mind when you say certain things, for example: *It may be impolite to ask certain questions in your language. Some stories may be restricted to a certain time of year. The apprentice needs to learn these things also.*

Point 6: Focus on listening and speaking	Some master-apprentice teams are eager to focus on reading, writing and the grammar of their language. Although this can sometimes be helpful, your main focus needs to be on listening and speaking in order to become fluent in your language. The apprentice does not need to learn to write to learn the language. She/he can learn the language just by hearing and speaking it. Writing can slow down pronunciation and fluency. Learning to write adds a whole lot of work and time to the language learning process. The apprentice can record the new sentences and write them down later when reviewing or practicing the phrases on their own. Keep your time together for listening and speaking, not writing.
Point 7: Learn and teach the language through activities	The best way to learn to speak a language is through activities using real communication in the language. This is exactly how all babies learn language, through real-life communication and activities. Hands-on daily activities will keep the apprentice actively learning and interested. This will allow the apprentice to better remember what they learn. An apprentice can learn the language by watching, listening and practicing activities, for example: *Instead of trying to learn about berries from a book at home, the apprentice will learn and remember more if she/he goes out to pick berries and talks about it in the language with the master*. Live your daily life together. Don't think of this time together as outside of your normal patterns of living, for example: *If you have to cook supper, do it, and talk about what you are doing in your language. Talk about the various steps of the activity as you do them.*
Point 8: Use audio and video recording	Recordings are useful to help the apprentice practice, and they create a record for the master as well. Although the apprentice needs to hear the repetition many times, it is exhausting and sometimes frustrating for the master to repeat what she/he says over and over again. An audio or video recording is the perfect solution! The apprentice can take the recording away from the session and play it as many times as they like whenever they want to. Recordings can be kept for the families of the master and apprentice and for the community to use as a language resource. Recordings can be shared and used to teach others. Recordings can be played back at any time. The apprentice can listen to recordings on a walk, in the car or at home.
Point 9: Apprentice should be an active leaner	The master is the language expert, but she/he does not have to take charge of deciding what, how, and when to teach. The apprentice should help guide her/his learning experience as much as possible. The apprentice can choose what she/he would like to learn, for example: *the apprentice can tell the master what she/he would like to know, or just ask questions and suggestions*. The master-apprentice team should be a true partnership rather than the master "teaching" the apprentice language lessons. By actively learning and taking responsibility for learning, the apprentice will remember more, enjoy the immersion language sessions more and get more out of the time spent with the master.
Point 10: Be sensitive to each other's needs and feelings	Be aware of each other's feelings. Language learning can sometimes feel overwhelming for both the master and the apprentice. This is normal and it is important to give yourselves a break. Change the topic, do something fun, play a game or tell a joke! The master is working to pass on the language by repeating things many times, slowing her/his speech and spending a considerable amount of time with the apprentice. The apprentice must keep this in mind and try to make things easier for the master whenever possible. The apprentice is also working very hard to learn the language. It is not quick and easy. The master must be patient and kind to the apprentice even when learning is going very slowly and it seems like little progress is being made. If you get discouraged, remember that you are doing the best you can. Each small step towards revitalizing a language is extremely valuable.

Source: Adapted from B. C's 'Master-Apprentice Language Program Handbook'

Once the teams are chosen and the language learning key points are known, there are several other aspects that must be followed Some of these features are included in the following table.

Table 35: Comprehension and Production

Comprehension	
1	Understanding what is being communicated (through the nonverbal part of the communication, even if the apprentice doesn't understand the words yet).
2	Recognizing what is being said (i.e.., understanding the language being used).
Production	
3	Mimicking what is being said (i.e.., producing an utterance by copying what the master has just said – can theoretically precede comprehension).
4	Producing the utterance without prompting.
5	Using the word or phrase creatively in spontaneous communication (advanced knowledge).

Source: Adapted from – '*The Green Book of Language Revitalisation in Practice*'.

It is vital at the beginning stages that both the master and apprentice appreciate that learning a language takes a lot of repetition and review. Expectation of both the master and apprentice in terms of the time taken to becoming familiar with a word or phrase must be realistic. Thus, to suppose that someone will be able to remember everything conveyed to them after only hearing it said once or twice is unrealistic. Therefore, part of the master apprentice programme is when teaching and learning a language one must follow the 20x20 rule. It has been found that to learn a new word or phrase or other aspects of a language, a learner needs to hear/see/say it 20 times in 20 different situations before it settles in the learner's long-term memory, thus the 20x20 rule comes into play.

Hinton (2001) suggests that the main cause of failure in the teaching of threatened languages is insufficient teacher training in language-teaching pedagogy. It has little to do with a lack of persistence or passion maintains Hinton (2001) but rather a lot to do with the lack of opportunities and resources. Many of those who are fluent in a threatened language have no experience in teaching or if they do have a background in teaching, it is usually not in language teaching. The reality is that most teachers are not speakers of an endangered language and many have little connection to Indigenous cultures, moreover, there is a lack of above average language pedagogy being taught and therefore, endangered languages are suffering needlessly because of this situation. Hinton (2001) writes that "Even good

professors of language pedagogy have spent their lives training people to teach world languages and may never have thought about the important differences between teaching a world language and a language of a tiny population" (p. 349). This is perhaps one of the reasons why Indigenous communities seek out the assistance of linguists to develop language teaching programmes argues Hinton (2001).

While linguists have a vast knowledge of the linguistic structure of a language they lack training in language pedagogy, meaning that linguists can develop a more than sufficient book relating to grammar lessons but normally do not have the experience or training to effectively teach that grammar to students. Thus, it can be said that linguists are predisposed to explaining the structure of a language writes Hinton (2001) rather than teaching someone how to use the language in their everyday lives. Acquiring good pedagogical training is not impossible as there are a few language revitalisation programmes that have developed high level training associated with language teaching. There is also a developing interest by foreign language teaching experts pertaining to endangered Indigenous languages, which is assisting in the revitalisation of these threatened languages. Even linguists who have developed a desire to assist in the revival of threatened languages are taking classes and upskilling in language teaching. But perhaps most importantly for Indigenous languages, native educators are developing classes and workshops to assist in the short-fall of language teaching pedagogies (Hinton, 2001).

Breath of Life – Silent no more ~ Language Revitalisation Programme
Based on the method of the 'Breath of Life Language Restoration Workshop for Californian Indians', which in 1996 was offered by the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (or AICLS) in conjunction with the University of California at Berkeley, the National Breath of Life Institute for Indigenous Languages also offers assistance to Indigenous communities in the employing of linguistic documentation that holds important information relating to their respective tribes and languages.

Image 59: Breath of Life Programme

Source: Adapted from http://nationalbreathoflife.org/history/

Leanne Hinton (2012) asks the question, if is it possible to revive a language from one point where there are no speakers to the point where the language is used widely in the community? While posing the question, she also offers some examples of where this situation has occurred. Hinton states,

> There are cases in the world where languages that no one spoke were reborn and became the language of communities. The most famous example of this is Hebrew. It wasn't anybody's native language for 2500 years, and now it is the language of a nation. During most of those 2500 years, scholars learned the language in their religion. That might be the future of some of your [Indigenous] languages for the next 2500 years. Or that may be just the first step, and the others may come quickly. Cornish is another language that has been revived. It hadn't been spoken for two or three hundred years, and now it's a second language for a growing number of people. Reconstructing a language and bringing it into the community are long range goals. Some of you may not even have these goals, you may just want to learn something about your language (p. 11).

While it may seem that in this situation of language loss there is little comparison to the Māori language circumstance, since comparable to many other Indigenous languages *te reo Māori* is still spoken by twenty three percent of Māori people, this statistic may seem impressive by those Indigenous peoples whose languages are sleeping. As stated in chapter two of this thesis, the speakers of *te reo Māori* are decreasing not increasing, so the question is, with the current trend how long will it be until we can expect *te reo Māori* to become a sleeping language? While some may scoff at this question, it should be remembered that language death/sleep relating to *te reo Māori* has already occurred in many *Māori whānau*. Some *Māori whānau* have lived with the death of *te reo Māori* for generations, thus it is a little wonder why these *whānau* feel a lack of connection with *te reo Māori* and the Māori

culture. Therefore, there is value for Māori in language revival programmes such as the 'Breath of Life'. In the following table are practices and steps provided by Hinton (2012) in relation to the revival and the reconstruction of sleeping languages.

Table 36: Revival and the reconstruction of sleeping languages

Step: 1	Find and acquire publications, dissertations, field notes, and tapes on the language that you're trying to work with, and closely related languages. Also find ethnographies of your traditional culture. They will have language in them, but more importantly, they hold information about the cultural context in which the language was spoken. You may also find photographs and genealogical material. While some languages have very little documentation, your language may be one of the many with very rich findings.
Step: 2	It is essential to learn how to read the materials. Learn how to pronounce the phonetic symbols. If there are tapes to listen to, listen to them, because they tell you much more about pronunciation than the phonetic writing can. There are subtleties that don't show up in writing. In some languages, for instance, at the end of a sentence you raise the tone instead of lowering it.
Step:3	The first phase of language learning: learning basic words and phrases. You can learn vocabulary, and you can learn useful phrases – greetings, prayers – that you can insert into your speech right away and that you can teach to other people. You might memorize an entire song or a prayer. It's not like really knowing the language, but you experience a lot of connected speech, and that's a very important part of that first phase. Once you've learned how to say things, put them on tape: if people are trying to learn how to speak, they need to hear it. If a large number of people are learning the language together, and if their goal is to begin using the language as a mean of communication, the learners should always use these phases with each other, never saying them in English.
Step:4	Begin to learn simple sentence structures that you can plug things into – phase two of language learning. In phase one, learning useful phrases is more important than learning isolated words, but you'll find yourself learning a lot of vocabulary. In fact, you may have nothing else to learn at first – you may have only found word lists. But in this second phase you'll start learning sentences like "Give me the…" or there may be no "the" in your language but there's "give me" and plenty of nouns that you can plug in. You may have to add a suffix or something to them, but you'll be able to construct sentences and move beyond set phrases – you can actually start creating language.
Step: 5	Begin to build up to more complex structures, using the methods described in Steps 3 and 4. Try to figure out, based on your lifestyles, what things you want to learn to talk about. If you are trying to bring ceremonies back to the tribe, for instance, it is important to learn prayers, songs and words for regalia and other aspects of ceremonies.
Step: 6	Start making things up in your language. Can everything you might say in English be said in your language? If not, go back to your materials and try to find a similar sentence for a model. Try making small speeches, memorizing whole stories, talking in long strings of connected speech.
Step: 7	If your goal is for your language to be the main means of communication within your community, you need to be able to talk about everyday life, and that includes a lot of modern items. You can borrow the words, but given the role of English in threatening California languages, most people don't want to borrow from English. Languages have descriptive terms for new items that bring them into the framework of traditional culture – for example, the Karuk word for "clock" is "little sun" showing the link to traditional time-telling. At every step of the way it is vital to develop materials that will allow the teaching of what you've been learning. The

	faster you can move from written materials to teaching, the better. There will be a strong temptation to be overly dependent on written materials, but keep in mind that when you want to learn a language fluently, it really has to be oral. The more you can teach children without using writing, the faster they'll learn, because they'll learn the pronunciation well: they'll be able to communicate without using the medium of the eye.

Source: Adapted from, the manual of language revival for California Native Languages without Speakers.

Hinton (2012) writes that there are many reasons why some Indigenous peoples have a passion to revive their Indigenous languages and, just as many reasons why some Indigenous peoples choose not to be involved with language revitalisation or make a choice not to speak their language. Hinton (2012) states that she had been speaking to one of the Hawaiian language activists and it had been revealed to her that the language activist's father was very opposed to speaking or revitalising the Hawaiian language, even though he was a speaker. Hinton (2012) writes;

> One of the Hawaiian language activists was saying that her father had been adamantly opposed to bringing the language back. He was saying "let it die. English is the modern way, that's the way we've got to live." But then one of his grandchildren was enrolled in a Hawaiian immersion preschool, and that little five-year-old started talking to his grandfather one day in Hawaiian. His grandfather just burst into tears and completely lost any opposition. He realized how much he really did love the language, and how amazing and wonderful it was to hear this child talking to him in Hawaiian (p.13).

The initial attitude of the grandfather relating to the demise of the Hawaiian language and the prosperity of the English language is symptomatic of the forces of colonisation and globalisation, and the many issues discussed and woven throughout this thesis. It was not compulsion or force that penetrated the hardened colonised attitude of the grandfather (relating to the Hawaiian language) to realise how much love he had for his language, but rather the most vulnerable and precious person in his life, that of his grandchild. If there are any lessons to be learnt from this situation, it could be that it takes those things that are precious in a person's life to open doors previously kept shut. Also, this situation could be a part of the domino effect, due to the decision of the parent to take their child to an immersion school and due to all the good work of those at the immersion school, the child was able to speak to his grandfather in their native tongue, which in many ways released the grandfather from his previous attitude toward the Hawaiian language.

The following table illustrates the protection of basic linguistic rights. It was written by The Linguistic Society of America which was founded in 1924. Present membership of the

society stands at 7000 including people, institutions and leading experts on language predominantly within the United States of America. This statement of language rights was developed in 1996, and while the support for Indigenous languages in America has been minimal in previous years however, the goals in the following statement are informative, insightful and well intentioned.

Table 37: Protection of Linguistic Rights

One	The vast majority of the world's nations are at least bilingual, and most are multilingual, even if one ignores the impact of modern migrations. Countries in which all residents natively speak the same language are a small exception, certainly not the rule. Even nations like France, Germany and the United Kingdom have important linguistic minorities within their borders. Furthermore, where diverse linguistic communities exist in one country, they have generally managed to coexist peacefully. Finland, Singapore, and Switzerland are only three examples. Where linguistic discord does arise, as it has with various degrees of intensity in Belgium, Canada, and Sri Lanka, it is generally the result of majority attempts to disadvantage or suppress a minority linguistic community, or it reflects underlying racial or religious conflicts. Multilingualism by itself is rarely an important cause of civil discord.
Two	The territory that now constitutes the United States was home to hundreds of languages before the advent of European settlers. These indigenous languages belonged to several language families. Each native language is or was a fully developed system of communication with rich structures and expressive power. Many past and present members of the Society have devoted their professional lives to documenting and analysing the native languages of the United States.
Three	Unfortunately, most of the indigenous languages of the United States are severely threatened. All too often their eradication was deliberate government policy. In other cases, these languages have suffered from biased or uninformed views that they are mere "dialects" with simple grammatical structures and limited vocabularies. The decline of America's indigenous languages has been closely linked to the loss of much of the culture of their speakers.
Four	Because of this history, the Society Believes that the government and people of the United States have a special obligation to enable indigenous peoples to retain their languages and cultures. The Society strongly supports the federal recognition of this obligation, as expressed in the Native American Languages Act. The Society urges federal, state and local governments to continue to affirmatively implement the policies of the Act by enacting legislation, appropriating more adequate funding, and monitoring the progress made under the Act.
Five	The United States is also home to numerous immigrant languages other than English. The arrival of some of these languages, such as Dutch, French, German, and Spanish, predates the founding of our nation. Many others have arrived more recently the substantial number of residents of the Unite States who speak languages other than English presents us with both challenges and opportunities.
Six	The challenges of multilingualism are well known: incorporating linguistic minorities into our economic life, teaching them English so they can participate more fully in our society, and properly educating their children. Unfortunately, in the process of incorporating immigrants and their offspring into American life, bilingualism is often wrongly regarded as a "handicap" or "language barrier." Of course, inability to speak English and another language-should be encouraged, not stigmatized. There is no convincing evidence that bilingualism by itself impedes cognitive or educational development. On the contrary, there is evidence that it may actually enhance certain types of intelligence.
Seven	Multilingualism also presents our nation with many benefits and opportunities. For example, bilingual individuals can use their language skills to promote our business

	interests abroad. Their linguistic competence strengthens our foreign diplomatic missions and national defence. And they can better teach the rest of us to speak other languages.
Eight	Moreover, people who speak a language in addition to English provide a role model for other Americans. Our national record on learning other languages is notoriously poor. A knowledge of foreign languages is necessary not just for immediate practical purposes, but also because it gives people the sense of international community that America requires if it is to compete successfully in global economy.
Nine	Furthermore, different languages allow different ways of expressing experiences, thoughts, and aesthetics. America's art and culture are greatly enriched by the presence of diverse languages among citizens.

Ten	To remedy our policies towards the languages of Native Americans and to encourage acquisition or retention of languages other than English by all Americans, the Linguistic Society of America urges our nation to protect and promote the linguistic rights of its people. At a minimum, all residents of the United States should be guaranteed the following rights:
	
	   A. To be allowed to express themselves, publicly or privately, in the language of their choice
	   B. To maintain their native language and, should they so desire, to pass on to their children
	   C. When their facility in English is inadequate, to be provided a qualified interpreter in any proceeding in which the government endeavours to deprive them of life, liberty or property. Moreover, where there is a substantial linguistic minority in a community, interpretation ought to be provided by courts and other state agencies in any matte that significantly affects the public.
	   D. To have their children educated in a manner that affirmatively acknowledges their native language abilities as well as ensures their acquisition of English. Children can learn only when they understand their teachers. As a consequence, some use of children's native language in the classroom is often desirable if they are to be educated successfully.
	   E. To conduct business in the language of their choice.
	   F. To use their preferred language for private conversations in the workplace.
	   G. To have the opportunity to learn to speak, read and write English.
	
	Notwithstanding the multilingual history of the United States, the role of English as our common language has never seriously been questioned. Research has shown that newcomers to America continue to learn English at rates comparable to previous generations of immigrants. All levels of government should adequately fund programs to teach English to any resident who desires to learn it. Nonetheless, promoting our common language need not, and should not, come at the cost of violating the rights of linguistic minorities.

Source: Adapted from the manual of language revival for California Native Languages without Speakers.

As referred to previously, the intentions in the above table are well meaning and express a positive attitude towards Indigenous American languages. However, it is proposed that these same goals and intentions should also be applied to all Indigenous languages and minority languages around the world.

Conclusion

Chapter six concentrates more on Māori approaches and Māori resources relating to language revitalisation. However, some Indigenous initiatives from America have also been

included to give a broader appreciation to the language revitalisation approaches that can be used to make comparisons between Indigenous Māori and Indigenous American methods and also to provoke thinking into how these could be adapted and modified for use by Māori communities. The chapter starts with two case studies, first "*Kotahi mano kaika – kotahi mano wawata*" and then looks at what a Bay of Plenty *iwi* (*Tapuika*) are considering in relation to language revitalisation. There is also substantial discussion pertaining to online language resources that support the learning and revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. Because language revitalisation of *te reo Māori* is the *kaupapa* of this thesis, the inclusion of an analysis of online resources is essential. The influence of the internet on language revitalisation and language learning, including Māori language revitalisation, is significant especially as it is only going to have more of an impact in the future. Thus, this chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the online resources, and how the internet has influenced Māori over the last decade or so. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this chapter are the interviews conducted with several *te reo Māori* experts. These interviews are discerning, thought provoking and offer insight into many years of experience relating to teaching and the revitalisation of the Māori language.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Image 60: *Mangopare*

The design *Mangopare* is mainly used in *kōwhaiwhai*, however, it is not unusual to see this design in *whakairo* and or *tā moko*. This design is influenced by the hammer head shark and represents strength and power. The *Mangopare* design is mainly used by Aotea, although like many other Māori designs its use has become communal, within *tā moko*. Within this thesis the design *Mangopare* symbolises power of belief and strength of will to persevere with the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* until a satisfactory conclusion has been reached. "*He manga-ā-wai koia, kia kāore e whitikia?*" (Is it a river that cannot be crossed?) (Mead & Grove, 2001). The saying implies that every river can be crossed in one way or another. Through perseverance and diligence, one can navigate through the difficulties of any situation. Thus, while it is exemplified in this thesis that revitalisation of *te reo Māori* is a huge undertaking, it is also illustrated that through *kaupapa Māori* and with the appropriate tools, the relevant approaches and the correct frame of mind anything can be achieved.

Introduction

This chapter reviews the research question in association with the emerging themes and the key findings particularly from the various interviews undertaken. It will also link the Indigenous models developed to the key findings in recognising the importance of utilising Indigenous Models in Māori language revitalisation strategies which contain Māori values and concepts located in *te ao Māori*. Finally, it will propose a series of recommendations on what Māori language revitalisation initiatives are considered a priority and require urgent attention, reflecting the sentiment expressed by Tā Tīmoti, that time is what *te reo Māori* does not have; a common factor that features across all endangered languages globally.

The Research Question

This thesis examines the integration of *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) and political theories as a basis from which to understand Indigenous language revitalisation and in particular, Māori language revitalisation in order to develop effective strategies for the survival of the Māori language for future generations. The research question asks, are Māori language revitalisation strategies and initiatives informed by theory[ies] and *mātauranga Māori*? Or, are Māori language revitalisation strategies ad hoc and reactionary to an

environment where native speakers are becoming fewer and the quality of the language very limited?

The findings show that Māori language revitalisation has historically been somewhat ad hoc in nature in Aotearoa/New Zealand although placing all of the activities into a timeline, it is evident that consistent development has occurred over a sustained period of time (see Appendix four for timeline). This ad hoc development is attributed to the impact of colonisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand, where Māori have become a minority in their country and in many ways, rendered powerless in terms of the political power, political will and resources needed to reverse Māori language decline. Therefore, issues such as cultural imperialism, hegemony, equality, institutionalised racism, Māori poverty, injustice and health issues as discussed in this thesis are the downstream effects of colonisation. Furthermore, these factors are common elements to many other endangered language communities all over the world. The findings also show that the emergence of Māori language revitalisation strategies over time have also, to some degree, been informed by theories such as *Kaupapa Māori* as many of the Māori language initiatives and strategies discussed including Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Kura Reo and Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori certainly reflect a Māori world view and *mātauranga Māori.*

The models of language revitalisation captured within the thesis, also complement the findings and represent many of the views expressed in the thesis to move from an ad hoc environment to a more systematic, unified and complementary approach to Māori language revitalisation where all stakeholders involved are respected and supported for the work they do in the field of Māori language revitalisation, and where there is much more of a coordinated approach encouraging stakeholders to work together in innovative ways to improve outcomes and thus, the health of the language.

The models developed are all grounded in a Māori world view. For example, The Moko Mataora Model: A Kaupapa Māori Methodology to Language Revitalisation (described in Chapter 1) uses the facial *moko* as its foundation and the intricate patterns also feature in the domain of *whakairo* reflect *mātauranga Māori*. The very artform of *moko mataora* has its origins in the famous oral narrative of Mataora and Niwareka, again reflective of *mātauranga Māori, te ao Māori* and a Māori world view. The same can be said for The

Moko Kauae Model: An Evaluation Tool to Measure the Health of *te reo Māori* and level of wellness (described in Chapter 5). Both models can be seen as tools to ensure the health and wellbeing of *te reo Māori* going forward.

Both models exemplify relevant approaches to language revitalisation developed and seen through the lens of a Māori world view that negates the need for Māori issues to be boxed into predetermined non-Indigenous methodologies; approaches that tend to alter the fundamental structure of a world view and restrict the holistic and philosophical aesthetic of an Indigenous outlook. Both models have the potential to create a synergy amongst language revivalists, whose purpose is to move the people forward as a collective in achieving the goal of language revitalisation. Furthermore, both models have a multiplicity of functions. At their very centre lies two core roles; the first is language health levels, and the second is language revitalisation methods. Importantly, both model's have the ability to unite Māori, and have the capability to gather all stakeholders under one *kaupapa*; to reach across differences and move Māori toward a single focus and priority of regenerating the Māori language showing deliberate cultural intent embraced by *wairua Māori* (the Māori spirit).

These specific concepts are likened to a kete of research tools for analysing and deconstructing political theories and applying these to a Māori context. By comparing the context of political theorists and their experience of issues such as colonisation and racism with the Māori context of colonisation and racism for example, we become conscientised and politicised as an Indigenous people and thus we can begin to rebuild and reclaim our *mana motuhake* (autonomy and independent thinking). This process shows how understanding political theories can empower Indigenous communities by informing them on decisions and strategies they need to make in the revitalisation of their language[s]. Table 47 identifies the application of the specific concepts describes as research tools in the thesis as exemplars.

Table 38: Kete of Research Tools for analysing and deconstructing political theories

Concept	Meaning of the terms	Application of the terms within the thesis
CC Cultural Codes	These relate to cultural, religious, legal, political etc issues, that have a level of control on people within our society including Māori	See chapter 5: Every culture has their own specific codes that can be liken to the DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) of a person. The CC's of a people refer to their *whakapapa*, their ideology, their cultural principles and many other aspects (such as *moko* for Indigenous Māori) that belong to a culture, which allows the people of that culture to naturally and harmoniously fit into their environment.
CRIE Comparative Reflecting of Indigenous Experiences	This relates to comparing political theory and theorists with Māori contexts and *kaupapa*	See chapter 1: The theory CRIE in the moko mataora model, provides a critical view into the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*
CRIT Comparative Reflecting of Indigenous Truths	This relates to *mātauranga Māori* and our truths such as our oral narratives that are misrepresented by Western thought as legends and myths	See chapter: The theory CRIT in the moko mataora model, provides a critical view into the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*
ENK Enriched knowledge	This relates to the knowledge shared by political theorists which is profound and often provocative and appeals to the Indigenous to be critical thinkers as they explore the issues raised such as colonisation	See chapter 3: The theory ENK, and can supply outlooks, Indigenous and minority peoples can use to gain awareness and insight into issues that affect their languages and cultures.
HART	This relates to the use of Indigenous models to capture the essence of language	See chapter 1&5: HART as a model can be seen in both chapters 1 & 5 and are ready to be utilised for the purpose

Holistic Aspects of the Revitalisation of *te reo Māori*	revitalisation and the associated resources needed	of *te reo Māori* revitalisation
HIIE Holistic Interpretations of Indigenous Experiences	This relates to Māori creating from a Māori world view their own models, theories grounded in *mātauranga Māori*	See chapter 1 & 5: HIIE as a model can be seen in both chapters 1 & 5 and are ready to be utilised for the purpose of *te reo Māori* revitalisation
IOC Intersections of Conflict	This relates to conflict arising between Māori and the Crown.	See chapter 1: The theory IOC can be seen relating to the matter of Kōhanga Reo funding shifting from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education that created conflict in terms of the compliance to regulations imposed on Kōhanga Reo that reflected a Western ideology and did not align with Kōhanga Reo philosophy

The final model is Ngā Rauemi mō te Whakarauora o Te Reo Māori Model: Resources for the Revitalisation of the Māori Language Model as seen in Figure 27 below. It comprises three elements namely "international and national language revitalisation approaches", "political theorists and critical theory", and the "genealogy and history of *te reo Māori*". These three elements can be applied in any order and can be used individually or as one whole entity. The model shows how these three elements can be integrated to provide a basis from which to better understand Māori language revitalisation.

Figure 27: Ngā Rauemi mō te Whakarauora o Te Reo Māori Model (NRWOT)
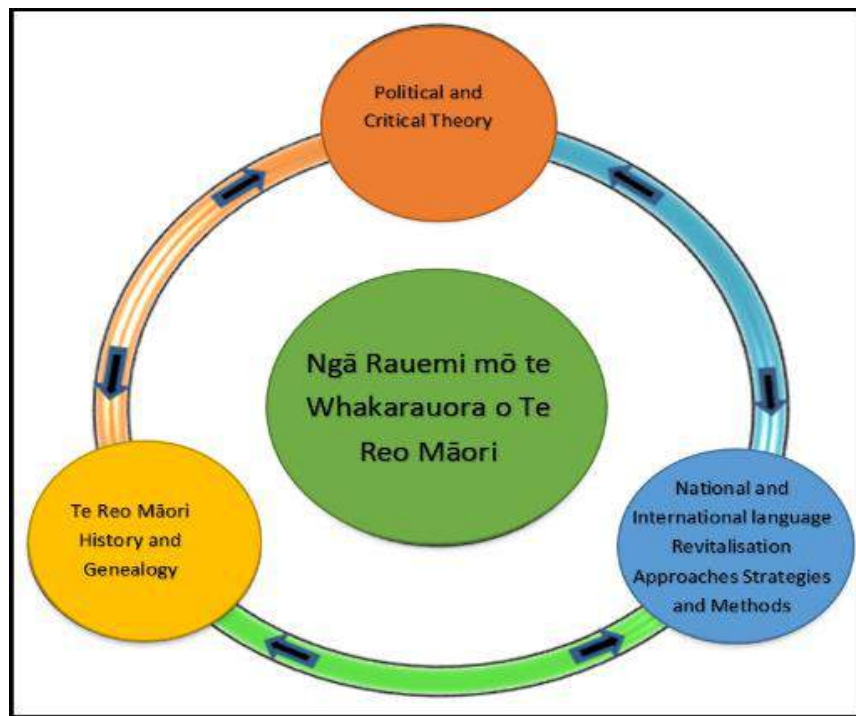
The Ngā Rauemi mō te Whakarauora o Te Reo Māori Model forms the foundation on which this research is based. The three aspects within the model are threaded throughout this thesis. All aspects of the three elements have been utilised to construct both The Moko Mataora Model and The Moko Kauae Model and to give insight into the many aspects related to the revitalisation of Indigenous languages and importantly, *te reo Māori*. While all chapters within this thesis display aspects of the three elements previously discussed, some chapters give more focus to specific elements.

The three elements in the Ngā Rauemi mō te Whakarauora o Te Reo Māori Model can be likened to the three baskets of knowledge pertaining to the Māori language. Therefore, this journey of research can be likened to the journey of *Tāne* or *Tāwhaki* who went in search of *ngā kete o te mātauranga* (the baskets of knowledge) - a *pūrākau* and Indigenous truth. The journey of *Tāne/Tāwhaki* to retrieve the baskets of knowledge was laden with hidden obstacles and with pathways that at times seemed to lead nowhere. However, the baskets were eventually found, and the knowledge of the baskets brought back for the people. While *Tāne/Tāwhaki* gave the knowledge to the people to work through a similar context applies to this thesis in that a number of examples of language revitalisation approaches have been suggested for the people to follow up and further develop. To reiterate, it is argued in this thesis, that knowledge of *te reo Māori*, history and genealogy, the understanding of political

and critical theory combined with international and national research relating to language revitalisation approaches, strategies and methods, are essential elements to inform the development of effective Māori language revitalisation strategies by *ngā tangata Māori*, *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and Māori communities generally, to ensure *te reo Māori* thrives.

Perhaps the most challenging of these elements to comprehend is Political Theorists – Contemporary Māori and non-Māori Political Commentators. All theorists share similar views on the structure of power. To have a comprehensive understanding of the nature of power allows the holder to understand why governments make the decisions they make and why particular types of politics dominate the world political arenas, or why certain political views have negative impacts on Indigenous cultures. It also gives the possessor of that knowledge a sense of command over their own individual situation and the idea that they can make change happen if necessary. This is the same sense of command Indigenous peoples gain when exposed to an environment of enriched knowledge (ENK), in relation to understanding issues surrounding colonisation, globalisation, neoliberalism, racism and many other matters that have and continue to affect Indigenous cultures and their languages. It brings into the light the impact of neoliberalism as the destroyer of social justice, the champion of free trade, free circulation of capital and freedom of investment. Without a doubt, neoliberalism is the spearhead to the globalisation of all financial markets around the world. Thus, neoliberalism promotes reducing government regulations, slashing public expenditure and by consistently encouraging market-based economies that put great value on competition and efficacy. Neoliberalism steers the world toward the fundamental Darwinist view that only the strong survive and the weak perish, thereby justifying many heinous crimes of absolute greed by the few, perpetrated on the many (Harvey, 2007).

Indigenous peoples are struggling to maintain their languages and cultures in environments where the ideology of neoliberalism prevails. Therefore, a deeper understanding of those great political theorists and ancient philosophers whose ideas and notions have stood the test of time is relevant to undertstanding language revitalisation and whose foresight and genius remain relevant and applicable to all time periods. Indigenous and minority peoples can utilise these theories and ideas of political theorists to give perspective to their respective political situations and contexts especially as the unfortunate truth is little attention is given to maintaining Indigenous languages. Proof of this can be seen in the ongoing decline of Indigenous languages and their cultures worldwide (Moseley, 2010).

By Māori articulating their reality of Māori language decline brings Māori a step closer to addressing Māori wellbeing through increasing the health of the language and reinforcing that their world view, beliefs, culture and language are essential to Māori wellness, expelling all elements that are counterproductive to this outcome. Thus, political theory is an essential element to the revitalisation of *te reo Māori.*

Ontological Data Base

The development of an ontological data base provides a store of information to assist those in the revival, survival and revitalisation of the Māori language. By no means is it prescriptive and it can be built on in the future through further research. Using the information contained within the data base, together with a Māori world view, values and principles located within *mātauranga Māori,* culturally rich approaches and strategies to Indigenous Māori language revitalisation can be developed. Findings show that all of the elements are connected through a common thread within the domain of Indigenous rights. Figure 27 below illustrates the link between the domain, Indigenous Rights and other features of language revitalisation discussed in this thesis.

Figure 28: Ontological data base, relating to Indigenous Māori language revitalisation framed within the domain of Indigenous Rights
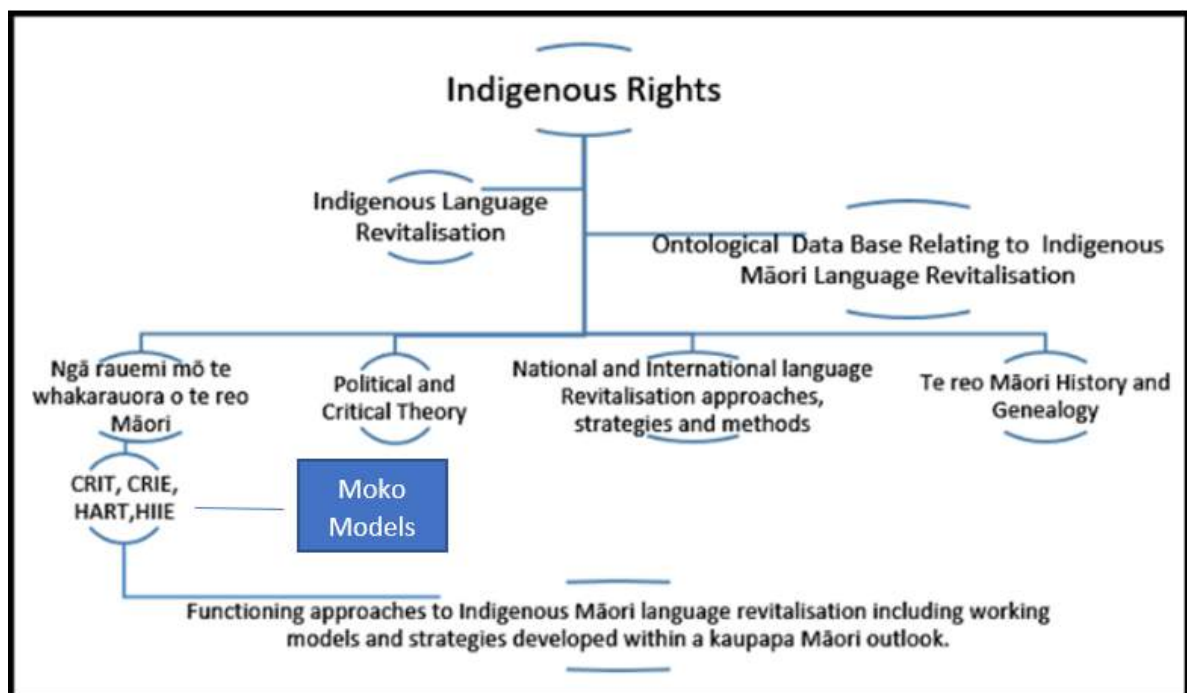
Thus, Figure 26 sets out a type of *mahere* (map or plan) with Indigenous Rights as a *whakaruruhau* (protective shelter) to understand Māori language revitalisation.

Recommendations and Interventions

Table 39 below proposes a series of language revitalisation interventions drawn from the findings of the research undertaken.

Table 39:Identifying urgent language revitalisation interventions

Language Intervention Strategy[ies]	Action[s]
Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Kura Reo, Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori, Te Ataarangi and Te Ipukarea should all be supported by ongoing government funding	Government to recognise the valuable contribution that these organisations/initiatives are making to Māori language revitalisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand and commit to maintaining funding in the future
Implement a more coordinated approach to Māori language revitalisation	Government to undertake a stocktake of all stakeholders identifying their strengths and core business relating to language revitalisation, their contribution to the *kaupapa* and provide more innovative opportunities for them to work collaboratively on further initiatives
Establish a quality Māori language teacher-education programme with sites scattered strategically across the country	The Ministry of Education to work with key stakeholders to develop a programme to ensure quality Māori language teacher graduates and, include in this programme, participation at Kura Reo which is credit bearing and negotiate places on Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori which is also credit bearing.
Investigate the efficacy of compulsory Māori language at primary schools	The Ministry of Education to work with key stakeholders to investigate and then develop a plan for the implementation of Māori language at all New Zealand Primary Schools
Understand the contribution that technology is making to Māori language revitalisation including the internet, e-learning and digital literacy as tools to enhance the Māori language and culture	Develop a national Māori language portal to host Māori language data as a resource for those involved in language revitalisation to be free to access

Support ongoing research into Māori language revitalisation and related topics and schemes funded by Government	The Tertiary Education Commission to require universities to provide targeted Postgraduate Scholarships for theses written in *Te Reo Māori* and on Language Revitalisation topics and, create a contestable pool of funding to enable 'blue-skies' research on *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori* and language revitalisation
Consider international language revitalisation programmes such as The Master Apprentice Programme developed by the Indigenous American (Californian) Indian language revitalisation communities	Government to commission research into the potential of adapting The Master Apprentice Programme and implemeting a pilot programme in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

This list of interventions provides insight into the findings of this research and proposes direction for the immediate future in terms of Māori language revitalisation. The future of the Māori language in Aotearoa/New Zealand requires a national effort from introducing it to all children in primary schools as a compulsory subject like mathematics and science, to introducing a quality Māori language teacher-education programme, to maintaining important organisations such as Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo and Te Ipukarea and initiatives like Kura Reo. With an across government agency approach, more investment from universities and investment from *iwi* especially those that are in post-Treaty settlement phases who can invest in the social development of their tribal membership, *te reo Māori* may have a real chance of survival avoiding the demise of the *moa* bird; extinction.

Conclusion

This thesis examines the integration of *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) and political theories and language revitalisation models as a basis from which to understand Indigenous language revitalisation and in particular, Māori language revitalisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This is critical in order to help Indigenous Māori become informed in order to develop effective language revitalisation strategies for the survival of the Māori language for future generations. The research shows that Māori language revitalisation strategies and initiatives must be informed by theory[ies] and indeed *mātauranga Māori* and although Māori language revitalisation strategies appear as ad hoc and reactionary to an environment, there is an opportunity as suggested by the proposed interventions, that a coordinated

approach in the future can lead to some extremely favourable outcomes for the future of *te reo Māori* in Aotearoa/New Zealand and for Indigenous Māori identity.

The intention of the ontological database is to make available a store of information to assist those in the revival, survival and revitalisation of the Māori language. The design of the database is not too prescriptive allowing for the continual adding of new information. In other words, not only can the ontological database be utilised as a resource, but it also offers a space for Indigenous researchers to add their models, ideas, theories and assumptions. The point of difference between an ontological database and data storage is that stored data provides a point of reference to one's research while an ontological database provides the researcher with a rich depth of understanding and meaning to their study. Thus, the examples offered within this thesis are the beginnings, or the birth of this ontological database. Aristotle gave meaning to the word ontology in his metaphysics theory as the science of being; in other words, he was referring to the study of features that belong to things based on their very nature (Guarino, Oberle & Staab, 2009). Therefore, an Indigenous language can be seen as the ontological voice of its people, by the very nature of its being.

One of the fundamental aspects of an ontological database involves establishing relationships between the concepts and theories within a subject area and/or domain. As previously discussed, the domain used in this thesis is the very large and extensive domain of Indigenous rights. Within this domain and through the establishment of these relationships, Indigenous researchers are able to flip the rock of imperial repudiation in an effort to identify, analyse and make known the rancorous nature of the entities that lurk beneath. Through this course, Indigenous peoples are able to clearly see what has always threatened their values, beliefs, identity and in many cases their very existence, thus, they can begin to reduce the spaces where imperialistic views and racist attitudes and practices have proliferated for a long time; ideas and practices that continue to have a damaging effect on Indigenous peoples, their languages and cultural ontologies. By using the ontological database, along with existing knowledge and other factors that have been hard fought for by Indigenous peoples worldwide such as The Universal Declaration of Human Rights– General Assembly of the United Nations (1948), The Kari-Oca Declaration entitled 'Indigenous Peoples' Earth Charter (1992), and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2007) which are included in a much larger body of information, Indigenous peoples

can utilise these to reinforce their right to speak their language and to practice their culture and its norms. Furthermore, the database can be used by Indigenous people including Māori, to question and critique all issues that affect Indigenous peoples including institutional racism, bigotry, inequality and all forms of imperialism.

The main subject areas within this thesis can be seen as first and foremost, Indigenous Māori language revitalisation, secondly Māori research and thirdly in its wider context, Indigenous research. Thus, the connections and relationships between the above subject areas and interrelated sections, have been interpreted through NRWOT (seen in this research, as essential in the revitalisation of te reo Māori) and expressed through the domain of Indigenous rights. These three areas are (as previously indicated), the genealogy and history of te reo Māori, political and critical theory and national and international language revitalisation approaches and strategies. From within these three areas, along with mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori, the moko models have been developed and a number of terms have been affixed (such as the CRIT and CRIE) which further inform the models. Thus, both moko models, the NRWOT model, and all that is entailed or connected to these models including the many terms developed within this thesis, informs the ontological database developed to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori. This is where the inception of the ontological database begins.

Lastly, the ontological database could be linked to Tomokanga Rauemi Reo Māori-The National Māori Language Data Base Portal being developed by Te Ipukarea jointly with iwi. This is an advanced search engine and will house Māori language resources such as publications, iwi radio, television programmes, community initiatives, websites and social media. Other Te Ipukarea projects to be linked to the portal database include Tāmata Toiere (www.waiata.maori.nz), a collection of waiata and haka that have not yet been published including lyrics of the composition with a detailed explanation of the lyrics, a biography of the composer, and audio and video files. Another project is an online Māori Thesaurus to be called, He Punakupu embedded in *Te Aka Māori – English, English to Māori Dictionary and He Pātaka Kupu Monolingual Māori Dictionary* which has been digitised and is linked to *Te Aka Māori – English, English to Māori Dictionary*.

When asked what do you lose when you lose your language, Joshua A. Fishman (2007) replied,

> The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. What would be left? When you are talking about the language most of what you are talking about is the culture. That is, you are losing all the things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and the human reality that you are talking about (p.72).

Thus, the struggle to revitalise and retain one's language is also a desperate grapple to reach out for and/or maintain a firm grip on one's Indigenous cultural identity. As an ancient *whakataukī* states, *Kaua e mate wheke, Mate ururoa*! meaning, do not act like an octopus (who barely struggles when caught in a death grip), but rather, fight like a hammerhead shark (who will fight with every ounce of strength it has), since it battles for its very existence.

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Image 11: Picture drawn by Isaac Gilsemans who traveled with Abel Tasman http://www.theprow.org.nz/events/the-first-meeting-abel-tasman-and-maori-in-golden-bay/#.WNQ8nPmGNhE

Image 12: Abel Tasman's Voyages http://kids.britannica.com/elementary/art-164438/The-red-line-shows-Abel-Tasmans-voyage-of-1642-43

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Image 20: Joseph Te Rito (Te Reo Māori Society) http://www.ogmios.org/conferences/2008/index.htm

Image 21: Māori language petition 1972 http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/maori-language-petition-1972

Image 22: Katerina Te HeiKōkō Mataira and Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi (http://teataarangi.org.nz/, https://ckaraka.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/ngoi-pewhairangi.jpg, http://www.stuff.co.nz/waikato-times/news/5305324/Te-reo-pioneer-mourned)

Image 23: Te Kōhanga Reo Trust Board http://www.newswire.co.nz/2011/11/waitangi-tribunal-will-look-at-kohanga-reos-treatment-by-the-crown/

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Image 35: Mangotipi
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Image 36: Paulo Freire https://biaesmer.wordpress.com/2014/03/13/paulo-freire-pedagogy-of-the-oppressed/

Image 37: Edward Said http://www.azquotes.com/author/12888-Edward_Said

Image 38: Michel Foucault http://ivankorsario.deviantart.com/art/Michel-Foucault-347483945 - http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/m/michel_foucault.html

Image 39: Frantz Fanon http://quotesgram.com/frantz-fanon-quotes/

Image 40: Antonio Gramsci http://art-and-anarchism.tumblr.com/post/117770980488

Image 41: Friedrich Engels – Karl Marx
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http://www.master-trading-systems.com/trading-systems-blog.html

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Image 43: Niccolo Machiavelli https://nz.pinterest.com/pin/472033604663967548/

Image 44: Plato https://www.emaze.com/@AWZCTLT/Classical-Greece

Image 45: Rauru http://www.maori.org.nz/whakairo/default.php?pid=sp54&parent=5

Image 46: Joshua Fishman http://www.linse.uni-due.de/id-30th-international-laud-symposium.html

Image 47: Bernard Spolsky http://www.news.aut.ac.nz/news/2015/may/aut-public-lecture-professor-emeritus-bernard-spolsky-hails-te-reo-mori-as-model-of-language-management

Image 48: Leeann Hinton & Ken Hale
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Image 49: UNESCO head quarters http://mosaicofchange.org/gallery-event.html

Image 50: Koiri http://www.maori.org.nz/whakairo/default.php?pid=sp54&parent=52

Image 51: KMK http://www.kmk.maori.nz/

Image 52: Tapuika iwi http://tapuika.iwi.nz/

Image 53: Māori 4 Grown Ups – Māori 4 Kids Inc
https://www.facebook.com/groups/Maori4GrownUps/

Image 54: Te Whanake Website http://www.tewhanake.maori.nz/

Image 55: TKI – TE KETE IPURANGI http://tereomaori.tki.org.nz/Reo-Maori-resources

Image 56: John Moorfield, Te Wharehuia Milroy, Tīmoti Kāretu
http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?keywords=Te+Reo&idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan= http://www.tokureo.maori.nz/index.cfm/1,248,0,43,html

Image 57: Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori. http://tvnz.co.nz/content/801746

Image 58: Te Ipukarea (National Māori Language Institute)
http://www.teipukarea.maori.nz/

Image 59: Breath of life programme http://nationalbreathoflife.org/history/

Image 60: Mangopare
http://www.maori.org.nz/whakairo/default.php?pid=sp54&parent=52

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS USED IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS THESIS

Many meanings of the terms in this glossary have been sourced from:

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Āhuatanga hoahoa	Design element
Aotearoa	North Island of NZ, however, more commonly used now for both North and South Islands
Arero	Tongue
Aroha	Love, affection, feel concern for
Aruhe	Edible rhizome of bracken, fern, fern root
Haka	Posture dance
Hapū	Kinship group, clan, subtribe
Hinengaro	Mind, thought, intellect
Hītori	History
Hūpē	Tattoo marks at the point of the
Ihi	Essential force
Io matua-kore	Supreme god
Iwi	Tribe
Kaha	Power
Kaikōrero	Speaker, narrator
Kamo	Eye, eyelash, eyelid
Kāpehu	Compass
Karakia	Prayer
Karanga	Call
Kaupapa	Topic, matter
Kaupapa Māori	Māori methodology, Māori approach
Kauae/kauwae	Chin
Kauae raro	Terrestrial knowledge
Kauae runga	Celestial knowledge
Kawa	Protocol
Kīanga	Expression
Kīwaha	Colloquialism, idiom
Kōkiri	Lines of tattooing on the check
Kōrero	Talk, speak
Koro	Grandfather, elderly man
Koroua	Elderly man
Korowaha/koroaha	Large curl of tattoo marks on the check
Kōtiro	Girl, daughter
Kounga	Quality
Kōwhaiwhai	Rafter patterns
Kōwhiti/kōhiti	A pattern in tattooing
Kuia	Elderly woman, grandmother, female elder
Kumikumi	Tattoo marks (Shortland writes are under the eyes)
Kupu whakarite	Simile, metaphor
Kura kaupapa Māori	Māori language immersion school

Kura reo	Immersion wānanga
Mana	Prestige, authority
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, kindness, generosity
Manu	Bird
Manuhiri	Visitors
Māori	Indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Māramatanga	Enlightenment, insight, understanding
Mataora	Brought the moko of Uetonga to humans
Matū	Essence, the crux
Matua	Father, uncle
Mātua	Parents
Maui	Māori/Polynesian demigod
Maunga	Mountain
Mihi	Greets, acknowledgement
Moana	Ocean, sea
Moko	Facial tattoo
Moko kauae	Female facial tattoo
Moko Mataora	Male facial tattoo
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Mōteatea	Chants
Motuhaketanga	Autonomy
Ngahuru	Ten
Ngahuru mā tahi	Eleven
Ngahuru mā rua	Twelve
Ngahuru mā toru	Thirteen
Ngahuru mā whā	Fourteen
Ngahuru mā rima	Fifteen
Ngahuru mā ono	Sixteen
Ngahuru mā whitu	Seventeen
Ngahuru mā waru	Eighteen
Ngahuru mā iwa	Nineteen
Ngākau	Heart, seat of affections
Ngau	Bite
Ngā Parapara	Talents
Ngā pukenga	Skills
Ngū	Tattoo marks on the side of the nose
Niwareka	Partner of Mataora
Orokohanga	Origin, beginning, creation
Pā	Village
Paepae/pae	Orators bench, horizon
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
Pakipaki	Elite, elitist
Pakiwaitara	Legend, story
Papatūānuku	Earth, mother earth
Patu	Weapon shaped somewhat like a club
Pēhi	Suppress, press down, oppress
Pēpeha	Tribal saying, tribal motto
Pōngiangia/poniania	Tattoo marks on the side of the nose
Poronihia	Polynesia
Pōtiki	Youngest
Pū	Origin, base, foundation

Pukaru	Fine lines of tattooing on the temple, at the outer end of the eyebrows
Pūrākau	Ancient legend, story, Indigenous truth
Pūtaringa	Tattoo marks under the ear
Rangatahi	Youth, younger generation
Rangatira	Chief, chiefly, noble
Rangatiratanga	Chieftainship, right to exercise authority
Rarohenga	Underworld
Rerepehi	Tattooing on the breech, and beside the mouth
Rewha	Tattoo marks above the eyes
Ripanga	Table of information
Tāhuhu	Ridge pole (of a house)
Tama	Boy
Tāmaki-makau-rau	Auckland city
Tama-nui-te-rā	The sun
Tā moko	Tattooing
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Tangi	Funeral, cry
Taonga	Treasure
Taringa	Ear
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Ataarangi	Adult learning in te reo Māori
Te Kōhanga Reo	Māori early childhood centre
Tekau	Ten
Tekau mā tahi	Eleven
Tekau mā rua	Twelve
Tekau mā toru	Thirteen
Tekau mā whā	Fourteen
Tekau mā rima	Fifteen
Tekau mā ono	Sixteen
Tekau mā whitu	Seventeen
Tekau mā ware	Eighteen
Tekau mā iwa	Nineteen
Taketake	Indigenous
Te Māngai Pāho	Māori broadcasting funding agency
Te Matū	Essence, the crux
Te Puni Kōkiri	Ministry of Māori Development
Te Reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Reo Pākehā	English language
Te Taura Whiri I Te Reo Māori	The Māori language commission
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Tikanga	Customs, practice, lore
Tino Rangatiratanga	Sovereignty
Tipuna	Ancestor
Tīpuna	Ancestors
Titi	Radiating lines of tattooing on the centre of the forehead
Tīwhana/tīwahana	Lines of tattooing over the eyebrows
Tohorā	Whale
Tohunga	Priest, expert, skilled person
Tuatahi	One
Tuarua	Two

Tuatoru	Three
Tuawhā	Four
Tuarima	Five
Tuaono	Six
Tuawhitu	Seven
Tuawaru	Eight
Tuaiwa	Nine
Tūī	Parson bird
Tupuna	Ancestor
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Tūrehu	Type of fairy
Uara	Values
Uetonga	Father of Niwareka
Uhi	Chisel
Ūkaipō	Real home, place of origin
Waharoa	Gateway, portal
Waiata	Song, sing
Waiora	Spaces between lines of tattooing
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Waka	Canoe
Wana	Awe, exciting, inspiring
Wehi	Awesome, afraid, fear
Wero	Challenge
Whakairo	Carving
Whakarauora	Revitalisation
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakapono	Beliefs
Whakarāpopoto	Summarise
Whakatara	Tattoo lines on the bridge of the nose
Whakataukī	Metaphor, proverbs
Whānau	Family
Wharenui	Meeting house
Whare Wānanga	Higher place of learning
Whenua	land

Appendix One

The history of Te Tiriti o Waitangi with key attention given to political events and the precarious passage of the Treaty document.
Ministry of Culture and Heritage October 2014/ Archives New Zealand 2014

1814: First mission
Reverend Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society preached the first sermon in New Zealand, on Christmas Day 1814. Three lay missionaries, William Hall, Thomas Kendall and John King, helped him set up the first mission in New Zealand, at Rangihoua. The local chief, Ruatara, who had met Marsden on a ship returning to Australia from England, interpreted the sermon for Māori.

1831: Māori petition the British government
Growing lawlessness among Europeans in New Zealand and fears of a French annexation of the country led 13 northern chiefs to ask King William IV for his protection. Missionary William Yate helped the chiefs draft the letter to the King. The Crown acknowledged the petition and promised protection.

1833: British Resident arrives
To protect Māori, the growing number of British settlers and its own trade interest, the British government appointed James Busby as its official British Resident – a type of junior consular representative with little power. He arrived in May 1833 and built a house on land he bought at Waitangi.

1835: Declaration of Independence
He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand) was drawn up by British Resident James Busby without authorisation from his superiors. It asserted the independence of New Zealand, with all sovereign power and authority resting with the hereditary chiefs and tribes. By 1839 the declaration had been signed by 52 Māori chiefs.

1837: Britain decides to establish a colony
In December 1837, the British government decided in principle to intervene in New Zealand to ensure that colonisation was regulated and that land transactions that defrauded Māori were stopped. The government had initially tried to avoid assuming responsibility. Instead it had attempted to influence the interaction of Māori and British settlers through the missionaries and by sending British Resident James Busby to work with chiefs. In mid-1839 the British government decided to annex at least part of New Zealand to New South Wales.

1839: Tory sets sail
The first of the New Zealand Company ships, the Tory, set sail for New Zealand in May 1839. The company had an ambitious plan to settle New Zealand, and its agents aboard the Tory were to buy land at Port Nicholson (Wellington Harbour). The first shiploads of company emigrants left for New Zealand in September 1839.

1839: Consul appointed
The British government appointed William Hobson as consul to New Zealand in 1839. Hobson was instructed to obtain sovereignty over all or part of New Zealand with the consent of a sufficient number of chiefs. New Zealand would come under the authority of George Gipps, the governor of New South Wales, and Hobson would become Gipps' lieutenant-governor. Land-buying agents continued swarming over New Zealand in anticipation of purchases.

1840: Land purchases prohibited

Governor Gipps prohibited further private land purchases from Māori, and no existing claims were to be recognised until they had been investigated by the authorities. William Hobson repeated the proclamation at the Bay of Islands on 30 January 1840.

1840: Treaty of Waitangi signed

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed on 6 February 1840. The previous day a draft of the Treaty in English and Māori was discussed before about 500 Māori and 200 Pākehā. Many Māori were suspicious of what was intended, but Tāmati Wāka Nene among others helped sway the chiefs towards acceptance. The meeting reassembled on 6 February; the text was read again, and signing commenced. About 40 chiefs signed on the first day; by September 1840 another 500 chiefs around the country had signed. Almost all of the chiefs signed copies of the Māori text of the Treaty.

1840: Sovereignty proclaimed over New Zealand

On 21 May William Hobson proclaimed sovereignty over all of New Zealand: over the North Island on the basis of cession through the Treaty of Waitangi and over the southern islands by right of discovery. Māori agreement to the terms of the Treaty was still being sought. Hobson may have wanted to declare the Crown's authority over the whole country because he had learned of possible moves by the New Zealand Company to set up its own administration around Cook Strait. His deputy, Major Thomas Bunbury, also made proclamations of sovereignty over Stewart Island on 5 June by right of discovery (he claimed that no Māori could be found there to sign the Treaty), and over the South Island on 17 June by virtue of cession.

1841: Native Protectorate Department created

Lay missionary George Clarke became chief protector of aborigines in 1841. Clarke and his staff were also given a second and conflicting role as land purchasers for the Crown. Clarke persuaded the governor to free him of land-purchasing responsibilities, but his sub-protectors retained their dual roles. The Treaty documents narrowly escaped destruction by fire when the Government offices at Auckland were burned down. George Eliott, the record clerk, arrived just in time to rescue the Treaty and the Seal of the Colony. Eliott afterwards deposited the Treaty in the Colonial Secretary's Office, where it remained until at least 1865. In 1846 Governor George Grey, suspicious of anyone other than himself exercising influence over Māori, disbanded the Native Protectorate and appointed a native secretary to implement his instructions.

1842: Land purchases investigated

From 1842 land claims commissioners investigated all land purchases made before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. If the commissioners concluded that a purchase was made in good faith, they could validate it and award a Crown Grant of up to 4 square miles (1037 ha). If the purchase was invalid or exceeded that size, the excess land became Crown land. Commissioner William Spain investigated the huge purchases claimed by the New Zealand Company. He determined that most of those in Wellington and elsewhere were invalid, but not all his recommendations were acted upon. There was subsequently a shift to arbitrating agreements with Māori to allow settlement in Wellington to go ahead.

1842: Māori deemed under Crown authority

New Zealand and its inhabitants were considered to be under British sovereignty from 1840. This did not mean that British law had to be imposed immediately upon Māori. Inter-tribal conflict in 1842 led to suggestions that chiefs who had not signed the Treaty of Waitangi (such as one of the leaders in the fighting) might not be bound by the Crown's authority. All Māori were now deemed to be under Crown authority.

1843: Wairau incident

Europeans and Māori clashed in the Wairau Valley in the north-east of the South Island in June 1843. Local Māori had denied selling land in the valley to the New Zealand Company. When a

group led by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata disrupted surveyors, a party led by Nelson's police magistrate, Henry Thompson, and New Zealand Company representative, Arthur Wakefield, set out to arrest them. A musket accidentally went off and a wife of Te Rangihaeata was killed. In the fracas that broke out, up to five more Māori were killed; 22 Europeans were killed, including nine who had surrendered, in utu (revenge) for the Māori deaths.

1844: Private land purchases allowed
The Treaty of Waitangi gave the Crown the exclusive right to purchase Māori land. Governor Robert Fitzroy gave in to demands from both Māori and settlers and waived this right.

1844–5: Heke cuts down the flagpole
Hone Heke attacked the Union Jack flagstaff at Kororāreka (now Russell) four times between July 1844 and March 1845. He saw the flag as a symbol that Māori had lost their status and their country to the British. Bringing down the flag struck at British sovereignty without affecting settlers or the economic benefits of trade. However, after the flagstaff was felled in March 1845, Kororāreka was sacked and pillaged, and most of its buildings burned down. The townsfolk were evacuated to Auckland.

1845–6: War in the north
In the north in 1845 British troops and their Māori allies fought against Māori led by Hōne Heke and Kawiti after these chiefs' forces sacked Kororāreka. There were three major engagements: Māori victories at Puketutu and Ōhaeawai, and, on 11 January 1846, a British victory – of sorts – at Ruapekapeka. Governor George Grey claimed victory and Māori submission.

1846: Surplus land taken
In 1846, the British government instructed that all Māori landownership was to be registered; land deemed to be unused or surplus was to become Crown land. Governor George Grey reinstated the exclusive Crown right to purchase Māori land provided for in the Treaty of Waitangi. Crown agents developed some dubious practices to persuade Māori to sell, and they could offer whatever the government was prepared to pay, rather than a market rate. The government was the arbiter as well as the defendant when Māori complained.

1854: New Zealand's first Parliament
The (British) New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 set up New Zealand's parliamentary system, based on the Westminster model. The first elections were held in 1853, and Parliament sat for the first time in 1854. Men's right to vote was based on the possession of individual property, so Māori who possessed their land communally were almost entirely excluded from voting for Parliament. Although the 1852 legislation provided for native districts that allowed for some form of temporary, local self-government for Māori, none were established

1858: First Māori King
The Waikato chief Te Wherowhero (who had not signed the Treaty of Waitangi) became the first Māori King in 1858 and took the name Pōtatau. Māori wanted a leader who would unite the tribes, protect land from further sales and make laws for Māori to follow. Many Māori supported the King movement (Kīngitanga), but some chiefs refused to put their mana under that of someone else. The Kīngitanga regarded the Queen as complementary to the Māori King, not as a competitor, but the colonial government took a different view.

1860: New Zealand Wars begin
The first conflict in the main phase of the New Zealand Wars began in Taranaki in 1860. A ceasefire ended that conflict in 1861, but warfare between Māori tribes and British forces took place in other parts of the North Island between 1863 and the early 1870s. The Waikato War (1863–4), which focused on the Kīngitanga, ended with a Māori defeat at the battle of Ōrākau in April 1864. By then,

British troops had occupied most of Waikato. War continued sporadically for another decade. King Tāwhiao made a formal act of peace in 1882.

1860: Kohimarama conference
About 200 Maori met at Kohimarama, Auckland, in July 1860 to discuss the Treaty of Waitangi and land. Governor Thomas Gore Browne had convened the conference partly to draw attention away from the Kīngitanga and the fighting in Taranaki. Those at the conference reaffirmed the Treaty of Waitangi and pledged not to take actions that would be inconsistent with the Queen's sovereignty. The Kohimarama Covenant suggested that a native council be set up. This did not occur, and the conference was never held again.

1862: Changes in Native Affairs
Until 1862, Māori or Native Affairs was the responsibility of the governor because of concerns in England that the elected settler governments would put their interests ahead of those of Māori. In 1862 the British government instructed the governor generally to accept the advice of his ministers in Native Affairs. Responsibility for Native Affairs did not fully pass to the New Zealand government until 1865.

1862: Native Land Act
The Native Land Act 1862 set up a Native Land Court to adjudicate on competing customary claims to land. It created a court of Māori chiefs chaired by a Pākehā magistrate. The act also allowed Māori to deal directly with settlers over land. Because this contravened the Treaty, the act had to be approved in London. It was barely implemented before it was replaced in 1865.

1863: New Zealand Settlements Act
The New Zealand Settlements Act, passed during the New Zealand Wars, authorised the taking of land from Māori. The legislation assisted European settlement, particularly by placing military settlers on lands where they could act as a buffer between Māori and European communities. Its intention and effect was to punish so-called rebel Māori by allowing the confiscation of their lands. Māori considered to be in rebellion were not entitled to compensation, and even Māori thought of as loyal were first offered monetary compensation rather than the return of their land. Later, the law was amended to allow awards of land, including of small areas to surrendered 'rebels'.

1864: Land confiscations
The first proclamation confiscating land under the New Zealand Settlements Act was made in December 1864. Over the next three years, five districts were proclaimed to be under the act: Taranaki, Waikato, Tauranga, Eastern Bay of Plenty and Mōhaka–Waikare. The total area affected was about 1.5 million acres (607,500 ha). A Compensation Court (mostly comprising judges of the Native Land Court) was set up to hear claims by loyal Māori for monetary compensation or the recovery of their land.

1865: Native Land Court established
The Native Land Court was established in 1865, replacing the 1862 system. In determining ownership, the court was required to name no more than 10 owners, regardless of the size of the block. All other tribal members who may have been owners were effectively dispossessed. The newly designated owners held their lands individually, not communally as part of (or as trustees for) a tribal group. They could manage it – and sell it – as individuals and for their own benefit.

1865–7: Legislation to secure peace
In 1865, the Kīngitanga leaders implemented a ceasefire in Waikato. The British government announced that it would begin to withdraw its forces from New Zealand. In an effort to try to secure peace, successive settler governments passed laws that were intended to give practical effect to some of the promises in the Treaty. These included the Native Rights Act 1865, which gave Māori the rights of natural-born British subjects and allowed them to sue and be sued in the Supreme Court.

1866: Te Kooti imprisoned without trial

During 1865 and 1866, with the rise of the Pai Mārire movement, the government arrested people thought to be aiding the so-called rebels. Te Kooti Rikirangi of Poverty Bay was one of these. He was sent to the Chatham Islands, and his pleas for a trial were ignored. On 4 July 1868, Te Kooti and many followers escaped. They were subsequently pursued on the East Coast and in the Urewera and the Taupō districts. From 1868, the government began to charge individuals with crimes such as murder or treason, but Te Kooti escaped the pursuing forces and was pardoned in 1883. He founded the Ringatū Church and provided it with rituals and structures that last to this day.

1868: Tītokowaru resists land confiscation

Ngāti Ruanui leader Tītokowaru headed a strong resistance to land confiscation in south Taranaki in 1868. His force swept south from the Hāwera district, inflicted heavy defeats on the colonial forces and finally threatened Whanganui. In February 1869, for reasons that are disputed, Tītokowaru's army largely deserted him. He became a fugitive and was hunted back into the inaccessible upper Waitara area. He was later involved in the Parihaka passive resistance movement.

1868: First Māori Members of Parliament

The Maori Representation Act 1867 created four Māori parliamentary seats. On a population basis, there should have been many more seats. The first members were elected in 1868. Adult Māori men were given universal suffrage (voting rights) 11 years before Pākehā men, who still faced property qualifications.

1869: Legislative Council

The Legislative Council asked for a reproduction of all the Treaty documents plus the rough draft to be laid on the table. It was reported however that the draft was not on record either in the Native Department or in the Colonial Secretary's Office. The text and translation were published for the Legislative Council, with notes by W. B. Baker, translator to the Native Office. Notes on the draft of the Treaty appear to have come to light during the next few years.

1873: Fragmentation of Māori landownership

The Native Land Act 1873 allowed the Native Land Court to fragment the ownership of Māori land. Instead of having 10 names listed as owners and the rest of the tribal group missing out, everyone with an ownership interest was now to be put on the title. Conceived of as a way to recognise tribal ownership, this did not individualise land ownership but fragmented it. Individual Māori received shares in blocks that were then partitioned and repartitioned, at great time and expense, into uneconomic segments. This, and the ordinary costs of living, forced many to sell their interests. Prospective purchasers (both Crown and private) resorted to secretive methods such as paying advances to numerous individuals, sometimes for years, then going to the court and claiming the percentage of the block corresponding to their proportion of the shares. The effect on Māori was disastrous.

1877: Treaty of Waitangi judged to be a 'legal nullity'

Chief Justice James Prendergast, in the Wi Parata v Bishop of Wellington case, described the Treaty of Waitangi as 'worthless' because it had been signed 'between a civilised nation and a group of savages'. This extreme view held that the Treaty had no judicial or constitutional role in government because Māori were not a nation capable of signing a treaty. Since the Treaty had not been incorporated into domestic law, it was a 'legal nullity'. The Privy Council in London overturned many of Prendergast's conclusions by the beginning of the 20th century. In the same year the government published facsimiles of various documents relating to the Treaty: The Declaration of Independence 1835, the draft notes of the Treaty and the nine sheets of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

1879: Major meetings on the Treaty

Meetings at Kohimarama (1879), Te Tii (1881) and other places brought the Treaty of Waitangi back into prominence. More than 3000 Māori attended the 1881 meeting at which a monument to

the Treaty was dedicated at Te Tii marae and demands for a Māori parliament were put to the government.

1881: Parihaka occupied by force
From 1879 Te Whiti o Rongomai encouraged his followers to uproot survey pegs and plough up roads and fences erected on land they considered to be theirs. There were arrests and after further peaceful resistance, the government sent an armed force, commanded by Native Minister John Bryce, into the Taranaki town of Parihaka between 5 and 8 November 1881. The unopposed force ran amok. Te Whiti and fellow prophet Tohu Kākahi were imprisoned and exiled to the South Island to serve their sentences. Parihaka has been a symbol of Māori resistance ever since.

1882: Māori deputations to the Queen
The first of several Māori deputations went to England in 1882 to seek redress from the Crown. Māori felt they had a special, personal relationship with their Treaty partner, Queen Victoria. On this and each subsequent occasion, they were referred back to the New Zealand government on the grounds that the imperial government no longer had responsibility for such matters.

1891: Investigation of Māori land
A royal commission investigated the state of the legislation controlling the administration of Māori land. It found a complex and contradictory set of laws and fragmented ownership. Māori had virtually no land in the South Island and now owned less than 40% of the North Island. Much of their land was of poor quality and hard to develop. Few of the commission's many recommendations to improve the situation were implemented, largely because they were inconsistent with government policy.

1892: Māori parliaments
Several Māori parliaments met from the early 1890s. This were a way for Māori to air their grievances and seek remedies. Following meetings at Waitangi and Ōrākei, a Māori congress or parliament (called Kotahitanga, which means unity) met for the first time at Waipatu marae in Hastings in June 1892. The Kotahitanga met in several other locations before developing a more permanent base at Pāpāwai in Wairarapa. The Kīngitanga's own parliament was called Kauhanganui. Both aimed to unify Māori, but neither wholly succeeded.

1908: Original Treaty Document Discovered
The Treaty was discovered in the basement of the Government Buildings "in damaged condition presumably rat eaten" by Dr Hocken. The Department of Internal Affairs took charge of the Treaty, and it was sent to the Director of the Dominion Museum to see if it could be restored. By 1913 the original sheets were glued on to new canvas, and with the aid of the 1877 facsimiles the portions that had been damaged by rats were reproduced. Once restored it was placed in "a specially made tin cylinder" which was kept in the strong-room of the Department of Internal Affairs in the old Government Buildings

1916: Rua Kēnana arrested
The arrest in 1916 of prophet Rua Kēnana followed the last instance of armed Māori resistance to Pākehā authority. Rua established a community at Maungapōhatu in the remote Urewera region that attracted Māori disgruntled with the Pākehā system. Rua had discouraged recruitment for the First World War and broke prohibition laws by selling alcohol. An expedition made its way into the Ureweras and arrested the prophet after a gunfight in which his son died. The judge at Rua's trial for sedition told him that his 18-month sentence for resisting arrest was 'the lesson your people should learn from this trial'.

1918: Rātana movement
In November 1918 Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana experienced visions that led him to found the Rātana Church. The Rātana movement had a strong focus on religion (largely Christian) and healing. Its

leaders sought economic progress and modernisation, and they demanded the ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi. In the 1920s Rātana formed a political arm, and in the mid-1930s it entered into an alliance with the Labour party: Labour nominated Rātana leaders as its candidates in the Māori electorates. By 1943, Rātana Labour candidates had won all four Māori seats, which gained Rātana a much stronger voice in governing circles.

1921: Home for the Māori King
Tūrangawaewae marae in Ngāruawāhia was made the traditional home of the Māori King. It was built on land regained in the aftermath of the wars and confiscation of the 1860s.

1926: Royal commission on land confiscations
In 1926 a royal commission began to inquire into the land confiscations of the 1860s. It found some confiscations to have been excessive and recommended compensation. Taranaki Māori accepted an annual payment of £5000 from 1931, but negotiations for the other settlements were delayed until 1944. In that year, compensation was made to several major iwi for land taken in the 19th century. The three major settlements were: Ngāi Tahu (£10,000 per annum for 30 years), Waikato–Maniapoto (£6000 per annum) and Taranaki (£6000 per annum for 50 years and £5000 thereafter).

1927: Possible Display of Treaty Document
Discussions between the Alexander Turnbull Library, General Assembly Library and the Department of Internal Affairs were initiated about possible public display of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

1929: Māori land development schemes
Native Minister Āpirana Ngata set up the first Māori land development scheme in 1929. The government provided funds and sometimes contributed small areas of Crown land. The tenure of the farmers on the schemes, who were commonly chosen from among the landowners, was not always satisfactory. Inadequate Crown management of some schemes resulted in large accumulating debts which had to be borne by iwi; debt on the Ngāti Manawa Development Scheme has only recently been paid off.

1931: Relocate Treaty Document
Memoranda to Minister of Internal Affairs suggested relocating Te Tiriti o Waitangi outside of Wellington following the 1931 Hawkes Bay earthquake.

1934: First celebration of Waitangi Day
Waitangi Day was formally celebrated for the first time in 1934. Two years earlier Governor-General Lord Bledisloe gifted to the nation James Busby's house at Waitangi, where the Treaty was signed. Busby's home became known as the Treaty House. A whare rūnanga was built beside it in time for the 1940 Centennial.

1940: Centennial
The 1940 Centennial celebrated the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi as the nation's founding moment. Copies of the Treaty of Waitangi were hung in every school and marae in 1945. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was displayed to the public for the first time at Waitangi as part of the centennial commemorations.

1947: Native to Maori
In 1947 the government replaced all official references to 'Native' with 'Maori'. The Native Land Court became the Maori Land Court.

1953: Maori Affairs Act
The Maori Affairs Act 1953 forced unproductive Māori land into use. Anyone who could show the Maori Land Court that a piece of good land was not being used could apply to have it vested in trustees. This act, which allowed some flexibility in land management (such as under trusts),

remained the governing legislation for Māori land for 40 years. In 1953 a reigning monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, visited Waitangi for the first time.

1957: Archives Act
With the passage of the Archives Act 1957, the Treaty became an official archive subject to the provisions of the Act and custody was given to the National Archives in the Department of Internal Affairs.

1961: Treaty Transferred to Alexander Turnbull Library
On 30 January, the Treaty was transferred to the Alexander Turnbull Library for "suitable display under proper conditions to prevent deterioration until such time as the National Archives had its own Exhibition Room". The Treaty was installed in a showcase built for it in the entrance hall of the library and was unveiled by the Minister of Internal Affairs on 6 February 1961.

1962: New Zealand Maori Council created
The New Zealand Maori Council was created by the Maori Welfare Act 1962. Since its establishment it has made submissions to government on many matters affecting Māori, particularly issues relating to the Treaty of Waitangi. The Council became the National government's main source of advice on Māori policy. It was criticised by some for being dominated by conservative Māori leaders. As the four Māori MPs were in the Labour opposition, the government did not see them as a source of impartial advice. The act also replaced tribal committees with committees representing broader Māori groups and areas, as the government wanted to deal with Māori as a whole rather than individual tribes.

1967: Maori Affairs Amendment Act
The Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 introduced compulsory conversion of Māori freehold land with four or fewer owners into general land. It increased the powers of the Maori Trustee to compulsorily acquire and sell so-called uneconomic interests in Māori land. Māori worried that the law would result in further alienation of what land remained. A member of the Maori Council called this the 'last land-grab'. There were strong protests, including street demonstrations. The law was modified in 1974, and drafting of a new act began.

1968: New Māori publications
In 1968 two Māori publications appeared that helped raise awareness about the Treaty of Waitangi: Te Hokioi and MOOHR, the newsletter of the Maori Organisation on Human Rights.

1970: Ngā Tamatoa formed
The activist group Ngā Tamatoa (The Young Warriors) was formed in 1970. This gave a new and radical edge to Māori protest in its calls for the Treaty of Waitangi to be ratified. It used many ways to raise awareness of matters vital to Māori, including nationwide petitions to have the Māori language taught in schools and submissions on government policy. In 1971 Ngā Tamatoa disrupted the Waitangi Day ceremony, and the following year it staged a walkout.

1974: Waitangi Day
Waitangi Day had been a holiday since 1963 for Northland only (replacing the Auckland provincial anniversary holiday). In 1974, it became a national holiday, and Queen Elizabeth II attended her first Waitangi Day ceremony.

1975: Land march
Thousands of Maori and supporters marched on Parliament on 13 October 1975 to publicise the continued loss of Māori land. Whina Cooper led the march (hīkoi) that set off from Te Hāpua in the Far North on 14 September. The marchers' demand was that 'Not one more acre of Maori land' should be alienated. The hīkoi raised public and official awareness of Māori concerns.

1975: Waitangi Tribunal established

The Treaty of Waitangi Act established the Waitangi Tribunal as an ongoing commission of inquiry to hear Māori grievances against the Crown concerning breaches of the Treaty. The legislation limited the scope of inquiry to grievances occurring after 1975, and it empowered the Tribunal to make findings of fact and recommendations only, not binding determinations.

1977: Bastion Point occupation

Protesters occupied Bastion Point (Takaparawhā) in Auckland in January 1977 after the government announced a housing development on former Ngāti Whātua reserve land. The land had been gradually reduced in size by compulsory acquisition, leaving the Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrākei tribal group holding less than 1 ha. Police evicted the occupiers after 506 days. Following a Waitangi Tribunal inquiry and recommendations, much of the land was returned to or vested with Ngāti Whātua. There were also protests from 1978 about the use of Maori land at Raglan (Whāingaroa) for a golf course. The land was originally taken during the Second World War for a military airfield. It was not needed for this purpose, but instead of being returned to its former owners, part of the land was turned into a golf course in 1969. The land was eventually returned to Tainui Awhiro people.

1978: Treaty returned to Archives

The Treaty was removed from public display and returned to the National Archives. In 1979 conservation staff at National Archives carried out repairs on some of the documents with the advice of S M Cockerell, a prominent British Conservator.

1980: Māori political party formed

Matiu Rata, a former Labour Cabinet minister, established the Mana Motuhake party in 1980. This advocated, among other things, Māori autonomy.

1985: Crown allows claims back to 1840

From 1985 the Waitangi Tribunal was empowered to investigate Treaty claims dating back to 1840. The tribunal also gained the ability to commission research and appoint legal counsel for claimants. Māori have since lodged many new claims against the Crown, and a number of major reports have been released.

1986: Treaty principles in legislation

The State-Owned Enterprises Act was a key piece of legislation to incorporate a reference to the Treaty of Waitangi. Since then, more than 40 statutes have referred to the principles of the Treaty in relation to the purpose of the legislation. From this, the courts have been able to determine whether the principles are being appropriately applied. This has given the Treaty far-reaching recognition in national and local government.

1987: History of the Treaty of Waitangi

A major new book about the Treaty of Waitangi was published: The Treaty of Waitangi, written by historian Claudia Orange. This signaled the beginning of a major wave of studies on the Treaty and its role in New Zealand.

1987: Landmark court case

A landmark Court of Appeal case (Maori Council v Attorney-General) established that the Crown must pay heed to previous Māori ownership when disposing of surplus Crown assets such as land. This followed the break-up of old land-holding departments and the establishment of new state-owned enterprises under the 1986 State-Owned Enterprises Act. This act declared that the Crown could do nothing 'that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi'. The court set out a number of principles it saw encapsulated in or derived from the Treaty.

1988: Direct negotiation

The Crown came to permit direct negotiations that bypassed the Waitangi Tribunal. In 1988 the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit was formed within the Department of Justice. Its role was to advise on policy and assist in negotiations and litigation involving Māori claims through the courts and to the Waitangi Tribunal. The Office of Treaty Settlements was formed from this unit in 1995. It negotiates with Māori claimants to determine redress for past breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. Such breaches need to be proven, but not necessarily through a Waitangi Tribunal hearing.

1989: Special Exhibition

From 16 November 1989 until the end of 1990 Te Tiriti o Waitangi and other documents featured in a special exhibition to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, held in the Constitution Room of the not-yet-completed Archives House. The cost for developing the exhibition at this time (excluding the physical room design and build) was $690,000.

1990: Sesquicentenary

In 1990 New Zealand marked the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Public focus and awareness was on issues surrounding ownership and control of Maori resources as well as partnership between the tangata whenua (Māori) and tangata tiriti (Pākehā, the people of the Treaty). Official representation at Waitangi on 6 February (Waitangi Day) returned after a two-year absence because of rising Māori protest.

1992: Treaty settlements signed

Major Treaty settlements with Māori claimants were reached from 1992. In that year a settlement on commercial fisheries was signed, vesting $170 million with the Waitangi Fisheries Commission to enable it to buy 50% of Sealord Products Ltd, a large Nelson-based fishing company. The allocation of the fishery resource and proceeds caused much disagreement among Māori, particularly between coastal and inland tribes, and traditional iwi and newer urban authorities. The issue was eventually resolved by the Māori Fisheries Act 2004. Major settlements were also signed with Tainui (1995) and Ngāi Tahu (1998), each of an estimated total value of $170 million.

1993: Te Ture Whenua Maori Act

Te Ture Whenua Maori Act was passed in 1993 after a great deal of discussion, led largely by the New Zealand Maori Council. The act makes it difficult to purchase Māori land, and it seeks to overcome the problems of fragmentation of titles among multiple owners by providing for various kinds of trusts for managing the land.

1995: Treaty protests

There were several major protests about land and the Treaty of Waitangi from the mid-1990s. Protests included occupation of Wanganui's Moutoa Gardens (twice) and the Takahue school in Northland (leading to its destruction by fire). Symbolic acts included attacking Victorian statuary, the America's Cup and the lone pine on One Tree Hill and removing a Colin McCahon painting (subsequently returned) from the Lake Waikaremoana Visitor Centre. Rising protests at Waitangi Day celebrations led the government to move the official observance to Government House in Wellington. Many protests occurred in response to the government's proposal to limit the monetary value of Treaty settlements to $1 billion over 10 years, the so-called fiscal envelope. A series of hui (meetings) graphically illustrated the breadth and depth of Māori rejection of such a limitation before the extent of claims was fully known. As a result, much of the policy package, especially the fiscal cap, was dropped.

2004: Foreshore and Seabed Act

The Foreshore and Seabed Act was passed in November 2004. It vested ownership of the foreshore and seabed in the Crown and guaranteed public access. Its passage was contentious. Many Māori argued that the legislation ignored their customary rights and breached the Treaty of Waitangi. A

hīkoi of about 15,000 people marched on Parliament in May 2004 to protest against the legislation. The Māori Party was established in July 2004 in direct response to the pending legislation.

2005/6: Treaty 2U
Archives New Zealand, the National Library of New Zealand and Te Papa Tongarewa, in association with the State Services Commission, developed the 'Treaty 2U' exhibition to raise public engagement with Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

2008/9/10/11: Redevelopment of National Library
Archives New Zealand and the Alexander Turnbull Library began planning for a temporarily co-located service at Archives New Zealand, in Mulgrave Street, Wellington as a result of the National Library building refurbishment. January 2010, refurbishments of Ground Floor at Archives New Zealand, 10 Mulgrave Street, complete. The temporary, co-location service offering between the Alexander Turnbull Library and Archives New Zealand was opened at 10 Mulgrave Street. December 2010 a project began to develop Interpretive Space and undertake a basic refresh of the Constitution Room at Mulgrave Street. January 2011 new information became available to Archives New Zealand around the maximum lux hours that Te Tiriti o Waitangi and other key archives should potentially be exposed to. Preservation advice was that the display in the Mulgrave Street building would require significant change to be able to address light levels and to be able to future proof the display. Archives New Zealand and the National Library amalgamated with the Department of Internal Affairs on 1 February 2011. All buildings became assets of the Department. The Chief Executive of the Department became responsible for providing suitable facilities for the Chief Archivist and the National Librarian to carry out their functions.

2012: Relocation of Treaty
The Government approved expenditure of up to $6.731m for the relocation of the Constitution Room from the Archives New Zealand building in Mulgrave Street to the refurbished Molesworth Street building. The Minister for Internal Affairs announced that Te Tiriti o Waitangi and other documents of constitutional significance would be relocated to the refurbished Molesworth Street building.
(Adapted from www. nzhistory.net.nz and Archives NZ)

Appendix Two
Te Reo Māori: selected events 1800-2016
Parliamentary Library 15 July 2014

This chronology outlines key events and dates since the early 19th century relating to the Māori language. Of particular focus are events in the New Zealand Parliament.

Early 19th Century Te Reo Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand.

1814
Missionaries make the first attempts to write down the Māori language.

1815
Thomas Kendall's A korao (korero) no New Zealand is the first book published in Māori.

1820
A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand is published. This lays the orthographic foundations of written Māori.

1827
The first Māori translation of selected biblical texts is published in Australia. Other selections are published there in 1830 and 1833.

1835
The first pamphlet printed in New Zealand, a translation into Māori of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to the Ephesians, appears. The first complete New Testament in Māori is published during 1837.

1842
The first Māori language newspaper, Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni, is published.

1844
The first edition of Williams's Māori Dictionary is published.

1853
Sir George Grey's Ko ngā mōteatea, me ngā hakirara o ngā Māori (The songs, chants and poetry of the Māori) is published.

1854
Sir George Grey's Ko ngā mahinga a ngā tupuna Māori (The deeds of the Māori ancestors) is published.

1858
The Native Districts Regulation Act 1858 and the Native Circuit Courts Act 1858 are the first Acts of the government printed in Māori.

1865
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 (Journal of the House of Representatives or JHR, 1865, pp.103-104).

1867

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.

1868

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. An interpreter is appointed in Parliament. Interpretation was provided because some Māori MPs were not conversant in English. The failure to translate documents and print them in Māori is raised by member of the Legislative Council Walter Mantell (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates or NZPD, vol.2, 1868, pp.141-143).

1872

The first Bill (the Native Councils Bill) is translated and printed in Māori.

1875

W.T. Ngatata asks that speeches by Māori members of Parliament (MPs) are printed in the government's Māori newspaper Te Waka Māori. The issue of translating parts of Hansard into Māori is raised in the Legislative Council (NZPD, vol.18, 1875, pp.369-370 and vol.23, 1876, pp.664-665 and 708).

1879

The Legislative Council orders that all Bills translated into Māori be bound into volumes and put in the Parliamentary Library. From this point on, more Bills are translated and volumes deposited (NZPD, vol.33, 1879, p.502).

1880s

From the 1880s there are three interpreters (two in the House and one in the Legislative Council).

1880

Parliament's Standing Orders are printed in Māori under the title Ture Whakahaere Korero Me Ngā Tikanga Mahi a Te Whare i Pootitia, Mo Ngā Mahi a Te Katoa.

1881

From 1881 to 1906 a Māori language translation of the New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) is produced under the title Niu Tireni — Ngā Korero Paremete — Ngā Whai Korero a ngā Mema Māori. This contains Māori and Pākehā members' speeches on legislation considered particularly relevant to Māori.

1889

Annual series of relevant Acts printed in Māori, to 1910.

1894

Education becomes compulsory for Māori children.

1901

A Māori MP cannot, without leave of the House, have their time enlarged because they speak through an interpreter (NZPD, vol.119, 1901, p.970).

1909

There is a reduction to one interpreter in Parliament.

1913

Ninety percent of Māori school children can speak Māori. Speaker of the House Frederic W. Lang rules that Māori MPs should speak in English if able to do so (NZPD, vol.163, 1913, pp.362 and 368).

1920s

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. In the following years Māori MPs are able to speak briefly in Māori if they provide a sequential interpretation.

1925

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).

1930s

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.

1930s-1940s

Māori MPs are permitted to speak briefly in Māori in the House if they provide an immediate interpretation.

1940s

Māori urban migration begins. This has an impact upon the use of the Māori language.

1943

William (Wiremu) Leonard Parker is appointed New Zealand's first Māori news broadcaster.

1945

Māori becomes a School Certificate subject.

1951

Speaker Matthew H. Oram re-imposes Speaker Lang's 1913 ruling (NZPD, vol.296, 1951, pp.1193-1198). The ruling is relaxed in the 1960s with Māori MPs permitted to speak briefly in Māori if they provide an immediate interpretation.

1953

Twenty six percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.

1960s

Play Centre supporters encourage Māori parents to speak English to prepare Māori children for primary school.

1960

The Publications Branch of the Education Department begins publishing a Māori language journal for use in those schools where Māori is taught.

1961

J. K. Hunn's report on the Department of Māori Affairs describes the Māori language as a relic of ancient Māori life. Early 1970s concerns for the Māori language are expressed by Māori urban groups including Ngā Tamatoa and Te Reo Māori Society.

1972

Petition number 42 with 30,000 signatures calling for courses in Māori language and culture to be offered in all New Zealand schools is presented at Parliament (JHR, 1972, p.228). This presentation leads to the annual celebration of Māori Language Day.

1973-1978

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.

1975

The first Māori Language Week is celebrated. Less than 5 percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.

1978

Rūātoki School becomes the first officially bilingual school in New Zealand. Petition number 18 with 30,576 signatures calling for the establishment of a Māori television production unit within the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation is presented (JHR, 1978, p.335).

1979-1980

Te Ataarangi movement is established to restore Māori language knowledge to Māori adults.

1980

During Māori Language Week, a march is held demanding that the Māori language have equal status with English.

1981

Petition number 22 signed by 2,500 people calls for Māori to be made an official language of New Zealand (JHR, 1981, p.372).

1982

Te Kōhanga Reo is established to promote the Māori language among Māori preschoolers. By 1993, the number of students using Kōhanga services reaches 14,514. Enrolments number 9,179 in 2013. Te Upoko o Te Ika, the first iwi radio station to broadcast, starts operating. Another three iwi radio stations are established at Mangamuka, Whakatāne and Ruatōria during the late 1980s.

1983

The first Māori-owned Māori language radio station (Te Reo-o-Poneke) goes to air.

1985

The first Kura Kaupapa Māori is established to cater for the needs of Māori children emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo. MPs may address the Speaker in English or Māori (NZPD, vol.464, 1985, p.5898).

1986

The Waitangi Tribunal acknowledges that the Māori language is a 'taonga' under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi, and that the Crown has a responsibility for its preservation.

1987

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.

1988

The 'Matawaia Declaration' is issued. Here 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.

1989

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.

1990

Speaker Thomas Kerry Burke rules that an MP cannot be required to give a translation of their remarks following an address to the House in Māori (NZPD, vol.508, 1990, p.2336).

1992

A survey finds 58 percent of non-Māori and 89 percent of Māori agree that Māori should survive as a spoken language. Parliament's Standing Orders Committee recognises that Parliament needs to develop an interpretation and translation service.

1993

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 to vary the number of Māori electorates according to the size of the Māori electoral population.

1994

New Zealand passports start using te reo Māori on the inside pages, and on the cover from 2009.

1995

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.

1996

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).

1997

The Cabinet agrees that the Crown and Māori have a duty, derived from the Treaty of Waitangi, to take all reasonable steps to actively enable the survival of Māori as a living language. The first Māori Language Strategy is published. Speaker Doug L. Kidd rules that MPs speaking in Māori do so as of right and an interpreter is provided.

1998

The Government announces funding for a Māori television channel and increased funding for Te Māngai Pāho.

1999

The Government announces objectives and monitoring indicators for its Māori Language Strategy. The goals are: To increase the number of people who know the Māori language by increasing their opportunities to learn Māori; To improve the proficiency levels of people in speaking Māori, reading Māori, and writing Māori; To increase the opportunities to use Māori by increasing the number of situations where Māori can be used; To increase the rate at which the Māori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities; To foster amongst Māori and non-Māori positive attitudes towards, and accurate beliefs and positive values about the Māori language so that Māori-English bilingualism becomes a valued part of New Zealand society. A full-time interpreter is appointed in the House.

2000

A simultaneous interpretation service in Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga (the 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. The channel achieves its largest audiences to date with 2.6 million viewers watching broadcasts in both September and October 2011. Inaugural Māori Language Week Awards are held in Wellington. There is a permanent full-time Kaiwhakamārama Reo position for interpretation, transcription and translation service in Parliament. There are three interpreters. The Māori and New Zealand English (MAONZE) Project studying the pronunciation of te reo Māori starts.

2005

The Māori Language Commission launches the interactive 'Kōrero Māori' website. 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. Four staff provide interpretation, transcription and translation services in Parliament.

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.

2011

Te Paepae Motuhake, an independent panel, completes a review of the Māori Language Strategy and sector. Principal recommendations include a Minister for the language, and revitalisation through re-establishing te reo Māori in homes. The Waitangi Tribunal releases its Ko Aotearoa Tēnei report into the place of Māori culture, identity and traditional knowledge in contemporary New Zealand law, government policy and practices. The report indicates the language is 'approaching a crisis point' with Māori and the Crown sharing responsibility for its revival.

2012

It is announced that social media site "Facebook" can be viewed and translated into te reo Māori. The Waitangi Tribunal releases a pre-publication version of its report into the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust's Kōhanga reo claim. The Tribunal expresses 'deep concern at the vulnerable state of te reo Māori', and calls on the Crown to formally acknowledge and apologise for Treaty of Waitangi breaches. Recommendations include redeveloping the engagement between Government agencies and the Trust. Māori Television launches a new te reo Māori website for children.

2013

The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination expresses concern over the Waitangi Tribunal's finding that the Māori language is at risk of erosion. According to the Committee, specific measures to preserve the language should be taken with adequate funding, and the development of a new Māori language strategy expedited. According to the 2013 Census, 125,352 Māori (21.3 percent) can 'hold a conversation about a lot of everyday things in te reo Māori.' This is a 4.8 percent decrease from the 2006 Census. Statistics New Zealand's first survey on Māori well-being, Te Kupenga, shows that in 2013: 257,500 (55 percent) Māori adults had some ability to speak te reo Māori (they were able to speak more than a few words or phrases in the language). This compares with 153,500 (42 percent) in 2001. 50,000 (11 percent) Māori adults could speak te reo Māori very well or well (they could speak about almost anything or many things in Māori). The Māori Affairs Committee for the first time recommends a full te reo Māori translation of the Mokomoko (Restoration of Character, Mana, and Reputation) Bill be included as part of the bill. It becomes the first legislation in both English and te reo Māori to be passed. There are 17,343 students (16,792 in 2012) involved in Māori medium education, and 141,054 (140,943) involved in Māori language in the English medium.

2014

An Oxford University book (Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords) examining how words borrowed from other languages influence English finds that te reo Māori is among the top 20 most borrowed-from languages. The Government's new Māori Language Strategy outlines the Crown's approach to revitalising the Māori language. It includes new result areas, indicators and targets, principles, and confirms the roles of government. The Strategy also proposes legislation for improving the status of the Māori language and revised arrangements for the Māori language entities currently in Vote: Māori Affairs, as well as the establishment of a new independent, statutory Māori language entity, Te Mātāwai. The Māori Language (Te Reo Māori) Bill that is part of the Strategy is intended to replace the Māori Language Act 1987, and amend the Broadcasting Act 1989 and the Māori Television Service (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act 2003. The purpose of these changes is to affirm the status of the Māori language as a taonga of iwi and Māori and an official language of New Zealand.

2016

The bill to set up a new unit to revitalise the Māori language was passed into law on 14th April 2016. The Māori Language Act sets up Te Mātāwai, a new entity charged with working with the Crown in the revitalisation of the Māori language at an iwi and community level

(Adapted from www.parliament.nz)

Appendix Three
UNESCO DOCUMENT 2003

I. Preamble
A language is endangered when it is on a path toward extinction. Without adequate documentation, a language that is extinct can never be revived. A language is in danger when its speakers cease to use it, use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains, and cease to pass it on from one generation to the next. That is, there are no new speakers, adults or children. About 97% of the world's people speak about 4% of the world's languages; and conversely, about 96% of the world's languages are spoken by about 3% of the world's people (Bernard 1996: 142). Most of the world's language heterogeneity, then, is under the stewardship of a very small number of people. Even languages with many thousands of speakers are no longer being acquired by children; at least 50% of the world's more than six thousand languages are losing speakers. We estimate that, in most world regions, about 90% of the languages may be replaced by dominant languages by the end of the 21st century. Language endangerment may be the result of external forces such as military, economic, religious, cultural, or educational subjugation, or it may be caused by internal forces, such as a community's negative attitude towards its own language. Internal pressures often have their source in external ones, and both halt the intergenerational transmission of linguistic and cultural traditions. Many indigenous peoples, associating their disadvantaged social position with their culture, have come to believe that their languages are not worth retaining.

They abandon their languages and cultures in hopes of overcoming discrimination, to secure a livelihood, and enhance social mobility, or to assimilate to the global marketplace. The extinction of each language results in the irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge. Each language is a unique expression of the human experience of the world. Thus, the knowledge of any single language may be the key to answering fundamental questions of the future. Every time a language dies, we have less evidence for understanding patterns in the structure and function of human language, human prehistory, and the maintenance of the world's diverse ecosystems. Above all, speakers of these languages may experience the loss of their language as a loss of their original ethnic and cultural identity (Bernard 1992, Hale 1998). Raising awareness about language loss and language diversity will only be successful when meaningful contemporary roles for minority languages can be established, for the requirements of modern life within the community as well as in national and international contexts. Meaningful contemporary roles include the use of these languages in everyday life, commerce, education, writing, the arts, and/or the media. Economic and political support by both local communities and national governments are needed to establish such roles. There is an urgent need in almost all countries for more reliable information about the situation of the minority languages as a basis for language support efforts at all levels.

II. Background
UNESCO's Constitution includes the maintenance and perpetuation of language diversity as a basic principle:

> to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world without distinction of race, sex, language, religion, by the Charter of the United Nations (UNESCO Constitution Article 1).

"Based on this principle, UNESCO has developed programs aimed at promoting languages as instruments of education and culture, and as significant means through which to participate in national life" (Noriko Aikawa, 2001, p. 13). Among these programs was the project The Red Book of Languages in Danger of Disappearing. The purpose of that project was: 1. to systematically gather information on endangered languages (including their status and the degree of urgency for undertaking research); 2. to strengthen research and the collection of materials relating to endangered languages for which little or no such activities have been undertaken to date, and that belong to a specific category such as language isolates, languages of special interest for typological and historical-comparative linguistics, and are in imminent danger of extinction; 3. to undertake activities aiming to establish a world-wide project committee and a network of regional centres as focal points for large areas on the basis of existing contacts; 4. To encourage publication of materials and the results of studies on endangered languages. One crucial goal, however, is missing from the Red Book project – that is, to work with the endangered-language communities toward language maintenance, development, revitalization, and perpetuation.

Any research in endangered language communities must be reciprocal and collaborative. Reciprocity here entails researchers not only offering their services as a quid pro quo for what they receive from the speech community, but being more actively involved with the community in designing, implementing, and evaluating their research projects. At the 31st Session of the UNESCO General Conference (October 2001), the unanimously-adopted Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity recognized a relationship between biodiversity, cultural diversity, and linguistic diversity. UNESCO's recommends that Member States, in conjunction with speaker communities, undertake steps to ensure: 1. sustaining the linguistic diversity of humanity and giving support to expression, creation, and dissemination of the greatest possible number of languages; 2. encouraging linguistic diversity at all levels of education, wherever possible, and fostering the learning of several languages from the youngest age; 3. incorporating, where appropriate, traditional pedagogies into the education process with a view to preserving and making full use of culturally-appropriate methods of communication and transmission of knowledge; and where permitted by speaker communities, encouraging universal access to information in the public domain through the global network, including promoting linguistic diversity in cyberspace.

III. Supporting Endangered Languages
3.1 The Role of the Speech Community
In all parts of the world, members of ethnolinguistic minorities are increasingly abandoning their native language in favour of another language, including in childrearing and formal education.
Among ethnolinguistic communities, a variety of opinions on the future prospects of their languages can be observed. Some speakers of endangered languages come to consider their own language backward and impractical. Such negative views are often directly related to the socioeconomic pressure of a dominant speech community. Other speakers of endangered languages, however, attempt to directly counter these threats to their language, and commit themselves to language stabilization and revitalization activities. These communities may establish environments such as day care centers, schools, or at least classes in which their languages are exclusively spoken. In the end, it is the speakers, not outsiders, who maintain or abandon languages. Still, if communities ask for support to reinforce their threatened languages, language specialists should make their skills available to and work with these ethnolinguistic minorities.

3.2 External Specialists and Speech Communities

External language specialists, primarily linguists, educators, and activists see their first task as documentation. This includes the collection, annotation, and analysis of data from endangered languages. The second task entails their active participation in educational programs. Speakers increasingly demand control over the terms and conditions that govern research; furthermore, they claim rights to the outcomes and future uses of the research. Increasing numbers of people in ethnolinguistic minorities also make demands on research: first, they demand control over the terms and conditions that govern research; UNESCO Document 4 Language Vitality & Endangerment second, they claim rights to the outcomes and future uses of the research. (They want, for example, the right to informed consent and to veto power, they want to know how results will benefit them, and they want to be able to determine how research results will be disseminated. But above all, they want an equal relationship with outside researchers and want to be actors in a process that is theirs, not someone else's.)

3.3 What Can Be Done?

Just as speech community members react differently to language endangerment, so do linguists, educators, and activists to requests for assistance by speech communities. Such requests relate mainly to five essential areas for sustaining endangered languages: 1. Basic linguistic and pedagogical training: providing language teachers with training in basic linguistics, language teaching methods and techniques, curriculum development, and teaching materials development. 2. Sustainable development in literacy and local documentation skills: training local language workers to develop orthographies if needed, read, write, and analyse their own languages, and produce pedagogical materials. One of the effective strategies here is the establishment of local research centres, where speakers of endangered languages will be trained to study, document and archive their own language materials. Literacy is useful to the teaching and learning of such languages. 3. Supporting and developing national language policy: National language policies must support diversity, including endangered languages. More social scientists and humanists, and speakers of endangered languages themselves should be actively involved in the formulation of national language policies. 4. Supporting and developing educational policy: In the educational sector, a number of linguists are engaged in implementing increasingly popular mother tongue education programs. Since 1953 and especially in the past 15 years, UNESCO has been instrumental in this development through its policy statements. So-called mother tongue education, however, often does not refer to education in the ancestral languages of ethnolinguistic minorities (i.e. endangered languages), but rather to the teaching of these languages as school subjects.

The most common educational model for teaching ethnolinguistic minority children in schools still uses locally or nationally dominant languages as media of instruction. Teaching exclusively in these languages supports their spread, at the expense of endangered languages. For example, fewer than 10% of the approximately 2000 African languages are currently used in teaching, and none of these 10% is an endangered language. We favour the inclusion of regional languages (often called "mother tongues") in formal education, but not at the expense of ethnolinguistic minorities (The Hague Recommendations on the Educational Rights of National Minorities 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas Tove, 2000). A great deal of research shows that acquiring bilingual capability need in no way diminish competence in the official language. 5. Improving living conditions and respect for the human rights of speaker communities: Language documenters, though not directly involved in economic and social development, can help governments identify overlooked

populations. For example, national HIV/AIDS awareness or poverty-alleviation programs often do not consider minority communities, especially if they are illiterate. Linguists and educators can be vital mediators by supporting the communities in formulating claims about their linguistic and other human rights. Conversely, materials such as those on health care, community development, or language education produced for these marginalized communities require specialist input. Concepts and content need to be conveyed in a culturally meaningful way.

3.4 Linguistic Diversity and Ecodiversity
Among the 900 eco-regions of the world that WWF has mapped out, 238 (referred to as Global 200 Ecoregions) are found to be of the utmost importance for the maintenance of the world's ecological viability. Within these Global 200 Ecoregions, we find a vast number of ethnolinguistic groups. These are the peoples who have accumulated rich ecological knowledge in their long history of living in their environment. Conservation biology needs to be paralleled by conservation linguistics. Researchers are exploring not just the parallels, but the links between the world's biodiversity and linguistic/cultural diversity, as well as the causes and consequences of diversity loss at all levels. This connection is significant in itself, because it suggests that the diversity of life is made up of diversity in nature, culture, and language. This has been called biocultural diversity by Luisa Maffi; and Michael Krauss has introduced the term logo sphere to describe the web linking the world's languages (analogous to biosphere, the web linking the world's ecosystems; Maffi, Krauss, and Yamamoto 2001, p. 74).

3.5 Salvage Documentation
A language that can no longer be maintained, perpetuated, or revitalized still merits the most complete documentation possible. This is because each language embodies unique cultural and ecological knowledge in it. It is also because languages are diverse. Documentation of such a language is important for several reasons: 1) it enriches the human intellectual property, 2) it presents a cultural perspective that may be new to our current knowledge, and 3) the process of documentation often helps the language resource person to re-activate the linguistic and cultural knowledge.

IV. Assessing Language Endangerment and Urgency for Documentation
4.1 A Caveat
No single factor alone can be used to assess a language's vitality or its need for documentation. Language communities are complex and diverse; even assessing the number of actual speakers of a language is difficult. We identify six factors to evaluate a language's vitality and state of endangerment, two factors to assess language attitudes, and one factor to evaluate the urgency for documentation. Taken together, these nine factors are especially useful for characterizing a language's overall sociolinguistic situation.

4.2 Language Vitality Assessment
4.2.1 Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality
Below we explain the six major factors identified: 1) Intergenerational Language Transmission; 2) Absolute Number of Speakers; 3) Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population; 4) Trends in Existing Language Domains; 5) Response to New Domains and Media; and 6) Materials for Language Education and Literacy. Note that none of these factors should be used alone. A language that is ranked highly according to one criterion may deserve immediate and urgent attention due to other factors.

Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission

The most commonly used factor in evaluating the vitality of a language is whether or not it is being transmitted from one generation to the next (Fishman 1991). Endangerment can be ranked on a continuum from stability to extinction. Even "safe" (below), however, does not guarantee language vitality, because at any time speakers may cease to pass on their language to the next generation. Six degrees of endangerment may be distinguished with regards to Intergenerational Language Transmission: Safe (5): The language is spoken by all generations. There is no sign of linguistic threat from any other language, and the intergenerational transmission of the language seems uninterrupted. Stable yet threatened (5-): The language is spoken in most contexts by all generations with unbroken intergenerational transmission, yet multilingualism in the native language and one or more dominant language(s) has usurped certain important communication contexts. Note that multilingualism alone is not necessarily a threat to languages. Unsafe (4): Most but not all children or families of a particular community speak their language as their first language, but it may be restricted to specific social domains (such as at home where children interact with their parents and grandparents). Definitively endangered (3): The language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home. The youngest speakers are thus of the parental generation. At this stage, parents may still speak their language to their children, but their children do not typically respond in the language. Severely endangered (2): The language is spoken only by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children. Critically endangered (1): The youngest speakers are in the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday interactions. These older people often remember only part of the language but do not use it, since there may not be anyone to speak with. Extinct (0): There is no one who can speak or remember the language.

Intergenerational Language Transmission

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
safe	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
definitively endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
critically endangered	1	The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.
extinct	0	There exists no speaker

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers

It is impossible to provide a valid interpretation of absolute numbers, but a small speech community is always at risk. A small population is much more vulnerable to decimation (e.g. by disease, warfare, or natural disaster) than a larger one. A small language group may also merge with a neighbouring group, losing its own language and culture.

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

The number of speakers in relation to the total population of a group is a significant indicator of language vitality, where "group" may refer to the ethnic, religious, regional, or national group

with which the speaker community identifies. The following scale can be used to appraise degrees of endangerment.

Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population
safe	5	All speak the language.
unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language.
definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language.
severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language.
critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language.
extinct	0	None speak the language.

Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains

Where, with whom, and the range of topics for which a language is used directly affects whether or not it will be transmitted to the next generation. Universal use (5): The language of the ethnolinguistic group is the language of interaction, identity, thinking, creativity, and entertainment, and is actively used in all discourse domains for all purposes. Multilingual parity (4): One or more dominant languages, rather than the language of the ethnolinguistic group, is/are the primary language(s) in most official domains: government, public offices, and educational institutions. The language in question, however, may well continue to be integral to a number of public domains, especially in traditional religious institutions, local stores, and those places where members of the community socialize.

The coexistence of the dominant and non-dominant languages results in speakers' using each language for a different function (diglossia), whereby the non-dominant language is used in informal and home contexts and the dominant language is used in official and public contexts. Speakers may consider the dominant language to be the language of social and economic opportunity. However, older members of the community may continue to use only their own minority language. Note that multilingualism, common throughout the world, does not necessarily lead to language loss. Dwindling domains (3): The non-dominant language loses ground and, at home, parents begin to use the dominant language in their everyday interactions with their children, and children become semi-speakers of their own language (receptive bilinguals). Parents and older members of the community tend to be productively bilingual in the dominant and indigenous languages: they understand and speak both. Bilingual children may exist in families where the indigenous language is actively used. Limited or formal domains (2): The non-dominant language is used only in highly formal domains, as especially in ritual and administration. The language may also still be used at the community centre, at festivals, and at ceremonial occasions where these older members of the community have a chance to meet. The limited domain may also include homes where grandparents and other older extended family members reside, and other traditional gathering places of the elderly. Many people can understand the language but cannot speak it. Highly limited domain (1): The non-dominant language is used in very restricted domains at special occasions, usually by very few individuals in a community, e.g. ritual leaders on ceremonial occasions. Some other individuals may remember at least some of the language (rememberers).

Extinct (0): The language is not spoken at any place at any time.

Trends in Existing Language Domains

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions
multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
dwindling domains	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions
highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in very restricted domains and for a very few functions
extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

Note that multilingualism is a fact of life in most areas of the world. Speakers do not have to be monolingual for their language to be vital. It is crucial that the indigenous language serve a meaningful function in culturally important domains.

Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media

New areas for language use may emerge as community living conditions change. While some language communities do succeed in expanding their own language into the new domain, most do not. Schools, new work environments, new media, including broadcast media and the Internet, usually serve only to expand the scope and power of the dominant language at the expense of endangered languages. Although no existing domains of the endangered language may be lost, the use of the dominant language in the new domain has mesmerizing power, as with television.

If the communities do not meet the challenges of modernity with their language, it becomes increasingly irrelevant and stigmatized.

Response to New Domains and Media

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language
dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
receptive	3	The language is used in many domains.
coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

The type and use of these new domains will vary according to the local context. One example of the possible use of this criterion is: an endangered language enjoys one new domain, broadcast media, including radio and television, but only for a half-hour a week. Though the availability of these media gives the language a potentially high ranking, the extreme time limitation results in limited exposure to the language, which thus would rank only a 2 or 3. Inevitably, there will be different levels of achievement in different media. In education, assigning criteria can be based on two dimensions: up to what level, and how broadly across the curriculum, the endangered language is used. An endangered language which is the medium of instruction for all courses and

at all levels will rank much higher than an endangered language that is taught only one hour per week. All new domains, be they in employment, education, or the media, must be considered together when assessing an endangered language community's response.

Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy
Education in the language is essential for language vitality. There are language communities that maintain strong oral traditions, and some do not wish their language to be written. In other communities, literacy in their language is a source of pride. In general, however, literacy is directly linked with social and economic development. Needed are books and materials on all topics for various ages and language abilities.

Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

4.2.2 Language Attitudes and Policies
The maintenance, promotion, or abandonment of non-dominant languages may be dictated by the dominant linguistic culture, be it regional or national. The linguistic ideology of a state may inspire linguistic minorities to mobilize their populations toward the maintenance of their languages, or may force them to abandon them. These linguistic attitudes can be a powerful force both for promotion and loss of their languages. Members of the dominant culture shape the ideological environment, propagating a value system in which their own language is seen as a positive asset, and believed to be a unifying symbol for the region or state. When several larger linguistic communities compete for the same political or social space, they may each have their own conflicting linguistic attitudes. This leads to the general perception that multiple languages cause divisiveness and are a threat to national unity. The fostering of a single dominant language is one attempt to deal with this real or merely perceived threat. In doing so, the governing body may legislate the use of language. Accordingly, the policies may discourage or even prohibit the use of other languages. National policy, including the lack of overt policy, has in any case a direct impact on the language attitude of the community itself.

4.2.2.1 Language Attitudes and Policies: Dominant and Non-Dominant Language Communities
A country's government may have an explicit language use policy for its multiple languages. At one extreme, one language may be designated as the sole official language of the country, while all others are condemned. At the other extreme, all languages of a nation may receive equal official status. Equal legal status, however, does not guarantee language maintenance and long-term vitality of a language.

Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use

Governments and institutions have explicit policies and/or implicit attitudes toward the dominant and subordinate languages. Equal support (5): All of a country's languages are valued as assets. All languages are protected by law, and the government encourages the maintenance of all languages by implementing explicit policies. Differentiated support (4): Non-dominant languages are explicitly protected by the government, but there are clear differences in the contexts in which the dominant/official language(s) and non-dominant (protected) language(s) are used. The government encourages ethnolinguistic groups to maintain and use their languages, most often in private domains (as the home language), rather than in public domains (e.g. in schools). Some of the domains of non-dominant language use enjoy high prestige (e.g. at ceremonial occasions). Passive assimilation (3): The dominant group is indifferent as to whether or not minority languages are spoken, as long as the dominant group's language is the language of interaction. Though this is not an explicit language policy, the dominant group's language is the de facto official language. Most domains of non-dominant language use do not enjoy high prestige.

Active assimilation (2): The government encourages minority groups to abandon their own languages by providing education for the minority group members in the dominant language. Speaking and/or writing in non-dominant languages is not encouraged. Forced assimilation (1): The government has an explicit language policy declaring the dominant group's language to be the only official national language, while the languages of subordinate groups are neither recognized nor supported. Prohibition (0): Minority languages are prohibited from use in any domain. Languages may be tolerated in private domains.

Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes toward Language
equal support	5	All languages are protected.
differentiated support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
passive assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
active assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
forced assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language

Members of a speech community are not usually neutral towards their own language. They may see it as essential to their community and identity and promote it; they may use it without promoting it; they may be ashamed of it and, therefore, not promote it; or they may see it as a nuisance and actively avoid using it. When members' attitudes towards their language are very positive, the language may be seen as a key symbol of group identity. Just as people value family traditions, festivals and community events, members of the community may see their language as a cultural core value, vital to their community and ethnic identity. If members view their language

as hindrance to economic mobility and integration into mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes toward their language.

Community Members' Attitudes Toward Their Own Language

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes toward Language
5	*All* members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	*Most* members support language maintenance.
3	*Many* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	*Some* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only *a few* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	*No one* cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

4.2.2.2 Language Attitudes and Policies: Interaction and Social Effects

Attitudes towards the language, be they positive, indifferent, or negative, interact with governmental policy and societal pressures to result in increased or decreased language use in different domains. In many cases, community members abandon their language because they believe they have no alternative, or because they do not have enough knowledge about the long-term consequences of the "choices" they make. People in such a situation have often been presented with an either-or choice ("either you cling to your mother-tongue and identity but don't get a job," or "you leave your language and have better chances in life"). Actually, maintaining and using both languages will allow even better chances in life. When languages have an unequal power relationship, members of the subordinate group usually speak both their native language and the dominant language. Speakers may gradually come to use only the dominant language. On the other hand, the subordinate group may resist linguistic domination and mobilize its members to revitalize or fortify their language. Strategies for such linguistic activism must be tailored to the particular sociolinguistic situation, which generally is one of three types: a. Language Revival: re-introducing a language that has been in limited use for some time, such as Hebrew after the creation of the state of Israel, or Gaelic in Ireland; b. Language Fortification: increasing the presence of the non-dominant language to counterbalance a perceived linguistic threat of a dominant language, such as Welsh; c. Language Maintenance: supporting the stable use, in speaking and in writing (where orthographies exist), of the non-dominant language in a region or state with both multilingualism and a dominant language (lingua franca), such as Maori in New Zealand. For language vitality, speakers ideally not only strongly value their language, but they also know in which social domains their language is to be supported. A positive attitude is critical for the long-term stability of a language.

4.2.3 Urgency for Documentation
Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation

As a guide for assessing the urgency for documenting a language, the type and quality of existing language materials must be identified. Of central importance are written texts, including transcribed, translated, and annotated audio-visual recordings of natural speech. Such information importantly helps members of the language community formulate specific tasks, and enables linguists to design research projects together with members of the language community.

Amount and Quality of Documentation

Nature of Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts; constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
good	4	There are one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.
fair	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
inadequate	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.
undocumented	0	No material exists.

4.3 Language Vitality Index: Evaluating the Significance of Factors

This section describes how the above nine factors may be used. Taken together, the tables are a useful instrument for assessing the situation of a community's language, the type of support needed for language maintenance, revitalization, perpetuation, and for documentation. The vitality of languages varies widely depending on the different situations of speech communities. The needs for documentation also differ under varying conditions. Languages cannot be assessed simply by adding the numbers; we therefore suggest such simple addition not be done. Instead, the language vitality factors given above may be examined according to the purpose of the assessment.

The above factors have been explored:

Vitality Assessment

Factor 1.	Intergenerational Language Transmission (scale)
Factor 2.	Absolute Number of Speakers (real numbers)
Factor 3.	Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population (scale)
Factor 4.	Trends in Existing Language Domains (scale)
Factor 5.	Response to New Domains and Media (scale)
Factor 6.	Materials for Language Education and Literacy (scale)
Factor 7.	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use: (scale)
Factor 8.	Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language (scale)
Factor 9.	Amount and Quality of Documentation (scale)

The Factor descriptions given above are offered as guidelines. Each user should adapt these guidelines to the local context and to the specific purpose sought.

Example 1. Self-assessment by a speech community

A speech community may examine these factors first to assess their language situation and to determine whether action is needed, and if so, what to do next. For this purpose, although all factors are important, the first six are especially useful. The community may find that the language is mostly being spoken by grandparents and the older generation so their language could be characterized as "severely endangered" (Grade 2) with regard to Factor 1 "Intergenerational Language Transmission." In addition, the community may find that the language is used mainly on ceremonial occasions and at community festivals. In terms of Factor 4 "Trends in Existing Language Domains," then, the language use can be assessed at the level of "limited or formal domains" (Grade 2). On the other hand, the community may find that "most members of the community support language maintenance" (Grade 4, Factor 8 "Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language"). At this point, the community members may conclude that their language is in extreme danger of being lost in a short period of time if nothing is done about the situation. They have also found that the community people are very much interested in reversing language shift and have expressed their support for language revitalization efforts. Once the community considers the full range of factors and completes its self-assessment, it will have a well-founded basis on which to seek support from relevant agencies.

Example 2. External evaluation

The guidelines could also be utilized as a policy tool by other bodies, of an official or voluntary nature, concerned with language maintenance, revitalization, literacy development, or documentation. When more than one language is being considered, each of the above factors may become an important point of comparison. The result of such comparison has a wide range of possibilities for fortifying language diversity in a particular region: it may be useful in ranking the severity of language endangerment for the purpose of support; in educating the public on the importance of language diversity; in formulating a language policy for the purpose of maintaining language diversity; in mobilizing language specialists to counter the language shift; or in alerting the national and international organizations of the diminishing human intellectual resources (see Appendix 1 for an example of comparison of languages in Venezuela).

V. Concluding Remarks

The world faces new challenges in keeping its languages alive and well. It is time for the peoples of the world to pool their resources and build on the strengths of their linguistic and cultural diversity. This entails pooling the resources at all levels: individual language specialists, local speaker community, NGOs, and governmental and institutional organizations. At the local community level and over the past several decades, for example, many people have been working to develop language education programs, usually with extremely limited technical resources. Unlike teachers of major languages of the world, they lack not only formal training in language teaching, now often required by local governments, but also language curricula and, even more crucially, usable basic language descriptions. These language teachers require a variety of skills: some are pedagogical in nature (e.g. curriculum and materials development, language teaching techniques and methods); some are sociolinguistic (e.g. analysis of ongoing language contact processes, of past and present ancestral language functions); and some are linguistic (e.g. data collection, analysis, and description). Similarly, linguists, language activists, and policy makers have a long-term task to compile and disseminate the most effective and viable mechanisms for sustaining and revitalising the world's endangered languages. Most importantly, they have the responsibility of working collaboratively with endangered language communities that enjoy an

equal partnership in the projects. We all share the responsibility of ensuring that no languages will disappear and that all languages will be maintained and perpetuated into the future generations (UNESCO document, 2003).

Appendix Four
Timeline for te reo Māori

Early 19th Century Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand.

1814	Missionaries make the first attempts to write down the Māori language.
1815	Thomas Kendall's *A korao (korero) no New Zealand* is the first book published in Māori.
1820	*A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand* is published. This lays the orthographic foundations of written Māori.
1827	Māori Bibles and prayer books appear.
1835	The first pamphlet printed in New Zealand, a translation into Māori of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to the Ephesians, appears.
1842	The first Māori language newspaper, *Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni*, is published.
1844	The first edition of *Williams's Māori Dictionary* is published.
1853	Sir George Grey's *Ko nga moteatea, me nga hakirara o nga Māori* (*The songs, chants and poetry of the Māori*) is published.
1854	Sir George Grey's *Ko nga mahinga a nga tupuna Māori* (*The deeds of the Māori ancestors*) is published.
1858	The Native Districts Regulation Act 1858 and the Native Circuit Courts Act 1858 are the first Acts of the government printed in Māori.
1865	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.
1867	The Native Schools Act 1867 decrees that English should be the only language used in the education of Māori children. Four Māori electorates are stablished by the Māori Representation Act of 1867.
1868	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. An interpreter is appointed in Parliament.
1872	The first bill (the Native Councils Bill) is translated and printed in Māori.
1880s	From the 1880s there are three interpreters in Parliament.
1880	Parliament's standing orders are printed in Māori.
1881	From 1881 to 1906 a Māori language translation of the *NewZealand Parliamentary Debates(Hansard)*is produced. This contains Māori and Pākehā members' speeches on legislation considered particularly relevant to Māori.
1889	Annual series of relevant Acts printed in Māori, to 1910.
1894	Education becomes compulsory for Māori children.
1909	There is a reduction to one interpreter in Parliament.
1913	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.
1920s	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.

1925	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).
1930s	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.
1930s-1940s	Māori MPs are permitted to speak briefly in Māori in the House if they provide an immediate interpretation.
1940s	Māori urban migration begins. This has an impact upon the use of the Māori language.
1943	William (Wiremu) Leonard Parker is appointed New Zealand‟s first Māori news broadcaster.
1945	Māori becomes a School Certificate subject.
1951	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.
1953	Twenty six percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.
1960s	Playcentre supporters encourage Māori parents to speak English to prepare Māori children for primary school.
1960	The Publications Branch of the Education Department begins publishing a Māori language journal for use in those schools where Māori is taught.
1961	J. K. Hunn‟s report on the Department of Māori Affairs describes the Māori language as a relic of ancient Māori life.
Early 1970s	Concerns for the Māori language are expressed by Māori urban groups including Ngā Tamatoa and Te Reo Māori Society.
1972	A petition calling for courses in Māori language and culture to be offered in all New Zealand schools is presented at Parliament.
1973-1978	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.
1975	The first Māori Language Week is held. Less than 5 percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.
1978	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.
1979-1980	Te Ātaarangi movement is established to restore Māori language knowledge to Māori adults.
1980s	Experiments in Māori radio broadcasting lead to the establishment of Te Upoko o te Ika and Radio Ngāti Porou.
1980	During the Māori Language Week a march is held demanding that the Māori language have equal status with English.
1981	A petition calls for Māori to be made an official language of New Zealand.
1982	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.
1983	The first Māori-owned Māori language radio station (Te Reo-o-Poneke) goes to air.
1985	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.
1986	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.
1987	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.
1988	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.
1989	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.
1992	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.
1993	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.
1994	New Zealand passports start using te reo Māori on the inside pages, and on the cover from 2009.
1995	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.
1996	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).
1997	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.
1998	The Government announces funding for a Māori television channel and increased funding for Te Māngai Pāho.
1999	The Government announces objectives and monitoring indicators for its Māori Language Strategy. The goals are:
	To increase the number of people who know the Māori language by increasing their opportunities to learn Māori;
	To improve the proficiency levels of people in speaking Māori, reading Māori, and writing Māori;
	To increase the opportunities to use Māori by increasing the number of situations where Māori can be used;
	To increase the rate at which the Māori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities;
	To foster amongst Māori and non-Māori positive attitudes towards, and accurate beliefs and positive values about, the Māori language so that Māori-English 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 r e v i s e d 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.

(Anaru, 2011)