



TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

NGĀ PUKAPUKA O TE RANGATAHI
A MĀORI LANGUAGE
REVITALISATION INITIATIVE

ALICE MARIU
2021

A thesis presented to Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Professional Doctorate in Māori Development and Advancement, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

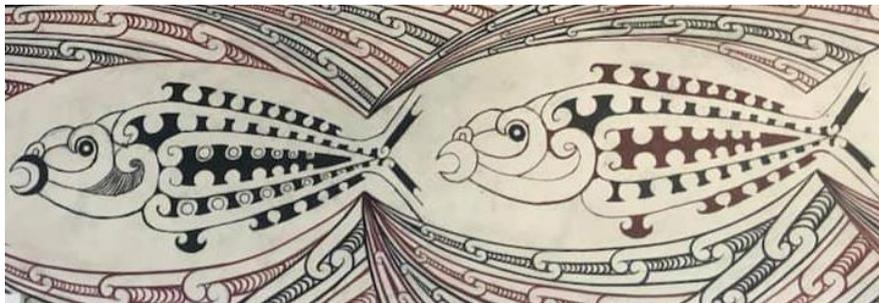


Ngā Pukapuka o Te Rangatahi

A Māori Language Revitalisation Initiative

“Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi”

‘Take from the past as a foundation for your future.’



Alice Mariu

A thesis submitted to Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi.

In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Professional Doctorate in Māori
Development and Advancement

2021

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The Moki image was painted by Cliff Whiting in 1974 and originated with the “Great Migration” and the coming of Poumātangatanga who was responsible for bringing the Moki to Whangaparāoa both spiritual and secular (Application for Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia Mātaitai, 2016). These images accompanied the mural seen in the marae wharekai, Whatianga by Para Matchitt depicting the coming of the Pakēhā.

DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

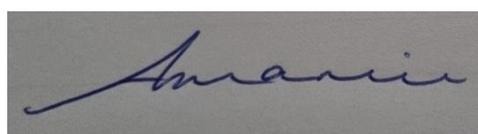
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Alice Mariu

Signature:

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in blue ink. The signature is cursive and appears to read 'A. Mariu'.

Date: 30 November 2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

He Moki ki uta

He Tangata ki tai

Ko Te Kuti

Ko Te Wera

Ko Te Haua

E Ko Apanui E!

Mai Ngā Kurī a Whārei Ki Tihirau

Kia hiwa ra! Kia hiwa ra!

Tihei Mauriora!

It is my pleasure to present this thesis in acknowledgement of my granduncle, Hoani Retimana Waititi who through his conscious effort as the author of *Te Rangatahi I 1962 and Te Rangatahi II 1964* textbooks which served as the driving force behind these writings. These textbooks enlist the many other Te Reo Māori revitalisation initiatives that have helped shape and develop the Indigenous language of Aotearoa.

I acknowledge my pāpā, Manihera Waititi and my nan, Dorothy Waititi who contributed significantly to the life of Hoani Waititi growing up in Whangaparāoa, Cape Runaway and were present during the initiation of these long serving Te Reo Māori resources.

Ki a tōku māmā, Kahurangi June Mariu your dedication and passion for education gave me the encouragement and motivation to acknowledge Uncle's taonga and bring them to fruition. Her commitment and loyal application to teach and learn te reo Māori from these textbooks is to be commended. Her work was not only concentrated at the schools she taught at, but it also went above and beyond the call of duty by visiting Māori whānau in the communities of Te Atatu North and Waitakere. Ngā mihi nui ki a koe Mum.

Ki a tōku pāpā, the late Hohepa Mariu who held a great respect for Uncle Hoani and his contributions to education and the Māori communities of Tāmaki Makaurau.

Ki a tōku Whānau, my tamariki Hohepa and Jonyne-June Waenga, my sister Jonyne Mariu-Komene, my niece Arihia Alma-Jean Komene and my brother-in-law Kelvyn Ranapia, for all their tautoko and manaakitanga during this journey.

Ki ngā kaiwhakautu katoa, ngā mihi maioha mo ō kōutou tāpaetanga ai i ngā uiuinga ki ngā āhuatanga o tōku kaupapa.

I would like to acknowledge all current and past staff at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi for all their support and assistance during my studies at campus and home especially the library services. Kia ora Whāea Mereana Coleman and your kaimahi.

I extend my appreciation to all the academic Doctors who have given their permission to draw on their doctorates and the knowledge they contributed to this taonga. Ngā mihi mo ō kōutou matauranga Māori, matauranga hou.

Ki ōku rangatira matauranga, ko Professor Virginia Warriner who agreed to provide primary supervision alongside Doctor Sheryl Ferguson as my secondary supervisor. Ki a Associate Professor Richard Smith who provided my initial supervision from 2018-2019 and Professor Patricia Johnson for her support and friendship during my doctoral journey. It is through their devotion and unapologetic commitment to our achievement at this level of education which has been really rewarding for me. Ngā mihi nui ki a kōutou e hoa ma.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explored Māori language revitalisation. Beginning from a position that identifies language linguicide, the thesis examined the different movements for language revitalisation, regeneration, and reclamation, from the 1950s onwards.

“Linguicide” was an active goal of government policies and practices, that either actively ‘attempted to kill Māori language’, or passively cause ‘language death’ through not supporting language developments (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.369). Māori resisted language death by developing various language revitalisation models and resources which this thesis investigated. These developments are couched within a theoretical framework associated with Indigenous language revitalisation globally.

Hoani Retimana Waititi’s work is another layer of contribution to language revitalisation that occurred at a time when government policy was aimed at limiting Māori language from being spoken.

This rangahau has critiqued and analysed to what degree the Te Rangatahi series contribution had on Māori language revitalisation as a Māori language resource. An argument posed was whether consideration has still been given to its structures and ‘te reo ā-iwi o Te Whānau-ā-Apanui (the tribal dialect of Te Whānau-a Apanui) amongst the current and new revitalisation initiatives development within Aotearoa.

A selection of participants from differing backgrounds were chosen for this thesis, of which several are of Te Whānau-ā- Apanui descent and have whakapapa lineage to the kairangahau.

A key finding for this rangahau has been that there are still kaiako Māori teaching te reo Māori who prefer the grammatical structures provided by the Te Rangatahi textbooks. As a recommendation, Te Whānau o Waititi have supported and encouraged all those people who have copies of the textbooks to continue using them in their classrooms or in their homes.

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Kuputaka (Glossary)

āhuatanga Māori	Māori aspects
ako	learn
ākonga pakeke	adult learners
akoranga	teach
Aotearoa	New Zealand
a-tinana	in person
ao tūroa	natural world
auraki	mainstream
hāpori	community
hapū	sub-tribe
he taonga ērā	these are treasures
hī ika mo te moki	fishing for moki
hui	meeting or gathering
i a kōhanga reo	each kōhanga reo
i a rā	each day
i ngā wā katoa	all the time
Iwi	tribe
Iwi Taketake	Indigenous Peoples
Kahurangi	Dame
kaiako Māori	Māori teacher/s
kaimoana	seafood
kairangahau	researcher
kaiuiui	interviewer
kaiwhakautu	interviewee
kākahu; korowai	cloak; clothes
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
karanga	call (of welcome)
kaumatua	elder; elders

kaupapa	issue; purpose
kete	learning kits
kei a rātou	up to them
ki te whakapakēhātia	to translate into Pakēhā
ki te whakapai	to prepare
kiko; ngako	true essence
kohanga reo	language nest
kupu hou	new words
Kura Kaupapa	Māori language immersion school
Kura Tuarua	secondary school
mahi ruku	diving
mahi tahi	work together
mana	prestige; influence; status
mana Māori	Māori rights; Māori authority
mana Tangata	Indigenous peoples' rights; authority
Mana Whenua	tribal rights; authority over land
Māori katoa	all Māori
Marae	community meeting place
Marae Atea	marae courtyard
Manuhiri	guests
matatau	fluent; proficient; expert at
mātauranga	knowledge
me pēhea	how
mokopuna tuatahi	first generation grandson
momo kai taketake	types of Indigenous food
momo kaupapa	types of issues; topics
ngā āhuatanga	aspects; characteristics
ngākau mahaki	humble respect
ngā reta	letters

ngā takepū	principles
ngā ūara	values
ngā uiuinga	interviews
o i a-iwi	of each iwi
Ōtepoti	Dunedin
Pakanga Māori	Māori Wars
pāparakauta	tavern; pub
Pukamata	Facebook
rangahau	research
reo rangatira	chiefly language
take	topic or issue
tangata toa	champion
Tangata Whenua	people of the land
Tangihanga	bereavement
taonga tuku iho	cultural treasures; aspirations
tauīwi	non-Māori
te hau kainga	home people
te hītori	the history
te kawa	the protocols
Te Mārena	The Marriage
te reo ā-hapū	sub-tribal dialect
te reo ā-iwi	tribal dialect
te reo Māori	Māori Language
te reo o te rohe	language of the area
te reo rua	second language
tikanga Māori	Māori customs
tikanga o te marae	customs of the marae
tino mana	powerful
tino rangatiratanga	sovereignty

tohu	qualification
tohunga	expert; master
tōku māmā	my mother
tōku pāpā	my father
tō mōhiotanga o ngā rerenga kōrero	comprehension of the sentences
tōna kōrero	her/his talk
to rātou	their (a group of people)
tō tātou reo Māori me ōna tikanga	our Māori language and customs
tuahine māhanga	twin sisters
tuakana	older brother or sister
tukanga	refer to page 134 for definition
tūpāpaku	deceased
Tūranga	Gisborne
wāhanga	chapter
wānanga Māori	Māori University
whaikōrero	formal speech
whakahonohono	connection
whakamāoritia	translate in Māori
whakamātautau	test
whakapakēhātia	translate in Pakēhā
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family
whānaungātanga	sense of family connection; relationship
Whangāparāoa	Bay of Whales
whenua	land

Te Wāhanga Tuatahi

“Tōku reo, Tōku ohooho, ko tōku reo tōku māpihi maurea.
“My language is my awakening; my language is the window to my soul.”

1.0 Ko Ōku Pēpēha

I te taha o tōku māmā

Ko Tihirau te maunga

Ko Te Whānau a Apanui te iwi

Ko Whangāparāoa te awa

Ko Kauaetangohia te marae me hapū hoki

I te taha o tōku pāpā

Ko Tongariro te maunga

Ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa te iwi

Ko Taupo te moana

Ko Ngāti Turamakina te hapū

Ko Tapeka te marae

He uri ahau o Hoani Retimana Waititi

Ko Arihia Mariu tōku ingoa

Tihei Mauriora!

1.1 Overview

The purpose of this research was to analyse the impact and implications of Te Rangatahi series, a te reo Māori teaching resource on the regeneration of te reo Māori, the Indigenous language of Aotearoa. The thesis will be based on the writings of Hoani Retimana Waititi and his Te Rangatahi textbooks that were utilised in secondary schools in Aotearoa during the 1970s and 1980s. During the 1970s-1980s, *Te Rangatahi* series was not acknowledged in the historical timeline of the Māori language. This thesis has claimed that, although *Te Rangatahi* series were a well-known set of textbooks used by all Kura Tuarua (secondary schools) offering Māori Studies. The textbooks provided aspects of te reo and tikanga Māori from a te ao Māori perspective and was one of the first language regeneration initiatives in the 20th century.

1.2 Objectives

Two key research objectives will underpin the aim:

- 1) Te Rangatahi series is not recorded as being considered as one of the language regeneration initiatives therefore, this thesis has explored its contribution to these as a newly explored kaupapa. A known fact is that the textbooks were infamous for the delivery of Māori Studies in a time of te reo Māori scrutiny. Moreover, the Department of Education requested the writing of the Te Rangatahi textbooks for university and secondary school studies.
- 2) The outcome of this thesis is to ensure that the Te Rangatahi textbooks continue to be used by our people and the Intellectual Property rights be given to the Waititi Whānau.

1.3 Aims

- (1) To establish a platform on which to build a solid foundation showing the importance and value of Indigenous language regeneration.
- (2) What different language initiatives i.e., *Te Rangatahi* contributed to the rapid increase in Te Reo Tuatahi speakers, resulting in the successful re-emergence of te reo Māori in Aotearoa.

This research includes seven main chapters which are outlined at the end of this section.

1.4 Research Questions

- 1) What impacts, and implications has *Te Rangatahi* series had on the regeneration of Te Reo Māori as the Indigenous language of Aotearoa?
- 2) How has the *Te Rangatahi* series contributed to historical language revitalisation of Te Reo Māori despite being acknowledged only more recently?

1.5 Introduction

Hoani Retimana Waititi, was a renowned Māori educationalist who wrote a series of te reo Māori textbooks called *Te Rangatahi*. These textbooks were used by secondary teachers to teach te reo Māori to students in preparation for School Certificate and University Entrance during the 1970s and 1980s. I have a direct whakapapa link to Hoani Waititi through my mother. He was my mother's uncle, therefore my grand uncle. An aspiration of Hoani Waititi's was the regeneration of te reo Māori through his many writings and publications of the *Te Rangatahi* series. These books became the standard te reo Māori textbooks that were used for all levels, inclusive of tertiary for two decades. Hoani Waititi utilised a Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestor called Tamahae as his main character in the series.

According to Ballara and Mariu (2000), students were introduced to rural life, a life that Hoani Waititi had experienced through the stories in the *Te Rangatahi* series. For instance, the researcher was familiar with the lesson on Te Mārena (The Marriage). This was based on the wedding of the researchers' uncle Arthur Waititi. A sense of pride at being linked by whakapapa to Hoani Waititi is one of the driving forces behind the proposed thesis. My personal story will be included in the thesis.

Dame (Kahurangi) June Mariu, my mother is a key contributor to the thesis and her experiences with Hoani Waititi (her granduncle) will be shared throughout. Her input was invaluable as both a close relative to him and an educationalist with vast experience in both schools and the tertiary sector.

Kahurangi June Mariu was aware of the bell curve and scaling system that existed for student examination results. As a Māori teacher in a mainstream secondary school (Kura Tuarua Auraki), there were challenges to promote the importance of teaching Māori studies and aspects of te reo Māori. The success of her students required teaching strategies to meet the examination requirements for School Certificate and University Entrance.

1.5.1 School Certificate Examination Process

The education process for examinations involved a scaling system which the researcher was not familiar with, but which played a significant role during this time. This thesis outlines some of the evidence and arguments about the School Certificate examination process, which the research evidence will show a western based lens. It draws mainly from three papers by Gadd (1984), Hughes (1983) and Mitchell (1984), where “this system assimilated Māori students who studied Māori and were fluent speakers scaling their examination marks down to align with the ‘normal curve of distribution’ against English. Up to and including 1974, an informal hierarchy of subjects had developed” (p. 7).

The following table 1, *School Certificate Pass Rates by Subject Grouping 1974-1980* shows “a deliberate subject hierarchy placing Latin at the top of the table with a pass rate of 87% in 1980, whereas Māori is placed at the very bottom with a pass rate of 39.1%” (p. 7). Due

to these statistics, subjects such as Latin and French were given priority which placed the Māori students at a disadvantage who chose Māori Studies during this period as one of their major subjects. The impact during the School Certificate examinations as shown in the table below clearly evidenced this.

School Certificate Pass Rates by Subject Grouping 1974-1980

Subject	Year						
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Latin	64.6	70.2	73.8	81.4	84.0	87.1	87.0
French	56.4	64.0	66.9	75.9	75.8	77.4	77.6
Other Foreign Languages	58.4	62.3	68.5	77.0	77.2	74.5	75.7
Physical Science	57.2	61.0	66.6	68.8	72.8	70.4	75.7
Music	55.1	62.3	66.0	63.3	65.9	65.9	66.9
Shorthand/Typing	50.9	49.9	53.6	61.8	61.1	65.9	64.9
Bookkeeping	48.4	48.8	50.2	60.4	59.4	60.5	62.2
History	55.6	56.3	56.3	57.4	57.5	58.3	57.2
Mathematics	52.5	54.3	55.7	55.3	54.8	53.4	52.5
Science	51.5	47.2	51.1	52.4	53.4	53.0	51.4
English	55.2	55.8	52.8	51.2	50.8	51.0	51.1
Geography	53.3	53.8	55.8	50.8	49.9	50.3	50.2
Technical Drawing	47.6	48.2	48.1	49.5	48.9	49.3	49.7
Art	53.5	57.1	53.4	55.9	53.6	54.6	49.5
Economics	46.0	46.4	46.8	49.2	49.2	48.9	49.2
Clothing and Textiles	47.7	50.3	49.3	52.2	52.3	51.5	48.9
Agriculture	46.3	46.4	45.2	48.5	42.8	43.3	47.9
Biological Science	48.6	52.1	50.5	48.7	45.8	47.0	45.6
Typewriting	44.9	43.8	44.2	44.9	45.7	44.6	43.7
Engineering	47.1	45.5	46.4	46.8	45.5	46.4	42.7
Woodwork	47.9	47.6	47.1	47.9	45.4	44.1	41.1
Home Economics	45.8	46.4	43.5	45.1	46.8	44.3	39.7
Māori	49.4	47.0	43.6	44.5	43.4	43.9	39.1
Total Pass Rate	52.3	52.8	53.1	52.9	52.6	52.3	51.7

Sources: 1974 Department of Education, 1975
 1975 Department of Education, 1976b
 1976 Department of Education, 1977
 1977 Department of Education, 1978
 1978 Department of Education, 1979
 1979 Department of Education, 1980a
 1980 Department of Education, 1980b

Table 1: School Certificate pass rates by subject groupings 1974-1980
 Department of Education (1980, p. 7)

1.5.2 Te Reo Revitalisation

The Māori language revitalisation movement created a 'surge of energy', an importance for those who wanted to learn the Māori language. The establishment of Te Kohanga Reo, 'language nests' in the 1980s gave parents an opportunity to enrol their tamariki (children) in a fully immersed environment to learn our language and begin to speak Te Reo Māori at home. This would continue with Te Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori language immersion schools) in 1986 which Dr Pita Sharples was instrumental in establishing in conjunction with

the establishment of Hoani Waititi Marae in Glen Eden, West Auckland (named after Hoani Waititi). This marae provided a Māori setting where urban Māori could gather for hui (meeting), tangihanga (bereavement) and whānau (family) occasions. Te Whānau-a-Apanui representatives attended the Opening in 1980. The karanga from the tangata whenua and manuhiri (guests) ringing out across the marae atea was powerful. Hoani Waititi Marae became a bastion for Te Reo, with the establishment of one of the first Kohanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori in Auckland. The Marae has hosted the Dameship Inauguration in 2012 for Kahurangi June Mariu and the Knighthood Inauguration in 2015 for Sir Dr Pita Sharples a well-deserved award for him. Notably, Dame (Kahurangi) June Mariu and Sir Dr Pita Sharples have remained close friends for many years and through their passion for education for their people and the revitalisation of Te Reo Māori, has emanated this relationship.

As the kairangahau (researcher), a personal motivation has been to embark on my own journey to build my matatau (fluency) in Te Reo Māori and become totally immersed. By reading and understanding the stories in the Te Rangatahi textbooks, has assisted in reaching this goal and has a significant alignment to the kaupapa of this thesis.

A professional motivation over the past decade, has been to apply for positions being offered by Māori organisations who have a strong obligation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, have implemented ngā ūara (values) while upholding its ngā takepū (principles). The embedding of mātauranga and te reo Māori has been at the forefront of these organisations especially our wānanga Māori. This te reo Māori initiative has been a counteract to further language loss and keep our tikanga Māori intact.

According to Timms-Dean (2013),

Language decline and revitalisation have become global issues in that Indigenous communities are making global connections to promote local expressions of language revitalisation” (pp. 24-26).

Language revitalisation aims to 'reverse language shift' (Fishman, 1991, 2001), that is, to reverse the process of language decline. Language usage in the home and intergenerational transmission are fundamental to the achievement of language revitalisation. Timms-Dean clearly links three key arguments in favour of language maintenance and its' retention. The first being "the importance of language maintenance which relates to the idea that language loss is associated with cultural contraction" (p. 25). The second discusses "the involvement of the relationship between the language and the spiritual, cultural, and social aspects of culture" (p. 25). A further link is between this relationship and the notion of identity associated with the language and culture at risk. Fishman (1994) describes the mythical and spiritual nature of language and depicts language as "being the soul, mind and spirit of the people" (p. 73). Littlebear (1999) builds on this by relating spirituality to the relevance of language and links this to Native American identity. The third argument in support of language revitalisation is offered by Hinton (2001), who argued that "language loss is a human rights issue: the loss of language is part of the oppression and disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples, who are losing their land and traditional livelihood involuntarily as the forces of the national or world economy and politics impinge on them" (p. 5).

Te Mātāwai is the independent statutory entity, established to support te reo Māori revitalisation in homes and communities on behalf of Iwi, Māori, and Māori language communities. Te Mātāwai has commissioned the New Zealand Council of Educational Research to develop the online survey as part of a wider Māori language revitalisation research programme (Te Mātāwai, 2016).

Te Mātāwai has been an initiative in response to Te Kupenga, a Māori wellbeing report released by Statistics New Zealand (2013a) which indicated that nearly 55 percent of Māori adults (257,500) had some ability to speak Te Reo Māori using a few words or phrases in the language as compared to 42 percent (153,500) in 2001. Furthermore, the report also shows that 11 percent (50,000) of Māori adults are proficient speakers of te reo Māori

speaking most things in Māori as cited in Statistics New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). Moreover, this is an indication that more people who identify as New Zealand Māori and affiliate to an Iwi, are prioritising their learning of te reo to improve their mātauranga (knowledge) and matatau (fluency).

Comparatively, this research has explored the international arena, examining language revitalisation in countries such as Australia and Canada by drawing on theories by Armitage (1995). The Indigenous peoples and their language have been subjected to government policies that have impacted significantly and resulted in loss of land, language and in some cases their culture and traditions.

According to Armitage (1995), in “New South Wales the Aborigine Protection Act 1909 was created and in South Australia (which included the Northern Territory), the Northern Territory Protection Act 1910 was established. Each of these acts was a control mechanism regulating all aspects of an Aboriginal person’s life” (p. 18).

A similar fate according to Armitage (1995) occurred with “the establishment of the ‘Indian Act 1876’ as perceived by the First Nations peoples in Canada but through means of deception, for the management of Indian affairs” (p. 100). This included the process for the sale of First Nations land and for providing First Nations peoples with full citizenship through qualification. The key objective to enforce assimilation.

Armitage (1995) has described probably one of the most “aggressive acts of enforcing the policy of assimilation in conjunction with integration for the Aboriginal peoples of Australia and the First Nations in Canada, the separation of children from their parents” (pp. 204-205). With the establishment of specialised institutions for maintaining Aboriginal children, dormitories (Australia), and residential schools (Canada) saw the segregation of children from their parents, their peers of the opposite gender, and younger and older siblings. This research has discussed these Indigenous perspectives in Te Wāhanga Tuarua (Chapter 2), where literature by international authors has been reviewed and critically analysed.

A further theorist who has contributed to this research is Krauss (1992). He proposed that there are various criteria and classifications which are commonly used to describe the status of Indigenous languages as follows:

- Safe languages are languages that have official government support and many speakers. Krauss states that if the threshold is placed at 100,000 speakers for the language to be considered 'safe.' 10 percent of all the worlds' languages are 'safe.'
- Endangered languages are languages that, although they are still being learned by children, will cease to be learned by children in the next century if present conditions persist.
- Moribund languages are languages that have ceased to be learned by children and are therefore almost certainly doomed to extinction.
- Dead or extinct languages are languages that are no longer spoken by anyone, even if there are written materials or recordings in those languages (pp. 259-260)

Conwell (2017) has presented a supporting argument that, "Indigenous language revival has begun within and was driven by indigenous community. For language revitalisation to be successful, prerequisites like decolonisation, need to exist before language programmes as a means of identifying strategies and the development of language models can be implemented" (p. 13-15)). Conwell has described the decline of her language and provides a deeper understanding regarding the rapid change from Chehalis to English, initiating language revitalisation efforts. She has claimed that the Chehalis Tribes suffered a low membership enrolment over the past 100 years, and this has had a significant impact on the reduction of possible language learners among the remaining tribal members.

A further aspect in support of Indigenous language decline as Ahearn (2017) provides, is about why languages have died. She claimed that "a language becomes extinct because the speakers of the language all die without passing this knowledge and proficiency on to their children" (p. 268). Ahearn has also provided an explanation for a 'dying language.' A

language near death, begins to disappear from several domains of use. These languages follow a top-down process where they are no longer used in public domains or official institutions but retained for a time in the home such as native American languages like Mbabaram, Manx, Kayardild, Wappo and Ubykh. Languages that follow a bottom-up process are in some cases no longer used in the home or in everyday contexts but remains in public and official forums e.g., Te Reo Māori. The alignment of these theories to this thesis, have been explored further in Te Wāhanga Tuarua.

This thesis is seeking to acknowledge the *Te Rangatahi* series in the field of te reo Māori. *Te Rangatahi* textbooks were familiar to ‘traditionalists and baby-boomers’ alike as a language revitalisation initiative in Aotearoa. The research has also provided a new perspective to language revitalisation initiatives. Several doctoral studies by Conwell, Johnston and Te Whata have investigated Indigenous language revitalisation like Te Reo Māori however, this research has explored concepts that are related to *Te Rangatahi* series, establishing it as one of the first Māori language revitalisation initiatives to exist in the 1960s.

1.6 Outline of Chapters

Te Wāhanga Tuatahi (Chapter 1) - ***“Tōku reo, Tōku ohooho, ko tōku reo tōku māpihi maurea”*** will set the context and overall focus for this rangahau, by discussing a gradual appreciation of Te Reo Māori me ōna Tikanga by the researcher including a new-found Māori identity. As well as this, an explanation regarding a ‘generational’ gap where parents belonging to the ‘traditionalist generation,’ due to an assimilation process, chose to learn ‘te mātauranga o te Pākēha’ (the knowledge of the Pākēha) and encouraged their children from the ‘baby-boomer era’ to do the same. As a result, Te Reo Māori was placed on the ‘back burner’ to wait dormant until passionate Māori educationalists like Hoani Waititi ignited the development of the *Te Rangatahi* series as one of the many language revitalisation initiatives and a reclamation of all things Māori through the lens of Te Ao Māori.

Te Wāhanga Tuarua (Chapter 2) - ***“Kia mau ki tō Māoritanga a ōu tātou tupuna”*** will provide an in-depth review of literature which is relevant to this kaupapa. Māori Language Revitalisation featured prominently in this chapter as one of the main kaupapa of this thesis. The rangahau will draw on indigenous perspectives from theorists who have undertaken extensive investigations on language revitalisation initiatives, the underlying motives for these and the developments that emerged as a result. As a pivotal progression to Te Reo Māori revitalisation, the research has reviewed the development of strategies for language revitalisation and investigate different perspectives and theories of educationalists. Their views have impacted on Māori education and examined several theories and models associated with language revitalisation such as Māori and Indigenous perspectives and language death. A research focus also will be to examine other literature by authors such as Armitage (1995), Ahearn (2017) and Conwell’s recent Doctorate in Indigenous Development & Advancement (2017) which gives a Native American perspective on language revitalisation in Washington State, United States of America.

Te Wāhanga Tuatoru (Chapter 3) – ***“Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi”*** will present an historical timeline, navigating the events that occurred from pre-1840 of Te Reo Māori until its status today due to colonisation and assimilation. Māori resistance to Pākēha efforts to eliminate Te Reo Māori, disrupted these efforts by Māori through the implementation of language revitalisation programmes and initiatives to reclaim our ‘tino rangatiratanga’(self-determination) were also reviewed. The significance of providing an historical timeline particularly is to highlight prominent changes that have occurred since the Māori language was the predominant language in Aotearoa. This wāhanga also explored the philosophies, ideals, views, and beliefs of an educationalist, Hoani Retimana Waititi and the work he contributed to the education system by writing Te Rangatahi I and II textbooks for Māori Studies in secondary schools around the motu (country).

This research provided an account of Hoani’s education and his teaching career at several Māori secondary schools from 1939 – 1957 and its relevance in terms of the values and

principles he developed during these years and his achievements which played a significant role in his endeavours that followed as a teacher and educationalist. An important kaupapa (aspect; issue) of this chapter, was Waititi's passion for the development of the Māori language and how he endeavoured to promote its value within the education system as a recognised subject.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā (Chapter 4) – **“He puna wai, he puna kai, he puna reo, he puna ora, ita-a-ita”** highlighted the insights of theorists outlining specific Indigenous perspectives about a Kaupapa Māori methodology and its theoretical framework. It drew on theories which underlined several contributing factors fundamental to this study such as Pihama et al., (2002) explaining that,

a Kaupapa Māori methodology captures Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices. Kaupapa Māori is about being ‘fully’ Māori ...

or Bishop (1996) maintaining that,

Kaupapa Māori research highlights a collaborative approach to power sharing and underlines that ownership and benefits of the study belongs to the participants (pp. 61-66).

Additionally, Cram (2006, p. 34) argued that in a kaupapa Māori research paradigm, research is undertaken by Māori, for Māori, with Māori. An important aspect of Kaupapa Māori Research is that it seeks to understand and represent Māori, as Māori. This chapter will explore these theories further along with other relevant theories pertaining to this methodology. The research will provide comprehensive literature and rationale for the choice of methodology and methods.

Te Wāhanga Tuarima (Chapter 5) – **“Ehara tāku toa i te toa takitahi, ēngari he toa takitini”** through an analytical framework, will reveal perceptions, themes and key concepts from the different transcripts, narratives and eSurvey findings undertaken. Statistical evidence pertaining to e.g., the number of proficient Te Reo Māori speakers during a certain period will also add to the data. Cavana et al., (2001) have focussed on three objectives

when analysing data of this kind: getting a feel for the data; testing the goodness of data; and testing the hypotheses developed for the research” (p. 319). A quantitative research method will provide this study with statistical data through a document analysis from organisations like Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori; Te Puni Kōkiri; and the Ministry of Education.

Te Wāhanga Tuaono (Chapter 6) – “***Ko tōu reo, Ko tōku reo, Te tuakiri tangata, Tihei uriuri, Tihei nakonako***” will discuss the findings that have developed due to this rangahau. Aotearoa has an historical overview which this thesis is bound to recognise when arguing the importance of Indigenous language revitalisation and the catalysts that encouraged the progression of the language and the production of different Māori language resources. This wāhanga will encourage clarification, understanding and an appreciation of this rangahau, through its context and Indigenous perspectives drawn from literal evidence while supporting the importance of preserving the Māori language as an official language of Aotearoa.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhitu (Chapter 7) – “***Hapaitia te ara tika pumau ai te rangatiratanga mo ngā uri whakatipu***” will present concluding comments regarding this rangahau journey and experience offering old and new knowledge and contributing to rangahau Māori (Māori research). With the research examining the establishment of a platform on which to build a solid foundation, this has showed the importance and value of Indigenous language regeneration. Language initiatives like *Te Rangatahi* have contributed significantly to the rapid increase in native Māori speakers which has resulted in the successful re-emergence of te reo Māori in Aotearoa

1.7 Summary

An introduction has provided a newly explored kaupapa, *Te Rangatahi* series and its contribution to the historical accounts of Te Reo Māori and the Māori language initiatives established, prompting a surge towards the regeneration of the Indigenous language in

Aotearoa. It outlined the researcher's own position within the research, with a focus on why there was a need to contribute through this thesis the significant platforms underpinning the *Te Rangatahi* series as a key language initiative of its time. The motivations personal and professional, have laid a solid foundation to progress a kaupapa which is a current issue for the Indigenous peoples in Aotearoa.

The exploration of relevant theories and perspectives through a literature review was imperative to underpin the initial kaupapa of research. An historical timeline outlined events that were significant to the history of te reo Māori with the inclusion of the Te Rangatahi textbooks and their importance as a revitalisation initiative. A kaupapa Māori methodology was explored concurring its relevance to this thesis. This wāhanga researched qualitative and quantitative methods conducive to the nature of the research when data was initially collected. A wāhanga was dedicated to the findings and data analysis elicited from the semi-structured interviews, literature review including a document analysis and an electronic survey. To authenticate the findings and data analysis, it was imperative that this thesis drew on literature that supported qualitative and quantitative data collection. As is custom to all theses, the conclusion has reviewed the whole thesis. Being Indigenous as Māori kept the kairangahau grounded in mātauranga (knowledge), promoting, strengthening, and enhancing our indigeneity. The importance of this rangahau (research) focus has been to provide a new frontier of knowledge.

Te Wāhanga Tuarua

“Kia mau ki tō Māoritanga ā ōu tātou tīpuna”
“Holdfast to your Māori heritage of our ancestors”

2.0 Introduction

Te Wāhanga Tuarua provides an in-depth review of literature which is relevant to this kaupapa (topic). Māori language revitalisation features prominently in this chapter as one of the main kaupapa of this thesis. The rangahau drew on indigenous perspectives from theorists who have completed extensive investigations on language revitalisation initiatives, the underlying motives for these and the developments that emerged as a result.

As a pivotal progression to te reo Māori revitalisation, the research reviewed the development of strategies for language revitalisation and investigated different perspectives and theories of educationalists and how their views have impacted on Māori education. The literature review examines several theories and models associated with language revitalisation such as Māori and indigenous perspectives and language death according to Ahearn (2017) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000).

Te Rangatahi series by Hoani Retimana Waititi, were used as teaching resources to teach te reo Māori and contributed as one of the first Māori language revitalisation initiatives. The structures reflected in each wāhanga (chapter), used ‘te reo ā-iwi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui’ (the tribal dialect of Te Whānau-a Apanui). Te Rangatahi series has earned its rightful place amongst the past, present, and future revitalisation initiatives which have been implemented and developed within Aotearoa.

Furthermore, the Māori language revitalisation movement created a ‘surge of energy’, an importance for those who wanted to learn the Māori language. The establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo, ‘language nests’ in the 1980s gave parents an opportunity to enrol their tamariki (children) in a fully immersed environment to learn our language and begin to speak te reo Māori at home. This continued with Te Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori language

immersion schools) in 1986 which Dr Pita Sharples was instrumental in establishing. In conjunction with the establishment of Hoani Waititi Marae in Glen Eden, West Auckland named after Hoani Retimana Waititi. The marae provided a Māori setting where urban Māori could gather for hui (meeting), tangihanga (bereavement) and whānau (family) occasions. Te Whānau-a-Apanui representatives attended the Opening in 1980. The karanga from the tangata whenua and manuhiri (guests) ringing out across the marae atea was tino miharo (powerful). Hoani Waititi Marae became a bastion for te reo, with the establishment of one of the first kōhanga reo and te kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland. The marae has hosted the Dameship Inauguration in 2012 for Kahurangi June Mariu and the Knighthood Inauguration in 2015 for Sir Dr Pita Sharples, a well-deserved award for him. Notably, Dame (Kahurangi) June Mariu and Sir Dr Pita Sharples have remained close friends for many years and through their passion for education for their people and the revitalisation of te reo Māori, has emanated this relationship.

2.1 Research Focus

The research focus has made a commitment in the consideration of Māori language initiatives and the strategies to progress these. The research has discussed te reo Māori in its broadest sense, focussing primarily on its survival journey. This thesis has explored specifically *Te Rangatahi* series and its contribution to the retention of the Māori language which has not been included in its historical timeline. The series served a significant purpose from the 1960s through to the 21st century, being the only standard Māori language textbooks during this period. The importance of this rangahau (research) focus is to provide a new frontier of knowledge and contributing factors which pertain to the elements mentioned above, hence providing the foundations for this rangahau. This is an opportunity for Māori from generations like the traditionalists, baby-boomers, generations X and Y and the millennials, to reveal their experiences about the evolvement of their language and the effects of this on their lives.

This thesis is obligated to contribute to new or other bodies of knowledge around language revitalisation which an extensive research of *Te Rangatahi* series accommodates. These textbooks have been explored in depth, exposing the Reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in its sentence structures, the reo o te rohe o Whangāparāoa and the narratives.

A further aspect that is important to this kaupapa, has been rangahau around the reo-a-iwi and funding organisations such as Te Mātāwai me Te Taura Whiri i te Reo who have funded the reo iwi revitalisation initiatives. The kairangahau has an invested interest in the iwi initiatives and has explored the implementation of these within Te Whānau-a-Apanui and its applications for funding, if any. The use of *Te Rangatahi* textbooks within the iwi has been explored as well.

A focus also has been to examine other literature by authors such as Armitage (1995) who has provided the first systematic and comparative treatment of the social policy of assimilation followed by Australia, Canada and Aotearoa; Ahearn (2017), has offered her perspective on linguistic anthropology and language death and revitalisation; and Conwell (2017), with her recent doctorate in Indigenous Development & Advancement which gives a native American perspective on language revitalisation from the Chehalis tribes in Washington, USA.

2.2 Māori Language (te reo Māori) in Aotearoa

Kahurangi June Mariu and Sir Dr Pita Sharples have worked tirelessly for their communities, strongly supporting the many activities conducted at Hoani Waititi Marae, with a specific emphasis on Māori language revitalisation being fluent speakers of Māori.

Contrary to these efforts, the publication called 'No Māori Allowed' by Bartholomew (2020), highlighted segregated practices towards Māori people and their families in Pukekohe during the mid-1920s to the early 1960s and described this area as "the de facto racist capital of New Zealand" (p. 5). This is an event in the history of South Auckland that many

New Zealanders were unaware about the events that happened at Pukekohe and the extent of racial intolerance against Māori across the country during this segregation era (p. 15). It is an account of exploitation of people who were dehumanised, deemed to be expendable, and treated as second-class citizens in their own land (p. 16).

Correspondingly, like the campaign that Apirana Ngata instigated during the 1920s in Indigenous communities to encourage the promotion of te reo Māori use in home and communities, as the Minister for Native Affairs (Ngata, 1929) he initiated, 'The Ngata Inquiry' which addressed the threat from the East Asian 'Yellow Peril' in the House of Representatives (p. 33). Unfortunately, he was unable to recommend an effective solution other than, to increase Māori incomes to enable the reduction for the need to work in the market gardens. Ngata proceeded to say that, he was occupied with an issue regarding "Waikato Māori working for Chinese market gardeners who were forcing them to work long hours for low pay" (p. 33). Apparently according to Bartholomew (2020), this was in fact "a disguised allusion to the Pukekohe Māori field workers who were receiving nine pence per hour, this equated to 0.17 cents per hour in today's New Zealand currency" (p. 33).

This research has argued that colonisation, assimilation, integration, segregation and land confiscation and occupation by the Pakehā (during the New Zealand land wars), were the key ingredients used to ensure loss of Māori land, language, culture and our peoples' dignity. Pakehā in Pukekohe particularly and many other areas around the country, subjected the Indigenous peoples to a segregated system similar to the 'apartheid system' in Africa, the Jim Crow's era in the southern states of the United States of America 'a segregated system' that separated African-America people from white Americans' and Native Americans who were convinced that living in reservations separated from white people, would be beneficial for their people. Housing for coloured African people were called 'shantis,' tin shacks located on the outskirts of the cities, and African-Americans post-civil war times, were forced to live in substandard, dilapidated accommodation.

According to Bartholomew (2020),

“Māori farm workers living in Pukekohe, were forced to live in filthy, disgraceful conditions in run-down shacks and manure sheds near the fields where they laboured, picking vegetables on the outskirts of Pukekohe. The area where Māori were confined to was called, ‘The Reservation,’ being a deliberate strategy to separate the occupants from Pakehā homes” (pp. 55-65).

The following are accounts which Bartholomew from Indigenous people who experienced a system which during the 1920s until as late as the 1960s, extinguished any Māori rights to equal housing, health, social and education services that were bestowed to their Pakehā counterparts. Māori were too busy ensuring that their Whānau had the basic essentials required for ‘quality of life.’ Unfortunately their priorities shifted from keeping their mana intact, maintaining their land, language, and cultural rights, to survival involving what was necessary at the time to achieve this:

During the 1950s, an observer claimed that a local barber business were willing to accept Māori customers. However, due to concerns made by a local patron “they were turned away. He refused to patronise the business if a Māori proceeded him in the same chair.

Jamie Astle, during the same period observed that for a time, not a single hair salon in town would cut a Māori woman’s hair.

A Māori woman recalled that at one point, “they actually had a little notice saying that if you were brown you weren’t allowed to have your hair cut. This was later corroborated by Dr Kura Marie Teira Taylor who recalled that no hairdresser would “cut, shampoo or set a Māori person’s hair.” Moreover, when she was appointed as a school teacher at Pukekohe Māori School and arrived in the area, she had difficulty finding accommodation owing to her Māori heritage, despite her education and position. Consequently, she spent most weekends travelling to Auckland to avoid the predominant “racist attitudes (p. 95).

These accounts have certainly evidenced crucial factors that had a major impact on decisions that our people made to maintain their rights to Māori land, ‘quality of life, education, and a prominent spoken native language, te reo Māori. This is a history that was an implicit reality for Māori living in Pukekohe at the time yet, a shameful and hidden

consequence of colonial exploitation. It was unknown to Māori generations from the late 20th and 21st centuries unless they purchased this book and read about it.

Bartholomew has exposed these events which would have remained concealed would it not have been for this author's bravery to present these narratives by Māori people and their experiences.

Johnston (1998) discussed "the fourth comprehensive filter for further assimilating Māori in relation to the position of the Māori language" (p. 91). Vasil (1988) supported the importance of language and argued that "it plays a significant role in the maintenance of a culture and helps to maintain cultural distinctiveness" (p. 12-13). This becomes integral to particularly Indigenous peoples when upholding their 'taonga tuku iho' or cultural aspirations. Notably, there is a direct connection with Indigenous aspects such as language and culture indicative of most Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Jenkins (1991) claimed how assimilation for Māori began with the learning of 'print literacy,' noting that in teaching Māori how to read:

"Māori would end up believing that to learn print literacy was to be in touch with omnipotent power ... Thus, Māori society was persuaded to believe in the necessity of print literacy. It was God's literacy because it was God's word" (p. 30).

Jenkins (1991), further argued that becoming literate for Māori meant being constituted as a part of European culture; that Māori language, "the life force and expression of its culture, was governed with new rules of literacy, written by Western culture" (p. 30), and found wanting. According to Simon (1997) as cited in Johnston (1998) that, "government policies from mid 1800s, recognised that if the Māori language survived, Māori social organisation would be sustained" (p. 97). Simon also notes that the primary goal of the Native Schools Code of 1880 was assimilation with an emphasis placed on the teaching and learning of English for Māori children. Simon (1997) as cited in Johnston (1998), commented further that "Māori parents were so eager for their children to learn English that in 1870, several

Māori parents took petitions to Parliament calling for an emphasis on English-language teaching in the school” (p. 98).

This thesis has considered collective works of other Māori educationalists and perspectives from Irwin (1994); Graham Smith (1986) and Linda Smith (2012); Jenkins (1991) and Walker (1990). This further established the argument by Johnston (1998) that, “Māori were beginning to develop a resistance to assimilatory tactics especially throughout the education system” (p. 99).

Johnston (1998) commented further that the policy of integration neither affirmed nor denied officially the status of Māori language even though Māori language was recognised as a distinct facet of Māori culture. This meant that although Māori language was not actively discouraged in the classroom (as it was under assimilation) nor was the teaching of Māori language or speaking of it encouraged either. Further to this, Te Whata (2005) mentions the Māori ‘urban shift’ during the 1960s, which coaxed rural families living on seasonal work and the subsistence economy of gardening, hunting, and gathering kaimoana (seafood), to leave their homes in return for employment. Accompanying this shift, pepper-pot state housing involving mixing Māori homes within non-Māori suburbs (ethnically mixed communities) strategically avoided Māori social and speech patterns, encouraged the speaking of English as the dominant language and the rapid loss of the Māori language. In conjunction with Johnson’s (1998) discussion earlier regarding the policy of integration she highlights that, “around the same time, government derived policies which through an official process were changed from assimilation-based policies to policies of integration” (p. 112).

According to the Hunn Report (1960),

“Integration meant to ‘combine (not fuse) Māori and Pākēha foundations to form one nation ‘with two pre-existing cultures’ in which Māori culture remained distinct” (p. 15).

Te Whata (2005) reflects on a key point, the integration agenda advocated a ‘two-way process’ (p. 79). However, it was more about Māori learning about Pākēha culture and language as opposed to Pākēha learning about Māori culture or language.

Benton (1978) conducted research into distinct aspects of Māori language which illustrated that multicultural policies were a reversal of previous colonial policies suppressing Māori language. Māori kaumatua were concerned about the substantial number of young Māori who had little or no engagement with Māori language. Benton’s research also highlighted the decline of Māori language that resulted in ardent demands by Māori for both the recognition and inclusion of Māori language in schooling.

The Taha Māori programmes established by the Department of Education as Graham Smith (1986) discussed, allowed for the inclusion of some Māori language to be spoken in schools. However, many of these programmes were tokenistic; they did little for Māori children but taught Pākēha children a little Māori language and culture. The programmes were a systematic requirement to meet the needs of a bicultural environment only. Pākēha children were being exposed a little to our language and culture while Māori children’s knowledge of te reo Māori was being hindered rather than enhanced. According to Te Whata (2005),

“a remote acknowledgment of Māori language use and maintenance depended heavily on the ‘goodwill’ and ‘tolerance’ of principals, teachers, and or key decision makers from individual European dominated schools” (p. 76).

Māori language revitalisation was seen as an initiative being normalised to acknowledge the past and present initiatives including Te Rangatahi Textbooks, Ruātoki Bilingual School, Te Ataarangi, Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Wharekura. The more recent have been Māori Television, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Māori Wānanga offering te reo Māori classes for Māori learners and other nationalities. These initiatives and their progression have been discussed in the next section of this thesis and are pertinent to the overall connection to the kaupapa that follows each chapter.

2.3 Te Reo Māori Initiatives

During the 1950s, English monolingual based, and focused motives dictated. An example of this was the 'Ākona Te Reo' (Te Whata, 2005) exhibition brochure which described that "a huge emphasis was placed on teaching English, and it was felt that speaking and teaching Māori was an impediment to this" (p. 77). Children at some schools, were punished for speaking Māori, not an uncommon incidence during these times and throughout the early 20th century. Te Whata also discussed the advocacy of the Waitangi Tribunal (1986), Māori language claim stating:

In the 1950s ... Māori was still the everyday language in many rural areas. Yet only a tiny majority of Māori speaking children were able to study their language, even at secondary schools: some, like their parents and grandparents before them could not even speak Māori in the playground (let alone the classroom) without running the risk of being punished for disobeying school rules. It was obvious that the only language that really counted in New Zealand was English ... (p. 18).

In the mid-1950s, the confinement of teaching Māori in Māori district high schools and church boarding schools for Māori including the correspondence schools as highlighted by Benton (1981), was prominent. He added that the language was permitted at any constituent college of the University of New Zealand. At this time also, Bruce Biggs, a sympathetic university lecturer at University of Auckland who had a passion for te reo Māori and saw the discord of our language at the time, introduced Māori language learning to his students and published a textbook called 'Let's Learn Māori' (1969). *Te Rangatahi* textbooks by Waititi preceded Biggs's textbook as one of the first te reo Māori revitalisation initiatives since the era of early attempts to assimilate Māori during the urban shift in the 1940s-1960s. The main purpose for the migration to the cities were key incentives such as employment, money, and pleasure. The 'pepper-pot' state housing followed involving mixing Māori homes within non-Māori suburbs (ethically mixed communities), according to Te Puni Kōkiri (2003) with the prime objective to avoid Māori social and speech patterns

interaction. Instead, a deliberate exposure to the English language was made exclusive in education and media outlets. It was also used in the low skilled, low-wages, manual based labour such as, working in factories, wharves, freezing works and other industrial developments.

A close demise through colonisation or linguistic genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) of the Māori language prompted “a counter-hegemonic strategy for Māori resistance” (p. 79) as stated by Te Whata (2005). Drawing on Linda Smith (1995), “reclaiming language is an act of decolonisation because it sets up powerful tensions between coloniser and the colonised” (p. 84). Te Whata also added that a Māori language resurgence or resurrection movement occurred during the 1960s and 70s. Giving kudos to Benton’s (1979) research as well, it claimed that Māori would be a language without native speakers, which initiated an international campaign to protest oppression of minority group rights.

A revitalisation initiative, to teach the Māori language were the *Te Rangatahi 1 and 2* textbooks published in 1962 and 1964 and written by Hoani Waititi. The uniqueness and simplicity of the sentence structures, the use of ‘te reo a-hapū o Whangāparāoa’ (the dialect of the area of Whangāparāoa) and stories, reflected a typical farming community and Whānau through the experiences of the author.

Māori language revitalisation had a ‘snow-ball effect,’ Māori communities from the grass roots introduced as Te Whata (2005) calls them, “educational forums such as the first bilingual school in Ruātoki in 1977, Te Ātaarangi rākau language classes in 1979, Te Kōhanga Reo in 1982, the first Te Kura Kaupapa Māori in 1985 at Hoani Waititi Marae and Wānanga Māori in 1981” (p. 85).

Many other resistant strategies were initiated. According to Te Whata (2005) in 1972 Hana Jackson collected 30,000 signatures on her petition to the government, requesting a Māori language policy that promoted the availability of the Māori language “as the right to all children who wished to study it” (p. 87) This policy requested te reo Māori be offered and

taught in schools and Ngā Tama Toa advocated to increase Māori language teachers and for the recognition of te reo Māori. As well as this, Te Whata mentioned Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo Māori Incorporated Society who, lodged a claim Wai 11 to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986), again fighting for the recognition and restoration of te reo Māori status.

Correspondingly, Walker (1990) supported this claim and argued that the Crown (governments in 'power') had an obligation to uphold and protect the Māori language as a "taonga, covering the principle that the word 'taonga' refers to both tangible and intangible matters. Language was essential to culture and defined as a treasured possession" (p. 268). Walker identified the Waitangi Tribunal 1986 Report that maintained that it received support from the Commissioner for the Environment, Helen Hughes, grouping the principles under three main themes - Partnership, Rangatiratanga and Active Protection. This was consistent with the active steps requested by the Waitangi Tribunal to be taken by the Crown. This ensured that the Māori people had and retained "the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their language and culture" (p. 268). Walker also argued that this was a contradiction whereby the Crown was in breach of Article Two of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi to uphold and protect Māori language as a taonga. It also changed two of the main themes from Rangatiratanga (sovereignty) to Participation and removed Active from Protection which opposed "the recommendation to give tangata whenua to have an increased share in actual decision-making power at both central and regional levels" (p. 268).

As claimed by Te Whata (2005), "Māori began to exert their Indigenous rights and ensure the tribunal's recommendations were supported by the Crown for recognition of te reo and its application and eradicate linguistic suppression (pp. 87-88). This introduced new language initiatives which included funding, policies, and programmes as responses towards te reo Māori by the Crown. An example of this during the same year of the tribunal's language claim in 1986, was the policy of the 'taha Māori initiative implementation.' Smith

(1991) explained that “this policy aimed to ‘meet Māori needs’ which would embrace Māori content (knowledge, language, and culture) within schooling and education hence developing a tokenistic monocultural curriculum. The Māori language was once again taken for granted and facilitated under this initiative from a Pākēhā lens” (pp. 318-319). Furthermore, Smith contributed by saying “the incorporation of te reo Māori into the entire life of the school, into its curriculum, buildings, grounds, attitudes, organisations, confirming a natural and comfortable part of the schools’ climate for both the students and staff. This would guarantee a stronghold on the Māori language rather than what was a ‘tokenistic gesture’ by the Crown to camouflage an intention for this initiative to fail” (p. 320). Johnston (1998) was adamant that although in the eyes of Pākēha, the role of te reo Māori under multiculturalism identified similarities to that under integration, “the preservation of Māori language resided completely within the initiatives of Māori communities with the philosophy of equal value to all cultures not giving preference to Māori language” (p. 136). An evident ploy in terms of language under multiculturalism, was that the correct English usage for Māori children particularly, remained a priority for the Department of Education with “a focus still to assimilate Māori children through schooling” (p. 136). Further to this, a handbook entitled ‘Language Programmes for Māori Children’ (1972, p. 4) introduced by the Department of Education, was a guide to assist teachers in the development of English language programmes for Māori. Johnston contradicted this book and argued that it was, “still embedded within deficit approaches to addressing Māori educational underachievement” (p. 135) and that Māori children and their social circumstances was the main reason for the way they spoke English at school. Typically, Pākēha systems with their resources were implemented to prioritise English as the lead language. Johnston argued further (1998) stating that, “all cultures were equal and valid, in order to keep Māori language out of schools by basing the belief on allowing Māori language preferential treatment was to disadvantage other ethnic minorities” (p. 135). As a result, the status quo was maintained by simply doing nothing.

Johnston (1998) was passionate about 'Biculturalism' believing that it "in a personal context focuses purely on culture by providing access to Māori culture as a means to reduce children's (and adults') prejudices and discrimination toward matters Māori" (p. 149). The education system drew on this focus "as a means of facilitating education achievement in recognition of Māori in the curriculum thus providing a positive self-image that would lead to greater educational performance" (p. 149). Johnston discussed the development of Taha Māori programmes to achieve this means and remained specific and culture focused. The personal aspect of biculturalism does not recognise the wide structural inequalities that exist for Māori. A bicultural and bilingual approach to the learning of both tikanga and te reo Māori posed limitations on the kiko, ngako (true essence) of āhuatanga Māori (Māori aspects) and being given the opportunity to be totally immersed in the language in its entirety.

Johnston (1998) also argued that "one way that biculturalism has practised by education is through the development of the Taha Māori programmes" (p. 156). In 1984, the *Review of the Core Curriculum for Schools (RCC)* by the Department of Education (DoE) first promoted the notion of Taha Māori programmes. This cited three grounds for granting priority to Taha Māori. The programmes were to be 'infused' in "all aspects of the curriculum and of school life" (p. 157). These aspects of the Māori language and culture became part of the education curriculum. The RCC (DoE), suggested several ways that Taha Māori could be incorporated such as:

"... formal Pōwhiri to the visitors to the school, a Māori contribution to school assemblies, school representation at death observances, the careful and accurate pronunciation of Māori names by students and staff, the use of Māori greetings when appropriate, and the use of Māori designs and art forms in the school environment" (p. 32).

This implementation encouraged Māori life experiences through exposure to local community and Marae and as a way of both utilising and achieving this objective.

“Māori language complemented this and gave a sense of identity, pride, and self-worth” (p. 157), as Johnston (1998) claimed. From experience, this statement truly reflected the learning methods of second language learners in te reo Māori. A bicultural and bilingual approach to the learning of te reo Māori was prominent during the 1990s into the millennium and enticed learners from particularly the baby-boomer, X and Y and the Millennial generations.

According to Simon (1998), in 1981 kōhanga reo (totally immersed language nests) were established and sat outside the state system. This was a reminder to Pākēha and Government alike that Māori did not trust the state education system with their children’s education. Prior to the development of kōhanga reo though, Simon observed that, Māori education had been totally controlled by Pākēha through the state education system, a factor that had resulted in spoken Māori language being prohibited from schools under assimilation. Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust (TKRNT, 1995) was established in 1982 to administer the funding per kōhanga reo allocation. Furthermore, kōhanga reo were funded for set up purposes, the number of tamariki enrolled and eventually for their own tohu, Whakapakari. This was a professional development tool consisting of ten Kete, upskilling Kaiako in Te Reo me ōna Tikanga as a pre-requisite. Further to this, (NZQA, 2003) there was major progress where the TKRNT developed the ‘Whakapakari Tino Rangatiratanga,’ a Level 7 Diploma in Immersion Early Childhood Teacher Training (Pre-Services). This was a three-year course focusing on traditional and contemporary Māori knowledge and pedagogy through the medium of te reo Māori. It covered such aspects as the history of te reo Māori, language acquisition, traditional child rearing practices, health, and wellbeing, teaching and learning pedagogy, assessment, administration, and human relations. The uniqueness of this tohu (qualification), despite being offered on a mainstream (auraki) platform is for, as provided by NZQA’s qualification overview, the strategic purpose of producing graduates who were competent kaiako in kōhanga reo. They worked alongside Whānau in the learning and development of their tamariki (children) and their te reo and tikanga Māori.

Te Whata (2005) discussed other “te reo Māori regeneration initiatives with the inception of the Taha Māori policy in 1986. This fulfilled the Waitangi Tribunal’s recommendations that Māori language be given official status and equal legal status as English. This ensured its recognition in the Māori Language Act 1987” (p. 89). The establishment of the Māori Language Commission or Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori established in 1987, initially named Te Kōmihana mō te Reo proceeded the Māori Language Act. This organisation performed the promotion of Māori language particularly in its use as Te Puni Kōkiri (1999) acknowledged, “a living language and an ordinary means of communication” (p. 8). Extended language guaranteed for Māori the recognition of the rights to speak Māori in legal proceedings, with an interpreter for example. This favourable action was taken with regards to broadcasting (radio and television) in Māori; that Māori-English bilingualism in the public service be fostered; and, that an enquiry to ascertain better ways of ensuring that Māori students could learn at school be undertaken. Moreover, in conjunction with Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, according to Te Puni Kōkiri (2018) in April 2016, parliament sanctioned The Māori Language Act 2016. This act established Te Mātāwai to lead revitalisation of te reo Māori on behalf of Iwi and Māori.

As a prominent regional initiative, in August 2017, Rotorua became the first city in Aotearoa to declare itself as bilingual in te reo Māori and Pākēha (English).

Te Mātāwai (2017), established Maihi Māori, a new Māori language strategy developed by and for iwi, Māori, and Māori language communities/stakeholders. The underlying approach included Whakarauora Reo / language revitalisation planning, an element which placed emphasis on particularly Māori language revitalisation planning that was understood and actively managed by communities. Takiwa Rumaki / language immersion environments was an element which had a broad reach and was focused on creating opportunities for communities and Whānau to engage in Māori language immersion environments.

In October 2019, “a significant achievement occurred for Te Whānau-a-Apanui, securing Te Mātāwai funding of \$30,000 to deliver Te Reo Māori classes ki ngā ākonga pakeke (to

adult learners) at Te Kaha and Whangāparāoa and offered an opportunity to resurrect the Te Rangatahi series” (Ferguson, personal communication, 2019).

Te Mātāuru (2017) was a contestable investment fund that targeted home and community-based Māori language revitalisation initiatives which contributed to revitalising te reo Māori as a nurturing first language. For this thesis, the rangahau has included Iwi affiliations. Te Mātāuru ki Mātaatua (Mātaatua Iwi Cluster Investment Plan) included Te Whānau-ā-Apanui (Te Iwi o tōku māmā) and Te Mātāuru ki Te Arawa (Te Arawa Iwi Cluster Investment Plan) included Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Te Iwi o tōku pāpā).

According to the ‘Te Whānau a Apanui Agreement in Principle to Settle Historical Claims and the Crown’ signed on 28 June 2019 under:

Section 4: Historical Account, Acknowledgement and Apology based on the heading 4.2.11: Socio-economic issues: Education, Te Reo, Health, Housing, and the impact of the welfare state and,

Section 5: Cultural Redress under ‘Whakaaetanga Tiaki Taonga’ heading: 5.35: The parties intend that the Whakaaetanga Tiaki Taonga will facilitate:

5.35.1: the care, management, access, use, development, and revitalisation of Te Whānau-a-Apanui taonga; and

5.35.2: the identification, protection, reservation, and conservation of the historical and cultural heritage of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, giving essence to this obligation.

In support of the commitment by the Iwi, including the thirteen hapū, has been a consistent advocacy to develop and implement educational initiatives in the schools still operating within the Iwi through the ‘Education Relationship Agreement’ where the teaching of te reo Māori was paramount.

Moreover, the story of Apanui Ringamutu metaphorically describes our relationship which enveloped this entire Iwi agreement, promoting the wellbeing of Te Whānau-a-Apanui and quoting the whakatauki ‘haere ki te tōnga o te rā, ki a Kinomoerua’ by the tōhunga of

Hikawera, who was a chief of Ngāti Porou. This assisted Apanui Ringamutu to defeat Hikawera in battle (Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the Crown, 2019).

A further initiative discussed by Te Whata (2005) as part of the government's efforts in 1989, was the Māori Language Factor Funding (MLFF). The Ministry of Education introduced this scheme which allocated funding per-Māori-student (p. 89), and as Te Puni Kōkiri (1999) described to "deliberately further enhance the development of Māori language programmes (i.e., 'to promote the learning of Māori, and, to develop and produce Māori language resources" (p. 10). However, more importantly as Johnston (1998) identified, without the support of non-Māori, Māori remained "marginalised and powerless." She claimed that, to coincide with the 1995 findings of the Māori Affairs Select Committee Inquiry, meaningful Māori language programmes for Māori depended on the 'goodwill' of others (primarily non-Māori). This included sympathetic teachers, principals, communities, and the Board of Trustees. As discussed by Matthews and Olssen (1997), "if there was no commitment towards Māori language programmes, this funding was misspent on resources that were used by the entire school" (p. 103), just because Māori were using them. These included unsuitable textbooks for different age groups, unsupportive Staff and the Board of Trustees for Māori language programmes, basic language programmes, funding of cultural activities such as Marae or Kapa Haka excursions, Māori Staff or Teachers who were unaware of the funding, and no programmes were implemented due to the lack of qualified teachers.

Despite this, the revitalisation of te reo Māori had gained impetus due to courageous, passionate Māori educationalists and academics who saw an opportunity to progress preceding efforts of initiatives being given recognition i.e., Te Kōhanga Reo, the first Kura Kaupapa Māori was established at Hoani Waititi Marae. However, according to Te Whata (2005), a typical move by the government was to "limit the ability for establishment of new Kura Kaupapa Māori to only five per year, restricting further Māori orientated educational forums enhancing Māori language" (p. 90).

These developments have been explored further in the next section of this thesis which have examined strategies that would ensure Māori language retention and implementation.

2.4 Successful Te Reo Māori Strategies

In reviewing the development of strategies for language revitalisation, this rangahau investigated three successful Te Reo Māori strategies that made a significant impact on the momentum of their progression and achievement throughout the years.

2.4.1 Te Rangatahi Series 1962-1964

The first of these strategies was the Te Rangatahi I and II textbooks. According to Hunter (1962), “the Department of Education recognised the need for modern Māori instruction. The Māori Language Advisory Committee was set up in 1959 to address the kaupapa (issue) associated with the teaching of the language and to make recommendations” (p. 1). One of these recommendations was that Mr John Waititi, an experienced teacher of Māori be employed to write these texts. The Department of Education approved this recommendation and government funding was made available to begin the writing of these textbooks. The first textbook in the ‘Te Rangatahi’ series was used in Form III (now known as Year 9) proceeded by Te Rangatahi II and III which were used to cover work in Forms IV, V and VI (Years 10, 11 and 12). The initial purpose of the series was to significantly improve standards of Māori teaching in secondary schools based on successful classroom practices. Many confident and competent Māori teachers were employed by secondary schools willing and interested to offer Māori Studies as a subject. Richards (2016) supported the kaupapa of this rangahau by claiming that, “the decline of the Māori language, the decline of intergenerational transmission of knowledge, urbanisation and their chosen roles as educators gave impetus for Waititi and Ruka Paora to write in Māori and focus on topics of tribal knowledge and history (tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui). An important connection developed between Waititi as the author of ‘The Story of the Moki’

(Reed, 1963) and Paora as the author of 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' (Paora, Te Wharekura 18, 1971). Hata was the main father character and a prominent tīpuna (ancestor) associated with moki fishing. Richards (2016, p. 146) elaborated and described these two publications as 'ways to promote distinctive 'tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.' During the 1970s, Te Rangatahi series and Te Wharekura 18 journals complemented each other in the School Curriculum to encourage whakamāoritia (translating into Māori) and whakapākēhatia (translating into Pākēha) translations by students. From memory, this learning was significant as this section of the mid and end of year examinations was worth 20%.

Interestingly, from 'Maui and Me: A Search for a Fisherman's El Dorado' (Sutherland, 1963), explores contributions made by, as Richards (2016) refers, Manihera Waititi II and his wife Dorothy (kairangahau's grandparents). "Manihera II was a scholar, a farmer and an expert moki fisherman, a further whakahonohono (connection) to her grandmother's writings about moki fishing. Roka Paora drew on life experiences and teachings from kaumātua like Manihera II and Dorothy Waititi as beacons of mātauranga (knowledge) and tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki, one of delicacies of the different hapū of this Iwi (tribal area) especially Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia" (p. 165). Manihera Waititi II was Hoani Retimana Waititi's older brother and the mātauranga that he passed down to his younger sibling is what Waititi drew on while writing the Te Rangatahi series. In particular, the chapters which referred to his experiences about farming, fishing, tangihanga, pōwhiri ki ngā manuhiri. Waititi and Paora had things in common, they were both Māori language teachers which made them passionate educators and advocates for their people and there were similarities in their academic writing as authors. They drew on mātauranga, pūrakau, tikanga Māori, taiao and everyday experiences and way of life of their communities. As their publications complemented each other, so did they with the familiarities and commonalities of their writings. Richards (2016) supported the argument that Waititi "and his contributions to Māori language revitalisation and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui were important to Paora and her development as a Māori language teacher, a writer and a tribal scholar" (pp. 185-

187). Waititi and Paora were raised speaking their native language in rural Māori communities and both were educated at Māori boarding schools with the intention of moving on to tertiary education and finding suitable employment. Interestingly, Richards acknowledges Waititi for piloting Te Rangatahi I and II at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in 1961-62 and recalls her Mum being a student and part of this pilot.

According to a personal account by Pook (2018), she was also a student at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls located in Parnell, Auckland. During the 1950s and 1960s (NZ History, 2015), Waititi developed important new techniques for teaching te reo Māori which the Te Rangatahi series were based on. They became the standard textbooks used for four decades. Te Rangatahi series were piloted by Waititi at secondary schools who during this time had a favourable population of te reo Māori speakers who had proficient understanding and knowledge of the language before they were offered to mainstream schools. One of these was Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls and the other, Hato Tipene (St. Stephens School for Boys) in Bombay, Auckland. These two schools were the first schools to be exposed to these textbooks since Waititi was the Māori language teacher at both. As stated by Ballara and Mariu (2000), Waititi also taught at Auckland Girls' Grammar.

2.4.2 Ruātoki Bilingual School (Te Wharekura o Ruātoki) 1978

Within iwi, hapū and Māori communities, Te Whata (2005) claimed that “there was language loyalty where the language shift from Māori to English was aggressively contested” (p. 85). Noting Benton's (1997) research which focussed on the Whakatāne rohe (area), te takiwā o Mātaatua (the region of Mātaatua). A prominent rohe of Ngāi Tūhoe where language loyalty and maintenance were strongly practised was Ruātoki. As Benton (1997) highlighted:

“The changes in the Whakatane country had probably slowed considerably by the presence of the linguistically conservative Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa Iwi ... [where the people] were among the last to move towards English as the everyday means of communication among themselves” (p. 20).

An interesting development regarding 'national bilingual trends' as described by the *Bay Weekend* (2002, p. 27) saw ongoing support for Māori language within the Whakatāne rohe. This was recorded in the 2001 Census and found that 'Whakatāne topped national bilingual trends' with 18% of the total population speaking Māori as a second language, including 40% of the Māori population. Te Whata (2005) argued that "In the process of Māori resistance, education for liberation was fundamental. With Māori rejecting the dominance of mainstream educational frameworks, this resulted in Māori establishing Māori orientated schooling environments enhancing Māori pedagogies in te reo Māori, as well as utilising non-Māori knowledge as a necessary co-requisite for advancement" (pp. 85-86).

During an interview on 'Waka Huia TVNZ' (Williams & Williams, 2019) with Whāea Molly Turnbull, she began her teaching career at Taneatua in 1969 where she met her husband, Matua Don Turnbull. His job was to bring the English language to rural schools. At the time her father died, she thought about their homestead in Tauarau and their Whānau didn't have anyone living in it for a long time. Molly and Don returned to Tauarua in 1974 to live in their homestead, her first home. However, there was no employment for her until a job vacancy became available at Ruātoki and so she applied. Her application was successful, and they already had a house. While teaching at Ruātoki, there was discussion around whether Ruātoki Valley and the people of Tūhoe wanted their school to become bilingual. Molly was quick to agree. However, the whole valley had to have their say. There were quite a few people who disagreed and said that they did not need the school. There were still enough Māori language speakers here. According to Molly, "Yes, people were speaking Māori, the kids were speaking Māori, but it would be better to broaden their knowledge and teach them things that related to the world" through personal communication. It was decided that Ruātoki would become a 'kura reo rua (bilingual school) in 1978. This decision made all those at Ruātoki School happy.

An interview with Matua Tāwhirimatea Williams by Te Ahi Kaa (Williams, 2017) told of his teaching career as a Māori educator for a duration of fifty years. Williams developed a passion for te reo Māori so, when an opportunity arose to apply for a job as a School Principal advertised in *The Gazette*, “he jumped at the chance.” The school was Te Kura o Ruātoki, and this gave him an opening to learn the Māori language. Whāea Kaa Williams, his wife was the native speaker who, according to Williams he tried to learn from but, to no avail because as he says, “I didn’t listen very well.” To Williams, working at Te Kura o Ruātoki ensured he would learn te reo Māori and learn it well from the tohunga (experts) from that rohe. He began his tenure as the principal in 1977. However, to attain the confidence of the Tūhoe people, he was asked to attend a meeting called by the local tribal committee, Te Kōmiti o Runa. His wife, Whāea Kaa taught him a whaikōrero (a formal speech) to respect ‘te kawa o te Iwi o Ngāi Tūhoe (the protocols of the tribe of Ngāi Tūhoe). Williams recalls a kaumatua advised him to be mindful of the traditional knowledge of Tūhoe and as the new School Principal, ‘he held the mana (prestige) of the Iwi in his hands:

I tāku taenga ki reira, pango katoa āku makawe, I te putanga mai o te whārua kua pēnei ke te āhua.”

“Upon my arrival there, I had dark hair, when I left my hair was like this, grey.

Williams described his appearance at the time, joking to think that a learnt whaikōrero would be enough in front of Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata (Prestigious people of the Land). As Turnbull (Te Waka Huia, 2019) recalled, the people of Ruātoki Valley discussed the idea of establishing the first bilingual school in the country and with ‘minimal Māori language,’ Williams took the ‘bull by the horns’ and supported this iwi initiative. Several local kaumatua (elders) mentored Williams in his role as principal and as he said,

In the fullness of time, it became my determination to become a fluent speaker of Māori and Tūhoe enabled me to do that. I took on their language, I have a whakapapa that puts me right in Ruātoki” (Williams, 2017).

By 1978, William's fluency had improved, and he did fulfil his intentions to learn and speak te reo Māori well. With the assistance of the people from Ruātoki, Ngāi Tūhoe and passionate teachers like Turnbull, Te Wharekura o Ruātoki was established. Williams by now, had become a well-versed Māori speaker and during an interview by TVNZ with Tāwhirimatea Williams (1978), explained that "the office in Wellington confirmed their decision that young children must be taught in the Māori language for four years, two years during preschool and two years for five- to six-year-olds." Jacques (1991, p.68), confirmed this and states that, "the school's establishment was due to increasing reassurance exerted by Māori communities (with the support of some Pākēhā institutions) for more Māori language in schools." However, she highlighted that since that time, there had been a steady growth of Māori children in official bilingual schools. However, Benton's (1979, pp. 1-2) and Jacques's (1991) accounts claimed that, despite the official establishment of these schools and the control over them, they remained firmly in the grasp of Pākēhā.

Turnbull (Te Waka Huia, 2019) recalled some of the people asking where the school would get the Māori language books and resources from. Don Turnbull, Molly's husband, helped with this and established some of the Māori publications. As a result of Turnbull's suggestion for everyone to mahitahi (work together) and produce their own books, an amazing development occurred where the community came together to produce their own stories for the children to read. Molly's own grandchildren have returned to attend Te Wharekura o Ruātoki. Molly was well known in Ruātoki for her contribution to education for (40) years and for being pro-active in the establishment of Te Wharekura o Ruātoki as the first bilingual school in Aotearoa.

Matua Tāwhirimatea and Whāea Kaa Williams, from their teaching experiences at Te Wharekura o Ruātoki, were influential initiators in the establishment of Te Wānanga Takiura o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa. According to Whāea Kaa Williams (2019), "this was the only tertiary provider that taught exclusively in the Māori language i ngā wā katoa (all the time)." She believed that although teachers of te reo Māori say they teach 81% or

82% of the time, to her they should have been aiming for 100%. Whāea Kaa argued that “that is the be-all, end all for the revitalisation of the Māori language.” Due to very few Māori teachers being ‘matatau i te reo Māori’ (fluent in the Māori language), Te Wānanga Takiura was established in 1991 to ensure that potential and current te reo Māori teachers were equipped with or upskilled to either Rumaki Reo, Diploma in Teaching Kura Kaupapa Māori or Bachelor of Teaching Kura Kaupapa Māori.

It is through the determination and courageous passion of Molly and Don Turnbull, Matua Tāwhirimatea and Whāea Kaa Williams and the community of Ruātoki Valley that Te Wharekura o Ruātoki has continued to thrive and produced some confident and competent generations. The people strived to uphold the learning and speaking of te reo Māori in their everyday conversations at home and in and around their communities. It is this that has made Te Wharekura o Ruātoki another successful te reo Māori strategy. The establishment of Te Wānanga Takiura o Ngā Kura Kaupapa o Aotearoa has been a prominent contribution of the Williams to the revitalisation initiatives of te reo Māori and their success.

2.4.3 Te Kōhanga Reo 1982-present

A further successful te reo Māori strategy was the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nests). Te Whata (2005) maintained that Te Kōhanga Reo was one movement that as Smith (1997) claimed, was exposed onto the national and international arena with such rapidity, it caused revolutionary Indigenous language revitalisation strategies with the education sector and provided exemplars of more desirable methods of learning one’s native language.

Johnston’s (1998, p. 144) “third response by Māori to multiculturalism and a major development in terms of addressing the decline of Māori language was the development of Te Kōhanga Reo.” She explained that Te Kōhanga Reo became a direct response to the shortfalls of the education system to meet the needs of Māori children and was developed outside the ‘kura auraki’ (mainstream school) framework which gave Māori full control to enforce a ‘total immersed te reo Māori’ environment to ensure the only language being

heard and spoken was te reo Māori. Parents were encouraged to increase their mātauranga (knowledge) and kōrero (speaking) o te reo Māori (of the Māori language) to converse with their children and the kaiako me ngā kaimahi o ta rātou kōhanga reo.

The resourcing of teaching positions as outlined in the Government Response to the Four Interim Reports of the Māori Affairs Committee Inquiry into Māori Education (1996, p. 6) that there was only one funding pool for schools. This pool, according to Johnston (1998, p. 285) provided for additional funding to “allow for growth in immersion Māori language programmes.” Furthermore, the Māori Affairs Select Committee discussed the likelihood of a separate Māori Education Authority in the hope of bridging the gaps that were beginning to form. For example, this funding pool included “the disbandment of Kaiarahi Reo and bilingual teaching positions.” According to Johnston (1998, p. 285), “in effect, one Māori funding source being robbed to fund another.” From the Second Interim Report of the Māori Affairs Select Committee (1995, p. 5), they commented that,

The call for the creation of a national organisation to advance the education of Māori is not new. The participants at numerous hui around New Zealand acknowledged that the present system had failed Māori and that a Māori determined education system was necessary for the socio economic and cultural advancement of Māori.

The Committee also alerted to the lack of monitoring and coordination for Māori education amongst mainstream agencies, a situation that would be addressed with the development of a separate authority. The report also outlined, according to Johnston (1998, p. 287), the possible foundations for an authority including the development of the Māori Education Foundation and Iwi, Hapū or Whānau regionally based organisations. Consequently, the committee made five recommendations to Government:

1. That Te Puni Kōkiri, in consultation with the Ministry of Education and other groups coordinate an investigation, with widespread consultation from the Māori community into the benefits of developing a Māori education authority.
2. That this investigation determines what type of relationship Tangata Whenua (in the broadest sense of this phase) would consider most functional with a Māori education authority.
3. That the investigation determines the feasibility of expanding the Māori Education Trust into an organisation that could undertake the role and responsibility of a Māori education authority.

4. That this investigation determines what factors contribute to a successfully operated Māori education authority and what would be needed to expand these organisations and,
5. That the proposed investigation defines the specific areas that need to be monitored that impact on Māori education (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1995, p. 8).

The third Interim Report of the Māori Affairs Select Committee, according to Johnston (1998, p. 287), was on Te Kōhanga Reo. The report summarised the historical development of Te Kōhanga Reo and outlined the problems that faced the organisation. The recommendations that this report presented were:

1. That Te Puni Kōkiri in consultation with the Ministry of Education and other groups, coordinate an immediate review of the criteria and policy for the allocation of resources to kōhanga reo and that such a review clearly identifies areas of priority requiring resources.
2. That institutions be encouraged to develop appropriate teacher training programmes over and above existing programmes that contribute towards the outcomes for kōhanga reo.
That review of current teacher training initiatives be undertaken ... to identify the adequacy of these initiatives and to recommend the future development and direction of such initiatives.
3. The establishment of a suitable monitoring process in consultation with the national trust and local kōhanga reo.
4. That initiatives be established to provide parents with the necessary skills to maintain and nurture te reo and.
5. That the future administration of kōhanga reo should be dependent on whatever the needs of local kōhanga community and how the local kōhanga reo identify them to be appropriately dressed (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1995, p. 11).

Regarding this response, any changes to funding allocation for Te Kōhanga Reo, in accordance with the Government Response to the Four Interim Reports of the Māori Affairs Committee Inquiry into Māori Education (1996), included “any review of the policies, criteria and priorities of the Trust in allocating resources became a matter for the Trust to resolve in conjunction with the kōhanga reo Whānau” (p. 13). Furthermore, the response did state that, in conjunction with Te Kōhanga Reo Trust, the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri would explore the possibility of utilising existing teacher trainee programmes offered by tertiary institutions to boost teachers for graduates from Te Kōhanga Reo.

The development of Te Kōhanga Reo was in fact strategic in terms of challenging the government for not meeting the needs of Māori children. Unlike the kura auraki, mainstream education system, Te Kōhanga Reo not only addressed the decline in te reo Māori, but it

recognised according to Johnston (1998), "the validation of Māori experiences, language, culture, and autonomy as a given" (p. 300).

Conwell (2017) offered her perspective on the Indigenous efforts of Māori in Aotearoa and describes Te Kōhanga Reo as, "*the most prominent strategy to language revitalisation*" (p. 103). Interestingly, Conwell agreed that the subsequent development of *kōhanga reo* and Māori language immersion centres for preschool learners, incorporated four principal doctrines. The first is the use of Māori language as the exclusive language in use, both conversationally and educationally, in the preschool environment. Furthermore, Conwell believed that Te Kōhanga Reo was established due to its holistic learning method involving the Whānau (family), the community and the school, in a culturally sensitive and supportive language immersion process. From experience, our kaumatua / kuia (elders) strategised to eradicate the decline of their language and ensured according to K. Cherrington (1997 as cited in Conwell, 2017) that "mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) remained intact in a government system instituted on assimilation policies" (p. 103). This was exactly what was reflected through Te Kōhanga Reo where the learning and teaching were based on the principles in 'Te Korowai (1995) and Te Whāriki (1996),' its founding documents. S. Cherrington (2018 as cited in Conwell, 2017) conferred that "the second doctrine contributed to the success of Te Kōhanga Reo was Whānau decision making, management, and responsibility" (p. 104). This meant that the Whānau were able to make decisions regarding their *kōhanga reo* operations. The establishment however, as a commitment of each Whānau with tamariki (children), implemented a 'kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa i roto i ia kōhanga reo (to speak Māori all the time at each language nest). Conwell explained that "the third doctrine related to accountability, both culturally and administratively" (p. 104). It suggested that the importance of principles and values of the Māori concept *tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty)*, was reflected through the daily practices at *Te Kōhanga Reo*. This included, "all conversation and instruction were in te reo Māori." Tribal values were revealed through ceremony, such as "ia rā, each day began and ended

with *karakia* (prayer), tamariki recited their *Whakapapa* (whānau genealogy) reinforcing a child's identity and grounding them in their home and Iwi (tribal) life.”

The final doctrine, according to Conwell (p. 104), was to ensure the health and well-being of the children while they attended their kōhanga reo as Kāretu (2002, p. 27) suggested. Māori teachings identified the children as natural carriers of tīkanga Māori (Māori knowledge; aspects), who were responsible for ensuring these beliefs and understandings were carried into the future. Tamariki were the key stakeholders and knowledge keepers ‘o ia iwi’ (of each tribe) so, it was essential to care for and nurture them.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and the establishment of the first Kōhanga Reo at Pukeatua, Wainuiomata in 1982 was supported by the Department of Māori Affairs (now known as Māori Development, Te Puni Kōkiri). It has made many, many inroads since 1981. Its response to a Māori concern included the survival and revival of te reo Māori and totally immersed te kōhanga reo mokopuna, and Whānau in the principles of Māori child rearing practices. This all occurred through the medium of te reo Māori me ōna tīkanga and targeted the participation of mokopuna and Whānau to develop and upskill them.

Te Kōhanga Reo through its performance and process compliance has ensured its success. This strategy has produced Whānau generations of very confident and competent te reo Māori speakers. This was evident through Māori Television especially on ‘Te Ao News’ (Te Kaea) where many young people have been interviewed and responded with an excellent command of our ‘reo rangatira’ (chiefly language). Tamariki under 10 have been hosting their own programmes in te reo Māori.

Te Kōhanga Reo model has not only been acknowledged regionally and nationally but has also been recognised in the international arena amongst some of ‘ngā Iwi Taketake o te Ao,’ (the Indigenous peoples of the world). This te reo Māori strategy has been adopted to encourage language revitalisation for their people which has been discussed in the next section. Global language revitalisation has been an enduring Indigenous issue internationally at the United Nations in New York annually. This was due to Indigenous

peoples' passion and courageous fortitude to revive their native languages as Māori have successfully done in Aotearoa. This thesis has researched global language revitalisation for the Chehalis, Hawaiian, and Saami peoples and has offered several perspectives on their language revitalisation strategies to cease the rapid decline of their endemic languages.

2.5 Global Language Revitalisation

2.5.1 Chehalis Tribe Language Revitalisation

Conwell (2017) completed extensive research about the Chehalis language revitalisation consequently due to the loss of a significant number of fluent speakers from Native American tribes. Conwell (2017, p. 13) belongs to the Chehalis tribe and has seen the decline of the Chehalis language. This has initiated the development of language retention plans by the Chehalis tribe to capture the remaining linguistic knowledge and cultural information before the languages and dialects become extinct. As with the Māori language, the decline of the Chehalis language and rapid language shift to learn and speak English, was the catalyst for the Chehalis people to implement and focus on native language revitalisation initiatives.

According to Figure 1 in Conwell (2017, p. 14): Geographical Map of Chehalis, the Chehalis Tribe consisted of “several bands of Salishan Indians who resided and travelled on the Chehalis River.” These “bands of Salish-speaking Indians lived along this river and its tributary streams and creeks.” The Chehalis occupation of these tribal lands allowed the Chehalis language and culture to thrive uninterrupted.

A common dominator that most 'Iwi Taketake o te Ao' (Indigenous peoples of the world) experienced was language loss. In this case, Native American Indian tribes like the Chehalis's loss of language was due to colonial influences. This included exposure to non-Indian lifestyles, boarding school experiences, loss of cultural support and Chehalis Tribe's

remarkably low membership enrolment over the past 100 years. This had a significant impact on the reduction of possible language learners among the remaining tribal members. According to Conwell (2017, p. 15), although personal accounts of the boarding school's era did not have a direct impact on the Chehalis Tribe generally, due to the low enrolment numbers by the Chehalis membership, the loss of the Chehalis language was still affected.

An interesting and important aspect as highlighted by Conwell, is the implementation by the federal government of oppressive policies from 1880-1920, identifying the 'Boarding School Era' where, "children were forcibly removed from their familial homes and placed in boarding schools located far from their reservations" (p. 15). During their schooling, children were forbidden to speak their language, perform their dances, practice their native religions, and even see their families (p. 16).

Language loss for the Chehalis people occurred because of a "tribal shift from cultural accomplishments such as basketry and regalia-making, to non-tribal religions and practices." Conwell highlighted a commonality with most Indigenous peoples around the world resulting in "the loss of their cultural support and language due to the increase in technological communications presented in email, online activity, television, music and video games" (p. 16).

Conwell's (2017, p. 20) primary intent for her research was to "identify the best practices for Indigenous language revitalisation," which were drawn from "the struggles of Indigenous peoples globally, to retrieve, retain, and be able to speak their own languages" which informed "a Chehalis language teaching model to transform the Chehalis community into a community of Chehalis language speakers."

According to Armitage (p. 156) "From 1871 on, the use of English was compulsory as the language of instruction;" and, according to Walker (1990: p.147):

In 1905 the Inspector of Native Schools instructed teachers to encourage children to speak only English in school playgrounds. This instruction was translated into a

general prohibition of the Māori language within school precincts. For the next five decades, the prohibition was in some instances, enforced by corporal punishment.

Correspondingly, Walker (p.147) also highlighted that:

Schooling demanded cultural surrender, or at the very least suppression of one's language and identity. Instead of education of being embraced as a process of growth and development, it became an arena of cultural conflict.

Armitage (1995, pp. 42-43), focused on the "early contact from 1788-1883 in New South Wales, where there were several attempts to intervene in the lives of Aboriginal families and children, but they were not enforced by law." For Aborigine families to leave their children in school, missions and early government institutions provided incentives. These were in the form of food supplies, blankets, and other European goods. Furthermore, these early efforts at 'civilising' the children were failures and largely attributed to the stubbornness and inferiority of the Aboriginal peoples, "who did not seem to appreciate the advantages being offered to them." The decision was made to establish more thorough and formal control over the lives of Aboriginals so, the Aborigines Protection Board was established from 1883-1940. This was a deliberate systematic ploy to train, educate, and employ Aboriginal children.

A similar strategy to the Native American people was implemented where Aboriginal people lived on reserves and their children were trained to prepare them for farm labour if you were a boy and domestic service if a girl. Aboriginal families showed a strong resistance to the enticement of sending their children to school and placing their youth in employment. According to Armitage (1995, p. 43), Rowley (1970) argued that the intention of these policies was "to break the sequence of Indigenous socialization so as to capture the adherence of the young, and to cast scorn on the sacred life and the ceremonies which remained as the only hold on the continuity with the past." The Aborigines Welfare Board was the next policy that the government committed to from 1940-69. Armitage provided Table 3.1 sourced from Read's (1982, p. 11) Occasional Paper No. 1, which was based on

and indicated the inclusiveness of the Aboriginal child assimilation system. The board's first annual report provided data that showed Aboriginal children being placed in certain situations which had corresponding characteristics:

New South Wales Aboriginal children and the welfare board, 1940

Situation	Characteristics	No. of Children
Board's home	Fully institutionalized, removed from families	107
Apprenticeship	Fully removed from families, living with Europeans as servants	50
Stations	Highly institutionalized, sleeping in dormitories, controlled contact with families	1,771
Reserves, camps	Living with families, subject to administrative controls by police	885
Nomadic	Free of European influence	176
Other	Unknown, but some children in institutional care by missions and other agencies.	1,745
Total		4,734

**Table 2: Occasional Paper No. 1
Read (1982, p. 11)**

Clearly, the Aboriginal peoples, indigenous to Australia were highly subjected to the worst form of 'assimilation' imagined. However, the Chehalis peoples of America, and the Māori peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand have all suffered under similar government policies. The main intent of these policies was to impact heavily on endemic languages, culture, and religious beliefs through a 'divide and conquer' strategy which hid behind the implementation of damning legislation.

Conwell (2017) reflected on a "new Chehalis language model called Tu'pa? (Section 5.2: p. 165 – Figure 3) for future use with the Chehalis and included necessary elements to inform a new strategy for a language revitalisation program" (p. 155).

Tu'pa? is a spider that signified the industrious nature of Conwell's proposed language model. The spider represented the practice of language learning (symbolized by the eight legs), practices that were integral to the Chehalis language model development as the Chehalis basket which Conwell described as her 'methodology.' The model is her philosophy to language learning. Like the basket (held the knowledge, history, and experiences of Chehalis), the Chehalis language revitalisation model (Tu'pa?) needed to include those facades. This acknowledged Conwell's prior work undertaken (to enrich the community designs inherent to the Chehalis language) and the development to include others.

Conwell (pp. 158-164) highlighted seven prerequisites that directly informed language revitalisation. These were:

- a) Tradition
- b) Identity
- c) Tribal History
- d) Incorporation of Indigenous Methodology
- e) The Role of the Family
- f) The Removal of the Colonial Perspective; and
- g) The Role of Education.

These prerequisites formed the foundation to prepare the environment for learning. Their incorporation evolved the Chehalis language into the daily life of the community.

The *Tu'pa?* model for language revitalisation as Conwell (2017, p.165) recommended, was an "Indigenous model which incorporated eight indispensable principles to initiate the revitalisation of the Chehalis language" as seen in Figure 1:

Figure 3: Tu`pa? Model for Chehalis Language Revitalization

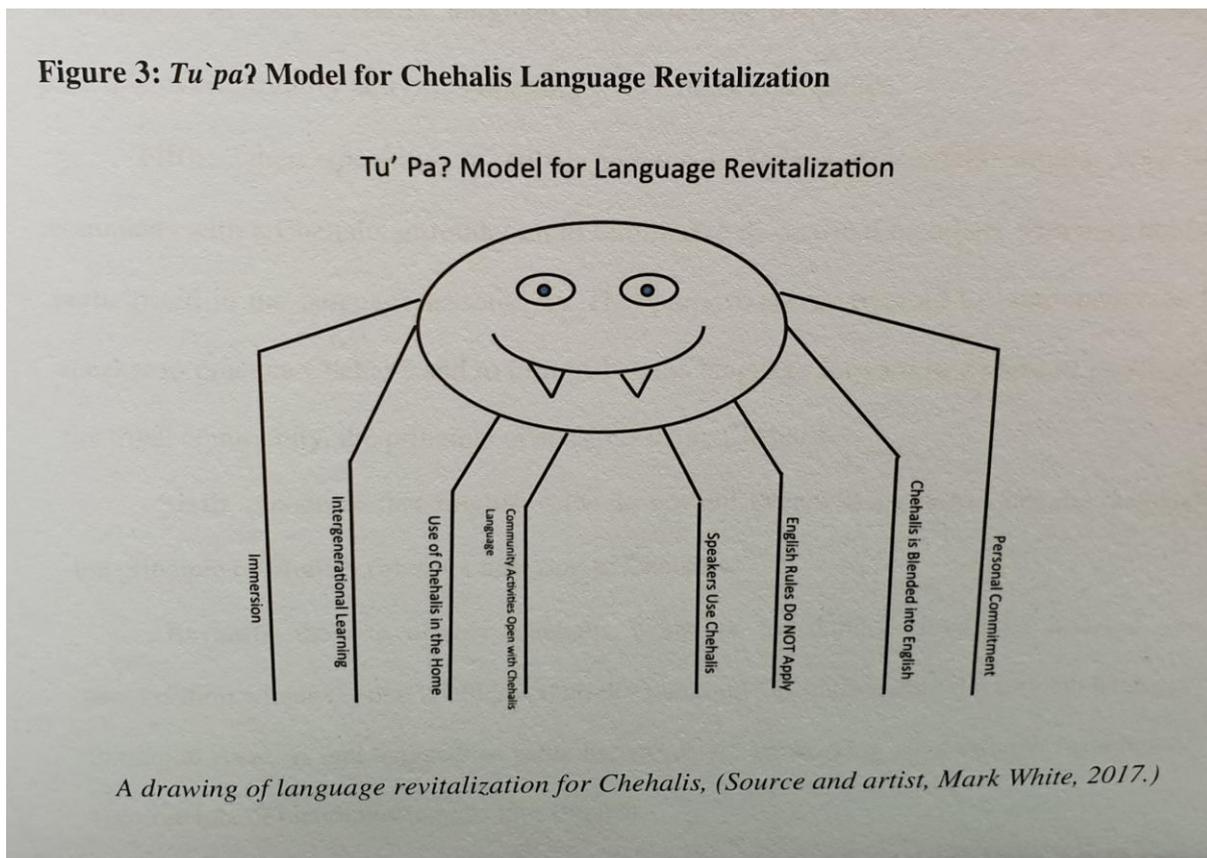


Figure 1: Tu`pa? Model for Chehalis Language Revitalisation (Conwell, 2017: p. 165)

The establishment of these principles for the Chehalis language was a courageous and complementary development of the prerequisites for successful language programs which Conwell referred to earlier in this thesis.

2.5.2 Hawaiian Language Revitalisation

Punana Leo Movement

The Indigenous peoples of Hawai'i in 1984, in acknowledgement of the Māori language revitalisation movement, were inspired to develop their own language revitalisation effort. The *Punana Leo* Movement was based on the Kōhanga Reo Māori language nests and was an initiative from the inspiration based on Aha Punana Leo's, (2010) "dream that the mana of a living Hawaiian language be re-established throughout Hawai'i from the depth of our origins" there as cited in Conwell (2017, p. 106).

The main purpose of *Punana Leo* was to establish, provide for and nurture Hawaiian language environments. This was an opportunity for the Indigenous people to recover their strength in their spirituality, love of their language, love of their people, love of their land, and love of knowledge (Aha Punana Leo, 2010). According to Conwell (2017), “an immersion methodology was the ‘best fit’ for the Hawaiian language. It would be implemented in preschool to college immersion programmes, introducing English into the classroom at fifth grade despite the use of English by students to and from school” (p. 106). The main instruction for learning mathematics and other academic subjects and the use of computers would be in the Hawaiian language.

Proudly, the Hawaiian model of language revitalisation reflected the Māori language total immersion practices. It confirmed that the Hawaiian language would interconnect with the educational experiences of the students, while still acknowledging that English would still have a role to play alongside the Hawaiian language.

By 1987, a ban on speaking the Hawaiian language in educational institutions established in 1896, was rescinded and immersion programmes were legalised and permitted at both public and private schools (McCarty, 2003, pp. 7, 32).

The development of *Punana Leo* encouraged a further language initiative, *Papa Hana Kaiapuni*, a language immersion programme which was introduced to schools the same year by the Hawai'i State Department of Education (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Wilson, 1998). Hawaiian language activists developed a private Hawaiian language preschool through the inspiration of Māori community-organised *kōhanga reo* established in Aotearoa. Similarly, to the direction of te reo Māori revitalisation Hawaiian language activists also identified an urgent need to retain their language at ‘a grassroots level.’ As most Indigenous language initiatives, the Hawaiian programme was intended to incorporate traditional cultural practices within the classrooms and establish the use of the native language as the medium of instruction.

According to Conwell (2017), the *Papa Hana Kaiapuni* “advocated a holistic approach in which the Hawaiian language was incorporated into both the classroom and home with the

learning process. This followed the format which reverses the roles of child and parent, resulting in children as teachers and adults as learners” (p. 107). This strategy mirrored Māori language initiatives where older generations (Traditionalists; Baby-Boomers) became the learners and the younger generations (X and Y Gens; Millennials) were the teachers of the language.

Luning and Yamauchi (2010) supported that this “intergenerational approach enabled Hawaiian language learners to absorb generational, contemporary, and traditional differences in language, with the elders influencing the young and vice versa” (p. 55). Kawakami and Dudoit (2000) described “The Kaiapuni curriculum which integrated traditional Hawaiian culture into the curriculum, recognised that speaking the language was only one aspect of the learning process. The social, historical, and culture teachings were also included in the classroom environment” (p. 49). “*Papa Hana Kaiapuni* schools typically provided one hour of instruction in English starting in the fifth grade” (2000, p. 47). In addition, Slaughter (1997) claimed that “to fully benefit from the programme, Kaiapuni schools preferred students to start in kindergarten, if possible, which enabled students to embrace the learning experience” (p. 48).

As provided by Conwell (1995, p. 108), “a full Hawaiian immersion school, *Nawahiokalani’opu’u* (Nawahi) Laboratory School was a K-12 school which also followed the language nest approach closely resembling the Aotearoa New Zealand methodology.” This school was affiliated with the University of Hawai’i-Hilo’s College of Hawaiian Language programme and offered a “*college preparatory curriculum, teaching all subjects through Hawaiian language and values. Students also learned English and a third language such as Japanese ... the goal was for learners to achieve Hawaiian dominance alongside high levels of English fluency and literacy*” (Wilson and Kamana, 2001, 2006, p. 181). Further to Conwell’s description, “the method employed at this school was known as an additive language learning approach which emphasised adding rather than subtracting a second language from students’ communicative repertoires, within a larger, culturally based system of support” (2017, p.109). According to Wilson and Kawai’ae’a (2007, cited in

McCarty, 2013), “the Hawaiian people referred to this as *honua*, or the places, circumstances, and structures where use of Hawaiian was dominant and the Hawaiian *mauli*, culture or life force, was supported and maintained” (p. 135).

Conwell (2017) credited “the success of ‘Aha Punana Leo to the administrators’ refusal to adhere to the rigidity and beliefs of the state. They insisted Hawaiian was an oral language and therefore not valid as a reading and writing curriculum” (p. 109). As a response to this statement, “Aha Punana Leo instructors developed a curriculum which did not incorporate the teaching of English until students reached the fifth grade and testing in English was not introduced or conducted until the sixth grade” (Wilson & Kamana, 2001, p. 372). Instructors taught their Indigenous language from a Hawaiian perspective and incorporated Indigenous aspects like the environment, the culture, and the essence (*kiko*; *ngako*) of Hawai‘i.

Kahananui and Anthony (1974) believed that “Hawaiian and other indigenous language learners recognised the importance of memory in learning languages and should not try to find the equivalent of their first language word in the learning language due to concepts and meaning not translating directly across spectrums” (p. xi-xii). Further to this belief, Kahananui and Anthony (1974, p. xi-xii) as Conwell cited (p.120), argued that “this concept was often difficult to convey to new learners, the links between objects in the old and new language were incorrectly assumed to be direct.” An example of this, focused on “Non-Hawaiian (American Pākēha) critics of the *Punana Leo* revitalisation model claiming that teaching Hawaiian language to youth gave rise to a contemporary evolution of the Hawaiian language thus creating or modifying the language to suit their modern-day world.” The impact of this was the traditional, and cultural identity of the language being lost. Kahananui and Anthony (1974) also argued that students of Hawaiian descent be encouraged to “completely immerse themselves in the language they are learning, requiring learners to check their primary language at the door and learn to think in Hawaiian” (p. xi-xii). The strategy was to firstly ‘listen and speak your native language, secondly read your native language, and thirdly write your native language with ‘listening and speaking’ being the paramount experiences. This was supportive of *te reo Māori* strategies, where

understanding the spoken word first became a concept that contributed to Indigenous language learning, as Kahananui and Anthony (1974, p.xi-xii) contended, “by thinking in your native language.” Conwell (2017, p. 124) claimed that ‘community had a role to play as a context for language as well. Robust (2002) argued that “assisting with the preservation of their stories in *kōrero* (oral tradition), supported the passing down of these by community *tīpuna* (ancestors) and generations before them. Oral history of *Iwi / Hapū* and extended families have been the main form of communicating these *hītori* (histories) as cited in Burnaby and Reyhner (pp. 1-16).” Furthermore, he confirmed that, “in 1986, *te reo Māori* was the first language spoken in 85% of the households in the *Mōtatau* community. This was reinforced with the establishment of *kōhanga reo* (language nests), located at the school prior to moving to its present location on the *Mōtatau marae* (meeting place). *Whānau* purposefully ensured that *te reo Māori* maintenance ensued in the home.”

It was identified mainly by Johnston (1998) and Robust (2002), as cited in Conwell (2017, p. 125) that “the revitalisation of Māori language needed to occur across different sites simultaneously for the language to grow effectively.” However, “the complexity of which the language was used was based on the context for language use.”

2.5.3 The Sámi Language Revitalisation

Similarly, to the two previous language revitalisation models, the Saami people of Norway also adopted the *kōhanga reo* model in their own way. According to Albury (2014), “Government policies for the revitalisation of the Māori language in Aotearoa New Zealand and the Sámi languages in Norway were examples of such peripheral approaches: New Zealand initially described its Māori language revitalisation policy as contributing to a contemporary interethnic New Zealand identity, whereas Norway confined Sámi language as a matter of Sámi rights for Sámi people” (p. 2-3).

The Sámi were indigenous to “their land *Sápmi* across northern Scandinavia. Sámi and its resources fell victim to changing geopolitical forces” (Henriksen, 2008, p. 28) and were divided between Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. As Aikio-Puoskari et al., (2010, p.

4) claimed, “estimates of the whole Sámi population were between 140,000 and 200,000, with around 100,000 (Nolan & Rasmussen, 2011, p. 36) in Norway’s population of 5.1 million (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2014b). According to Bull (2002) and Huss (2008), “contemporary linguistics recognised nine existing Sámi languages in Norway which included South, Lule, Pite, and North Sámi.”

Comparatively, Albury (2014, p. 3) argued that ‘the Māori and Sámi languages fell victim to policies of extermination. Indigenous people, it was decided by their governments, would forgo their languages, and assimilate. The Norwegian government ‘wanted to turn their citizens into Norwegian-speaking monolinguals’ (Trosterud, 2008, p. 97) as part of the *Fornorsking* (Norwegianization) agenda from around 1850 (Minde, 2005, p. 6). However, it was unclear whether *Fornorsking* continued in practice after the Second World War (Bucken-Knapp, 2003, Bull, 2002) but, a softening Norwegian attitude emerged at the war’s end, parallel to Sámi activism (Jernsletten, 1993, p. 120). Norway reflected on its Sámi policy through their experience with German nationalism. The Sámi suffered austerely at the hands of the Nazis (Corson, 1996, p. 88), creating a Norwegian ‘sense of solidarity among Norwegians for the population in the north’ (Stordahl, 1993, p. 3). However, progress was slow, and Sámi voices reached an upsurge during the Alta controversy of 1979– 1981, when Norway proposed a dam and hydroelectric plant on Sápmi’s Alta-Guovdageiadnu River.

A sad reality for Indigenous languages is that they were unable to be classified as ‘safe’ languages as defined by Ahearn (2017, pp. 259-260), “a language which has official government support and /or large numbers of speakers. Krauss (1992, pp. 4-7) stated that, “if the threshold was placed at 100,000 speakers for the language to be considered ‘safe,’ only 10% of all the world’s indigenous languages are ‘safe. “An ‘endangered’ language is “a language that, although they are still being learned by children, will cease to be learned by children in the next century if present conditions persist,” an ‘moribund’ language is, “a language that has ceased to be learned by children, and is therefore almost

curtained doomed to extinction” and, a ‘dead or extinct’ language is, “a language that is no longer spoken by anyone, even if there are written evidence or recordings in the language.” During the second half of the twentieth century, this saw as Albury (2014, p. 4) suggested, “a 180-degree shift in Indigenous policies in my post-colonial situations.”

The shift in Indigenous policy, elevated concerns about Indigenous languages and a motivation to revive them. Albury (2014, p. 5) argued that post-nationalist ideas accommodated ethical reasons to restore Indigenous ways, giving languages express identities and host human histories (Baker, 2011, pp. 44-45). This strengthened the desire for Indigenous language revitalisation. Albury (2014, p. 5) further argued by saying, “A shared impetus to revitalize an indigenous language did not, however, predetermine who the policy audience would be. Instead, a fundamental question remained: Should indigenous language revitalization, including language acquisition, target non-indigenous majorities or should it be a matter only for indigenous peoples? Interestingly, Albury (2014, p. 5), raised a very important point that, it has up until recently been seen as “a matter that the Indigenous peoples should rectify,” never has there ever been an implication that non-Indigenous peoples should collaborate with the Indigenous peoples to resolve the revival of their people’s native languages.

For the Sámi peoples, their revitalisation policy was woven within a framework of Sámi self-determination. As discussed by Albury (2014, p. 11), this was spearheaded by the formation of Sámediggi which unsurprisingly biased neotraditionalist perspectives on language. The Norwegian approach, according to Henriksen (2008, p. 29), was that Sámi were:

One people, and that like all other peoples, they have the right to freely determine their own political status, freely pursue their own economic, social, and cultural development and freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources for their own ends.

This resulted in Sámi language affairs as well as other social and economic matters becoming matters for Sámi to be managed by Sámi. Funds allocated to Sámediggi for the Sámi languages were to be spent as Sámediggi saw fit, on behalf of Sámi people.

Sámediggi (n.d.-b) especially saw the management of the funds as part of the implementation of language rights for those of a Sámi identity. As Sámediggi explained “it is a basic human right to have the opportunity to use one’s own language, and as an indigenous people the Sámi have a right to the protection of their language” (Sámediggi, n.d.-c own translation).

Similarly, with our Māori language revitalisation, supportive organisations such as Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori provided funding for Te Reo Māori revitalisation.

Sámediggi funds were available as grants and scholarships for a range of language revitalization projects (amidst a broader scope of Sámi-related work), such as Sámi language kindergartens, lexical development (the study of changes that occur in vocabulary knowledge over childhood. It concerned children's first steps in building a vocabulary, how children of different ages assigned meanings to words, and how these meanings changed in response to various experiences, and educational materials (Sámediggi, n.d.-d). Under the auspices of Sámediggi, the Sámi Language Council advised and made decisions about the Sámi languages, developed, and promoted them (Bull, 2002, p. 37). A primary purpose was to develop quantities and standardise three Sámi varieties – North Sámi, South Sámi, and Lule Sámi – with the standardisation work advanced through regional cooperation (Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion, 2009, p. 15). Sámediggi also administered place-naming legislation with a neotraditionalist directive. By law, place names were shown in the first instance in the local Sámi language, but this only applied in Sámi areas (Sámediggi, n.d.-b). However, Sámediggi’s work was complemented by a broader Norwegian government plan for Sámi. The government departed somewhat from Sámediggi’s statements about language as a right to what it called ‘Learning Sámi, Using Sámi, and Seeing Sámi.’ Seeing Sámi included measures to increase public visibility of the language, while using Sámi was concerned with preparing the public service for Sámi business. The plan’s overriding objective concerned learning Sámi to increase the number of speakers (Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion, 2009, p. 8). It stated, with a clearly neotraditionalist tone, that “Sami languages must be cultivated in all areas where

Sami people live and meet” (p. 10). In addition to some adult education work, the plan heavily emphasized the expansion of language nests to replace the absent intergenerational language transmission in Sámi communities (p. 25).

Despite the research, which was presented verbatim with acknowledgement of referencing by Albury (2014), from the Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion language revitalisation plan, these were the Sámi strategies, pure and simple. Indigenous peoples like the Sámi, drew on their people as advocates, knowledge-based story tellers and native carriers of the language and that was, the survival of Indigeneity and Indigenous languages for their generation and beyond.

Albury (2014) gave a comprehensive view of the Sámi peoples and their language revitalisation strategies. It is fact that they, like the Chehalis and the Hawaiian peoples, had to contend with controversy regarding the progression and survival of their language. Despite the language and policy shift, the Sami people post-World War II, were determined to recover their dignity, Indigeneity, culture, and traditions and more importantly, ‘the glue’ that connected them all, their native language. These people have been a strong people who adopted the values and principles of the *Kōhanga Reo* model to fabricate and shape their strategies, with the definitive aim of a successful and thriving Indigenous language.

2.6 Conclusion

Te Reo Māori in Aotearoa survived early colonial pressures and government policies such as assimilation and integration due to brave, passionate educationalists such as Hoani Waititi, Ta Ranginui Walker, Ta Pita Sharples, and Kahurangi June Mariu to name a few who saw the importance of supporting the survival of our endemic language. From their various backgrounds, their engagement with Te Reo Māori in all that they were involved with in their lives, indicated a strong passion to uphold te reo me ōna tikanga.

Te Reo Māori in Aotearoa has been explored extensively due to the success of te reo Māori strategies – Te Rangatahi series, Ruātoki Bilingual School, and Te Kōhanga Reo.

Global language revitalisation was an international Indigenous issue annually during the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at the United Nations in New York. Indigenous peoples from around the world (Te Iwi Taketake o te Ao) expressed their concerns for the survival of their languages. This research focussed on three global language revitalisation models from the Chehalis tribes, Hawaiian, and Sámi peoples.

The key incentive for most Indigenous peoples was to ensure the survival of their languages and cultures and that they strived to meet the threshold of fluent speakers, for their language to be a 'safe' thriving language in this lifetime.

Te Wāhanga Tuatoru

“Ka pū te rūhā, ka hao te rangatahi”
“The old net is cast aside; the new net goes fishing”.

3.0 Purpose

This wāhanga (chapter) provided a significant historical timeline of the events that occurred from pre 1840 when Te Reo Māori was the predominant language in Aotearoa as theorised by New Zealand History (2017) and through to Te Reo Māori revitalisation from the early 20th to the 21st centuries.

The purpose of researching the historical background of the Māori language was to support the research questions for this thesis:

- 1) What impacts, and implications has *Te Rangatahi* series had on the regeneration of Te Reo Māori as the Indigenous language of Aotearoa?
- 2) How has *Te Rangatahi* series contributed to historical language revitalisation of Te Reo Māori despite being acknowledged only recently.

The history pertaining to the “*Te Rangatahi series*” by Hoani Retimana Waititi consisted of two textbooks, *Te Rangatahi 1* and *Te Rangatahi 2* published in 1962 and 1964 which were never documented as an historical event.

This research study has proven otherwise. The series was used in secondary schools for four decades as standard textbooks for Māori Studies. The textbooks were revised from 1972-2002 and aligned with societal and currency changes that occurred over time.

A Ngāti Porou leader, Api Mahuika was quoted as saying, “Waiho ērā pukapuka, they symbolise historical significance for Hoani Waititi” (R. Waititi, personal communication, 2018). Moreover, New Zealand History (2017) provided the history in chronological order.

3.1 Historical Timeline

- Pre-1840** Significantly but not surprisingly, Te Reo Māori was the predominant language of Aotearoa. It was used extensively in social, religious, commercial, and political interactions among Māori, and between Māori and Pākēha. Arguably, education provided by the missionaries was alleged to be conveyed in Māori. ¹Te Whakaputanga o a Rangatiratanga o Niu Tireni in 1835 (Refer to Appendix F).
- 1840** Iwi Leaders were invited to Waitangi for the signing of the ²*Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Te Reo Māori remained the predominant language of Aotearoa. Iwi Leaders were asked to sign using part of their mataora or tā moko (Shearer, 1976). ³Te Whānau-a-Apanui Rangatira signed *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* on June 14th, 1840 (Refer to Appendix F).
- 1842** The first Te Reo Māori newspaper was published.
- 1844** The first edition of Williams Dictionary of the Māori Language by Archdeacon, William Williams who later became the Bishop of Waiapu. Students of Māori language found the Williams' dictionary essential. The third and fourth editions published in 1871 and 1892 were revised by William Leonard, son of William. He too was Archdeacon and later Bishop of Waiapu. The fifth, and much enlarged edition, was edited by Herbert, grandson of William who also became the Bishop of Waiapu.
- 1850-1857** An important development during this time was the beginning of colonisation and assimilation of the Māori people where the Pākēha population exceeded

¹ Image of Te Whakaputanga o a Rangatiratanga o Niu Tireni 1835

² Image of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

³ Image of Te Whānau-a-Apanui Rangatira names and signatures

the Indigenous population. Te Reo Māori became the minority language in Aotearoa.

1858 The first official census was conducted to collect data about the Māori people and recorded a population of 56,049, a substantial reduction probably because of the land wars and European sicknesses.

1867 The introduction of Pākēha legislation where the Native Schools Act declared that English should be the only language used in the education of the Indigenous children and affirmed the allegation. A policy was later rigorously enforced.

1870s Subsequently, the New Zealand wars caused society to divide into two distinct zones, the Māori zone and the Pākēha zone. Te Reo Māori was the predominant language of the Māori zone.

1890s During this time, there were many Māori language newspapers that published national and international news. Te Reo Māori remained the predominant language of the Māori zone.

1896 A second official census was conducted which recorded where the Indigenous population reached its lowest point at 42,113.

1913 90% of Indigenous children that attended school were native Te Reo Māori speakers. *Te Puke Hikurangi*, *Te Mareikura* and other Māori newspapers, published national and international news and events in Te Reo Māori including extensive coverage of farming activities.

1920s Sir Apirana Ngata approached the Indigenous communities to encourage the promotion of Te Reo Māori use in homes and communities. He also saw the importance of promoting English-language education for Māori in schools.

1930s Te Reo Māori remained the predominant language in Indigenous homes and communities. However, the use of English began to increase, and there was continued support for English-only education by some Māori leaders like Tā Apirana Ngata.

1940s The Māori urban migration began with the ‘traditionalist generation’ moving to the main metropolitan areas such as Tamaki Mākaurau and Te Whangānui a Tara to find jobs related to their trade or primary teaching.

1950s Matua Bruce Biggs wrote his ‘Let’s Learn Māori’ series of textbooks (unacknowledged in the New Zealand History of the Māori Language, 2017) and worked at The University of Auckland contributing to the teaching of the Māori language to university students.

The Māori urban migration continued. Māori families were ‘pepper-potted’ in predominantly non-Māori suburbs which prevented the reproduction of Māori communities and their native language phonics. As a result of assimilation, there was a strong desire by Māori families to speak English, and Indigenous children were raised as English speakers.

1951 A third official census was conducted showing a further reduction of the Māori population to 134,097. Land confiscations and loss of Māori lands was a deliberate invasion on Tikanga Māori (cultural values) and a decline in native Te Reo Māori speakers had a huge impact on the Indigenous people and their ways of living.

1959 *In 1959, a Māori Language Advisory Committee was set up to study all matters connected with the teaching of the language and to make recommendations. The committee recommended the immediate preparation of a course in Māori for use in post-primary schools and suggested that Mr John Waititi, an experienced teacher of Māori be employed for a period to*

prepare the texts. The Department of Education agreed to these proposals and the government made the necessary finance available to enable the project to progress (Hunter, 1962).

- 1960s** Childcare centres like Playcentre encouraged our Māori parents to speak English to prepare Māori children for primary school. This was a further attempt to isolate Indigenous children from their language and cultural beliefs.
- 1961** The Hunn Report written by J.K. Hunn in 1960 described the Māori language as a 'relic of ancient Māori life.' It was reports like this that began a surge of Te Reo Māori initiatives to counter statements of this nature.
- 1962** *Hoani Retimana Waititi in conjunction with the Department of Education, wrote ⁴Te Rangatahi I textbook, the first of this series published for the teaching of Māori Studies for secondary school students (Refer to Appendix F).*
- 1964** *Hoani Retimana Waititi in conjunction with the Department of Education, wrote ⁵Te Rangatahi II textbook, the second of this series published for the teaching of Māori Studies for secondary school students.*
- 1970s** Māori urban groups such as Ngā Tamatoa and Te Reo Māori Society expressed a real concern for the Māori language due to the rapid decline of Te Reo Māori speakers nation-wide.
- 1971** The seventh edition of the Dictionary of the Māori Language written by H.W. Williams was revised and augmented by the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Māori Language, Department of Education.

⁴ Image of *Te Rangatahi I* 1962 textbook

⁵ Image of *Te Rangatahi II* 1964 textbook

- 1972** The Māori language petition was delivered by Hana Jackson with the support of Ngā Tama Toa and Te Huinga Rangatahi o Aotearoa (the National Māori Young People's Organisation at Victoria University, chaired by Hakopa Te Whata) to Parliament and asked for active recognition of Te Reo Māori and the setup of a Māori production unit. There were over 30,000 signatures and became a significant historical event towards the revitalisation of Te Reo.
- 1972** *Te Rangatahi II was first revised in 1972 and published in the School Publications Branch of the Department of Education, New Zealand (Refer to Appendix F).*
- 1973-1978** NZCER conducted a national survey which indicated that only about 70,000 Māori or 18-20% of Māori were fluent Māori speakers, and most of these were our kuia me ngā kōroua. However, the trend to speak Māori in the home or pass on Te Reo me ōna Tikanga to their tamariki or mokopuna was not prioritised as much as securing employment especially in the cities.
- 1974** *Te Rangatahi I and II were revised by Tā Timoti Kāretu to reflect things like actual relative images for the stories rather than stick figures and currency changes from pounds and shillings to dollars and cents.*
- 1975** Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa initiated an Iwi initiative called Whakatipuranga Rua Mano, a tribal development exercise which emphasised Māori language development. This encouraged many other Iwi to take up the challenge to implement similar Te Reo initiatives.
- 1978** Due to the courageous and passionate work of Whāea Marie Turnbull and her husband and the principal at the time, Matua Tāwhirimatea Williams, and his wife Whāea Kaa Williams, Te Wharekura o Rūātoki School became the

first bilingual school in Aotearoa. Ngai Tūhoe kaumatua were approached to give their approval for this initiative.

⁶*Te Rangatahi II* was revised further and published in the School Publications Branch of the Department of Education. Hoani Retimana Waititi was still acknowledged as the author of the series (Refer to Appendix F).

Pa M. Ryan wrote Book 1 of Modern Māori – a language course 1st edition.

1979-1980 Te Ātaarangi movement using the crimson-coloured rods, an initiative established to restore Māori language knowledge to Māori adult students. This method has continued to be used nation-wide by different education providers in Aotearoa.

1980s Initiative for, Māori radio broadcasting, led to the establishment of Te Upoko o te Ika and Radio Ngāti Porou.

Pa M. Ryan wrote Book 2 of the Modern Māori series – a language course 1st edition.

1981 The first Wānanga Māori, Te Wānanga o Raukawa was established in Ōtaki offering Tohu Māori to Māori students.

1982 A successful Te Reo Māori initiative, Te Kōhanga Reo was established to instil Māori language knowledge in Māori infants. The first kōhanga reo was opened at Pukeatua, Wainuiomata in April 1982. Hoani Waititi Marae opened their kōhanga reo.

1985 The first Te Kura Kaupapa Māori was established at Hoani Waititi Marae to cater for the needs of Māori children emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo.

⁶ Image of *Te Rangatahi II* textbook further revised by Ta Timoti Kāretu in 1978

Te Reo Māori Claim WAI 11 brought before the Waitangi Tribunal by Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori. The number of Māori speakers was estimated to have fallen to about 50,000 or 12% of the Māori population.

The revised edition of Te Rangatahi III was part of a revision and reorganisation of chapters from the original Te Rangatahi I and II textbooks written by Hoani Waititi. Several corrections and changes were made with the advice of the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of Māori Language and the assistance of a member of this committee, Mr T. S. Kāretu. (Renwick, 1985).

1986 Te Reo Māori Report released by the Waitangi Tribunal, recommended legislation be introduced to enable Māori language to be used in courts of law, and that a supervising body be established by statute to supervise and foster the use of the Māori language.

1987 Māori Language Act passed in Parliament. Māori declared to be an official language of Aotearoa.

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori is established.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust was established.

1988 John Moorfield wrote the first of his Te Whānake series – Te Kākano 1st edition.

1989 Education Amendment Act provided formal recognition for Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions). Government reserved the radio and television broadcasting frequencies for use by Māori.

1990 John Moorfield wrote the second textbook of his Te Whānake series – Te PThinga 1st edition.

- 1991** Broadcasting Assets case initiated. Census recorded a substantial increase in Māori population as 435,619.
- Flora and Fauna Claim WAI 262 was brought before the Waitangi Tribunal. The claim was about the place of Māori culture, identity, and traditional knowledge in New Zealand's laws, and in government policies and practices. It concerned who controlled Māori traditional knowledge, who controlled artistic and cultural works such as haka and waiata, and who controlled flora and fauna and the environment that created Māori culture.
- 1992** John Moorfield wrote the third textbook of his Te Whānake series – Te Māhuri 1st edition.
- 1993** The English Māori Dictionary Pocket Edition by Hori M. Ngata, the eldest grandson of Sir Apirana Ngata was published. Hori Ngata focused his energies on the richness of te reo Māori, as his grandfather had done before him. He identified the need for a dictionary which illustrated the usage of Māori rather than simply supplying definitions or equivalents in English and Māori. He employed a system of headwords in English and Māori with sentences to illustrate usage.
- Māori broadcasting funding agency Te Māngai Pāho was established to promote Māori language and culture. This initiated twenty Iwi radio stations to broadcast throughout the country.
- Mai Time, a Māori- and Pacific-focused youth television programme pilot was launched.
- 1995** The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori by Pa M. Ryan was published. The kaupapa of this book was to gather words old and new which one might meet during Māori studies.

He Taonga Te Reo (Māori Language Year) was celebrated. Hui Taumata Reo Māori was held in Wellington. A national Māori language survey showed that the number of Māori adults who were very fluent speakers of Māori had decreased substantially to 10,000.

Ian rāua ko Shirley Cormack wrote Te Mātāpuna: the first textbook of their Ia Reo series 1st edition: Student Workbook; He Pukapuka Mahi; and Rauemi Ākongā.

1996 Aotearoa Television Network broadcasted a trial free-to-air television service in the Auckland area.

Mai Time broadcasted on a weekly basis.

John Moorfield wrote the fourth textbook of his Te Whānake series – Te Kōhure 1st edition.

Ian rāua ko Shirley Cormack wrote Te Pūkaki, the second textbook of their Ia Reo series 1st edition.

1997 A total of 675 kōhanga reo and 30 developing kōhanga reo catered to 13,505 children. There are 54 kura kaupapa Māori and three wānanga Māori. Over 32,000 students received Māori-medium education and another 55,399 learnt the Māori language.

1998 Government announced funding for a Māori television channel and increased funding for Te Māngai Pāho.

Ian rāua ko Shirley Cormack wrote Te Awa Rere, the third textbook in their Ia Reo series 1st edition.

Government also announced that it had set aside a \$15m fund for Community Māori Language initiatives.

- 1999** The Reed Pocket Dictionary of Modern Māori, Māori English / English Māori by Pa M. Ryan. The pocket dictionary was designed to give enough words and phrases for visitors to enjoy their first contact with the Māori language.
- Tūmeke, a Māori language youth programme screened on TV 4.
- 2000** Tūmeke changed broadcasters and its name to Pūkana, which showed on TV3.
- 2001** *Te Rangatahi I, II and III soft-covered 1978-2001 editions were reprinted.*
- Government announced its support and a management structure for the Māori Television channel. Government also announced that it would soon begin allocating the \$15m fund.
- Uia Ngā Whetū: Hui Taumata Reo hosted in Wellington by Te Taura Whiri.
- Health of the Māori Language Survey indicated there were approximately 136,700 Māori language speakers (reaching the 'safe' language zone).
- 2002** Uia Ngā Kāinga: Hui Taumata Reo hosted in Wellington by Te Taura Whiri.
- Mā te Reo Fund established to support Māori language growth in communities.
- 2003** 7th Polynesian Languages Forum – Te Reo i te Whenua Tipu, Language in the Homeland held.
- Revised Government Māori Language Strategy launched.
- Māori Television Service Act passed in Parliament.
- 2004** Opening Ceremony of Māori Television premises in Newmarket, Auckland.
- Māori Television Service began broadcasting on 28 March 2004.
- First Māori Language Week Awards held in Wellington.

- 2008** Māori Television Service launched Te Reo, their total immersion channel.
- He Pātaka Kupu monolingual Māori language dictionary published by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori.
- 2011** Flora and Fauna Claim WAI 262 Report by the Waitangi Tribunal was finally published 20 years after the claim was filed. Chapter 5, Te Reo called for the Māori Language Commission to be given increased powers and became the lead Māori language sector agency.
- Te Reo Mauriora Report on the Māori Language Strategy was published, recommending the appointment of a minister for Māori language, and the establishment of Te Mātāwai to provide direction on all matters pertaining to the Māori language. It said re-establishing to reo in homes was the key requirement for Māori language revitalisation. It recommended that the future implementation of the revitalisation strategy be led by Iwi.
- Kōhanga Reo Claim WAI 2336 by Kōhanga Reo National Trust claimed that the Crown assimilated the Kōhanga Reo movement into its early childhood education regime under the Ministry of Education, and subsequently stifled its role in revitalising and promoting the Māori language.
- 2012** In the WAI 2336 Kōhanga Reo Claim, the Tribunal found that the Crown failed to adequately sustain the specific needs of kōhanga reo through its funding formula, quality measures, and regulatory regime, constituting breaches of the Treaty.
- Te Mātāwai Funding offered to Iwi to enhance the revitalisation of Te Reo Māori in their communities.
- 2013** Rohe Potae Inquiry.

Waitangi Tribunal Judge ruled legal counsel for Ngāti Pehi Te Kanawa cannot cross-examine English speakers in te reo Māori citing time and resource constraints.

Statistics New Zealand carried out the first survey of Māori wellbeing, called Te Kupenga. Information was collected on a wide range of topics to give an overall picture of the social, cultural, and economic wellbeing of Māori, including the wellbeing of te reo Māori.

Vote Māori Affairs provided \$8m over four years for a new Māori language research and development fund.

2014 High Court upheld Waitangi Tribunal direction disallowing legal counsel to cross-examine English speakers in te reo Māori.

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori stated, 'The High Court decision is a big loss for te reo Māori. The decision set a precedent that led to the erosion of the place of te reo Māori in our legal system.'

Māori Language (Te Reo Māori) Bill was introduced into Parliament to implement recommendations in the 2011 Te Reo Mauriora Report.

He Puna Whakarauora Centre for Research and Development of te reo Māori was established under Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori.

2015 Māori Language Advisory Group was established to provide independent and expert advice on the Māori Language (Te Reo Māori) Bill.

The Ka Hikitia goal was that 22% of all students would participate in Māori language in primary and secondary education.

2017 Tau Mai Te Reo – the Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013-2017 underpinned the Māori Language in Education focus area of Ka Hikitia-Accelerating Success 2013-2017. It set the framework for investment,

identified key priorities, and strengthened government accountability for Māori language in education outcomes.

2018 Māori Language Week ran from 10-16 September, the theme being 'Kia Kaha Te Reo Māori' – 'Let us make the Māori language strong.'

2016-2019 Māori Language in English Medium (Statistics NZ, 2020)

Māori Language Immersion Level	2016	2017	2018	2019	2018-2019
Level 3: 31-50%	6,885	6,695	7,111	8,442	1,331
Level 4 (a): up to 30%	6,229	6,539	6,901	7,897	996
Level 4 (b): at least 3 hrs	20,236	23,423	25,866	30,042	4,176
Level 5: less than 3 hrs	128,031	128,944	130,695	133,429	

Table 3: Number of Students in Māori Language in English Medium by Māori Language Immersion Level

No Māori Language in Education

Immersion Level	2016	2017	2018	2019	2018-2019
Level 6: Taha Māori	343,610	348,365	349,101	349,294	193
No Māori Language Learning	246,651	247,646	248,688	245,659	-3,029
Not eligible for MPL Funding	17,844	19,284	19,566	20,380	814

Table 4: Number of Students not enrolled in Māori Language in Education by Māori Language Immersion Level

Interestingly, according to the information provided by Table 3, Māori language in English medium involved students who were learning Te Reo Māori as a language subject or taught the curriculum in the Māori language for up to 50% of the time (Māori Language Immersion Levels 3-5).

As of 1 July 2019, 22.0% of the total school population were involved in Māori language in English medium, compared to 21.1% in 2018. Correspondingly, 1,122 schools offered

Māori language in English medium: an increase of 29 schools since 1 July 2018. This represented the largest percentage since 2007, showing a significant growth of interest in our Indigenous language.

In comparison, Table 4 provided some disturbing facts about the status of Te Reo Māori regarding No Māori language in Education. According to Statistics New Zealand (2020) , as of 1 July 2019, 75.6% of the total school population (615,333 students) were not enrolled in Māori language in education (Māori Immersion levels 1-5). Of these students 20,380 students were not eligible for Māori Language Programme (MLP) funding which included alternative education students, international fee-paying students and students enrolled in secondary-tertiary programmes. As well as this, 58.6% (349,294 students) were recorded as learning Taha Māori i.e., simple words, greetings, or songs in Māori. This left the remaining 245,659 students being eligible for Māori Language Programme funding. However, these students did not receive any Māori language learning at any level. Māori Language Programme funding was received by schools to provide Māori language learning at all the levels and yet, the funding seemed to be allocated somewhere else.

2020 Te Whānau-a-Apanui secured \$30,000 of Te Mātāwai funding to teach Māori language adult classes. Currently they have been delivered in Te Kaha and Whangāparāoa.

Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia in Whangāparāoa applied for funding also from Te Mātāwai of \$40,000 to teach te reo a-iwi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Intriguingly, due to the rangahau for this section, there were other authors during the 1980s and 1990s who began writing textbooks from their perspective for the teaching and learning of Te Reo Māori. These have admirably complemented Uncle's John's Te Rangatahi series. Kaiako Māori were given a choice as there was no longer just one author offering a Māori language course. Therefore, this was a significant change in the history of the Māori

language and the realisation that there were some prominent historical events missing from the historical timeline accessed from Te Ara Encyclopaedia in 2017.

With the introduction of the New Zealand Certificate in Achievement Standards (NCEA), according to Ākonga who attended secondary school from Year 9 to 13 from 2006-2010 and from 2010-2014, their Kaiako Māori were using language teaching resources from the Internet. Te Rangatahi textbooks and their content were no longer used to structure internal and external examinations.

The implementation of the Te Reo Māori revitalisation initiatives for the past three centuries, 1800s, 1900s and 2000s were consistent with and contributed to, the success of the Māori language progressing at such a fast rate. They all had their place in history, no matter how long they were active, it was noted.

3.1.1 Māori Television

Māori Television was established in 2004, consisted of a bilingual, Māori and Pākēha channel and Te Reo, a total immersed te reo Māori channel. A huge achievement in the history of our te reo. There have been opportunities for our people to become Māori producers and establish their own media production companies.

PRODUCTION COMPANY	PRODUCER/DIRECTOR
AKA Productions	Aroha Shelford
Adrenalin Group	Bradley Walker
Awa Films	Julian Arahanga
Cinco Cine Film Productions	Nicole Hoey
Kahawai Productions	Brendon Butt
Kapa Ti Productions	Brent Joblremonger
Kiwa Media	Rhonda Kite
Koniahi Productions	Siobhan Houkamau & Te Hemara Rauhihi

Kura Productions	Quintin Hita
Mahi Tahi Media	Te Arahi Maipi
Mako Media	Kawariki & Kim Morgan
Maui's Hook	Karen Te O Kahurangi Waaka-Tibble
Mauri Media	Nathaniel Howe
Pango Productions	CEO Bailey Mackey; Cameron Bennett
Pipi Productions	Pio Terei
Punarau Media Ltd	Kristin Ross
Raukatauri Productions	Hinewehi Mohi
Tauihu Productions	Brad Haami & Tui Ruwhiu
Tawera Productions	Toby Mills & Moana Maniapoto
Te Aio Productions	Anne Keating
Whenua Films	Cliff Curtis & Ainsley Gardiner
White Gloves TV	Jan Wharekawa

Table 5: Māori Productions and Producers with Te Whakāta Māori

An extremely honourable achievement which has allowed us to view programmes that were produced on Māori Television and Te Reo to keep Māori and Tauīwi (non-Māori) viewers alike entertained, educated in te reo Māori, mātauranga o ngā Pakanga Māori o Aotearoa, kapa haka Māori momo kaupapa o te ao Māori, te hītori o ngā iwi o Aotearoa, and me pēhea ki te whakapai momo kai taketake.

According to Matamua (2014), “broadcasting has been promoted by many as the medium that will champion the revitalisation and regeneration of te reo Māori. Subsequently, Matamua places his hope and faith in Māori television and Māori radio to play pivotal roles in the future direction of the language” (pp. 331-346).

3.1.2 Māori Iwi Radio

The late Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru of Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori Incorporated Society established Te Ūpoko-o-Te-Ika AM in 1988, the first Māori radio station with its initial purpose to broadcast the Māori language in Wellington.

Matamua (2014) summarised in his chapter titled 'Te Reo Pāpāho me te Reo Māori,' (pp. 331-346) a historical background of Māori language broadcasting particularly Māori radio and its contribution to the current industry in supporting the future of our Māori language.

Hare Hongi, according to Matamua's historical account (2014), went to air in the 1920s with the first Māori language programme. However, "by the 1970s the total Māori language and culture on radio equated to less than one and a half hours of Māori-focused programming per week, an acknowledgement or token gesture" (p. 332). In 1978, *Te Reo o Aotearoa* (The Voice of New Zealand) began broadcasting. However, dedication was not only to Māori language but to all languages and peoples of the Pacific. Apparently, "*Te Reo o Aotearoa* did improve the position of Māori radio broadcasting, but Māori were determined to operate an autonomous radio station" (p. 334). Consequently, in 1986, the Royal Commission on Broadcasting criticised the limitations of *Te Reo o Aotearoa* when it reported, "Te Reo is, in essence, a condensed version of the Radio Polynesia recommended in the 1973 The Broadcasting Future of New Zealand report" (cited in Te Māngai Pāho, 1994, p. 16). Typically, this was a deliberate attempt by the Crown through the government, to ensure assimilation continued to exist within Māori communities and allow a limited exposure of Māori language to be broadcasted.

Therefore, fast-forwarding to 2020, the following Māori Iwi Radio stations have been established in remonstrance to counter earlier subjugation towards the revitalisation and regeneration of our Māori language throughout the motu (country). They include, Atiawa Toa FM in Waiwhetu, Lower Hutt, Awa FM in Whanganui, Kia ora FM in Te Papaioea, Maniapoto FM in Te Kuiti, Moana Radio in Tauranga, Ngā Iwi FM in Paeroa, Hauraki, Te

Arawa FM in Rotorua, Radio Kahungunu in Heretaunga, Ngāti Hine FM in Whangarei, Radio Ngāti Porou in Ruatoria, Radio Tainui in Ngāruawahia, Radio Tautoko in Okaihu, Mangāmuka, Radio Wātea AM, Ake 1179 AM in Ōrakei, Ngāti Whātua, Raukawa FM in Tokorua, Tahu FM in Addington Christchurch, Te Hiku o te Ika in Kaitaia, Te Korimako o Taranaki in Ngāmotu, Te Reo Irirangi o Te Mānuka Tātahi in Whakatane, Tūranga FM in Gisborne and Tūwharetoa FM in Tūrangi (Irirangi.net, 2020).

3.1.3 Future of Te Reo Māori

According to Keegan and Cunliffe (2014, pp. 385-86), the future of Te Reo Māori was a very promising one, with the recognition and support received from the government and people after many years of suppression and to some degrees, oppression of Māori communities. Māori educationalists interested in the regeneration of our reo, wrote successful language strategies resulting in schooling being taught in te reo Māori and English and Te Reo Māori achieving official status as a language of Aotearoa in 1987.

In 2013, Statistics New Zealand (2013b) recorded there were 148,395 te reo Māori speakers which equated to 3% of the country's population. This number indicated a slight decline of 1% since the Census that was held in 2006.

However, according to UNESCO (Mosley, 2010), te reo Māori was classified as 'vulnerable' or as Ahearn (2012) suggested, an 'endangered' language'. However, as Statistics New Zealand indicated, the number of te reo Māori speakers have grown which suggested that te reo Māori speakers had exceeded the number of speakers required for the language to be 'safe.'

Fishman (2001) argued that the foundation of a language's survival from one generation to the next depends on the way the language was communicated from the old to the new generations. In support of Fishman's argument, the 'baby boom era' or generation suffered severely through the impact of assimilation during the 'urban drift' from the 1940s-1950s which their parents experienced. The 'traditionalist generation' were strapped or caned for

speaking te reo Māori by missionaries who ran the 'native schools' during this period. Despite this ruling during their schooling, 'matatau' (proficient) speakers of te reo continued to speak their language at home, in a safe and conducive environment.

During the 'baby boom era years which covered 1946 to 1964,' many children born during this period were taught Māori during their toddler years. The teaching and learning ceased before they were able to grasp a good command of the language, they were never exposed to te reo Māori at all or other whānau priorities took precedence which were more important to keep the whānau and their homes intact. The normal intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori was interrupted and the future of the language became threatened.

A report commissioned by the Minister of Māori Affairs reviewed the Māori language sector recommended two main directives: the re-establishment of te reo Māori in homes and a new infrastructure for governance (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). Keegan and Cunliffe (2014, p. 392) argued that 'the first of these directives was important to encourage 'intergenerational transmission' of te reo where young people would 'value the language and have a sense of ownership for the language, making it part of their identity and worldview.'

A challenge that impeded the progression of te reo Māori in the 'wider sphere of services in minority-language communities,' was the limited availability of Māori language software, reinforcing the perception that the Māori language was a language of school and of Māori cultural activities only.' Te Reo Māori was to be an everyday language used with friends, in social activities, hobbies and the like. Keegan and. Cunliffe (2014, p. 396) believed that 'te reo Māori was at a critical juncture, and the opportunities to use the language within the critical domain of technology were limited.' Moreover, young people needed to challenge the status of their language, remain strong in their desire to use the language, and see te reo as a modern language that belonged in the 21st century. Māori-medium environments were made aware of and supported in their use of te reo Māori in technology which enhanced young people's prior knowledge of their language and developed an appreciation for intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori by our future generations moving forward.

3.1.4 Chapter Summary

Wāhanga Tuatoru Part A provided an extensive historical background of the progressive journey of Te Reo Māori in Aotearoa. The wāhanga outlined significant years which saw the demise of the Māori language in the 20th century. Due to the exertive efforts of our unsung heroes like Ta Apirana Ngata, Hoani Retimana Waititi, Dame Whīna Cooper, Whāea Hana Jackson and many others who were instrumental in the implementation of successful language regeneration initiatives. These included encouraging our more proficient speakers to use te reo at home, the writing of the Te Rangatahi textbooks which provided a Māori course for Māori Studies at secondary schools, leading a hikoi (walk) from Te Hāpua to Te Whangānui a Tara to the Parliament Buildings for land rights and language and the Māori Language Petition where 30,000 signatures were obtained to tautoko this kaupapa.

3.2 Impact of the Native Schools Act 1867

Colonisation and assimilation by the Pākēha were negative catalysts that impacted the Māori language immensely with the introduction of the Native Schools Act. Māori parents were enticed to enrol their tamariki in these schools because they believed that the missionary teachers could speak their reo and Māori would be the language of instruction. However, they were deceived, and only English was permitted to be spoken in the classroom and out in the playground. If they were heard speaking their native tongue, they were strapped or caned. Māori Whānau moving to the cities during the 'urban drift' experienced assimilation where they were placed in English speaking suburbia with mainly Pākēha families resided to support a 'mordus operandi' to integrate Māori Whānau in to a Pākēha living environment to encourage a deliberate eradication of our language.

Simon and Smith (2001) alluded to numerous accounts of Māori being disciplined for speaking te reo in Native Schools around the motu (country). Here are some pupil

perspectives because of Te Reo Māori and English language policies and the role that Native Schools played in the decline and survival of te reo Māori:

...” When I was at school, I was never punished for speaking Māori. We spoke Māori in our little school in the playground but, we were never strapped like some people say they were strapped for speaking Māori.”

(ID 570, Pupil at Tūhara Native School, 1937-45)

“If we were heard talking Māori on the playground, we would get the stick for it.”

(ID 511, Māori Pupil at Te Kao Native School, 1937-45)

According to Simon and Smith (2001, pp 141-142), ‘testimonies described situations where English language policies only were enforced through to where the use of te reo Māori, despite never featuring as a prominent language for communication or instruction was ‘tolerated,’ and even ‘encouraged,’ albeit to a limited degree. Being disciplined by some form of ‘corporal punishment’ e.g., strapping or caning for speaking Māori, was an experience that many Māori speaking pupils (Māori and Pākehā) have vivid memories:

“We were not allowed to speak Māori in our school, and it was a Native School. Got the strap. When I went to school, I spoke Māori because my grandmother only spoke Māori.”

(ID 535, Pupil at Kaikohe Native School, 1925-30)

“I always spoke Māori and I always got the strap. I never listened because I didn’t know how to speak Pākehā and when they taught us, it was a bit of a jumble. It was hard.”

(ID 522, Pupil at Te Kao Native School, 1934-39)

Clearly, these pupils were born native speakers which took precedence over the expectation of ‘corporal punishment’ as they found learning and speaking a foreign language like Pākehā difficult and so their natural instinct was to continue speaking the only language they knew, their native language:

“My first language was Māori, but we weren’t allowed to speak that language. There was a fence line and when you climbed over the stile, you had to change into another person. What I mean is, changing into another person, another world which used another language, the English language and it must have been funny for everyone to listen to these Māori children trying to learn a new foreign language.”

“Some of our friends who worked hard at understanding the English language ... worked for the teachers. They would mix in with us [in the playground] and ... we would be speaking

our own natural language, unaware of these teachers' pets hovering around and the next minute they were off to tell the teachers. They would come out on to the ground and point the finger at us. Then we would be taken into the room and given a walloping that would leave marks on your hands and legs. When it stung your hands and legs you knew that [you] had to try hard not to speak the Māori language."

(‘Kiri,’ ID 558, Pupil at Ruātoki in the 1940s)

Kiri’ recalls that after all the new learning of English they had learnt at school, they used to go home reciting what had been learnt and “... *get another walloping ... and a good dressing down, who do you think you are? [When] you come back here you speak your own Māori language. You are Māori. You belong here. You speak your language. You respect your grandparents.*”

The argument was that these unfortunate accounts described here, were deliberate attempts to enforce these colonial language policies and target our Māori children to do so. Māori parents were enticed to believe that speaking and writing the English language was the future for our people. It was evidential from these accounts that Māori people began to concede to the idea that their children benefitted somehow as a result:

["Māori language was not to be spoken] in the school playground, we used to get the strap for that. But the minute we got outside the school gate, that was the first language ... I've had the cane for swearing at a teacher in Māori. I think it was because it was Māori."

(ID 122, Pākehā pupil, Te Hāroto Native School, 1926-32)

["Children] weren't allowed to speak Māori at school. I can remember kids being strapped for talking [by] my father. Well, it seems quite extraordinary when you look back on things and "I'm going to report on you for talking Māori" some kids would say to the other ones ... When I look back [my father] really divorced himself from everything Māori."

(ID 517, Child of a Māori teacher in Native Schools, 1930s)

This research highlighted just some of the many accounts of children born during the ‘traditionalist era’ 1930s to the late 1940s and the impact of the disruption to speak our language and practise our cultural values and principles had during the ‘baby boom era’ late 1940s to early 1960s. From the accounts, the strategy to assimilate, segregate and integrate the Māori people took effect quite nicely for the Pākehā. However, they underestimated Māori resilience and persistence.

3.3 Historical Timeline Summary

The historical timeline provided a background of the exertive efforts that our people during these three centuries to save one of the official languages of Aotearoa. Te Reo Māori became a significant language in government, a colossal achievement for Māori. Te Reo Māori became a recognised language, spoken freely in public forums and in public. It was protected by those who spoke the language and respected by those who listened to it. The recent resurrection of Moko kauae and Mataora has normalised these taonga in many Māori communities which has impacted positively and influenced those who wear one to enhance their knowledge of te reo me ōna tikanga by encouraging them to learn more about their language and culture.

Interestingly, it is about the appreciation that te reo Māori has received from not only its Indigenous people but, by a wider community of people from all nationalities. Meng Foon, the former mayor of Tūranga (Gisborne) and native Chinese, was an example of someone who made the decision to engage with the Māori communities using their native language. He excelled in his learning of Māori and became proficient (matatau) in our language and role modelling this for his own people and Māori katoa.

Our people learnt how to be resilient and protective of our language as a taonga. Māori have celebrated the many achievements that people who have gone before us have made on our behalf. It was because of their efforts that the Māori language has survived for 200 years. Yes, there have been huge challenges during its journey through history. However, due to this passive resistance and perseverance our language has survived.

During the 2016 Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples Issues at the United Nations in New York, it was highlighted that Aotearoa was envied by different Indigenous peoples all over the world. The Saami people of Norway adopted our Te Kōhanga Reo model to revitalise their native language. The Chehalis native American tribes of Washington created their own language revitalisation model called Tu'pa after reading about the success of

language initiatives like Te Kōhanga Reo. Indigenous languages have been a worldwide issue and Māori have paved the way as leaders in pursuit of gaining a better status for our language moving forward.

Wāhanga Tuatoru Part B has presented a comprehensive narrative of Hoani Retimana Waititi, the author responsible for writing the Te Rangatahi textbooks and their contribution as a language initiative to the regeneration of Te Reo Māori.

3.4 Hoani Retimana Waititi

Te Whānau a Manihera rāua ko Tārati Waititi gave their permission for the kairangahau to use the following images of Hoani Retimana Waititi through Sheryl Tōpeora Waititi, the kaitiaki of our grandmother, Dorothy Rora Waititi's albums (Refer to Appendix G).



3.4.1 Life Story

Hoani Retimana Waititi was born at Whangāparāoa near Cape Runaway, Bay of Plenty on 12 April 1926 and died on 30 September 1965. He was the pōtiki (youngest) of seven children to Te Kuaha (Dick) Waititi and Kirimatao Heremia Kerei. According to Dansey (1965), Hoani was a mokopuna tuatahi o Te Manihera Waititi, a leader of his people in his day and an authority on the learning of mātauranga Māori of cultural traditions and te reo Māori. The image pictures a nephew, Rawiri Kingi (Cobber) riding Uncle John's pony, Tēneti.

According to Arthur Waititi (1995) during a video interview with Kingi Ihaka on Te Waka Huia (1995),



“Ko Te Papa, te kainga tūturu i whānau mai, i tipu ai rānei a Hoani, ōna matua me tōna Whānau hoki. He māra kai, he kumara me riwai i runga i to rātou whenua me huarākau, he nui ngā kai. Kei kōra te miraka kau, he mahi ia i te miraka kau. Kei te wāhi tērā te whare o tōna tino hoa a Bill Waenga me a Kūpi Komene ma.”

(Te Papa was the true home where Hoani was born and raised with his parents and his family. A food garden with kumara and potato was on their land and fruit trees, there was a lot of food. Over there, was a milking shed where he milked cows. At that place was the house of his best friends Bill Waenga, Kūpi Komene and others).

Uncle Kūpi Komene (1995) describes the type of person Hoani Waititi was,

“Kua tūtaki ahau a Hoani, he tamaiti ia. I mai runga ia i tāna hoiho ki te kura. Kua maumahara ahau e hōatu ahau ngā pihikēte ki a ia.”

(I met Hoani as a child. He was on his horse going to school. I remember I gave some biscuits to him).

Uncle Bee (Pētera) Maangi (1995) tells how Hoani first attended school at Raukokore then he enrolled at Te Kura o Whangaparāoa and used to ride his horse named Tēneti (*Refer to Appendix G*) to school and to the marae. He was very young at the time, three or four years old. Uncle Bee recalls Hoani being a *“tangata toa ki te takaro tēnehi.”* Waititi remembers Hoani as being a *‘tangata toa ki te ruku kaimoana (a champion at seafood diving).’* He used to position his body while under the water diving for koura (crayfish), so he could reach the surface with his catch.

Aunty Tau Kingi (1995), the eldest sister in his Whānau remembers their life was hard, and riding horses was their only form of transport. Our mother could not speak English, her first language was Te Reo Māori. They, her and Hoani grew up with te reo.

Aunty Roka Paora (1995), called Hoani:

“He tangata ngāhau (an entertaining person), he tangata whakakatakata (a funny person). Te Rangatahi I and II were published while he was alive. However, Te Rangatahi III was written and published after he died.”

According to manuscript papers from The University of Auckland (2010/2), Hoani Waititi began his preparation for the first edition of the third textbook. Paora remembers he used to sleep in his office at the Department of Education in Tamaki Makaurau while writing these legendary textbooks.

He lived with his niece and her husband, Dame June, and Joseph Mariu in Te Ātatu North, if he was not in his office, he was at their home sleeping. Hoani Waititi was Dame June's uncle, the younger brother of her father, Manihera Waititi II. To her, Hoani was like her *“tuakana, an older brother.”*

“When we lived in Herne Bay, I used to wash our clothes and cook our kai. We worked for money, and he owned a car, we cared for each other. When I got married, Hoani came to live with us at our home.”

She spoke about his friendship with the Governor General and teaching him how to speak Māori. He taught kapa haka at Queen Victoria, St Stephens, and Auckland Girls.

Matua Pat Hohepa (1995) claimed that Hoani encouraged Māori students at the Auckland University to apply for scholarships through the Māori Education Foundation to assist them with their student fees. He observed the mahi of Hoani Waititi during his time as a university student at Auckland University and at Teachers Training College.



Whāea Maxine and Matua John Tamahori (1995) knew Hoani for ten years while teaching at Auckland Girls Grammar and recall that their ways of teaching Te Reo Māori during that time were different as they used the 'First Lessons in Māori' by Wiremu (William L. William) which was published in 1965. His first edition was published in 1862, the second in 1872, the third in 1882 and the fourth in 1894. The lessons offered in this book made it easy for students to learn both the oral and written language. They kept learning these lessons until they knew them. It was part of learning the correct grammar of te reo.

Matua John recalled,

“Kua haere mai a Hoani ki te whakaako i te tikanga wetereo. Ko te tohunga a Hoani ki te ako tika i te reo Māori, tino rawa te tikanga wetereo.”

(Hoani came to teach correct grammatical structures. Hoani was the expert at teaching correct te reo Māori, very good correct grammar).

Apparently during this time, the push was for students to learn other languages like te reo Wīwi (French) me te reo Hāpini (Japanese).

Ko te tikanga kaupapa o Hoani, he ako te reo Māori.”

(The ultimate kaupapa of Hoani was to teach te reo Māori).

Whāea Maxine highlighted,

“He tikanga hou tēnei e whai ana ki te ako i te reo Pakēhā me te reo Tauīwi, paku rātou te kōrero, nui rawa i te tuhituhi me te kōrero pukapuka. He putanga mai ngā āhuatanga o Hoani, kua rerekē, nui rawa te kōrero, paku noa iho te kōrero pukapuka me te tuhituhi.”

(This was a new protocol, to strive to learn English and foreign languages, they said that there should be more writing and reading. The emergence of Hoani’s aspects were different, more speaking and less reading and writing).

In Tamaki Mākaurau, there were people like Hoani Waititi, Maharaia Winiata, and Arapeta Awatere who supported Māori students at kura and whare wānanga to help them achieve their tohu. Matua John remembered when Kiri Te Kanawa pursued her endeavours as an opera singer, Hoani was the one that supported these by fundraising for her travel expenses to London. He also did the same for Dame Ruia Morrison who was pursuing a career in tennis and was the first Māori woman to play at Wimbledon. He supported many iwi marae at that time too.

Matua John believed,

“Ko te mea nui, te wairua i roto i a ia, ahakoa ko wai, he tautoko ngā tamariki Māori, ngā tangata Māori katoa, kua tutuki.” Hoani died as a young man, not yet a mature adult and before his time. *‘Ko Hoani Waititi, he tohunga i te ako o Te Reo Māori.’*

(The important thing was, he had a spirit inside of him, no matter who, he supported Māori children, all Māori people to achieve. Hoani Waititi was an expert at teaching Te Reo Māori).

Waka Huia was a totally immersion Māori programme that used to screen on TVNZ One during the late 1980s and 1990s. The story about Hoani Retimana Waititi was screened on 30 August 1995. The kaikōrero (speakers) from Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia were known to the kairangahau. The interviews were conducted in Te Reo Māori and within a conducive environment for our kuia me ngā kōroua, on the verandah of the Wharenui o Kauaetangohia and within the hāpori (community). The target audience was of course, native speakers of te reo and those who could understand the language which made the coverage applicable for this research.

Hoani attended Whangāparāoa Native School as it was called then, and his secondary



school years were spent at Hato Tipene and Te Aute College.

He spent his tertiary education at Auckland University where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree. Hoani was still a young man when he joined the Air Force in 1943 where he was



assigned to the Jayforce and served in New Zealand during Te Pakanga WWII.

He obtained a transfer to the Army and joined the 28th Māori Battalion with the 'C' Company who were stationed in Italy and then Japan.

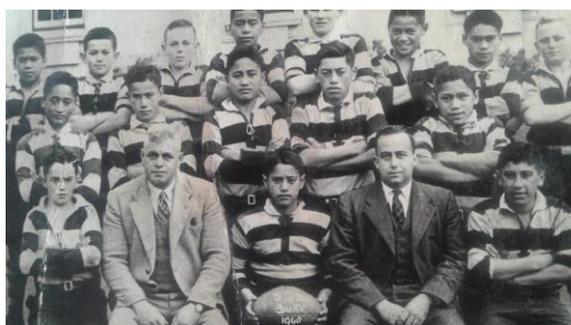
Dame June remembers hearing a story about an encounter that Grandpa Dick (Te Kūaha, her tīpuna), Hoani's father was tending to some mahi on their farm and while Hoani was a pilot still in the Airforce, he flew a plane over the farm and swooped low above his father, scaring Grandpa Dick to death. Hoani thought it was hilarious. Apparently, he was known for these stunts.



In 1946, Hoani was discharged from the New Zealand Army and attended Auckland Teachers' Training College for two years then taught at Te Kaha Māori District High School in 1949. From 1949 to 1957, Hoani taught at Hato Tipene and then became a specialist teacher in Māori Studies, particularly of the Māori language. During the late 1950s, early 1960s according to Dansey (1965, p. 7), "this was a period of rewarding activity." Hoani became well known during his visits to many schools and lecturing at the Auckland University's adult education centre. As the Māori Language Officer with the Education Department, he worked on methods of teaching Māori which "culminated in the publication of his Te Rangatahi textbooks (p. 7)." He piloted his textbooks at both Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls and St. Stephens High School.



Hoani was an accomplished sportsman who enjoyed playing rugby, tennis, table tennis, golf, softball, and bowls. He represented Auckland at softball and table tennis. He was a



New Zealand tennis umpire and involved in the administration of Māori Rugby in Auckland.

Due to his interest in historical issues, he became a member of the Auckland Regional Committee of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, the Polynesian Society, the Education Department's Committee on the Māori Language and the Anthropology and Māori Race section of the Auckland Institute and Museum where he served a term as Chairman. He was appointed Vice President of the Auckland Boystown Police and Citizens' Committee because of his interest in welfare issues of his people. For seven years, he conducted a club of Māori inmates of Auckland Prison. Dansey (1965) recalled, "of all his work that he most admired, was the utterly selfless devotion to these men in prison. Their moving tribute to Hoani was published in the October issue of the New Zealand Māori Council's newsletter (p. 7)." Hoani was patron of the New Zealand Federation of Māori Students, Co-Chairman of the Māori Education Foundation's Auckland Committee, President of the Mangere Marae Society, and an Executive Member of the Akarana Marae Society. He was known for his support and commitment to Māori issues and worthy causes. "He was a member of the Hāhi Mihinare (Anglican) Committee who were charged with the organisation of the celebrations marking the 150th anniversary of Samuel Marsden's first sermon and assisted the Auckland Māori Catholic Society in its move to establish a centre in Auckland (p. 7)."

Hoani was instrumental in the initiation of many fundraising campaigns to assist sportsmen and students like Ruia Morrison (tennis champion), Sherill Chapman and Walter Godfrey (golfers), Neti Davis (table tennis player), Ralph Hotere (an artist) and Wiremu Tawhai (a rotary scholar).

Dansey wrote passionately about Hoani Waititi and his life work, grouping his passions in no particular “order of importance: the preservation of Māoritanga, the language; the education of Māori children and adults; the welfare of his people, particularly those in trouble and need; the interpretation of the Māori to the Pākēha; the encouragement of healthy sporting activity; and the application of Christian principles to the work of life” (p. 7).

Regarding people that Uncle was involved with, Joan Metge (2001) in her book ‘Kōrero Tahi, talking together,’ it described a public hui held in West Auckland during 1961 that she attended with him “to speak in support of the newly established Māori Education Foundation to address the high percentage of young Māori leaving school with no qualifications (p. 1).” According to Metge, Hoani was the main instigator of this Foundation insisting that it be a co-operative enterprise which would involve Māori and Pakēhā equally. She recalled that after presenting their document, Uncle complemented her kōrero by telling the story of his life with assertion, giving “personal meaning to the abstract points” she had made earlier. Joan Metge dedicated her book to Hoani Retimana Waititi quoting, “whose vision was the seed,” and Derek Asher quoting, “who nurtured its growing.”

It was during this hui that Metge learnt a valuable lesson from what Uncle Hoani said and she never forgot but which resonated with her giving essence to his argument that, “Māori and Pākehā are bound together in one nation by the Treaty of Waitangi and by our shared history and it’s rewarding to work together for a common purpose (p. 2).” Furthermore, he believed that “when Māori and Pākehā respect and trust each other, recognising our differences, we achieve our goals more effectively than we could alone, learn much that enriches us and have a great deal of fun in the process” (p. 2).

Moreover, a further point of interest that Metge made was that uncle's vision of Māori and Pākehā working together as equal partners and his success with the implementation of the Māori Education Foundation, was extraordinary during the early days especially when the official policy of assimilation was still being practised.



A uniqueness about Hoani Waititi was his persuasive and optimistic character. Many young scholars during his time like Dr Pita Sharples, Pat Hohepa, Frank Solomon, and Ta Robert Mahuta, benefitted greatly from this character, excelling in the educational arena. As Ballara and Mariu (2000) claimed, “Hoani was an inspiration to his people through his achievements, constructive ideas, energy, and infectious humour.”

Hoani lived at Tawa Road in Te Ātatu North with my parents for several years. It was during this time that he began teaching me te reo Māori at three years old. If he had lived, I am confident to say that I would be matatau i te reo now. My Mum told me that he could teach Māori to all age groups and that he said, ‘children can absorb language easily,’ which is why I learnt and understood Māori language instructions well as a toddler.

Correspondingly, within the Special Collections Department at Te Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau Library (The University of Auckland), a comprehensive collection of manuscripts and papers reflected “many facets to Hoani Waititi’s life and work pertaining to his research, writing and teaching” (The University of Auckland MSS & Archives 2010/2). This was a very moving experience, examining ten items of his original and authentic manuscripts, handwritten, and a typescript. He taonga ērā.

Hoani Waititi’s papers were carefully prepared and catalogued for research purposes (The University of Auckland MSS & Archives 2010/2). The following are descriptions of each item by Sutherland and Innes (2010):

Item 1 is a typescript songbook, which contained Māori commonly taught in school settings, two of which were attributed to Ngātaki School.

Items 2, 8 and 9 were accounts of tribal history by Waititi. Item 2 is handwritten and included pasted-in photographs and illustrations, and comments written by others. It was suggested that this manuscript may have been a college or university research assignment. 'The Story of Whangāparāoa,' on pages 53-91 appeared in revised typescript from in Item 2.

Item 7 is a notebook that dated from an earlier period than other papers of Waititi and contained a diverse range of writings and notes pertaining to the whakapapa and activities of Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestor, Tamahae. It was evident that Waititi was well informed about our tīpunatanga and hītori (ancestry and history). A further assumption suggested that 'writings in this notebook were those of Waititi's grandfather, Te Manihera Waititi who he referred to in his foreword to 'Whangāparāoa: Landfall of the Fleet' in Item 2 and acknowledged him as his main sources of information.'

Item 8 provided tribal history pertaining to Whangāparāoa.

Item 3-6 and 10 reflected the subject of Māori language. They comprised pages of notes, exercises, and a Māori-to-English vocabulary. Item 3 was a handwritten notebook, and the remainder were typescript sheets, pasted into notebooks. This material may have been gathered by Waititi during his own formal study of the language or in his early years of teaching. Apparently, the material conveyed little resemblance to the style of his *Te Rangatahi* language-teaching publications.

An interesting discovery was that in 2002, this collection was transferred to Special Collections from the Piddington Reading Room in the Department of Anthropology.

In memoriam of Hoani Retimana Waititi, St Johns Anglican Church was erected in Whangāparāoa, Bay of Plenty and Hoani Waititi Marae in Glen Eden, Auckland.

3.4.2 Te Rangatahi Textbooks

The kairangahau argued that these textbooks were never acknowledged as a te reo Māori revitalisation initiative in its history provided by New Zealand History (2019). However, Dansey (1965) claimed that Hoani Waititi pursued 'the preservation of Māoritanga, specifically the language, one of his many successful accomplishments in his lifetime. These books may have begun as just a Māori course to expose adult learners and secondary students in Aotearoa to te reo Māori but, they were so much more than that. They were and are a life-long learning resource with a reputation of being the standard Māori language textbooks in Māori Studies for four decades. Kaiako Māori aligned the delivery of these textbooks to ngā āhuatanga o te Māoritanga me ōna tikanga. For example, the story about a Tangihanga from *Te Rangatahi III* (Waititi, 1985, pp. 28-39) was taught alongside tikanga o te marae from the knowledge of Dame June Mariu (1978-79), e rua ngā kawa (two protocols) Pā-eke-eke (all speakers from the tangata whenua speak first, and then once the speakers from the manuhiri have spoken, a speaker from the tangata whenua ends this process, Tau-utu-utu (whaikōrero is alternated, one speaker from the tangata whenua and one from the manuhiri, ending with a speaker from the tangata whenua, returning the mana to the home people). For Te Kawa o te Tangihanga, depending on the iwi you affiliate to, a whare mate may be used to house the 'tūpāpaku' (deceased); the tūpāpaku is laid on the verandah to the right of the wharenuui; the tūpāpaku is laid inside the wharenuui on the right- or left-hand side of the wharenuui; or for many iwi, the tūpāpaku is laid under the carved pou at the back of the wharenuui directly in front of the entrance. The unique component of studying Māori at secondary school was the Te Rangatahi textbooks. Hoani Waititi based most of his stories on the rural life he experienced in Whangāparāoa as a young boy. In fact, according to W1 (2018) he used the character Tamahae to represent himself. W1 (2018) remembered hearing that when it was suggested that the Te Rangatahi textbooks be revised to reflect current times e.g., converting shillings to dollars, Api Mahuika opposed the suggestion and wanted the textbooks to remain as

Hoani Waititi had written them. He was also faced with a few challenges once he completed writing the books. For example, according to Ballara and Mariu (2000), when he returned home from secondary school, he spoke Māori using transliterated words like wini for window instead of matapihi and mōtoka for car rather than waka. This caused some controversy amongst his school friends, Whānau and kaumatua kuia of the community. Despite this small altercation, he was determined to develop a rich and expressive Māori vocabulary with the knowledge he had gained and teachings from his home people.

John Tamihere (2009) with Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust organised copies of a plaque of Hoani Waititi to celebrate his achievements “against the backdrop of the assimilationist policies of the day.” These policies “held that the government’s job was to strip Māori of their language and heritage quickly and efficiently.” Education was one of the major ways this could be achieved. Within this environment, Hoani developed “a revolutionary method of teaching and learning te reo Māori that became the gold standard for schools and universities” for forty years. “The Rangatahi series was unique in being totally in te reo Māori and revealing grammar rather than teaching it.” Te Rangatahi was “based on AKO, developed as a series of conversations between teachers and their students.” This plaque launched the 21st Century Summit and the three-year Waipareira Education Taskforce which was dedicated to the ‘spirit and vision of Hoani Retimana Waititi.’

3.4.2.1 Te Rangatahi I

The first edition was written during 1961 and published in 1962 (Waititi, 1962). Each chapter was organised with Hei Kōrero and illustrations, He Whakamārama, He Kupu Hou, Hei Mahi and Te Whakamātautau. In this way, Ākonga learnt the Māori language using the illustrations which helped them understand what they were saying.

Interestingly, the contents of the very first red hard covered textbook contained the following chapters ranging from the introduction of Tamahae and his Whānau in ‘Ko Tamahae Mā,’ speaking around your home and at school in Te Kāinga and Te Kura, working your land in

Te Miraka Kau and Te Māra Rīwai to, going fishing, pig hunting, outings, occasions, and sports in Te Hī Ika, Te Whakangau Poaka, Te Pikiniki, Te Kanikani, Te Tīma o Te Kao and Te Tīma Toa.

The uniqueness of these narratives was Hoani Waititi describing his rural life experiences, as mentioned earlier, making these chapters endemic to him, his Whānau (family), and the community who also shared these experiences. A further feature of *Te Rangatahi I* was the formatting of the narratives, related texts, letters of Te Reo Māori and kupu hou (new words). The illustrations featured stick figures drawn by Hoani Waititi himself.

According to Hunter (1962), a need for a modern Māori course was acknowledged by the Department of Education. In 1959, the Māori Language Advisory Committee was established to study aspects connected with the teaching of the language and to make recommendations. The Māori course would be used in post-primary schools. The committee approached Mr John Waititi who was known for his experience and expertise in the teaching of the Māori language. The Department of Education agreed to the Committee proposals and the government made the necessary finance available for the writing of *Te Rangatahi I*. The first book in the series was used in Form III (now Year 9) in all secondary schools offering Māori Studies as a subject.

Kelly (1972) concurred that the original *Te Rangatahi I* contained fourteen chapters, of which seven were used for the revised edition in 1970 with 'fresh material' for the second chapter, 'Te Kainga.' The revised edition was condensed, and the other chapters included Ko Tamahae Mā, Te Kura, Te Miraka Kau, Te Hī Ika, Te Pikitia, and Te Taone.

Later, Kelly (1990) wrote in the 'Preface to the revised edition' that comments and suggestions received from classroom teachers and students using *Te Rangatahi* ensued a decision to revise *Te Rangatahi I and II*. This made the series more useful and sustained students' interest by rearranging the material into more manageable components of work. In honour of Hoani Retimana Waititi, the general principles of method and presentation

used were not changed. However, they were extended and more fully developed. The important features of the revision were the number of chapters in each book were reduced, the exercises accompanying each chapter were varied and increased, and each book of the course was for a duration of one year.

3.4.2.2 Te Rangatahi II

As for *Te Rangatahi I*, the contents of *Te Rangatahi II* 1964 first edition (Waititi, 1964), contained narratives that included activities and work that Tamahae (Hoani) enjoyed doing as a child until his early adult years. These included Te Rama Tuna, Te Kuti Hipi, Te Mahi Hei, and Te Mahi Tītī. Te Tangihanga, Te Mārena, and Te Hui Nui were community occasions he (Hoani) was involved in. For work, school related stories, and trips to other parts of Aotearoa were told in Te Ngahere o Kaingaroa, Te Mahi Moni, Te Haerenga ki Rotorua, Te Mahi Tohora and Te Kura Tuarua. For every four chapters there was a whakamātautau (test), ngā reta o Te Reo Māori and kupu hou (new words).

An interesting development that this rangahau highlighted was that a reprint of *Te Rangatahi II* was published five years later in 1969 which reproduced the same chapters from the first edition in 1964 including, Te Whakamātautau Tuatahi, Tuarua and Tuatoru, Ngā Reta o te Reo Māori and He Kupu Hou.

Kelly (1972) stated that, for the revised *Te Rangatahi II* (Waititi, 1972), the remaining seven chapters from *Te Rangatahi I* included an addition to the first chapter, Te Āwhina i a Pani rāua ko Hata, Te Whakangau Poaka, Te Kanikani, Te Pikiniki, Te Māra Riwai, Te Tīma o Te Kao, and Te Tīma Toa and the additional eighth chapter, Te Rama Tuna.

Moreover, Kelly advocated that the use of Hoani Waititi's material in this way gave the Committee freedom in its approach to the production of a new book for senior study Form 6 & 7 (Year 12 & 13), *Te Reo Rangatira* by Ta Tīmoti Karetu.

During my years at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls 1975-1977 and Rutherford High School 1978-1979, *Te Rangatahi I* (the red hard covered textbook) and *Te Rangatahi II* (the

blue hard covered textbook) were used for Māori Studies in conjunction with the Te Wharekura and Te Tautoko journals to enhance our skills ki te whakapakēhātia me tō mōhiotanga o ngā rerenga kōrero. These stories were hard to translate as they were written by other authors who used their own 'te reo a-iwi.'

Ko te kaupapa ake o te reo ngā tuhituhinga a Hoani Waititi nō Te Whānau-a-Apanui. (*The main purpose of Hoani Waititi's writings was to use the dialect of Te Whānau-a-Apanui*)

The unique feature about the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks was that Hoani used te reo he spoke at his home and in the community, 'te reo a-iwi' from Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Renwick (1985) explained that the publication of *Te Rangatahi II* first edition in 1978, was part of a revision and reorganisation of the original *Te Rangatahi series I and II*. With the advice of the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of Māori Language and in particular the assistance of a member of the Committee, Mr Timoti Kāretu several corrections and changes were made to *Te Rangatahi III* which included the reintroduction of vocabulary lists and the conversion of imperial measures to metric measures.

3.4.2.3 Te Rangatahi Elementary 1

The revised edition was written in 1970, eight years after *Te Rangatahi 1* first edition was published in 1962 with reprints between 1972 - 2001. A few new developments occurred such as, a soft covered textbook, te reo o ngā tuhituhinga a Hoani Waititi nō Te Whānau-a-Apanui was acknowledged for the first time, currency and metric measures were changed and additions made to the contents.

From experience, the kairangahau Māori (Māori researcher) recalled using this edition with the inclusion of two new chapters, 'Kei te aha a Tamahae mā' and Te Pāmu a Hata. Interestingly, the retainment of Te Whakamātautau Tuatahi and Tuarua, Ngā Reta o te Reo Māori and He Kupu Hou, honoured the previous formatting and structures used by Hoani Waititi in his very first editions.

3.4.2.4 Te Rangatahi Elementary 2

Similarly, a revised edition was written in 1972, eight years after *Te Rangatahi II* first edition was published in 1964 with reprints between 1978 – 2001. An interesting point to be made here is that the contents remained the same for this textbook, the illustrations were enhanced to reflect the events occurring in each chapter, Whakapākēhatia and Whakamāoritia were recurring exercises and Māori Tribes of New Zealand featured again.

However, an interesting discovery were the composition of the chapters for this edition and included Te Whakamātautau I and II with Kupu Hou. The letters of Te Reo Māori were omitted.

3.4.2.5 Te Rangatahi Elementary 3

The revised edition was written in 1985, seven years after *Te Rangatahi II* first edition was published in 1978 with three reprints in 1991, 1992 and 2001. This textbook was a more advanced edition with more exercises and aimed at a senior level of studying School Certificate, Form 5 (Year 11). 'Te Rama Tuna' had been transferred to the revised edition of *Te Rangatahi II* which left eleven chapters, the Te Whakamātautau sections and Māori Tribes of New Zealand were excluded in this edition. However, Ngā Reta o te Māori (omitted the word 'Reo') and He Kupu Hou were retained, and bold wording was not used.

Te Rangatahi series provided a significant course of a variety of Māori language exercises and teaching methods within the textbooks that made learning the language easy to follow and understand. Pākēha people who invested in learning our te reo did well with the written work. Being Māori was not a pre-requisite to learn and develop your understanding of the language. Māori students excelled in the oral examinations. Those who were 'matatau' did well in both the oral and written examinations.

3.5 Te Reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui

Richards (2016) wrote in their thesis that Whāea Roka Paora and Hoani Retimana Waititi were both Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars which was (to rāua tūhononga) their connection. This was highlighted and acknowledged when Whāea Roka Paora (1971) applied a 'tukunga iho' process to 'Ka haere a Hata mā ki te Hī Moki' as an extension of Hoani Waititi's approach to writing in *Te Rangatahi II* (Waititi, 1964) such as 'Te Rama Tuna' (Waititi, 1964, p. 5), 'Te Mahi Tītī' (Waititi, 1964, p. 117) and 'Te Mahi Tohorā' (Waititi, 1964, p. 131). Additionally, Richards (2016, p. 183) analysed Paora's "use of Māori language phrases and terms which she believes illuminated te reo o Te Whānau-ā-Apanui as a living language of science and culture. In comparison to *Te Rangatahi II* narratives, 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki,' was an extension of the extent and complexity of the experiences of Tamahae and emphasised the "significance of the moki to Te Whānau-a-Apanui." Interestingly, Richards (2016, p. 185) referenced where Manihera Waititi II (tīpuna o te kairangahau) comments evidenced that, within Paora's Whānau, the economic activities such as Ngāta's Māori Land Development Schemes had an impact on the people of the community. Her own life experiences helped her to understand the issues affecting her students. 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' highlighted the importance of Hoani Waititi's account of 'The Story of the Moki' (Reed, 1963) which was to Paora during the 1960s an acknowledgement that she and her students had not grown up having learnt the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Furthermore, 'The Story of the Moki' (Reed, 1963) was Hoani's interpretation that reviews, 'Ko Te Putake Mai o te Māori. This was an English version that provided a window into key aspects of knowledge and history about the moki including the origin of the moki, connections to Atua and tīpuna associated with the moki, some of the traditional fishing grounds and information about the moki fishing season.

Richards (2016, p. 185) acknowledged Waititi and his contributions to Māori language revitalisation and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the importance this was to Paora and her development as a Māori language teacher, a writer, and a tribal scholar. Moreover,

“Waititi and Paora were examples of those who were raised in Māori rural communities as native speakers and awarded scholarships to be educated at Māori boarding schools and were expected to go on to tertiary education or find employment.” Waititi attended both Hato Tipene and Te Aute. Paora was a third generation Māori boarding school student who became Head Prefect at Hukarere Māori Girls School. Both Paora and Waititi after their secondary schooling, returned to Te Whānau-a-Apanui to teach at Te Kaha Native School during the 1940s after World War II.

Richards (2016, p. 187) argued that “the characters of ‘Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki’ were like *Te Rangatahi I* (Waititi, 1962) and *Te Rangatahi II* (Waititi, 1964) providing descriptions and details of everyday life in Te Kaha during the 1950s and 1960s.” She explored the importance of Hoani Waititi’s selection of Tamahae and Hata for the main characters of his language texts highlighting Tamahae as an ancestral name of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Tamahae was a grandson of Apanui, our Iwi founding ancestor and his first wife, Kahukuramihiaata.

Richards (2016, p. 188) further described a ‘tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui’ in relation to kōrero published in *Te Wharekura 17* called, ‘He Kōrero Mo Tamahae.’ According to interview notes by Rūhīterangi Richards (her mother), Te Whānau-a-Apanui was the author of this story. She claimed that it was another example of acknowledging a historical literary text that was a collective narrative (Mahuika, 2008). Moreover, she acknowledged Hoani Waititi for using the name of Tamahae for the main character of the *Te Rangatahi* series (1962-1964), which explained the history of this Iwi warrior leader.

In contrary, although Richards (2016, p. 189) offered a rationale to explain Hoani’s choice to use Tamahae as a main character for his series, he personified Tamahae as ‘himself’ and the stories or events that related to experiences he encountered during his lifetime.

A further comparison that Richards (2016, p. 192) made regarding Paora’s writings about Hāmama, a rocky bay at Te Kaha, between Te Kaha Point and Maraetai Bay and ‘te kawa

o te rama pāpaka' (the protocol for catching crabs by torchlight) to Hoani Waititi's (1964, p. 120) approach in the Te Mahi Tītī chapter where Hata instructed Tamahae and Rewi about how to catch muttonbird.

In reference to Richard's (2016, p. 196) kōrero also from 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki,' 'calendar dates provided a chronological approach to Hata and his Whānau preparations for the opening of the Moki season on June 15. Paora (1971, p. 17) made a connection to Te Whānau-a-Apanui astronomy in relation to this specific date:

Ko Tamahae: He aha rā i meatia ai mō te tekau mā rima o Hune, ka tīmata ai te hī moki?

Ko Hata: Kāore tonu au e mōhio. Kei te mōhio koe, e Rua?

Ko Rua: E kiia ana koiane te rā e puta ai te whetū ko Whānui te ingoa. I te tekau mā rima o Hune, ka puta taua whetū, ka mōhio ngā tāngata kua tae mai te moki ki Whangāparāoa.

Furthermore, Rua's claim that 'Whānui is the moki star sign differs from other tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that referred to Autahi (Canopus) and Tautoru mā (Orion's Belt and other nearby stars such as Puanga and Takurua).

A connection Paora made with Waititi's account of 'The Story of the Moki,' (Reed, 1963) were her memories and experiences of 20th century moki fishing to earlier ancestral experiences (Richards, 2016, p. 202). This was a 'direct reference which linked Te Whānau-a-Apanui descendants to key elements of a tribal worldview that connected Māori to our collective Whānau, hapū, and iwi to te Ao Māori.

In summary, Waititi and Paora were both Māori academic scholars who spoke their native language fluently. It was through their oral and written narratives that identified a need to preserve and regenerate Te Reo Māori. This was their connection, a concern for the decline of the Māori language, and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in relation to their rural life experiences such as mahi pāmu and moki fishing. Waititi contributed through the *Te Rangatahi* series and Paora contributed through *tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui*. Paora was known for her writings in Te Wharekura and Te Tautoko journals which were used in

secondary schools to complement the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks in Māori Studies. Richards (p. 205) reminded us that, ‘the preservation and revitalisation of tribal language in written format, using the *Te Rangatahi* method’ emphasised that our language is a spoken language, which described the ‘activities that our ancestors engaged in.’ This encouraged Māori ‘to use and adapt it to suit’ our everyday lives. Paora achieved similar outcomes by ‘incorporating English words into her Māori text, challenging Māori language students to keep speaking Māori and if need be, use English vocabulary occasionally.

An interesting discovery during this research, were the manuscripts of Hoani Waititi 1941-1960s, which revealed the psyche behind his textbooks before he wrote them. In fact, he was developing and studying te reo while at Auckland University. He studied the type of grammar and kupu used for the sentence structures in his textbooks to teach the Māori language.

3.6 Conclusion

3.6.1 Historical Timeline

This wāhanga contained a section on the history of the Te Reo Māori from the pre-1840s, the signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi, a renowned event for Te Ao Māori. The research outlined historical events significant to the Māori people and their language.

3.6.2 Hoani Retimana Waititi

The second part of this wāhanga was about the life story of Hoani Retimana Waititi leading to the publication of the first editions of *Te Rangatahi I*, 1962 and *II*, 1964 and the later publication of the first edition of *Te Rangatahi III*, 1978.

Hoani Waititi contributed to te reo Māori revitalisation through the *Te Rangatahi* series as the standard textbooks in secondary schools for four decades during the 20th to the beginning of the 21st centuries.

During this research, it was found that there were secondary schools like Trident High School in Whakatane and Te Kura Mana Māori o Whangaparāoa after 2002, that still found these textbooks valuable for the teaching of te reo Māori. The sentence structures, kupu hou and grammar were some of the features that have appealed to the kaiako Māori of the 21st century.

Despite his life ending at an early age, Hoani Waititi lived a full life, touching the lives of many people in our Māori and Pakēhā communities.

Uncle John left a legacy for our Whānau to aspire to and be proud of. He contributed tremendously to the revitalisation of te reo Māori through his textbooks which has been the foundation of this thesis.



Moe mai rā Uncle John mo ake tonu atu i roto i te rangimarie me ngā ringaringa o tō tātou Atua Kaha Rawa. (Rest forever Uncle John in peace and in the arms of our Lord).

Arohanui ki a koe mo ō taonga aroha me tō whakareretanga. (Thank you very much for your valuable treasures and legacy).

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā

“He puna wai, he puna kai, he puna reo, he puna ora, ita-a-ita”
“A water spring, a bountiful spring, a language spring, a life spring, holdfast”

4.0 Introduction

4.0.1 Kaupapa Māori Methodology

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā for this thesis has aligned its research methodology with its kaupapa of te reo Māori revitalisation. A Māori approach was applied in support of a kaupapa Māori methodology to retain Māori tikanga, customary practices and philosophies within this study. It has highlighted the insights of theorists outlining specific Indigenous perspectives about a kaupapa Māori methodology and its theoretical framework.

It has drawn on theories which have underlined several contributing factors fundamental to this study such as Pihama et al., (2002, pp. 30-43) who explained that “a Kaupapa Māori methodology captures Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices. Kaupapa Māori is about being ‘fully’ Māori.” Evidently, this theory encapsulated a motivation for Māori researchers to consider a methodology conducive to Māori kaupapa and engagement by Indigenous people.

Bishop (1996, pp. 30-31) maintained that “Kaupapa Māori research highlights a collaborative approach to power sharing and underlines that ownership and benefits of the study belongs to the participants.” Ferguson (2012) had a corresponding theory called ‘Pāhekoheko’ (p. 85) which involved “the process of sharing data with the research *Whānau* and allowed modification or deletion of data from interviews to confirm accurate recording in conjunction with transparency. This maintained credibility with the *Whānau* and their wider research community.” This demonstrated a collaboration and kept everyone’s mana (prestige) intact. In addition, Cram (2006, p. 34) argued that “in a Kaupapa Māori Research paradigm, research is undertaken by Māori, for Māori, with Māori.” An important aspect of Kaupapa Māori Research was that it sought to understand and represent Māori, as Māori.

This wāhanga (chapter) explored these theories along with other relevant theories pertaining to this methodology.

Graham Smith has advocated for Kaupapa Māori as a theory of change (1991) and documented how Kaupapa Māori concepts developed and evolved within Māori communities, ... “to be Māori is taken for granted. Māori language, culture, knowledge, and values were accepted in their own right.” Graham Smith (1991, p. 17) also outlined six components of Kaupapa Māori which confirmed the importance of using a Māori-based methodology:

- Tino Rangatiratanga (Self-Determination Principle)
- Taonga Tuku Iho (Cultural Aspirations Principles)
- Ako Māori (Culturally Preferred Pedagogy)
- Kia Piki I Ngā Raruraru o Ngā Kainga (Mediation of Socio-economic and Home Difficulties Principle)
- Whānau
- Kaupapa

As this research progressed, it was clear that among these theorists was an intertwining of theories about Kaupapa Māori which complemented one another and affirmed that this type of methodology was a contributing factor to the kaupapa of this research.

Johnston (1998, pp. 58-61) extensively examined six central ideas in relation to Kaupapa Māori theory and their association with practices, visions, goals, and objectives to support Māori. This supported Graham Smith’s (1997, p.248-249) most recent analysis of Kaupapa Māori which utilised several research objectives that mirrored features of Kaupapa Māori.

These objectives included:

- i. **countering** the demise of Māori language, knowledge, and culture through **developing** strategies for the revitalisation and survival of Māori language, knowledge, and culture
- ii. **countering** the poor educational outcomes for Māori students through **developing** learning interventions

- iii. **countering** the lack of power and control over key educational decision-making through **developing** increased control over important schooling and educational decisions
- iv. **countering** the reproduction of dominant Pākēha cultural, political, and socio-economic interests through **developing** a focus on Māori cultural, political, and socio-economic concerns
- v. **countering** dominant Pākēha ideologies through **developing** conscientisation, counter-hegemonic practice, and praxis
- vi. **countering** the marginalising of Māori language, knowledge, culture through **developing** and asserting the validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge, and culture
- vii. **countering** structural impediments related to the manipulation of such structural elements as economics, power, and ideology through **developing** critical understandings and actions within a cycle of “*conscientisation, resistance and praxis*” (pp. 248-249).

These objectives had a two-pronged association with Kaupapa Māori theory and this rangahau. They were holistic and through related developments maintained Kaupapa Māori theory as fundamental to the thought process and practices of the Māori people.

Te Whata (2005, p. 98) believed that research about Māori was seen from a non-Māori lens and consequently undermined, disadvantaged, and belittled Māori. This was done by relegating Māori knowledge and history as being “invisible, primitive and invalid.”

Similarly, Vercoe (1997, p. 42) elaborated by claiming “the pressure of influential ‘hegemonic forces,’ there was a progressive ‘watering down’ of the vitality and lucidity of Māori knowledge.” All knowledge whether it be western or Indigenous, had a place in the world of research no matter the nature of how it was brought to us and should have been acknowledged for its relevance and evidential perspective in support of the research kaupapa. Linda Smith (1999, p. 277) also suggested her perspective saying, the need to “reclaim control over indigenous ways of knowing and being, will counteract any false dissolution that exists” and argued that decolonising’ research methodologies will enhance Māori research methods of exploration” (pp. 183-195).

This research strongly supported the process of decolonisation in all aspects of what makes us Māori with a special emphasis on te reo Māori. Durie (1996, p. 42) reinforced this theory by highlighting “the major aim of a Māori-centred approach to research should ultimately be

to increase gains for Māori in order to advance the aims, goals and processes of positive Māori development.” Kaupapa Māori initiatives as Graham Smith (1997, p. 277) asserted that Māori rationality and understanding has a strong linkage to Kaupapa Māori theory which complemented the research objectives mentioned earlier:

1. is related to ‘being Māori’.
2. is connected to Māori philosophy and principles.
3. takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori knowledge, language, and culture; and
4. is concerned with ‘the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing.’”

The methodological approach of this research has underpinned a process that intended to primarily benefit Māori and their wellbeing. Most of all, this approach aimed to reclaim control of traditional research processes familiar to Māori as Linda Smith (1999, p. 191) conveyed and which pertained to this rangahau of Te Reo Māori and its regeneration initiatives and strategies.

Linda Smith (2012, p. 190) drew on the relationship between Kaupapa Māori and the Māori language and believed that “the significance of Kaupapa Māori for Māori language is tied to the connection between language, knowledge and culture.”

Sir James Henare as cited in Nepe (1991, p. 15), one of the architects of Te Kōhanga Reo, supported this theory by quoting, “The language is like a cloak which clothes, envelops, and adorns the myriad of one’s thoughts (Ko te reo te kākahu o te whakaaro te huarahi i te ao turoa o te hinengaro).”

Interestingly, Irwin (1994, p. 27) gave an additional perspective believing that without question “Kaupapa Māori research is its own paradigm.”

4.0.2 The Indigenous Research Agenda

Regarding Indigenous research, Linda Smith (2012, p. 119-122) developed a strategy called the ‘Indigenous Research Agenda’ which approached research from an Indigenous perspective. The research agenda was a strategy which focussed on the goal of tino

rangatiratanga (self-determination) of Indigenous peoples. Linda Smith's (2012, p. 121 - Figure 6.1) represents a chart using the metaphor of ocean tides which is a perspective from a Pacific Island people. The sea is a giver of life, it sets time and conveyed movement. The four major tides portrayed were survival, recovery, development, and self-determination. They were the conditions and states of being through which Indigenous communities moved (p. 121). The agenda added value, comprehension, and recognition of everything that profiled Māori people. Smith also defined the different 'rings' within the larger circle. Survival described "the survival of peoples as physical beings, of languages, of social and spiritual practices, of social relations, and of the arts." Recovery referred to "the recovery of territories, of Indigenous rights, and hītori (histories). The recognition of Indigenous cultures is a priority." Linda Smith (2012, p. 123) recognised development through instruments such as treaties, charters, and declarations to send clear messages to global scientific and research communities that "open-cast mining research (see take and destroy) are absolutely unacceptable." Kei te tika tōna kōrero, her theory is right, we as a people needed to determine how these instruments were used in the best interests of Māori people and indeed, kairangahau Māori. For healing, decolonisation, transformation and mobilisation, words of a fundamental nature provided for further explanation below in Smith (2012 Figure 6.1) Kua ea, it is done.

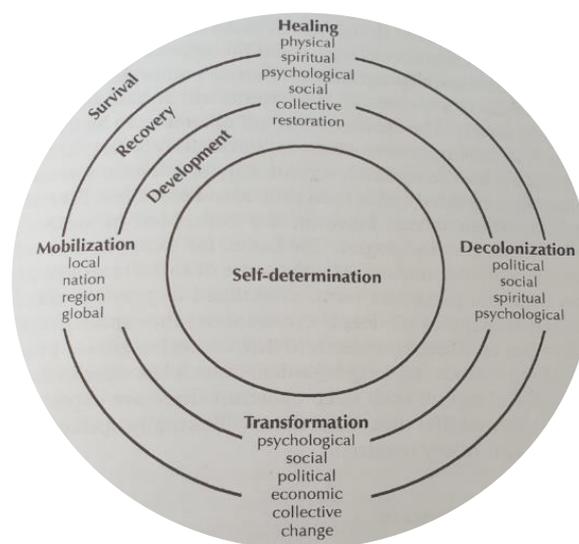


Figure 2: The Indigenous Research Agenda by Smith (2012, p. 121)

4.1 Qualitative Research

A qualitative research method was appropriate for this thesis and the nature of engagement by the participants.

For this rangahau, I drew on qualitative methods - oral narratives using face-to-face (kanohi ki te kanohi) semi-structured interviews (*See Appendix B*) and a combined literature review and document analysis.

In support of and complimentary to these qualitative methods, Te Awekotuku (1991, cited in Smith, 2012, p. 124) identified specific responsibilities as listed below which she believed kairangahau (researchers) have to Māori while incorporating practices which were culturally appropriate to Māori to seek historical knowledge and perspectives. These aligned with a sequence of practices:

- i. Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
- ii. Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people kanohi ki te kanohi)
- iii. Titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero (look, listen ... speak)
- iv. Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
- v. Kia tūpato (be cautious)
- vi. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people)
- vii. Kia mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge).

According to Smith (2012, p.125) the protocols which governed our relationships with each other and the environment work in collaboration with Indigenous perspectives and ethical codes of conduct. This was imperative and an important aspect of qualitative research as supported by Ferguson (2012), “qualitative research lends itself to benefits for the researcher and participants in an Indigenous cultural context.” Litchman (2006) earlier provided a similar example by claiming that “qualitative research was holistic and one advantage of using this method is it enabled the researcher to record the many interpretations of certain events.” Furthermore, Litchman (2006, pp. 8-15) proposed the following elements which he believed are critical to qualitative research:

- Description
- Understanding and interpretation
- Dynamic
- No single way of doing something.
- Inductive thinking
- Holistic
- Variety of data in natural settings
- Role of the researcher
- In-depth study
- Words
- Themes and writing and not linear.

As Ferguson (2012) suggested, these critical elements were beneficial to the holistic nature of qualitative research, empowering the researcher to become part of the participants' lives. For Māori researchers, all these elements portrayed the research journey from an Indigenous cultural context (p. 77).

Ferguson (2012, p. 78) also highlighted her theory regarding Māori researchers' personal experiences while conducting research within their own tribal boundaries where if appropriate, there is an obligation culturally to keep 'communication channels' open to maintain data collection and relationships, old and new. Moreover, Ferguson was a firm believer that, if Māori are conducting research within their own tribal areas, accountability between the researcher and the research participants and indeed the wider community was paramount (p. 79).

A perspective by Mead (2003, p. 318) earlier supported this,

The mana (pride) of people needs to be protected and thus care should be exercised about how information is used. In addition, the mana of the researcher is also at risk in rangahau (research) if information is mishandled or if the task is inadequate.

Agreeably, Bishop and Glynn (1999) formerly stressed that a key component for qualitative methods when conducting research was "the outcome for the researcher" (p. 104). Similarly, Ferguson (2012, pp. 79-80) enhanced this theory by claiming, "a holistic approach to cultural contexts was a suitable qualitative method for conducting research and seen as holistically acceptable and appropriate with the culture." These aspects contributed

substantially to the achievement of successful results when using qualitative methods for conducting research for this thesis.

4.1.1 Oral Narratives (Storytelling)

Te Whata (2005, p. 102) viewed oral narrative as “an accolade to the interviewing process and as an integral part of and a beneficial method for Indigenous research.” Additionally, Linda Smith (1999, p. 144) theorised that, Indigenous peoples within a conducive environment, were natural storytellers. They told their stories, wrote their own versions their way and for their own purposes, “allowing Māori researchers to decontextualize information that was Indigenous and tangible.” Relatively, Smith was supportive of each story having its own mana (prestige) which contributed to a shared story where every Indigenous person had a place. The “passing down of oral narratives from one generation to the next, connecting and reconnecting the past, present and future, the land with the people and the people with the story” (p. 145). Storytelling was also be seen as a “powerful form of resistance” as argued by Smith (1999, p. 35), allowing Indigenous peoples to continue the kaupapa of decolonisation.

Indigenous academics like Bishop (1996), Bishop and Glynn (1992; 1999), Linda Smith (2012), and Te Whata (2005) have asserted their perspectives about the effectiveness of the oral narrative especially for this research. Intriguingly, Hooks (1989, cited in Giroux, 1992, p. 169) provided an example of this by attesting that, “coming to voice means, ‘moving from silence into speech as a revolutionary gesture’.” She proclaimed that, “awareness of the need to speak, to give voice to the varied dimensions of our lives, was one way [to begin] the process of education for critical consciousness (p. 12).” Despite the academic nature of Hooks view, its relevance was evident.

Oral narratives were conducive to our people, our cultural way of life, our Indigeneity, and our language. As Te Whata (2005, p.103) endorsed, this method of research allowed the respondents to respond to “versions of Māori, Māori culture, and/or language that were

subverted through the colonial process.” In addition, according to Smith (1997) it was a “culturally appropriate” research method for Māori which this study has assented.

Bishop and Glynn (1992), and Bishop (1996), believed strongly with these theories about narrative enquiry as being culturally appropriate, language friendly, and a research strategy for Māori to “select, recollect, and reflect on stories” (p. 24). This was the way Māori people acquired and shared their knowledge.

A Māori concept that was prominent with Māori traditionalists pre-1950s was ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ (face to face) approach which promoted the conveying and recalling of knowledge through verbal presentation. Bishop (1996) contended that, Māori people today had a strong cultural preference for story as a medium of instruction.

Additionally, Te Whata (p. 103) claimed, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga was communicated orally as the “focal component of the learning process.” Te Kohanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori were examples of total immersion methods that involved oral narratives relayed in Te Reo Māori. It was the only conducive means to communicate knowledge and stories to our tamariki (children), our kuia/kaumatua (elders), all our people.

In addition, as Kovach (2009, p. 98) suggested, from an Indigenous point of view, supported within a relationship-based approach to research was also “story and Indigenous inquiry.” She believed that to bring forth story, there must be trust between kairangahau and kaikōrero. For this to happen, “groundwork and careful preparation were paramount.” This provided a space for narrative such as conversations, interviews, and research sharing circles. According to Kovach, Laara Fitznor, a Cree scholar employed ‘research circle-talking circles’ to give space to story and allowed her to ask questions where people could share what they had to share. It provided a forum for people to relate their stories in a holistic fashion that was not separated by a structured interview process.

Wilson (2008, p. 100) citing Cree Elder Jerry Saddleback also offered further Indigenous significance to strengthen prior views regarding oral narrative. He explained that, according to his people and their tradition, they acknowledged “three styles of storytelling.” The first style was “sacred stories, which were specific in form, content, and structure.” The second

style of stories were like the “Indigenous legends that you may have heard or read in books.” The third style of story was “relating personal experiences or the experiences of other people.”

Linda Smith (2012, pp. 145-146) being a firm believer in decolonising methodologies, theorised about storytelling and claimed that “its connection to Indigenous research in conjunction with oral histories and views by elders and women, were integral aspects to consider.” Each individual story had their own mana and Indigenous significance to its Indigenous peoples. More importantly, the story and the storyteller created a robust connection to the past with the future, from one generation to the other, the land with its people, and the people with the story.

A further Indigenous theorist is Archibald (2008, cited in Smith, 2012, p. 146) who described story as, “work that educates the heart, the mind, the body and the spirit. She suggested that “stories engage listeners and the storyteller in a respectful relationship of reciprocity that created and sustained oral cultures.”

From the research exploration of theories pertaining to this kaupapa *Storytelling*, it was evident that this method was reciprocal for Māori and other Indigenous peoples. In whatever form, oral narrative created an environment that was user-friendly, conducive, and kept all participants’ mana fully intact throughout the duration of the rangahau (research).

4.2 Quantitative Research

4.2.1 Electronic Survey Questionnaire

The quantitative research method that this thesis drew on was conducting an electronic survey (*See Appendix D*). The participants were Whānau and friends specifically from three main generational categories, ‘the traditionalists or silent generation b. 1925-1945,’ the baby boomers b. 1946-1964,’ generation X b. 1965-1979,’and ‘generation Y b. 1980-late 1990s. The kairangahau Māori chose to use Pukamata (Facebook) as the social media platform.

The questionnaire focussed on experiences in relation to the participants' level of fluency, knowledge of the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks and language revitalisation.

Cavana et al., (2001, p. 12) speculated on quantitative research methods being reliant on the researcher's ability to quantify the information explored through the analysis of statistics and raw data. They argued that the electronic survey provided a simple way to manage responses. Whānau could answer at their convenience which was imperative to safeguard both the kairangahau and kaikōrero. However, in contrast, Cavana et. al identified some flaws such as, a low response rate, respondents were unable to clarify questions or the follow-up procedures for non-responses were necessary and time consuming (p. 245). Likewise, Whānau needed to be computer literate and have access to computers for emailing purposes. This meant access to the Internet or work intranet and a willingness to complete the survey. The kaupapa and questions were important for the survey to achieve its goal and have a positive outcome. Whānau also needed to be familiar with the content and context of the survey.

A further aspect in support of the electronic survey that Delahaye and Smith (1998) provided, was the benefit of using open or open-ended questions which allowed Whānau a wide choice of possible responses (p.11). Notably, Cavana et al., endorsed this and said by arranging the open question in the '*stem-plus-query*' design (p. 142) supported this aspect. For example, the researcher began with this lead in statement, "*I am interested in the concerns you may have about the new financial system*" followed by this question, "*Would you tell me about some of these concerns, please?*"

4.2.1.1 Quantitative Methodologies

Authors Andersen and Walter (2013, p. 19) affirmed that what determines quantitative methodologies was "the positioning of these Indigenous peoples living in Western colonised first world nations." Hokowhitu (2009, p. 101) had a corresponding approach to "Indigeneity in relation to thinking about knowledge construction which considered Indigenous statistical

methodologies.” For Indigenous researchers, this helped us to explore and define the paradigm of Indigenous quantitative methodologies.

As discussed by Anderson and Walter (2013, pp. 17-18) regarding “the diversity of Indigenous peoples” in which the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII, no date) “declined to adopt an official definition of Indigenous.” This contradicted a quantitative methodology and method which relied on the gathering of important perspectives from Indigenous peoples i.e., Māori peoples in Aotearoa. In 2014, Dr Pita Sharples and Te Ururoa Flavell were asked to endorse, on behalf of New Zealand the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This gave Māori their own identity as the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa, and included a diverse language, cultural beliefs, and an opportunity to maintain and reproduce their ancestral lands and communities.

Dyck (1985, cited by Andersen & Walter, 2013, p. 18) in relation to the preceding theories about quantitative methodology for Indigenous peoples, defined “fourth world peoples” as those who:

- are Indigenous to the lands that form the nation state.
- have had their sovereignty and territory appropriated by settler colonialism.
- are economically and politically marginalised.
- have their Indigenous culture stigmatised by the dominant culture.
- are struggling for social justice and for a right to self-determination and control over their traditional lands and resources; and
- constitute a tiny minority of the population of a nation, contributing to their political powerlessness.

Correspondingly, ‘fourth world peoples’ have been subjected to all the above criteria and quantitative methods of data gathering without any consideration for their ethical rights. The

Indigenous peoples who were specific to this research are Aotearoa Māori, Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Sámi peoples.

4.3 Triangulation

Chilisa (2012, p. 167) described triangulation as a “strategy for enhancing the credibility of a study” which Patton earlier (2002, pp. 247-248) had categorised into four methods of triangulating data. This research linked the first two methods and the last to assist with verifying the two qualitative methods and one quantitative method.

- **Methodological triangulation:** the comparison of data collected by various means, e.g., data from structured interviews, talk circles, observations, diaries, documents, oral literature, storytelling, songs, language, whakatauki or whakatauāki (proverbs) and metaphors, and artefacts.
- **Triangulation of data sources:** the importance of varying the times during which events are observed, space where they are observed and participants in the study.
- **Triangulation of investigators:** triangulation of investigators occurs when more than one researcher participates in the study. It is assumed that the team members bring a diversity of approaches that help to investigate the phenomena from multiple perspectives. Collaboration of two or more researchers, one Western and others Indigenous or local, can enhance the credibility of a study.
- **Theoretical triangulation:** the comparison of ideas from different theoretical perspectives, including Indigenous knowledge theories that inform conceptual frameworks, the design of interview guides, data analysis, and interpretation.

Comparatively, Cohen and Manion (1989, cited in Cavana et al., 2001, p. 137) proposed their three types of triangulations and believed that these were aids to assist researchers with the verification of data:

- Researcher-subject which involves cross-checking during data gathering or after interpretation to confirm accurate reporting.
- Confirmation from other sources about specific issues or events identified is always paramount.
- Two or more methods of data collection should be used, and the subsequent interpretations should be compared.

Complimentary to these themes, Ferguson (2012, p. 83) defined three 'research processes' as being 'the doing.' These processes were conducive with the cultural values and beliefs of all involved with this research and ensured that the principles of kaupapa Māori research were upheld. These processes were:

Kōwhiri

Ferguson highlighted the Māori concept, Kōwhiri to strengthen the theme 'Triangulation' as a method for this research. Ferguson defined this process as meaning "to choose or select and represented the choices that were given to the research participants" (2012, p. 83). For example, participants have the choice of being interviewed in a group situation with other research *Whānau* (family) as opposed to individual interviews. Ferguson alluded to participants preferring to be interviewed in te reo Māori which kept them ethically safe.

Pāhekoheko

Likewise, Ferguson defined Pāhekoheko, the second Māori concept in relation to 'Triangulation' as "the sharing of the data with the research whānau" (2012, p. 85). Research participants were permitted as their right to view any part of the data from their interviews to modify or delete to ensure accurate recordings. Māori researchers maintain credibility with the research whānau and wider research community which ensured transparency was paramount. Bishop and Glynn (1999) called this part of the process "power sharing between the researcher and research whānau" (p. 30-31).

Māramatanga

As for Kōwhiri and Pāhekoheko, Ferguson (2012) defined this third Māori concept relative to 'Triangulation' as "the final research process of understanding or enlightenment." Whānau were able to develop a deep understanding of the kaupapa" (p. 85) once feelings of trust and comfort have been established in conjunction with the kairangahau (researcher) in the aspects of the research. Berryman et al., (2013) said, "a research methodology kaupapa Māori is a Māori determined process supported strongly by traditional Māori values and aimed at fulfilling the needs and aspirations of future Māori generations" (p. 287). This was paramount for Indigenous driven research.

The kairangahau connected the two qualitative methods and one quantitative method with theoretical, methodological and data source triangulation to authenticate the collections of data.

4.3.1 Literature Review – Theoretical triangulation

The Literature Review was chosen as 'theoretical triangulation' crediting Indigenous theorists and the like for their theories and perceptions on the status of Indigenous languages, particularly te reo Māori. The review of literature gave kudos to the different 'te reo revitalisation initiatives.'

Drawing on Cavana et al., (2001), this research was supportive of their theory about a literature review which stated, when reviewing and documenting published and unpublished work from primary and secondary sources in the areas of particular interest, it must portray a relevance to the kaupapa of the research and researcher.

Ferguson (2012, p.11) endorsed a research literature review as a key component when conducting research that involved theoretical triangulation to validate the findings from the initial data analysis. For this research, diverse literature helped to familiarise the researcher with previous studies on the kaupapa of this thesis and placed theorists' related work in context. A further aspect that complemented the literature review was a document analysis

which engaged government publications, reports or documents which in essence provided the kairangahau with valuable information. This information ranged from educational research highlighting what Ferguson referred to as “changes made to both the curriculum and educational policy or resulting in findings conducted by experts in their various fields which in turn added validity to the research.” The researcher affirmed these theories as having a direct contribution to theoretical triangulation. Furthermore, archival documentation, manuscripts, related articles, and journals played integral roles in the collection of data.

A common theme that has strengthened this entire study and is eminent in all the chapters is *te reo Māori*. Ferguson (2012, p. 12) agreed saying, “For many Māori in Aotearoa, *te reo Māori* was the lifeline of the culture and should have an important role in any Māori research study involving Māori participants.” During the gathering of data using the methods mentioned earlier, common themes emerged which according to Tilley (2016, p. 27) “further developed the research context and data collection” to better understand their relevance and linkages. This also highlighted the importance of “historical and/or contextual knowledge in relation to the research context and participants” (p. 59-60). Furthermore, as Farrar (2004) suggested documentation such as agendas, meeting minutes, and evaluations, reports, proposals, contracts, e-mail, letters, and mission statements were also considered for data analysis as Harper (2006) would also support. Relatively, this research investigated pertinent documentation from Archives New Zealand that advocated Hoani Waititi’s earlier works with the Department of Education. The carefully preserved manuscripts and assignment books with the University of Auckland, displayed Waititi’s thinking in written form during his time as a university student and how he fashioned the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks.

4.3.2 Interviews – Methodological triangulation

Semi-structured Interviews provided an opportunity for Māori researchers to conduct their interviews using kaupapa Māori practices, described earlier by Te Awekotuku (1991, cited in Smith, 2012, p. 124) as “culturally appropriate for Māori to seek historical and perspectives of specifically: aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people); kanohi kitea (the seen face); manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous); and kia mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge).” With these practices in mind, this set the scene as a conducive, kaikōrero-kairangahau (participant-researcher) friendly environment. The selection criteria were important as it determined participant inclusion and exclusion. Participants' inclusion relied on their knowledge of kaupapa Māori practices as mentioned and a good command of te reo with prior knowledge of the historical and current timelines and dynamics surrounding the Māori language. Participants were carefully selected hence the exclusion of other candidates.

Oral narrative emerged voluntarily, bringing to the scene authentic, rich data. Kaikōrero, if 'matatau i te reo Māori' (fluent in the Māori language) were encouraged to speak in te reo. However, if kaikōrero preferred to speak in Pākēha (in English), 'kei a rātou' (it was up to them).

As a courtesy, ngā uiuinga (interviews) for this thesis, were conducted in Tamaki Mākaurau, Auckland and Whangāparāoa, Cape Runaway in Te Whānau-ā-Apanui at venues suggested by each Whānau. The kaikōrero, were chosen from different socio-economic and vocational backgrounds. They ranged from principals of Māori medium and kura auraki (mainstream) schools, kuia and kōroua nō Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Pae Arahi wānanga auraki, Professor Māori and Indigenous Development, Doctorate Studies, ākongā Bursary, ākongā University Entrance.

Interview questions covered the following areas: (*See Appendix C*)

- Knowledge of the history of Te Reo Māori from the 19th - 21st centuries

- Competency in Te Reo Māori
- The status of Te Reo Māori
- Knowledge of Te Rangatahi textbooks and their author, Hoani Retimana Waititi.

Patton (2002) claimed that interviews were an appropriate qualitative method using 'methodological triangulation' which focussed on data collection of predominantly 'oral narrative which included storytelling, language, whakatauki or whakatauāki, and metaphorical expression giving 'ngako' (essence) to the responses.

Interviews included direct experiences with te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, Te Rangatahi textbooks and their author, Hoani Retimana Waititi. Oral narrative or personal accounts of their lives growing up totally immersed in the Māori language at home and in the community or being brought up as a second language learner not speaking your Indigenous language. It was these personal accounts that allowed for freedom of mātauranga (knowledge) and kōrero through the sharing of authentic data that given the opportunity emerged from a unique place or memory. By allowing this process to occur, the kairangahau practised ethics from a Māori perspective and respected Māori cultural traditions and customs. The recipients of these interviews were in control of their iwi taketaketanga (Indigeneity), their reo, their mātauranga and their hītori (history). They possessed the 'mana.' According to Ford (2010, Interviewees "from Māori communities participated in and contributed to te ao Māori, to live as Māori (p. 89)," and expressed as Māori on behalf of their Māori communities.

SooHoo (2013) conducted interviews for her research journal and described how humility was the sustaining force between the researcher and participants. The interviews involved twelve teachers in three secondary schools. They shared their perspectives of promising classroom practices with Māori students from the *Te Kōtahitanga* research and development project based on a large federal grant funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Education. Furthermore, SooHoo reflected on familiarising herself with some aspects of a Māori worldview during and after structured and semi-structured interviews like, *aroha ki te*

tangata, kia mahaki, kanohi ki te kanohi, and kanohi kitea. A prominent example of *kanohi kitea* that SooHoo offered was through a story of the Mayor of Tūranga (Gisborne), Meng Liu Foon. He is Chinese and speaks English, Chinese, and Māori languages. When his parents emigrated from China to Gisborne, New Zealand they grew and sold vegetables. During a tangihanga held by local Māori, he knew that the people would be cooking for the multitudes. Meng Foon's Dad would load his truck with vegetables and offer them to the local marae where the tangihanga was. Meng would accompany his father on these trips most of the time. By practising the Māori concept of *kanohi kitea* (a seen face) at Māori occasions, encouraged the 90% Māori population to support Foon when he ran for Mayor, and he won the election. The people held him in high regard for his caring of Māori people and his fluency of the Māori language. SooHoo was placed in the same predicament where, it took many face-to-face visits to establish some small form of credibility (pp. 201-204).

Eletreby (2010) contended, research methods were constructed from a “culturally responsive research methodology” (p.89) and needed to consider the individual participants and their cultural environment. This was evident during the conduction of all the Whānau interviews. Furthermore, Eletreby believed that fashioning this type of research methodology “compelled the researcher to consider the participants culture, gender, religion (in some cases), ethnicity, and nationality” (p. 90) This reinforced the selection of Whānau from different socio-economic and vocational backgrounds. Notably, most participants were of Māori descent.

Additionally, Smith (2012, p. 217) suggested the reason for an ethical approach when conducting interviews in Indigenous communities conveyed a natural reaction and reluctance “to upset the status quo” and within “these environments any agents of change such as educators, researchers or activists” were seen as dubious. To eliminate any scepticism or suspicion, it was beneficial for both the kairangahau and kaikōrero to be familiar with each other from the beginning. Any prior knowledge and engagement with the

kaupapa of the research, in this case, te reo Māori and Te Rangatahi, would ensure responses to the questions were sinuous.

The choice of participants was paramount, as they brought to the interviews their personal experiences and life stories in relation to the kaupapa. Interestingly, Ferguson (2012, p. 90), emphasised this engagement, describing it as '*Te More*,' the taproot which is the main root that grows straight down and buries itself deep into the belly of Pāpātuanuku and represents the researcher's relationship with the participants. *Whānaungātangā* (sense of family connection) was already established with all participants, both on a personal and professional level.

Postlethwaite (2016, p. 150) discovered an interesting qualitative methodology called Te Aka which embraced the narratives of all participants within an Indigenous Relational Phenomenological approach with the aim of capturing as Rainguber (2003, p. 1155) described, "the essence of the participants' lived experiences and illuminating the meanings of these experiences" as depicted in the Pono model. Further, Postlethwaite (2016, p. 150-151) depicted the entire methodology, Te Aka as qualitative which embraced the narratives of all participants. Within this, reflexive strategies were applied as cultural intuitions that assisted researchers in their quest for meaningful and transforming methods of engaging with knowledge, data, and people in the research process. The entire methodology: Figure 5.2. (Postlethwaite, 2016, p. 151) depicted a Māori methodological model called Te Aka: The Vine which is an Indigenous Relational Phenomenological methodology that represented the realities shared by the participants who as leaders in their own fields, were situated at each node of the vine, each with their distinct views but also connected through a common whakapapa (Postlethwaite, 2016, p. 142). This model was interesting as it portrayed similarities to conventional Māori methodologies that kairangahau Māori have explored during their own studies.

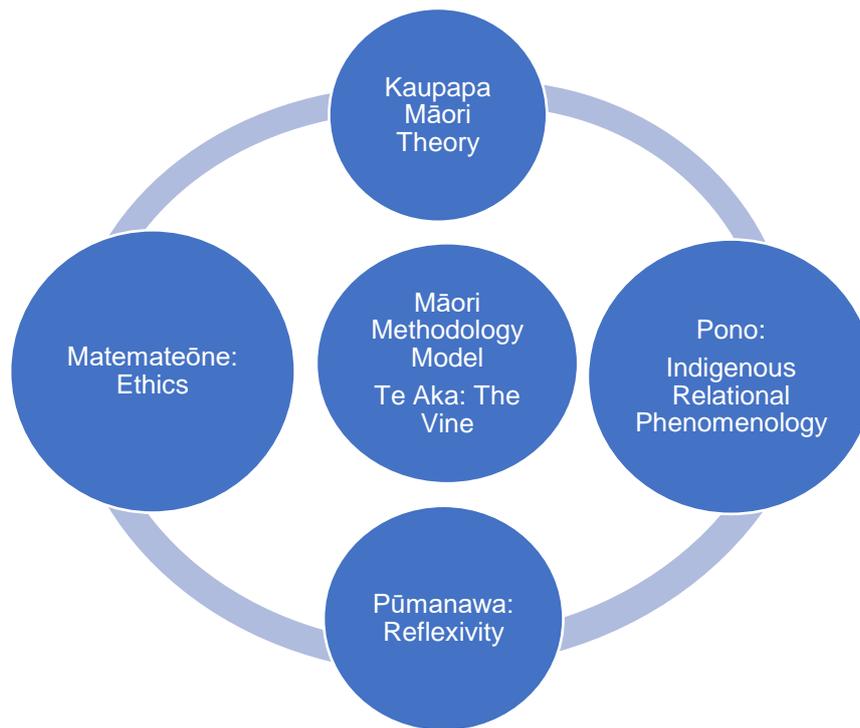


Figure 3: Māori methodological model Te Aka: The Vine
Postlethwaite (2016, p. 151 - Figure 5.2)

Moreover, Postlethwaite ingeniously orchestrated a direct connection or linkage to Merriam (2009) who “listed strategies to assist in ensuring the validity and credibility of qualitative research” (Merriam, p. 157 - Table (5.4) which reflected both the strategies employed in her study and the Pūmanawa and Pono models.

As depicted above in Figure 5.2, Postlethwaite created a four-step model of critical reflection which she termed: “Pūmanawa from a Māori worldview that was holistic and collective in nature.” To frame her study, the creation of Te Aka: the vine gave life to the model of reflexivity which Postlethwaite suggested “stems from a Māori cultural lens (2016, p. 143).

Pūmanawa includes the following āhuratanga (aspects):

- Āta whakaaro: Critiques of self with advice from the collective.
- Āta pūmanawa: Take heed of one’s own intuition.
- Whānaungātanga: Take heed of the relationships formed.
- Whakaaro rerekē: Challenge oneself to think outside the dominant discursive discourse and create own transformative models.

The strategy that was of particular interest and relative to the section in this wāhanga on qualitative research was ‘triangulation,’ Merriam (2009) provided a clear description confirming its promotion of validity and reliability - see Table 5 below.

Strategy	Description
Triangulation	Using multiple investigators to confirm emerging findings including interviews, questionnaire as part of a survey and focus groups.
Member Checks	Taking data and tentative interpretations back to the participants and asking if they reflect and honour their responses.
Adequate Engagement in Data Collection	Adequate time spent collecting data.
Reflexivity	Critical self-reflection by the researcher and discussions with the collective including focus group and cultural advisors. Cultural intuitions are used
Peer Review	A focus group to peer review the questions and processes applied in this study.
‘Inside’ Researcher	Whanaungatanga (relationships) assists in sharing knowledge and accessibility to participants and shared cultural understandings.
Avoid Variation	To assist in identifying factors particular to a specific Iwi (tribe).

Table 6: An adaptation of strategies for promoting validity and reliability in qualitative research.

Merriam (2009, p. 229 - Table 5.4)

Undoubtedly, all strategies performed and promoted their roles well and with corresponding descriptions. This research acknowledged Postlethwaite for adopting these strategies and forming her own descriptions in relation to the kaupapa of her study.

4.3.3 Survey – Triangulation of a data source

The third triangulation was a survey (*see Appendix D*), ‘triangulation of a data source.’ This was the only quantitative method of data collection used for this research. The survey contained 10 questions which provided historical, current, and future perspectives about the participants’ experiences with te reo Māori from their different upbringings, an educational context, and opportunities to encourage the revitalisation and survival of our Indigenous language in Aotearoa. The platform used to disseminate the survey was

'Pukamata' or Facebook (whānau and friends of the kairangahau) to target specific participants that the kairangahau were familiar and who offered a wide range of opinions and perspectives to collate and analyse the data. All the participants and their responses would be kept confidential and only statistical and narrative quantitative data. It was hoped that the survey enticed interest from between thirty to fifty participants. The questionnaire was comprehensive and provided a variety of questions conducive to the kaupapa of the survey.

Andersen and Walter (2013) although for their research a survey was helpful collating statistical information such as demographical and geographical data, they argued that for statistical research to "operate in the best interests of Indigenous peoples" (p. 128), colonised "scientific research paradigms" needed to support Indigenous peoples in first world nations. In support of the kairangahau, the participants in a survey may have launched into the questionnaire without a second thought, privileged that their point of view was valued. However, in contrast to this, there may have been participants that were wary, despite a familiarity with the kairangahau. Naturally, there was a degree of restraint to approve the volunteering of their taonga mātauranga (treasured knowledge) with fear of the exposure.

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey (Arriagada et al., 2012) created by Census Canada in 1991 which Andersen and Walter (2013) alluded to, showed its complexity and the extent at which Census Canada would go to gather its statistical data. Typically, the survey produced some interesting statistics which focussed on derogatory issues such as Indigenous language use and fluency, residential school attendance, engagement in traditional activities, pregnancy and childbirth, chronic health conditions, mental health, distress, thoughts of suicide, and alcohol and smoking drug use activities (Arriagada et al., 2012). Despite the explicit nature of these issues, this survey did not consider the ethical values of the Indigenous peoples. This countered what we as researchers considered to be ethical and moral conduct with our selection of participants. The survey was informative for the

non-Indigenous but was ethically insensitive and totally crossed its boundaries. An example of one of the questions asked, again insensitive was “Are you an Aboriginal person i.e. First Nations, Métis, or Inuk or (Inuit)? First Nations included Status and Non-Status Indians (Arriagada et al., 2012, p. 5). The Indigenous peoples typically due to the survey, were subjected to conditions related to choosing their own Indigeneity or ethnicity. If any of the respondents identified Indigenous ethnic ancestry without self-identifying according to policy categories were prohibited from completing the survey.

The reason that was given by Andersen and Walter (2013) was, “the information collected will be used by Aboriginal organisations, groups and communities as well as government to help plan programmes and policies in such areas as education, employment and health” (p. 121). This type of governmental survey clearly outlined how ‘endemic people’ have been ‘singled out, exploited and their lives exposed’ due to governmental policies. The statistical data was a ploy to further entice Indigenous communities to participate with the promise that it would be advantageous to them.

The survey provided a clear and transparent purpose which was explained before participants completed the survey. It was purely their choice to participate. Participants were from different nationalities, not just Māori and there were no governmental policies imposed, like excluding their responses from the survey. A comment thanking each respondent was posted, informing them that their information was confidential, valued and condition free.

The ‘ūara’ or value ‘ngākau mahaki’ or ‘humble respect’ described the type of survey that was conducted here (*See Appendix D*). There were ten survey questions that drew on the participants’ direct experiences with te reo Māori me ōna tikanga such as “Do you consider yourself ‘matatau i te reo Māori?’” The kairangahau began with a closed question. However, the kairangahau preferred to end with an open question by asking the participants to explain their answer. This type of questioning commanded more comprehensive, and thorough answers which assisted with the transcriptions. The *Aboriginal Peoples Survey* (Andersen

and Walter, 2013, p.128) involved hundreds of questions on a large scale, nation-wide with specific questions relative to a typical governmental policy driven survey. In contrast, this research survey offered the kairangahau an opportunity to conduct a small-scale questionnaire about the Indigenous language of Aotearoa with an audience who engaged with social media daily. From experience, it was gratifying to participate in a survey about a similar kaupapa regarding te reo Māori while browsing on Facebook in 2019. This quantitative method highlighted a whānaungātangā (connection) that the kairangahau had with the Whānau and friends who posted reactions and comments on their Facebook page. The survey was easily accessible to all respondents who participated. With a click of a button, respondents were able to open the survey and answer the questions easily. The survey responses have been kept confidential and SurveyMonkey had an automatic process for analysing the information received.

4.4 Conclusion

4.4.1 Kaupapa Māori Methodology

This wāhanga has drew on theories and/or perspectives from Māori scholars who have purposefully written about the significance of a kaupapa Māori methodology. In relation to kaupapa Māori, an immediate connection was evident during the exploration of te reo Māori revitalisation. With this said, it was important to select Indigenous theories by authors like Pihama et al., (2002), Cram (2006), Graham Smith (1997) and Linda Smith (1999; 2012) who affirmed Māori cultural philosophies and practices within a kaupapa Māori paradigm. This methodology supported research conducted by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. Kaupapa Māori has always existed in Māori communities through our te reo (language) me ōna tikanga (culture and traditions, our mātauranga (knowledge) and our ngā ūara (values).

4.4.2 The Indigenous Research Agenda

For this research, decolonisation played an essential role in the development of a growth mindset about kaupapa Māori in relation to the regeneration of our Indigenous language.

4.4.3 Qualitative Research

The kairangahau drew on qualitative methods in oral narratives using kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) semi-structured interviews, and a literature review including a document analysis. These methods were specific to the nature of the research and kaupapa of the thesis.

4.4.4 Quantitative Research

As for the qualitative research methods, the kairangahau drew on a quantitative method using an electronic survey via SurveyMonkey. The social media platform via Pukamata (Facebook) hosted this, specifically targeting Whānau and friends. In a similar way, this method was chosen significantly for the nature of this research and kaupapa of the thesis. It gave the kairangahau a basis for providing a simple way of managing the information gathered and participants were able to answer the questionnaire at their convenience.

4.4.5 Triangulation

The kairangahau connected the two qualitative methods and one quantitative method with theoretical, methodological and data source triangulation to authenticate the collections of data. These were theoretical and methodological triangulation using a literature review and interviews and triangulation of a data sources using an electronic survey.

Te Wāhanga Tuarima

“Ehara tāku toa i te toa takitahi, ēngari he toa takitini”

I come not with my own strengths but bring with me the gifts, talents, and strengths of my Whānau, Iwi and Tīpuna

5.0 Introduction

This wāhanga presented the findings from two primary qualitative methods and one inclusive quantitative method as mentioned in Te Wāhanga Tuawhā. The data analysis discussed the interview process with a focus on issues which contributed to the identification of distinctive common themes which this research explored further in this wāhanga.

As explained in Te Wāhanga Tuawhā, the interview participants included eight Whānau from different generations and eras, giving broad perspectives on their engagement with te reo Māori, which the interview data provided from their life experiences. The kōrero tautoko from the kaiwhakautu (interviewees) were identified as Whānau Tuatahi, Whānau Tuarua and so on respecting their true identities and maintain confidentiality. True identities were known by the kairangahau and the participants only. For specifics, participants were chosen according to their historical knowledge of te reo Māori, the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks, and responses to the interview questions. As mentioned in Te Wāhanga Tuawhā, the selection criteria of participants were significant as it drew on generational perspectives from 1925-1945, 1946-1964, 1965-1979 and 1980-late 1990s.

The following sections were the result and analysis of the interviews completed with the kaiwhakautu (interviewees) rangahau.

5.1 Qualitative Methods - Findings

From a Māori worldview, the Indigenous people of Aotearoa when participating in Interviews about a kaupapa Māori, kairangahau approached this with our Māori values and practices intact. Whakaaro Māori was a *taonga* that kaiwhakautu *koha* to kaiwhakauui. A *kanohi ki*

te kanohi interview in a safe, user-friendly environment was the ideal setting for Māori. Kōrero flowed without restriction and both parties felt comfortable. The kairangahau sets the scene through consent first and honoured when and where kaiwhakautu preferred to be interviewed. *Kanohi kitea* was another Māori concept that was important for kaiwhakautu too. Why? Well, within this one concept there were ngā āhuatanga such as *kia mahaki*, or *aroha ki te tangata*.

It was evident that allowing the participants to choose their conducive environment to conduct their interviews, made them comfortable right from the 'get go' and thus encouraging a flow of invaluable responses direct to the kairangahau, *kanohi ki te kanohi*.

As predicted, most of the participants identified as 'matatau i te reo Māori,' and had a wealth of knowledge regarding the historical events that occurred during their lifetimes. The findings highlighted that knowledge of the historical events ranged from:

- *The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by Iwi Chiefs.*
- *Māori being the predominant language of Aotearoa.*
- Knowledge of the first Māori language newspaper being published.
- *Ngā Mōteatea by Ta, Apirana Ngata.*
- *Māori Urban Migration and Māori families 'pepper-potted' in predominantly non-Māori suburbs during the 1940s and 1950s. Assimilation and Integration*
- 'Let's Learn Māori' written by Bruce Biggs.
- Knowledge of the Hunn Report which described the Māori language as a relic of ancient Māori life.
- *Te Rangatahi series written by Hoani Retimana Waititi.*
- *Māori urban groups including Ngā Tamatoa and Te Reo Māori Society expressed concern about the status of Te Reo Māori.*
- *National Advisory Committee on Māori Language established.*
- *Māori Language Petition signed by 30,000 signatories sent to Parliament.*
- *Te Reo Rangatira, Year 12-13 textbook written by Ta, Timoti Kāretu.*
- *Te Kōhanga Reo established to teach Māori infants Te Reo Māori.*
- *First Kura Kaupapa Māori established to cater for the needs of the Māori children emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo.*
- *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori established.*

- Māori Language Act passed. Te Reo Māori declared to be an official language in Aotearoa.
- *First Māori Television bilingual channel launched in 2004 and Te Reo, Māori total immersion channel launched in 2008.*
- *Te Māngai Pāho funding for Māori Television.*
- Funding set aside for Community Māori Language Initiatives.
- Mā te Reo Fund established to support Māori language growth in communities.
- *Te Reo Mauriora Report on the Māori Language Strategy published.*
- *Te Mātāwai established for Iwi-led implementation of Te Reo Māori revitalisation strategies.*
- Māori Language (Te Reo Māori) Bill introduced into Parliament to implement recommendations in the 2011 Te Reo Mauriora report.
- Māori Language Advisory Group is established to provide independent and expert advice on the Māori Language Bill.

Most of the Whānau emphasised these specific historical events as occurring while they were young or during their adulthood. The events where knowledge was shared are in *italics* and the other events mentioned were highlighted by one or two Whānau.

Whānau knowledge of *Te Rangatahi I and II* indicated that some encountered these textbooks at secondary school if they chose Māori Studies as a subject. The textbooks for those who were ‘matatau i te reo,’ were used to enhance their prior knowledge of their teo a-iwi.

An important finding was the contribution of new knowledge from the ‘categorising of the status of languages by Ahearn (2017) who researched this and suggested that there were four main categories: safe, endangered, moribund, and dead languages. The Māori language, according to Whānau responses supported that our language remained ‘endangered’ but, bordered on becoming a ‘safe’ language. However, for te reo Māori to become a ‘safe language,’ according to Krauss (1992, pp. 4-10), there needed to be 100,000 fluent speakers within the Māori population for the language to be declared safe. Aotearoa still has a way to go.

There were three distinct themes identified from the interview data. They included Te Reo Māori in Aotearoa, Te Rangatahi textbooks, and the Success of Te Reo Māori Today.

Interview transcriptions by the kairangahau contributed to the compilation of the data as direct verbatim translations which underpinned the three themes. Additionally, all eight transcriptions were checked and verified by each Whānau as a true and correct record of their interviews.

5.1.1 Interviews

5.1.1.1 Te Reo Māori in Aotearoa

Findings

Whānau Tuatahi ki a Whānau Tuawaru contributed well to this kaupapa. The kairangahau decided to remain with the verbatim data particularly for this theme, being narrative and having significance to their connection and engagement with Te Reo Māori and how it featured as an important taonga in Aotearoa.

Whānau were not only knowledgeable about the many historical events that impacted on our Indigenous language. However, they kept abreast with the development of te reo and the implementation of successful te reo Māori revitalisation initiatives.

Whānau shared with the kairangahau their level of competency in speaking te reo from being 'matatau, native fluent speaker,' or a reorua, bilingual speaker. It was evident that, each Whānau have in one way, or another maintained their engagement with te reo. Interestingly, this level of engagement highlighted common knowledge of specific historical events like *the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi; Native Schools Act; Te Ataarangi movement; Te Wānanga o Raukawa; Te Kōhanga Reo; Te Kura Kaupapa Māori; Te Reo Mauriora Report; Māori Language Act; Māori declared as an official language of Aotearoa; establishment of Māori Television* and the like.

One commonality with most of the interviews was the support and encouragement that Whānau were given to study Māori at secondary schools. English was a compulsory subject under colonised rule and Māori as a language was an elective.

The other commonality was that at least half of the Whānau attended Māori boarding schools like Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in Parnell and St. Stephens School in Bombay. It was during their secondary schooling that they were exposed to a colonised system that involved examinations for School Certificate, University Entrance and Bursary. These examinations dictated the delivery of Māori Studies during the 20th century. Moreover, almost all the Whānau were familiar with this system as ākonga and qualified teachers; primary, secondary, and tertiary trained.

An interesting finding also was that the narratives reflected obvious generational differences like the historical events that they either had direct involvement with or saw them develop from their inception. The wealth of knowledge that each Whānau contributed to this research has added value and underpinned the 'ngako' or essence of kōrero within a system that insisted on imposing a structure that questioned Whānau 'taonga tuku iho,' cultural aspirations which determined their narratives.

Despite the literal presentations of the interview transcriptions, the kaupapa of each was tūturu, authentic and reflected their own life experiences growing up and engaging with te reo. The kairangahau chose kōrero with a direct link to the selected themes. Interestingly, Whānau were forthcoming and assertive with their beliefs and opinions regarding the status of Te Reo Māori.

The language has remained 'endangered' and struggled to become the predominant language again in Aotearoa due to the Māori population being the minority, or 15% of the entire country population.

Whānau responses suggested that non-speaking Māori of te reo needed to increase their knowledge and develop a 'growth mindset' about their language, altering the number of speakers considerably.

Most kōrero supported an individual choice where Whānau Māori positioned themselves. Factors such as colonisation, assimilation and integration played a huge role in the decline of the spoken language. However, with the introduction of te reo Māori revitalisation initiatives such as Te Kōhanga Reo, we saw and are seeing a generation of confident, fluent speakers of te reo now.

Whānau responses indicated knowledge of the old and new narratives pertaining to the development of te reo Māori. Clearly, this knowledge for some emerged through direct contact with fluent native speakers on their marae and within their communities. Whānau responses discussed 'Tikanga Māori as a Māori concept respected and practised in the many iwi throughout the motu during Pōwhiri, Tangihanga, Hui-a-Rohe, Hui-a-Motu, Hui-a-Tau, and many Whānau occasions such as Rā Whānau, Te Rā Kōhatu, Te Rā Whakanuia, Te Pō Whakanuia, Ngā Whakapōtaetanga Mātauranga.

The importance of Kapa Haka emerged and the involvement of non-Māori during their secondary schooling and later as adults. Whānau Tuarua described kapa haka as 'a doorway for getting people to learn their culture' especially those who grew up in the city. Interestingly, people from other nationalities and cultures joined kura kapa haka which showed real potential for joining adult groups to perform at the regional competitions and if successful, went on to Te Matatini, the national competitions. They were exposed to our spoken reo through the brackets that they performed which included waiata, mōteatea and haka compositions. These items were also performed during pōwhiri to manuhiri on school marae.

Whānau Tuatahi (W1) made mention that generations today,

“have encountered significant events in history from the hard work of our tīpuna who fought for pre- and post- the Treaty of Waitangi, struggling through the mainstream and colonised system, in terms of the language, the colonial pressure put on our people to extinguish the language and through history, you see the fight for our language, whether it be preserved through our song, through kapa haka, on the 'last bastions' of our marae, through to our Hāhi Māori.”

The implementation of the 'Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, W1's response spoke about,

“The preservation of the reo and the pressures it has faced then to where it is today. Being a Ringatū, when you learn what Te Kooti had to do in 1860 through to the survival of the Hāhi today.”

Evidently, W1 was well-informed about the endurance of te reo Māori and our tīpuna acting in the best interests of preserving our te reo me ōna tikanga. With a strong affiliation to Te Hāhi Ringatū, learning about Te Kooti and the efforts he made in 1860, has ensured the survival of the Hāhi thus, enhancing te reo through karakia and wordship.

Whānau Tuarua (W2) reminisced about her first teacher, Mr Spiller being a good teacher and how they all liked him. The class sang songs in Pakēhā and Māori. W2 recalled attending a Native School in the 1930s and there were no kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa or wharekura. Te Reo had not been attempted and it was not a prominent occurrence in the community, *“waiata noa iho.”* The community was very Māori in those days,

“Tangihanga ērā mea katoa i a ia me ngā pakeke, ōku tīpuna a Kirimatao rāua ko Te Kuaha, he kōrero Māori rāua me Pātiana Tihore hoki, te pāpā o tōku māmā. Kore ahau e tino whakarongo. I tērā wā, kāore ahau e patu mo te kōrero Māori ēngari, the warning was there, kua ki atu, mēhemea o rātou e kōrero Māori ana. Kua tataingia e kōutou. Nō reira, kāore tino nuinga te kōrero i te kura ēngari, kei te kainga, me ngā katakata, ka pai. Waimaria to tātou whānau mō Hoani o āna mahi. Waimaria tātou me mōhio a Hoani, te tuhituhi, ki te kōrero, wērā mea katoa mo te reo. Ka tērā pea i kōrero ētahi i a rātou, mōhio tātou to tātou, to tātou whānau i te kōrero te reo ēngari, koretake e noa iho, ēngari tukuna atu kia pērā ngā whakaaro. It was pai having John you know, being so knowledgeable really which he was, hika ma.”

Whānau Tuatoru (W3) discussed his rangahau pre-1840 where his tīpuna Pakēhā arrived in Aotearoa in 1835 and his sons married into Ngā Puhi, and apparently including his daughters,

“Hadn't had a conversation with a white woman other than their mother until they were in their teens so te reo must have been very much part of their lives and I'm

guessing that he was present at the signing of the Treaty because, he lived just around the corner, just up the river from where the Treaty was signed so that's partly where my interests were kindled."

An interesting finding emerged from W3 regarding the first Māori language newspaper, the eldest son of his tīpuna, his great, great grandfather, was the editor of a Māori language newspaper called 'Te Korimako' in the 1860s which told him that his whānaunga was a fluent Māori speaker. He alluded to,

"a time where there were more fluent Māori speaking people, literate in Māori than English speaking people, literate in English and it was those older generations of my family that were in that kind of scene."

W3 attributed his interest in learning te reo fluently to his ancestry and the strong engagement with te reo during those times. W3 suggested that one of the most important things was the huge amount of material written in Māori in the 1800s like books which can be found in the archives.

The historical events he was aware of were mainly, the playcentre movement which he recalled was *"an interesting thing because it actually became quite a strong movement around the East Coast."* Apparently, there was a playcentre at the Whangaparāoa, Cape Runaway but, only English was spoken and at the time, there was no thought about the reo during those times.

W3 was aware of the Hunn Report however, he did not know that te reo was described as a 'relic of ancient Māori life.' However, this did not surprise W3 as that was typical of those days.

By the time, the 1970s arrived and the Māori Language Petition occurred, W3 was living in Te Whānau-a-Apanui and watched the development of te reo from a distance. It was evident that, *"the elders were the people speaking te reo fluently and people aged about 30 years down didn't have the language or if they did, it was kind of dormant and there were certain families that spoke Māori at home.* W3 was very explicit about his experience learning te reo and described his 'kohanga reo' was at the pub, 'pāparakauta,' whereas he

remembered, *“the language seemed to flow the more alcohol was involved,”* at Te Kaha or Kawakawa Hotel in Te Araroa. The other event that was prevalent at that time for W3 was, *“Rūātoki, the first bilingual school and around the same time, Whangaparāoa was trying to do something similar.”* During 1982, W3 remembered with pride that a hui was called at Waiwhetū of representatives of every Iwi to discuss the establishment of the idea of a ‘kohanga reo, the representatives from Te Whānau-ā-Apanui were Uncle Bill Tawhai and Don Edmonds. He was at that hui, and they were nominated to go to represent Te Whānau-ā-Apanui.

A further finding which W3 contributed to the kaupapa of ‘Non-Māori speakers of Te Reo’ was, *“when I was at Waikato, I learnt all about you know, second language acquisition and the ‘affective filter’ and of course, it summed it up completely so therefore, as a Pākēha speaking Māori, I decided to get over the whakama because someone had given this resource to me and it would’ve been wrong for me to keep it to myself and I’ve never ever been belittled from Māori and I’ve heard that some people have but I’m wondering why because no-one has ever belittled me for my reo but I’ve had some funny experiences when you’re sitting at a marae and you hear “Ko wai tērā Pākēha?”* Fortunately for W3, his command of te reo Māori grew to a ‘matatau’ or fluent level, giving him a greater appreciation of Māori people who struggle with learning their own language and the significance of the *affective filter*.

Schütz (2019) claimed that Stephen Krashen, a linguist of second language learning has metaphorically described the *affective filter* as being “a learner’s attitudes that affect the relative success of second language acquisition. Negative feelings such as lack of motivation, lack of self-confidence and learning anxiety act as filters that have hindered and obstructed language learning.” From experience, this diagnosis by Krashen has been a true indication of Māori people who were born during the traditionalist and baby boom generations and endured colonisation, assimilation and integration. As a consequence of this, the X and Y Millennial generations were impacted. However, Te Kōhanga Reo were established in 1982 for our babies to learn in a totally-immersed, culturally te reo Māori

environment and the impact became more positive, centring around regeneration of the language.

Whānau Tuawhā (W4) remembered Hoani Waititi coming to Ardmore Teachers Training College where Māori trainees were never taught how to teach in Māori, as the language was not part of the curriculum. However, if you were able to do the poi or to sing a waiata in Māori, play the guitar, or do stick or hand games, you could weave this into your teachings. W4 described this as being “a variable” to help them teach te reo. This was significant in terms of portraying te reo Māori in schools during that time where the kaupapa of speaking te reo was not around and so the desire to teach te reo to his children was not a priority. He wāhine Pakēhā tōna hoa rangatira which did have an influence on W4 whether to teach his tamariki te reo. However, the aspiration for his children to learn te reo Māori grew stronger and so, W4 used to allow them to sit with him when Māori people visited their home. W4 recalled saying to them, *“I’m going to teach you,”* and now his teachings are vivid through his tamariki following te reo.

A finding which was important for W4 and his kōrero is that *“in the early 1960s, our Māori schools had no Māori principals; they were all Pakēhā and relied very much on the teachers of Māori.”* These people were fluent in both te reo and tikanga but, were not trained to teach. W4 believed that this was *“one of the unfortunate fall-backs of the education system, through the initiation of Te Atakura.”*

The impact of colonisation clearly featured in the life of W4, which at the beginning of his domestic life, he began to question the importance of speaking and exposing his tamariki to the Māori language. W4’s tuakana was the one who was fluent in te reo and represented their whānau at important occasions on the marae. It was not until his brother passed that he realised it was all on him now and he had to ‘step up’ and allow the dormancy of speaking his native tongue to be revealed.

Whānau Tuarima (W5) believed that she is, *“quite bias, because here in Whangaparāoa, we still use the formats within the Te Rangatahi textbooks.”* W5 was fortunate to experience

being brought up in the community where the reo was spoken. When W5 attended Whangaparāoa, te reo was not taught to them. However, in their homes, the old people, on the marae, and when we went to karakia, it was all in te reo. Importantly, being exposed to te reo early in life, gave W5 a strong appreciation of her indigeneity growing up in a rural community where te reo was the predominant language. This overshadowed the impact of colonisation and in some cases, assimilation. Te Reo Māori has always been and is still spoken in Te Whānau-ā-Kauaetangohia and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui by our kaumatua. According to W5, this was the age group Johnny Waititi belonged to with his brothers Mani and George and his sisters as well. W5 claims that *“they all spoke te reo in their homes. Te Reo was a common language spoken on our marae. It was a language that was used in the karakia, or anywhere around our community.”*

W5 described being *“already well ingrained just by listening to te reo and having been with te reo at home. We were sent to school to learn English, but we already had that foundation of te reo. English and education were important to our people.”* W5 mentioned that Hoani Waititi knew the importance of education as well and wanted to encourage our people to be educated. Most of them went to boarding schools from Whangaparāoa because it was a farming community and they had to travel to Te Kaha to high school. Parents milked cows and the cream cheque helped pay for their education at boarding school. When W5 attended boarding school at Queen Victoria, it was fortunate that Hoani Waititi was their Māori teacher there. W5 recalled being taught in English, but having plenty of opportunities to do kapa haka, to learn Māori, and hear the dialects from other areas. Notably, there were many girls at Queen Vic who came with that foundation of te reo and tikanga because at that time, it was the era that te reo was still being spoken in the homes. W5 argued that it was important to speak te reo at home to ensure it flourished. According to W5, Hoani Waititi encouraged her to attend Ardmore Teachers Training College and from there, he took her to one of his friends' places to be a junior assistant at a Māori school. The school was located just out of Reporoa at Wharepaenga.

These experiences have grounded W5 in her education and teaching career. Having a strong foundation of te reo throughout her life affirmed her passion and support for the revitalisation and survival of our language.

Whānau Tuaono (W6) began learning te reo at Hato Tipene but, *“prior to that time nothing was taught in the primary schools.”* W6 remembered te reo being spoken a little at home but, most te reo was picked up from the children who were his age and they used to mix both languages up. Te Reo was learnt at school, in the weekends and on the playground but never in school. *“It was always English.”*

Regarding the historical events, W6 recalled around the time of Ta Apirana Ngata ... *“he made the statement that we should hold on to our reo and traditions.”* He was conscious of Māori people, especially academics striving to get the best education they could and chase the knowledge of the Pakēhā. Ta Apirana also stated that, *“te reo needed to be revitalised again.”* W6 remembered that he used to hear a lot of te reo at the local marae because that was still the community language, and it was *“good native Māori.”* An important point that W6 made was that as children they heard the language even if they did not speak it themselves. His parents and grandparents used the language and *“for us, our involvement was listening to te reo.”* The more exposure they had the better.

Despite a brief discussion with W6 about this kaupapa, the kōrero he contributed was a perspective that informed this research how colonisation impacted our tamariki in rural communities. Most of the qualified teachers were Pakēhā during that time. This instigated a drive for Māori to attend teachers training college and gain the tohu, Diploma in Teaching giving balance to the teaching of Māori children. W6 was one of these people along with his older sister (W2) and older brother. As a note, their grandmother on their mother's side was a governess and trained teacher and their mother was also a qualified teacher. A career that has been handed down from generation to generation within his Whānau.

Whānau Tuawhitu (W7), a fluent native te reo speaker, was familiar with this kaupapa and it really brought home to him when like W5, he attended Hato Tipene in Bombay from 1973-

1974. One of the reasons for going to Hato Tipene was, there was no Māori language for him outside of Rūātoki, his kainga. W7 claimed that he was sent to Kawerau College and there was no te reo Māori or anything Māori at the college during the 1970s so, his parents made the decision to send him to St Stephens. W7 believed that this was the best move as *“it allowed his aspirations to grow stronger and the philosophy of critical thinking i roto i te ao Māori and to view and support whānau in education and Iwi knowledge where Iwi knowledge was respected in the school.”*

W7 maintained that Hato Tipene for him, sustained and kept alive the ūara (the values), the traditions, the customs, and the wisdom. This included hearing te reo at home, waiata, mōteatea, karakia, and kōrero. All those things were embedded within his generation as he grew up in Rūātoki, progressing to a critical Māori worldview.

W7 was 14 years old in Form 4 (Year 10) at the time and interestingly, had already possessed and brought to Hato Tipene a level of knowledge, te reo, values, principles, and philosophies way beyond his time as a teenager. With these āhuetanga me ngā kaupapa rapunga whakaaro, W7 advocated for many of our Whānau who are completing and have completed their master and doctoral studies. His passion though are the doctorates and PhDs theses that were written in te reo Māori.

Whānau Tuawaru (W8) was from the Generation X, b. 1965-1979, after the Baby Boomer era b. 1946-1964, where the tamariki were born to parents who had suffered badly from the impact of colonisation and assimilation. Māori parents were attracted to the cities from their rural homes during the ‘urban drift’ to find work. This was significant to W8 because the importance of knowing te reo Māori at that time and promoting the language was not seen as a priority, whereas a ‘good education’ and ‘finding a job’ were. This is what Māori parents focussed on and although some of them had the reo, W8 recalled, it was never spoken at home. Her exposure to te reo Māori came when she attended Rutherford High School where English was a compulsory subject from Form 3 (Year 9) to Form 6 (Year 12). During Form 3 and 4, students chose a language to study from Māori, French, or Japanese. W8 of

course, chose to study Māori for her entire secondary schooling. Moreover, her knowledge of the historical events was learnt either during History at high school or overtime during her adult life.

The events W8 was familiar with ranged from 1840, signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; 1867, Native Schools Act decrees that English should be the only language; 1920, Sir Apirana Ngata begins lecturing Māori communities to speak te reo at home; 1979-1980, Te Ataarangi movement established; 1982, Te Kōhanga Reo established; and 1985, first Te Kura Kaupapa Māori established and many more.

W8 attended Auckland Teachers Training College in 1984 and her exposure to te reo was enhanced by majoring in Māori. Her te reo was further enhanced to intermediate level when she attended Te Wānanga Takiura O Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori O Aotearoa.

An interesting finding after discussions with W8 revealed that she was among the generations born between 1946 and 1979 who endured the same fate. Grandparents were native speakers and te reo was spoken in their parents' homes but, this natural practice was not treated as a 'taonga tuku iho' resulting in a generation that has struggled to learn their language.

5.1.1.2 Te Rangatahi Textbooks

Findings

This theme corresponded well with the research and highlighted the argument that the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* were crucial as vehicles of regeneration, during a time where te reo Māori was struggling to establish itself again and was not given deserved recognition and respect as the first spoken language in Aotearoa.

Whānau narratives included their 'hononga,' connection with Hoani Retimana Waititi through 'whakapapa,' genealogy, direct friendships, or their engagement with the textbooks themselves.

An interesting finding was that the majority of Whānau responding in support of the *Te Rangatahi series* as a 'living, lifelong learning resource' which positioned itself with the

historical events significant in the revitalisation of te reo Māori. It is unknown why Hoani Waititi and his textbooks were omitted from a prestigious time where the focus was specifically on the survival of our Indigenous language.

An additional finding highlighted the introduction of the 'orange hard covered textbook,' *Te Rangatahi II* published thirteen years (after Hoani Waititi passed) in 1978, revised in 1985 as a 'brown soft covered textbook and renamed *Te Rangatahi: Elementary 3*.

As mentioned in Te Wāhanga 3, there were specific changes to the wāhanga '*Te Rama Tuna*' featured in *Te Rangatahi II* and *Te Whakamātautau Tuatahi, Tuarua and Tuatoru* were excluded. However, from memory Whānau responses that heeded towards their experiences with these textbooks, recalled the sentence structures and grammar which made studying the exercises easy. Furthermore, drawing on Whānau responses again despite dialectal differences, Hoani Waititi provided for these by using te reo a-iwi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui which identified similarities to other dialects. However, Whānau did allude to an important fact regarding kupu and grammatical differences that were unique to different iwi, for example the words 'tangata,' Ngai Tūhoe say 'tanata' for people and 'rangī,' Ngai Tūhoe say 'rani' for sky. Several Whānau strongly believed that te reo a-iwi played an important role in tikanga Māori a-iwi, a concept passed down from our tīpuna, past generations.

W1 and W2 had strong whakapapa connections to Hoani Waititi and the *Te Rangatahi textbooks*. Despite their differences in age, generation, and engagement with te reo, both were fluent speakers. W1 believed that '*language, particularly te reo Māori shouldn't be a barrier to understanding a culture or to continue to colonise or to 'takahi, trample' a culture.*' Furthermore, the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* were beacons which other authors like John Moorfield learnt from and he eventually created his own form of language revitalisation textbook series within schools and universities called, '*Te Whānake series.*'

W2, a descendent from a long line of teaching backgrounds and like her Whānau predecessors, observed the development of the *Te Rangatahi series* and its fruition. She

claimed that *“the textbooks are a life-long resource for the learning and teaching of te reo Māori.”* The first Māori teacher at a kura tuarua auraki (mainstream secondary school), allowed W2 the opportunity to access these textbooks and everything they offered to teach the Māori language. The advantage that W2 had over other secondary school Māori teachers was her familiarity with most of the stories, having experienced specific stories like Te Mārena, Te Hī Ika, Te Pāmu a Hata, Te Miraka Kau and Te Tangihanga. W1 remembered hearing from his father, *when Matua Api Mahuika was flying to Gisborne and travelling up the coast to growl these people and telling them to leave the textbooks alone. He said, “You’re not to touch those books because, they’re not only Te Reo Māori books but, they’re also an historical account of some stories that belong to that Whānau” and so he said, “Don’t you touch those books.”* Moreover, W1 appreciated being the generation in full flight of this revitalisation but never took that for granted. He argued that Hoani Waititi opened the door to the real language revitalisation and what enhanced this was the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo.

W2 enjoyed teaching te reo from these textbooks because for her, *“it made your teaching easy. Having these books made preparation for classes simple and contributed to spreading our language.* W2 recalled that ‘Te Mārena’ in Johnny’s books wasn’t her wedding; it was her brother’s. She was exposed to the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* post- her Diploma in Teaching after they were published because, Hoani lived with her. W2 taught Physical Education at Rutherford High School to start with and then was asked to teach Māori Studies. As professional development, W2 attended Massey University in Palmerston North with her younger brother, Winston Waititi and Whāea Betty Ngata to complete Stage 1-3 Māori papers and this enhanced their teaching of te reo while using *Te Rangatahi textbooks.* W2 believed *“Hoani Waititi taught how he lived. He was a natural, he could teach anything or have a go.”*

Similarly, W6 and W8 had strong whakapapa connections to Hoani Waititi and the *Te Rangatahi textbooks.*

An interesting finding from W6 was a textbook he used at Hato Tipene called Wills Grammar. *Te Rangatahi* didn't come until 1963 which was five or six years after he finished high school. *"It was all grammar and all written stuff that John introduced in his books. The grammar was far different, it was not as academic as the language that was taught in schools, and it was a more relaxed use of the language – transliterated words like raiti for light."* Hoani Waititi introduced Māori names for window – matapihi, walls – pakitara, taraka – truck. W6 claimed that the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks reflected a style which introduced an easier form of language to learn, and it was still te reo.

W6 remembered Hoani being ridiculed by one of his uncles about his use of te reo. Pine Taiapa was carving at Tūkāki Marae in Te Kaha, and it was time for a cup of tea and his uncle came to the door and yelled out to everybody *"Hey, kua reri te kapu tī."*

Hoani deliberately replied, *"He aha?"* He repeated, *"Kua reri te kapu tī"* and realised that he was also using that kind of te reo, even as old as he was. Most of his Whānau were fluent speakers. His Uncle wasn't the only one that challenged him on his use of vocabulary. W6 also recalled Bishop Panapa was the same. However, they gradually relented when they found out that this was the reo being used. His challenge was there is te reo a-iwi that use alternative words which have the same meaning such as for cat – puihi and ngeru. Hoani replied by saying, *"I can't write a book using everybody's language. It's going to be a huge book if I try and do that. He said, "Here it is, if you fellas want to use pakitara introduce that. As far as my books are concerned it's wāra."*

W8, is a namesake and grandniece of Hoani Waititi and like several people of her era, were introduced to the *Te Rangatahi* series at secondary school. These were the only standard textbooks used to learn and teach Māori Studies as a subject. She agreed that the textbooks were a living, lifelong learning resource too because, *"they were really user-friendly in the fact that the language progressed you at the pace that you were comfortable with and they were enjoyable textbooks to learn from especially if you were reorua, bilingual."* The schools that W8 believed were still using the textbooks are Te Kura Mana

Māori o Whangaparāoa, St. Josephs and Trident High School. Nowadays, Kaiako Māori choose their language resources with a preference to use the *Te Rangatahi textbooks*.

W5 had a special affiliation to Hoani Waititi's books mainly because she and her colleagues at Queen Victoria were, as she described, "*his guinea pigs*," when he was writing his textbooks. W5 remembered being the one who was asked to do the recordings. Hoani was her Māori teacher and taught them right through secondary school. W5 was familiar with *Te Rangatahi* because his books were based on stories from Te Whānau-ā-Apanui. She was familiar with the context Hoani used.

"Te Rangatahi textbooks were definitely an initiative to revitalise te reo. Hoani had already seen that te reo needed to be uplifted in order to save our reo."

A strategy of his was to develop a framework that would be user-friendly to people who were unfamiliar with te reo and found it difficult to transform from English to Māori. This was one of the pluses of the series. It was easy for everyone to read and understand what was happening in the stories because, he also included English translations.

W5 claimed her past experiences with the textbooks made her quite bias about using the formats from *Te Rangatahi* at Whangaparāoa. As Richards (2016) argued, Hoani Waititi assisted Whāea Roka Paora to write some of her booklets which were like his textbooks. As W1 mentioned before, W5 was also familiar with John Moorfield's textbooks where the context was like what Hoani originally had in his series. Moreover, W5 believed that *"the living life-long effect of his textbooks at Te Kura Mana Māori o Whangaparāoa is due to the context which is taken from the life at Kauaetangohia and Te Whānau-ā- Apanui. The context hasn't changed much, except that the horses have changed to cars, or a tractor may have changed to a four-wheel drive."* As others have said, the teaching of grammar was very easy to follow and integrated into the context of the stories.

A further finding was that W5 has always been an advocate for the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* and continued to use them throughout her teaching career. This encouraged the delivery of language courses being offered today that concentrate specifically on the Te Whānau-a-Apanui dialect. However, Iwi specific te reo Māori resources were scarce and initiated hapū

initiatives to apply for Mātāwai funding which W5 moved at a hapū hui for Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia held on March 5th, 2020.

W4 agreed that during the 1960s, *Te Rangatahi* series were the “*living document textbooks*.” He recalled that they were used extensively by many teachers. For W4, these textbooks gave him a “*wonderful foundation as a pathway since he began doing whaikōrero*.” These textbooks played a significant role in te reo Māori development. “*Ko tērā te mea meke o te whanaketanga o te reo, me hoki tātou ki Te Rangatahi, mihi atu nei ki Te Rangatahi*.” W4 alluded to Tā Timoti Kāretu who was tasked by the Department of Education to complete *Te Rangatahi III*.

W7 provides a similar perspective about the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks which he, and W6 encountered while attending Hato Tipene. Interestingly, it was during their Māori language classes that they came across publications of Hoani Waititi, as he described, te reo Rangatahi. W7 said that “*those books for me meant a lot because in them, Hoani Waititi had developed his eyewitness accounts of what he was seeing in Whangaparāoa, Te Kaha and Raukokore and it was very similar to the communities where I came from, growing in that teaching and learning environmental Māori world*.” He had an affiliation with everything that Hoani Waititi wrote in his books because the narratives confirmed their lifestyles, and it was a feel-good factor. For W7, it was “*intergenerational with processes of sharing and empowerment that came from growing up i roto i te reo me ōna tikanga and he was seeing and hearing these same values in Hoani Waititi’s publications, Te Rangatahi I, II and III*.”

Moreover, a finding with a difference was the summary W7 provided which offered eight points that the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks did for him:

One:

They reinforced the philosophy of the community and te reo from that community including, its aspirations and eyewitness accounts.

Two:

What we saw in the Rangatahi textbooks weren’t our values. The language that Hoani Waititi wrote, clearly informed us on the nature and the style of te reo within Te Whānau-ā-Apanui.

Three:

Every word that he used, the narratives, the kupu, the whakamārama, the prose, the engaging dialogue was all about confirming the eyewitness accounts of how the community conducted themselves in their rural areas. To me, that's evidence of how they live and lived.

Four:

It was intergenerational, and the textbooks were occasionally at the whare pikitia (movie theatre) where parents, kuia and kōroua could relate to these images and successive passing down of knowledge.

Five:

It was the establishment of leadership. Why did Hoani Waititi take those names? Well, Tamahae was a leader in traditional books. Rewi was a leader. Pani and the others were leaders in the community. So, that to me exemplified and demonstrated leadership on the marae.

Six:

Continuous learning. There was a richness about those textbooks. It was a philosophy that confirmed the philosophy from where I came from.

Seven:

You could see collaboration and engagement and Hoani Waititi crafting every word which had a meaning, every word was about the spice of life in Te Tairāwhiti.

Eight:

Lastly, Hoani Waititi was responsible for growing me as an academic for the future. I am from the pukapuka Reo Rangatahi.

W3 believed that *Te Rangatahi* textbooks were huge in their time. However, some people were critical of their relatively simple reo going into Form 5 (now Year 11). W3 described *“this style of second language learning as experienced based whereas prior to that, you studied the book of Māori grammar and you might be perfect and know all those grammatical rules but, you still couldn't speak the language so, the textbooks had a communication focus.”*

W3 was convinced that the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks were no longer being used. However, he suggested that other kaupapa picked up on what these textbooks began. It was the beginning of an approach to second language learning. At the time when he first saw these books, he did not know about the theory of second language learning and whether it was to him, tikanga Māori or Māori learning styles.

This theme and its findings were intriguing as it was the *Te Rangatahi* series where the inspiration originated to complete a doctoral thesis of this nature.

The interviews and manuscripts validated unequivocally that Hoani Waititi had a psyche unique to that era while preparing and then writing the textbooks.

5.1.1.3 The Success of Te Reo Māori Today

Findings

The success of Te Reo Māori today fashioned the social fabric of society in Aotearoa. Te Reo Māori became an official language in 1987 along with its predecessor English and then Sign Language. The interviews and perspectives underpinned this.

W1 argued that a reality was that Whānau were trying to put bread and butter on the table and there must have been a genuine reason for Whānau to learn te reo. He believed *“we have to stop looking at the language as a subject or elective at school, society has to change across everything.”* Correspondingly, W1 strongly suggested that Pakēhā businesses must change regarding using Māori words or patent Māori words e.g., CYFS changing their name to Oranga Tamariki. One way that W1 recommended was *“for Māori organisations to keep an eye on any of this sort of thing happening to ensure that people don’t use our traditional words and kaupapa to sell a product which has nothing to do with its meaning.”* An important point that W1 made regarding job descriptions also was that *“your technical competencies are about your degree that you achieve from university but more importantly are your cultural competencies.”* This was paramount as both bred best practice in core competence and you cannot have one without the other. Businesses recognised both competencies in job descriptions which hopefully encouraged better remuneration for Māori staff, proving that Pakēhā businesses were willing to work with our people.

Furthermore, W1 was totally supportive of compulsory Māori in schools. English has always been compulsory in schools allowing us to speak English. The same status has not been bestowed to te reo Māori yet. However, making te reo compulsory will eradicate all barriers to allow our tamariki to speak Māori.

W2 strongly felt that *“the Māori spirit is high when it comes to keeping our language alive.”* W2 was the Māori teacher at a kura tuarua auraki (mainstream secondary school) and the founder of Te Kotuku Marae which still exists today. W2 and other kaumatua kuia saw a need to request some prefabricated buildings where she could teach Māori Studies and progress the teaching and learning of te reo Māori. She alluded to the development of Te Matatini, the bi-annual national senior kapa haka competition which despite the commentary being bi-lingual, the promotion and exposure that te reo has been given is exemplary.

W3 claimed that te reo Māori has come a long way and what helped with this achievement were organisations like Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori who have been progressing the revitalisation of our language since its inception.

The introduction of legislation enabling the Māori Language Act 1987, was a huge achievement for our language, giving the mana and respect the Māori language rightfully deserved.

W4 supported a curriculum in the primary schools that *“embeds te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and Māori history and then the word ‘compulsory’ can be dispelled.”* Māori was integrated into Social Studies. However, Kaiako could develop their te reo oral and written skills at the different levels and design lessons appropriate for the age groups. Ākonga needed to experience te reo Māori at an early age and keep this consistent as they grew older. Additionally, to master thinking in te reo when you spoke or wrote it, helped you internalise this skill.

W5 offered a strong perspective that learning te reo Māori in Aotearoa was and is our right as the Indigenous people. *“Society needs to accept that. We have been so well colonised that society still thinks te reo isn’t our right.”* An important point W5 made was the importance of retaining our reo as our identity. During their Europe trip to Italy, the Ākonga

learnt some simple phrases that they were going to use every day to communicate with the local people. This encouraged the Italian children to ask what the equivalents were in Māori.

They were not interested in English and wanted to communicate back in Māori. *“Our kids then realised, ‘Gee, they do value the reo.’”*

Te Kura Mana Māori o Whangaparāoa and the travelling group visited the New Zealand Embassy in Italy, and the Deputy Ambassador was Māori from Taranaki. He confessed that his te reo was not that good but, after graduating from university and achieving good grades, he was able to join the Foreign Services.

He told the Ākonga that, *“the world is your oyster and knowing your reo will be an advantage and open many job opportunities especially with the Foreign Services.”*

W5 believed that te reo Māori remained intact as a language in Aotearoa. *“Our younger generations have been proof of that. The Ākonga were ambassadors not only for Te Kura Mana Māori o Whangaparāoa but for their country.”*

According to W6, te reo is well on its way with the establishment of our kōhanga reo, kura tuatahi and kura tuarua and has set an example for advancing to university level. He argued that te reo will eventually move from the classroom to the public. Society has become *“receptive of te reo now, for the good of the country.”*

Moreover, W5 claimed that *“te reo Māori makes us unique as a country. We’re the only Aotearoa in the world and the only country that speaks te reo Māori. Taiiwi (foreigners) are coming to Aotearoa and recognising that this is where our people come from because of our reo. This is our Indigenous language. However, other Pakēhā, Pacific Islanders and Asians have made our country their home and brought with them their own languages and cultures. Our society has become a competitive one. “Our expectations have got to be tangata whenua, where we expect society to back us up in our endeavours to revive our language.”*

W7 suggested that *“One of the key things for anyone who has a professional role is not to rest on your laurels. Keep looking. Keep growing the capacity to grow new ideas.”* This statement underpinned the successful achievements by those who have fought the fight to ensure the survival of our language for three centuries. W7 recalled Matua Bub Wehi saying, *“Hey Boy, what’s a pātere from so and so and so?”*

W7 remembered replying, *“E Pā, create new pātere that fit the contemporary situation.”* It was kapa haka groups that Matua Bub Wehi and Dr Pita Sharples established who *“resembled what was going on for urban Māori.”* Māori in Aotearoa have had a significant advantage, they have established a strong historical and heritage base for our te reo a-iwi and taonga tuku iho to thrive. W7 argued that while he attended Hato Tipene, *“the narrative was like this, ‘E tō mātou Matua i te Rangi, kia tapū tōu ingoa, kia tae mai tō rangatiratanga. Now there’s a new nuance to it: ‘E tō mātou Matua i te Rangi, Kia tapū tōu ingoa, kia tae mai tōu rangatiratanga. It gives you the nuances of Te Wairua Tapu and the resonance of that reo and that’s new creativity.”* W7 apprised that, he was writing a report for Te Mātāwai for our people to get more money to do some work on pukapuka karakia Iharaira. Ngawaiata Turnbull was completing her PhD at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and was assisting W7 to edit the book on karakia and mōteatea which will go back to the Iharaira.

Aotearoa has produced Māori academics and writers who have engaged in kaupapa such as this one which W7 has referred to in the best interests of safeguarding the assertive efforts of those who have, who are and who will keep the success of te reo Māori intact.

An important point that W8 made was about those people who have lived in Aotearoa all their lives and have retained a ‘fixed mindset’ and will not change regarding our language. An example that W8 referred to was, *“the woman from Ōtepoti, Dunedin who refused to correctly pronounce the area she was brought up in that has a Māori name. She still mispronounces it and refused to even acknowledge that it was a Māori name.”* W8 held strong to her belief that te reo Māori has continued to be maintained because our tamariki mokopuna who attended Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori and Te Wharekura. It was these movements that have ensured the retention of our te reo Māori.

5.1.2 Literature Review

Uniquely, this research drew on literature reviewed in Te Wāhanga Tuarua as a method of data collection which was supported by Indigenous theoretical perspectives about language revival.

5.1.2.1 Māori Language in Aotearoa

Findings

The data analysis of the literature offered a selection of different arguments, suggestions, acknowledgements, explanations, and reflections that reinforced this theme.

From Vasil (1988), who argued *“the significant role language plays in the maintenance of Indigenous cultures helps maintain culture distinctiveness making it integral when upholding their ‘taonga tuku iho’ or cultural aspirations.”*

Jenkins (1991) believed that *“assimilation contributed to Māori developing a mindset that, ‘to learn print literacy was to be in touch with omnipotent power ... Thus, Māori society was persuaded to believe in the necessity of print literacy which was God’s word.’ Furthermore, ‘it became important for Māori to get up close and personal with the Pakēhā who governed the life force and expression of the Māori language and its culture with new rules of literacy’.”*

Johnston (1998) highlighted *“the implementation of the policy of integration”* and Te Whata (2005) specified, *“the Māori urban drift during the 1960s coaxed rural families living on seasonal work and the subsistence economy of gardening, hunting, and gathering kaimoana to leave their home in return for employment.”* Furthermore, *“pepper-pot state housing involved mixing Māori homes within non-Māori suburbs (ethnically mixed communities) to avoid Māori social and speech patterns and encouraged the speaking of English as the dominant language and the rapid loss of the Māori language.”* Pakēhā intentions to eradicate Māori rural life, their language, and culture, strongly influenced the

life choices that Māori made for their Whānau during most of the late 20th century. Te Reo Māori did not feature as a priority and was overcome by employment opportunities and what the cities had to offer.

Clearly, the common premise with these writings were the methods in which Pakēhā applied to eliminate the Māori language. It was evident that ‘enticement’ and false promises for a better way of living were used to fast track the former developments that were never going to be in favour of Māori families and communities for years to come.

Benton (1978) after conducting his *“research into distinct aspects of Māori language, discovered that although the multicultural policies were a reversal of previous colonial policies suppressing Māori language, there were disturbing trends associated with the language.”* The substantial number of young Māori who had little or no engagement with their Indigenous language, became a concern for Māori kaumatua. Benton also highlighted that, despite colonial disruption *“the decline of Māori language resulted in ardent demands by Māori for both the recognition and inclusion of Māori language in schooling.”*

Evidently, according to the theoretical evidence also by these authors, the history of te reo Māori portrayed exploitation and betrayal of the Māori people. However, despite this, Māori language revitalisation has been seen as an initiative which is being normalised to acknowledge the past, and present initiatives including *Te Rangatahi textbooks*, Ruātoki Bilingual School, Te Ataarangi, Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Wharekura, Wānanga Māori.

5.1.2.2 Te Reo Māori Initiatives

Findings

During the mid-1950s, the confinement of *“teaching Māori in Māori district high schools and church boarding schools for Māori including the correspondence schools”* as highlighted by Benton (1981) was prominent. Furthermore, by 1951 Benton added that, *“the language was permitted at any constituent college of the University of New Zealand.”* Additionally, Bruce

Biggs, a sympathetic university lecturer at University of Auckland, introduced Māori language learning to his students and published a textbook called 'Let's Learn Māori' (1969).

A revitalisation initiative, to counter the harsh impact of colonisation and assimilation including the teaching of te reo Māori in secondary schools and universities, were the *Te Rangatahi I and II textbooks*. These were written by Hoani Waititi and published in 1962 and 1964. The uniqueness and simplicity of the sentence structures, the use of 'te reo a-hapū o Whangaparāoa' (the dialect of the area of Whangaparāoa) and stories, reflected a typical farming community and Whānau through the experiences of the author.

Māori language revitalisation had a 'snow-ball effect' leading into the 1980s and Māori communities from the grass roots introduced as Te Whata (2005) referred to them, "*educational forums*" as mentioned earlier. This implementation encouraged Māori life experiences through exposure to local community and Marae and as a way of both utilising and achieving this objective. "*Māori language complemented this and gave a sense of identity, pride, and self-worth* as Johnston (1998) claimed, *a prime example of the personal aspect of biculturalism.*" From experience, this statement truly reflected the learning methods of second language learners in te reo Māori. A bicultural and bilingual approach to the learning of te reo Māori was prominent during the 1990s into the millennium and enticed learners from particularly the baby-boomer, X and Y and the Millennial generations.

Te Mātāwai (2017), established Maihi Māori, a new Māori language strategy developed by and for iwi, Māori, and Māori language communities and stakeholders. The underpinning approach included Whakarauora Reo / language revitalisation planning, an element which placed emphasis on Māori language revitalisation planning that was understood and actively managed by communities. Takiwa Rumaki / language immersion environments, which were elements which have had a broad reach and focused on creating opportunities for communities and Whānau to engage in Māori language immersion environments.

In October 2019, a significant achievement occurred for Te Whānau-a-Apanui, securing Te Mātāwai funding of \$30,000 to deliver Te Reo Māori classes ki ngā ākonga pakeke (to adult learners) at Te Kaha and Whangāparāoa, which offered an opportunity to resurrect the Te Rangatahi series (Ferguson, personal communication, 2019).

Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia Hapu Hui held in March 2020, it was agreed that Kauaetangohia Marae would host discussions towards developing a Te Reo Iwi Strategy for Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia and Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Furthermore, in support of this a Whānau member moved that, through Whakarauora Te Reo Māori language revitalisation planning, an application for \$40,000 to Te Mātāwai for hapū te reo development be endorsed. This motion was seconded and carried by local hapū members (Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia Hapū Hui Minutes, 2020).

Te Mātāuru (2017) is a contestable investment fund that targeted home and community-based Māori language revitalisation initiatives which contributed to revitalising te reo Māori as a nurturing first language.

For this thesis, the rangahau has also included other Iwi affiliations. Te Mātāuru ki Mātaatua (Mātaatua Iwi Cluster Investment Plan) includes Te Whānau-ā-Apanui (Te Iwi o tōku māmā) and Te Mātāuru ki Te Arawa (Te Arawa Iwi Cluster Investment Plan) includes Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Te Iwi o tōku pāpā).

5.1.2.3 A Successful Te Reo Māori Strategy

5.1.2.3.1 Te Rangatahi Series 1962-1964

According to Hunter (1962), *“the Department of Education recognised the need for modern Māori instruction. The Māori Language Advisory Committee was set up in 1959 to address the kaupapa associated with the teaching of the language and to make recommendations.”*

Significantly, one of these recommendations was that Mr John Waititi (Hoani Waititi) as an experienced teacher of Māori be employed to write these texts. *“The Department of Education approved this recommendation and government funding was made available.”*

Te Rangatahi I was used in *Form III* (Year 9) proceeded by *Te Rangatahi II and III* which

were used to cover work in *Forms IV, V and VI* (Year 10, 11 and 12). *“The initial purpose of the series was to improve standards of Māori teaching in secondary schools based on successful classroom practices.”*

Richards (2016), underpinned the kaupapa of this rangahau by claiming that,

“The decline of the Māori language, the decline of intergenerational transmission of knowledge, urbanisation, and their chosen roles as educators, gave impetus for Waititi and Paora to write in Māori and focus on topics of tribal knowledge and history (tuku iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui).”

An important connection developed between Waititi as the author of ‘The Story of the Moki’ (Reed, 1963) and Paora as the author of ‘Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki’ (Paora, Te Wharekura 18, 1971). During the 1970s, *Te Rangatahi* series and journals like Te Wharekura 18 complemented each other, encouraging whakamāoritia and whakapakēhātia translations by ākonga. From memory, this learning was essential as this section of the mid and end of year examinations was worth 20%.

Richards (2016, pp. 185-187) claimed that

Waititi and his contributions to Māori language revitalisation and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui were important to Paora and her development as a Māori language teacher, a writer, and a tribal scholar.

Both were raised speaking their native language in rural Māori communities and were both educated at Māori boarding schools. Waititi attended Hato Tipene and Te Aute and Paora attended Hukarere. Richards acknowledged Waititi for piloting *Te Rangatahi I and II* at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in 1961-62 and recalled her Mum being an ākonga during that time.

According to a personal account by Pook (2018), she was also a student at Queen Victoria School located in Parnell, Auckland. During the 1950s and 1960s (New Zealand History, 2017), Waititi developed important new techniques for teaching te reo Māori which his textbooks were based on and were to become the standard te reo Māori teaching resource for four decades. Queen Victoria School and Hato Tipene were the first two schools that

Waititi exposed these textbooks being the Māori language teacher at both. According to Ballara and Mariu (2000), Waititi also taught at Auckland Girls' Grammar.

5.2 Quantitative Method - Findings

5.2.1 Electronic Survey via Facebook

An electronic survey titled 'Te Reo Māori Revitalisation' was the quantitative method used. This was posted on Facebook to encourage Whānau and friends to engage in the questionnaire. The survey was created using 'SurveyMonkey' which assisted the kairangahau with the following:

- Title of your survey
- Date modified.
- Number of responses
- Type of Design
- Analysis
- An opportunity to Share.

This survey format allowed the kairangahau direct access to the questions and all the responses pertaining to them. Interestingly, SurveyMonkey (2020) was an asset for this wāhanga in the way it formatted your survey. The ten questions were numbered in chronological order promoting closed to open-ended responses.

SurveyMonkey highlighted both the statistical and written responses depending on the type of questions and responses you wanted to promote.

The survey 'Te Reo Māori Revitalisation' consisted of three questions to assist with statistical information and seven questions that required written responses.

The aim of the survey was to determine the prior knowledge that respondents had about Te Reo Māori and its revitalisation, the Te Rangatahi textbooks and their exposure and engagement if any, to and with te reo. It also contributed to the common themes that developed.

Whānau participation in the survey drew on responses from eighteen people. However, some refrained from answering one or two of the questions.

The statistical data supported three of the common themes for this analysis and two providing Whānau narratives. These included sub-themes according to the survey questions which had commonalities with the common themes.

To give context and perspective to each Whānau narrative, it was appropriate for the kairangahau to use the verbatim responses because of their comparative context.

The survey was received well using a social media platform, Pukamata (Facebook). All eighteen participants identities have been kept confidential with some of their responses already analysed, appearing as statistical information for some sections and narrative responses for sections that required them.

Due to the hypothetical nature of this method, unlike the Interview and Literature Review findings, the themes generated were specific to the data responses and included statistical and narrative information which was pertinent to these findings.

5.2.1.1 Te Reo Competency

Ngā Whakautu Tautoko

Basic	4	22.22%
Intermediate	11	61.11%
Advanced	2	11.11%
Born Native Speaker	1	5.56%

Surprisingly, Te Reo Competency indicated a low percentage for one respondent who was born a native speaker and matatau i te reo, and the highest being eleven with intermediate competency, four with basic competency, and two with advanced competency.

5.2.1.2 Your Kaiako o Te Reo Māori

Ngā Whakautu Tautoko

Parents	3	16.67%
Grandparents	0	0%

Secondary School Māori Teacher	5	27.78%
Primary School Māori Teacher	2	11.11%
Wānanga / University Lecturer	3	16.67%
Other	5	27.78%

An interesting finding here was that 28% learnt te reo from their secondary school teachers or by other means. Two out of 18 participants offered some constructive feedback and one asked why 'Other' was not specified for those who attended a Māori Medium School or Te Kura Mana Māori as examples. There were 17% where their kaiako were their parents or a wānanga or university lecturer and 11% were taught by their primary school teacher.

5.2.1.3 Version of Te Rangatahi Textbooks

Ngā Whakautu Tautoko

Te Rangatahi I 1962 (first edition)	10	58.82%
Te Rangatahi II 1964 (first edition)	3	17.65%
Te Rangatahi II 1972 (revised edition)	2	11.76%
Te Rangatahi II 1978 (revised edition)	0	0%
Te Rangatahi Elementary III 1985 (reprint)	2	11.76%

This finding was of significance given that, 59% representing ten participants engaged with *Te Rangatahi I 1962* and 18% representing three participants engaged with *Te Rangatahi II 1964*. An interesting hypothesis because these textbooks were first editions. It is unclear whether the 18% also engaged with *Te Rangatahi I 1962*. The results also showed 12% engaged with the revised edition of *Te Rangatahi II 1972* and *Te Rangatahi Elementary III 1985* which was a reprint.

5.2.1.4 Te Rangatahi Textbooks

Kōrero Tautoko

- **Pivotal Role in Te Reo Māori Revitalisation**

For the narratives in this section, 86% agreed that the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* played a pivotal role in Te Reo Māori revitalisation, supported by their explanations. The other 14% offered general explanations rather than commit to an Ae or Kao response. The findings indicated by most responses here that clearly the participants engaged with the textbooks and had well-informed knowledge as to the positive role that this resource played during its rein from the 1960s through to the early 2000s, surviving for four decades.

Here are the narrative responses that supported the comments above:

Scaffolded learning programme in te reo Māori beginning at a very basic level and moving through to the more advanced.

Yes, they were the only series we had readily accessible at school.

Yes. It encapsulates the principles of second language pedagogy as well as authentic Māori life of that time and tikanga.

Yes, this was our main pukapuka at Te Kaha District High School during the 70s.

It has its place; it is part of the whakapapa of the revitalisation of Te Reo. It is apparently still being used in some places.

Yes. Simple to learn from and lessons mirrored context.

Yes, because they were written and used in High Schools to promote the learning of Te Reo Māori.

This was definitely the beginning of the renaissance of our language. Depopulation in the rural areas and the urban drift in the 50s contributed to the loss of Te Reo Māori.

The Rangatahi Reo Māori books allowed our people to reconnect with their Indigenous tongue through simple grammar and real-life stories that connected them to their lwi, hapū, marae and Whānau in their 'Tūrangawaewae.'

- **Learning Te Reo from these textbooks and their impact on you and your Whānau?**

For the respondents who were brought up at home with te reo Māori, their engagement with the textbooks only occurred when they attended secondary school and were dictated by the education system to learn what was required at the different levels to sit examinations. There were some narratives that reflected on the stories in the textbooks and their

experiences living in a rural area and typical Whānau occasions that occurred there e.g.,
Te Mārena or Te Mahi Pāmu.

I wasn't allowed to learn from the pukapuka, my father the author's first cousin told me that I had to learn without the pukapuka; he understood why they needed the pukapuka, but I was to learn Te Reo from my life experiences. So, I spent a lot of time with the kaumātua wherever we lived.

Since the beginning of secondary schools and primary schools, my mother and close relations kept us close to doing te reo classes. It was done at home, school, marae. She helped in the early years of developing te reo in primary schools. So, I always had the language around me every day.

From other responses, they indicated the following to support this premise:

I think they were foundational in how we spoke Māori during that era (70s) in that we knew similar sentence structures and examples of the use of what we had learnt in those readers.

Great impact. I was one of the students who trialled the book, the First Edition 1962.

The Rangatahi books were written in our own dialect, and we could personally relate to the stories as the author's experiences were also our lived experiences growing up in a rural Māori community.

These books have had a huge impact on our Whānau as many of the stories are Whānau stories. Te Reo within the books is typically Te Whānau-a-Apanui, the enduring impact has meant that we have been able to hold true to our uniquely Apanui sentence structures and kupu.

- **The uniqueness of the Te Rangatahi series compared to other Māori language resources.**

Comparatively, unique features of *Te Rangatahi textbooks* which some of the respondents highlighted, positioned them in their 'own league,' from

other resources as supported by the following responses:

Te Rangatahi series unique resource had the model samples to help and assist us. The resource was always the Kaiako that implemented the programme. Māori dictionaries both on hard copy and electronic are helpful these days.

Te Whānau-a-Apanui dialect and real characters.

They were written by our very own Hoani Waititi – they were written in the distinctive dialect of Te Whānau-a-Apanui/Ngāti Porou style. You undergo a feeling of immediate connection when you read a Te Rangatahi book because, if you've been raised there, you'll just seem to know that.

Easy to follow, is Bi-lingual, Excellent, simple explanations of correct grammar. Iwi specific dialect and orthography.

Anything to do with Te Reo Māori has to be unique in the way they are written. Process and simplicity. These books were transferable into a teaching lesson as well as could be used to self-teach.

Te Rangatahi series are unique in that they are very user friendly to learn from. The stories were relatable to the children of the time as many were boarding school students who have strong rural upbringings. Stories about grassroots rugby, marae weddings, working on the farm etc. The stories were real life experiences of Hoani Waititi's Whānau. This is what made these books very unique.

Simple. Māmā te reo. Very practical application of te reo to everyday settings.

5.2.1.5 Changes for Te Reo Māori since the decline of spoken Māori in the early 20th century.

Surprisingly, the responses for this kaupapa were robust, giving 'ngako' or essence to the 'kōrero mātauranga.' The electronic survey with open questions provided an opportunity to incorporate academic knowledge within their responses:

Structural changes such as Kōhanga and Kura have provided for children to learn from birth and Wānanga allow for a Māori environment for adult learners.

The Te Reo language has grown since the Te Rangatahi series. If Ngoi Pēwhairangi was to return, she would be able to recognise the language she taught years ago. She did not consider the modernisation of the Te Reo language.

The movement of Te Reo revitalisation has been a huge positive to contain its decline. Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa in Māori Medium settings, have had a huge impact on Te Reo revival, Kura Reo and Panekīretanga – Iwi and hapū as well as Kura have now constructed their own Te Reo Strategy Plans to ensure its survival.

Whānau (who never grew up learning Te Reo Māori) have more and easier access to resources that can support them on their language journeys. These resources also encourage language learners to use Te Reo Māori in creative ways.

It has been reignited and is part of Aotearoa. Countries and Indigenous people across the world would expect nothing less from Māori.

I believe the Reo is in a stronger position than it was 30 years ago, but we still have a long way to go. The Rangatahi series was ground-breaking for its time. Since then, we have been able to secure Māori immersion education facilities from kōhanga to Wānanga, Māori TV and Iwi Radio and many social media platforms that are all important to the development and maintenance of our Reo. This body of work is a taonga for our Whānau.

Kua piki ake. Ēngari kua rerekē. Tukuna mā ngā Iwi e Whakarauora i tō rātou ake reo. Tukuna kia ako te reo i roto i tō tātou so, kua e waiho mo te akomanga. Take Te Reo Māori out of our institutions and put more investment into learning to reo Māori in natural environments.

The avalanche of resources, courses, focus on the Reo has failed to grow Reo speakers. Urbanisation and interest by our Rangatahi in other kaupapa haven't helped and no support from teachers / media etc in mainstream helped in the decline of te reo.

Government changes to include Māori language and history into school curriculum. Since the time of Naida Glavish losing her job because she said, "Kia Ora" as a telephonist with the Post Office to Air NZ staff and Māori not getting a job as an Air Hostess, to now greeting you in Te Reo Māori, show tamoko is ok in mainstream jobs. Although there is so much still to do, it's how much shift there's been since the 1980s.

Furthermore, responses acknowledged the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* as having a definite contribution to the te reo Māori initiatives continuing a momentum towards the survival of the language. Moreover, there were significant changes with the establishment of particularly Te Kōhanga, Te Kura Kaupapa and other Māori medium settings such as Te Wharekura and Wānanga Māori. These were distinctive to the development of spoken Māori which unquestionably countered its decline. Significantly, respondents have led this revival within their own settings whether that be in their homes, employment or within their communities.

Te Wiki o te Reo Māori, a week dedicated to speaking te reo Māori i ngā wā katoa, speaking Māori all the time, has had a distinct positive impact.

However, although not a finding that emerged but more of an implication, acknowledgement was essential.

5.3 Conclusion

The presentation of verbatim responses to the interview questions, ensured that authentic narrations were recorded accurately. Irrespective of the filtration of the information, the process certified a succinct analysis of the data and its themes which emerged and contributed to the findings as per the data evidence.

The contributions were experiential and from a knowledge base consistent with participants' own life experiences during the 20th and 21st centuries.

The interview findings indicated that the participants were knowledgeable about the trends that developed for te reo Māori in Aotearoa overtime, despite their level of competency in speaking and understanding te reo. A finding which was common with all contributions was the knowledge base regarding the successful models to revitalise our language and reinforced the argument that the Te Rangatahi textbooks contributed significantly to the first te reo revitalisation initiatives.

The literature findings further underpinned these contributions highlighting several theories and perspectives from Indigenous lens indicating the importance of language and culture survival.

As indicated by the statistical evidence, the findings generated from the electronic survey concentrated mainly on the participants ability to speak to reo at different levels, using the Te Rangatahi textbooks while at kura tuarua (secondary school), their value today as a Māori language resource and the changes that have occurred because of te reo revitalisation initiatives.

Te Wāhanga Tuaono

“Ko tōu reo, Ko tōku reo, Te tuakiri tangata, Tihei uriuri, Tihei nakonako”

Your voice, and my voice are expressions of identity. Let our descendants live on and our hopes be fulfilled

6.0 Introduction

This wāhanga (chapter) discussed the themes that emerged and the findings from the data collection with complimentary and supportive theories drawn directly from Te Wāhanga Tuarua (Chapter 2), the Literature Review to corroborate the qualitative and quantitative information.

As mentioned previously, the interview participants included ngā kaiwhakautu (interviewees) who were selected from different generations and eras. There were seven Māori, two female and five male participants and one Pākehā participant ki te matatau i te reo Māori, (fluent in the Māori language). All kaiwhakautu completed a consent form and agreed to be identified as Whānau Tuatahi ki a Whānau Tuawaru. The selection of kaiwhakautu was based on a scope of perspectives, values, and responses pertinent to their life experiences and exposure to the Māori language. For this thesis, the use of the term ‘kaiwhakautu’ was the preferred term in relation to the Whānau who were interviewed while gathering their thoughts, experiences and connections to the direction and structure of the thesis research questions. Black (personal communication, 2020) suggested that “kaiwhakautu” was a word, or term that was familiar to the community in which this research was conducted, and its familiarity is what connected this essential expression used in Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Whangaparāoa Mai Tāwhiti, intertwining the thesis aspirations.

As aforementioned, kōrero tautoko by kaiwhakautu or interviewees were shown in *italics* in 6.1 Interviews. Survey respondents were anonymous and their kōrero tautoko (contributions) were also shown in *italics* in 6.2 Electronic Survey.

6.1 Interviews

6.1.1 Kaupapa Tuatahi (Theme 1): Te Reo Māori in Aotearoa

During the filtering process, a commonality with most of the interviews was the support and encouragement that Whānau were given to study Māori at secondary school. The subject was Māori Studies. This was a milestone for the Indigenous people since English was a compulsory subject under colonial rule, while Te Reo Māori (Māori language) was an elective. An important finding was that the kaiwhakautu (Interviewees) were exposed to a colonised system that involved examinations for School Certificate, University Entrance and Bursary. These examinations dictated the delivery of Māori Studies during the 20th century which strategically placed them within a scaling system.

Whānau Tuatahi (W1) made mention that generations today,

“have encountered significant events in history from the hard work of our tīpuna who fought during pre- and post- the Treaty of Waitangi, struggling through the mainstream and colonised system, in terms of the language, the colonial pressure put on our people to extinguish the language and through history, you see the fight for our language, whether it be preserved through our song, through kapa haka, on the ‘last bastions’ of our marae, through to our Hāhi Māori.”

Johnston (1998) discussed “the fourth and perhaps most comprehensive filter for assimilating Māori relating specifically to the position of Māori language” (p. 91). Furthermore, an argument made by Vasil (1988) was that “language plays a significant role in the maintenance of a culture and helped to maintain cultural distinctiveness” and became integral to Indigenous peoples when upholding their ‘taonga tuku iho, cultural aspirations.’

Underpinning these theories, Whānau 1 argued that,

“... your technical competencies are about your degree that you achieve from university but more importantly are your cultural competencies. This is paramount as both breeds best practice in core competence and you cannot have one without the other.”

W1 also believed that te reo Māori complemented these cultural competencies and was,

“... totally supportive of compulsory Māori in schools because English in schools allows us to speak English so, if we make Māori compulsory in schools, and don't say there's not enough teachers out there, cos there is, there's plenty of teachers out there.”

Jenkins (1991) further theorised that, “assimilation contributed to Māori developing a mindset that, ‘to learn print literacy was to be in touch with omnipotent power ... Thus, Māori society was persuaded to believe in the necessity of print literacy which was God's word.’ Furthermore, ‘it became important for Māori to get up close and personal with the Pākehā who, governed the life force and expression of the Māori language and its culture with new rules of literacy’.”

W2, an ‘uri’ or descendant from the ‘traditionalist era, 1930-1945 recalled experiencing exposure to the Māori language during her schooling:

“I remember Spiller as my first teacher. We sang songs in Pākēha and Māori. He was a good teacher, we all liked him. Although a Native School, Te Reo had not been attempted and it wasn't a prominent occurrence in the community. Back when I went to school in the 1930s, there were no Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa or Wharekura. May be some songs – waiata noa iho. The community was very Māori in those days ... We had Māori News.”

Interestingly, W3 offered an historical perspective about his tīpuna Pākehā or Pākehā ancestor who arrived in Aotearoa in 1835. His sons married into Ngā Puhī and his daughters, the only white woman that they conversed with was their mother until they were in their teens. W3 believed that te reo must have been very much part of their lives. Literacy was introduced to our people in the form of a Māori newspaper.

“...I'm guessing that he was present at the signing of the Treaty because he lived just around the corner, just up the river from where the Treaty was signed so that's partly where my interest has been kindled and then when you've got here about the first Māori language newspaper, his oldest son, that's my great, great grandfather, he was the editor of a Māori language newspaper called 'Te Korimako' and that was in the 1860s so from that I know he was a fluent Māori speaker so that's probably part of my interest ...”

Interestingly, Whānau 5 recalled,

“One of the most important experiences that I have had, has been brought up in the community, where the reo was being spoken. When we went to school here in Whangaparāoa, te reo wasn’t taught to us. But, in our homes, our old people, and on our marae, we went to karakia, and it was all te reo. Te Reo was still in Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia; te reo was still in Te Whānau-a- Apanui with that age group, and that was Johnny’s age group as well, those people. We were sent to school to learn English, but we already had that foundation of te reo.”

Simon (1997, as cited in Johnston, 1998, p. 97), government policies from mid 1800s, recognised that if the Māori language survived, Māori social organisation would be sustained. Simon also noted that the primary goal of the Native Schools Code of 1880 was assimilation with an emphasis placed on the teaching and learning of English for Māori children.

Whānau 6 had his first experience learning te reo, at St Stephens,

“... prior to that nothing was taught in the primary schools. There was a bit at home, but most of it here that we picked up was from the kids of that time, my own age, and now and again we’d mix both languages up. That’s where you learnt te reo Māori at school, in the weekends and on the playground and that, but never in school. It was always English.”

It was around about the time that Apirana made the statement that we should hold onto our reo and traditions and all that, and conscious of Māori, especially academics, that te reo needed to be revitalised again. That’s about the time we used to hear a lot at the marae, because that was still the community language and it was good Māori, native Māori. It was our parents and grandparents that used the language but for us, our involvement was listening; we heard it, but we didn’t speak it.”

Whānau 7 provided a similar account,

“... the period that I’m really familiar with is, and which really brought home to me when I attended St Stephens School in Bombay, and I was there in 1973-74, I think. One of the reasons for going to St Stephens was there was no Māori language outside of Ruātoki where we came from. Initially, I was sent to Kawerau College,

Kawerau and there was no te reo Māori or anything Māori in the college during the seventies.”

According to Simon and Smith (2001), in 1930 the Atmore Report called for prominence to be given to the teaching of agriculture in all schools and the following year, Strong again emphasised its importance in the schooling of Māori, stating that:

“... in the system of native education in New Zealand, we should provide fully a type of education that will lead the lad to become a good farmer, and the girl a good farmer’s wife.”

Furthermore, criticised teachers who requested the extension of academic development of their Māori pupils, despite his acknowledgement that Māori were academically capable.

The following statement made in 1931 reinforced this:

“Whenever I have come in contact with the education of the dark races, Māori, Samoan, Fijian or Indian, I have noted with surprise their facility in mastering the intricacies of numerical calculations. This fatal facility has been taken advantage of in the Mission schools and even in the school manned by white teachers to encourage the pupils to carry arithmetic to a stage far beyond their present needs or their possible future needs.”

Moreover, Simon and Smith (2001, p. 114) have highlighted the counter view of Senior Inspector W.W. Bird who reformed his earlier views on the educational needs of Māori by remarking on secondary education for Māori:

“There must be a training for the leaders. The time has passed when civilised man can say to any people, ‘Thus far and no farther,’ when education is concerned. Hence in the secondary schools like Te Aute and St Stephens the limits imposed twenty years ago must now be abandoned ... In addition to the agricultural course provided for the majority of boys, a definite academic side leading to the University is necessary for the few who are capable of attaining professional status.”

Notably from observation, St Stephens in Bombay was located in an area surrounded by farmlands revealing the key reason why St Stephens School was moved from its original location in Parnell along St Stephens Road, adjacent to Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in Gladstone Avenue.

From experience, accompanying the education curriculum delivered at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls, students were expected to wash and dry their clothes by hand if you were accommodated at the 'Main Building' dormitories, iron the pleats of your summer Sunday uniforms, be assigned outside and inside chores, and cleaning duties. Most of the senior students accommodated at 'Wikitoria' dormitories used washing machines and dryers. An early rise ensured you got in first to do your washing, it was a very competitive environment from memory.

Ferguson's (2012) discussion regarding important issues for Māori, highlighted the most important issues being te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, as an addition to the theoretical evidence aforementioned. She argued that, *"Te Reo Māori is still considered at risk in Aotearoa and that educational organisations should use every opportunity to utilise the language. The digital world and cyberspace are other mediums that have provided opportunities to regenerate and retain our language."*

Barlow (1998, cited by Ferguson, believed that *"Te Reo Māori belongs to a group of languages of the Polynesian region, mainly Eastern Polynesia."*

Importantly, Ferguson (2012) also claimed that, *"In Māori society there are several types, levels or stages of the Māori language, formal and informal. Te Reo Kauta, literally translated means 'the language of the kitchen' spoken during informal situations and used to communicate to Whānau or friends daily. Te Reo Pōhewa is 'a formal type of language used on the marae by skilled orators' and literally translated means the imagery or imaginative language. An example of this is, a skilled orator may refer to, according to Salmond (1990), tūpāpāku using references to animals describing them or any of their traits. Te Reo Ōkawa which means protocol is also used on the marae formally, as is Te Reo Ōkarakia which means prayer (see §5.5.4). Furthermore, Ferguson (2012, p. 169), maintained that "the Māori language cannot be separated from the customs" and Nepe (1991, see §4.5) suggested that, "te reo Māori was a vital strand for the transmission of Māori knowledge and no other language would be able to convey the intricacies of Māori*

knowledge. Significantly, in correspondence with te reo Māori in Aotearoa, Ferguson continued to argued that,

“the Māori language is still not out of danger, so the more opportunities that learners have to express themselves in the medium of te reo Māori, the greater chances are for the survival of the Māori language.”

A whakataukāki by the Ministry of Education (2007, p.8) stated,

“Ko te reo te iho o te ahurea – The language is the lifeline of the culture” which Ferguson suggested is from, *“te ao Māori and is an indication of the importance of te reo Māori. She explained that, “Te Reo Māori me ōna Tikanga go hand in hand. They are interconnected and you cannot practise one without the other.”*

An important point that Ferguson (2012, p. 172) made in regards to the developments of te reo Māori was,

“the language of the Marautanga Māori (Māori Curriculum) could also be included in these different types of language uses. It is difficult to ascertain if te reo o te Marautanga or the language of the curriculum is a formal or informal type of language as the language contained within is traditional and contemporary.”

In addition, Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Curriculum for Māori schools, was published in 2008 by the Ministry of Education and has been used in New Zealand schools since its inception.

The movement of Te Reo revitalisation has been a huge positive to contain its decline. Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa in Māori Medium settings, have had a huge impact on Te Reo revival, Kura Reo and Panekīretanga – Iwi and hapū as well as Kura have now constructed their own Te Reo Strategy Plans to ensure its survival.

Whānau (who never grew up learning Te Reo Māori) have more and easier access to resources that can support them on their language journeys. These resources also encourage language learners to use Te Reo Māori in creative ways. It has been reignited and is part of Aotearoa. Countries and Indigenous people across the world would expect nothing less from Māori.

Ferguson (2012) completed comprehensive research which had a direct link to the themes in relation to the findings mentioned in Te Wāhanga Tuarima. Within her PhD thesis she

highlighted that, *“Spirituality within Māori educational organisations is a given. Smith (2012) suggested that our spirituality “is one of the few parts of ourselves which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control ... yet.”* She also believed that,

“Concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy, then to appropriate, and then to claim, are critical sites of resistance for Indigenous peoples. The values, attitudes, concepts, and language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent, in many cases, the clearest contrast and mark of difference between Indigenous peoples and the West ” (p. 78).

Correspondingly, Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) provided the following definition of mother tongue, *“the language that a child learns first, the language a person identifies with, identified by others as a native speaker of a language, a language that a person knows best and lastly the language that is used most often” (p.35).*

The quantitative data suggested that due to the urban drift according to Walker (1990), many Māori moved from their rural areas and settled in the urban areas of Aotearoa e.g., Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) and Te Whanganui a Tara (Wellington) during the 1940s. This mass urbanisation during these times resulted in *“physical detachment which often led to a detachment from the culture and language of their rural beginnings”* as Te Rito (2008, p. 2) suggested.

According to Ferguson (2012, p. 110),

“Many Māori today are still trying to regain their identity, language, and culture; some reside in urban areas and some in the rural areas of Aotearoa.”

6.1.2 Kaupapa Tuarua (Theme 2): Te Rangatahi Textbooks

The data analysis and findings reinforced the success of the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* as a te reo Māori initiative and its contribution to the regeneration of the Māori language.

Richards (2016) recognised the immediate need to revitalise our language by claiming,

“... the decline of the Māori language, the decline of intergenerational transmission of knowledge, urbanisation and their chosen roles as educators gave impetus for

Waititi and Roka Paora to write in Māori and focus on topics of tribal knowledge and history (tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui).

A well-known character that Richards (2016) alluded to in both the *Te Rangatahi series* (Waititi, 1962) and *Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki* (Paora, 1971), was Hata who was “*the main father character and a prominent tīpuna (ancestor) associated with moki fishing.*” As described by Richards, these two publications were “*ways to promote distinctive ‘tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.*”

Additionally, Richards (2016, pp. 185-187) through her rangahau supported the argument that,

“Waititi and his contributions to Māori language revitalisation and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui were important to Paora and her development as a Māori language teacher, a writer and a tribal scholar.”

Intriguingly, during the 1950s and 1960s (New Zealand History, 2017),

“Waititi developed important new techniques for teaching te reo Māori which the Te Rangatahi series were based on and were to become the standard textbooks used for four decades. He piloted his textbooks at secondary schools who during this time had a favourable population of te reo Māori speakers and had a proficient understanding and knowledge of the language before they were offered to mainstream schools.”

One of these was Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls and the other, Hato Tipene (St. Stephens School for Boys) at Bombay in Tāmaki Makaurau. These two schools were the first schools to be exposed to these textbooks since Waititi was the Māori language teacher at both. As stated by Ballara and Mariu (2000), “*Waititi also taught at Auckland Girls’ Grammar.*”

Whānau 1 (W1) was adamant that,

“It’s our language so we have to make sure it’s strong, it’s healthy and it’s in a comfortable place and not wait for tauiwi so, tauiwi who want to learn our language, we welcome anyone to learn our language because the more people who speak our language, the stronger it’s going to be across all cultures.”

“My thing is, our people must find its importance first but, I don’t discourage Pākehā or Chinese for that matter. I saw a Chinese fella on the TV the other week, full blown Chinese i te kōrero Māori, wetiweti! The examples have already been done, you have John Moorfield who wrote textbooks after Uncle John and learnt from Te Rangatahi books and created another form of language revitalisation textbook within the schools and universities. You look at the Mayor of Gisborne, he’s Chinese and fluent in te reo Māori.”

According to Riddle (2018) in his article on the Stuff News site about the life story of John Cornelius Moorfield (Te Murumāra), he was one of the leading contributors in Aotearoa for the teaching of te reo Māori. He passionately worked on finishing the 3000-page manuscript of ‘Te Iho,’ a dictionary which was complete with multiple examples of word usage. His wife, Sue described the dictionary as the culmination of decades of study, “He’d worked on Te Iho for at least three years and had pretty much finished it before he died. He handed it over to two colleagues at AUT to complete the publishing.” Additionally, Riddle acknowledged Hoani Retimana Waititi who taught John at Hato Tipene when Te Reo was a compulsory subject in Forms 3 & 4. John continued with the language throughout his school years. He was an extremely passionate teacher so, despite being unsupported by a student body with ‘little in the way of teaching materials,’ he soldiered on pioneering the use of new technologies in teaching to reo Māori. Apparently, he spent 23 years at the Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research, ending his career there as an Associate Professor. During this time, he worked on a set of written, audio and video teaching resources aimed at adult learners, but which are now used nationally at school level and up. John Moorfield is well-known for the ‘Te Whānake Series’ consisting of four books, Te Kākano 1988, Te Pihinga 1990, Te Māhuri 1992, and Te Kōhure 1996.

Significantly, Hunter (1962) well-defined the initial purpose of the *Te Rangatahi* series which was to improve standards of Māori teaching considerably in secondary schools based on successful classroom practices. Many confident and competent Māori teachers were employed by secondary schools willing and interested to offer Māori Studies as a subject.

In support of Hunter, Whānau 2 commented by saying:

“I think the Te Rangatahi textbooks have life-long learning but they need back like we sort of were able to use the books and if we wanted songs, it was easier because the stuff was there for us to make up songs and all that sort of thing but we’ve got the advantage of having the interest of our people now in Kapa Haka aye, kapa haka is a big deal, done probably it’s a real big deal. When you have books like these, using them is easy, makes your teaching easy. You get it ready, and the classes are ready because you’ve got the books. It was a big help to teachers to have all that really and spreading our language.”

Whānau 5 shared a comparable view:

“I’ve got a special affiliation to John’s books, mainly because I was one of the, shall I say, his guinea pigs, when he first started writing the books. I had a lot to do with being one of the ones who did the recordings. When I was a Queen Vic, he was also a teacher. He taught me right through secondary school. Yes, I am very familiar with Te Rangatahi, and his books were based on stories from Te Whānau-a-Apanui. I am very familiar with the context that he used in those books. His initiative was definitely an initiative to revitalise the reo. I knew he was teaching at other secondary schools in Auckland. He had already seen that te reo needed to be uplifted to save our reo.”

An interesting finding was that the majority of Whānau responded in support of the *Te Rangatahi series* as a ‘living, lifelong learning resource,’ positioning itself with the historical events significant in the revitalisation of te reo Māori. It is unknown why Hoani Waititi and his textbooks were omitted from a prestigious time where the focus was specifically on the survival of our Indigenous language.

Moreover, as Te Wāhanga Tuatoru has explored, Matua John and Whāea Maxine Tamahori (Te Waka Huia, 1995) highlighted the following kōrero hōhonu (important contributions) underpinning the value that the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* contributed specifically to the learning and teaching of te reo Māori in Aotearoa,

“Kua haere mai a Hoani ki te whakaako i te tikanga wetereo. Ko te tohunga a Hoani ki te ako tika i te reo Māori, tino rawa te tikanga wetereo” (Tamahori, J., 1995).

(Hoani came to teach correct grammatical structures. Hoani was the expert at teaching correct te reo Māori, very good correct grammar)."

Apparently during this time, the push was for students to learn other languages like te reo Wiwi (French) me te reo Hāpini (Japanese),

"Ko te tikanga kaupapa o Hoani, he ako te reo Māori."

(The ultimate kaupapa of Hoani was to teach te reo Māori).

"He tikanga hou tēnei e whai ana ki te ako i te reo Pakēhā me te reo Tauīwi, paku rātou te kōrero, nui rawa i te tuhituhi me te kōrero pukapuka. He putanga mai ngā āhuatanga o Hoani, kua rerekē, nui rawa te kōrero, paku noa iho te kōrero pukapuka me te tuhituhi" (Tamahori, M., 1995).

(This was a new protocol, to strive to learn English and foreign languages, they said that there should be more writing and reading. The emergence of Hoani's aspects were different, more speaking and less reading and writing).

W1 and W2 have strong whakapapa connections to Hoani Waititi and the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks. Despite their differences in age, generation, and engagement with te reo, both are fluent speakers.

W1 believed that,

"Language, particularly te reo Māori shouldn't be a barrier to understanding a culture or to continue to colonise or to 'takahi, trample' a culture."

W2, is a descendent from a long line of teaching backgrounds and like her Whānau predecessors, observed the development of the *Te Rangatahi* series and its fruition.

She claimed that,

"... the textbooks are a life-long resource for the learning and teaching of te reo Māori."

The first Māori teacher at a kura auraki (mainstream school), allowed W2 the opportunity to access these textbooks and everything they had to offer to teach our language. The advantage that W2 had over other secondary school Māori teachers was her familiarity with

most of the stories. She experienced specific stories like Te Mārena, Te Hī Ika, Te Pāmu a Hata, Te Miraka Kau and Te Tangihanga.

Richards (2016) supported the kōrero whakautu by describing that, Waititi and Paora had things in common, they were both Māori language teachers which made them passionate educators and advocates for their people and there were similarities in their academic writing as authors. They drew on mātauranga, pūrakau, tikanga Māori, taiao and everyday experiences and way of life of their communities. As their publications complemented each other, so did they with the familiarities and commonalities of their writings.

6.1.3 Kaupapa Tuatoru (Theme 3): Global Language Revitalisation

This section has researched three distinctive global language revitalisation initiatives and the language revitalisation models that inspired the Indigenous people to develop their own.

6.1.3.1 Chehalis Native Language Revitalisation

As with te reo Māori, the decline of the Chehalis language and rapid languages shift to learn and speak English, was the catalyst for the Chehalis people to implement and focus on native language revitalisation initiatives.

According to Figure 1 in this thesis and Conwell's - Figure 3 (2017, p. 14): "*Geographical Map of Chehalis, the Chehalis Tribe consisted of several bands of Salishan Indians who resided and travelled on the Chehalis River. These bands of Salish-speaking Indians lived along this river and its tributary streams and creeks.*" The Chehalis occupation of these tribal lands allowed the Chehalis language and culture to thrive uninterrupted.

A common denominator that most iwi taketake o te ao experienced was language loss. In this case, "*Native American tribes like the Chehalis's loss of language was due to colonial influences including exposure to non-Indian lifestyles, boarding school experiences, loss of cultural support and Chehalis Tribe's low membership enrolment for the past 100 years. Significantly, this has had an extreme impact on the reduction of possible language learners*

among the remaining tribal members.” According to Conwell (2017, p. 15), “although personal accounts of the boarding school’s era did not have a direct impact on the Chehalis Tribe generally, the loss of their language has been vastly affected by the low Chehalis membership.”

A similar strategy was adopted by the Aboriginal people from Australia who lived on reserves and their children were trained in preparation for farm labour if you were a boy and domestic service if a girl. Aboriginal families showed a strong resistance to the enticement of sending their children to school and placing their youth in employment. Likewise, Armitage (1995, p.43), and Rowley (1970) argued that *“the intention of these policies was ‘to break the sequence of Indigenous socialization so as to capture the adherence of the young, and to cast scorn on the sacred life and the ceremonies which remained as the only hold on the continuity with the past.’* The Aborigines Welfare Board was the next policy that the government committed to from 1940-69. The Aboriginal peoples, indigenous to Australia were highly subjected to the worst form of ‘assimilation’ imagined. Government policies had one main intent, to impact heavily on endemic languages, culture, and religious beliefs through a ‘divide and conquer’ strategy and hid behind the implementation of damning legislation.

Conwell (2017, p. 155) reflected on a *“new Chehalis language model called Tu’pa? (Section 5.2: p.165, Fig. 3) for a language revitalisation programme. Tu’pa? is a spider that signifies the industrious nature of Conwell’s proposed language model. The spider represents the practice of language learning (symbolised by the eight legs), practices that are integral to the Chehalis language model development as the Chehalis basket which Conwell described as her methodology.”*

6.1.3.2 Hawaiian Language Revitalisation

Punana Leo Movement

The Indigenous peoples of Hawai'i in 1984, in acknowledgement of the Māori language revitalisation movement, were inspired to develop their own language revitalisation effort, "*the Punana Leo Movement based on the Kōhanga Reo Māori language nests.*" *The Punana Leo Movement was an initiative, an inspiration based on "Aha Punana Leo's, (2010) dream that the mana of a living Hawaiian language be re-established throughout Hawai'i from the depth of our origins there"* as cited in Conwell (2017, p. 106).

The main purpose of *Punana Leo* was to establish, provide for and nurture Hawaiian language environments where the Indigenous would recover their strength in their spirituality, love of their language, love of their people, love of their land, and love of knowledge (Aha Punana Leo, 2010). According to Conwell (2017, p. 106), "*an immersion methodology was the 'best fit' for the Hawaiian language and would be implemented in preschool to college immersion programmes, introducing English into the classroom at fifth grade despite the use of English by students to and from school.*"

The development of *Punana Leo* encouraged a further language initiative, *Papa Hana Kaiapuni*, a language immersion programme which was introduced to schools in the same year by the Hawai'i State Department of Education (Luning & Yamauchi, 2010). Hawaiian language activists developed a private Hawaiian language preschool through the inspiration of Māori community-organised *kōhanga reo* established in Aotearoa. Similarly, to the direction of te reo Māori revitalisation, Hawaiian language activists also identified an urgent need to retain their language at 'a grassroots level.' As most Indigenous language initiatives, the Hawaiian programme was intended to "*incorporate traditional cultural practices within the classrooms and establish the use of the native language as the medium of instruction.*"

Further Conwell (2017, p. 107), stated that the *Papa Hana Kaiapuni* "*advocated a holistic approach in which the Hawaiian language was incorporated into both the classroom and*

home with the learning process following the format which reverses the roles of child and parent, resulting in children as teachers and adults as learners.” This strategy mirrored Māori language initiatives where older generations (Traditionalists; Baby-Boomers) became the learners and the younger generations (X and Y Gens; Millennials) were the teachers of the language.

Additionally, Conwell elaborated that, *“the method employed at this school was known as an additive language learning approach which emphasized adding, rather than subtracting a second language from students’ communicative repertoires, within a larger, culturally based system of support”* (2017, p.109). According to Wilson and Kawai’ae’a (2007, p.135), *“the Hawaiian people referred to this as honua, or the places, circumstances, structures where use of Hawaiian was dominant and the Hawaiian mauli, culture or life force was supported and maintained. Te Reo Māori equivalent kupu are whenua and mauri.*

It was identified mainly by Johnston (1998) and Robust (2002) that, *“the revitalisation of Māori language needs to occur across different sites simultaneously for the language to grow effectively. However, the complexity of which language is used is based on the context for language use.”*

6.1.3.3 The Sámi Language Revitalisation

In 2016 during the 15th Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues held at the United Nations in New York, the kairangahau met a young lady from Norway who spoke about the Sámi people adopting the kōhanga reo model to create their own language revitalisation models.

According to Albury (2014, pp. 2-3), *“government policies for the revitalisation of the Māori language in Aotearoa New Zealand and the Sámi languages in Norway are examples of such peripheral approaches: New Zealand initially described its Māori language revitalisation policy as contributing to a contemporary interethnic New Zealand identity, whereas Norway confined Sámi language as a matter of Sámi rights for Sámi people.”*

The Sámi are indigenous to their land Sápmi across northern Scandinavia. Sámi and its resources fell victim to changing geopolitical forces (Henriksen, 2008, p. 28) and were divided between Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia.

Bull (2002) and Huss (2008) also stated that, *'contemporary linguistics recognise nine existing Sámi languages in Norway today, which include South, Lule, Pite, and North Sámi.'*

Comparatively, Albury (2014, p. 3) argued that *'the Māori and Sámi languages fell victim to policies of extermination. Indigenous people it was decided by their governments, would forgo their languages, and assimilate.'* The Norwegian government *"wanted to turn their citizens into Norwegian-speaking monolinguals"* (Trosterud, 2008, p. 97) as part of the *Fornorsking* (Norwegianization) agenda from around 1850 (Minde, 2005, p. 6).

Norway reflected on its Sámi policy through their experience with German nationalism. The Sámi suffered austerely at the hands of the Nazis (Corson, 1996, p. 88), creating a Norwegian *"sense of solidarity among Norwegians for the population in the north"* (Stordahl, 1993, p. 3). However, progress was slow, and Sámi voices reached an upsurge during the Alta controversy of 1979– 1981, when Norway proposed a dam and hydroelectric plant on Sápmi's Alta-Guovdageiadnu River.

For the Sámi peoples, their revitalisation policy was *'woven within a framework of Sámi self-determination.'* As discussed by Albury (2014, p.11), this was spearheaded by the formation of Sámediggi which unsurprisingly biased neotraditionalist perspectives on language. The Norwegian approach, according to Henriksen (2008, p. 29), was that Sámi were:

"One people, and that like all other peoples, they have the right to freely determine their own political status, freely pursue their own economic, social and cultural development and freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources for their own ends."

This resulted in Sámi language affairs as well as other social and economic matters becoming matters for Sámi to be managed by Sámi. Funds allocated to Sámediggi for the Sámi languages, were to be spent as Sámediggi, on behalf of Sámi people, saw fit.

Sámediggi especially saw the management of the funds as part of the implementation of language rights for those of a Sámi identity. As Sámediggi explained “*it is a basic human right to have the opportunity to use one’s own language, and as an indigenous people the Sámi have a right to the protection of their language*” (Sámediggi, n.d. own translation).

Despite the research, which was presented verbatim with acknowledgement of referencing by Albury (2014), from the Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion (2008) language revitalisation plan, these are the Sámi strategies, pure and simple. Indigenous peoples like the Sámi, drew on their people as advocates, knowledge-based story tellers and native carriers of the language and that was, the survival of Indigeneity and Indigenous languages for their generation and beyond.

6.2 Electronic Survey

The quantitative information from the electronic survey, provided statistical and narrative responses supportive of this theme.

In reference to Whānau engagement with *Te Rangatahi* textbooks, surprisingly the findings from the data analysis presented the majority of kaiwhakautu used the first edition 1962 of the red textbook with only three using the first edition 1964 of the blue textbook. An interesting finding was the low number of kaiwhakautu who engaged with the revised edition 1972 of the blue textbook which from experience, was the most widely used textbook during the 1970s and 80s. *Te Rangatahi II 1978* was a revised edition and used mainly during the late 1990s and early 2000s.

<i>Te Rangatahi I 1962 (first edition)</i>	10	58.82%
<i>Te Rangatahi II 1964 (first edition)</i>	3	17.65%
<i>Te Rangatahi II 1972 (revised edition)</i>	2	11.76%
<i>Te Rangatahi II 1978 (revised edition)</i>	0	0%
<i>Te Rangatahi Elementary III 1985 (reprint)</i>	2	11.76%

Hunter (1962) alluded to the recommendation by the Māori Language Advisory Committee to employ an experienced teacher of te reo Māori to write these textbooks. Government

funding was approved and Waititi began his writing of the *Te Rangatahi series*. These were a secondary school Māori language resource so, the first textbook, *Te Rangatahi I* was used in Form III followed by *Te Rangatahi II* and eventually, *Te Rangatahi III* as an intermediate Māori course to cover study in Forms IV, V and VI.

Renwick (1985) claimed that the publication of *Te Rangatahi Elementary III* in 1978 involved a revision and reorganisation of the original *Te Rangatahi I and II* by the late Hoani Waititi. The Māori Advisory Committee on the Teaching of Māori Language advised that several corrections and changes were required. Mr T. S. Kāretu and Hone Apanui assisted with a reintroduction of vocabulary lists and the conversion of imperial measures to metric measures.

During this revision, Kelly (1972) claimed that the use of Waititi's material gave the Committee freedom in its approach to the production of a new book for senior study, *Te Reo Rangatira* written by Kāretu and published in 1974. This textbook replaced the Form VI course provided by *Te Rangatahi III*, 1978 and its reprint in 1985.

Scaffolded learning programme in te reo Māori beginning at a very basic level and moving through to the more advanced.

It has its place; it is part of the whakapapa of the revitalisation of Te Reo. It is apparently still being used in some places.

This was definitely the beginning of the renaissance of our language. Depopulation in the rural areas and the urban drift in the 50s contributed to the loss of Te Reo Māori.

As discussed by Te Whata (2005), the introduction of the Māori Language Factor Funding (MLFF), a government effort in 1989 to allocate funding per-Māori-student to further enhance the development of Māori language programmes. These were established 'to promote the learning of Māori, and to develop and produce Māori language resources' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999, p. 10). These responses supported positive outcomes of this funding allocation to secondary schools offering Māori Studies.

The movement of Te Reo revitalisation has been a huge positive to contain its decline. Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa in Māori Medium settings, have had a huge impact on Te Reo revival, Kura Reo and Panekīretanga – Iwi and hapū as well as Kura have now constructed their own Te Reo Strategy Plans to ensure its survival.

Whānau (who never grew up learning Te Reo Māori) have more and easier access to resources that can support them on their language journeys. These resources also encourage language learners to use Te Reo Māori in creative ways.

It has been reignited and is part of Aotearoa. Countries and Indigenous people across the world would expect nothing less from Māori.

I believe the Reo is in a stronger position than it was 30 years ago, but we still have a long way to go. The Rangatahi series was ground-breaking for its time. Since then, we have been able to secure Māori immersion education facilities from kōhanga to wānanga Māori, Māori TV and Iwi Radio and many social media platforms that are all important to the development and maintenance of our Reo. This body of work is a taonga for our Whānau.

The survey responses contributed to findings that highlighted the uniqueness of the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks and their endemic story content about the rural life in Whangaparāoa, Bay of Plenty where Waititi grew up. The respondents familiar with the stories offered the following responses from the electronic survey:

Te Rangatahi series unique resource had the model samples to help and assist us. The resource was always the Kaiako that implemented the programme. Māori dictionaries both on hard copy and electronic are helpful these days.

Te Whānau-a-Apanui dialect and real characters.

They were written by our very own Hoani Waititi – they were written in the distinctive dialect of Te Whānau-a-Apanui/Ngāti Porou style. You undergo a feeling of immediate connection when you read a Te Rangatahi book because, if you've been raised there, you'll just seem to know that.

Anything to do with Te Reo Māori has to be unique in the way they are written.

These books were transferable into a teaching lesson as well as could be used to self-teach.

Te Rangatahi series are unique in that they are very user friendly to learn from.

The stories were relatable to the children of the time as many were boarding school students who have strong rural upbringings. Stories about grassroots rugby, marae

weddings, working on the farm etc. The stories were real life experiences of Hoani Waititi's Whānau. This is what made these books very unique.

Simple. Māmā te reo. Very practical application of te reo to everyday settings.

According to Te Mātāwai (2017), a new Māori language strategy was developed by and for iwi, Māori, and Māori language communities/stakeholders called Maihi Māori. The strategy supported Whakarauora Reo / language revitalisation planning, placing the emphasis on Māori language revitalisation planning that was understood and actively managed by communities.

Takiwa Rumaki / language immersion environments were elements which had a broad reach and was focused on creating opportunities for communities and Whānau to engage in Māori language immersion environments.

Ferguson (personal communication, 2019) declared that *"In October 2019, a significant achievement occurred for Te Whānau-ā-Te Ēhutu, securing Te Mātāwai funding of \$30,000 to deliver te reo Māori classes to adult learners at Te Kaha and Whangāparāoa, which offered an opportunity to resurrect the Te Rangatahi series.*

Additionally, in reference to the Te Whānau a Hapū Hui Minutes (2020), at the Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia Hapū hui held on March 5th, 2020, it was agreed that discussions towards developing a Te Reo Iwi Strategy for Te Whānau-a- Kauaetangohia and Te Whānau-a- Apanui. In support of this, a Whānau member moved that, *through Whakarauora Te Reo Māori language revitalisation planning, an application for \$40,000 to Te Mātāwai for hapū te reo development be endorsed.*

This motion was seconded and carried by local hapū members.

6.3 Conclusion

Here in Aotearoa and around the world, Indigenous peoples' struggles to revitalise their native languages, cultures, customs, and traditions have been common denominators within an environment of colonisation, assimilation, and integration.

Kaiwhakautu and their kōrero tautoko (supportive responses) contributed to the evidence as described in literal theories. Having the literature review as a qualitative method encouraged possible repetition of supportive data and relative information for the findings. However, it was about the relevance of information provided by the theorists which was important for specific aspects of this chapter.

Whilst the recognition of Indigenous theorists and their perspectives were evidenced in this chapter, acknowledgement should also be bestowed to the other authors who contributed their knowledge towards this thesis.

This chapter reflected on Indigenous perspectives that have underlined first-hand narrative contributions of passionate Indigenous people of Aotearoa. The thematic approach enhanced the emergence of the themes and the relative literature associated.

Global Language Revitalisation was explored with deliberate Indigenous language models selected. For this research, the Chehalis, Hawaiian and Sámi languages were explored with emphasis placed on their revitalisation strategies.

Te Reo Māori and its revitalisation initiatives has set a precedence as seen through a Māori lens and which initiated global language revitalisation as seen through an Indigenous lens and endemic to the peoples of the land.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhitu

“Hapaitia te ara tika pumau ai te rangatiratanga mo ngā uri whakatipu”
“Foster the pathway of knowledge to strength, independence and growth for future generations”

7.0 Introduction

This research has been a gratifying journey and experience offering old and new knowledge towards rangahau Māori (Māori research).

The general aim of this study was to discuss the impact and implications of the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks (one of the first Māori language teaching resources) on the regeneration of te reo Māori, the Indigenous language of Aotearoa. This was achieved consequently from semi-structured interviews, literal theories, survey responses and findings that emerged during comprehensive narrative discussions with Whānau Māori.

The analysis was framed within kaupapa Māori theory which explained how effective the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks featured amongst the development and success of many te reo Māori initiatives.

The thesis examined the establishment of a platform on which to build a solid foundation showing the importance and value of Indigenous language regeneration and how different language initiatives i.e., *Te Rangatahi* contributed to the rapid increase in native Māori speakers, resulting in the successful re-emergence of te reo Māori in Aotearoa.

The study found that there were common aspects between traditional and intergenerational learning of te reo Māori and the implications that colonisation, assimilation, and integration posed on our native language, and cultural values. These aspects included an overview of te reo Māori in Aotearoa, a profile of *Te Rangatahi* as a successful regeneration initiative and the status of te reo Māori today.

Interestingly, Robust (2006) discussed Indigenous collaboration and whakapapa (genealogy) claiming that, “In the late 1980s, Verna Kirkness co-ordinated a group of elders

and others to travel to New Zealand to share stories about the Te Kohanga Reo (Māori language nests) movement programme.” This programme specifically, aimed to foster the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Robust (2006, p. 119) believed that “this concept is also incorporated into the complex of the First Nations House of Learning.” The language nest provided an opportunity for Indigenous peoples to foster their children’s native language. Furthermore, the complex envisaged by Kirkness, and Berger was the addition of an ‘elders lounge.’ This lounge honoured elders who contributed their knowledge to the First Nations House of Learning and provided evidence of a metaphor that celebrated the ‘circle of life.’

Native speakers of Māori, our kuia and kōroua (elders) were approached to enhance the learning and teaching of our tamariki (children) in the many kōhanga reo before the implementation of Te Whakapakari which was professional development for kaiako who chose to teach in a totally immersed teaching environment. This tohu included ten kete (learning kits).

Robust (2006, p. 120) underpinned the discussion which this thesis provided about global language revitalisation. In his reflection on the value of international collaboration, it was recognised by both the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia. This relationship provided an opportunity for collaboration to have effect as an integral component of indigenous research, as supported by Bishop (1995); Jenkins (1993) and Smith (1997).

Moreover, as Robust (2006, p. 120) suggested, “the strategic re-focus of both the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia to collaborate more formally, occurred through a Memorandum of Understanding” which provided a forum for their respective staff, students, and communities. The memorandum of understanding was signed by the universities in 1997. It proposed that, “the indigenous ancestral houses – *The First Nations House of Learning* at the University of British Columbia and *Tane Nui a Rangi* at the University of Auckland provided the base for indigenous collaboration to happen.”

Iwi Taketake o te Ao (Indigenous peoples of the World) formed relationships by authenticating these officially through the signing of a 'memorandum of understanding.' The University of Auckland - Māori, and the University of British Columbia - Native American within mainstream educational environments, created supportive mechanisms for their Indigenous peoples to engage in discussions about such things as, language and culture revitalisation, reclamation of their native lands, protection of their waters and their Indigenous rights.

Indigeneity became an important concept for Māori in Aotearoa and with Indigenous peoples around the world as described by Mason Durie (2003a, p. 204) as:

“... a set of rights that Indigenous peoples might reasonably expect to exercise in modern times.

Within a New Zealand context Durie (2003b) suggested that this notion was informed by the application of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) specifically designed to advance Māori interests in partnership with the Crown. The passing into legislation of the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act suggested in part Crown responsibility to recognise Māori as a partner in the ongoing development of the nation and Māori being able to live as Māori. This thesis considered the view that the development of indigenous infrastructure within both institutions had the potential to create and confirm the value placed on understanding indigeneity for the tertiary institution. It can be seen in the components of the process as well as the resulting structure.

Durie (2003b) highlighted the importance of acknowledging that Māori as the Indigenous people of Aotearoa have been a Te Tiriti o Waitangi partner since the 1840 signing of this living document. Māori tried to honour and uphold all the articles of the Tiriti which represented our peoples 'tino rangatiratanga' (sovereignty).

7.1 Key Points Identified.

7.1.1 Te Wāhanga Tuatahi (Chapter 1)

Te Wāhanga Tuatahi provided a broad overview of this thesis and defined Te Reo Māori revitalisation within a New Zealand context, aligning it to a standard Māori language resource, *Te Rangatahi series*. The purpose of Table 1: School Certificate pass rates by subject groupings from 1974-1980 from the Department of Education (1980, p. 7), was to illustrate 'a deliberate subject hierarchy placing Latin at the top of the table with a pass rate of 87% in 1980. It also showed a clear distinction to Māori Studies being placed at the very bottom with a pass rate of 39.1%. This information underlined the status of the Māori language during that time and clarified to the reader about the struggles that our people endured to retain their mana motuhake, regenerate their language and culture and reclaim their 'tino rangatiratanga' in a Pakēhā society.

7.1.2 Te Wāhanga Tuarua (Chapter 2)

The main purpose of this chapter was to ascertain where the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa were placed pertaining to Te Reo Māori from a Māori and Pakēhā worldview. The literature review provided theories and perspectives in relation to obvious impacts that colonisation, assimilation, and integration imposed on our people. The willingness to protect their taonga tuku iho was second to finding employment, placing food on their tables, and ensuring their Whānau had the basics for quality of life. Clearly, it was through rangahau Māori and the "endeavours of kairangahau Māori to keep abreast of the new knowledge society have not been in vain" (Ferguson, 2012, pp. 200-201).

Ferguson (2012) alluded the reader to the topic of te reo Māori which she claimed featured throughout her entire thesis. However, Chapter Two did not primarily focus on the topic of te reo Māori. Furthermore, Ferguson suggested that "this indicated how very important the Māori language was to the Indigenous people of Aotearoa and the necessity for the constant use of te reo to ensure the survival of the language. There were discussions in

Chapter Two that also included some significant te reo Māori initiatives, their success and contribution to revive our language and culture for our future generations. Comparatively, this thesis gave kudos also to global language revitalisation specifically the Indigenous people of the Chehalis Tribe from Oakville Washington, Hawaiian in Hawai'i and Sámi in Norway and Finland and their efforts to develop their own language revitalisation models.

7.1.3 Te Wāhanga Tuatoru (Chapter 3)

This chapter was presented in two sections which included an historical timeline of te reo Māori and a biopic of Hoani Retimana Waititi as the author of the *Te Rangatahi textbooks*.

The timeline dated back to pre-1840 and showed unique historical events of te reo Māori (Māori language) during the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries to 2020. An historical account has been documented from its prominence pre-1840 to the early 19th century to its close demise during the late 19th century through to the 1980s. As an addition, it has included the *Te Rangatahi textbooks* as a significant event which the history of te reo from NZ History 2015 overlooked whether from lack of knowledge about this resource or a deliberate omission.

Te Rangatahi series comprised of two books, *Te Rangatahi I* published in 1962 and *Te Rangatahi II* published in 1964. This was perplexing because, these textbooks were written, published, and circulated to universities and secondary schools to assist Māori teachers and lecturers with Māori Studies. Despite a strong focus on curricula that prepared ākonga for school examinations and not the spoken word, these textbooks reigned as the standard Māori language resource for four decades. They earned a place to feature as one of the first language initiatives to revitalise the language which this thesis has explored and endeavoured to evidence. This of course contributed to new knowledge for the purpose of this research versus old knowledge which only a minority of people knew well.

The biopic of Hoani Retimana Waititi had its own section and complemented the historical timeline. Matua Harry Dansey (1965) wrote a heart-warming memorial and life story of Uncle John (granduncle to the kairangahau (researcher) which touched the hearts of his

Whānau, the many friendships he developed casually and academically which included his work colleagues. Waititi had a very interesting schooling, career based and working life despite his humble beginnings. The establishment of Hoani Waititi Marae in Glen Eden, West Auckland named after Uncle, enhanced an already notorious reputation. Dr Pita Sharples and the Marae Committee during that time, were the key instigators of this prestigious event. It saw his primary iwi, Te Whānau-a-Apanui with iwi affiliations to Ngāti Porou, Whakatōhea, Te Arawa and Ngāti Awa and his hapū connections to Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia, Te Ehutu, Pararaki and other nine collective hapū attend the Opening Ceremony held in April 1980.

7.1.4 Te Wāhanga Tuawhā (Chapter 4)

This chapter highlighted specific Indigenous perspectives as outlined through the insights of theorists about a Kaupapa Māori methodology and its theoretical framework. Māori academics such as Pihama, Cram and Walker underlined several contributing factors important to the nature of this study by explaining that “a kaupapa Māori methodology captures Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices. Kaupapa Māori is about being ‘fully’ Māori.” Furthermore, Bishop (1996) maintained that “Kaupapa Māori research highlighted a collaborative approach to power sharing and underlined that ownership and benefits of the study.” Moreover, Cram (2006, p. 34) argued that “in a kaupapa Māori research paradigm, research is undertaken “by Māori, for Māori, with Māori.” These were important aspects for this study as they sort to understand and represent Māori, as Māori which became apparent through the relevance of these theories. A triangulation approach consisting of qualitative and quantitative methods have supported this methodology which included semi-structured interviews with a selection of Whānau who contributed their knowledge of learning te reo Māori in a native language speaking home or during their secondary schooling at Māori boarding or kura auraki (mainstream) schools. A literature review incorporating a document analysis, and an electronic survey questionnaire, were the additional methods. The purpose of employing triangulation and these methods

seemed conducive to the scope of kaupapa Māori methodology, Māori academic theorists and Māori ethical practices and principles to conduct the data collection.

An interesting theory by Smith (2012) was about 'the Indigenous research agenda' and its significance to the methodology and methods of this study. Smith believed that "the research agenda is abstracted here as constituting a programme and set of approaches that were situated within the decolonisation politics of the Indigenous peoples' movement." This agenda as a strategy, focussed on the goal of tino rangatiratanga of Indigenous peoples which was always been at the forefront of this research and its primary kaupapa.

As mentioned earlier, to substantiate the employment of drawing on qualitative methods for this research, it was appropriate for the nature of engagement by the participants during the semi-structured interviews specifically.

Kovach (2009) interestingly maintained "story and Indigenous inquiry are grounded within a relationship-based approach to research" and it was her belief that, "this was significant in Indigenous qualitative methodologies involving story where there was a primary relationship between researcher and research participant. For story to surface, there must be trust. Additionally, "groundwork and careful preparation are paramount before this can happen. The privileging of story in knowledge-seeking systems means honouring 'the talk'." Correspondingly, Wilson (2008) provided an explanation in support of the 'oral narrative or storytelling' by Cree Elder Jerry Saddleback:

"According to tradition, there were three styles or levels of storytelling. The first being "sacred stories, which are specific in form, content, context and structure; the second level of stories are like the Indigenous legends that you may have heard or read in books; and the third style of story is relating personal experiences or the experiences of other people."

An important concept which Ferguson (2012) alluded to is 'kanohi kitea' or "the ability to be seen in te ao Māori" and played an influential role within tribal areas and on the many marae

in Aotearoa. Its rationale for this study was the 'kanohi ki te kanohi' interviewing and the engagement with each Whānau a-tinana (in person) or being seen legitimately as a kairangahau in the world of research.

The literature review including a document analysis with worldviews and underlining theories, added value to this research. According to Ferguson (2012), "the Indigenous and international literature used to compare Māori values and beliefs was beneficial as it reiterated the importance of āhukatanga Māori (Māori aspects)." The literature review was a theoretical triangulation creating Indigenous theorists and the like for their theories and perspectives on the status of Indigenous languages, particularly te reo Māori. It gave kudos to the different te reo revitalisation initiatives and their success since the publication of the first Māori language newspaper in 1842 (New Zealand History, 2017). Ferguson (2012) also highlighted that what supported her "entire study and was eminent in all the chapters was te reo Māori. For many Māori in Aotearoa, "te reo Māori was and is the lifeline of the culture and should therefore have an important role in any Māori research study involving Māori participants." Moreover, Tilley (2016) argued that "the literature review and theoretical framework, further developed the research context and collected data from the sources of literature and theories for analysis", to better understand their relevance and linkages.

The quantitative method employed for the purpose of this study was conducting an electronic survey using SurveyMonkey, with the participants being Whānau and friends on a social media platform, Pukamata (Facebook). The findings of this questionnaire were conveyed in Te Wāhanga Tuarima (Chapter Five).

7.1.5 Te Wāhanga Tuarima (Chapter 5)

Te Wāhanga Tuarima drew on rigorous verbatim oral narratives, transcriptions and data analysis which contributed to the kaupapa and research argument. Accordingly, from the findings the emergence of several common themes was evident.

7.1.5.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The contributing factors for this section, were the theories and Indigenous perspectives which underpinned this research and were significant to this method of data collection.

A theory that SooHoo (2013) offered in relation to the interviews she conducted for her research journal in which she claimed, “how humility was the sustaining force between the researcher and participants.” Te Wāhanga Tuarima explained who the interviews involved and from what secondary schools they taught at. Each participant shared their perspectives of promising classroom practices with Māori students from the *Te Kōtahitanga* research and development project which was based on a ‘large federal grant’ funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Education. Furthermore, SooHoo reflected on familiarising herself with some aspects of a Māori worldview during and after structured and semi-structured interviews like, *aroha ki te tangata, kia mahaki, kanohi ki te kanohi*, and *kanohi kitea*. A prominent example of *kanohi kitea* that SooHoo offered was through a story of the Mayor of Tūranga (Gisborne), Meng Liu Foon. He is Chinese and speaks English, Chinese, and Te Reo Māori. As the Mayor, he was known for practising the Māori concept of *kanohi kitea* within the Māori communities. His presence at many Māori occasions was seen by the Māori people and encouraged the 90% Māori population to support him during the elections.

As stated in Te Wāhanga Tuarima (Chapter 5), the findings highlighted the participants’ knowledge of the historical events that occurred during their lifetimes.

In concluding this chapter, this research identified the most prominent, the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* by Iwi Chiefs; te reo Māori was the predominant language of Aotearoa; the first Māori language newspaper was published; Māori urban migration and Māori families ‘pepper-potted’ in predominantly non-Māori suburbs to implement assimilation and integration policies; *Te Rangatahi* series written by Hoani Retimana Waititi; Māori urban groups including Ngā Tamatoa and Te Reo Māori Society expressed concern about the

status of te reo Māori; Māori Language Petition signed by 30,000 signatories sent to Parliament; *Te Reo Rangatira*, Year 12-13 textbook written by Ta, Timoti Karetu; Te Kōhanga Reo established to teach Māori infants Te Reo Māori; First Kura Kaupapa Māori established to cater for the needs of the Māori children emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori established; Māori Language Act passed. Te Reo Māori declared to be an official language in Aotearoa; First Māori Television bilingual channel launched in 2004 and Te Reo, Māori total immersion channel launched in 2008; Te Māngai Pāho funding for Māori Television; Funding set aside for Community Māori Language Initiatives; Mā te Reo Fund established to support Māori language growth in communities; Māori Language (Te Reo Māori) Bill introduced into Parliament to implement recommendations in the 2011 Te Reo Mauriora report; Māori Language Advisory Group is established to provide independent and expert advice on the Māori Language Bill.

A second finding was the contribution by Ahearn (2012) regarding her study regarding the categorising of the status of languages into four main categories: safe, endangered, moribund, and dead languages. According to Whānau responses, they supported that te reo Māori has remained 'endangered' and has bordered on becoming a 'safe' language. However, for a language to become 'safe,' according to Krauss (1992), there needed to be 100,000 fluent speakers of the language to be declared safe. Aotearoa is still working towards this goal.

During the interviews, three distinct themes emerged which included, Te Reo Māori in Aotearoa, Te Rangatahi textbooks, and the Success of Te Reo Māori Today where a comprehensive overview of each of these themes was given in Te Wāhanga Tuarima (Chapter 5) along with Whānau responses that supported the findings for each theme.

7.1.5.2 Literature Review

As explained in Te Wāhanga Tuarima, a data analysis of the literature review provided from Te Wāhanga Tuarua (Chapter 2) identified four distinctive kaupapa. These included, Māori

Language in Aotearoa, Te Reo Māori Initiatives, and A Successful Te Reo Māori Strategy with one related sub-theme: Te Rangatahi series 1961-1964, and Global Language Revitalisation with three related sub-themes: Chehalis Native Language Revitalisation, Hawaiian Language Revitalisation, and The Sámi Language Revitalisation.

The findings suggested that the Indigenous language in Aotearoa thrived since the implementation and development of the many te reo Māori initiatives. The Te Rangatahi textbooks were one of the first successful language initiatives during the 20th century and retained a four-decade reputation as the standard Māori language resource used in secondary schools and universities.

A common finding was that the literature reviewed, supported the different kaupapa that emerged during this analysis. Interestingly, the research revealed that the three global language revitalisation initiatives were developed from exploring the kōhanga reo model in Aotearoa intensely.

According to Conwell (2017), the Chehalis Tribe developed a language revitalisation programme or model called *Tu'pa?* The Hawaiian people developed their Punana Leo language initiative and as Albury (2014) described, funds were allocated to Sámediggi for Sámi languages in an endeavour to de-Norwegianize their language, culture, and traditions.

7.1.5.3 Electronic Survey

This research used a quantitative method in the form of a survey created through SurveyMonkey which was posted on Facebook as the social media platform. Interestingly, the findings although hypothetical, strongly supported the two qualitative methods.

As mentioned in Te Wāhanga Tuarima, the themes generated were specific to the data responses and included statistical and narrative information which was relevant to these findings.

Statistical data was collected from three main themes: Te Reo Competency, Your Kaiako o Te Reo Māori and Version of Te Rangatahi Textbooks. The findings that were highlighted for Te Reo Competency were intermediate competency at 61.11% indicating a high percentage of te reo speakers and born native competency at 5.56% indicating the lowest percentage. Interestingly were the findings for Your Kaiako o Te Reo Māori which showed a high percentage at 27.78% for both secondary school kaiako and other which included Māori medium schools with parents and wānanga/universities at 16.67%, primary school Māori teacher at 11.11% and grandparents at 0.00%. Surprisingly, the findings for Version of *Te Rangatahi Textbooks* which indicated that 58.82% engaged with *Te Rangatahi I 1962* (first edition), 17.65% engaged with *Te Rangatahi II 1964* (first edition), 11.76% engaged with *Te Rangatahi II 1972* (revised edition), 0.00% engaged with *Te Rangatahi II 1978* (revised edition) and 11.76% engaged with *Te Rangatahi Elementary III 1985* (reprint). The highest percentage was the engagement with the first edition of *Te Rangatahi I 1962* which featured the old currencies, stick figure illustrations and old measurements.

The narrative responses included *Te Rangatahi* textbooks with three key statements, Pivotal Role in Te Reo Māori Revitalisation, Learning Te Reo Māori from these textbooks and their impact on you and your Whānau, and the Uniqueness of the *Te Rangatahi* series compared to other Māori language resources and Changes for Te Reo Māori since the decline of spoken Māori in the early 20th century. The findings found that 86% agreed with the first statement, with 14% who offered other explanations rather than committing themselves to an agree or disagree response. In summary, the second statement provided responses direct from experiences from home and the impact of the textbooks only occurred once these respondents attended secondary school. The finding highlighted the uniqueness of the series as compared to other Māori language resources placing them in their 'own league.' The final theme regarding the changes that have occurred since the decline of spoken Māori highlighted the opportunity for respondents to incorporate their academic knowledge which offered a robust essence to their responses such as:

Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa in Māori Medium settings, have had a huge impact on te reo revival.

Whānau (who never grew up learning Te Reo Māori) have more and easier access to resources that can support them on their language journeys.

I believe the Reo is in a stronger position than it was 30 years ago, but we still have a long way to go. The Rangatahi series was ground-breaking for its time.

The avalanche of resources, courses, focus on the Reo has failed to grow Reo speakers.

Urbanisation and interest by our Rangatahi in other kaupapa haven't helped and no support from teachers / media etc in mainstream helped in the decline of reo.

Government changes to include Māori language and history into school curriculum.

7.1.6 Te Wāhanga Tuaono (Chapter 6)

Complimentary to Te Wāhanga Tuarua – Literature Review and Te Wāhanga Tuarima – Findings and Data Analysis was this chapter which explored the literal theories and perspectives by Indigenous and sympathetic academics to support the findings from a comprehensive data analysis.

Te Wāhanga Tuarima developed some close linkages which naturally progressed the writings of this wāhanga. It highlighted evidential responses from different generations and eras with supportive literature to substantiate oral narratives, theoretical and hypothetical information towards this research.

A subsequent factor was basing the selection of kaiwhakautu on a scope of perspectives, values, and responses applicable to their life experiences and exposure to the Māori language. The use of the term 'kaiwhakautu' was the preferred term in relation to gathering Whānau thoughts, experiences and connections to the direction and structure of the research questions. Black (personal communication, 2020) provided an explanation in this regard and suggested that the use of 'kaiwhakautu' connected this essential expression

used in Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Whangaparāoa Mai Tāwhiti while interweaving this thesis and its aspirations.

This research drew on diverse perspectives to support the findings and data analysis as well as corroborate the oral narratives and storytelling, literal results, and hypotheses from the electronic survey.

Johnston (1998) and Jenkins (1991) have theorised that assimilation contributed to several impacts on te reo Māori. According to Jenkins, Māori developed a 'mindset' "to learn print literacy" while discounting the spoken Māori language. Johnson declared that from the four filters for assimilating Māori, the fourth was the most comprehensive filter "specifically to the position of the Māori language." These theories legitimized the *kōrero tautoko* (supportive conversation) by Whānau 1, Whānau 2 and Whānau 3 (*please refer to the findings in Te Wāhanga Tuarima*).

Johnston (1998) cited Simon (1997) who provided the following evidential theory that, "*government policies from mid 1800s, recognised that if the Māori language survived, Māori social organisation would be sustained. Simon also noted that the primary goal of the Native Schools Code of 1880, was assimilation with an emphasis placed on the teaching and learning of English for Māori children*" which confirmed *kōrero tautoko* by Whānau 5, Whānau 6 and Whānau 7.

Postlethwaite (2016) provided significance, "the 2013 Census (Statistics, New Zealand) indicated that Tūhoe was the seventh largest iwi where 34,890 people identified as Tūhoe from a total of 561,333 who identified as Māori within a total population of approximately four million people. This was an increase of 6.8% from the previous census in 2006. Statistics indicated that 37.2% of Tūhoe spoke Māori, the largest proportion of any tribe which strongly suggested that Māori language remained prominent due to Tūhoe being the last iwi to experience substantially the colonising institutions of government authority". This strongly supported responses from Whānau 7 who was a born native speaker.

As cited by Postlethwaite (2016), “Māori identity has survived the aftermath of colonisation”. However, “to have survived has been at a cost to the Tūhoe people themselves in areas of health, socio-economic, justice, social, education, and cultural arenas. Consequently, Māori have continued to define themselves, retrieve, reclaim, and reinvigorate their place in Aotearoa and internationally”. With strong Māori values and principles, Māori realised their worth and are now believing in themselves. Additionally, Pere (1997) claimed that “Whānaungātangā is based on ancestral, historical, traditional, and spiritual ties one has with people past, present, and future.”

Pōhatu, (2008, pp. 17-29) believed that “Tūhoe history, dialect, nuances, and places of importance all consist of wairua. These were aspects that can be shared across several spectrums within iwi throughout the motu (country) where Indigenous people of Aotearoa were able to make connections uniquely to their own iwi. Pere, (1997, cited in Postlethwaite, 2016), contributed by saying, “belonging was healing and a starting point in linking hearts and spirit together.” Furthermore, Pere explained that this was only possible if one belonged to a collective. According to Postlethwaite also, “a sense of belonging is a basic need” with a corresponding theory by Maslow (1943) who asserted that, “if students have their basic needs met including belongingness, this will motivate them to achieve.”

Interestingly, Simon and Smith (2001) offered significant evidence from the Atmore Report in 1930 although an ancient document but still relevant, highlighted the focus of schooling for Whānau 6 and 7 as Māori students attending St. Stephens with an emphasis on agriculture and developing ‘good farmers or farm hands.’ Whānau responses suggested that emphasis should have also been given to the learning of te reo Māori which would have complemented and enhanced the farming skills they already possessed from their rural homes. Similarly, Whānau 5 also experienced general household chores at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls such as washing and drying her own clothes the traditional way, ironing her Sunday uniform pleats, being assigned outside and inside chores, and cleaning

duties to achieve the 'perfect housewives.' Whānau 5 and Whānau 6 experienced being taught te reo Māori by Hoani Waititi.

Ferguson (2012) has discussed in length some important issues for te reo Māori in Aotearoa and highlighted the most important, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. This issue was significant in underpinning the theoretical and hypothetical evidence presented. Ferguson drew on theorists like Salmond and Nepe to authenticate her theories regarding the Māori language and different mediums specifically the digital world and cyberspace. Moreover, by quoting a whakatauki by the Ministry of Education (2007) which said, "*Ko te reo te iho o te ahurea – The language is the lifeline of culture*" which in Ferguson's view was from "*te ao Māori and was an indication of the importance of te reo Māori*."

Robust (2006) examined "kaupapa Māori methodology initiatives as discussed by Smith (1997), and what they brought to this thesis also a theoretical approach which helped describe and explain the 'freeing' of Indigenous people from the suggested multiple oppression(s) and exploitations endured from historical events."

Hunter (1962) gave perspective to the genuine objective for the development of the *Te Rangatahi* series which was to improve the standards of Māori teaching and encourage Māori Studies as a subject in secondary schools. The key focus of the textbooks was to promote 'kōrero i te reo Māori' (speak the Māori language), teach sentence structure and correct grammar. Te Waka Huia (1995) aired a documentary on Hoani Waititi which featured Matua John and Whāea Maxine Tamahori who taught Te Reo at Auckland Girls Grammar. Waititi believed that the writing and speaking of te reo worked hand in hand with more emphasis on kōrero (speaking).

Te Whata (2005) underlined the importance of the Māori Language Factor Funding, an allocation of funds per-Māori-student and develop Māori language programmes while, as Te Puni Kōkiri (1999) claimed, "promoting the learning of Māori and develop the production

of Māori language resources.” Whānau responses from Te Wāhanga Tuaono confirmed these literal contributions.

Te Mātāwai (2017) has developed a Māori language strategy called Maihi Māori which has provided funding to Iwi Māori and Māori language communities and investors to develop language revitalisation planning.

Kaupapa Tuatoru (Theme 3), the final kaupapa underlined global language revitalisation which drew on theories provided by Conwell (2017) about the Chehalis Tribe, and Aha Punana Leo (2012) regarding the Indigenous Hawaiian people and Albury (2014) concerning the Sámi people, Indigenous to Norway and parts of Finland.

7.2 Recommendations

This thesis has identified some key recommendations in support of its kaupapa:

The first recommendation is about ‘whakapapa,’ for ngā uri o Te Kuaha rāua ko Kirimatao Waititi (the descendants of Te Kuaha and Kirimatao Waititi) to own the copyright of the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks. However, should this recommendation be progressed then and only then will the legal ramifications be explored.

The second recommendation is about ‘ako i te reo Māori’ and encouraging the learning and teaching using *Te Rangatahi* textbooks in a further revised form using Te Whānau-a-Apanui dialect.

The third recommendation is about ‘legacy’ for a biography to be written about Hoani Retimana Waititi’s life and his contribution to te reo Māori revitalisation initiatives.

7.3 Limitations

A key limitation for this research at the beginning was finding information on Hoani Retimana Waititi and the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks. The research questions presented involved the argument that Waititi produced one of the first Māori language revitalisation initiatives which should have been recorded in the historical timeline as Te Wāhanga Tuatoru stated. Consequently, the research leaned towards national and global Indigenous language revitalisation. The exploration of significant literature to support Whānau responses from the data methods, was both a challenge and new experience.

A second limitation was meeting the timeframes to complete each wāhanga or chapter as per the proposed doctoral plan. COVID-19 lockdown for Aotearoa had a huge impact on Whānau dynamics and employment commitments. However, although there were time constraints and inconsistency with thesis writing, a balance between Whānau and work was established.

A third limitation was confirming doctoral student enrolment during October 2020 and accessing student services especially eWānanga. This posed a problem with communication with supervisors via the Wānanga email system and affected supervisory feedback of crucial chapters. In alignment with the internal student feedback process with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, the kairangahau has informed the organisation of this issue.

Additionally, a second COVID-19 lockdown from mid-August 2021 has had its trials and tribulations for our Whānau. However, studying fulltime has allowed time for a complete rewrite of all my thesis chapters, checking that all sources have been referenced and reformatting of pages and the table of contents.

7.4 Future Research

This thesis provided the opportunity for kairangahau taketake (Indigenous researchers) to *“challenge Western research paradigms and bring to the fore Indigenous methodologies in Indigenous research as a means to decolonise existing research methodologies”* (Postlethwaite, 2016).

It has brought a new dimension to the revitalisation of te reo Māori and the research realm has provided Indigenous methodologies in an endeavour to decolonise a colonised research system.

Relatively, Postlethwaite (2016, p. 251) argued that “The call for Indigenous scholars to culturally centre themselves as researchers has been heard and the future trend will be that doctorates completed by Indigenous scholars, will continue to transform of the academic landscape, discredit the dehumanisation of Indigenous peoples and with this, contribute to the transformation of the communities they value.” Indigenous theorising has the potential to open new fields of thought and opportunities to create methodological alternatives that better support Indigenous researchers.

This Indigenous research shaped the social fabric of educational paradigms and as Postlethwaite described, “contributes to the sustainable development of communities and the environment assisting in reducing the negative impacts on people and their environments” (Postlethwaite, p. 252). Furthermore, Postlethwaite contributed to this section by suggesting that, “traditional knowledge has been examined in this study also, offering critical insights and practices for today and tomorrow” with the hope that my study will also “contribute to an understanding of the nature of motivation and Indigenous habits and aspirations.”

Indigenous researchers, if they chose to do so can explore, navigate, and theorise with this thesis as they feel to build on the new knowledge that it provides. This research is only the

beginning leading into the future and where kairangahau Māori were given the opportunity to present their entire doctoral and master theses in Māori.

7.5 Conclusion

Finally, as a kairangahau taketake (Indigenous researcher), my research journey was driven by ethical values and Indigenous concepts of doctoral study which was a new frontier for me.

As is custom to all theses, Te Wāhanga Tuatahi has reviewed the whole thesis. Being Indigenous as Māori kept the kairangahau grounded in mātauranga (knowledge), promoting, strengthening, and enhancing our indigeneity. The importance of this rangahau (research) focus has been to provide a new frontier of knowledge.

Te Wāhanga Tuarua provided a comprehensive literature review of theories and perspectives from a western and Indigenous lens. The key incentive for most Indigenous peoples was to ensure the survival of their languages and cultures and that they strived to meet the threshold of fluent speakers, for their language to be a 'safe' thriving language in this lifetime.

The first part of Te Wāhanga Tuatoru presented a historical timeline providing a background of the exertive efforts that our people during these three centuries to save one of the official languages of Aotearoa. Te Reo Māori became a significant language in government, a colossal achievement for Māori. Indigenous languages have been a worldwide issue and Māori have paved the way as leaders in pursuit of gaining a better status for our language moving forward. The second part of this wāhanga was about the life story of Hoani Retimana Waititi leading to the publication of the first editions of *Te Rangatahi I*, 1962 and *II*, 1964 and the later publication of the first edition of *Te Rangatahi III*, 1978. Despite his life ending at an early age, Hoani Waititi lived a full life, touching the lives of many people in our Māori and Pakēhā communities. Uncle John left a legacy for our Whānau to aspire

to and be proud of. He contributed tremendously to the revitalisation of te reo Māori through his textbooks which has been the foundation of this thesis.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā has drew on theories and/or perspectives from Māori scholars who have purposefully written about the significance of a kaupapa Māori methodology. In relation to kaupapa Māori, an immediate connection was evident during the exploration of te reo Māori revitalisation. This methodology supported research conducted by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. Kaupapa Māori has always existed in Māori communities through our te reo (language) me ōna tikanga (culture and traditions, our mātauranga (knowledge) and our ngā ūara (values).

Te Wāhanga Tuarima presented contributions that were experiential and from a knowledge base consistent with participants' own life experiences during the 20th and 21st centuries.

The interview findings indicated that the participants were knowledgeable about the trends that developed for te reo Māori in Aotearoa overtime, despite their level of competency in speaking and understanding te reo. A finding which was common with all contributions was the knowledge base regarding the successful models to revitalise our language and reinforced the argument that the Te Rangatahi textbooks contributed significantly to the first te reo revitalisation initiatives.

Te Wāhanga Tuaono reflected on Indigenous perspectives that have underlined first-hand narrative contributions of passionate Indigenous people of Aotearoa. The thematic approach enhanced the emergence of the themes and the relative literature associated.

Global Language Revitalisation was explored with deliberate Indigenous language models selected. For this research, the Chehalis, Hawaiian and Sámi languages were explored with emphasis placed on their revitalisation strategies.

Te Reo Māori and its revitalisation initiatives has set a precedence as seen through a Māori lens and which initiated global language revitalisation as seen through an Indigenous lens and endemic to the peoples of the land.

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge all the kaiwhakautu (participants) for their valuable contributions towards this study and bringing forth their own unique 'pou motuhake o to rātou wharenuī' (special pillars of wellbeing).

These include taha Whānau (family wellbeing), taha Tinana (physical wellbeing), taha Hinengaro (mental wellbeing), and taha Wairua (spiritual wellbeing) for total wellbeing and balance ensuring your wharenuī stands strong and proud.

An important aspect of the entire rangahau, has been a rangahau journey ensuring that the purpose of this thesis was fulfilled. It was established that, there was very little written about Hoani Waititi, and the Te Rangatahi series and a strategy would be to research te reo Māori revitalisation with the Te Rangatahi textbooks as one of the first language revitalisation initiatives. As the kairangahau, I agree that this was done under challenging and difficult times with the COVID-19 lockdowns in 2020 and 2021 and the current governmental decisions to contain Omicron in our communities. Despite this, it was necessary to continue with the key objective of thesis submission to the selection of examiners.

The University of Auckland provided manuscripts and documents by Hoani Waititi evidencing that during his studies, he had already begun his preparation for the writing of the Te Rangatahi series. His preparation included Māori grammatical sentence structures weaving these into stories from his rural upbringing at Whangaparāoa, Cape Runaway.

I hope that future kairangahau taketake will draw on the perspectives and theories that have contributed to this thesis research to strengthen Indigenous language revitalisation of Aotearoa and the world.



“Haere hei taura mō te iwi Māori. Ko ngā āhuatanga o tēnei ao kei roto i ō kōutou ringaringa. Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi.”

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- | | |
|------------|--|
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| Item 1 | 'Māori Songs.' Typescript Booklet. |
| Item 2 | Notebook. 'Whangaparāoa: Landfall of the Fleet.' |
| Item 3 | Account Book. 'H.R. Waititi St Stephens School. |
| Item 4 | 'Towards a Syntax of Māori' and 'Table I: Phrase Classes.'
Typescripts. |
| Item 5 | Copies of 'Towards a Syntax of Māori' and Table I: Phrase
Classes.' |
| Item 6 | Plastic-covered Student Notebook. Typescript notes and exercises. |
| Item 7 | 'He kōrero no Tamahae [Story of Tamahae].' |
| Item 8 | The Story of Whangaparāoa: by Whanau-a-Apanui.' Typescripts. |
| Item 9 | Notebook. 'Hoani R. Waititi.' Handwritten accounts |
| Item 10 | 'Basic Māori Vocabulary.' Typescript lists of Māori terms with
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Appendices

Appendix A Ethics Outcome Letter



Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

24th May 2018

Arihia Waenga
29 Tawa Road
Te Atatu North
AUCKLAND

Tēnā koe Arihia,

Re: Ethics Research Application EC2018.01.12

The Ethics Research Committee Chairperson of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi considered your application. I am pleased to advise that your submission has been approved.

You are now advised to contact your supervisor. The Ethics Research Committee wishes you well in your research.

Ngā mihi nui

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'N. Matthews'.

Professor Nathan Matthews
Chairman
Ethics Committee
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

Appendix B Information Sheet

DOCTORAL THESIS

Professional Doctorate Doctor of Māori Development & Advancement (DMDA)

Kia ora I am Arihia Waenga, and I am a Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi professional doctoral student. I am completing a study for the Doctor of Māori Development & Advancement (DMDA). I would like to invite you to participate in this research because of your expertise in Te Reo Māori and your knowledge of the development of language revitalisation initiatives.

Researchers Information

- Professor Virginia Warriner, 027 685 6446
Dr Sheryl Ferguson, 027 505 0976
- Doctoral Thesis
The purpose of this doctoral thesis is to research the motivational catalysts which initiated the collection of Māori Language initiatives to progress the recognition and acknowledgement of Te Reo Māori as one of the official languages of Aotearoa and to examine the degree of influence of one Māori language initiative, specifically the Te Rangatahi series and its contribution to the gradual ascension of this taonga.

Participant Recruitment

- All participants are known by the Kairangahau Tūturu and will be recruited in person or emailed privately.
- All participants are known by the Kairangahau Tūturu.
- All participants are Te Reo Māori experts and possess the knowledge base for this research.
- No exclusions criteria required.
- Eight participants will be asked. This number of participants allows for easy access to safe and conducive environments of their choice.
- Number of participants in the control group is not relevant for this research.
- Participants will be given a taonga Māori for their participation.
- There should be NO discomforts or risks to participants as a result of participation.

Project Procedures

- Data will be used to fulfil the requirements of this doctoral thesis.
- Once the data is obtained, it will be transcribed by the Kairangahau for analysis.
- The data will be stored for five years and then disposed of by the supervisors.
- All participants should be allowed access to a summary of the project findings.
- Keeping data collected from each participant confidential and anonymous by storing it securely and a safe process for disposal.

Participant's Involvement

- The Interview Process
To check the accuracy of the data transcriptions and verification.

- End of September-October 2018

Participants Rights

The “Statement of Rights” must include:

You have the right to:

- Decline to participate.
- Decline to answer any particular question.
- Withdraw from the study **a month** before your scheduled interview.
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be use unless you give permission to the researcher.
- To be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded. **If an anonymous Questionnaire is used, replace the above rights with the statement:**
- Completion and return of the electronic survey/questionnaire imply consent. You have the right to decline to answer any particular question.

If taping, include the right:

- I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio/video tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Support processes

- Details of support processes in place to deal with adverse physical or psychological risks (where relevant)

Project Contacts

- Invite participants to contact the researcher and/or supervisor if they have any questions about the project.

Ethics Committee Approval Statement

- This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangī Ethics Committee, **ECA # 2018.01.12** If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Committee administrator as below:

Contact Details for Ethics Committee administrator:

Shonelle.Wana@wananga.ac.nz

Postal address:

Private Bag 1006
Whakatāne

Courier address:

Cnr of Domain Rd and Francis St
Whakatāne

Appendix C Interview Questions

My thesis will include an **historical timeline** of the Māori Language beginning from pre-1840s through to its status in the 21st century.

1. For you, which events over time are you most familiar with and have encountered?
2. In your opinion, have the various Māori language initiatives had an impact on the status of Te Reo Māori today? Why or why not?
3. Which Te Reo Māori revitalisation initiative do you think has had the most influence over the Māori people in Aotearoa since the time of colonisation and assimilation? Can you provide further explanation of this?

The following questions will ask about your **Te Reo Māori experiences** and your **opinions and or perceptions** as a Fluent Te Reo Speaker or a Te Reo Rua Speaker and Māori who choose not to speak their native tongue.

4. Do you consider yourself to be?
 - A Native Speaker
 - A Fluent Speaker
 - A Reo Rua Speaker
5. What are some of your Māori language experiences either as a Fluent Te Reo Speaker or a Te Reo Rua Speaker?
6. As a Fluent Te Reo Speaker, what opinions and or perceptions do you have of Te Reo Rua Speakers?
7. What are your opinions and or perceptions of Māori who choose not to speak their native tongue?
8. What do you think is society's role in the maintenance of Te Reo Māori?
9. According to Laura Ahearn (2017) who writes about languages of the world including Indigenous languages and assesses which languages are likely to survive or are endangered. From these four main categories, which one identifies Te Reo Māori:
 - Safe
 - Endangered
 - Moribund
 - Dead or Extinct
10. Do you believe that the Te Rangatahi textbooks have remained living, life-long learning resources for the teaching and learning of Te Reo Māori? Explain
11. Have the Te Rangatahi textbooks post achieving your academic qualifications, contributed to your success academically and professionally?

Appendix D Electronic Survey Questions

1. What is your Te Reo Māori fluency level?

- (a) Basic
- (b) Intermediate
- (c) Advanced
- (d) Born Native Speaker

2. In what ways do you class yourself as a second language learner?

3. Who taught you how to speak Te Reo Māori?

- (a) Parents
- (b) Grandparents
- (c) Secondary School Māori Teacher
- (d) Primary School Māori Teacher
- (e) Wānanga / University Lecturer
- (f) Other – Who?

4. Which version of the Te Rangatahi textbooks have you encountered?

- (a) Te Rangatahi 1 First Edition 1962
- (b) Te Rangatahi 2 First Edition 1964
- (c) Revised Edition 1972
- (d) Revised Edition 1978
- (e) Revised Editions 1978-2001

5. Do you agree that the Te Rangatahi series played a pivotal role in the revitalisation of our Te Reo? How or why?

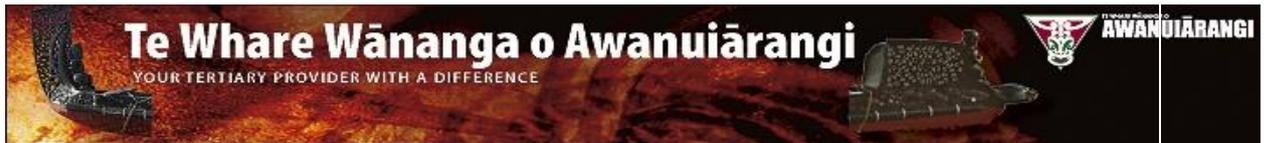
6. How did learning Te Reo from these textbooks impact on you and your Whānau?

7. From your knowledge, are the textbooks still being valued and if so, do you know if anyone is using them today?

8. Who has written Māori language resources or textbooks to teach Te Reo Māori?

9. What things made the Te Rangatahi series unique to other Māori language resources?

10. What changes have occurred for Te Reo Māori since the decline of spoken Māori in the early 20th century?



Appendix E Consent Form

School of Indigenous Graduate Studies

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

Private Bag 1006

Rongo-o-Awa, Domain Road

Whakatāne

DOCTORAL THESIS

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I _____

(Full Name – printed) agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name – printed:

Appendix F Te Wāhanga Tuatoru Images

¹ Image of Te Whakaputanga o a Rangatiratanga o Niu Tireni 1835

He whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tireni.

1. Ko matou ko nga Tino Rangatira o nga iwi o Niu Tireni.
i raro mai o Hauraki kua oti nei te huihui i Waitangi i Tokerau
20 o Okatopa 1835. ka whakaputua i te Rangaturanga o to matou te
mua a ka meatia ka whakaputanga e matou he Wenua Rangatira.
kia huaina "Ho te whakaminenga o nga Iwi o Niu Tireni."

2. Ho te Kingitanga ko te mana i te wenua o te whakaminenga o Niu
Tireni ka meatia nei kei nga Tino Rangatira anake i to matou
huihuiinga. a ka mea hoki e kore e tutua e matou te whakarite tui
kei te tahi huinga ke atu, me te tahi Kawanata
hoki kia meatia i te wenua o te whakaminenga o Niu Tireni.
ko nga tangata anake e meatia nei e matou e whakarite ana kei
te utenga o o matou tui e meatia nei e matou i to matou
huihuiinga.

3. Ho matou ko nga Tino Rangatira ka mea nei kia huihui kei
te runanga kei Waitangi a te Whakamau i tenei tau i tenei tau kei
te whakarite tui kia tika ai te whakawakanga kia mau hui
te rongu kia mutua te he kia tika te hoko hoko. a ka mea
hoki kei nga Tauwhi o unga kia whakarewa te wawai. kia
mahara ai kei te whakawakanga o to matou wenua. a kia mu
ratou kei te whakaminenga o Niu Tireni.

4. Ka mea matou kia tuhituhia he pukapuka kei te
utenga o tenei o to matou whakaputanga nei kei te Kingi
o Whanganui kei kawe atu i to matou aroha nana hoki e
whakaae kei to Kara mo matou. a mo te mea ka awhai

matou, Kaitaki i nga pakete e noho nei i uta. e aere mai
 ana ki te Mokoheke, hea hea mea ai matou ki te Kingi ki
 waahi kei matou ki a matou i to matou Tamarihitanga
 kei waka hokotia to matou Rangatiratanga.
 Kua waka hokotia e matou i tena i te 28. o
 Oketopa. 1838 ki te ariari o te Reireni o te Kingi o Ingarami

Paeata

- Teupoa W
- Flare Hongi Flare Hongi
- Keimi Kapa Pape
- Waiwaka
- Waiwaka
- Pitara
- Moka
- Wairaki
- Pawa
- Wai
- Reiwehi Atua hore
- Awa
- Waiwaka Tei Tamara
- Te mana
- Pi
- Kana
- Taraha
- Kawiti
- Pumuka
- Ke kea
- Te Kamara
- Pomara
- Waiwaka
- Te Pa
- Maru
- Topiri
- Waiwaka
- Moeta
- Hiamoe
- Pukukutu
- Te Paha
- Honore Waiwaka Keke

English Witness for James Williamson Esq.
 George Park
 Collected from the Kai Tahu tribes.
 James Williamson Esq.
 Gilbey

Ko Matao ko nga Rangatahi, ahakoa kihai i tau,
 ki te huihuinga, nei no te mungo o te Unaipuke,
 no te aha ranei - ka wakaae katoa, ki te waka
 hutaanga Rangaturanga o Ma Tereu a ka uau
 ki wotou ki te hakaunungo

Aone - Girel

Huhu - x

Toua - x

Panahaua - x

13 Jan 1836 - Kiwi Kiwi x

9 Feb 1837. Timarai - Matangi O Note papato

29 March. Hamona Pika - Note Ahahore hua

Mate *M* no ka te Moe

Patuone *M* no te nga te Rangai

1837 25 June Parore *P* no te nga tiapa

" Kaka *K* no nga te tau tahi

12 July ~~to~~ *T* no te Karawa

1838 Alahia *A* no te Hapoun

Jan 16 Taouia *T* no te papato

Sept 24 Papatia *P* no te Karawa

1839 25 Hapuku *H* no te Wata apiti (Hauke Bay)

July 22. Ko te Wroswro nako ngati maku te - Ko Rahawai

10 Rai Taha
 Tahi

English Writings
 All the

Photo photographed at the Govt Printing Office Wellington N.Z.

A Declaration of
Independence of the
Chief of New Zealand
Made in 1835

to the British
Resident
in New Zealand

2 Image of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Ko Wikitoria te Kuni o Ingarani i taua mahua atawai ki nga Rangataira me nga Hapu o Nu
Tirani i taua hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga me to ratou wenua, a kia mau
tomu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ra he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira-
hui kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani, kia wakarite e nga Rangatira maori te Kawawatanga o
te Kuni ki nga mahikatoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu, na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga Tangata o taua Iwi
Kua noho ki tei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Na ko te Kuni e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawawatanga kia kua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata
Maori ki te Pakelha e noho ture koe ana,

Na kua pai te Kuni kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Kōpikona he Kapitana i te Roiaa Nawi he Kaw-
-ana me nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianei, a nua atu ki te Kuni, e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira
o te wakarimunga, nga hapu, o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu eui ture kia kororetia nei..

Ko te tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakarimunga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hui i uru ki taua wakarimunga ka
tuku rawa atu ki te Kuni o Ingarani ake tomu atu - te Kawawatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te tuarua

Ko te Kuni o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaare ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu - ki nga tangata katoa o
Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otira ko nga Ranga-
-tira o te wakarimunga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuni, 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 kote kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuni
nei hui kai hoko mona.

Ko te tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tei nei sus te wakaritanga ki te Kawawatanga o te Kuni - Ka tiakina e te
Kuni o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite taki ki taua
mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

W. P. Hall *Consul & Lieutenant Governor*

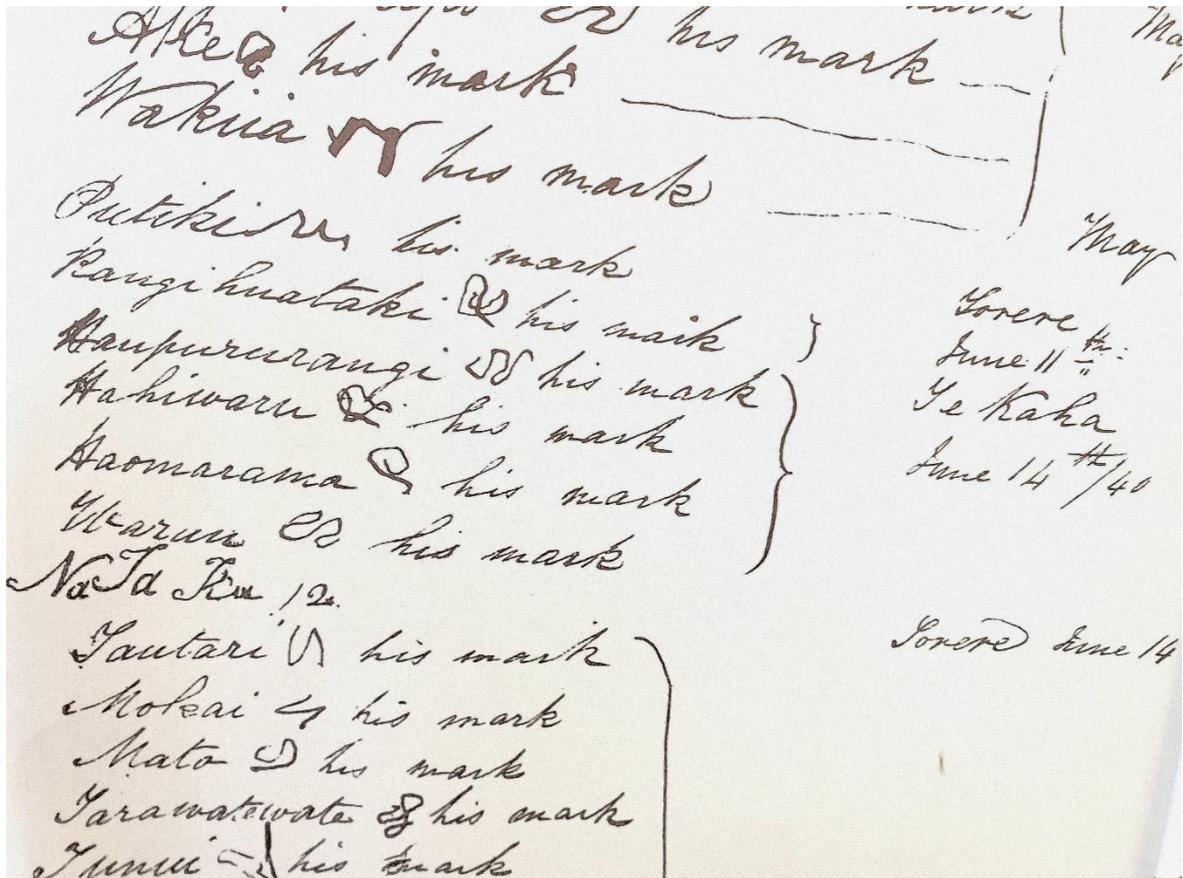


Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te wakarimunga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki
Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu. Ka tangohua
ka wakaritea katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu.

Ka meatia nei ki Waitangi i te ono o ngara o Pepuni e te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa
e kau o te ratou Ariki.

Te Kuni o Ingarani *Te Kuni o Ingarani*

³ Image of Te Whānau-a-Apanui Rangatira names and signatures



⁴ Image of Te Rangatahi I 1962 textbook

⁵ Image of Te Rangatahi II 1964 textbook

⁶ Image of Te Rangatahi II textbook further revised by Ta Timoti Kāretu in 1978



Appendix G Images of Hoani Retimana Waititi

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