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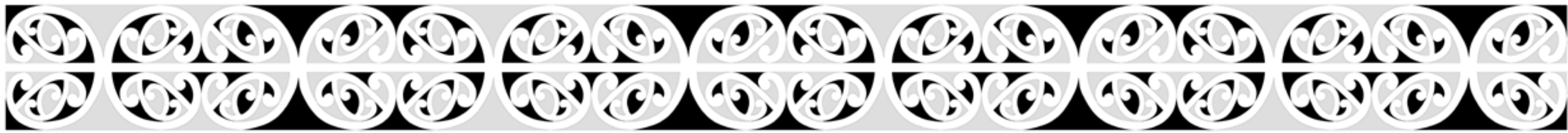

Matua te Reo, Matua te Tangata

Speaker Community: visions, approaches, outcomes

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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in
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He Mihi

Pupuke te hihiri

Pupuke te mahara

Pupuke te wānanga

Wānanga nui a te kore

E ruku rā te pō, te pō i whēnuminumi ai a tupua, a tawhito

E ruku rā te ao, te ao kūteretere o tēnei whakatupuranga

otirā ngā whakatupuranga e puea ake ai ki te huranga o te rā,

a Tama-nui e rewa nei ki te pae o kare taitimu, o kare taipari

ki te whai ao, ki te ao mārama

Tiheee Mouriora!

E te iti, e te rahi, rarau mai nei ki te pae o taku ahi

Ehara i te mea nāku i hika ai, ehara i te mea nāku tahu

Nā ōku tūpuna i hika ai, nā ōku mātua i tahu … kia mura

Ehara i te mea nāku i tūtū, ehara i te mea ngā i toutou

Nā aku tuāhine, nā taku taina i tūtū, nā aku hoa i toutou … kia korakora mai rā i te pō

Ehara i te mea nāku i uta, ehara i te mea nāku i hīpae

Nā taku hoa rangatira nei i uta, nā aku tama i hīpae … kia tiketike, kia rarahi

Engari rā a nge au nei, te koniahi nei, me tōna mahana

Engari rā te pātiti ahi nei, me tōna wera hoki, ae, nāku tērā

Tēnā e aku rangatira, kua hoki mai te ora o Mahuika

i roto i te pō roa e takiri nei ko te ata, ka tū ka puta

ki huranga o te rā, me ōna hihi, me ōna taratara ki roto ki te ao mārama

He manawa ora, he ora

Mā ake tātou

ABSTRACT

It is a well-documented fact that, globally, the number of languages spoken is diminishing. Māori is a threatened language. While much effort has gone into language revitalisation efforts to reverse language shift for Māori, in the past few decades it has focused on state as opposed to community mechanisms and community capacity has reduced. This is at odds with international evidence of the critical nature of intergenerational language transmission, a community-based strategy, in the achievement of language vitality.

This research is about Māori language revitalisation and investigates how it facilitates intergenerationally sustainable health outcomes. It explores three main areas: the characteristics of Māori language revitalisation, the form of community development approaches used, and the Māori health outcomes that arise from language revitalisation practice.

The research was located within a constructivist paradigm, took a qualitative approach, and applied a case study research strategy. Three case study groups that displayed features of language revitalisation participated in the research. They were: Te Ataarangi – nationally based; Te Reo o Whanganui – regionally based; and, Te Kōpae Piripono – locally based. The primary source of data was in-depth open-ended interviews carried out with knowledgable group representatives.

This study has proposed a new term, speaker community, which signals a shift in understanding the process by which restoring vitality to a threatened language is achieved. First, language vitality is viewed as a state of language strength arising from the restoration of conditions that enable language use among a community of speakers where another language is dominant. Second, that language revitalisation is a community-level endeavour that provides a means to achieve language vitality.

This research has also explained the role of language revitalisation in the achievement of positive Māori health outcomes. The framework 'Matua te Reo' describes the relationship between the core activities of speaker communities and the achievement of positive Māori health outcomes. The identified health outcomes underpin a secure Māori identity and are community defined. It is further argued that the sustainability of outcomes can be enhanced by encouraging a key language revitalisation approach based on the re-engagement of natural intergenerational transmission of language, culture and identity.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

He Mihi 2

Abstract 3

Acknowledgements 5

Table of Contents 7

List of Tables 12

List of Figures 13

Chapter One **Introduction** 14

Chapter Two **Māori Community** 21

Introduction	21
Notion of Community	21
Community and Society	24
Post-modern Society	29
Big Society	30
Community of Practice	31
Indigenous Community	36
Identification as Māori	40
Shifts in Terminology for Māori Community Groupings	41
Whānau, Hapū and Iwi Structure	43
Contemporary Māori Kinship-based Society	45
Non-Kinship-based Models of 'iwi'	47
Urban Māori Authorities	48
Iwi Authorities and Iwi Rūnanga	53
Māori Community – Key Points	56
Summary	59

Chapter Three **Māori Development** 60

Introduction	60
The Meaning of Development	60
Change in Development Perspectives	61
Development's Cultural Context	65
Community Development	67

Foundations of Māori Development 71
Contemporary Māori Development's Beginnings 75
1984–1994 The Decade of Māori Development 80
Twenty Years of Māori Development: 1984–2004 84
And Twenty More: 2005–2025 84
The Concept of Māori Development 89
Summary 92

Chapter Four **Language Revitalisation 93**
Introduction 93
Language Revitalisation 93
Terminology 94
Intergenerational Language Transmission 100
Speaker Communities 102
Motivations 104
Language Planning and Language Management 108
Micro / Macro Language Planning 110
Community Language Planning 111
Community and Language Revitalisation 113
Language Policy and Planning (LPP) 114
LPP Activity Related to Māori Language 117
A Planning Framework for Māori Language 124
Iwi-based Language Planning 130
Summary 132

Chapter Five **Māori Health Promotion 134**
Introduction 134
A Māori Worldview 134
Māori Health 143
Māori Health Models 144
International Context for Māori Health Promotion 149
The New Zealand Context for Māori Health Promotion 157
Māori Health Promotion 161
Summary 168

Chapter Six **Research Methods 170**
Introduction 170
Inquiry Paradigm 170
Locating a Māori Inquiry Paradigm 174

Māori Ontology 177
Māori Epistemology 180
Māori Methodology 181
Qualitative and Quantitative Research Approaches 182
Why a Qualitative Approach Was Chosen 183
Research Strategy – Case Study 184
Why a Case Study Strategy Was Chosen 185
Research Questions 186
Case Study Selection 186
Recognising the Researcher's Location 186
Research Methods Applied 189
Summary 192

Chapter Seven **Case Study Profiles 193**
Introduction 193
Case Study 1: Te Kōpae Piripono
(Early Childhood Local Language Revitalisation) 193
Te Kōpae Piripono – Synopsis 193
Te Kōpae Piripono – Background 194
Te Kōpae Piripono – Establishment 195
Te Kōpae Piripono – Structure 196
Te Kōpae Piripono – Initiatives 197
Te Kōpae Piripono – Effectiveness 198
Case 2: Te Reo o Whanganui Trust
(Iwi-based Language Revitalisation) 199
Te Reo o Whanganui – Synopsis 199
Te Reo o Whanganui – Background 200
Te Reo o Whanganui – Establishment 203
Te Reo o Whanganui – Structure 206
Te Reo o Whanganui – Initiatives 206
Te Reo o Whanganui – Effectiveness 207
Case Study 3: Te Ataarangi
(National Māori Language Revitalisation) 208
Te Ataarangi – Synopsis 208
Te Ataarangi – Background 209
Te Ataarangi – Establishment 210
Te Ataarangi – Past Structure (pre-2009) 214
Te Ataarangi – Initiatives 217

Te Ataarangi – Effectiveness 219
Summary 221

Chapter Eight **Analysis of Data.. 222**
Introduction 222
Core Objectives of Case Studies 222
Case Study Communities 224
Community Formation and Development 227
Language Revitalisation 230
Language Status 231
Language Corpus 232
Language Acquisition 233
Critical Awareness 234
Language Use 235
Māori Language Immersion 236
Development of a Community of Speakers 239
Identity 242
Sustainability of Outcomes 245
Sustainability of Operation 248
Empowerment 251
Health Outcomes 254
Summary 257

Chapter Nine **Discussion 258**
Introduction 258
Language Revitalisation 258
Locating Language Revitalisation 259
Five Elements of Language Revitalisation 262
Critical Language Revitalisation Conditions 265
Intergenerational Language Transmission 265
Domains of Language Use 268
Māori Worldview 272
Language Revitalisation Expressed by the Case Studies 274
Māori Development 275
Speaker Community 277
Dimensions of Speaker Community Development 281
Speaker Community Outcomes 285
Areas of Integrity in Speaker Community Development 286
A Framework for Speaker Community Development 287

Sustainability in the Social Mechanism of Whakapapa 288
Speaker Community Development and Māori Health Outcomes 290
Speaker Community Development and Health Outcomes 295
Implications 298
Further Research 302
Summary 303

Chapter Ten **Concluding Comments** **304**

Glossary of Māori Terms **310**

Appendix One **Case Study Participant Information Sheet** **320**

Appendix Two **Case Study - Individual Participant Consent Form** **324**

Appendix Three **Case Study - Rōpū Participant Consent Form** **325**

Appendix Four **Case Study Interview Schedule** **326**

Appendix Five **Confidentiality Agreement**.. **327**

Appendix Six **Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement**... **328**

Appendix Seven **Ethical Approval Notification** **329**

Bibiliography **330**

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Contrasted perspectives of community and society 27

Table 2: Meanings of development over time 63

Table 3: Transformational shifts 1984–2025 85

Table 4: Ngā Pou Mana – The foundations of Māori self-determination 91

Table 5: Language regeneration/regenisis 98

Table 6: Status of success conditions in New Zealand 121

Table 7: Conditions for language policy success 123

Table 8: The five elements of Ngāti Kahungunu’s 2006 revitalisation plan for Kahungunu reo 131

Table 9: The four elements of Te Reo o Taranaki Trust’s 2005 language revitalisation plan 132

Table 10: Levels of Māori leadership 140

Table 11: Three Māori health schema 148

Table 12: Links between Bangkok charter actions and HPFNZ goals 160

Table 13: Kia Uruuru Mai a Hauora – a framework for Māori health promotion 167

Table 14: A community perspective of language revitalisation approaches 264

Table 15: Approaches for management of language domains 271

Table 16: Framework for speaker community development 288

Table 17: Matua te Reo: Framework of Māori health outcomes achieved within speaker communities 297

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Schema of the Five Elements of Language Revitalisation and Language Planning 131

Figure 2: Te Pae Mahutonga 163

Figure 3: Schema of Te Kōpae's Organisational Structure 196

Figure 4: Organisational Structure of Te Reo o Whanganui Trust 206

Figure 5: Organisational Structure of the Initial Te Ataarangi Parent Body 214

Figure 6: Organisational Structure of Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi Trust 217

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Language is a social resource of interaction. A utilitarian perspective of the nature of language would have to ignore the strong sentiments of most people when confronted with a different language, or if the language that relates to their personal identity is questioned or ridiculed. Language is a social resource of a secure personal identity. This is something well understood by anyone who has struggled for two or three thousand hours, or possibly even four or five thousand hours, to gain a level of oral proficiency in a language only to be told one day that they talk like a child. To learn a second language is an immense undertaking and to consider taking on such a challenge one must be highly motivated. Language is a social resource that enables interaction with a constructed reality that is a collective worldview.

Central to the thesis of this research is the notion that language is a social resource. It is one of many social resources acquired over a person's lifecourse. Many indigenous people or minority people who lack the proficiency to interact effectively in the culture and worldview of their own people are acutely aware of their loss. Huirangi Waikerepuru has often made the statement "Ka kore te reo i te tangata kua hauā, hauā rawa i roto i tōna ao Māori" (H. Waikerepuru, personal communication, 2003). *A person without their language is disabled, severely disabled in their Māori world.* To be excluded from access to the world of your heritage is a deeply disempowering experience. To have whole communities excluded is a cataclysmic event few groups are able to fully recover from.

Language revitalisation is the antithesis of disablement. It endeavours to capture every ounce of stamina, positivity and inspiration available to a collective. This is not simply because it is such an immense task, but also because it is so complex and fraught with risks. It is easy to understand why whānau may be inclined to enrol in a language course or go out to purchase the latest set of language exercise books. There is an absence of complexity in the bookshop and an ease of certainty when the programme timetable is

placed in front of you at the first two hour session of your night class. The disruption to your weekly diary entries is minimal and missing a lesson or two for your monthly Neighbourhood Support meeting is not too disruptive for your kaiako. These comments are not belittling the efforts of others in pursuing Māori language proficiency. They are made to stimulate thinking about language revitalisation and the types of groups who are included in the case studies of this research. If an individual is seeking an absence of complexity these groups' initiatives are unlikely to be a good fit. The types of group who are engaged in language revitalisation are not unreasonable, but have high, albeit realistic, expectations. Restoring vitality to a threatened language is a misinterpretation of the project. Languages are revitalised in people. They must contend with the diversity of normal life and then reorient normal life into the struggle of a lived reality that is not normal.

Language revitalisation is the core issue investigated in this research. Language revitalisation was chosen as a topic due to the dearth of published research that is focussed on, and informs, the efforts of community-based groups who commit to speaking Māori. Further, the terminology and language associated with language revitalisation, particularly in the context of Māori language, was ambiguous and often misinterpreted. A decision was made to return to the root of language revitalisation, language vitality, to carefully consider its meaning, whether or not it was a useful term for the purposes of the research, and how it can be achieved. A focus on the type of community that was needed to achieve revitalisationist outcomes was also included. When no obvious term could be identified that sufficiently captured preliminary thinking about the features of community that support revitalisationist outcomes, the term 'Identity-based Community Development' was proposed for the purposes of the research.

As well, during the research design phase, concerns were raised about the way in which language outcomes have tended to take precedence in the design of other studies. A decision was made to investigate outcomes of language revitalisation that extended beyond language outcomes. Māori health outcomes were identified as an area of investigation, in order to explore the wider implications of the language revitalisation efforts of community groups.

Research Questions

The primary research question posed in this study was 'How can identity-based community development, in the form of Māori language revitalisation, facilitate intergenerationally sustainable Māori health outcomes?' Secondary questions refined the areas for investigation. The four questions were:

What are the key concepts that underpin identity-based community development for Māori?

What is language revitalisation as it relates to identity-based community development for Māori?

What are intergenerationally sustainable outcomes that arise from language revitalisation and align to Māori health promotion?

What are the characteristics of identity-based community development that contribute to intergenerationally sustainable Māori health outcomes?

Broadly speaking, these secondary questions relate to four areas or themes for the enquiry: identity-based community development; Māori language revitalisation; intergenerationally sustainable outcomes; and positive Māori health outcomes.

Research Approach

The research is located within a constructivist paradigm and takes a qualitative approach. There are four important features of this study that have made a qualitative approach appropriate for the research. First, the research investigates the phenomenon of community development in the form of Māori language revitalisation that is located within a rich social and cultural setting. An ecological approach is required in order to best understand this phenomenon within its natural context, and a qualitative approach is best

suited to this task. Second, the approach enables greater priority to be given to the personal interactions within real life of the research subjects and for their voice to be more clearly heard. The research does this by avoiding pre-determined frameworks for data collection and enabling the findings to emerge from the information gathered through the case studies. Third, indications were that there are relatively few examples of identity-based community development present in initiatives that are actively engaged in Māori language revitalisation. As well, it was considered likely that personal and shared attitudes, aspirations and motivations might vary widely between groups and regions. A qualitative approach is best suited to the small numbers of participants involved in the study and the anticipated distinctiveness of views shared. Fourth, the role of identity in forming communities is not easily measured quantitatively and is best investigated through the collection of rich, in-depth and detailed information. The collection of in-depth and detailed information is characteristic of a qualitative approach.

A further point to note is that historically concerns have been repeatedly expressed regarding the imbalance of power imposed by a researcher with external parameters for initiating the motivations, representation and accountability of the research. These concerns are mitigated by a researcher positioned as a cultural insider and conducting the research in such a way as to operationalise self-determination.

Case studies

The research applied a case study research strategy. Three groups were selected that incorporated, as a key focus of their organisation and activities, at least one of the two main areas of investigation identified in the research questions. The areas were 'identity' in the form of identity-based community development and 'language' in the form of language revitalisation. Identity-based community development focused on the relationship of identity among those involved in the activities of the groups studied. Identity indicates the way the group defines its connection and how it actively generates a collective vision. Groups could be founded in a customary configuration of mana-whenua and networks of whānau, hapū, marae, and iwi using whakapapa relationships as a main

basis of collective identity. Alternatively, the groups could be formed within shared practice and regular interaction. The second area is concerned with approaches aligned with Māori language revitalisation, for example the approaches of intergenerational language transmission, language planning, or management of language domains. The researcher's perspective was that of an insider having many years experience with language revitalisation approaches.

Further criteria for selection were the inclusion of diversity with regard to their scale and their central motivation in relation to 'community'. 'Scale' relates to the size and scope of operations, from small locally focused communities to large national and internationally based organisations. 'Central motivation' refers to the key emphasis of the group, the objective that motivates the collective and individuals to maintain and enhance participation. This was a difficult feature to determine, as some groups had three or more major areas of motivation and some areas were not explicit.

The three groups selected were Te Ataarangi, Te Reo o Whanganui and Te Kōpae Piripono. Each of the groups had a background of Māori language based activities that could be associated with language revitalisation approaches and all three groups demonstrated a strong sense of collective identity and shared practice.

Te Ataarangi is a national organisation with strong local networks extending to affiliated groups in Australia; Te Reo o Whanganui (TRoWh) centres its activity in the Whanganui region under the customary networks of communities associated with the Te Ati Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi iwi; Te Kōpae Piripono operates a single early childhood education (ECE) centre located in the urban setting of New Plymouth. Each of these groups has differences in central motivation. Te Ataarangi manages immersion domains primarily for the purpose of language acquisition and community development. TRoWh runs high proficiency programmes that promote the use of Whanganui reo, a local form of language variation, particularly in the formal oratory of the marae and hapū events. Te Kōpae Piripono runs a highly regarded Māori immersion ECE service but considers its main area for achievement to be whānau development.

Thesis Organisation

This chapter introduces the research programme. Central concepts underpinning the research are discussed in four background chapters. Chapter 2 examines the notion of community, the origins of its use, and the political tensions associated with its application in today's environment. It closes with an examination of various forms of Māori community and organisations. Chapter 3 presents concepts of development as they relate to community. Chapter 4 outlines the origins and evolution of thinking about language revitalisation, and discusses terminology used in the area. Chapter 5 discusses concepts of health and health promotion with particular emphasis given to Māori health promotion. Chapter 6 provides an overview of research paradigms, approaches, methodologies and methods as they relate to this research programme. Chapter 7 provides a profile of each of the case study groups. Chapter 8 presents data generated through this research. Chapter 9 identifies and discusses the key findings of the research, particularly as they relate to language revitalisation, speaker community, community development and Māori health outcomes. Chapter 10 contains the final conclusions of the research.

Thesis Language

For some readers the topic of this thesis and any knowledge of the writer's background would lead to an expectation that this work be written in Māori. This was considered during planning of the research. Three key reasons influenced the decision to present the thesis in English. First, and most importantly, by writing in English the thesis becomes more accessible to a wider range of community initiatives around the country and internationally, particularly with relevance among indigenous peoples working with endangered languages and health promotion. Second there was difficulty identifying three markers with sufficient Māori language proficiency and the appropriate expertise in the fields being presented. Third there was an option to provide the work in both languages with accurate translation from Māori text to English. Unfortunately the timeframes available to complete this task were limiting. It is anticipated that there will be

opportunities to present this material in Māori language and in other formats to allow greater access to the key content of the research.

Contribution of the Research

The research has generated new knowledge in two areas that relate to language revitalisation. The first area is the reconceptualisation of language revitalisation within the notion of a community. New terminology, speaker community, is also proposed to signal a shift in perspective to the underlying concept of language vitality.

The second area of new knowledge is presented in the form of Matua te Reo: Framework of Māori Health Outcomes achieved within Speaker Communities. This framework addresses the question of how speaker community development contributes to Māori health, and the health outcomes to which it directly contributes. The health outcomes identified underpin a secure Māori identity and are community defined. The framework highlights the role of speaker community development not only as a means to achieve linguistic outcomes, but also to achieve positive health outcomes.

Overall the Matua te Reo research project supports the reconceptualisation of language revitalisation as primarily a community-centred endeavour that supports vitality and security of language, culture and identity. That is, those factors that give expression to being Māori and that underpin the notion of being well as Māori.

C H A P T E R   2

MĀORI COMMUNITY

> "Community is not just a descriptive but also an evaluative concept, holding up a model of 'man as intrinsically social' rather than man as an individualist who contracts into society out of self interest" (Skrimshire, 1981, p. 53).

Introduction

This chapter examines the notion of 'Māori community' in both traditional and contemporary contexts. It is a critical point for analysis because of the prominence of its use and an apparent lack of concern shown in accepting its otherwise broad interpretation. The term is considered in two parts, the first being the nature of 'community' in context as it is applied today. The second part is the examination of the use of the word 'Māori' in relation to community and the forms of identity it infers.

Notion of Community

This examination attempts to clarify the eventful past of 'community'. It provides an understanding of how the term is used in this thesis. To begin with, 'community' has frequently been associated with highly politically charged tensions of power relations of nationalism. Yet it remains the word of choice for many speakers who allude to the warmth of close interpersonal rapport. There is an extensive range of cultural settings and contemporary social phenomena that are associated with the term. Articulation of pride in a national sports team, a fund-raising event for a local disaster, or online open-source development forums may all be considered expressions of community. It is used as a recurring metaphor for humanness and personal connection. Its continued widespread and unchallenged appeal has led to its use being described as follows: "Never was the word 'community' used more indiscriminately and emptily than in the decades when communities in the sociological sense became hard to find in real life…" (Hobsbawm, 1994,

p. 428). 'Community' has also been employed as a political 'spray-on additive' when used as a modifier for education, services, projects or plans, to cultivate a sense of involvement and ownership (Bryson & Mowbray, 1981; Craig, 1989, p. 9).

The origins of 'community' can be traced to classical Greece in the form of *'koinonia'* where, in the time of Aristotle, it referred to the urban environment. As the State grew into an administrative and somewhat autocratic institution of politics, the distance and objective culture of the State was considered in contrast to the closeness and personal nature of human interactions and the working relationships of people in the city. This was largely maintained up until the late 18th century. The notion of civil society was associated with community and not with society as we currently perceive it. A significant change in use of the term 'community' began in that century as the utopian vision of a people emancipated from the harsh controls of the State started to form. In the early part, 'community' reflected resistance to the power of the State and was perceived as symbolising a vision of a society where the State was made redundant (Delanty, 2010, pp. 1-4). This helped signal a period identified as the age of modernity, dominated by conservative and conformist models. Modernist doctrines that ran alongside, but did not compete with, the image of natural local communities (Shaw, 2008, pp. 25-26). Through modernity, grand narratives were prominent and employed by religious and political leaders to capture the hearts of the population within a dream and a yearning for unity, liberation and the alleviation of sickness, poverty and ill-treatment, and this was commonly associated with 'community' (Delanty, 2010, pp. 10-11). Political ideologies from the eighteenth century through to the middle of the twentieth century employed the notion of struggle and emancipation to fuel a seemingly unceasing tide of political, economic and cultural aggression in an attempt to eliminate opposing thought. That period has been referred to as 'the age of ideology' (Aiken, 1956; Jacoby, 2000; Schwarzmantel, 1998; Watkins, 1964). While some writers trace that 'age' back to the end of enlightenment, others argue that it is more appropriately located where the impact of various ideologies was most prominent, from the late nineteenth century through to the late twentieth century. This was a period when the competing doctrines of communism, socialism, pure capitalism, republicanism, fascism, anarchism and others dominated international experience (Knight, 2006). The results were devastating, compelling Lyotard (1984) to

make the statement "[t]he nineteenth and twentieth centuries have given us as much terror as we can take. We have paid a high enough price for the nostalgia of the whole and the one … The answer is: Let us wage war on totality" (pp. 81-82). The potency and durability of these beliefs in 'community' is embodied in the optimism and enthusiasm still found in its common use.

An indication of inherent tension in the meaning of 'community' is highlighted in the Collins Dictionary of Sociology (Jary & Jary, 1995) stating that the concept of 'community' is

> …one of the most difficult and controversial in modern society. Lowe (1986) suggests that it 'ranks only with the notion of class in this respect'. It is certainly a term which has attracted many different interpretations and has been subjected to wide use and abuse. (p. 110)

In its most essential form of use, 'community' denotes a grouping of people with interpersonal relationships or interests held in common. Three contexts of community are stated by Tett and Fyfe (2006), especially as they relate to educational and developmental perspectives. The first context, 'place', is based on a common location such as a village, small settlement or neighbourhood. The second is 'interest', denoting a shared interest or common motivation toward the same objective. The third, function, relates to groups occupied in the same function vocationally, voluntarily or in a representative role (p. 2).

Anderson (1991) states "…all communities larger than primordial villages … are imagined" (p. 6), socially constructed and defined by the style in which they were first shaped, for example by identity, kinship, belief, mutual benefit, localism or political doctrine. Early forms of connection, in situations such as villages, formed as communities through geographical proximity with face-to-face interaction, whereas references to 'community' associated with very large groupings, particularly nation states, are not identified by way of personal contact but are 'imagined' political communities (pp. 5-7). Despite the very limited form of connection implied by nationality, people are imbued with it as an identity that defines them in a global sense and mobilises them with loyalty and affinity, even though individuals "…never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them…" (p. 6). Difficulty in determining meaning for the word 'community' strongly relates to the pressures witnessed in the politics of identity and representation and the

social influences of deprivation and empowerment (Aronowitz, 1992; Cohen, 1985; Friedman, 1992; Niezen, 2003).

Community and Society

In spite of the problem in determining a meaning or in negotiating the underlying tension in how it is applied, the term 'community' continues to evoke two of the most widely held values of humanity, personal commitment and belonging in an audience. It is generally treated with significant positivity (Bauman, 2001, pp. 2-3; Wenger, 1998, p. 76). This positive emotion, derived from a sense of close human connection, helps ensure a diverse range of social units continue to be described as 'community', from small local family groups to extremely large political, economic or professional associations. It can be considered an attempt to ease perceptions of personal distance between individuals.

As anthropology and sociology became stronger influences of thinking in the late nineteenth century, 'community' became considered less in contrast to the State and was more contrasted with society (Delanty, 2010, pp. 18-31). In 1887, well-known German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1855-1935) first described the idealised and somewhat romanticised family-centred notion of local 'community', Gemeinschaft, as something to be retained or achieved and it was directly contrasted with the notion of Gesellschaft, more instrumental or contractually based relationships associated with the word 'society' (Tönnies, 2002). Writers, over the last thirty or more years, have increasingly concluded 'community' to be an unachievable ideal associated with the previous century's ideological mantras of modernity. It is considered a romanticised narrative of longing for the traditional lifestyle or a resilient collective identity and solidarity (Anderson, 1991; Bauman, 2001; Hobsbawm, 1996; Sennett, 1970; Somerville, 2011; Touraine, 1995). Many authors discourage efforts to form or restore the form of 'community' with close interpersonal relationships implied by the Tönnies term 'Gemeinschaft'.

In general, very large social groupings may not necessarily be perceived as being 'real'[1] community, particularly from a development perspective. Such communities are those where members are generally expected to know each other, where their "…interactions are such that they are readily accessible to all…" (Ife, 2002, p. 80). They also have the potential to exhibit cultural practice and strong interpersonal networks, referred to as 'social capital' (Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000), 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), or 'shared repertoire' (Wenger, 1998). They are thought to sustain the production of identity and culture and reinforce social cohesion that has been shown to increase productivity and efficiency. Turner (2001) identifies these as 'thick' communities exhibiting 'hot' communication from regular contact in contrast to 'thin' communities of dispersed groups with 'cool' communication that includes online forms of electronic or virtual interaction (p. 29). Globalisation has helped build global interconnectivity and interdependence but this does not imply close and meaningful relationships (Guibernau, 2007, p. 22). Regular close interaction and personal connection are key principles that reinforce a sense of participation, contribution, safety and certainty. Bauman (2001) proposes a strong, ethically-based collective of individuals as being the closest form of community available in these times, while the work of Habermas places emphasis on communication "…in a way that lends itself to a world of multiple belongings and in which integration is achieved more by communication than by existing morality and consensus" (Delanty, 2010, p. 92). Society conveys a celebration of personal freedom and individuality. What may be perceived of as 'community', Bauman (op.cit.) describes as the allure and the paradox of 'community' as

> … everything we miss and what we lack to be secure, confident and trusting. … In short, 'community' stands for the kind of world which is not, regrettably, available to us – but which we would dearly wish to inhabit and which we hope to repossess. (p. 3)

Bauman contrasts 'community' with 'individuality'. He describes the essential point of difference as the dilemma of deciding between the freedom of choice as a personal expression of self-fulfilment and the security of shared understanding. Community comes with the conformity and constraints of commitment people must have to other connected members.

1 The use of the word, 'real', does not imply this is a true community in contrast to false communities. In this context 'real' conveys the feeling of community in practice and a subjective sense of community people consider themselves directly connected to.

> There is a price to be paid for the privilege of 'being in a community' – and it is inoffensive or even invisible only as long as the community stays within the dream. The price is paid in the currency of freedom, variously called 'autonomy', 'right to self-assertion', 'right to be yourself'. Whatever you choose, you gain some and you lose some. Missing community means missing security; gaining community, if it happens, would soon mean missing freedom. (p. 4)

Forms of community such as those described above by Bauman, giving up autonomy or the right to assert oneself, are very seldom seen. They represent the fullest extent of how communities can be constructed in today's environment. Examples are "…radical communal movements of the Amish community, monasticism and the kibbutz…" (Delanty, 2010, p. 16). However, in practice very few groups function collectively as a complete community. Rather than considering it as an 'all-or-nothing' dichotomy, it has been more helpful to present the tension between 'community' and 'society' as a continuum. It has also been described as a continuum between the character of a rural lifestyle with greater homogeneity and lower density of population and urban lifestyles with greater heterogeneity and higher population density (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). Tönnies (2002) proposes a continuum spread between the family in the home through to large cities.

> [The town's] local character, in common with that of the village, contrasts with the family character of the house. Both village and town retain many characteristics of the family; the village retains more the town retains less. Only when the town develops into the city are those characteristics almost entirely lost. Individuals or families are separate identities, and their common locale is only accidental or a deliberately chosen place in which to live. But as the town lives on within the city, elements of life in the Gemeinschaft, as the only real form of life, persist within the Gesellschaft, although lingering and decaying. (p. 227)

Key elements from these interpretations are presented in Table 1, summarising some of the tendencies of the two perspectives. It summarises these two recurring social occurrences and, although not exhaustive, it notes conditions that have been highlighted within the literature.

Table 1: Contrasted perspectives of community and society

Community	Pluralist State / Society
Security in shared vision	Uncertain future among diverse individuals
Strict controls and social guidelines	Freedom of choice, individual responsibility
Strong sense of shared identity/culture	Identity is based on personal expression
Clear boundaries of location and membership	Open access, few social class limits
Chauvinistic, nationalistic views	Tolerant, egalitarian views
Conservative, traditional beliefs	Radical and liberal beliefs
Utopian, optimistic perspective of future	Indifferent or focussed on future risk

Adapted from Delanty (2010) and Bauman (2000, 2001)

The main perspective given in Table 1 relates to security and is extensively discussed by Bauman (2000, 2001), who links the concept of safety to the strong controls and restrictions placed on members of a group. Society is better suited to a person who chooses to have their personal needs and aspirations accommodated and assured. With greater freedom of choice and ease of movement into and outside of a community the sameness of members and the culture held in common are compromised. Members are forced to face the different values, beliefs, traditions and daily practices of others. Increased exposure to external groups and individuals lessens the sense of collective identity and culture held within the community, reducing their feeling of comfort and normality. In society new expressions of identity are made accessible to community members, increasing transition into other locations and cultures.

A more community-centric model encourages shared leadership and more clearly defined roles for participation. The notion of egalitarianism is often linked with community and direct participation in leadership. In reality, the differentiation of levels of leadership and responsibility may be hidden within considerations made for age, knowledge, experience and social prestige (Cohen, 1985, p. 33). Communities will be focussed primarily on responding to their own needs and interests that may conflict with the needs expressed by other groups. Communities often seek to maintain conservative traditions and systems of belief or religion that may be considered by those on the outside to be backward-focussed

and reinforced within the certainty of the past. Some societies may establish a paradigm of egalitarian multiculturalism and tolerance, as expressed in the American Constitution, yet in practice the model[2] is mainly the assimilation of difference into a common national culture and way of life (Delanty, 2010, pp. 75-79). However, generally accommodating differences of culture and belief in broad society requires a more liberal and tolerant approach, with secular beliefs faced toward development, growth and change. Leadership struggles to accommodate the diversity of multicultural society, with a greater emphasis placed on egalitarianism to be applied across many interest groups and expressions of identity.

Touraine & Macey (2000) also make the observation that there is now a greater tendency for communities to be constrained within broad cultural markers of ethnicity, gender or personal belief such as religion or political parties. That tendency, they argue, has led to a weakening of social roles observed in the past among localised communities What is in place now is a more tenuous and transitory concept of community participation based primarily on expansive identity markers of membership (pp. 30-32). Sennett (1998) argues that this has been heavily influenced by the rise of capitalism. In competitive markets workers seek to guard their jobs, social groups their economic capability ,and businesses their markets (p. 138). External threats and disasters have also been shown to strengthen nationalism, trust in government and local identity, as shown in the wake of the September 11th terrorist attacks with "…a dramatic and probably unprecedented burst of enthusiasm for the federal government" (Putman, 2002, p. 20). Founding community on such symbolic representations of identity does not necessarily mean that community is less relevant today but that society's perception of community has shifted from being understood as an active network of close interpersonal relationships. This has been lost through modernity to a more ephemeral notion of social connection and distinctiveness based on commonality of beliefs, interests and aspirations (Guibernau, 2007, pp. 9-11).

2 Delanty associates this with a 'melting-pot' model, while describing the inclusive, liberal, pluralist approach to immigrants used by Canada as a metaphorical 'salad-bowl' model with a greater tolerance of difference (p. 79).

Cohen (1985) concisely describes this more recent interpretation of community constructed within two dimensions:

> …that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from members of other putative groups. 'Community' thus seems to imply simultaneously both similarity and difference. The word thus expresses a relational idea: the opposition of one community to others or to other social entities. (p. 12)

Post-modern Society

The value of the individual over the collective has been a strong policy position taken by governments seeking to reform structures of power within capitalist systems of consumerism and heightened by the precedence given to globalism. Claire Freeman (2006) cites Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative government leader in Britain from 1979 to 1990, stating "...society was made up of 'individuals': it was individuals, not society and community, that mattered and it was up to individuals to forge their own paths…". In Freeman's view it was this decade of "…Thatcher's policies which negated the idea of 'society' and 'community'…" (p. 15). In this environment, individuals respond less to the influence of the State and more to the momentum of popular culture linked with the marketplace, advertising and the media. Noam Chomsky (1988) referred to this phenomenon as 'Manufacturing Consent', the use of mass media to generate a shared vision within the wide range of diverse society interests. A reliance on the 'popular' and shifting focus of what may be a solid vision of the future led Bauman (2000) to propose the term 'liquid modernity', and others 'late modernity' (Giddens, 1991), or the 'second modernity' (Beck, 2006, p. 337; Beck & Willms, 2004), that challenges the more established notion of 'post-modernity'[3]. They hold the view that the effects of modernity remain, that we have not yet reached a new state (of post-modernity) as such, but that the certainty of previous states (grand narratives) has been replaced with the preoccupation of risk and continued revision (liquidity) of shared goals for the changing future.

3 The advent of post-modernity in a social, cultural and economic context is considered to have followed World War II. A widespread scepticism developed toward the grand narratives of modernity. What had previously been valourised in simplicity, collective wisdom and rationality, and structure were considered self-legitimising and centred on optimising the performance of systems of power. Postmodernism is an "incredulity toward metanarratives" (Lyotard, 1984, p. xxiv).

A sense of uncertainty is produced in society by the diverse range of voices compelling people to seek some form of authority or expertise to mitigate future risk and manage the direction to be taken. In response, direction in society is influenced by their changing perceptions of trust, or lack of it, in the institutions of expertise[4]. Across society individuals are compelled to work collectively because "…global risk is an unpredictable and impersonal force in the contemporary world, triggering events to which the human response is to organize on a global scale" (Beck, 2006, p. 338). Systems of control and influences on knowledge include the media, political parties, marketing and education systems. The activities of institutions engaged in generating expertise and in the dissemination of information to support confidence in society and to gain competitive advantages in the marketplace equate to the commodification of knowledge (Bauman, 2000, pp. 161-162; Lyotard, 1984, pp. 4-5). The broad diversity of individuals acting for a multitude of motivations, based on varied sources of expertise, makes differentiating self-interest from genuine inter-dependent social networks seldom easy. This drives feelings of scepticism toward the formation or restoration of a strong and resilient 'community', as less likely to be achieved. But, as Bauman (2000) states, modernity at the turn of the 20th century

> …came to mean, as it means today … [f]ulfilment is always in the future. … Being modern means to be perpetually ahead of oneself, in a state of constant transgression; it also means having an identity which can exist only as an unfulfilled project. In these respects, there is not much to distinguish between the plight of our grandfathers and our own" (ibid:28-29).

Big Society

On July 19th, 2010, the newly elected British Prime Minister, Conservative David Cameron, made a speech confirming his commitment to 'Big Society', stating "…it's about liberation – the biggest, most dramatic redistribution of power from elites in Whitehall to the man and woman on the street" (Cameron, 2010). This policy shift was a major Conservative platform for the 2010 election and sought to mobilise community participation in services that would normally be considered the role of the State. This was a dramatic change in

4 A recent example is the economic recession and the failure of banks and investment companies to secure the trust of investors who have withdrawn their money in fear of financial collapse. This was driven by raised awareness about the unsustainable wealth generation that occurred over the previous years of confidence. The institutions suffer from the drop in confidence and investors desperately seek expertise in the chaos to secure their future in these unstable times.

direction from the former Conservative policy under Thatcher that has been contrasted as a policy of 'Big Government' aligned with marketplace drivers (M. J. Smith, 2010). The new policy was met with both criticism (Lawless, 2011; D. Lewis, 2011) and support (Blond, 2010). A common theme of responses to the policy of 'big society' is the difficulty of achieving a transformation of community participation in real terms. Lewis (2011) strongly argues that the policy is driven by the global economic crisis and, therefore, centred more on encouraging volunteers and philanthropy to make savings in government spending, where historical experience has shown such a reasoning to be unsound. Similarly, Lawless (2011) agrees the recession has been the impetus for the policy shift, adding that it is not based on evidence but on a popular perception of empowerment. Support given by Blond (2010) recognises the centring effect of the policy away from both the right wing 'Tory' ideology and the left wing 'Red' ideology in what is considered to be a centrist 'third way' of community action. 'Big society' policy encourages community development and the support of the voluntary sector that taps into common sense positivity associated with the idea of 'community'. It marks a return in popularity to the role of community learning and localised collective action (Hayes, 2010)[5] albeit for, what has been suggested, state reform of the economy for cost efficiencies. The policy signals a reinterpretation of 'community' toward the mobilisation of groups and individuals to work together to help meet their collective needs.

Community of Practice

The notion of 'Community of Practice' (CofP) offers a further interpretation of 'community' worth noting. It was proposed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991) in the concept of 'situated learning'. It is the recognition that knowledge is shared and constructed through practice among groups of active practitioners. CofP describes a functioning 'community' as a collective engaged in a shared "… concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (Wenger, 2006, p. 1). It has particular relevance for 'situated learning' when referring to newcomers of a CofP who must master the skills and knowledge used by the community. Situated learning is their acculturation

5 John Hayes speaking as Minister of State for Further Education, Skills and Lifelong Learning

into the practice of the group. New members move from the periphery to a more legitimate or central position in the activity or objective, with increasing levels of responsibility and roles of greater importance. Wenger (1998) describes CofP as a term derived from the concept of mutual interdependence of community participation.

> Participation here refers not just to local events of engagement in certain activities with certain people, but to a more encompassing process of being active participants in the practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities … Such participation shapes not only what we do, but also who we are and how we interpret what we do. (p. 4)

CofPs are shown to be widely varied, for example the complex mix of role and relationships of a small subsistent village or a large guild of craft people utilising their skills to contribute to the nature of the creativity, status and success of their particular field of expertise. The clarity and utility that has distinguished the term regarding community formation, knowledge and identity has seen it being applied to diverse fields of study. Originally Lave and Wenger (1991) applied it to education. Once the framework of analysis became more widely interpreted the scope of its application, as Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999) aptly state, “shouldered its way into” other fields of research such as sociolinguistics and gender studies (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992 cited by Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999, pp. 173-174), and organisational management (Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002).

Negotiated practice characterises such communities as constantly changing, the result of reflection of current activity rather than rigid mechanisms of externally defined policy or social convention. Wenger (1998) explains these dynamic dimensions of community coherence with three characteristics of practice – mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire. There is value in taking a closer look at these concepts.

Community of Practice: Mutual Engagement (pp. 73-77)

Defining community in terms of engagement recognises that members negotiate, and contribute to, their shared meaning, script or social narrative within the central theme or vision of their particular community. Mutual engagement generates a negotiated set of values, conventions and reciprocal expectations of each other through interaction. The performance of members takes place within mutually interpreted guidelines of practice

and allows for people of multiple backgrounds and skill sets to make a direct and tangible contribution. For every new member this set of complex inter-dependent roles and protocols of activity represents a steep learning curve to adapt and comply with, but the community also carries a responsibility to accommodate the unique set of attributes and personal traits contributed to the team by the new person.

Sharing a common space or maintaining repeated communication may help sustain a CofP, however such interaction does not automatically presume the primarily voluntary nature of active engagement, complementary contribution and shared responsibility that characterises Wenger's term of 'practice' (pp. 84-85). More than any external perception of social classification, this distinction draws community identity within the generative process of forming a common point of motivation and the recognition of the interconnected roles of its members. Their shared objectives may simply be to conduct externally directed activities in a certain manner, to express values held by the collective, or to diligently carry an agreed proportion of the workload. But the collaborative effort needed to achieve a commonly held objective requires an ongoing dialogue on how it will be accomplished and the appropriateness of shared practices in a changing environment.

Such an environment supports inclusion of diversity more than homogeneity. When focussed on a shared purpose, the presence of a diversity of skills, knowledge and enterprise serves to strengthen the breadth of contribution made within the community. Membership within a 'community of practice' supports the development of multiple complementary roles, skills, perspectives and interests under internally generated standards and values of interaction. As a result, the value associated with a member's involvement is based on the level of influence of their contribution. Pita Sharples (cited in Diamond, 2003) alludes to this notion when describing the status accorded to the workers and organisers who brought about the successful establishment of Hoani Waititi Marae on the basis of their perceived level of commitment .

> Because we fundraised the money ourselves, we have an amazing sense of ownership. That is why there is no doubt about the pecking order around here. Someone who's put in the time has the rights, and that is why this place is pretty safe. Because I've put in all the time, the challenges towards me are not so direct, they're either behind my back or else people come in and discuss possibilities with me, which makes it easy to run. (p. 206)

Community of Practice: Joint Enterprise (Wenger, 1998, pp. 77-82)

Wenger describes the process of fulfilling a shared objective and forming a sense of mutual accountability as 'joint enterprise'. This does not imply that there should necessarily be a final end point or a distinctly measureable outcome to be achieved. Rather, members of a community should share in the sense of personal and collective responsibility for achieving or fulfilling the core intent of their endeavour. Communities are strengthened as a result of an internally generated and directed process, in contrast with strongly outcome-oriented objectives often derived from 'top-down' control and direction, particularly in workplace environments or in meeting funding criteria. The process is as important as the outcome. Ife (2002, pp. 119-121) conveys a similar perspective in describing the notion of 'community development' where 'means' is linked directly to planned 'ends'. To separate the two opens a development project to the ends being justified regardless of how they are achieved. "This requires the community worker to abandon the idea of knowing where she/he is heading, and instead being prepared to have faith in the process and the wisdom and expertise of the community itself" (p. 121). CofPs are configured internally, taking into consideration their sense of shared purpose, understanding what commitment is needed and what motivates each other to achieve.

Community of Practice: Shared Repertoire (Wenger, 1998, pp. 82-85)

In order to perpetuate the intricate network of roles within a CofP, members rely on a set of symbols and signals that guide them to maintaining accepted practice. Wenger refers to these symbols and signals as the repertoire utilised by a community in the day-to-day performance of their collective activity.

> The repertoire of a community of practice includes routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence, and which have become part of its practice. The repertoire combines both reificative and participative aspects. It includes the discourse by which members create meaningful statements about the world, as well as the styles by which they express their forms of membership and their identities as members (p. 83).

In a formal environment, such as a strictly supervised workplace, the symbols and routines may be drawn from within procedural documentation or lines of communication in dealing with public enquiries. In contrast to this, the more casual work routines of an informal

voluntary organisation may be supported within less overt guidelines of practice such as the use of symbolic titles bestowed on long-serving members to signify their position of authority or the allocation of roles such as the control of keys to the organisation's facility. They may also regularly adhere to routines of contribution, such as the sharing of meals or purchasing of raffles.

These forms of activity do not in themselves distinguish the community of practice for external observers. Indeed the activities may not be recognised by others to hold any particular degree of value at all. But, for the community to whom they belong, such conventions serve to maintain the integrity and authenticity of their practice, and of their distinct community. The repertoire ensures that change negotiated within the community, such as incorporation of new members, applying of different approaches, adaptation of language use, or review of shared histories, can take place while retaining the essence of established practice and consequently the substance of the community's identity. In some situations the dissolution of a community of practice may be effected in drastic circumstances such as the wholesale restructuring of a commercial business, a widespread change in committee membership, or radical requirements for change based on different funding criteria or market pressure. Under such conditions the shared repertoire may be so severely affected that the CofP may not fully recover.

Community of Practice in Summary

The portrayal of communities as CofP, formed within the activity of participation, proposes that communities do not necessarily need to reflect categorisation of groups by geographic location, class, ethnicity, sex or other externally defined forms of social division. Prior to Lave and Wenger's thesis of CofP (Lave & Wenger, 1991), the widely held notion of community membership was discerned within some form of commonality or conformity of members or by distinguishable differences contrasted with other groups. The historical borders for delineation of social groupings in stereotyped roles and preconceived expectations have largely been eroded within a highly mobile social setting and widely held secular and egalitarian aspirations. Society today allows for people to be aligned with multiple identities or interests, for example supporter of a sports club, voluntary worker in

a community service, member of a political party, descendant of a prominent immigrant, resident of a particular suburb, skilled worker within a professional field, or enthusiast within a hobby group. Recognition of the presence of CofPs helps explain a further expression of community in the contemporary social environment.

Indigenous Community

The word 'indigenous' represents the quality of being naturally occurring or originating from a distinct location. For a people that definition relates to a specific point in time – when their existence as original inhabitants was recognised, the point at which the Western world made contact and recorded their presence, the point of their classification. Initially that recognition took the form of broad observations of characteristics that supported differentiation of sub-groups or unique peoples. However, there is a reluctance to provide a circumscribed definition of what indigeneity means or, more importantly, what constitutes authentic or recognised indigeneity (Maaka & Fleras, 2005; L. T. Smith, 1999, pp. 30-31).

Legal definitions of the past that sought to determine legal rights have been heavily criticised. An example is blood quantum measure, used in Hawaii, American Samoa and the Northern Mariana Islands, where pure lineage of one-half to one-quarter blood, from the original ancestors, made valid claims to own land, to assert the right for leasing land, or to have the authority to purchase property (Villazor, 2008, pp. 805-806). In New Zealand, in the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004, (s.32(2)(b)), tangata whenua needed to prove "…'continuous title to contiguous land' … for exclusive use and occupancy to be proven" (Makgill & Rennie, 2011, p. 8). Proof in this context required the Māori group to substantiate racial, temporal, geographical and customary continuity for their indigenous rights to be recognised in relation to customary title to coastal areas.

Indigeneity carries connotations beyond the meaning associated with it in legal, academic or other formal settings. It is also noted that the profile of indigenous people has grown significantly and is more difficult than previously to dismiss by the state (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). An important feature is the recognised right to self-identification, an inherent

promise for representation, collective solidarity and cultural authenticity. This characteristic is not limited to local and national settings but also impacts on international forums and accords, as seen within the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP).[6] The power to resist external classification of tribes or the categorisation of local identity is the basis for flexible social networks and fluid movement and participation in indigenous groupings.

Self-identification can also be considered a critical element for empowerment, adaptability and liberation available to indigenous groups and was long asserted by their representation to UN forums. While The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) does not contain a working definition for 'indigenous peoples', previous declarations and treaties allowed people to self-identify as indigenous, for example in this statement within the 1989 International Labour Organisation Treaty Convention no.169. "Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply…" (United Nations, 1989).

The first working definition adopted by UNWGIP in 1987 was developed by Mr Jose Martinez Cobo, between 1972 and 1983, in his role as Special Rapporteur on discrimination against indigenous people (Brownlie & Brookfield, 1992, pp. 56-57). The 'Cobo' definition[7] was amended into three parts in 1983 by the Working Group (Motard, 2007, p. 242). The first recognises population lineage as a key determinant with historical continuity to a territory at the time of first contact with external ethnic settlers (United Nations, 2004). Including the feature of contact by an external power and settlement has been used by some countries (for example China) to deny the validity of indigeneity under the

6 Established in 1982, later changing to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) in 2002, partly arising from the International Decade Of The World's Indigenous People 1994-2004. The UNPFII was most influential with the General Assembly's adoption of The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007 (p. 190). The Declaration was most prominent because of the opposition to it by the governments of New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States, with particular objection to the right to self-determination with implications for self-government in Article 4. All four nations have since supported the Declaration, the most recent being the US Department of State, December 16, 2010 (Maaka, 1994).

7 Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (Cobo, 1983, (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986))

Also Cobo presented a working definition of how an individual would self-identify as indigenous. "...[A]n indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group)..." (Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2004, p. 2).

Declaration, with the background of their national context (Merlan, 2009, pp. 303-304). The second factor recognises culture and traditions that align with the character of other indigenous peoples of the country and the third factor highlights practices of government structures that serve to detach the group from "…national social and cultural characteristics alien to their own" (Motard, 2007, p. 242). The first part is centred on factors of inclusion, the second emphasises the distinctiveness of cultural practices and knowledge, and the last focuses on exclusion. Finally, the Working Group again moved to amend the definition in 1986 to explicate a two stage process for recognising an indigenous person, the first being to self-identify as indigenous and the second to be accepted as a member in their associated indigenous community (ibid).

The United Nations' recognition of indigenous rights for self-determination, protection of cultural markers of language, customs and traditions, and for political representation distinguishes indigeneity as a distinct grouping within society that sets aside indigenous people's expression of community from that of other groups (Merlan, 2009). Primarily these rights are extended to localised groups linked directly to a specific territory, but in global contexts indigenous people have the potential to act collectively (such as in UN forums), extending beyond local and national boundaries. For example, the Sami people based mainly in Norway but with their population traditionally spanning Sweden, Finland and Russia; or allied indigenous peoples working together on common issues for international impact. Further, local indigenous populations have been compelled to reconsider former expressions of identity alongside other expressions of community. They have been persuaded to leave traditional territories for employment, health, welfare or other social conditions, weakening local capacity and personal connection among their members. The increased shift outside of traditional boundaries, especially the urbanisation of rural communities, creates new manifestations of indigeneity that are subject to criticism and are based essentially on ethnicity rather than maintaining continuity with their localised traditional form of identity.

Urbanisation and increased mobility shift the expressions of identity, and are discussed by Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000) who highlight the pressure placed on local indigenous populations, referring to it as "the seesaw of mobility and belonging" in particular as a

political struggle of "*autochtones* versus *allogènes*"[8] (pp. 425-427). The increasing flow of populations across international borders intensifies a sense of diminished local control and loss of collective continuity. Movement in this social environment is driven by globalised capital (p. 423). Indigenous movements, on the other hand, are inherently anti-systemic because, as Hall and Fenelon (2004, pp. 154-157) suggest, they tend to challenge conventional capitalist practices of commodification and privatisation in their adaptation of older traditions to contemporary social conditions, and value collective control. This observation indicates that indigenous movements have a greater inclination to act against trends for greater individualism through a shared expression of localised identity. They also potentially have a greater capacity to act as a community. There are benefits present in each perspective. Mobility assures greater access to global economic and knowledge-based resources. The countering perspective of local belonging sustains indigenous resources such as local language, knowledge, socio-cultural support and confidence in personal identity.

Māori in New Zealand, as well as indigenous peoples of other countries, have rights as citizens within the state that are accompanied by additional rights of indigeneity. Concurrent with the state-centred relationship is a customary relationship with other members of the tribe, a birth-right, derived moral responsibilities that will come into conflict with expectations and direction from the State (Bargh, 2007a, p. 38). The underlying differences or points of conflict relate to expectations arising from rights and aspirations expressed by indigenous peoples and states. Empowerment among indigenous peoples is linked to their desire for self-determination, restoration of customary property and assets for sustainable self-sufficiency, strengthened cultural identity, and constitutional recognition of exclusive indigenous rights. Empowerment of indigenous peoples from a state's perspective is restrained by values of egalitarianism, maintenance of existing structures of power and systems of control, contribution of economic and social development (especially in responding to recognised inequalities), and fiscal constraints subject to political acceptability and public scrutiny (Maaka & Fleras, 2005).

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8 Autochthones is derived from classic Greek Autochthon meaning 'from the earth/soil' or otherwise indigenous peoples of a place. In contrast to this is the term Allogènes meaning 'from a different family/nation' or people who are considered outsiders (A. Fleras & Maaka, 2010).

Indigeneity is a potent form of community identity, set apart from other expressions of community by conveying an intrinsic sense of empowerment rooted in the notion of pre-contact regional sovereignty. Empowerment for indigenous peoples is located within the post-colonial discourse of land rights, cultural integrity, settlement of historical grievances, and self-determination.

Identification as Māori

'Māori' is an identification that arose in the first instance from the need to distinguish the indigenous population from the newly arrived European settlers. Similarly, the word 'Pākehā' is used to identify people of European descent and 'tauiwi' as a more general reference to all people other than Māori (Maaka, 1994, p. 313; Metge, 1995, pp. 18-20). However, the use of 'Māori' as an identifier for community is problematic because it can be considered a reference of group ethnicity rather than being associated with traditional social institutions of identity and conveying a perception of cultural integrity. This is evident in the much quoted view of the late Tūhoe leader John Rangihau (1919-1987), who explained the important distinction he perceived in being Māori was his tribally located Tūhoetanga and was in direct contrast to any feeling he had for an otherwise meaningless ethnic class of Māori (Rangihau, 1992, p. 190). He was referring to his upbringing. Identity for Rangihau was not a matter of choice or personal preference; it was an intrinsic element of whakapapa inherited through parentage or those who raise a person. 'Māori' has become a more pervasive form of ethnic category denoting descent from at least one ancestor who was Māori.

Leaders who assert tribal-based identity have been described as iwi fundamentalists (Webster, 2002, p. 353). While they in turn have challenged the validity of Māori identity in urban pan-tribal organisations if it is not framed in terms of lineage (Bourassa & Strong, 2000, p. 165). The question being asked by communities is 'what is/are the best form(s) of community and identity that will sustain proud and confident future generations?' Maaka (1994, p. 329) makes a strong argument for a "…radical redefinition…" of 'iwi' in the face of overwhelming pressure on the structural integrity of customary social institutions. He rationalises this proposition with the view that "…the process of detribalization is irreversible…" and attempts to reform tribes (retribalisation) must come to terms with the

full scope of contemporary socio-political conditions and not a re-entrenchment of traditional cultural systems. Tempered against the privations of a harsh economic climate borne by Māori community groups, a substantial growth of assets has seen the total Māori-owned commercial assets in 2005/06 valued at $16.45 billion, an 83% rise from the $8.99 billion held in 2001 (Ministry of Māori Development, 2008). A further example is the improved shift in identification with iwi relationships as shown in a drop in the percentage of people self-identifying as Māori but who are not able to name iwi they are connected to.[9] An urban Māori voice advocating for the rights of city dwelling Māori was formed in 2003, under the name National Urban Māori Authority (NUMA), which has become stronger and difficult to ignore. The question of iwi and Māori communities and their identity is discussed later in the section.

Shifts in Terminology for Māori Community Groupings

With increased urbanisation and cultural assimilation of Māori in the post-WWII period, 'whānau' has become less associated with genealogical links and more aligned to areas of shared practice, common objectives or interests, and living or working in close geographical proximity. Also, with the rise of post-war, pan-tribal organisations such as The Māori Women's Welfare League, New Zealand Māori Council and Māori Wardens (A. Fleras & Maaka, 2010) the recognition given to the capacity of iwi and hapū also diminished. Groups such as Te Kōhanga Reo were one of the more notable organisations to form a functional concept of 'whānau', working collectively toward a common goal (Diamond, 2003, pp. 101-102). This form of organisation has been referred to as a 'metaphorical extension' of whānau (Metge, 1995, pp. 54-60) that can be described as whānau who seek to derive and instil intrinsic cultural values and practices associated with conventional whakapapa-based whānau, such as reciprocity, collective responsibility, active participation, empathy, respect and integrity (Bishop & Glynn, 2003, pp. 172-173). While there is a degree of flexibility among both forms of whānau, as their members are able to opt in or opt out of activities or shared roles (Durie, 1997, pp. 2-3), there is greater

9 102,366 people of Māori descent were unable to indicate the name of their iwi in the 2006 census. The figure represents a drop of 8.4 % on the numbers gathered in 2001, and a decrease of 9.1 % since the 1996 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

potential for sustained contribution effecting intergenerational outcomes among whakapapa-based whānau by way of close lineage and prolonged interpersonal relationships through lifespan. The impact of cultural integration and urbanisation eroded the capacity of descent-based whānau. However, the positive moral values considered to be inherent in the notion of extended family ensure that the concept of whānau has remained a powerful metaphor for human connection in a Māori cultural setting.

The word 'whānau' carries cultural integrity, in contrast to what has been considered the overused, misused and abused notion of 'community' (Hobsbawm, 1994, p. 428). This is evident in the decision by Bishop and Glynn (1992) to use the term 'whānau of interest' to describe a team of researchers working within Māori values, in a context that may otherwise have been termed a 'community of interest'. They make the important point, while quoting Heshusius (1996), that applying metaphor is a potent means of influencing the perception of reality and "…is the very vehicle for shaping the content of consciousness…" (Bishop & Glynn, 2003, pp. 166-167). As a result, they extended on their previous work on research in a Māori setting (with the use of 'whānau of interest') to propose 'whakawhanaungatanga', as they describe it "…the process of establishing relationships in a Māori context…", be used as a key metaphorical symbol for research and pedagogy in Māori settings (pp. 173-175). Metge (2010) makes the observation that the metaphor of 'whānau' has continued to spread in use because of the positive cultural qualities identified with it. This also has not necessarily required there to be a direct association made with Māori environment, people or cultural practice. Instead it has been used to "…describe a group of mostly unrelated people working together for a common purpose…" (p. 84). Māori groups emphasise whakapapa connections and whānaungatanga as a "…source of both mana and aroha…" (p. 84) and therefore it remains an important cultural reference point for Māori organisations and community groups.

With the considerable prominence of kinship-based groupings in pre-contact Māori society the majority of terminology relating to social groupings is recognised as being formed through genealogy[10]. There was no specific word that could be easily associated with the

10 Other forms of grouping not specifically based on kinship include terms such as 'ohu' (a work party); 'tira' (a travelling group), but these would commonly have been formed because of whakapapa connection and are perhaps the most closely aligned with the notion of 'community' of practice.

present day concept of 'community'. The first major development of contemporary Māori terminology, *Te Matatiki*, was authored by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori[11] (1996) and was primarily derived from traditional words and concepts. In that publication 'community' was translated by the word 'hapori' (p. 153). Prior to this 'hapori' was genealogically centred as "…a section of a tribe, family…" (H. W. Williams, 1971, p. 36), which has been derived from the lexical root 'pori' denoting "...people, dependants..." (p. 294). In current use 'hapori' is most commonly applied as a direct interpretation of 'community', without any inference of kinship links. 'Hapori' was also included in *Te Matatiki* to denote the adjective 'social', and 'hapori whānui' was associated with 'society'. Subsequently a new term, 'pāpori', translates the word 'society' in the most recent dictionary *He Pātaka Kupu* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2009). Consequently, contemporary terminology distinguishes between kinship and non-kinship groupings, aligning with current English usage of the word 'community'. As a result, 'hapori' does not convey, in application, the same level of positivity or cultural integrity as that associated with the use of the word 'whānau'.

Whānau, Hapū and Iwi[12] Structure

The social networks in Aotearoa prior to contact with Pākehā, and continuing well into the 19th century, were dominated by kinship relationships of large, regionally-oriented tribal groupings (iwi), localised communities (hapū), and extended family units (whānau) founded on shared genealogical ties (Metge, 2010, pp. 81-82; R. Walker, 1996, p. 28). Hapū, in particular, maintained a strong presence in the economic activities and social structure of Māori society through until the middle of the 20th century (Ballara, 1998, pp. 219-220). Although the functioning communities that characterised hapū were adversely affected by post World War II urbanisation and its emphasis on assimilation, hapū have proven to be resilient in the interpretation of custom and traditional values and have adapted dynamically to influence business ventures, cultural practices and community support in today's environment (Webster, 1998). Hapū networks of descent commonly

11 The Māori Language Commission (an Autonomous Crown Entity, 'ACE')

12 Often referred to contiguously to indicate the traditional kinship-based structure of Māori society (Metge, 1995, p. 37).

trace lineage to a clearly identified common ancestor. They retained sovereignty, 'mana whenua', over their lands within distinct boundaries using well-defined landmarks[13].

Rigorously delineated regions of sovereignty meant hapū border limits were seldom heedlessly crossed and, therefore, communities restricted their resource gathering and social activities to within recognised territories. Historical accounts often highlight acts of retribution for transgression of mana whenua. Hapū did not necessarily hold allegiances with a single iwi, as links between an ancestor many generations previously or long-held historical accords with other more distant hapū and iwi could be used to leverage support for protection or hostility if required. Furthermore, individuals within whānau were not solely restricted to the location of their birth and upbringing because whakapapa linked people to multiple points of genealogical connection that could be reinforced through arrangements of marriage, adoption and formal visits or agreements (Metge, 1964, pp. 52-66; 1995). These conditions in the form of hapū reinforced a sense of local collective and reciprocity, with whānau relationships acting as the foundation of connection.

Communal ownership and collective activity were clearly evident almost one hundred years after contact with Europeans and remained so strong that the first Minister of Native Affairs, William Richmond, considered it a high priority to break up communal activity, particularly with legislation breaking up communal ownership of land. According to Richmond, one of the Government's primary roles regarding Māori was to eliminate "…the 'beastly communism' of Māori society by introducing private property in land…" (Sinclair, 2008). State policies governing land were largely effective in changing communal land ownership and shifting the land-based communities they sustained. In today's context the notion of 'community' is seldom founded in a sense of communal use of land, rather the land is divided into multiple shares among beneficial owners (T. Kingi, 2008). The exceptions to this are the relatively small blocks and reserves associated with papakāinga (communally owned settlement)[14] and marae, which many people have the ability to be affiliate to but few occupy.

13 The landmarks also become symbolic points of reference for group identity and are often recited in the form of pepeha when asserting membership or giving acknowledgement.

14 Communally owned living settlements

Contemporary Māori Kinship-based Society

Whānau, hapū and iwi in the past were temporal, that is, in a process of becoming, strengthening or receding. While they are often depicted as distinct levels of social units, seldom was it ever straightforward. Many uri (descendant) constituted a multi-generational whānau who were, or may have become, recognised as hapū, grouped with others to be acknowledged as hereditary iwi (Ballara, 1998; Buck, 1950, p. 333; Firth, 1959, p. 112). Therefore, changes among whānau had a direct impact on the structure and capacity of iwi. However, when the customary iwi were formally documented on official tribal lists in 1862, the lists were based on the records of government land purchase officers and the working knowledge of local resident magistrates and other officials, and many iwi were left out in the over-simplification of an extremely complex and shifting social network (Ballara, 1998, pp. 69-70). In effect, the tribal boundaries were reified or frozen at the time of the drawing up of the list, inclusive of inaccuracies and simplifications. With the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985 the territories of iwi were further fixed in time at the signing of the Treaty in 1840 (Maaka, 1994, p. 314). Subsequent bodies and government agencies have been established that have also failed to include some iwi, while other iwi have been able to have their presence officially recognised later (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p. 261).

Customary structures continue to be the basis of identification for individuals in the present day and have been the primary focus for determining membership[15] for resource allocation and management, and for the settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims (Mahuika, 2006, pp. 209-210; Mutu, 2006, p. 128). Applying this social structure in today's environment has been the subject of much debate, and there are few places where it has been more evident than within the hearing and settlement of Treaty-based claims. Two examples of this debate describe the perception of larger or more well recognised iwi subsuming those who are less well known, such as Waitaha in the South Island (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, pp. 196-198) and Ngāti Kurī in the North (Rata, 2000, pp. 177-180). Both

15 A contemporary example of recognition given for iwi connections is the provision of the web-based service, www.tuhono.net, provided by the New Zealand Electoral Enrolment Centre for individuals to formally register their iwi affiliations.

express concern with the way an iwi can be 'invisibilized'[16] by authorities and historical references in the past, and then accentuated by an adherence to those views during the Treaty settlement process. Rata describes what she refers to as the 'fossilisation' of iwi and rohe in early maps and official literature (ibid, pp. 168-169). If an iwi or hapū was not viewed favourably by public servants in the past their lands and, by inference, their status could be greatly diminished. Rata's term 'fossilisation' refers to these official histories and records that were often maintained in later publications and government dealings until the settlement process. While the argument appears valid, especially in the silencing of the voice of those iwi through time, Rata and Stewart-Harawira's argument continues to be drawn within the 'whānau-hapū-iwi' framework of the Waitangi Tribunal and demonstrates that the challenges are not based on the structure, but on its implementation.

Historical evidence, held by the State, may have sought to define iwi and hapū within an unambiguous system located at a particular point in time in the distant past. However, the trajectory of social identity in the intervening years is anything but linear. Ballara (1998, p. 30) makes the point in referring to Webster (1975) "…that most ethnologists have obscured spontaneous Māori usage of terms whānau, hapū and iwi with the notion of segmentary organisation…" (1998, p. 30). In seeking to resolve historical grievances within a limited timeframe, Māori society is confronted by Māori community in the diversity of its expression. Consequently, the tracing of how Māori society can be re-'structured' after more than 150 years of change has, unsurprisingly, led to an entrenchment of a reductionist structure, effectively deferring inclusion of invisibilised whānau[17], hapū[18] and iwi, the emerging urban, national and pan-tribal organisations, and the extensive diversity of individual identity.

An example of the complexity of defining an identification framework can be shown in the dilemma of fisheries allocation. After eleven years and two appearances at the Privy Council following the release of the Waitangi Tribunal report on fishing quota allocation,

16 An expression used by Makere Stewart-Harawira (2005, p. 197) to describe the way a social grouping is rendered invisible by the silencing of their voice or a failure to give acknowledgement to rights of authority.

17 For example, through the failure to record all members of whanau on land titles.

18 Especially through an over emphasis, in some regions, on the role of iwi in the day-to-day activities of communities.

WAI 307-The Fisheries Settlement Report (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992), the Crown negotiated the tensions to find a model for allocation to iwi entities and authorities representing the wider and mainly urbanised Māori population (Mahuika, 2006, pp. 240-243).[19] A key part of the dispute was the absence of a definition for the term 'iwi' in the 1992 Act[20] meaning the allocation of resources based mainly on traditional iwi structures was contended. The compromise of allocation resulted in a mix of coastline within iwi boundaries and a proportion of the quota for deep sea fisheries being set aside for the general Māori population (Webster, 2002, p. 357).

Non-Kinship-based Models of 'iwi'

Distinctly Māori organisations in urban or national settings, with inherently Māori cultural values and fulfilling many of the roles of tribes, have been described as forms of evolved modern tribes, highlighting the flexibility and dynamic adaptation characteristic of traditional Māori communities (Keiha & Moon, 2008). Further, the 1996 New Zealand Court of Appeal ruling by Sir Robin Cooke found that iwi was more appropriately defined as 'people' under the Treaty of Waitangi, as hapū describes both tribe and subtribe (Webster, 2002, p. 357). This ruling was significant legal recognition for non-whakapapa based Māori authorities and the validity of their activities alongside customary iwi bodies[21].

However, customary iwi challenged Cooke's decision in the Privy Council who overturned the ruling and requested a ruling be made in New Zealand to redefine the meaning of 'iwi' as it is used in the 1992 Treaty of Waitangi Settlements Act. The subsequent decision by Justice B.J. Paterson of the New Zealand High Court in 1998 was that "…urban groups were not 'iwi' for the purposes of allocation" (Maaka & Fleras, 2000, p. 106). Paterson also highlighted the responsibility of customary iwi to ensure an effective distribution of

19 In the case of the Fisheries Settlement population size determined the size of resource allocated to an iwi i.e. 75% of deep water fisheries is distributed to iwi based solely on population. The remainder relates to the proportion of coastline within iwi boundaries. The 1992 Deed of Settlement's clause 4.5.1 sought to allocate "…ultimately for the benefit of all Māori…". However, the mechanisms for doing so are not easily identified and remain a constant dilemma for many iwi representatives who manage this resource (UNPFII, retrieved 25 July 2011).

20 Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992

21 An earlier report, produced by the Waitangi Tribunal (1998), WAI414 in the case of Te Whānau o Waipareira, also gave recognition to the status of Urban Māori Authorities with regard to resource allocation for services by government agencies and funding bodies.

benefits from the settlement for all Māori[22]. A further appeal on Paterson's ruling by Urban Māori Authorities along with Te Arawa and Muriwhenua Iwi resulted in a split decision in 1999. Justice Paterson's ruling was then referred back to the Privy Council in 2001 who dismissed the appeal, supporting the position that "…the 1992 act – unequivocally intended allocation only to traditional *iwi…*" (Webster, 2002, p. 370). The fisheries dispute reached a compromise on the allocation of the 10% of total fishing quota set aside for Treaty settlements in 1989 by providing quota to customary iwi with 100% of inshore fisheries and 25% of deep-water fisheries, to be distributed by the proportion of coastline iwi were deemed to have occupied traditionally. The contemporary iwi (urban authorities) receive 75% of deep-water fisheries distributed based on Māori population (Mahuika, 2006, pp. 242-243). This lengthy period of litigation between customary iwi and urban authorities captures the level of strain Māori social groupings are exposed to both in finding a compelling 'voice' for the social, cultural and political conditions they face and in gaining access to an equitable portion of public resources. Convincing arguments have been made in the courts and tribunal hearings for the validity of Māori authorities not founded on kinship (as shown in the fisheries allocation dispute), yet the inherent characteristics of indigeneity identified in the 1983 United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations working definition may have been compromised. In particular, the first criteria identifying them as being "…descendants of groups, which were in the territory at the time when other groups of different cultures … arrived…" (Motard, 2007, p. 242). However, it remains clear that self-identification and mutual acceptance by other indigenous groups remains a critical part of the process for recognition.

Urban Māori Authorities

The cultural integrity and continuity of customary iwi has had to come to terms with the presence of the political and social realities of Urban Māori Authorities. Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust is a prominent example of the later form of authority. They appear to have struggled to be recognised, in spite of having a reasonably sound relationship with customary iwi holding mana whenua in the area. The main difficulty has been in the

22 This recognised the intent of the 1992 act to benefit 'all Māori' (Meijl, 2006, p. 179).

escalation of debate between customary iwi and urban authorities over the allocation of fisheries and public sector resources (Tapsell, 2002, pp. 166-167). The Trust broke new ground on the 16th of December 1993, when Haki Wihongi lodged Waipareira's claim (WAI 414) with the Waitangi Tribunal (1998, p. 257) as the first urban Māori authority (UMA) to formally contend with the Tribunal "…that a non-tribal group of Māori has rights under the Treaty of Waitangi" (p. xxii). Their claim was made on behalf of a significant emerging community movement attempting to meet the needs of

> "…the 'orphaned and the lost', who had drifted into the city, looking for work and out of touch with home. In West Auckland, they found a core of people much like themselves, who … had survived the rigours of relocation and had turned to membership of welfare committees to help others…". (p. 77)

Their statements described the formation of a community with a core set of values that were inherently Māori in nature but did not conform to a whakapapa-based structure. "…[T]he principle of reciprocity and loyalty between kin in a tribal group had been transposed into a group of non-kin at Waipareira and enhanced through their common endeavour of building the marae…" (pp. 77-78). The Waipareira claim highlighted the issues of a widespread policy shortfall that arose from the Government's interpretation of who 'iwi' are, particularly by the Community Funding Agency (CFA) and the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) with its policy document 'Puao-te-Atatū' that had identified three policy goals. First was the need for the DSW to become more bicultural in order to serve Māori clients better and the second was the need for tribal structures to be strengthened through greater Māori involvement in policy development and service delivery and greater accountability by the Department to Māori. The third was the need for the Department to coordinate urgent Government action to address the social crisis that was developing in the Māori community, especially within the major urban settings (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, p. 112).

The intention of the first goal was focused on the Department's capacity and practice, while the third goal was focussed on the 'social crisis' of Māori living in the large cities, something the Urban Māori Authorities would be well suited to respond to. Waipareira sought to contest the second policy goal, which made a clear point to strengthen customary tribal structures for greater involvement in policy, service provision and review. Peter Boag, the Tribunal's expert witness on Puao-te-Ata-tū policy, advised that its "…long-

term aim to strengthen traditional Māori structures by a variety of means … had become distorted by the narrower and primary focus upon the development of iwi groups as service providers" (p. 162). For Waipareira, the status of a Māori authority afforded them with the means to participate as a Māori community in a pan-tribal urban setting but found they were "…unlikely to qualify…" for funding such as that of CFA (ibid). With regard to their engagement with DSW, the Tribunal found that "…advice the department received through its consultation was consistent with its conclusion that only kin-based iwi and hapū exercised the rangatiratanga[[23]] guaranteed protection in articles 2, and were thereby the Crown's Treaty partners entitled to special consideration" (p. 208). This perception by DSW ensured tribal groups were given a higher priority than pan-tribal groups such as Te Whānau o Waipareira who challenged that perception. Legal advice sought by DSW confirmed that only social services under customary iwi could be designated "…iwi social services…" under section 396 of the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 (p. 209).

The Tribunal "…found that the non-kin based … Trust did exercise a rangatiratanga in caring for, nurturing, and fostering those who had sought help … and became Te Whānau o Waipareira, a community with its cultural centre at the Hoani Waititi Marae" (pp. 77-78). The formation of a traditional oriented marae[24] became the foundation of what could be deemed a Māori authority with rangatiratanga and the ability to enact a full range of cultural practices commonly associated with a customary iwi. Hoani Waititi Marae was built[25] utilising strong geographical landmarks as cultural reference points – Titirangi its maunga and Waitakere its awa – but maintained a pan-tribal or, as Pita Sharples preferred to refer to it, an 'inter-tribal' stance (Diamond, 2003, p. 204). While the mana whenua of Ngāti Whātua is well established, it was apparent to the Tribunal that the relationship

23 The word 'rangatiratanga' is a much debated concept, particulary in relation to the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi. To summarise the arguement, in oral usage 'rangatiratanga' is associated with 'tino rangatiratanga', commonly considered to align with the notion of sovereignty, autonomy or independence ('tino' is an intensifier). 'Rangatiratanga' can be thought of as a lesser form of sovereignty, such as local self-determination, and interpreted to be decentralised or devolved rights and responsibilities.

24 The marae utilises traditional protocols of whaikōrero (paeke) appropriate to the tribal boundaries of local iwi, Ngāti Whātua and Te Kawerau a Maki. However, it does allow other groups to use the marae and apply marae protocol from other regions for the duration of their stay (www.maraedirectory.com, accessed 21/07/11).

25 This marae complex became established with the opening of the dining room in 1978 and its carved wharenui, Ngā Tūmanako, was opened in 1980, serving as a community facility for Māori culture and identity in West Auckland. Named after the renowned educationalist Hoani Waititi, who died in 1965 aged 39 years, the marae became inherently associated with the leadership of Pita and Aroha Sharples who had formed and led the successful kapa-haka group 'Te Roopu Manutaki' in 1968 (L. T. Smith, 2008).

between Ngāti Whatua and Waipareira was very healthy and needed to be "…protected and maintained…" and that neither group was "…motivated by the desire to deny the other's just rights and entitlements" (p. 226). Clearly the conditions in which Waipareira operated in the mid-90's and, one could assume, has been able to maintain into the present day are considerably well developed and do not appear to represent a breakaway faction of Māori community working at odds with local tribal groups. Determining how well developed the conditions need to be in order to be recognised as effective Māori authority may be considered less clear. The Tribunal suggested that regional consultation forums need to be provided by DSW, inviting all Māori groups to attend to "…come together, acknowledge the rangatiratanga of each other in accordance with Māori custom and, on this basis, seek a consensus on how best to apply whatever funding is available for welfare services, so as to maximise their rangatiratanga" (ibid). Maximising rangatiratanga is essentially equivalent to the empowerment, development and recognition of a community with a goal of effective community action.

> …[S]upport and loyalty of the community is a vital ingredient of rangatiratanga, and that flows from the exercise of choice by individuals. Rangatiratanga cannot be imposed on the people – the people choose their own rangatira and create their own communities. This aspect of their rangatiratanga, by which Māori control their own group formation and representation, is also guaranteed protection by the Crown in terms of the Treaty. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, p. 219)

Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust (1984) were joined by other UMA: the Manukau Urban Māori Authority Incorporated (1986) based in Manukau, Te Runanga o Nga Maata Waka Incorporated (1989) in Christchurch, Te Roopu Awhina ki Porirua Trust (1990) in Porirua, and Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa Charitable Trust (1988) in Hamilton (www.numa.org.nz, accessed 25/09/11). These Urban Māori Authorities were formed because of social and cultural dislocation similar to that expressed by Waipareira. They argue that there are now as many as 80% of Māori people living in urban environments and 70% live outside their tribal region (ibid). These organisations do not seek to be recognised as customary iwi or to establish kinship-based services. They are not too dissimilar to other social justice community organisations managing social services for a range of clients/users, the majority of whom are Māori. They operate in urban settings, with the distinction of actively promoting and applying a Māori culture and identity. The objectives of the Manukau

authority provide a good example of the organisational vision for such authorities. That is to

> …positively influence thousands of people's lives… [and] …offer a strong foundation for the continued support of urban Māori through several outreach programmes, and provide the vital sense of whānau and belonging that Māori often feel they lose when moving to a foreign city" (www.muma.org.nz, accessed 21/09/11).

A further example of an urban Māori authority has been founded on Christian values and religious doctrine. Te Runanga a Iwi o Te Oranga Ake (TOA), incorporated in 2008, is the most recent UMA to be established. This move by the Destiny Church (Destiny Church, 2008) signalled a further level of complexity for the notion of Māori authority. TOA has incorporated faith-based approaches alongside pre-existing expectations, social and environmental responsibilities, prudent management, and cultural integrity. Destiny has been described (www.teara.govt.nz, accessed 21/09/11) as a Pentecostal fundamentalist Christian movement launched in 2001 by Brian Tamaki. They created their own form of UMA with the intention of including community services and the achievement of rangatiratanga for Māori, outside of tribal structures, under the foremost objective faith in God. Tamaki planned for the development of "…a pan-iwi organisation called Iwi Tapu, or 'Sacred Iwi'…" (Carew, 2009, p. 103). A UMA designation makes TOA potentially eligible for funding through the Government's contracted community services and social programmes, and a recent Destiny Church's press statement has made known the lodging of a Treaty claim in 2008 by TOA "…on behalf of its members, which number 6000 Māori in urban areas. The basis of the claim is no different to other Urban Māori Authorities." Further, George Ngatai, CEO of TOA, states that their claim was made with legal advice that confirmed a consistency of their organisation with similar claims and that their Māori members were "...entitled to the rights afforded under Article 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi…" (Destiny Church, 2010).

Iwi Authorities[26] and Iwi Rūnanga[27]

Customary iwi have also moved to establish organisational structures with the ability to manage services over a full range of socio-economic matters, including contracts to provide social services, managing assets and accessing resources from the Crown, especially those arising from Treaty settlements. The designation of tribal rūnanga and iwi authority are often given to these organisations. The call made in the 1984 Hui Taumata - Māori Economic Summit (Durie, 1998) for significant changes to be made to achieve greater Māori access to resources and support for effective self-management added weight behind iwi organisational initiatives. In the wake of radical changes made by the fourth Labour Government in response to gloomy economic forecasts, the State sought to encourage economic reform with direct involvement of customary iwi in the provision of public services (Moon, 2010). Radical change in economic policy was the main emphasis initiated by the 1984 Lange Government that was characterised by a shift to New Right political and economic ideology. It rationalised the sale of state-owned assets and allowed the marketplace, with consumer driven influence, to reform the public and private sector. Iwi, at first, showed enthusiasm for the reduced role of the State. However, when state assets were being rapidly sold, enthusiasm quickly turned to alarm as the State's capacity to provide redress for Treaty grievances was being greatly weakened with the privatisation of core assets such as railways, power generation, telecommunications, forestry and broadcasting, and the commodification and sale of redefined assets such as radio spectrum and transferrable fishing quota (Easton, 1997).

Through the latter half of the 80's many customary iwi[28] and Māori organisations[29] formed legal entities that prepared to better coordinate their existing activities and manage new

26 Iwi Authorities described under the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990 were recognised as "...corporate groups elected by an iwi, or a group of iwi, to deal with the government on its behalf" (Maaka, 1994, p. 332). Following the 1990 Act's repeal in 1991, there is less clarity around its current meaning. Interpretation under the Resource Management Act (1991) states that "...iwi authority means the authority which represents an iwi and which is recognised by that iwi as having authority to do so" (Part 1, Interpretation and Application).

27 Establishment of 'rūnanga' (based on districts) was proposed by Government as far back as Governor Grey's second term in 1862 (Martin, 2010, p. 63; O'Malley, 2007). Indeed the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 made provision, under section 71, for districts with self government over Māori 'laws', 'customs' and 'usages' "...so far as they are not repugnant to the general principles of Humanity..." ("The New Zealand Constitution Act," 1852 15 and 16 Victoria, Cap. 72, Sec.71.). The current form of Iwi rūnanga implied in this section relates to Iwi entities established under their particular separate rūnanga acts, for example Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa Act 2005 and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua Act 1988.

28 Ngāti Porou was one of the first to be given statutory recognition with the passing of the Te Runanga o Ngāti Porou Act 1987 No 182

29 Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust was formed in 1984 (www.waipareira.com) and followed two years later by the Manukau Urban Māori Authority (www.muma.org.nz).

initiatives for development. The passing of the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990 attempted to provide legal status to iwi, drawing opposition from the pan-tribal organisation Māori Congress. However, the Act failed to be enacted effectively when it was quickly repealed, the Rūnanga Iwi Act Repeal Act 1991, after the election of a National Government with a change in policy direction. 'Ka Awatea' (1991) was a policy document advanced by the new Minister of Māori Affairs, Winston Peters (Bourassa & Strong, 2000, p. 169). Policies of devolution saw the closure of the Department of Māori Affairs[30] and it was replaced by the Tira Ahu Iwi: Iwi Transition Agency (TAI) and Manatū Māori: Ministry of Māori Affairs. These agencies were also short-lived, with the new National Government integrating their services into the one agency, Te Puni Kōkiri: Ministry of Māori Development, (TPK)[31] "…permanently removing the former department's service delivery capacity" (Maaka, 1994, pp. 316-317).

Devolution of services and the acquisition of large holdings of high value assets carried an associated risk when tribal and community organisations initially had limited resources, skills and experience in organisational management. Very high levels of compliance and reporting were the corollary of that risk, carrying correspondingly high management costs, and a corporate-styled approach evolved (Frederick & Henry, 2004, p. 127). Conversely, the rates of employment of skilled and highly-skilled workers over the 90's have shown the highest rate of growth, implying "...Māori were increasingly becoming managers, professionals, and technicians..." (Moon, 2010, p. 31). Strong criticism has regularly targeted the growing corporate elite and, as a consequence, a failure to adequately distribute the benefits of iwi assets and services across the wider range of tribal membership (Maaka, 1994, p. 329; Stewart-Harawira, 2005, pp. 193-194; Webster, 2002, p. 363). Others, such as Durie (2005c), have remained more optimistic that tools currently being employed to develop the rangatiratanga and capacity of iwi will, in time, be less of a priority than the tools used to establish and sustain "…capacities for caring, for creating whānau wealth, for whānau planning, for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and skills within whānau, and for the wise management of whānau estates" (p. 10).

30 Māori Affairs Restructuring Act 1989

31 Ministry of Māori Development Act 1991

A further key point of contention is the way in which the political sovereignty, that was a major focus of the early challenges against the Crown, has been submerged within the rampant commercial interests of neoliberal state policy under the guise of economic sovereignty. Full and final settlement of historical grievances effectively shuts down the political voice of iwi against the State, in so far as it relates to points of historical breaches (Bargh, 2007a, pp. 26-27). Rather than requiring the Ministry of Māori Development to broker agreements, some iwi have been able to advance issues and projects within a more direct 'whole of government' approach[32]. Political sovereignty is a recognition of 'mana' and, for iwi, this primarily relates to their traditional tribal territory. The political voice of iwi became quiet when 'mana' became associated with 'kaitiakitanga' and partnership relationships with the Crown. Head (2006) makes the argument that the notion of 'mana' was greatly diminished with the emphasis given to 'whakapapa' by the settler government administration, the Native Land Court, and ethnographers such as Percy S. Smith, who relied on whakapapa information to verify accounts of tradition. Whakapapa became the primary evidence at hearings of disputes over land grants, and in hearing the status of witnesses. Political power, states Head, once rested with aristocratic lines in their traditional role of ensuring the mana of their iwi was enhanced, but when the institutions of government centred their attention on whakapapa, Māori thinking changed to avoid "…the question of *mana* in favour of a less political, and much more easily institutionalised *whakapapa*, or which made *mana* a result of *whakapapa*…" (p. 42). Emerging values of egalitarianism in English culture would have also contributed to this change. Egalitarianism continues to shape the call from Urban Māori Authorities to have population, with the weight of numbers in cities, recognised in their request for a direct Treaty relationship with the Crown.

Distributing political benefits through current iwi frameworks is greatly assisted with developments in communications technology. Distributing economic benefits is more problematic. In some regions iwi authorities have directed economic benefit through cultural assets (marae, local rūnanga, events, exhibitions, artworks, and so forth), where members are more likely to engage with the tribe and reinforce their identity with whānau,

32 A similar approach is applied by the Australian Federal Government in its dealings with aboriginal peoples.

hapū and iwi. For example, in the Tainui region the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust (2010) was established under the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995 to be responsible for Waikato's settlement assets. In 2009 and 2010 the Trust distributed close to $3.5 million for marae facility development and $2 million to 68 marae in the form of grants based on the numbers of registered beneficiaries. Over and above this the Trust grants funding to the Office of the Māori King, to students to assist with education and to sports promotion (p. 30). With assets of $644 million in 2010, and a considerable business infrastructure, the Trust makes a substantial economic contribution within their rohe (p. 9).

Each iwi continues to develop systems and practices appropriate to their distinctive regional context. Stewart-Harawira (2005) cites Graham Smith's description contrasting the 'cultural tribe' formed mainly within customary parameters with the 'state tribe', appearing in the 1980's, sanctioned with the responsibility of devolved responsibility of the State's welfare targets. Smith goes further, proposing the notion of 'corporate tribe' motivated within the activities of "…trade of assets…" and "…highly paid economic consultancies…" (pp. 193-194). Smith's observations reflect the concern expressed among Māori communities that there is a risk that responsibility to beneficiaries is managed within established Western models of commercial management such as a shareholder structure (Bargh, 2007a, p. 40). It is important to consider the comments Maaka (1994) referred to earlier, that the formation of new tribal entities, following the interruption of customary continuity due to detribalisation in the previous century, can only be achieved with a complete redefinition of iwi for today's context (p. 329).

Māori Community – Key Points

It has been important to present a clear explanation of 'community' in contemporary usage and the historical context that has influenced its persistent use in present day society. The word remains an ambiguous reference applied in a variety of social groups and cultural contexts. Vagueness in its meaning relates to the perception of positivity, human connection and collective action that was imbued within it through the period of classical to late modernity (late 18th century to late 20th century). 'Community' is often contrasted with 'society', which is considered to be impersonal, contractual, task focussed

and individualistic. Because the concept of society is closer to the current social organisation of the majority population, for example maintaining freedom of choice, multiple forms of identity, and secular beliefs, some writers argue strongly that community is a utopian aspiration that is unlikely to be achieved in today's environment.

Further, all forms of community larger than primordial forms of village are contended by Anderson (1991) to be socially constructed. This includes nations, which he refers to as 'imagined' political communities. He observed the dominance of subjective nationalities in global interaction post-World War II and that they are hypostasised as physical representations of identity and transferred to individuals as a collective where "…in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality, as he or she 'has' a gender…" (p. 5). Political agendas and economic ideology have sought, from their various perspectives, to either weaken or strengthen the agency of local communities. The example provided above is the emphasis given to the individual, motivated by self-interest and subject to market forces, in the Thatcher led Conservative government (1979 to 1990) of the United Kingdom, and the recent priority change given to support community agency and devolved local control in the Cameron-led Conservative government elected in 2010 under the catchphrase 'big society not big government' (Cameron, 2010; Conservative Party, 2010). The activities of contemporary communities are the product of politics of representation and identity, and the influences of social deprivation and inequality.

Māori community can be understood within the construct of indigeneity. It is a designation politically determined as descendants of the original inhabitants from the point of first contact with Europeans. As an indigenous people, Māori are accorded some degree of rights associated with the legacy of their heritage. This contrasts with the political, social and economic motivations of nationality where Māori signifies ethnicity, recognised as a segment of the New Zealand population. The designation in the context of ethnicity can be used to identify standards of performance, participation rates, levels of deprivation or areas of need. Indigeneity for Māori groups is an expression of identity that does not necessarily mean a collective national indigenous identity. It is a designation that refers to localised identity, particularly affiliations with iwi in a regional sense of

connection, with hapū as a functional community based on customary connection, and with whānau as a network of whakapapa connection.

The United Nations recognises the rights of indigenous peoples in addition to basic human rights. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIPs) includes, for example, the right to be recognised as different and distinct, to practise and revitalise their language, customs and traditions, and to exercise self-determination. Included with this is the right of indigenous peoples to self-identify. Among Māori people many would feel that simple ethnic identity is insufficient for describing how they wish to be recognised.[33]

The right to self-identify in a post-modern and market-driven society underpins the political and social tension that exists among Māori communities, especially customary iwi authorities and urban, pan-tribal Māori authorities. Urban Māori Authorities can be considered ethnic, indigenous community asserting their right of self-identification and "… right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (UNWGIP, 2007, p. 4). One of the main areas of contention between the two groupings is the authority to deliver services best aligned to the needs of members, to determine what those needs are and to manage resources. With the advent of a neo-liberal shift in policy and legislation towards the devolution of services to Māori, the groups have competed with each other. Coupled with the allocation of Treaty settlement resources the legal challenges, debates in public media and political positioning demonstrate the level of pressure being placed on customary tribal rūnanga and on new urban pan-tribal authorities to access resources and respond to the demands of their membership.

The most prominent difference in how the expression 'Māori community' is used relates to contrasting interests associated with kinship-based social structures and ethnicity-based groupings. In early times, following European contact, identity for most Māori would have been iwi, hapū and whānau affiliations. The tendency for people to disregard traditional

33 An example can be seen in the 2006 census data where just under 16% of people who identified as Māori did not know their Iwi (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Although this does not imply those people do not want to recognise their Iwi based identity, it does indicate the percentage of the population who are capable of associating themselves with the identity of one or more Iwi.

iwi links in favour of an ethnic category of 'Māori' is a recent development. This shift is most likely the result of the increased mobility of whānau and the post-war drive for the urbanisation of close-knit rural Māori communities. Living outside of tribal regions reduced participation in tribal activities. The residue of past state policy, for the assimilation of Māori into Pākehā lifestyles and culture, has also been an obvious reason for diminished customary identity. It is therefore important when making reference to 'Māori community' that a clear description is given regarding the group's expression of identity and the characteristics of their distinct form of community.

Summary

This chapter has explored the expression of Māori community. Essentially, the notion of Māori community is a broadly focussed, ethnicity-based reference concealing an extensive array of localised identities and representations of their culture. Each one of the groupings is capable of being associated with, or recognised as, a community. Furthermore, the term 'community' is subject to an uncertainty of meaning that most often simply refers to a group of people who share some form of social connection. The range of groupings to whom 'community' is applied is considerable. They are best described in terms of the nature of their formation.

C H A P T E R   3

MĀORI DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

'Development' has been addressed in a chapter separate from the concept of 'community' because both terms are sites of much debate and analysis, and have been open to wide interpretation at best and misinterpretation and abuse at worst. This chapter first acknowledges goals of development over a timeframe of two centuries. The second emphasis is given to linking the previous chapter on 'community' with the notion of development and how it is expressed today. Finally, Māori development is examined in historical terms, its themes and origins through to the present day. Most notable in this analysis is the rise of neoliberalism that punctuated New Zealand's history with the election of the fourth Labour Government in 1984. For Māori, on the back of significant activism and protest through the 1960s and 1970s for their rights to be recognised, this change in economic ideology provided an opportunity to demand their needs be responded to. This signalled the beginning of the "Decade of Māori Development" that has reconfigured the nature of the Treaty relationship between Māori and the Crown. This chapter presents the examination of contemporary Māori development as a framework for analysis of development initiatives among the three case studies of this research.

The Meaning of Development

In 1966, Freyssinet (cited in Shirley, 1982) identified over 300 different ways for the word 'development' to be interpreted. Its meaning varied greatly depending on space, in terms of geographical separation; on time, in the form of stages of improvement and "…from civilisation to civilisation…"; and was based on points of difference "…according to goals, standards and values…" (p. 13). Perceptions of development are further noted by Shirley to be heavily influenced by ideologies of authority and are subject to the positioning for,

and maintenance of, status and prestige through the distribution of resources, knowledge and power. In recent times, the influence of globalisation and the world's ecological crisises of rising population, pollution and resource depletion have challenged modernity's vision of continuous growth and development. Westernisation as a theme of development has also been strongly re-examined with the rise of Asia's economic power and the demands for local identity and cultural diversity (Pieterse, 2009).

Development as a field of study became recognised in the post World War II (WWII) period of reconstruction, especially linked with the Marshall Plan of 1947 whereby European countries received large amounts of development focused aid to rebuild their industrial economies (Toomey, 2011). However, the funds made available under the plan were conditional on the integration of society and economies into a United States vision of how the world should be ordered, including the pervasive dominance of English and its cultural norms (Phillipson, 2007, pp. 128-129). Development studies was grounded in a structuralist[34] and then post-structuralist[35] critique of the configuration and reconfiguration of how international aid was used for reconstruction in the wake of WWII and for responding to recurring natural disasters and human tragedies within developing nations. The appeal in the reference to 'development' in its early stages was linked with an associated earnestness for growth, improvement and compassion in contrast to the effects of war.

Change in Development Perspectives

Pieterse (2009) describes perspectives of development through a timeline of stages of changing thought, as presented in Table 2 (ref. p.65). His timeline begins in the 1800s, with the notion of 'development' responding to the detrimental impact of social and economic

34 Structuralism in the field of 'development' attempts to broadly control the socioeconomic and political structure that lies beneath, and gives rise to, conditions of underdevelopment. It seeks to achieve a particular development ends by asserting an administrative/government-based, and somewhat antimarket, wide-ranging influence over the economy to effect change in business and market behaviour (Arndt, 1985). For example, advocates for developing countries, such as Raul Prebisch from Argentina, sought to confront developed nations and transnational business by regulating their activities in order to control domestic inflation (Jameson, 1986).

35 A post-structuralist critique placed "...serious doubt not only on the feasibility but on the very desirability of development..." (Escobar, 2000, p. 11). This work has led to the notion of 'post-development', with a rejection of the objectives of 'development' as "...the exercise of power over..." Third World peoples and developing nations (Kiely, 1999, p. 30). Post-structuralism became prominent through the 1960s and 1970s, was especially derived from the works of European social theorists such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, and is closely associated with post-modernism. It is primarily the sustained critique of structure inherent within institutions, discourse, systems and tradition.

progress manifested as joblessness, squalor, social dysfunction, abuse and illness, particularly due to rising urban populations. Development activities sought to alleviate that impact and assist communities to 'catch-up' with their temporal delay in keeping up with the pace of progress. By the 1870s industrialisation was a development priority for national wealth generation in contrast to the poverty and social dislocation experienced among sections of the population. 'Colonial economies' with access to the colony's substantial resources became prominent as industry's demand for raw materials for production failed to be met locally. Development in this sense involved the exploitation of colonial resources. Pieterse describes this as particularly the case in the early stages. He contends that colonialism in its later forms attempted to play a trusteeship role with an acknowledgement of interests of native populations. Many indigenous peoples would seek to dispute such a view, arguing exploitation was the prominent objective in the later stages of colonialism (Simon et al., 2001; L. T. Smith, 1999), a point he recognises by noting the actions of colonial interests also worked to undermine indigenous endeavours to establish initiatives of local manufacturing and industry in order to ensure the ready supply of raw materials to European industry.

Table 2: Meanings of development over time

Period	Perspectives	Meanings of Development
1800s	Classical political economy	Remedy for progress, catching-up
1870 >	Latecomers	Industrialisation, catching-up
1850 >	Colonial economies	Resource management, trusteeship
1940 >	Development economies	Economic growth – industrialisation
1950 >	Modernisation theory	Growth, political and social modernisation
1960 >	Dependency theory	Accumulation – national, autocentric
1970 >	Alternative development	Human flourishing
1980 >	Human development	Capacitation, enlargement of people's choices
1980 >	Neoliberalism	Economic growth – structural reform, deregulation, liberalisation, privatisation
1990 >	Post-development	Authoritarian engineering, disaster
2000 >	Millennium Development Goals	Structural reforms

Adapted from *Development theory: deconstructions/reconstructions* by J. N. Pieterse (2009, p. 7)

'Development economies' in Table 2 identifies the 1940s, following the devastation of two World Wars, as the renewed focus on development and the beginning of contemporary Western development. In this period of post-war crisis, growth and development were given high priority and remained centred on restoring economic strength to ruined economies. International aid targeted reconstruction as a pathway forward, with an emphasis that has been shown to have advantaged the West (Toomey, 2011). Third World countries struggled with the intent of development, particularly in the post-colonial redefinition of their states. The impetus for aid provided in support of the poorest and most politically ruined of countries following the flight of coloniser states "…in the early post-World War II period was the 'discovery' of mass poverty in Asia, Africa, and Latin America…" (Escobar, 1995, p. 21). World powers had been preoccupied by the high priority given to Europe's destroyed economy and a struggle to resist the threat of a

communist revolution in the Third World (Braden & Mayo, 1999, p. 192). The poorest of nations bore the brunt of much of the economic fallout after the war.

> Over 1,500,000 million people, something like two-thirds of the world population, are living in conditions of acute hunger, defined in terms of identifiable nutritional disease. This hunger is at the same time the cause and effect of poverty, squalor, and misery in which they live (Wilson, 1953, p.11 cited in Escobar, 1995, p. 21).

'Modernisation' through progress, in areas such as education and new technologies, became a greater focus in the 1950s, retaining a strong theme of Westernisation. The accumulation of capital by states was viewed as a positive goal through the 1960s, leading to many small land holdings being forced to change long-maintained farming practices to maximise produce for export with single variety crops (Shirley, 2007, p. 2). This dependency on national economic growth to the detriment of locally sustainable practices resulted in the serious underdevelopment of communities. By the 1970s, the emphasis for development shifted back to the needs of communities and an ethically based flourishing of human rights and responsibilities. The subsequent decade highlighted 'human development', with priority given to people having personal choices available and having the capacity to make decisions and determine their future. This theme was accompanied by a connected notion of 'neoliberalism' where the economy became deregulated and where the state reduced its role. People were reframed in terms of consumer trends influencing the marketplace. The concept of economic empowerment led to widespread structural reform using the market to determine development through economic growth. This over-emphasis on business development and the market is described by Pieterse as "…an anti-development perspective not in terms of goals but in terms of means" (2009, p. 7). 'Post-development' maintains a more radical anti-development view that cast "…serious doubt not only on the feasibility but on the very desirability of development" (Escobar, 2000, p. 11). The theory is based on a post-structuralist critique of what was considered to be the disastrous effect of development on communities, repudiating the goal of economic growth and challenging the State's role in development. Finally, Table 2 describes 'Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) generated by an assembly of the world's heads of state in 2000 to move away from the concept of growth located at the centre of development. They recognised that no development initiative had made significant gains in addressing critical issues such as poverty and disempowerment

(Fukuda-Parr, 2004; White, 2006). Therefore, eight goals were confirmed "…poverty, education, gender equality, child mortality, maternal health, HIV/AIDS and other diseases, environment, and global partnership…" (Fukuda-Parr, 2004, p. 395). It was proposed that these goals be placed at the centre of the United Nations' agenda for development, with targets set for 2015 (McMullan, 2009; Steer, 2010).

Pieterse's Table 2 outlines broadly the changes in perspective of 'development' subject to social, political and economic influences at various periods over two centuries. Economic growth has featured prominently, as has the strong influence of Western culture and political practice. Programmes of development that have striven for growth may be feasible in some local contexts but it has become more obvious, that global development cannot be sustained by growth. Both government and non-governmental organisations now approach development projects in general terms of human need consistent with national and international approaches for the effective management of resources, population and economies. These are identified in the form of eight MDGs.

Development's Cultural Context

Modernist perspectives of future society were applied with fervour among developing countries in an attempt to empower people through assimilation within Western economic systems. Programmes and strategies were directed within the cultural guidelines of the development planners. The result accentuated underdevelopment. Impoverishment became systematised globally as culturally diverse peoples were marginalised and struggled within the ethnocentrism of developmentalism (Pieterse, 2009). Prevailing thought encouraged a unitary official language of the state and school curricula. This view of a single national language conformed with Western culture, globally consistent standards of practice, and the redeployment of private/public resources to build economic infrastructure for growth (Phillipson, 2007).

Development included responses to deprivation that singled out the socio-cultural capability of the poor and many minority indigenous peoples as a determinant of underdevelopment. It therefore focussed on performance to standards aligned with

nationalism and international communities. Commonly held perspectives of linguistic and cultural deprivation were correlated with perspectives of deficiencies in nutrition, knowledge or personal and collective capacity. Power and growth in the post-WWII period was inextricably linked to the effectiveness of relationships with the major global powers of the time, in particular, the United States, Russia and Western Europe. As a result, programmes of development and aid typically "... set out to transform behaviours and values. Cultural change was seen as a key element in strategies for economic development ... if 'developing' countries were to follow the path of the 'developed' West" (Braden & Mayo, 1999, p. 192).

Culture is implicated in power. Levels and structures of power that exist in society are reflected in the levels and structures of development and are characterised with their respective cultural norms. Development goals derived from international interests and fostered in developing countries retain the residue of cultural expectation linked with developed countries. Although, in the past, it has been commonly considered appropriate for development planners to impose their development measures, subsequent practice has allowed developing countries to re-frame development within their own culture. This was essentially "culture-specific packaging" for the kernel of development that was economic growth (Rist, 1990). More recent moves in development have highlighted finding local solutions to local development needs. In regard to this Pieterse (2009) identifies three cultural dimensions of development. The first and most instrumental level is that of local communities. Empowerment at a local level of development is not so much an enculturation of communities within the norms of development planning, but an expression and achievement of local aspirations for appropriate forms of development. The second dimension is that of national culture. Attempts to subsume local cultural identity within a nationalised identity fail to recognise the importance of micro-level actors. Therefore, national interests need to act to empower community initiatives in local culture to be successful, while managing at the same time national relationships and international development imperatives. Pieterse (ibid) identified development planners as the third cultural dimension. The culture of development is aligned with that of global interests and relationships of international power. Local community development planning implies a dimension of grass-roots movement with a self-defined vision of the

future. However, Pieterse is also quick to state that such a movement is unlikely to occur in isolation from the other cultural dimensions. Localised development programmes are more realistically achieved with some interdependence on national and global interests.

Community Development

The earliest forms of community development can be linked with cooperative tenant farming activities over 5000 years ago or with the beginning of communitarian villages where individuals acted collectively for the benefit of the community (Chile, 2006, p. 408). Community development can be considered a natural part of supporting the sustainability of communities. Lewis (2006) suggests the widely held understanding of community development is based on a very practical sense of the desire of people to improve their communities. As a result, practice always tends to precede theory (p. 4). There are also practitioners in community development who deny the validity of theory in the field "…because it is generated only at a distance…" and emanates from theoreticians in high status positions "…making careers on the backs of the practical vanguard of community improvement workers and organizers" (Cook, 1994, p. 2). There is a danger that the highly political nature of the redeployment of resources to communities overly influences theory and its application. From the 1950's onward, conceptualising the nature of community development in theory has been driven in real terms by inequality and enablement, and subject to local, national and global relationships. As practice has adapted and advanced through the natural activities of communities, theory has subsequently evolved.

It is commonly cited that the 1955 United Nations description of community development was one of the first attempts to formalise a definition, stating it was "…a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation" (Abbott, 1995; Braden & Mayo, 1999, p. 192; Di Franco, 1958; Gilchrist & Taylor, 2011). This short explanation incorporates four elements that have been maintained through to the present day. First is function – that community development is a process that brings into being conditions of progress; second is context – that progress is made in both economic and social conditions; third are the participants – that the objective

for progress is for all members of the community collectively; and fourth is its conditional requirement – that the process requires active participation of the community. This definition conveyed a broad meaning, leaving substantial leeway in translating community development to action. Most notable is the lack of clarity in determining which form of 'community' is being referred to and in making explicit the practical implementation of participation and progress.

Almost 50 years later, the Budapest Declaration was confirmed within a conference themed 'Building Civil Society in Europe through Community Development' held in Budapest, Hungary. Three organisations convened the conference, "…the International Association for Community Development, the Combined European Bureau for Social Development, and the Hungarian Association for Community Development under the patronage of the President of Hungary" (IACD, 2004). The conference was held one month prior to the accession of eight former Eastern European countries[36] into the European Union in an attempt to convince the traditionally top-down, centralised decision-making practice of some of the member states to accept a more community driven approach to community development. It sought to make an unambiguous statement so that states could not obscure its meaning amid fears and suggestions of having previously "…hijack[ed] the language of community development to suit their own political purposes" (Craig, 2011). A crucial section of the declaration gave a more detailed definition of community development within the context of the conference theme.

> Community development is a way of strengthening civil society by prioritising the actions of communities, and their perspectives in the development of social, economic and environmental policy. It seeks the empowerment of local communities, taken to mean both geographical communities, communities of interest or identity and communities organising around specific themes or policy initiatives. It strengthens the capacity of people as active citizens through their community groups, organisations and networks; and the capacity of institutions and agencies (public, private and non-governmental) to work in dialogue with citizens to shape and determine change in their communities. It plays a crucial role in supporting active democratic life by promoting the autonomous voice of disadvantaged and vulnerable communities. It has a set of core values/social principles covering human rights, social inclusion, equality and respect for diversity; and a specific skills and knowledge base. (IACD, 2004)

Craig (2011), the conference chairman, makes the comment that the definition is not without its imperfections but acts as a touchstone for groups wanting to advance

36 Named the 'A8', short for the 'accession eight' who acceded to the EU together.

community development. Four forms of community are detailed in the definition: geographical community, community of identity, community of interest, and a form that could be described as a theme-based and policy-focused form similar to a community of practice. Other writers have acknowledged the first three categories as well-recognised forms of community (Barnes, Newman, Knops, & Sullivan, 2003, p. 382; Evans, 2009; H. Lewis, 2006, p. 4), as well as Craig himself (Craig, 2007, pp. 337-338). However, there have been settings at a policy and governance level of organisation where a "...political, policy and administrative community…" have also been suggested (Hunt & Smith, 2006, p. 5). Participation of communities is expanded in the Declaration definition to include the element of capacity as active citizens. It associates the development of capacity in a range of agencies with their capability and purpose to, in turn, engage directly with communities for change. Democratic participation of those communities who are "…disadvantaged and vulnerable…" incorporates a key element of empowerment into the Declaration, while the final sentence embraces the values of an ethical, humanistic approach.

A succinct definition of community development is difficult to provide across the breadth of fields in which it is applied. It is better to consider the term specifically related to the context where it is used. The two primary perspectives, with notable differences, are the internal point of view from within the community itself (local organisations, group leaders, cooperatives, and so forth), alongside an external point of view, that of institutions, agencies and organisations (public and private sector, NGOs and international bodies). Both points of view must consider their deployment of available assets or resources, tangible and intangible, to effect favourable change. Shaw (2008) differentiates the two perspectives as being pressure from above and pressure from below that emphasises a hierarchy of interests. Her description relates to the interests and forces of change present in both spheres, 'above' representing political relations from wider society and 'below' arising "… from democratic aspiration (latent or manifest)…" (p. 32). Community development practitioners, it would appear, need to contend with two contrasting sets of interests to find workable solutions. Also, community, in relation to development, acts as an intermediary between the micro-politics of individuals and families (acting to collectivise their shared experiences) and the macro-politics of the wider public and nation (acting to create the impression of unity in decision-making). Shaw proposes that

community development's key concern is to see that people are empowered as active participants in both levels of politics, to confront policy with a collective voice for positive change.

Toomey (2011) describes the maturing of community development within four stages of change: the 'rescuer', the 'provider', the 'moderniser', and the 'liberator'. Alongside the reconstruction of Europe, the Marshall Plan also established a rescue centred approach to major crises of famine, epidemics, floods and severe impoverishment, with support for emergency relief from multinational non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as Red Cross and World Vision. Criticism of this effort was that no significant development took place other than a response made to the immediate crisis being faced. From this initial role of 'rescuer', NGOs and states began to give greater attention to the provision of services over a more sustained period with donated time by volunteers and material resources. This 'provider' role improved the effect of international aid but did not go far enough to empower communities to deal with the dilemmas they faced. In the late 1950's, emphasis was given to the modernisation of farming techniques, and to free-trade agreements, as well as infrastructure and technology. Through these activities in the role of 'moderniser', the term 'community development' came into prominence, particularly within the United Nations. Significant progress was made in increasing crop yields. However, as intensification of agriculture rose so did the demand for water and the pollution of ecosystems. In addition, the larger amounts of food being produced drove prices down and small farms became uneconomic. The availability of food was not the issue, but rather the price of food, where "…the poorest were unable to access it" (pp. 184-186). In the 1970's, as more attention was being given to better integrating services into communities, scholars[37] and political activists argued strongly for strategies that liberated people as the main concern of development. Community development and development agents then became strongly linked to the role of 'liberator' to free the poor and disempowered from oppression by those in power (pp. 187-188).

Chile (2006) describes processes of community development practice in New Zealand by extending on two political perspectives of social change similar to the above and below

37 Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1921-1997) was one of the more prominent.

pressures or the macro politics and micro politics described by Shaw (2008). They are the processes associated with the State, processes of "…collective action of inividuals, groups and organizations to give voice to marginalized groups and communities…", and a third set of processes of a Māori force for change, tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) (pp. 407-408). Chile highlights self-determination as a core motivation of development in Māori society prior to European contact that remained a central theme in most Māori movements during colonisation. These initiatives were actively undermined "…by colonial policies that neither understood nor appreciated …" Māori notions of development (p. 411). Community development, and its expression among Māori communities, therefore seeks a reversal of those conditions of disempowerment and exclusion. It enables the agency of people to have direct influence over the conditions of their lived world.

> The role of community development must surely be to enhance agency, but this necessitates an understanding of power and how it mediates and controls. Like education, community development can act in ways which, in Freire's terms, domesticate or liberate or, to express it in a rather different language, which either 'reconcile people to their world' or 'remake the world' – a classic communitarian dilemma. (Shaw, 2008, p. 27)

Foundations of Māori Development

The historical foundations and rise of development as a field are not the same as those that will be described here as Māori development. At the point where the post-World War II notion of Western development was being reinterpreted in the 20th century, the New Zealand Government moved to curb the resurgent enthusiasm of the Māori communities epitomised in their war effort underpinned by a strengthened sense of customary identity and authority (Hill, 2004). The Government's actions were characteristic of the nationalistic fervour of the West that followed the war and was the origin of contemporary Western development. The roots of Māori development should be traced back to Māori society prior to European contact, to the cultural beginnings of iwi, to the origin of their distinct context of identity in this country, and to an indigenous frame of reference. These origins of development are articulated and acted on in the distinct worldviews of tribally-based groupings with common cultural underpinnings from a shared knowledge and experience of traditions, customary local authority and lore in Aotearoa. The foundations

are best interpreted from within that worldview. As Māori Marsden (2003) maintains "…only a Māori from within the culture can … explore and describe the main features of the consciousness in the experience of the Māori…" (p. 22). Māori development must also be understood within a paradigm that gives regard to the impact and experience of early entrepreneurism with the West, of colonisation, grievance, resistance, and of numerous expressions of self-determination (tino rangatiratanga) as tangata whenua (people of Aotearoa with indigenous local authority).

A large body of literature examines, and has generated determined debate on, the meaning and implications of 'tino rangatiratanga' (Awatere, 1984; Durie, 1998; Kawharu, 1989; Maaka & Fleras, 2000). A full account of the rigorous discourse it has generated is not necessary for this reflection on Māori development, apart from the obvious role 'tino rangatiratanga', as a pivotal historical reference point, has played in galvanising, or representing the galvanisation of, Māori communities in re-forging Māori development. 'Tino rangatiratanga' is derived most significantly from the expression 'tino rangatira', that appears in the 1835 Declaration of Independence and is central in conveying the concept of independence.

> Ko mātou ko ngā Tino Rangatira o ngā iwi o Nu Tireni i raro mai o Hauraki … Ka whakaputa i te Rangatiratanga o to mātou wenua a ka meatia ka wakaputaia e matou he Wenua Rangatira, kia huaina, Ko te Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tireni [emphasis original text]. (New Zealand History Online)

> We, the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes of the Northern parts of New Zealand … declare the Independence of our country, which is hereby constituted and declared to be an Independent State, under the designation of The United Tribes of New Zealand. (ibid)

Most people would relate 'tino rangatiratanga' back to the more widely asserted statement in Article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi[38] of 1840, the original Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi[39]. It appears in the form of "…te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua…", translated as "…the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands…" that was retained by "…the chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand…". This

38 Denoting the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi agreement.

39 The Treaty of Waitangi is a relatively short agreement written by the British Crown's representatives and then signed by Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson for the Queen of England and then by over 500 chiefs around the country. It is sometimes described as New Zealand's founding document. However, its significance has been considered with any real level of relevance only in the last thirty years, with the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and the post-settlement phase of Treaty Negotiations.

concept is directly in contrast to the term 'Kāwanatanga' used in Article 1. "…te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua…" is the translation used for "…the complete government over their lands…" (Bargh, 2007b, pp. 183-188). Within Te Tiriti, self-determination is not immediately obvious in a literal translation of the word 'tino rangatiratanga'. Instead it is derived more from the notion of full localised authority "…over their lands, villages and all their treasures" (p. 185) and from the 1835 Declaration reference to 'tino rangatira' and 'rangatiranga' used to imply 'independence'. It is, therefore, a more comprehensive local level concept of authority and community identity that is interpreted as self-determination within 'rangatiratanga' (O'Sullivan, 2007) as compared with the national level concept of Government. Nopera Panakareao considered this to be the case when, on signing Te Tiriti, he stated his interpretation of the agreement as being a less tangible form of authority . "… [T]he shadow of the land has passed to the Queen, the substance has remained with us" (Wards, 1968, p. 49; cited in Walker, 1984, p. 269).

At that time Māori society would not tend to identify themselves as one collective national population but as guardians and representatives of authority from within their respective territories. Tino rangatiratanga, proposed by Chile (2006) as the third force affecting change, is not based specifically at a community (micro) level or at a national (macro) level. Authority in pre-European Māori society was primarily established within parameters of kinship connection and customary rights associated with clearly defined tribal territories. Macro level needs were responded to through collaborative agreements and historic alliances (Ballara, 1998). Development under these conditions can be considered an expression of self-determination and the maintenance of group well-being. Tino rangatiratanga traverses both micro and macro levels of interest and influence.

Initial attempts by Māori, in the early 1800s, to assert collective aspirations for development characteristic of tino rangatiratanga were quickly put under pressure to fall into line with a colonial vision of the country's future (R. Walker, 1984). These assertions by Māori were as varied as they were numerous. Early enterprise by Māori groupings, leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, was a natural expression of their authority and innovation for development. Given the higher ratio of Māori

population to Pākehā, as well as the local social, economic and political strength of Māori society, self-determination was undeniable. Participation in agriculture and industry was strong (M. King, 2003; I. Smith, 2008), as was leadership in formal and informal education (Hemara, 2000; Simon et al., 2001), management of practices for justice, health and welfare (Jenkins & Harte, 2011), and the development of spiritual movements in both traditional and Christian frameworks of belief were diverse and abundant (Elsmore, 1999; Sinclair, 2002). As these early Māori development initiatives came up against the colonial and settler perception of development the Government quickly moved to quell what it considered to be a challenge to its authority, particularly with the escalation of war in Taranaki, Waikato and the Bay of Plenty (Binney, 1995; McCan, 2001; Riseborough, 1989). The Crown's declaration of sovereignty over Māori territories was met with varied responses by iwi. Some moved quickly to align their development with the Government's concept of development, fighting alongside colonial and settler soldiers and welcoming settler communities. Other iwi reacted with strong resistance in the forms of violent aggression leading to prolonged warfare, non-violent protest, and alternative models of collective authority, particularly with the establishment of a Māori parliament, Kīngitanga (the Māori King movement), Rūnanga (tribal councils), and deputations to higher authorities of the Crown.

A further example of a more recent expression of development and self-determination was shown when Māori communities, strongly rooted in iwi/hapū/whānau structures, demonstrated successful models of development through World War II with the informal groups Māori War Effort Organisations (MWEOs) (Hill, 2004, p. 192). Amid fears that the danger of Māori success in the war effort could lead to a greater assertion by Māori for "…what one observer called 'a nationality of their own'…" (p. 199), the Government moved on pre-war plans to revive Māori Councils and set up it's own 'official' tribal organisations. In 1943, consultation on the proposal for Māori Councils received unanimous opposition. But both the Minister of Native Affairs and his officials openly argued for the MWEOs to be disbanded, saying they were no longer needed because war recruitment efforts of Māori had been successful. Advice from officials of other departments, especially Treasury, considered the MWEOs "…potentially difficult to control…" and damaging "…to the fabric of the state…" (p. 202) In March 1944, state policy was to increasingly limit activities of

MWEOs and, in 1945, the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act was passed. Under the Act career bureaucrats, rather than community leaders, ran official Māori councils and they suffered severe under-resourcing as Government held what it perceived to be unwise duplication of services based on race. The withdrawal of resources was justified under policies of austerity for post-war reconstruction in the broader public interest. Largely in response to rapid post-war urbanisation, the 1945 Act gave rise to the enduring 'Māori Women's Welfare League' (MWWL) in 1951, with its objectives that were aligned with Government policy[40]. Church-based responses[41] to social problems were given support through the war years and continued after it. State sanctioned programmes such as the YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides (1937 Physical Welfare and Recreation Act) sought to restore the social fabric of the country by assimilation under Christian English cultural norms (Chile, 2006). This example demonstrates both the potential of Māori community driven initiatives for self-determined development and the failure of macro-level policy-based perspectives to understand how those initiatives could operate successfully alongside state managed approaches centred on Pākehā majority needs.

Contemporary Māori Development's Beginnings

The emergence of contemporary Māori development has more in common with the economic, political and spiritual movements of the 19th century than with the nationalist post-World War expressions of development that have brought contemporary development into being. For the most part, Māori communities in the 1800s drew on customary notions of tino rangatiratanga to assert authority within their respective regions and to retain the territorial influence and community networks that sustained self-determination. On the whole, these early forms of resistance and development sought to retain the local authority and cultural identity associated with pre-contact society. Contemporary Māori development has argued for the restoration of core elements from

40 The prime objective early in their development was "...to promote fellowship and understanding between Maori and European women and to cooperate with other women's organisations, Departments of State, and local bodies for the furtherance of these objects" (McLintock, 1966).

41 Founded in the mid-1800s

that period using, as evidence, breaches of Te Tiriti where tino rangatiratanga was repressed.

Contemporary Māori development has been described as emerging concurrently with social activism in response to state policy, in the first instance, and in conjunction with a wider challenge to the ideology of the West and its historical legacy of intolerance and injustice toward disempowered populations (Ratima, 2001). Ratima identifies the 1960[42] report by Jack K. Hunn, in the role of Acting-Secretary to the Department of Maori Affairs and quickly appointed to the role of Secretary of Maori Affairs and Maori Trustee (Biggs, 1961), as a rallying point for Maori communities and organisations as it presented damning figures describing the failure of the post-war vision to achieve greater equality or, indeed, 'racial harmony'. Urbanisation and inherently mono-cultural structures of government had created, as the report and communities perceived it, an underclass of citizens overwhelmingly found among Māori. Hunn's report was important for the clarity with which it was able to show chronic under-development, such as within education where underachievement of Māori was endemic (G. H. Smith, 1991). Yet the solution proffered by Hunn insisted the future success of Maori communities was to embrace integration into Western culture as an inevitability and that "...in two generations the process [of integration] should be well-nigh complete..." (Biggs, 1961, p. 361). Apart from some aspects of culture that may retain some value in contemporary life, Hunn considered those who held fast to traditions were, "[a] minority complacently living a backward life in primitive conditions ... [where urbanisation was] the quickest and surest way of integrating the two species of New Zealanders…" (Hunn, 1961, p. 16; cited in Biggs, 1961, pp. 361-362). A further point of contention was Hunn's position on the use of blood quantum of at least one half to delimit identification as Māori. This also drew criticism from groups such as the Māori Synod of the Presbyterian Church (Pool, 1963) because, as Hunn stated, "[o]therwise the host of eligible 'Maoris' will rapidly become larger than is justified by the merits of their case..." (Hunn, 1961, p. 19; cited in Pool, 1963, p. 208). The report did not immediately draw harsh criticism, Biggs 1961 article being one of the first, but it did become the impetus for an emerging sense of incredulity among Māori toward

42 Released to the media in January 1961 (Biggs, 1961)

Westernisation being presented as a modern panacea. Communities began again to seek internally-centred solutions to Māori development needs.

Resistance and activism increasingly became strategic approaches of Māori development through the 1960s and 1970s. In 1962, under the Māori Welfare Act 1962 that had abolished tribal committees, the Māori Council was established as a Government advisory body on Māori policy. Their formation was criticised because of the strong representation of National Party members among their leadership[43] and, although it was generally accepted that their approach was conservative in nature, their direct consultative role had influence on the legislative process as it affected Māori (R. Walker, 1990). Some of the first activist initiatives were undertaken by the Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOOHR), founded in 1971 by the late Tama Poata (NZ on Screen, 2009), with regular newsletters and 'Te Hokioi', a Māori newspaper set up in Wellington in 1968 (Greenland, 1991) and self-described as "…a *taiaha* (weapon) [emphasis original text] of truth for the Maori nation…" (R. Walker, 1984, p. 276). Both initiatives advocated for self-determination and represented a renewed form of protest action in the post-World War period, albeit class-based in nature. After the 1970 Young Māori Leaders Conference held at Auckland University, the first truly radical group, Ngā Tamatoa, took the issues of rights into the public arena, grabbing headlines with aggressive protest action, while also initiating proactive community projects such as "… a legal-aid programme, … an employment office, and launched a nation-wide petition for the recognition of Maori language in the education system" (ibid).

From the mid 1970s protest action escalated, most notably with the Land March arranged by the organisation 'Te Matakite o Aotearoa' in 1975 that involved at least 5,000 marchers and more than 60,000 signatories to a petition voicing dissatisfaction with the way Māori land issues were being handled. Land occupations followed the Land March, with the occupation of Bastion Point by the Orakei Māori Committee Action Group in 1977 resulting in forced eviction and the arrests of 222 people. Similarly, people of Tainui-Āwhiro of Whaingaroa occupied their former papakāinga, Te Kōpua, at that time the Raglan Golf Course. They were also evicted and 17 occupiers were arrested (Harris, 2004).

43 The National Party being the governement in power through much of the 1960s and 1970s

Protest action from the early 1980s at Waitangi by both Māori and Pakeha organisations such as 'He Taua'[44] and the 'Waitangi Action Alliance', on and around the 7th of February on the commemorative event for the signing of Te Tiriti, sought to raise critical awareness of the lack of sincerity by the Crown in meeting its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. Failing to allow retrospective claims to the Waitangi Tribunal prior to its establishment under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 is a good example of Crown policy actively opposed through protest.[45] Their action contributed to the repeal of the Act in 1984 to allow historical claims back to 1840, the time of the initial signing of Te Tiriti.

Māori language became a critical agent of attitudinal change among Māori, particularly among those who were not convinced of the value of integration. Research conducted through the early 1970s, by Benton with the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (1978), into the use of Māori language in households showed a dramatic drop in use, even in rural communities with high ratios of Māori population. For many people this was received with a mixture of indifference, sadness and shock. Hana Jackson, of Ngā Tamatoa in Auckland, initiated the 1972 Te Reo Māori Petition to Parliament and was well supported by the Te Reo Māori Society, based in Wellington and driven by Koro Dewes. The petition contained 30,000 signatures seeking support for Māori language to be taught in schools and framed within the notion of "… a positive effort to promote a more meaningful concept of integration" (Te Rito, 2008). The argument over the value associated with Māori language use in a modern world was at the heart of the debate that ensued. Bilingual schools and community initiated language approaches such as Te Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (W. Winiata, 1979), Te Ataarangi and Kohanga Reo. The response against the loss of Māori language use from homes and communities created a wave of support from iwi-based communities where some Māori language use had been retained. Their effort joined with the more urban youth protest action of groups such as Ngā Tamatoa and He Taua, consolidating greater collective strength and awareness.

44 Notably 'He Taua' was a group who, in 1979, broke up the annual performance by Auckland University engineering students. The "...all-Pākehā all-male 'haka party' would then perform a haka that referred to Māori as a source of 'the pox' and repeatedly used the popular racist slur, 'Hori'...". This resulted in eleven of He Taua being arrested, with "...eigthy-eight charges laid, most dismissed... [and] [s]even of the eleven were charged were convicted ... sentenced to periodic detention..." (Harris, 2004, pp. 95-98).

45 This legislation also contributed to the resignation of Matiu Rata (Member of Parliament) from the Labour Party in 1979 to found the Mana Motuhake Party and a move away from Labour by the Ratana movement (Spoonley, 1993, p. 278)

In 1981, protest reached its height with the Springbok Tour when Māori and Pākehā organisations joined with the goal of halting the tour. They acted to raise awareness of the issues associated with the obvious discord between the demands of rugby fans to see the national teams compete and the intense opposition being expressed for the abomination of apartheid (Pollock, 2004). As groups mobilised under various leaderships, it became apparent that the attention focussed on South Africa's overt racism obscured recognition among protest groups of the somewhat covert racism present in New Zealand. Opposition to the tour by Māori also raised their awareness of local racism, boosting "…militant Maori nationalism as increasingly Maori asked why Pakeha did not support their rights" (Limb, 2008). Donna Awatere – daughter of Pita Awatere a Māori Battalion Commander instrumental in implementing protest strategies against the 1956 and 1960 tours – also played a major part in the 1981 tour protests, challenging Pākehā protest leaders to recognise the rights of Māori and their leadership role in the campaign. Awatere (1984) went on to write, later in 1981, the most comprehensive assertion of Māori sovereignty published, in direct challenge to the Crown's claim of sovereignty. It exhorted the mobilisation of Māori opposition against the marginalisation of their rights in the country. Further, Māori sovereignty proponents interrogated and contested the prevailing state policy of the time, to make available bilingual and bicultural services to Māori individuals and their communities as a form of compromise for clearly legitimate and rising Māori demands. Awatere's position was "[i]n essence [that] Māori sovereignty seeks nothing less that the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Māori land, and further seeks the return of that land" (Awatere, 1984, p. 38). In stating that biculturalism and accommodating Māori culture were, according to Awatere, the most nominal of available options, considering a bicultural society is acceptable only if true decision making occurs with equal status for the Māori voice.

The high profile achieved through protest shattered any illusions held, and widely espoused, of New Zealand's characterisation as a racially harmonious nation. That utopian vision of one people, putting historical disputes aside, united under one flag and committed to the advancement of the nation was heavily reinforced following WWII and, in particular, through the 1950s. Intent on portraying an ideal future model of a modern democratic and socially conservative nation, the Department of Education had inculcated

two generations of school children with belief in the benefits of modernisation (Openshaw, 2005). Māori history was presented in ethnographic terms, studying traditional life and practices as a cultural experience for students. When a more rural and undeveloped Māori life was shown in a photographic journal depiction by Ans Westra titled *Washday at the Pa* the publication drew strong criticism from the Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) who saw it as unrepresentative of the modern lifestyle and aspirations among the urbanised majority of Māori. According to "…Mrs. J. Baxter, delegate to the Board of Trustees of the Māori Educational Foundation, ... such threats to Māori confidence and self-respect were, 'a bigger problem than land tenure, living conditions, health or education'…", leading the 1964 MWWL annual conference to call for the publication to be withdrawn and for the Māori Education Foundation Board of Trustees to vet all future publications (pp. 31-33). Protest awoke New Zealand society from the utopian delirium of Western development ideology that had "…embraced individualism (narrowly defined as getting ahead), was fearful of external threats, and lauded a crass brand of materialism…" (p. 26). Contemporary Māori development grew out of contesting these underpinnings of 'development'. The activism challenged Māori as much as it did Pākehā, the former to recognise the validity of internally generated models for Māori development, the latter to recognise the inherent racism within the structures of development in place for Māori.

1984–1994 The Decade of Māori Development

Self-determination and Māori authority in New Zealand ran at the core of Māori protest. However, protest is not development in itself but a stimulus for ideological change, the creation of ideological space for contemporary Māori development where self-determination and sovereignty were at the fore. Once a level of shift occurred, and the community-based opportunities for putting development models into action became available, the movement in Māori communities gained momentum. Writers have identified 1984 as the primary point where Māori development became consolidated within a wider national and global economic transformation, because of the Hui Taumata, the Māori Economic Summit (October 1984), that coincided with the newly elected fourth Labour Government (Durie, 1998; Fitzgerald, 2004; Moon, 2010; Puketapu, 2000; Ratima,

2001; Sissons, 1993). What was most important from the Summit was perhaps the wide representation by iwi and community leaders and the clear mandate given for Māori development that featured prominently in the 1984 Lange Government policy, well noted as being instrumental in the establishment of a New Right economic policy direction. In making the opening address for the Summit the Minister of Māori Affairs, Hon. K. T. Wetere, made the request for the gathering to focus on four key objectives disposed toward economic interests:

> a. to reach an understanding of the nature and extent of the economic problems facing New Zealand as they affect Māori people;
>
> b. to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the Māori people in the current position;
>
> c. to discuss policies for Māori equality in the economic and social life of New Zealand; and,
>
> d. to obtain commitment to advancing Māori interests (Durie, 1998, pp. 6-7).

When the Summit closed six main themes were given as central points of focus for ushering in what the gathering had agreed would be the forthcoming 'Decade of Māori Development'. The themes traversed social, political, cultural and economic factors of development that continue to be advanced in the discourse of Māori leadership. The six themes include the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, tribal development, economic self-reliance, social equity, and cultural advancement. The three-volume document of proceedings detailed areas of deep concern and grievance, as well as strategic direction and proposed solutions (Lashley, 2000, p. 14). An example of those concerns was their condemnation of "…'negative funding' which led to an 'unhealthy dependence' of Māori people on the state" (Sissons, 1993, p. 105).

Government policy and legislation development over the next two terms with Labour demonstrated an attempt to modify previous resistance to Māori demands and aspirations with reforms. Examples of change in the Crown's position can be shown in the amendment to the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1984 that allowed for hearing claims on historic Treaty grievances before 1975, provision of state-funded Kura Kaupapa Māori from 1985, and the establishment of the Māori Language Commission following the

Waitangi Tribunal report on WAI11, the Māori Language Claim, lodged in 1986. Persistent claims of institutional racism in the Department of Social Welfare were corroborated with the receipt of the Ministerial Advisory Committee's report for the Department of Social Welfare, Puao te Atatū (1986), making recommendations for cultural change within the Department such as returning focus back to whānau and the inclusion of Treaty and cultural training for social work training programmes. Economic initiatives linked to the strategic direction of the Summit included the Mana Enterprises Scheme, begun in 1985, to support Māori business ventures with a secondary goal of reducing Māori unemployment rates. Another initiative was the Māori Development Corporation of 1987 that gave financial backing to Māori in medium-sized businesses in the form of loans managed and delivered by Māori with local values and expertise (Durie, 1998, pp. 9-10; 2004c).

However, to consider this first Hui Taumata to have precipitated the State into a favourable position toward Māori sovereignty would misinterpret the more obvious political shift occurring at the time. The political and economic ideology in the first term of the Lange government would be widely referred to as 'Rogernomics', named after the Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas, the architect of major reforms toward a free market model of state economic policy (Easton, 1997). The speed and intensity at which these reforms were implemented were mirrored across Māori development. Government policy moved to devolve many of its roles in service delivery and decision-making to iwi and Māori community in line with themes from the Hui Taumata. Hon. Koro Wetere, Minister of Māori Affairs, sponsored policy reforms in 1988 "…designed to guide Māori towards greater self-sufficiency and reduced dependency on the state" that directly reflected Māori ambitions for more autonomy with a level of self-governance (Durie, 2005c). Durie continues that there were mixed messages given as to the motivations for devolution. At times it was presented as an enhanced form of Crown/Māori partnership and a reduction in state bureaucracy. Often it was portrayed as community "…enablement, empowerment and the motivation to take responsibility for such welfare matters as education, welfare and unemployment" through sharing knowledge and experience and problem solving (Peters & Marshall, 1996, pp. 41-42). Among many Māori, however, there was also a strong sense that devolution meant the Crown was abandoning its responsibilities to Māori for the sake of economic efficiencies, and a concern "…that the Hui Taumata itself had been captured

by the architects of a free market economy and the monetarist theories of the New Right" (Durie, 1998, p. 11).

The shift in social and economic policy towards a free market economy was part of a bold New Right political philosophy applied to New Zealand in what has been described as a form of neo-liberal experiment, with New Zealand argued to be the first country in the world to apply such measures to such an extreme measure (Kelsey, 1995, 2002). Policy and legislation acted to deregulate and privatise the marketplace, to encourage individuals to make choices as consumers motivated through self-interest, and to allow competition to determine the most effective and efficient form of service delivery (Peters & Marshall, 1996, pp. 98-100). Greater emphasis on user-pays became a direct consequence of the withdrawal of the State, as did a consumer-driven economy, the sale of state-owned assets and the corporatisation of core public sector services, most apparent in education and health. Widespread upheaval in employment and the state sector ensued, and the neo-liberal shift is argued to have disproportionately impacted on Māori communities for the worse (Durie, 2005c, p. 7). Unemployment rates for Māori[46] were 27.1% against 7.7% for European in the June quarter of 1991 and rates were inclined to be much higher among Māori women (Peters & Marshall, 1996, pp. 55-56). At its highest point "…unemployment for Māori males was 24% of the available workforce" (L. T. Smith, 2007, p. 337). Similarly, in 1991 educational achievement for Māori remained in crisis (G. H. Smith, 1991) in spite of policy taskforce reviews, for example the Picot Report (1988)[47] with a heavy emphasis on community and Kaupapa Māori education. Although it has been argued that institutions in liberal democratic states had increasingly lost the faith of intellectuals in their ability "…to solve problems of inequality…" (Rata, 1996; cited in Openshaw, 2010, p. 6).

Contemporary Māori development was advanced through the decade following 1984 alongside a parallel radical reform of the marketplace. The level to which Māori development was captured by New Right ideologues has been heavily debated within a wider discourse on the ongoing economic emphasis for resolving social and cultural issues

46 Identified in the 'Ka Awatea' policy document (Ministerial Planning Group, 1991) sponsored by Hon W. Peters, the Minister of Māori Affairs.

47 The report is commonly referred to as the Picot Report. However, it was officially named "Administering for Excellence: Effective administration in education" and prepared within the Department of Education.

being faced by Māori (Bargh, 2007b; Durie, 1998; Rata, 2000; L. T. Smith, 2007). What was achieved through this period was a turbulent shift in state economic ideology that simultaneously created space for the reconceptualising of Māori development in line with long held aspirations for self-determination, social equity and a resilient culture and identity.

Twenty Years of Māori Development: 1984–2004

And Twenty More: 2005–2025

In reflecting on the second decade since the first Māori Economic Summit, Hui Taumata, in 1984, Durie (2005c) was able to identify some distinct areas of gain for Māori against national norms of development. He saw development to have occurred in terms of Treaty-based relationships with the Crown, improved self-determination, iwi as a vehicle for Māori advancement, economic durability and resilience, reduced social disparities, and advanced Māori cultural features (language, practices, values and principles) that were goals proposed in the first Summit meeting. In order to identify areas of progress, Durie formulated a framework (Table 3) to summarise shifts that had occurred over the previous twenty years (up to 2005). He then proposed an extension of the Hui Taumata themes across a further twenty years. Table 3 succinctly distinguishes 'gains' and 'limitations' observed since 1984 and includes the proposed goals for 2025 (p. 9).

Table 3: Transformational shifts 1984–2025

1984–2004 Development	Gains	Limitations	2005–2025 Sustained Capability
Participation and access	Improved levels of participation in education, health, etc.	Marginal involvement; Mediocrity; Uneven gains	1. High achievement, quality, excellence
Iwi development	Iwi delivery systems; Cultural integrity; Commercial ventures	Benefits not shared by all Māori	2. Enhanced Whānau capacities
Settlement of historic grievances	Major settlements completed	Energies absorbed into exploring the past	3. Futures orientation and longer term planning
Proliferation of independent Māori providers	Improved service delivery; 'By Māori for Māori'; Independence and autonomy	Reduced incentives for collaboration; Dependence on state contracts; Lack of readiness for multiple roles	4. Collaborative opportunities and networks; 5. Multiple revenue streams; 6. Quality governance and organisational leadership

(adapted from Durie, 2005c, p. 9)

Durie (2005c) then further proposes a set of four transformational goals on which Māori development can be planned toward 2025. They are "…high achievement and quality outcomes…"; "…enhanced whānau capacities…"; "…collaborations and clustered networks…"; and, "…governance and leadership capacity…" (p. 12).

In relation to 'high achievement' Durie highlights the advances made in the previous twenty years but notes areas for improvement. There was a marked increase in Māori participation in education at all levels, but especially at early years and in tertiary education. Participation and access to other areas of development such as "…health care, Māori language learning, business, sport, music, film and television, and information technology", he suggests, have also observably improved (p. 9). In noting that, access and participation do not, by themselves, guarantee improved achievement of development goals where the quality of that involvement may be marginal and may result in an inability to achieve standards comparable with other groups in society. An example of this can be seen

in education between 1983 and 2000, where the rates of Māori students leaving school without qualifications dropped from sixty-two to thirty-five percent; Māori participation in tertiary education rose by 148%; and Māori had higher rates of participation for over 25 year olds than any other ethnic group. These last two points are especially the result of the effort of the three wānanga, officially recognised in the 1990s, with "…increased enrolments from 26,000 students in 2001 to 45,500 in 2002" (pp. 4-5). On the other hand, L.T. Smith (2007) points to the quality of that participation where a greater proportion of Māori are in the sub-degree level tertiary education programmes (pp. 340-341), and Bishop et al (2009) refer to the continued low performance and achievement of Māori in mainstream secondary schools indicated by key indicators such as the rate of suspensions being three times higher; the ratio of Māori in low streamed classes is greater; and numbers leaving school to enter tertiary education are at very low proportions (pp. 1-2). Further, they identify that mainstream educational contexts "…are created within a context of epistemological racism, that is, racism that is embedded in the very fundamental cornerstone principles of the dominant culture" (p. 2). Bishop et al then continue to describe an education intervention they have designed, known as Te Kotahitanga, to respond to these inequalities. Their comments indicate the large amount of work required to improve Māori achievement in schools. Rata (2011) argues that poor literacy levels in the home and sub-cultural associations with low socio-economic class are largely responsible for underachievement and that the growing gap between levels of income is of greater concern (p. 7). These issues are among many others impacting on the capability of Māori communities to fulfil 'high achievement' and excellence as the next stage on from an underlying priority for access and participation rates. They are the critical challenge of engagement identified by Durie (2005c, p. 9) as a first goal for transformation.

The second goal proposed by Durie is for 'whānau capacity'. Issues related to socio-economic class among whānau remain a key focus for Māori development toward 2025. It is generally accepted that the impact of neoliberal reform has adversely affected low-income families, increasing disparities in education, health and welfare. For example, the Labour Government in 2000 was moved to propose a policy direction it termed "Closing the Gaps", responding to three issues: social justice responsibility, Treaty-based issues prioritised by Māori, and the unconscionable impact of entrenched economic and social

disadvantage on New Zealand as a whole (Clark, 2000, budget speech cited by Humpage & Fleras, 2001, p. 38). Over the Decade of Māori Development 1984–1994 the disparity between Māori and non-Māori socio-economic positions increased, reflecting the impact of lost employment in manufacturing and primary industries. In what the Ministry of Health and University of Otago named “Decades of Disparity”, a health research report produced by them showed the relationship between lower socio-economic groups and high mortality rates (Ministry of Health and University of Otago, 2006). The link between Māori and low socio-economic status was not made clear. However, the proportion of Māori in low socio-economic conditions was higher, in relative terms, than for non-Māori. The findings confirmed “…that ‘ethnicity’ cannot be reduced to ‘socioeconomic position’ in terms of health impact” (p. xii). But mortality rates are distinctly higher by about 10% for Māori compared with non-Māori[48] within each socio-economic strata (pp. 53-55). Critics in the academic debate over the validity of existing models for Māori development (Openshaw, 2010; Rata, 2011) argue for the removal of the bicultural division of services and the rejection of the socio-political underpinnings of indigenous-based policy in a reductionist class approach to address issues of underdevelopment and disparities. Durie (2005c, p. 10) concedes that Māori development and, in particular, iwi-based delivery systems have not been able to adequately share the benefits of development with all Māori. He proposes the solution for future advancement lies with ‘whānau capacity’, consistent with the current ‘Whānau Ora’ policy strategy of the present government (Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010).

‘Whānau Ora’ is a development initiative demonstrating a fundamental shift in policy and service provision to community. The programme “… is an inclusive, culturally-anchored approach …” of holistic whānau services open to whānau and families of New Zealand (Ministry of Social Development, 2011, p. 1). Six outcomes identified by the Whānau Ora Taskforce were for whānau to “… be self managing; living healthy lifestyles; participating fully in society; confidently participating in te ao Māori; economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation; cohesive, resilient and nurturing” (Ministry of

48 The report also highlights similar studies in life expectancy between 1991–1997 that found the gap in less deprived areas to be 5.3 years for females and 5.8 years for males, while in more deprived areas the gap was much greater at 10.1 years and 8.2 years for female and male respectively (Tobias & Cheung, 2003; cited in Ministry of Health and University of Otago, 2006, p. 55).

Health, 2011, p. 3). Under this approach the whole whānau become involved in identifying their collective and individual needs together. They share insight about difficulties and needs they are experiencing and work alongside a Whānau Ora provider, as a 'navigator', to tailor a set of services to be made available to the whānau within an integrated plan. This may include government agencies, non-government organisations or customary groupings of hapū or iwi. A strong focus of Whānau Ora is to conduct research and undertake intensive monitoring of its services to influence how the policy approach can evolve and be reshaped with direct influence from the whānau themselves. The focus of the research and evaluation is the empowerment of whānau to be engaged within the programmes, not merely clients of a service.

The final two of the four transformational goals described by Durie (2005c) relate to the organisational capacity and direction for Māori groups. They are: 'collaborations, opportunities and networks', and the increased capacity of 'governance and leadership capacity' to guide Māori development (p. 17). Collaborations between Māori organisations recognises the increased capacity that has been developed over the first two decades. In addition to the capacity built within treaty settlements, the devolved services of the Crown among iwi, hapū and Māori community organisations such as urban Māori authorities has provided opportunities to explore the potential of linking networks of provision. Increasing the size of operations within collaborations allows for increased economies of scale and provides opportunities for greater levels of activity. Additionally, there is a need for increased capacity of leadership to guide the development. The increased expectations placed on the operations of large organisations need robust processes and a knowledge of governance and management to meet the responsibilities. This includes goals of development that look beyond purely organisational needs to include the integration of economic, cultural and social objectives for the communities they are associated with. Achievements made in the first two decades were accomplished with some degree of pressure to find appropriately skilled leaders. There are improved opportunities in the second two decades to train and develop leaders and governance bodies to work towards meeting the high expectations.

Finally, it is worth noting the five themes also presented by Durie to the 2005 Summit to guide activities in fulfilling the four goals. The first theme to recognise is the 'Māori paradigm' where Māori development is consistent with 'being Māori', that is actively nurturing access to Māori identity (pp. 13-14). The second theme is 'outcome focus', moving from existing process-based focus on tikanga, biculturalism and opportunities for improved participation to the outcome being sought from the activity. Durie acknowledges there are difficulties in measuring outcomes in projects with long timeframes to achieving a result. By maintaining a focus on beneficial outcomes for individuals, whānau and organisations, without losing the integrity of existing processes, the effectiveness of services will be better judged over time. Orientation toward gains in the future is the third theme, where the existing tendency to make three- to five-year planning cycles for organisations gives insufficient time to achieve long-term visions or adequately measure achievement. This theme is reflected in Durie's decision to set goals that cover two decades to 2025. The fourth theme concludes that flexibility of service options across multiple pathways is important to support increased access, for example in the use of online technology. The fifth and final theme, 'extended relationships', refers to the further area of partnership with the private sector, international organisations, and First Nation peoples (pp. 13-17).

The Concept of Māori Development

In many ways the five themes proposed by Durie (2005c) for the transformation of development for the next twenty plus years show similar direction to the development approaches used in the iwi strategy named 'Whakatupuranga Rua Mano' (Generation 2000) formulated by the Raukawa Marae Trustees in 1975 (W. Winiata, 1979). Raukawa Marae in Ōtaki was built, with the support of Sir Apirana Ngata and Pine Taiapa, as a 'marae matua' (parent marae) for the Confederation of the three major iwi in the region, Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa, represented by sixty-nine trustees (Te Wananga-o-Raukawa, 2011). As a long-term organisational strategic plan by an iwi, or confederation of iwi, the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano 'experiment' can be considered one of the first of its kind (Harmsworth, 2009, p. 103). Led by Dr Whatarangi Winiata and other iwi leaders,

the strategic approach was strongly future oriented – toward the year 2000; outcome focussed – to raise a generation of youth with high education aspirations, understanding of tikanga Māori, and a deepened sense of knowledge and identity as members of the iwi and hapū; and, inherently based on 'being Māori' or, more precisely, being a descendant of one of the three iwi Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa, referred to as an acronym, ART. Their ideas for this identity-centred vision were put into action with the establishment of development organisations, particularly in education and health. Most prominently, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa (2011) was established in 1993 as one of three statutory wānanga, Māori tertiary education institutions, charged with the role of advancing āhuatanga Māori (Māori tradition) and tikanga Māori (Māori custom) (Mead, 2003, pp. 11-12). A wide variety of programmes are offered by Te Wānanga o raukawa but a key point of difference is that all students must enrol with 60% of their programme based in two compulsory areas, Reo Māori studies and Hapū/Iwi studies. The remaining 40% of the programme is selected from the student's area of specialisation (P. Winiata, 2006a). Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was guided, and remains guided, by four core principles: that 'the wealth of the collective is people', emphasising the need to develop and retain that wealth; that 'Māori language is a taonga', emphasising the need to halt its decline and revive its use; that 'marae are their principle home', with the need to maintain and respect those domains; and that 'self-determination is a core objective' (p. 200). This example of development demonstrates how a Māori grouping can express its aspirations for social strength, cultural integrity, resilient identity, and self-determination while integrating these Māori ambitions into projects of partnership with the Crown.

The preceding discussion has indicated themes that offer some commonality of motivation that influences the expression of Māori development. The underlying premise is the notion of self-determination, voiced variously as 'tino rangatiratanga' or 'mana motuhake', denoting the capacity and capability of Māori to achieve their self-defined aspirations for the future in the long-term. This is achieved within principles described in detail by Durie (1998) in the form of seven 'Pou Mana' as "…foundations of Māori control and authority…" supported by 'mana whakahaere' factors that realise the achievement of self-determination (pp. 13-14).

Table 4: Ngā Pou Mana – The foundations of Māori self-determination

Foundations	Relating to
Mana Atua	Integrity of cultural values relating to the natural environment; maintenance of a traditions-based framework; management of sustainable resources
Mana Tūpuna	Integrity of identity and heritage by groups; maintenance of language, customs and knowledge; management of intellectual property
Mana Tangata	Integrity of the collective voice and social well-being of people; maintenance of equitable services and processes of participation; management of services
Mana Whenua	Integrity of connection and iwi/hapū relationship to land; maintenance of ownership and protection of land; management of land-based resources
Mana Moana	Integrity of connection and iwi/hapū relationship to the sea; maintenance of customary practices and values relating to the sea; management of sea-based resources
Mana Tiriti	Integrity of Treaty-based partnership and settlements with the Crown; maintenance of communication and policy development; management of settlement assets and relationships derived from the Treaty
Mana Motuhake	Integrity of rangatiratanga and self-governance; maintenance of processes and systems for exercising authority; management of strategic direction for Māori advancement

(adapted from Durie, 1998, pp. 14-17)

The need for development could be equally responded to by both the Crown and customary iwi. However, the rationale for the development may be markedly different. Bargh (2007b) describes incompatibly shown to exist between the Crown and iwi. The Crown, within a neoliberal agenda, has used an economic justification to settle Treaty grievances and advance policy development for Māori while leaving aside perspectives of social justice and customary values. In contrast to this, customary iwi show great reluctance to break up development goals into separate claims or approaches. Iwi have been motivated to enter into the settlement process to advance broader development agendas based on a more holistic recognition of self-determination, inclusive of economic, cultural, social and political goals. The iwi rationale for settlement will usually be in contrast to that of the Crown and may be effectively sidelined when "… [a] key strategy of the Treaty settlements process has been to allow negotiation on only that narrow range of issues that the Crown has deemed acceptable …" (p. 33).

Three integral themes can be pointed to in this perspective of the notion of Māori development. The first is consistent with 'self-determination' described as a theme by Durie (2005c). The second is derived from the concept of holism, the need to consider development as a whole approach rather than uncoupling its components into areas that conform to national visions of development. The third relates to the essence of Māori identity, the nature of indigeneity as it is recognised today and in acknowledgement of mana whenua (localised authority) as it was expressed in the past.

Summary

Development has been described as a concept of advancement and improvement initially presented as a means to move beyond the privations of life, particularly as they arise as a result of an environment of progress in society. The early approaches to development are shown to have been culturally biased toward those in power, serving to accentuate underdevelopment rather than alleviate it. Development today has become more centred on self-determination, empowerment and agency. Community development has similarly undergone shifts in emphasis, serving to respond to the interests of the communities themselves, of levels of government, and of global issues.

Māori development is not derived from the same point as Western development. Māori groups, in the form of whānau, hapū and iwi, maintained an authority and identity prior to European contact and that acts as the foundation of Māori development today. Underlying ambitions of Māori development have been expressed as self-determination, strong identity and indigenous, holistic approaches. They have been common development themes from the post-contact period to today. In 1984, with the rise of neoliberal economic ideology in New Zealand, Māori organisations took the opportunity to assert 'tino rangatiratanga' (local authority) guaranteed under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Coupled with the Treaty settlement process, iwi have asserted the right to determine their own expression of development.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE REVITALISATION

Introduction

This chapter examines the notion of language revitalisation in a Māori context. Particular emphasis is given to the application of language planning frameworks in strengthening local community identity, managing language use domains, influencing community attitudes and building levels of language proficiency through use. A primary focus of revitalisation for a threatened language is the establishment or re-establishment of speaker communities (K. A. King, 2001b).

Language Revitalisation

> When languages die, people do not stop talking. Cultures do not fold up and silently steal off into the night. They go on and they talk the new language. They go on in the other language; they work out a new relationship between language and culture. The relationship is detachable; it is dislocated; it takes a lot of time; and it takes a lot of doing to once more have a traditionally associated language, having once lost one (Fishman, 2007, p. 76).

Apart from physical threats to the lives of its speakers, a language is threatened when there has been critical loss of its functionality in society under pressure from a more dominant language and culture (Fishman, 2001, pp. 1-2). Languages are not lost, as such. The conditions where the languages are valued, are relevant and useful, become altered by the presence of another culture or worldview in a position of dominance. Typically this results in diminished use and value of the threatened language and is manifested in the breakdown of natural intergenerational language transmission, particularly within the home. This breaks the continuity of native speaker, mother-tongue acquisition. As a consequence, language revitalisation principally targets the specific context of language use between older, more proficient, speakers and younger members with an emerging range of proficiency. Revitalisation seeks to restore the conditions where language, culture

and identity are accorded a renewed sense of validity, relevance and usefulness (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005). It was recognised by Sapir (1929) that "...we may think of language as the *symbolic guide to culture* [emphasis original text]" (p. 210). To restore the conditions of language vitality, revitalisationist activity must also seek to restore the conditions of cultural strength. The re-establishment of what Spicer (1971) refers to as 'persistent cultural systems', open-ended systems believed in by people and sustained by intergenerational transmission open to reinterpretation by each generation. These connections of language and culture are stored by a community as an expression of identity.

It is also recognised that both the language and culture of the home are directly under the control of families and, therefore more readily influenced by family leaders. A group is able to alter the dynamics of power and attitudes toward the dominant language by actively restricting its use. The dominant language then becomes a minority language and the threatened language becomes dominant in settings where language use is managed. The use of the minority language reinforces commitment to collective identity. In these conditions an "...oppositional process frequently produces intense collective consciousness and a high degree of internal solidarity..." (Spicer, 1971, p. 799). Language evokes social connection and the revitalisation of language is a key factor in enhancing community development. In Sapir's words, "...'He speaks like us' is equivalent to saying 'He is one of us'..." (Sapir, 1986, p. 16). To achieve these conditions of language revitalisation, domains of language use should be formed with sufficient language resources, cultural resilience, motivated leadership and oral proficiency to sustain high value language immersion activities, with priority given to intergenerational transmission. Language revitalisation is a process of empowerment of families, the affirmation of identity and the promotion of cultural value associated with language use (Timutimu, Ormsby-Teki, & Ellis, 2009).

Terminology

'Language revitalisation' is a term most commonly applied to activities undertaken by communities to retain and develop a language that is threatened (R. A. Benton, 2001;

Grenoble & Whaley, 2005; Hinton & Hale, 2001; K. A. King, 2001a; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Tsunoda, 2005). Other terms that have been used for these activities include language regeneration (R. Benton & Benton, 2001; Hohepa, 1999; Spolsky, 2003), language restoration (Hinton & Ahlers, 1999), language renewal (Brandt & Ayoungman, 1989; A. J. Fleras, 1987) and language stabilisation (Burnaby, 1997). These terms have largely been used interchangeably, leading to a lack of consistent use of terminology. Yet Edwards (2010) dismisses the need to better define terminology as "hair-splitting terminological exercises [that] are both unnecessary and inefficient" (pp. 109-110). He points out the difficulty in maintaining a consistent set of terminology across such a diverse range of ecological language settings internationally.

This study maintains there is a need for some clarity in differentiating the terms when presenting a theoretical framework of language revitalisation as it relates to health promotion. There is potential for misunderstanding when 'language revitalisation' is referred to without clear differentiation between various levels of activity, in other fields and to generate outcomes that are not strongly centred on language. Examples include teaching the language in formal state education, commercial resource development through publishers, indigenous media, social services provided in the language, and community-centred language initiatives. It is argued here that language revitalisation seeks to achieve distinct language, cultural and identity-based outcomes that distinguish approaches associated with it.

Wikipedia is helpful in identifying a meaning of 'language revitalisation' generated with common usage. It describes the term as "…the attempt by interested parties, including individuals, cultural or community groups, governments, or political authorities, to recover the spoken use of a language that is endangered, moribund, or no longer spoken" (Wikipedia, 2008)[49]. Bernard Spolsky (2003) describes 'revitalisation' as "parents using a language to raise their children" (p. 555). He continues with providing the term's origin as a derivative of 'vitality', a language attribute used by Stewart (1968) and Fishman (1970) as

49 The participatory nature of Wikipedia's international forum contributions has value in providing an insight into how 'language revitalisation' is generally defined among internet users.

a part of a framework of language typology[50]. 'Vitality' is stated to be the "… use of [a] linguistic system by an unisolated community of native speakers" (Stewart, 1968, p. 536). In the sense of both Stewart's and Spolsky's description, 'vitality' would denote a community of speakers who maintain a natural setting of language use (which implies normal intergenerational transmission) in a social environment where other languages are present in strength. By inference, 'language revitalisation' describes interventions, processes or objectives that seek to restore this language 'vitality' to a community.

> My preference for the term revitalization (Spolsky 1991; Spolsky 1996a) highlights rather the critical importance of restoring "vitality" or normal intergenerational transmission of the language as a mother tongue (Spolsky & Shohamy, 2001, pp. 350-351).

Considering the definition provided in Wikipedia, common use of the term 'language revitalisation' in practice is far broader than that suggested by Spolsky and Shohamy. This common use of the expression fails to distinguish the roles of natural speaker communities[51] from those of government or political groups. Analysis by Paulston (1994, pp. 79-106) differentiates the activities practised by communities and the resourcing mechanisms and legislative processes employed by governments. Distancing language revitalisation from the role of the State allows for emphasis to be placed more effectively on the significance of intergenerational language transmission expounded by Fishman (1991, 2001), Spolsky (2003; Spolsky & Shohamy, 2001) and other prominent language revitalisation advocates (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005).

Another commonly used term, 'Reversing Language Shift' (RLS), encompasses the broad range of language management activities associated with strengthening a language exhibiting decline in use (Fishman, 1991). RLS is derived from the concept of 'language shift', describing a shift in normal practices of language use among speakers from one language to another (Fishman, 1964). No inference is made in the term 'language shift' as to which language is becoming more prominent or dominant in the community or whether that language is threatened. Yet experience has shown that in the absence of effective strategies or particularly strong incentives among speakers the shift in language use trends

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50 Seven language types were defined: standard, classical, artificial, vernacular, dialect, creole and pidgin. Stewart offers an important distinction because the strongly symbolic vernacular held by speaker communities may vary greatly from a standardised language of administrative systems of the state.

51 Referring to 'natural speaker communities' implies the inherent presence of intergenerational language transmission.

toward the more politically, socially and economically dominant language (Fishman, 2001, pp. 1-2; Nettle & Romaine, 2000, pp. 91-93). Initiatives seeking to turn around the tendency for language shift toward dominant language use are 'reversing' the conditions that influence speakers to use a language of prestige or dominance, particularly toward the use of a minority, threatened or heritage language. Highlighting the community conditions of language use reinforces the point that 'shift' is more a social phenomenon, based in historical and political attitudes and cultural values, than the product of a lack of capacity of the language.[52] In this way, language shift recognises the role of attitudes and beliefs among communities but at the same time remains wide enough to incorporate the role of the State (through social services, legislation, policy and political mechanisms) as well as commercial interests (impacting on employment, markets and business relationships) in influencing patterns of language use. In that broader sense, 'reversing' language shift comprises all activities, at all levels and contexts, that act to strengthen a threatened language by reversing the diverse set of conditions that have led to the prevailing shift away from its use by a community.

In the literature, there is an apparent emerging preference among some indigenous writers for the use of 'language regeneration' as a term that captures the notion of cultural integrity and the mobilising of speakers, particularly among indigenous peoples.

> The current [sic] Māori Language Commissioner (Hohepa, 2000)[53] uses the term regeneration, which seems to be a useful way to refer to the increase of salience and status that comes when a language becomes a focus for ethnic mobilization (Spolsky, 2003, p. 555).

Margie Hohepa (1999) describes the appeal of the use of the term 'regeneration' among indigenous and community-oriented writers offering a different perspective of the language revitalisation. Hohepa focuses on the language itself and its critical contribution to living culture. Evoking a sense of growth and development within the language itself, it remains consistent with the notion of a living community and the central role played by language (R. Benton & Benton, 2001, p. 447).

52 Without losing sight of the significant contribution that literacy, corpus development and linguistic analysis provide to communities of speakers.

53 This reference is to Patu Hohepa, the then Chair of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission).

> [N]either conceptualisation ['reversing language shift' or 'language revitalisation'] reflects a sense of development and growth. As well as playing a fundamental role in our development as humans and the development of cultures, living languages are constantly being developed and re-created. … Regeneration speaks more of growth and re-growth, development and re-development. Nothing re-grows in exactly the same shape that it had previously, or in exactly the same direction (Hohepa, 1999, p. 46)

'Regeneration' is not only associated with Māori language. Other examples of contexts where 'regeneration' has been a preferred term include Wales (C. H. Williams & Evas, 1998), Scotland (MacKinnon, 1984) and North America (Breinig, 2006). While references to 'language revitalisation' far outweigh those to 'language regeneration' in the literature, it is possible that 'regeneration' is becoming a preferred term among some indigenous communities and writers, Māori language advocates included. The term may be less focussed on giving emphasis to the importance of the process of natural intergenerational language transmission for ensuring the threatened language's continued use.

Adding to perceptions of ambiguity in terminology, Paulston (1994) uses the term 'regeneration' synonymously with 'regenesis'. Regeneration/regenesis is used by Paulston to denote overarching language activities, inclusive of 'language revival', 'language revitalisation' and 'language reversal'.

Table 5: Language regeneration/regenisis

Term	Context of Use
Language Revival or Restoration	reviving a language after discontinuance, making it the normal means of communication within a speech community
Language Revitalisation	giving new vigour to a language in limited or restricted use especially through the expansion of language domains
Language Reversal	turning around current trends of shift predominantly by the State involving corpus planning or changes to legal status

Paulston, 1994 (pp. 91-93)

'Language revival' has been associated with the process of restoring life to a language that has fallen out of ordinary daily use. It may have been considered "dead", a language without native speakers (Spolsky, 2003, pp. 554-555). This interpretation of revival, as it is commonly applied to Hebrew, is seen by Cooper (1990) to be "...a misnomer". It is, instead, the revernacularisation of Hebrew into society from formal religious practice. He

states "...once a language has passed out of all use whatsoever, it remains dead" (p. 12). In common usage, however, 'revival' is treated loosely, meaning to bring a language that is not used in everyday settings back into regular use, which has led sociolinguists to suggest it as an overarching term (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 62-63)

Paulston (op.cit.) uses the term 'language reversal' to refer to strategies undertaken by the State in the form of a legal reversal of past policy. A key point of interest is the way the terms differentiate the role of community from that of the state. It is acknowledged that a simplified macro/micro perspective does not reflect the complexity and interaction between many levels of language planning activity (Wortham, 2008). However, by contrasting the two terms Paulston (op.cit.) at least makes manifest the role of government (pp. 100-102). For example, the state's role may involve legislating for official language status, or the reversal of economic and political conditions that would impact on community-based projects at a macro level of influence. For Māori language the state's involvement is currently included alongside the community role within the widely applied term 'language revitalisation'. A differentiation of terms helps create space to better understand the range of scale that exists between various levels of organisation and helps recognise the agency of community in terms of micro language activity.

Spolsky (2003, 2004, 2005, 2009) has elaborated on the term 'language management', which recognises that all levels of RLS embrace some form of language management, from making choices on the language spoken in the home to managing language curricula in schools. 'Macro language management' would qualify language management to clearly distinguish policy and activities determined and controlled by the State within the structure of society. In this study, distinguishing differences between state and community roles is used to ensure micro level language management is not obscured by macro level roles and objectives. The management of domains of language use may be influenced by state goals to standardise conventions of writing or to encourage language use directed toward economic activity. In the end, language management in the form of decisions and choices in the home or in community settings have a direct impact on mother-tongue acquisition and native speaker development.

In conclusion, 'language revitalisation' is the preferred term used in this study as it closely relates to the objectives of the three case study groups included in the research. It is aligned with a community language use context identified by Stewart (1968), an "… unisolated community of native speakers" (p. 536), in describing language 'vitality'. Language revitalisation highlights the need to support and re-establish native self-priming speaker communities as a primary objective. All of the case study groups aspire to achieving the high level of community resilience needed to maintain language use and cultural identity in the presence of English language that is dominant. Managing language use and acquisition in the home and local community settings allows for a degree of independence from state apparatus, and engenders strong commitment to resist prevailing attitudes that support the use of English.

Intergenerational Language Transmission

Reference to native speaker communities signifies natural intergenerational language transmission that is an essential condition in accomplishing the intent of language revitalisation. Fishman (1991) advances the premise of a scale, the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (pp. 87-109), that equates the degree of disruption caused to intergenerational language transmission to the degree to which a language can be considered threatened. Fishman maintains that in communities where a local language[54] is prominent and is valued by its speakers the likelihood is that the language will be spoken in the home, to younger generations. The converse is also true, where if the language is not valued it is unlikely to be spoken to younger generations. The consequences of which are that the local language will quickly become threatened and face language morbidity (op.cit.). Yet changing the established norms of language use within the home is one of the most difficult conditions of language revitalisation to fulfil. The use of Māori language within the home from a child's birth through to late adolescence is a significant undertaking. Further still, Fishman is said to have stated that while it may take as little as one generation for a whānau to lose their language, an

54 Local language denotes a locally occurring language that is not used in wider society. A local language will tend to be a minority language and may be considered threatened in a national sense but may be a common language of communication in a local environment. Often, however, local languages are placed under significant stress due to language shift toward a high-status and official national lanaguage.

immense three generations of effort is needed to restore the language to a position of previous strength (H. O'Regan, personal communication, 2005). This means very few people who begin the process of revitalisation within their whānau will be able to witness its third iteration in their great-grandchildren. Maintaining this process for such an extended period of time requires a powerful paradigm or vision of the future that not only sustains language use for fifteen or more years, but also sustains this commitment and resilience for a further two generations into the future.

Formal education institutions have been a major focus for Māori language use and acquisition. A major segment, 84.25%, of the government budget allocated to Māori language activity is in education (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011). Relying on initiatives such as Kura Kaupapa Māori or immersion early childhood settings to restore Māori language proficiency among children relinquishes intergenerational language transmission to state resourced programmes that are subject to political influence. Most importantly, however, children raised speaking English but learning Māori language in school are less likely to speak Māori in the home environment, and one would surmise they will, in turn, be less likely also to raise their children speaking Māori (R. Benton & Benton, 2001). Children in English speaking homes will also be less exposed to a lived, whānau-based paradigm of identity and Māori authority and, therefore, potentially be less motivated to continue with language revitalisation initiatives in the home should they become parents or caregivers.

Intergenerational language transmission is a critical approach within language revitalisation that helps ensure a language's use, its social and ecological context, and its inherent cultural value is maintained by being transmitted from one generation to the next. The home is an important environment, that remains under the direction of whānau, in which to manage language use. External pressures may influence whānau members but language choice remains under their control (Spolsky, 2012). However, a major dilemma is faced in centring attention on this family-based mechanism of socialisation. The informal nature of communication in the home is seldom based on a conscious decision. Changing patterns of language use, with preference given to a local language, needs to be planned and actively pursued. The established pattern of language use in society will act to gravitate usage

toward the dominant or high status language of the State (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998). This obstacle aside, significant though it may be, if a community is unable to find a way to re-engage this mechanism of socialisation in the home, it is highly likely that even the most enthusiastic and committed interventions will eventually fall short of establishing a self-priming native speaker community that characterises language vitality.

Speaker Communities

'Speaker community' is not a commonly used expression. Most often it is qualified as 'native speaker community' and 'non-native speaker community' (Davies, 2003), which helps make a distinction between the language use conditions of native speakers and of second-language speakers. Language revitalisation is most interested in supporting non-native speaker communities to eventually become multi-generational native speaker communities. 'Speaker community' is the term employed in this research to describe a group of people who form a collective as a distinct community of shared interest or practice as speakers making a conscious effort to restore language use.

A common sociolinguistic expression is 'speech community' (Gumperz, 1968; Labov, 1972), with differing approaches in how it is considered (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999; Rampton, 2010; Santa Ana & Parodi, 1998). Hornberger and King (2001) describe 'speech community' as a community sharing "...norms for interacting in the language, attitudes concerning language use, or the use of a specific variety, typically developed by engaging in regular interaction" (p. 171). Under this description a 'speech community' is a group identified by the language it uses. A 'speaker community', as used in this study, is identified by a shared motivation and their express decision to speak a language that is threatened or in the minority. The former reflects the characteristic language that develops in a community over time and becomes a distinguishable feature of the collective. The latter captures the notion of community aspirations for language revitalisation, the establishment of native speaker communities, with a deep sense of commitment to resist using the dominant language and restore functionality to a threatened language. A 'speaker community', particularly one formed among second language learners (J. M. King, 2009), may constitute an intermediary stage in restoring

native speaker functionality. Language use by native speakers raised within the group could, in the future, help distinguish it as a 'speech community'. Distinctive characteristics of language style, structure and use in normalised everyday contexts would help identify the group. The most critical mechanism in achieving this is intergenerational transmission of language and culture in everyday life that sustains the value of native speaker community identity.

An alternative expression focussed on the shared commitment of the group is referred to by Fishman (2007) as a 'community of belief'. The community would be a committed group of speakers who maintain belief in their shared objective, in one another and in the cultural significance of the threatened language facing unfavourable conditions of language shift.

> Creating community is the hardest part of stabilizing a language. Lack of full success is acceptable, and full successes are rare. … So even in your lack of full success, dedicated language workers, whether they be Māoris, Bretons, or whatever, become committed to each other and therefore they are members of the community of belief. (p. 80)

The reference to 'belief' indicates that language need not be at the centre of the groups shared vision, as language by itself may not be sufficient to drive a high level of dedication. Rather, at the crux of this community is the relationship a speaker has with their language, the assertion of identity, who they want to be, and their responsibility to ensure these key markers of shared identity remain available to future generations. Resisting against prevailing language norms of society is no easy undertaking. Belief is a valuable asset for any group when the resolve of its members is tested in what may appear from the outside to be an almost unachievable goal.

Speaker communities may be considered forms of domains of language use in participant-based contexts. Spolsky (2004) agrees with Fishman's argument that domains of language use can be defined in "…three significant dimensions…" of sociolinguistic context that include settings of "…location … participants and … topic…" (p. 42). Spolsky (2012) has continued to assert that language use in the home is the critical domain for maintaining heritage. However, even with the high level of control a family is able to institute within their home environment, it is still subject to the strong influence of prevailing attitudes and

beliefs about the value of language and culture. Families may feel altering the environment of language use to formal schooling will substitute for their ability to manage language use in the home. Rarely is this effective. If families are not aware of misleading societal beliefs they may end up acting in contradiction to the objectives of language revitalisation. Spolsky and others interested in the revitalisation of threatened languages and the management of immigrant languages are giving attention to 'family language policy', a new area of study (p. 8). 'Family language policy' establishes guidelines for planning and managing family domains of use. Speaker communities can be defined as domains of use among people with sufficient language proficiency to participate and regularly engage in shared immersion activities. These domains of use can be managed by families in their home environment with clearly demarcated locations, well-defined periods of immersion activity, and distinct contexts of interaction with cultural and social relevance.

Motivations

At the heart of shared action and commitment in 'language revitalisation' are the everyday decisions made by speakers and aspiring speakers, as individuals and in collectives, on when, where and with whom they use their threatened language. A high level of commitment is required to initiate and maintain environments of the threatened language's use. Participants must resist conformity with the prevailing dominant language and culture in wide-spread societal use. Such are the conditions present in New Zealand for speakers of Māori language. They need to form a personal connection with and perspective of the language and culture that will motivate them to continue to use the language and to participate in language domains.

'Heritage language' has been used to describe a language that corresponds with a strong sense of identity and is associated with high cultural value beyond purely utilitarian importance. Choosing to continue using a heritage language is an act of resistance to the inclination of aligning community activity with the dominant language and culture. A study of thirty-two Māori second language speakers from a range of backgrounds examined how

they perceived the language through their use of metaphor (J. M. King, 2007). Whether they were at the beginning of their journey to learn Māori language or had gained a prior level of proficiency, these learners described their "…need [for] a powerful rhetoric and worldview to sustain an ongoing commitment to their heritage language" (2007, p. 314). King contended that this perspective varies from the prominent use of metaphor for Māori language as a treasure in itself and therefore worthy of retaining. At a personal level, language revitalisation for Māori language learners in the study showed four forms of motivation: a worldview with a form of religious belief or fervour attached to it; a 'New Age' humanist perspective of personal growth, fulfilment and holistic health; a connection with ancestors, traditions and a hereditary responsibility for future generations; and, a philosophy based on kaupapa Māori as political and social change "…linked with aspirations for Māori sovereignty…" (J. M. King, 2009, pp. 99-103). The value of a heritage language is directly related to the expression of identity, in contrast to its practical application in society or a moral responsibility for society to retain its languages for the integrity of history or to maintain linguistic diversity.

Fishman (2007) describes the ethno-linguistic value of a local language as being motivated by three perspectives of value: the "…sense of sanctity, … sense of kinship, and sense of moral imperative" (p. 74). 'Sanctity' suggests a deep connection with the physical and nonphysical realms of our environment, its creation and our direct relationship to it. It reflects the soul of the people and has a special quality of sacredness as a carrier of culture. 'Kinship' conveys the sense of community linked through lineage that language strengthens. Language is a hereditary asset, shared by family members, that symbolises an intense feeling of commitment to one another. Finally, a 'moral imperative' accompanies a language among its hereditary speakers. It refers to the responsibility they share in retaining cultural integrity for the collective and translates into a personal duty in order to be recognised as an authentic member of the community (pp. 73-74). These values are markedly different to motivations in learning a language for personal interest or for career development, contrasting greatly with the drive of kindred communities to restore vitality to their local language, culture and identity (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011; King, 2009).

Motivations held by communities may also differ from those that drive academics' research and revitalisation associated activities. Speas (2009) notes "…the traditional model of research in which the linguist comes into a community, does research and leaves…" and that linguists are seeking ways "…to give back to the communities in which they do their research" (p. 23). Researchers have also tended to advance their work in terms of the need to preserve linguistic diversity or the cultural ecosystem and the criteria for intervention framed in terms of bio-diversity and the social and ethical responsibility of modern society to retain the pool of a linguistic resource (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Eisenlohr (2004) observes that indigenous communities are very unlikely to be motivated by such ends.

> An overview of more successful cases of reversing language shift (Fishman 1991, pp. 287-336) in languages such as Hawaiian (No'eau Warner 2001, Warschauer 1998; see also Friedman 2003), Hebrew (Hagege 2000, Kuzar 1999, Spolsky 1996), Welsh (Jones 1998a, Williams 2000), and Catalan (DiGiacomo 2001, Woolard 1989) suggests that ideas about biodiversity or the general impoverishment of human knowledge have had little relevance in these scenarios. In contrast, some ideological link between what is identified as a language to be revitalized and desirable notions of community and identity, often conceived in ethnic terms in a politics of recognition, is vitally important to the creation of these movements of language activism geared toward language renewal and language shift reversal. (p. 22)

Economic value associated with a threatened language, as a means to help stimulate markets such as tourism by building on the uniqueness of local identity, becomes prominent among public and private sector motivations (Fishman, 2007). This is also reflected in official reviews and reports for the New Zealand Government to establish efficiencies in expenditure and ensure value of outcomes (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998; Ministry of Māori Development, 2011). Further, the prominence of language revitalisation and indigenous language status in international indigenous rights acts to motivate the government to recognise its responsibility for supporting the use and development of Māori language.

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.
States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings,

where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means. (UNWGIP, 2007, article 13)

Two Tribunal reports WAI11 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989) and WAI262 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010) have extensively considered language rights of Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. They concluded that reo Māori is a 'taonga' identified in Article 2 of the Treaty and guaranteed by the Crown, and both identified breaches in Crown practice. Government motivations for supporting Māori language revitalisation may be more than maintaining compliance with legal and ethical responsibilities under domestic law. They also extend to the maintenance of Treaty partnership relationships with tangata whenua (Stevenson, 2008). The Crown is indirectly involved in the revitalisation of Māori language by providing support to communities. In a global or national setting Māori language and culture has limited relevance. Conversely, language and culture have significant practical, social and spiritual relevance among those who share heritage identity with it.

> But why save our languages since they now seem to have no political, economic, or global relevance? That they seem not to have this relevance is exactly the reason why we should save our languages because it is the spiritual relevance that is deeply embedded in our own languages that is important. The embeddedness of this spirituality is what makes them relevant to us as American Indians today. (Littlebear, 1999, p. 1)

At various levels of scale in RLS practice there are distinct differences in motivation and significant variation in the types of approach being employed. Among communities who place high cultural value on the use of their heritage language revitalisation based activity is less reliant on economic incentives or sways in central government policy. State apparatus is strongly influenced by popular opinion, particularly in budget allocation to maintain ongoing service capability. At this level there has been little emphasis placed on direct investment in language revitalisation at a community level. This distinction is evidenced in New Zealand by the minimal investment in community based initiatives and substantial expenditure in state services, in particular, formal education and broadcasting[55] (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011).

55 The 2011 'Review of the Māori Language Sector and the Māori Language Survey' described Māori language related expenditure for 2009 to be in the area of $600million of which 1.36% or $8.1million is spent on community-centred initiatives (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011, pp. 88-89).

Language Planning and Language Management

Cooper (1990) describes language planning as the "…deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of the language codes…"[56] (p. 45). Considered broadly, Cooper proposed an accounting scheme to describe language planning in an abbreviated form. It is "I *[w]hat actors* … II attempt to influence *what behaviours* … III of *which people* … IV for *what ends* … V under *what conditions* … VI by *what means* … VII through *what decision making process* … VIII with *what effect"* (p. 98). This explanation tends to be centred on macro-planning by government but can involve all forms of target group and leaves the concept open to a range of planning activities. Language planning, Spolsky (2004) suggests, has been located in a period characterised by a "…deliberate regulation of language and linguistic behaviour…" by the State (Nekvapil, 2006, pp. 3-4).

Spolsky (op.cit.) has proposed a shift in terminology, disassociated from 'language planning' and 'language policy', with an alternative term, 'language management'. He defines organised language management as,

> …[A]n attempt by some person or body with or claiming authority to modify the language practices or beliefs of a group of speakers. It is a political act arising out of a belief that the present practices or beliefs are inadequate or undesireable and need modification. It assumes the existence of choice ... and depends on the existence or perception of a significant conflict between two or more languages, varieties or salient variables, such that a different choice can be expected to remedy the conflict. (2009, p. 181)

Language planning and policy is said to be generally preoccupied with state directed action (p. 255). Language management, according to Spolsky, encompasses a full range of activity, centring attention on language domains of use from local and national organisations to the workplace and also family interaction in the home.

In New Zealand, macro level conditions that led to the loss of living speech communities were influenced by the State in areas such as education policy, procedures of language use in government, public promotion and resource allocation. Government has actively engaged in language planning and research activity (Ministry of Māori Development, 1998,

56 Language code is the most fundamental concept of language that refers to the way social meanings and functionality form the symbolic structure of language in social conditions of language transmission and reception (Bernstein, 1971, pp. 59-60).

2003, 2004b, 2011; Ministry of Māori Development & Māori Language Commission, 2003) within a neoliberal political and economic framework (McCormack, 2011) and has made progress in reversing many conditions at a national level. Examples of progress made can be seen in the support of Māori immersion education, internal language capacity in state agencies, establishment of Māori media service, and positive social marketing of Māori language. The State's approach to Māori language revitalisation is largely determined by the parameters of development in the market-driven economy established by the Fourth Labour Government (1984-1990). As the State has sought to step away from direct involvement and the welfare state was dismantled, the "…rolling back of the state…" and an ideology based on self-regulation, government relies more heavily on policy to assert influence on the market (pp. 282-283). Under these conditions language revitalisation can be perceived as influencing consumer behaviour and improving their preparedness for effective participation in the market. For example, increased language proficiency and the incorporation of Māori language in the marketplace through business initiatives and the economic capacity developed as a result of Treaty settlements.

An alternative perspective of language planning has been described as "…language planning from the bottom up…"[57] with a direct relationship to community language revitalisation (Hornberger, 1997, p. 357). Where Cooper's perspective has located language planning at a national or regional level that can be referred to as 'macro language planning', Hornberger's is based on localised activity or 'micro language planning'. Rather than placing the primary emphasis on influencing the behaviour of other groups, micro language planning is able to function at the personal level of individual language plans, generating shared commitment and networks of support. Language planning in this sense, particularly in the context of indigenous language revitalisation within communities, is concerned with structuring and co-ordinating efforts as collectives. Spolsky's (2009) concept of how language domains can be managed is more appropriate for community level planning less reliant on 'top down' policy and incentives. This is an important point, given the potential for significant difference between state motivations and those expressed by community.

57 The notion of 'top down' contrasted with 'bottom up' planning is previously described by Kaplan (1989).

Micro / Macro Language Planning

It has been noted that the diversity of scale among language planning activities, a continuum from very large, society-wide language objectives to localised, personal interaction, can be restricted and misunderstood when language planning is presented "… as a simple two-part model sometimes called the "micro-macro dialectic"…" (Wortham, 2008, p. 92). However some have identified value in distinguishing a dialectical approach that "… may be characterised as the contrast of social structure (macro) vs. interaction (micro) …" to help understand how their relations influence each other and help with language management initiatives (Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006).

When Fishman (1973) examined 'micro-planning', the workplace, schools, agencies and local/developing economies were a key focus of attention (pp. 29-30). Almost 25 years later Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) stated that micro language planning has not received much attention in literature "… perhaps because they are not seen as prestigious …" as macro level planning (p. 52). They described micro planning as being poorly understood among planning practitioners and students. It continues to be associated with localised environments that feel as though they are unplanned and natural. Whereas macro language planning and policy is perceived to be implemented with more structure and professional influence within schools and other state services (p. 299). A further step literature had failed to make in the development of micro language planning was recognition of the critical role of communities, families and their homes. They were not simply recipients of planning exercises but central and active figures of the process of planning and implementation. This shift was heralded by Fishman (1991) challenging language advocates "… to 'take hold' of … 'lower levels' constituting face-to-face, small-scale social life … pursued in their own right and focused upon directly, rather than merely being thought of as obvious and inevitable by-products of higher-level … processes and institutions" (p. 4). It was argued that micro level planning should be given priority over macro level planning. Yet recognition of the foundational role of families and communities has remained underdeveloped and poorly understood.

> Language needs to be brought into informal daily life. The problem is, the people don't know how to take it out of school. Somewhere, people need to find a safe place for language in daily life, a place where it isn't bombarded, a place where it can expand and grow. The paradox is that the vernacular lives in spontaneity and intimacy, but reversing language shift requires planning. How can you plan intimacy and spontaneity. (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998, p. 97)

Micro level conditions related to language revitalisation impact on attitudes held towards localised language use, intergenerational language transmission in the home, and normalised community language domains with full range of functionality can be considerably more complex than influencing state policy. Such endeavours do not come naturally. 'What works and what doesn't: the definitive step-by-step how-to guide' it could be said is language revitalisation's holy grail. Sadly, it appears to be just as elusive. Attempts to form universal solutions become foiled by the intricacy and mutability of social life and culture. As Richard and Nena Benton (2001) put it, "[t]he road towards RLS/revitalisation/regeneration for Māori winds its way through poorly signposted and almost certainly dangerous territory…" (p. 447). Language planning serves as preparation for the journey.

Community Language Planning

Hinton (2001) suggests five reasons for the importance of community planning that help clarify micro language planning. First is that heightened awareness is generated through participation in discussion, and research for planning helps identify achievable goals and effectiveness of strategies to be undertaken by the community. The second reason is the nature of planning encourages participants to consider longer-term objectives and larger issues beyond the group. The third is that planning helps empower the community to control their activities and manage their own goals rather than be directed by external demands such as those of state services. Fourth is the increased coordination of group efforts that may otherwise have been dissipated through mismatched contributions or miscommunication. The final reason is the role of planning in developing sound internal and external relationships that will reduce the potential for excessive competitiveness and rivalry (p. 51). These reasons, provided by Hinton, are closely aligned to the concept of community development.

Community language planning responds to the complexity of language setting variation between regions, communities and domains, with an expectation of empowerment, for communities themselves to be engaged directly in the planning process as experts of their language setting. Any failure to reach a comprehensive and unified language plan across many domains should not be treated as a failure of the planning process but an acknowledgement of unique local settings and community ownership of the process. Diversity of planning expertise and motivation can lead to a potential profusion of plans that all need to be recognised. An effective plan would present distinct objectives with a well-defined notion of what fits language use in each community's distinct social and cultural context (Liddicoat, 2012).

Effective planning should also come to terms with the slow pace at which established behaviours are capable of change and the long timeframes involved in language revitalisation, necessitating a far reaching vision of the future (Hinton, 2001). In contrast, government in New Zealand has been able to make policy changes and shift budget allocation with relative speed, highlighted in the rate change made from the mid-1980s to the present day (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). This lag in achievement of micro language planning objectives in changing habits of language choice has the potential to be poorly understood, leading to frustration with performance when it is matched against planning goals. Fishman's statement that it takes one generation to lose a language and three generations to restore it (H. O'Regan, personal communication, 2005) indicates such long timeframes that it would require an inspirational vision and well-developed planning that recognise the distinct characteristics of local settings and that sustain high levels of commitment over successive generations. Growing discontent among leaders, communities and programme funders at the slow rate of progress (as supported by incontrovertible evidence), acts to discourage the investment of resources and energy in ground level initiatives. High-level planning and policy strategies offer greater likelihood for rapid gains.

While highlighting the difficulty of the undertaking, the challenge set by Fishman (1991) to restore language use in communities and the home has continued in New Zealand to be relegated to a low priority, deemed less expedient than the resourcing and capacity

development generated among institutions of the State. The experience among Māori communities is that language projects such as Māori radio and education initiatives needed to be developed and established by unfunded, community-driven leadership in the first instance (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010).

Community and Language Revitalisation

Hornberger (2002) supports the notion that language revitalisation is grounded in community, extending it more explicitly to the context of indigenous community where language proficiency is not considered simply an important means for local communication but a critical component of localised identity (pp. 366-367). Authorities may have sought to create conditions where positive reinforcement encourages community members to shift their choice of language use toward the endangered language. However, Hornberger highlights the danger that potential speakers are perceived as being passively involved. "…[W]hereas language maintenance efforts have often tended to emanate from the top down … language revitalization efforts tend to originate within the speech community itself" (p. 367). Growing resentment being voiced by indigenous peoples about the "…pronouncements and predictions from linguists, however well intentioned" provides increased motivation for communities to take control of the micro level conditions of language planning, to resist Western models of planning and base initiatives on indigenous epistemologies (Romaine, 2006, pp. 467-468). Community level planning opens the potential for indigenous models of language revitalisation to be created and tested.

Any suggestion that language revitalisation is a normal community process and should be allowed to develop naturally would be unsound reasoning. The significant amount of effort required to slow the momentum of the prevailing language shift must create constructed domains of language use and a high level of shared awareness. Lost opportunities in community level activity seldom become available again. Further, limited resources, energy and shared enthusiasm squandered on ineffective or misaligned strategic approaches often prove to be costly experiences, but an experience all the same. Making the most of high quality exponents of the language while they are alive (Hinton,

Vera, & Steele, 2002), putting energy in to the preadolescent years of new generations of potential speakers, or sharing insights from past initiatives with those attempting similar approaches will be some of the more important strategies for most communities. Embarking on a collaborative exercise of setting clear goals and strategic steps towards their achievement remain a high priority for communities and their language.

> …RLS is a difficult and risky operation and requires a very fine sense of balance, an extremely delicate sense of boundary definition, of functional analysis … and a constant recognition of priorities, such as the right thing to do is the right thing only if it is done at the right time and in the right sequence with other things. Such a combination of delicacy and stubbornness, of sensitivity and of priorities, is extremely difficult to achieve (Fishman, 2001, p. 8).

This dilemma also underlines the inherent sensitivity and tenacity required for forming and maintaining communities committed to shared practice, even before vibrant self-priming speaker communities can be considered realistically. As society has become increasingly individualist and mobile (Kelsey, 1995), influencing a change in behaviours of larger groups of people to bring together community has become counterintuitive for people and their families concerned with an erosion of freedom or personal rights (Bauman, 2001). Building critical awareness for the role of community development in language revitalisation remains one of the biggest challenges. Paradoxically, the weakening of localised community capacity since the rise of the New Right ideology has occurred over the same timeframe as the period of Māori language renaissance.

> … [W]henever a weak culture is in competition with a strong culture, it is an unfair match. The odds are not encouraging for the weak. They never are. Whatever mistakes are made, there is not enough margin for error to recover from them. It is like a poor man investing on the stock market. If you do not hit it off, you do not have anything to fall back on. Small weak cultures, surrounded by dominant cultures, dependent on a dominant culture, and dislocated by those very cultures, and yet needing those cultures, are not to be envied. They have undertaken to resist the biggest thing around, and frequently, they begin to do so when it is too late. (Fishman, 2007, pp. 75-76)

Language Policy and Planning (LPP)

'Language policy and planning' is a structured approach to influencing language behaviour. Policy relates to explicit and concealed decisions made about language behaviour based on an ideology or set of principles to achieve some form of goal (Berthoud & Lüdi, 2010). 'Planning' is the enactment of 'policy', but "…must be linked to the critical evaluation of

language policy" (Fettes, 1997, p. 14). Where 'policy' constructs the language vision, the process of language planning determines how it will be implemented in practice. Hornberger (2006) further observes that literature is undecided on how planning and policy should be placed – policy as a precursor to planning, or the other way around. Rather than become embroiled in a 'which comes first' debate[58], Hornberger makes the statement "…LPP offers a unified conceptual rubric under which to pursue fuller understanding of the complexity of the policy–planning relationship and in turn of its insertion in processes of social change" (2006, p. 25). Most importantly, Hornberger underlines LPP as a normative function implying administrative authority and most often in connection with the workings of government (Baldauf, 2004).

The early development of LPP arose from Einar Haugen's 1959 work on Norwegian national language, coining the term 'language planning' (Fettes, 1997). In the immediate years that followed the early language planning framework comprised of two distinct interventions, 'status' and 'corpus' planning, (Kloss, 1969) and were largely considered to be 'ideologically neutral'. Status planning most commonly related to the legal status of a language or its variations, particularly in government related services or activities, and can be considered as "…managing language speakers…". In contrast, 'corpus planning' managed the language "…whether by developing a writing system, modernizing it, or adding new lexicon" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 103). Some twenty years later a third intervention, 'acquisition' planning (Cooper, 1990), was included to incorporate the learning and development of language skills primarily in formal education systems and directed toward government priorities "…often associated with a desire for unification, … a desire for modernization, a desire for efficiency, or a desire for democratization" (Rubin, 1971 cited in Ricento, 2000, pp. 199-200).

Further development of LPP approaches brought interventions more aligned with community needs (Hornberger, 2006). They included Chrisp and Spolsky's extended elements of 'critical awareness' and 'use' applied to Māori language (Ministry of Māori

58 An example of such a perspective is Ricento's statement that "I deliberately use 'language policy' as a superordinate term which subsumes 'language planning' (Ricento, 2000, p. 209, footnote 2).

Development, 2004b)[59]. Even after expanding the language planning aims with greater emphasis on community drivers, there has been only limited shift in attention from state-centred activity to language use in the home and community (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011). Critical awareness and language use tend to be better associated with community level micro planning. The former relates to the level of awareness present among speakers in understanding the language choices available to them and the consequences of those choices. The latter, 'language use', involves characteristics of use – how it is used and how often, in what contexts, "…to whom, and about what subjects" (Ministry of Māori Development, 2004b, pp. 18-19).

LPP did not fully emerge as an academic field until the post-modern critique of standardisation in the 1960's (Baldauf, 2004; Wee, 2011). Ricento (2000) describes three distinct periods of LPP activity. The earliest stage of planning is a period of fervour of nationhood. A strong national language with sound foundations of written form, standardised use, modern application and social growth was considered to reflect development and unified authority. Language planners were tasked with the modernisation of terminology, style and use in what was considered an acultural/apolitical project "…to expedite modernity …" (p. 198). The next period, beginning in the early 1970's, saw an increasing recognition of the failure of language policy and planning to achieve modernisation. Language development was predicted to be able to provide capacity to the economic, cultural and social advancement of developed and developing countries and to enable democracy. Planners reflecting on their work and that of others found their activity not to be neutral. There was a growing disillusionment in language planning and even the futility of trying to control language use for state objectives. The final, and current, stage that began in the mid-1980's is said by Ricento to respond to language rights of communities with a postmodern critique of past practice. Coupled with this, international events such as the break up of Soviet states, the Croatian war for independence, and the forming of the European Union have challenged notions of nationhood and globalisation. Language, culture and identity became priorities especially

59 Another proposed language planning element is Baker's 'usage/opportunity' planning. This element concentrates on the individual level of speakers inclusive of instrumental use (workplace and commercial activity) and integrative use (cultural and social activity such as sport, religion and leisure) (Baker, Andrews, Gruffydd, & Lewis, 2011)

in relation to language loss, indigenous rights and large refugee populations (pp. 198-206). LPP contends with the politicised nature of language (especially of the State) and the integrity of intellectual inquiry in this academic discipline. In practice, LPP must act among the demands of the ideology of policy maker interests and the needs of people on whom the socio-political choices about language impact (Wee, 2011, p. 11).

The greater emphasis given to localised communities in the final phase of LPP activity coincides with the increasingly heightened level of awareness about threatened languages. Through the latter half of the 1990's and first decade of the 21st century an increasing range of initiatives have been attempted and provided specifically to the needs of speaker communities with micro planning – for example, Māori broadcasting (Hollings, 2005), Wānanga Māori (P. Winiata, 2006b), Mā te Reo community language fund (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2011), Iwi/Community language plans (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2006) and the Community Based Language Initiatives (CBLI) (Ministry of Education, 2009b). However, criticism continues to be voiced regarding the disproportionate level of resourcing and support offered to community relative to the level of support provided to state-based activity (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010).

LPP Activity Related to Māori Language

For Māori, experience of loss of language use can be considered an outcome of the normative function of language policy of the State. One of the examples of this is the early native school system restricting the language of instruction to English and a European cultural context as policy arising from the Native Schools Act, 1867 (Simon et al., 2001, p. 8). Interventions through the schooling system (the result of planning) sought to assimilate the Māori population into the settler's predominantly English culture (the policy objective). Policy and planning inherent in the apparatus of the State in this early period remained concealed within the prevailing ideology of negative cultural attitudes and the Western conception of cultural and ethnic superiority. Education was the most apparent expression of language policy at the period of LPP's beginning just prior to 1960. The Hunn Report (Hunn, 1961) and the Currie Report (Currie, 1962) both highlighted the disparities between

Māori and Pākehā students but proposed measures that did not differentiate Māori student needs from those of non-Māori. Therefore, the reports advocated for a more intensive programme of integration with additional support for Māori to attain standards achieved by non-Māori. These attempts were later recognised to be misguided judgements (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989). The opening of the bilingual school in Ruatoki in 1977 signalled a shift in state policy but it would be naïve to consider this the influence of LPP. Rather the groundswell of Māori community movement, following actions such as the Reo Māori Petition with 30,000 signatures presented to Parliament on 14 September, 1972 (Te Rito, 2008) was a contributing factor. Other influences include the widespread Māori response to the findings of Benton's research (R. A. Benton, 1978) conducted through the 1970's, raising alarm for the immanent loss of Māori language use from communities, and the WAI11 Reo Māori Claim taken to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986. Again LPP can take little credit for having influenced awareness that would have led to these developments for Māori language. This reflects a delay, Ricento (2000) identified, in reaching a theoretical position that began to recognise indigenous language rights in the 1980's and a lag in the presence of a literature base for a robust critique of the monolingual policy narratives of nationhood. By the 1990's language planners had begun to assert a more coordinated and strategic approach to Māori language development (Chrisp, 1997; Waite & Learning Media, 1992).

One of the early detailed analyses of macro level LPP in New Zealand was a Treasury working paper, 'An analytical survey of language revitalisation policies', published in 1998 (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998). Francois Grin and Francois Vaillancourt, language economists from the universities of Geneva and Montreal respectively, were commissioned to develop an analytical framework on which government policy for the Māori language revitalisation project could be based. Given the expertise of the writers, and having Treasury as its audience, the report has a natural focus on the economic implications of policy and the efficacy of a variety of strategic approaches to Māori language revitalisation. In the working paper, the role of language policy is defined as being "…to ensure [that] favourable conditions are present" for success in achieving language revitalisation. From a planning perspective, they describe language planners' roles to be "…not just to select, design and implement sensible policy measures, but also to make sure that the necessary

success conditions are met – and, of course, create such conditions if they are not" (p. 167). To this end they list seven social, political and economic conditions that are believed to lead to language revitalisation success. The first is referred to as the 'avant-garde condition' that recognises the vital role of community groupings "…independent from the State apparatus, and whose goals explicitly feature language use and language visibility as top priorities" (ibid). Ground level resurgence of minority language use must counter the inertia of unfavourable conditions of prevailing dominant language use in wider society. This helps to strengthen the resolve of a community with a sense of value and empowerment to assert the need for the introduction of new policy and direction (the avant-garde). In relation to community language planning, this would appear to be the most critical condition in motivating minority indigenous language strategy.

The second condition, 'redistribution', relates to the State's role in being prepared to allocate its "…social resources, both financial and symbolic…" to support community efforts in language revitalisation (p. 168). This is an internal condition of the authorities for examining evidence, considering implications and determining the best way to allocate available resources to support threatened languages. Redistribution of symbolic resources involves making changes in relation to status, procedures or policy position within state activity to sanction minority language revitalisation by endorsing initiatives that may not be well supported by the majority of the public.

A 'normalcy condition' is described as the most significant political condition, where potential resistance towards language revitalisation within the majority population is diplomatically managed. Appropriate responses to concerns should involve explicit endorsement and defence of revitalisation efforts as normal and justified. Sound evidence accessed through research is needed to present a clear position promoting the moral responsibility and resultant benefits expected to arise. This is heavily reliant on the previous condition, where government and administration must be inclined to endorse the development (p. 169).

Technical skill and professional capability of those involved within revitalisation project(s) is the focus of the 'technical effectiveness condition'. Such expertise and capacity within key

fields (e.g. language teaching, broadcasting programme production, graphic design and community language mentoring) may take some time to generate and may become a significant cost to establish and maintain. Public expectations are likely to be for a similar, if not better, standard of product compared with majority population services to reinforce perceptions of high status and high value in revitalisation initiatives (pp. 170-172).

The four conditions described above relate to establishing appropriate environmental conditions that ensure settings conducive to initiating effective revitalisation programmes. The following three conditions relate to what the authors refer to as 'influencing bilingual behaviours'. This means that once language proficiency has been cultivated among minority language speakers (who are naturally bilingual due to the pervading nature of dominant majority language) they must make decisions or develop preferences that support regular use of the threatened language. As is noted in the paper "…the fact that people know the language does not necessarily mean that they use it" (pp. 173).

The fifth, 'shadow price condition', refers to the cost difference of participating in minority language activities as opposed to those of the majority language, in terms of time, energy, commitment and money – the 'shadow *price*'. If the political and environmental conditions have been dealt with at a macro level then the real cost for individual speakers to function within their language must be addressed. At times this means subsidising costs for accessing goods or services specifically aligned to minority language use, such as support for community language event coordination or immersion resources made available at low charge or no charge (p. 174).

'Individual language maintenance condition' is the sixth factor and is identified as being one of the weakest in revitalisation policy. Language acquisition opportunities are necessary for building initial proficiency but learners should not be limited to formal education settings. Natural language use that allows speakers to maintain their acquired language skills needs to be extended into the wider sphere of community life. Language visibility is an important component of this condition by reinforcing positive and practical

prompts to community language use, particularly through broadcasting, signage and print media that make the language more prominent in normal speaker activity (pp. 175-176).

The final condition, 'strict preference condition', is suggested to be the most complex to enable. In the absence of less favourable environmental factors, such as a minimal 'shadow price', language use is heavily reliant on personal preference for use among bilinguals. In spite of high levels of language proficiency achieved or opportunities for use made available, if bilingual speakers are indifferent about the use of the minority language the value of revitalisation efforts is diminished. Attitudes, values and beliefs held by speakers shift over time, influenced by a perceived sense of success or futility, oppression or empowerment, cultural worth or poverty (pp. 177-178).

The language planning model proposed by Grin and Vaillancourt is of particular value in differentiating the various participants or stakeholders and their respective roles in realising language revitalisation. The way in which these success conditions are able to differentiate roles also allows for more clear measurement of effectiveness. The report's authors felt confident to state the relative success of each condition they perceived to be present at the time of the report.

Table 6: Status of success conditions in New Zealand

STATUS OF SUCCESS CONDITIONS IN NEW ZEALAND

(MAX = 5, MIN = 1)

Condition	Status	Score
Avant-garde	mostly met	4
Redistribution	partly met	3
Normalcy	partly met	3
Technical effectiveness	mostly met	4
Shadow price	? and mostly not met	? / 2
Individual language maintenance	? and not met	? / 1
Strict preference	mostly not met	2

Grin, 1998 (p. vi)

All of the last three conditions are directly involved with language use behaviour among bilingual speakers and have warranted poor grades of one (not met) or two (mostly not met). This is an unsurprising result given the likelihood for a lag in achieving changed

language habits and a gradual improvement in attitudes across a diversity of community settings (R. Benton & Benton, 2001, p. 446). It appears that New Zealand government policy has, in spite of the limited uptake of the report's findings in academic circles and community language organisations, been influenced by Grin and Vaillancourt's recommendations, especially with the establishment of at least one of the main areas of support it identified, Māori broadcasting (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998, p. vi; Hollings, 2005, pp. 116-118). The report realistically recognises the need to create conditions among participants at their various levels of activity, with an explicit emphasis on success. Table 7 seeks to summarise, in table form, the conditions of success described in the report.

Table 7: Conditions for language policy success

	Group of Focus	**Main objectives**	**Action prioritised**
Avant-garde Condition	Motivated minority language advocates and organisations outside of government	Acknowledgement of core groups of language advocates and leaders who challenge status quo perspectives	Support minority language leadership with funds, research and critical awareness related resources
Redistribution Condition	Acknowledgement of core groups of language advocates and leaders who challenge status quo perspectives	Secure approval for redistribution of Government resources to language revitalisation projects	Gather evidence of the value in revitalisation and respond to challenges with research and sound analysis
Normalcy Condition	Public in general especially the majority language community	Gain broad support among public for the establishment of language revitalisation services	Make evidence and planning rationale available and demonstrate Government commitment
Technical Condition	Technicians, professionals, researchers and service managers	Present service/resources to the highest standard to motivate community support and reinforce status of the initiatives	Deliver services/resources with a high performance standard to demonstrate critical value
Shadow Price Condition	Business, service providers and language community initiatives of support	Reduce costs in time, energy and money for minority speakers to maintain their participation and contribution	Prioritise use of resources with a clear indication of critical areas of language activity
Individual Language Maintenance Condition	Speaker communities and local community in general	Provide effective community language domains and services that encourage language use among bilinguals	Increase visibility of language and support/promote minority language-only areas
Strict Preference Condition	Individuals and family members in everyday settings	Encourage positive attitudes and personal commitment to support the maintenance of language use in everyday life	Highlight progress made in projects and provide revitalisation related information

Descriptive note. Adapted from *Language Revitalisation Policy* by Grin & Vaillancourt (1998)

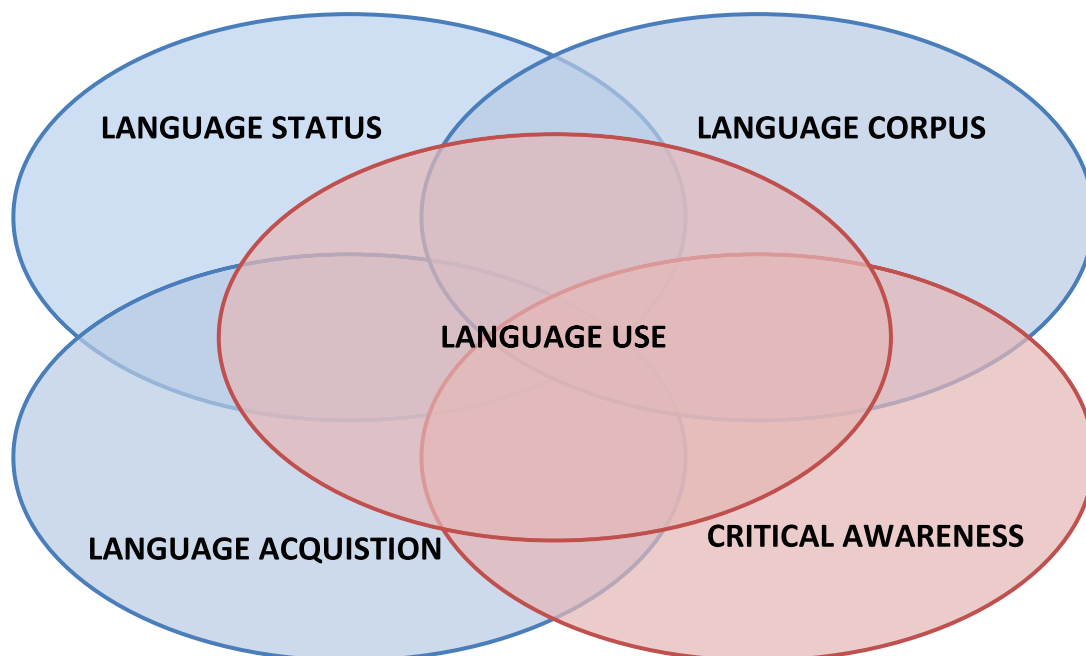
A Planning Framework for Māori Language

Few language policy and planning initiatives actively target Māori community language. The most notable exceptions are funding programmes 'Mā te Reo', managed by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori and established in 2001 by the Minister of Māori Affairs, Parekura Horomia (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2011), and 'Community-based Language Initiatives' (CBLI) set up within the Ministry of Education in 2000. The CBLI fund was originally only made available to five regions at a time and had specific objectives for iwi language planning, such as, "…developing iwi-specific Māori language strategies…" and working to create "…whānau, marae and kura language plans to help transmit language between generations…" (Ministry of Education, 2009b, p. 100).

Spolsky and Chrisp's model for language planning has been most widely applied in New Zealand, particularly among iwi-based language strategies and plans (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2006; Raukawa Trust Board, 2006; Te Reo o Taranaki Trust, 2005). This is not surprising given the wide distribution of the community language planning publication on Māori community language development (Ministry of Māori Development, 2004b). Five groupings of issues were identified as needing "… to be considered in planning and implementation for language revitalisation…" (p. 18). During the consultation process for the establishment of the Māori Language Strategy, the five elements where presented to the Māori community (T. Chrisp and TPK staff, personal communication, 2003) in a valuable diagrammatic schema of five intersecting zones of activity – status, corpus, acquisition, critical awareness and use (Figure 1).

The graphic representation of the five elements of language planning was presented during a consultation process for the proposed Māori Language Strategy (Ministry of Māori Development & Māori Language Commission, 2003). Such a depiction of language planning elements supports the notion of a unified approach emphasising 'language use', located at the centre and overlapping the other four elements. This simple detail lends weight to the perception that domains of language use are a pivotal element of language revitalisation. To help in distinguishing the community-centred efforts proposed by Spolsky and Chrisp, the two relevant zones in the diagram, language use and critical awareness, have been coloured red.

Figure 1: Schema of the Five Elements of Language Revitalisation and Language Planning



Language status is understood in terms of social and cultural preferences and attitudes held by groups and individuals about the value (utilitarian or prestige value) associated with the language. This determines the way the language is used and the choices that are made about why a type of language is appropriate or whether one type is used in preference to another. External perceptions of the language are a significant factor. Affecting change in status will include approaches that impact on those perceptions or the symbolic value of a language by enhancing its prestige, for example as an official language, by identifying a standard for the language's use in various contexts, or changing the cultural relevance of environments that make the language's use better suited for that setting (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Language corpus covers the internal linguistic structure, forms of language material and the cultural content of the language itself. It incorporates a community's collective language repertoire inclusive of its range of language types and expressive formats, its creative, functional capacity and its cultural/historical reserve of language resources. Activities related to corpus planning include archiving examples of language use by native

speakers, or modification of the language such as modernising vocabulary or amending its orthographic conventions (ibid).

Acquisition planning occupies the largest segment of government policy development activity and administrative function in language planning. This is likely due to the education sector being similarly a principal concern of authorities for economic and social development in most countries. With this in mind, there is a danger for acquisition of a threatened language to be considered an academic endeavour, diminishing the critical importance of intergenerational transmission and undermining language planning objectives with a greater emphasis on wider curriculum goals. Aside from that tension, 'acquisition' is considered the "…foundation of language planning…" (Baker et al., 2011, p. 43) inclusive of formal and information learning of language. The term describes learning that ensures the presence of a level of language skill and knowledge distributed within a speech community to enable it to function effectively. However, the allocation of cultural and knowledge resources is heavily contested in society, acting as a source of ideological discrimination (Hornberger, 2006). Indeed no other planning activity, in terms of community and state historical efforts, is more starkly contrasted. Natural language acquisition in the home and community engages directly the critical revitalisation mechanism, intergenerational language transmission, as a self-priming speaker community. It reinvigorates the community's 'cultural commons' in successive generations (Bowers, 2009). Language acquisition in formal education provides access to skills, knowledge and cultural norms that seek to enable students to participate fully in society and the economy.

Marrying the aspirations of the Māori community for cultural revival and survival to the political tensions that exist in State education has not always been an obliging union. LPP offers a guide through these multiple tensions of competing interests to coordinate function. An example of the shared recognition in Māori education can be seen in 'Ka Hikitia', the New Zealand Government Māori Education Strategy 2008 to 2012. Its intent is for "[p]roductive partnerships [between] – Māori students, whānau, hapū, iwi and educators…" ensuring Māori language, identity and culture count (Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 20). The content of the strategy paper appears to echo Fishman's epigram

"Institutions, although important, should be on tap and not on top of a language" (1996a, p. 172).

Two elements of planning introduced by Spolsky and Chrisp can be considered a timely decision in New Zealand's context. Up until that point LPP had remained limited largely to the three planning elements (status, corpus and acquisition), with most activity centred on national language planning by the State. The criticism could be made that indigenous and threatened languages were largely silent, or were counted alongside the 'other' minority languages present in the country (May, 2005). Certainly the emphasis given to research in the first three decades since the inception of language planning as an academic field in the early sixties was mainly on language modernisation among developing countries or sustained social, political and economic pressure where language issues were prominent (Rubdy, 2008; Wiley, 1996). Pressure experienced in New Zealand through the nineties, leading up to the 2003 Māori Language Strategy, was being asserted through indigenous rights rather than a need for language reform. It has been primarily directed toward recognition of Māori identity and status (Durie, 1998, 2003; A. J. Fleras, 2008; R. Walker, 1990). 'Critical awareness' and 'language use' were formally incorporated into Māori language planning by the State and have made apparent two areas in which community level activity can become more readily engaged and recognised.

Seeking to encourage community discussion, the Ministry of Māori Development community language information document (2004b) gives a brief explanation of 'critical awareness' planning by posing three questions – "… [a]re the speakers of the threatened language aware of the threatened state of the language? Are they aware of the language choices that they have, and the consequences of the various choices?" (p. 19). These questions explore the understanding needed to begin to participate effectively in the practice of language planning. Apart from awareness about the practical activities, such as managing language domains, the inherent issues that arise from the dominance of English must be well understood to address effectively the social myths or assumptions about national languages.[60] Citing Leibowitz (1974), who considered language to be a "…means of social control…", Wiley (1996) concludes that "…language planning and policy must

60 For example, Kaplan et al (2000) provides a list of six of the most common myths about national languages.

consider the social, economic, political, and educational contexts in which groups with unequal power and resources contend with one another…" (p. 104). With this in mind, over and above the development of the language itself, the element of critical awareness must come to terms with significant environmental factors that impact on the effectiveness of language planning to influence community attitudes, access to resources, and the establishment of domains of language use.

Five elements are presented by Spolsky and Chrisp (2004b), with 'language use' being the most important for communities. Yet it is unremarkable. Most writers assume that language use is the natural objective of language planning, with many making the point that revitalisationist activity without an emphasis on language use in language planning efforts amounts to an exercise in academic study or state policy (Fishman, 2007; Hornberger, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Perhaps the assumption is so well understood that making a distinct language planning element for language use was not thought to be necessary. Nevertheless, its inclusion in the five element schema has provided the significant point of difference when applying language planning to a community language revitalisation project – the most obvious form of activity inclined convincingly to community control. This position is further reinforced in the diagram by placing language use over the other four elements. Although this observation may read too much into its placement, it is a visual indication that overshadows the statement made above (Baker et al., 2011) about acquisition being the foundation of language planning. In communities, acquisition is not prominent in everyday life because it occurs within the same activity as normalised use. Creating and maintaining vigorous language domains is something communities can more readily manage or aspire to achieve. This does not reject the need for acquisition planning, because speaker communities must still come to grips with strategies for ensuring future generations are incentivised and motivated to acquire a high level of proficiency. Acquisition planning is even more important for domains of language use in projects of language revitalisation where high proficiency across members of the community has yet to be reached. Once present, the maintenance of language proficiency will be ensured by participation in immersion domains of language use managed by speaker communities.

In spite of ‘use’ and ‘critical awareness’ being pivotal components of community action, they have remained the most under-developed elements in the time that followed the Government’s commitment to the 2003 Māori Language Strategy (Ministry of Māori Development & Māori Language Commission, 2003). The recent findings of the Ministerial Review of Māori Language Strategy and Sector presented figures for expenditure on community language centred projects as an estimated 1.36% of the budget directed to Māori language related state spending (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011). Granted, these figures supplied by the Ministry of Māori Development (pp. 88-89) are extremely difficult to gauge accurately and budget allocation does not, in itself, measure government support for community-based language activity. Further, there is potential for a reasonable proportion of the Ministry of Education’s sizeable 84.25% of the total government spending and the 13.52% allocated to broadcasting to be directed toward localised language activity with very strong community participation. It does indicate, however, a continued reliance on state institutions for language strategy output. Research has been able to demonstrate convincingly the low levels of Māori language use in the home and community (Bauer, 2008).

The Ministerial Review (op.cit.) refers to the correspondingly low level of resourcing and poor recognition given to the role of community in making very forceful recommendations for, amongst other things, the establishment of as many as nine community level Rūnanga-ā-Reo (language revitalisation regional associations) to plan and direct revitalisation initiatives aligned to regional language settings. This is a significant difference to Bauer’s (2008) suggestion for “putting all our eggs in one or two baskets, and pouring our resources in abundance into those communities” (p. 67), a suggestion that may not be well supported by all, except the regions most likely to be recipients of such resourcing (Radio NZ - Kathryn Ryan (Interviewer), 2011, January 27; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 2). It is encouraging that community demonstrated a good level of critical awareness in making submissions to the Ministerial Review panel that overwhelmingly called for the restoration of reo Māori in the home (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011, pp. 46-47). To this end, the review report recommended a better coverage of the country’s iwi regions, with a clear emphasis on regional identity, community language domains and language use in the home.

Iwi-based Language Planning

Finally, it is worth noting the way iwi have looked to apply the five elements of language revitalisation. Language planning can be applied at many different scales of social grouping from whānau groups to national strategies. Among many Māori communities iwi-based groups are a key level of organisation and have been active in implementing a planned approach to revitalising language distinct to their region. Many iwi have utilised state funding support to design regional language plans. Many of those plans have approaches that correspond with the five elements.

Ngāti Kahungunu (2006) uses a language planning framework that can be seen to be associated with the five elements, which it refers to as dimensions or strategic goals, joining ‘status’ and ‘critical awareness’ into the goal of ‘Whakaoho’ and innovating a relationships-based theme, ‘Whakawhanaunga’, for building relationships between groups that have an impact on the vitality of Kahungunu reo. The other three goals, ‘Whakamana’, ‘Whakaako’ and ‘Whakamahi’, generally align with the description of the elements Corpus, Acquisition and Use respectively. There is a key point of difference in how they are framed with recognition of the Kahungunu context. The element of corpus is directed toward the reconstruction of the local language, with an additional emphasis placed on formal oral performance of the marae-based ritual, referred to as the first of their key strategic focus points, “…to strengthen the Kahungunu paepae…”[61] (p. 9). The element of ‘language use’ has been refocu

ssed to ‘whānau use’, signalling Kahungunu’s intention to place emphasis on reo use in the home environment and Kahungunu language domains.

61 Quote is changed to sentence case

Table 8: The five elements of Ngāti Kahungunu's 2006 revitalisation plan for Kahungunu reo

Elements / Goals	Description
Whakaoho – Status, Critical Awareness	The awakening of our people; Promotion of language issues and strategies for language use; Promotion and marketing of Kahungunu reo
Whakamana – Corpus, Paepae and Research	Research and reconstruction of Kahungunu reo; Quality of reo of Kahungunu speakers in the formal oral settings
Whakaako – Acquisition, Knowledge	Course promotion; Promoting Kahungunu reo to institutions; Development and delivery of whānau reo and tikanga programmes; Training of community leads
Whakamahi – Whānau Use	Intergenerational transmission; Language leads; Whānau use in homes and other domains
Whakawhanaungatanga – Building Relationships	Whānau, hapū, iwi; Local, regional and national groups and institutions

Adapted from *The Strategic Plan for the Revitalisation of Te Reo o Ngāti Kahungunu* by Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated (2006, p. 15)

A further example of how the elements of language planning have been adapted to local conditions is in Taranaki, by Te Reo o Taranaki Trust (2005). Technically the Trust is not an iwi organisation but manages a language strategy across a large region to the west of the North Island, covering eight or more customary iwi groupings. Their strategy does not preclude these iwi from developing and managing language plans, but coordinates region-wide initiatives with the objective of revitalising the distinctive language variation associated with Taranaki. The Trust has developed a regional revitalisation strategy using four areas in presenting their plan. Generally their four areas of strategic response align with the elements presented by Chrisp and others (Ministry of Māori Development, 2004b). A note is made of the decision to discard the element of 'Status', opting for a four-part approach identified by a mnemonic sequence of Acquisition, Archive, Awareness and Application.

Table 9: The four elements of Te Reo o Taranaki Trust's 2005 language revitalisation plan

Element / Areas	Description
Acquisition	To cultivate high level language proficiency in Taranaki reo
Archive (corpus)	To collect language information that serves to distinguish the characteristic nature of Taranaki reo
Awareness	To promote critical awareness about the central importance of revitalising Taranaki reo
Application (use)	To foster environments where Taranaki reo will be sustained as a living language

Te Reo o Taranaki Trust (2005)

These two iwi-based revitalisation frameworks have been structured on the foundation of the three conventional elements of LPP – 'status', 'corpus', and 'acquisition', with the two additional elements of 'critical awareness' and 'use'. This does not imply that iwi with strategic plans for language revitalisation based on LPP elements will be more successful. Other iwi have noticeably different structures to their plans and have been considered very effective in supporting revitalisation in their localised form of language variation (Raukawa Trust Board, 2006; Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2012). A key motivation for groups such as iwi choosing to use an LPP framework may, in fact, be the ability to make their activity easy recognisable for state-based projects and funding opportunities. But even then, government has multiple relations with iwi and Māori organisations and alignment need not necessarily be a significant consideration. Having a clear plan for setting language objectives and capacity for managing initiatives appears to be the most important factor. If groups do not advance revitalisation with a planned approach they may instead need to rely on guidance from external authorities and on funding criteria as contracted projects or commercial opportunities become available.

Summary

This chapter examines terms used in the field of RLS and helped determine appropriate terminology to be used within the research. It is the perspective of language revitalisation

that is most closely related to the activities of the three case study groups and best corresponds with the concept of achieving community development goals and the sustainability of Māori health outcomes. Language revitalisation refers to the restoring of native speaker language capacity for a threatened language in an environment where another language has dominance in wider society. This is primarily achieved by normalised language use in a community capable of sustaining its language capacity into the future using intergenerational language transmission. Whānau and the home environment have been identified as the critical domain of language use for intergenerational transmission of a target language to be achieved.

LPP has been another important topic in this chapter, to help comprehend approaches used in revitalisation efforts for Māori language. To achieve the revitalisation of Māori language a framework of LPP strategies needed to be implemented with a system of both macro-planning (top-down state-based language management) and micro-planning (bottom-up language management). Central to the success of this effort is the empowerment of vigorous speaker communities with control of the plan for the management of their language use. There are many manifestations of LPP and it was decided to focus analysis on two areas. First was the LPP framework of Māori language revitalisation presented by Grin and Vaillancourt (1998) to the New Zealand Treasury. Second was the development of LPP elements of language revitalisation by Chrisp and Spolsky (Ministry of Māori Development, 2004b) with the introduction of 'critical awareness' and 'language use' as important elements for community-based initiatives. Other areas of analysis such as the *Māori Language Strategy* (Ministry of Māori Development & Māori Language Commission, 2003), the findings of the WAI262 Treaty claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010) and the Ministerial Review report (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011) would have provided further valuable content to the discussion but an adequate examination of these highly politicised documents would take a significant effort and unnecessarily extend this chapter. The intention presented here is to have provided background on Māori language revitalisation on which the analysis of data gathered from the three case studies can be based.

C H A P T E R   5

MĀORI HEALTH PROMOTION

Introduction

Māori health promotion seeks to enable Māori individuals and collectives to increase their control over the key determinants of health to achieve good health as Māori. Māori collectives and Māori development, examined in earlier chapters, are central to Māori health promotion for their role in sustaining positive Māori health outcomes. This study examines how those outcomes can be sustained over long timeframes through collective identity, cultural integrity, and the intergenerational transmission of language, values and practices. This chapter describes Māori health promotion as a process of enablement, of strengthening identity and of empowering Māori to enhance their position in society. This requires an articulation of a Māori worldview as a foundation to understanding Māori cultural identity and knowledge in order to express good health as Māori. Important areas also covered within this chapter include the concept of Māori health, the background to the context of generic health promotion and core features of Māori health promotion.

A Māori Worldview

This examination of Māori health promotion opens with a description of a Māori worldview to provide an understanding of fundamental features of Māori identity and knowledge as a foundation to the concept of Māori health. This cultural emphasis helps characterise the key determinants of health as Māori that are central to comprehending Māori health promotion.

'Whakapapa' as a worldview structure

Whakapapa (genealogy) underpins a Māori worldview as a structure of integrated relationships. Lineage extends beyond interpersonal human connection, drawing on connections with the physical and non-physical environment (Ministry of Justice, 2001; Roskruge, 2011; T. Smith, 2000). In this sense, the human element of the environment is inherently connected with physical elements such as stars, mountains, coastlines, flora, fauna and water, as well as with non-physical elements such as mauri (life principle), sacredness, mate (spirit of ancestors beyond death) and mana (influence and power). Māori ontology and epistemology is located within this concept of whakapapa (Tau, 1999). Māori have communicated with the sky (Rangi) and the earth (Papatūānuku), as they have continued to communicate with people who have passed away in their lifetime and with ancestors of the distant past. This form of interaction has maintained awareness of how things came to be the way they were for a community. Lineage could be traced back to the primordial separation of Rangi and Papa that created cosmological conditions in which humankind could emerge (Ministry of Justice, 2001). Historical conditions also created a community's living environment. A common ancestor, event or location from a time prior to the migrations may link iwi and communities to each other or serve to provoke conflict if an incident had been hostile, agreements breached or customary practices violated (Mead, 1997).

Balancing a Māori worldview patterned in a whakapapa of knowledge and reality and a reductionist (scientific) worldview has been attempted by some writers with an appreciation of the "…parallels and paradoxes … [in] both the sacred and profane, the theoretical and practical, the complex and simplified, the whole and all its parts" (Cheung, 2008, p. 5). However, Cheung concedes that this is possible only with a sound understanding of both worldviews to reference back to. Comparing historical method with whakapapa, Tau (1999) agrees with Munz (1971), with some reservations, that it is difficult to reconcile Māori traditions with the Western discipline of history. The discipline of history, with its motivations for ensuring the rigour of the discipline through an emphasis on the accuracy of dates, documented accounts and facts, differs greatly from the rigorous approach of a tohunga whakapapa (exponent of genealogy). An epistemology based on whakapapa, and sustaining the mana of the people, places emphasis on the ability of the

tohunga to connect an iwi within a framework of relationships for people, places, objects and events of the past. Tribal genealogies are less concerned with the accuracy of times and dates than on being centred on the integrity of the sequence and relationships of events and generations. The authority of the facts is accorded by the status of sources of the information and the ability to make connections with, and within, a topic (Tau, 1999, pp. 1-3). Whakapapa, from this perspective, is not the construct of scientific truth but a sociocultural truth using different criteria, seeking to convey different measures of validity and applying different approaches to describe reality.

Whakapapa, a systemisation of relationships, acts as a substrate on which the Māori worldview is located (Royal, 2002; Te Rito, 2007). It maps the space where the concept of well-being can be understood and described in terms of links between physical and social environments, of a community's intergenerational potential and connections with land and resources (Durie, 2004a, p. 5). People are envisaged within human networks of whānau, hapū and iwi as well as marae, communities and organisations. Environmental networks would include access to resources in the nearby environment, ecosystems of local habitats and community living conditions. Marae in close proximity, important local landmarks and locations, connections to more distant places of identity, proficiency in Māori language, and practices associated with community and local traditions form cultural networks that reinforce identity. Spiritual networks link communities with traditional karakia (ritual recitations), the mauri of environmental resources, shared community beliefs and values, and links to relevant ancestors. Recognising whakapapa as inherent in Maori health applies a holistic and identity-centred approach to well-being and it ensures the historical and cultural legacy of Māori collectives is recognised as a key determinant of Māori health in the present.

'Whenua' as a principle of identity

A major consequence of locating health within a worldview framed with whakapapa is the priority given to Māori identity, understanding where an individual fits within the network of connections. Whenua (land) has been used to denote identity because location is a key aspect of iwi, hapū and whānau identity. Secure identity is affirmed recursively with places

of cultural significance, such as marae, and grounds an enduring well-being within a collective's sites of cultural integrity (Kearns & Neuwelt, 2009, p. 210). In a Māori worldview, whenua is the rohe in which shared authority is asserted, linking people to collective life. This perspective is strengthened by the fact that the same word, whenua, is applied to the placenta, commonly buried after a birth on land that secures the new-born child's identity.

To be well is to be an integral part of the human element of the environment that is also well and that sustains life in times ahead. Identity relates to the cultural resources that have been available to communities in the past and should be available for the future (Ratima, Edwards, Crengle, Smylie, & Anderson, 2006). This does not mean that each generation must accurately reproduce the same cultural conditions of the past. The often quoted statement by Sir Apirana Ngata, "…[e] tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao...", captures succinctly the need to retain the treasured legacy of the past as an assertion of personal identity while incorporating innovations of the present (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 48). Social groupings with shared identity are not static through time. To survive they must respond to circumstances being faced with an underlying commitment to ensuring collective well-being. Cultural heritage transmitted between generations in traditional Māori society established patterns of life inclusive of protocols, beliefs, values and knowledge that were distinctly associated with iwi, hapū and whānau under their customary authority. Without major shifts of location, political relationships with external groups, or other forms of disruption, people could expect to maintain a similar standard of living and make improvements to current conditions. However, in times of upheaval, social norms needed to be reassessed within the changed conditions.

Land secured identity as a tangible expression of whakapapa, anchoring communities with both the ancestors who gained and maintained authority in the past as well as the descendants of the future, to ensure their existence. Land was not seen as a transitory commodity to be bought and sold but was used to establish and enhance hereditary 'mana' and maintain continuity of whakapapa collectives through conventions of substantiated occupation (Ministry of Justice, 2001). Colonisation directly changed the formation of mana and identity with the alienation of land and the enforcement of systems

by which it was controlled, for example with the individualisation of land title and absentee ownership. Land alienation and the consequences of war resulted in social, cultural and geographic dislocation, forcing communities to determine what elements of identity remained relevant and what had become redundant. Identity was reconceived to accommodate the otherness of Pākehā settlers and the presence of Māori nationhood in the form of the 1835 Declaration of Independence (Durie, 1998; Royal, 2002). Consequently, the impact of colonisation transformed the terrestrial and the human landscape, reconfiguring social structure and the way it is perceived. Identity was not lost to Māori groupings but reoriented to the new conditions and reflected within their collective experience.

This is illustrated in the formation of blended cultural beliefs such as those of the settlement of Parihaka, located approximately 35 kilometres south of New Plymouth. In the wake of escalating war over the refusal to sell land and the confiscation of all Taranaki lands by Government, from the mid 1860s Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti-ō-Rongomai integrated biblical teachings and principles of non-violence with traditional community values and the assertion of Māori authority. Parihaka grew into a large, well-ordered settlement, incorporating members from iwi outside the region that attempted to remain at peace even in the face of extreme provocation. Members of the community were inspired by statements of faith in a biblical context, along with the continued assertion of traditional authority and the maintenance of their way of life. These two lines from a waiata poi (song performed with poi) of that period expresses that sentiment.

> …kūpapa e te iwi ki raro ki te maru o te ariki, hei kawe mō tātou ki runga ki te oranga tonutanga. Kāti rā i ngā kupu i makā i te wā i mua rā, tēnā ko tēnei whakarongo ki te wā i tipi rā i te whenua… (unpublished poi of Parihaka)

> …place yourself under the protection of God, as a means to ensure our continued existence. Put aside those exhortations [for violence] of the past, instead consider that these are times when lands are divided and people wander homeless…

Identity for the multi-tribal community associated with Parihaka generally comprises traditional iwi and hapū connections, and at the same time includes factors derived from the teachings of Tohu and Te Whiti, such as biblical points of reference, commitment to resistance against control by the Crown, determination to resolve the legacy of grievance,

and self-sufficiency (T. Hohaia, O'Brien, & Strongman, 2001). Well-being for Parihaka is to live in peace in a way that reinforces shared commitment to the legacy of what Tohu and Te Whiti sought to achieve. These are the values and elements of heritage and identity that the community believe will be able to sustain their future.

Identity, as a central element to Māori health, establishes a grounding for well-being beyond individual aspirations and needs. To be well as Māori requires access to the environmental, social and cultural resources that sustain Māori identity and facilitate participation within Māori socio-political networks of reciprocal support. Māori resources are inclusive of tribal lands, language, heritage, kinship networks, and structures of authority (Ratima et al., 2006). A goal of Māori health promotion is to assist in providing entry to, or enhancement of access to, a Māori world perspective of good health affirmed with a secure cultural identity (Durie, 2004b, pp. 10-11).

'Tino Rangatiratanga' as a proposition of self determination

The use of the expression 'tino rangatiratanga' relates to the description, "…unqualified exercise of … chieftainship…", first stated officially in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. The term was first formally applied in the final draft of the Declaration of Independence, signed on 28 October 1835 by the British Resident, James Busby, and hereditary chiefs of the northern iwi. This 1835 declaration linked the Western notion of independence with the customary Māori notion of 'rangatiratanga' and "…tino rangatira…", "…the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes…" (Bargh, 2007b, p. 185). 'Rangatiratanga' is very prominent in the early translations of the Bible to Māori, and was used when interpreting words such as "…dominion…" (King James, 1969, Numbers 24:19), "…kingdom…" (Deuteronomy 3:4,10,13), "…majesty…" (Job 40:10) "…government…" (Isiah 9:6), "…prosperity…" (Isiah 22:21), and "…dignity…" (Habakkuk 1:7). 'Tino rangatiratanga' does not appear in the Māori Bible, although 'tino rangatira' does appear a number of times to convey a sense of leaders who are more senior than others or "…chief ruler…" (Samuel 8:18). These references to rangatiratanga are aligned with Western concepts of autonomy, authority and power in the translation of Bible texts. It is with this background that the expression

'tino rangatiratanga' has been used in reference to self-determination. The common term in customary use was 'rangatiratanga'.

In the customary worldview 'mana' and 'tapu' conferred and sustained rangatiratanga. Mead (1997) cites statements made by renowned Māori writer and expert of the mid-1800's, Te Rangikaheke, referring to the mandate for leadership. The primary source of mandate was the credentials of inherited 'mana', he moenga rangatira *(the offspring of a highborn union,)* and the way the mandate was protected could be seen in the application and maintenance of 'tapu'. This mandate status was also qualified by the notion of achieved greatness, recognising a person's accomplishments. 'Rangatiratanga' indicates the social and political leadership role within a 'hapū', a subtribe or distinct community. Leadership at an iwi level was referred to as 'ariki' and at a whānau level as 'kaumātua' (pp. 193-200).

Table 10: Levels of Māori leadership

Leadership Class	Level of Authority
Ariki	Iwi / Waka
Rangatira	Hapū / Papakāinga
Kaumātua	Whānau/Kāinga/Marae

adapted from (Mead, 1997, p. 197)

In this sense, 'rangatiratanga' refers to the political, social and economic authority of community leader(s) in their mandate to determine and guide the direction of a hapū to secure its survival and prosperity. 'Rangatira' (chiefs) ensured the well-being of a community and maintained their collective 'mana'. These concepts in our contemporary setting have been changed to recognise the authority of all community members individually "…so that all Māori now belong to the rangatira class" (Mead, 2003, p. 45). The egalitarian norms of our society endow the individual with authority and the leadership mandate is commonly determined by way of elected representation. The collective voice of a community or organisation and the rising prominence of recognised leaders within collectives has the potential to be able to assert authority and associated rights for self-determination.

Consequently, Māori well-being can be associated directly with the resilience and innovation of Māori leadership to build organisational and political structures for greater autonomy (Durie, 2011, pp. 302-304). Durie cites the remarkable reversal of the steep decline in Māori population at the turn of the twentieth century as evidence of the relationship between Māori health and initiatives for Māori autonomy. A commonly held perception from the mid-nineteenth century through to the early twentieth century was that the Māori population would be incapable of withstanding the progress of Western civilisation. This view was premised on the ideas of Darwinian evolution and the clear evidence of dramatic falls in population due to high infant mortality rates, warfare, change in lifestyle and introduced diseases as a result of contact with the West and subsequent colonisation. Comments of the time, such as those of Archdeacon Walsh in 1907, indicated a perceived loss of will to live, "…[t]he Māori has lost heart and abandoned hope … The race is sick unto death and is already potentially dead…" (Sutherland, 1940, p.28 cited in Mead, 1997, p. 78). Māori communities were being undermined by the loss of land, by cultural and political dislocation, and by the impact of introduced diseases.

The appointment of Dr Maui Pomare in 1901 as Medical Officer with the Department of Health improved the way Western responses to diseases were applied, such as the introduction of vaccination and isolation among Māori communities. He also encouraged more appropriate management of sanitation and living conditions with the employment of Māori sanitary inspectors. These new approaches were introduced to Māori settlements, with direct impact on community awareness and practices with relevance to Māori cultural norms. The inspectors were supported by the development work of Dr Peter Te Rangihīroa Buck that included the formation of Māori Councils made up of leaders with recognised local authority (Dow, 1999). Not all people supported these changes and many maintained traditional approaches to health. Pomare, Ngata and other leaders responded by legislating against what they called practising "…on the superstitions and credulity of the Māori people by pretending to possess supernatural powers…"[62] (NZ Government, 1907, cited in Dow, 1999, pp.127-128). Pomare and Ngata also entered parliament with a strong grounding in Western systems of education and in traditional Māori thought (Durie, 2011,

62 The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 sponsored by Native Minister, James Carroll.

pp. 303-305). Steady change in daily practices and greater control over local development culminated in the halting of the Māori population decline (Durie, 1994, pp. 41-42). From an initial population estimate of 200,000 (M. King, 2003), in just over one hundred years Māori had become only four per cent of the country's population, at just 42,000 in the 1896 census. The Māori population figures rose for the first time to an estimated 45,000 in the 1906 census, marking a change from the decline. (E. Douglas, 2001, pp. 24-25; Durie, 2011, p. 303).

Further examples of the role of Māori-led initiatives, in spite of the prevailing mono-cultural nationalist attitudes opposed to the idea of separate development, are described by Durie (2011) to demonstrate the effectiveness of Māori-directed approaches for improving Māori health. They include the establishment of the Māori King movement in 1858, the Young Māori Party in 1909, Māori Councils of the early 1900s, Te Ropu Wahine Maori Toko i te Ora (the Māori Women's Welfare League) in 1951, and more recently with the formation of Te Kaunihera o Nga Neehi Māori o Aotearoa (the National Council of Māori Nurses) in 1983, and Te Ohu Rata o Aotearoa (the Māori Medical Practitioners Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand) in 1996. These forms of organisation often operate at a national level but retain strong local support through regional representation and decision-making.

'Tino rangatiratanga' remains a recurring theme applied in many contexts with significant variation in meaning, ranging from "…Māori nationhood… [to] …strong leadership… [or] …trusteeship…" (Maaka & Fleras, 2000, p. 99). In the area of Māori health, the notion of 'tino rangatiratanga' can be considered within three principles proposed by Durie (1995): 'Ngā Matatini', the diversity principle – the recognition of multiple forms of organisation and representative structures; 'Whakakotahi', the unity principle – the capacity for cohesion and connection that links otherwise diverse affiliations and groupings; and 'Mana Motuhake', the autonomy principle – the ability to control resources and decision-making processes to determine and secure a future outcome (Durie, 1995). 'Tino rangatiratanga' expresses the right of Māori to determine the nature of Māori health, including how it may be considered beyond the physical and mental parameters of generic health with such factors as: 'Whenua' – land associated with identity; 'Reo' – language associated with

identity; 'Ao Tūroa' – environment from a Māori perspective; and 'Whanaungatanga' – relationships of extended family (Cram, Smith, & Johnstone, 2003a, p. 1).

Māori Health

Three Māori worldview concepts, 'Whakapapa' representing networks of interrelationships, 'Whenua' in terms of the identity of Māori collectives, and 'Tino Rangatiratanga' the right to self determination, are shown to be recurring themes that underpin a Māori worldview of well-being and development. They can be aligned with the concepts presented by Durie (1998) in the form of 'Mana Atua', 'Mana Tūpuna' and 'Mana Māori' respectively and will help anchor the discussion on Māori health and Māori health promotion with cultural integrity. They alone do not provide a complete overview of being Māori but are some of the most commonly employed concepts in Māori health models or frameworks (Durie, 1985; Henare, 1988; Pere, 1984; Ratima, 2001).

Māori health promotion derives its essential themes from the concept of Māori health. It recognises a notion of health that is framed within the parameters of a Māori worldview and requires a sound understanding of the social, economic, political, cultural and historical determinants of health among Māori people. A Māori worldview is the cultural and philosophical perspective of Māori health that maintains continuity with traditional knowledge, identity, customs and beliefs, along with contemporary and future focussed perspectives. In this way, Māori health is not limited to physical, mental and spiritual conditions of today. It recognises the relationship with past experience and knowledge, as well as aspirations and concerns for future generations.

Being well 'as Māori' is a significant condition for determining how 'Māori health' can be understood. It is a major point of difference to a related expression, 'the health of Māori', that is sometimes used synonymously with 'Māori health'. However, the health of Māori is commonly located within parameters of generic health, associating being Māori with terms of ethnicity, having at least one Māori ancestor. It tends to be framed in the form of Māori individuals measured quantitatively and the results used to compare their health with that

of non-Māori. Māori health qualifies the notion of health with the condition of Māori values, beliefs and aspirations.

Māori Health Models

Progress has been made in advancing contemporary concepts of Māori health, with various models/schemata being proposed. The models have also maintained a close alignment with Māori development (Durie, 1994). They offer frameworks by which Māori health goals and approaches can be formed and applied.

Recognition of a distinctly Māori perspective of health coincided with the assertion of Treaty-related rights and the devolution of Māori social services through the 1980s (Durie, 2005c). Models of Māori health were a strong feature of those early conceptualisations of contemporary Māori health and development. They provided a valuable function in articulating customary values as principles of well-being enhancing the validation of Māori philosophy and ways of being. Using tangible metaphor in dynamic Māori schemata, the models are more easily explained and discussed in oral language settings of Māori community gatherings. Consequently these concepts have become more widely recognised in Māori community health contexts. They are more consistent with the idea of holistic and unified approaches to Māori health, inclusive of identity, language and social networks (Cram et al., 2003a). These Māori health models, therefore, shape ideological space to conceive of Māori well-being grounded in traditional values and applied in today's context over and above the established notions of generic health.

Three models of health with Māori schema introduced in the 1980s are described here to illustrate the expression of Māori thought within the notion of Māori health. They are described within three differing designs sourced from within notions of a Māori world and the lived world. The models encourage a deep cultural affinity for Māori and are conducive to supporting community discussion on, and visualisation of, Māori health.

1. **Ngā Pou Mana – Four pillars of support: Pre-requisites for Māori health (Henare, 1988)**

The Royal Commission on Social Policy released 'The April Report' in 1988, describing four 'Pou Mana' (support pillars), attributed to Manuka Henare, presented as pre-requisites of Māori social well-being (Henare, 1988) that can be recognised as prerequisites of Māori health and well-being (Durie, 1994, pp. 75-76). The four pre-requisites identified are: whanaungatanga – extended whānau relationships; taonga tuku iho – cultural heritage; te ao tūroa – physical environment; and tūrangawaewae – land base, particularly as a source of identity (Henare, 1988). The Pou Mana describe the underlying conditions and values as interacting variables applied to the achievement of Māori development and support the examination of social politics and well-being of Māori individuals and collectives. The four variables are interrelated and interactive, strengthening a holistic representation of well-being, with increased regard given to the external environment. The primary emphasis of the model helps distinguish prerequisites of Māori health and, therefore, has been placed forward of the other two models examined in this chapter.

2. **Te Whare Tapa Whā – The four dimensions of Māori health (Durie, 1985)**

The first, and perhaps most prominent, of Māori health models is Te Whare Tapa Whā developed in the early 1980s by Durie (1985; 1994, pp. 70-71) using the analogy of four walls of a house, each necessary in full strength to ensure the structural stability of a building. The four 'taha' (sides) are identified as: 'taha wairua' – spiritual dimension with capacity for faith and a transcendent level communication; 'taha hinengaro' – mental dimension with capacity for interpersonal communication, for thinking and feeling; 'taha tinana' – bodily dimension with capacity for physical growth and development; 'taha whānau' – extended family or social dimension with capacity for shared identity, caring and reciprocity (Durie, 1994, pp. 69-75). The model was more expansive than the well-established definition of health at that time. Health was defined by the World Health Organisation from 1947, as a "…state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (cited in Durie, 1985, p. 483).

The Whare Tapa Whā schema brings to the fore a Māori cultural perspective of the spiritual and social sides of health in recognition of these areas being given high priority by many Māori. 'Taha wairua' comprises the beliefs and practises of religion as well as the spiritual relationship between people and the environment. The coastline, rivers, land, mountains and lakes all contribute to a person's connection to customary places of collective heritage, where maintenance of the relationship through access to physical contact, oral traditions and statements of identity is a cornerstone to a secure sense of well-being as Māori (Durie, 1994, p. 71). 'Taha whānau' relates, in the first instance, to the role of the extended family in sustaining well-being by providing care and support for a person's physical, cultural and emotional needs. Through whakapapa connections, whānau continue to offer the foundations of identity and sense of purpose in life. It is important to note that at the time of the model's emergence prevailing thought in the health sector, and in particular in the field of mental health where the model was first conceived, emphasised "…psychosomatic unity…", a balance of mind and body with some recognition of the broader social determinants of health (pp. 71-73). The more holistic perspective of Durie's four-part framework combined with the strong relevance in the metaphor of a solitary house in Māori traditions have contributed to it being applied widely in Māori health.

3. Te Wheke – Whānau perspective of health depicted as an octopus (Pere, 1991)

'Te Wheke' is a model of Māori well-being developed by Rangimarie Rose Pere (1984) for presentation at the Hui Whakaoranga (Māori Health planning workshop) at Hoani Waititi Marae in 1984. Pere conceptualised health in terms of eight dimensions, with emphasis on whānau, and portrayed the configuration in the form of a wheke (octopus). The dimensions, shown as eight tentacles, are: 'wairuatanga' – spiritual dimension; 'mauri' – life force, essence or ethos; 'whanaungatanga' – extended family relationships; 'tinana' – physical dimension; 'hinengaro' – dimension of the mind; 'whatumanawa' – emotional dimension; 'hā a koro mā a kui mā' – heritage dimension; and 'mana ake' – authority dimension, with unique identity and prestige (Pere, 1991). This model can be considered to be the representation of a person within a network of relationships, and gaining a fuller

appreciation of the cultural implications of those relationships would require a sound understanding of Māori values and beliefs. The model portrays the dimensions intertwined as the tentacles to reinforce recognition of the interconnections and strong relationships, each appendage covered with many suckers representing multiple facets (Love, 2002, p. 18). The head represents the whānau and the eyes are the individual and the family within the concept of total well-being (Durie, 1994, p. 75). Pere's schema can be considered as a further extension of the Whare Tapa Whā by recognising four further components, the capacity for emotion, intuition and vision, the capacity for inherited cultural strength, the capacity for collective respect and influence, and the capacity for connection to the natural world, a binding of ethos – the spirit to the physical.

These three models, in particular Te Whare Tapa Whā, have been applied extensively in re-envisioning health within a Māori paradigm and are aligned with the direction of Māori development aspirations (Ministry of Health, 2001). Their values have become deeply associated with the notion of Māori health among both health workers and the wider Māori population (Cram et al., 2003a). Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985) has acted as a theoretical framework most prominently for policy development and workforce development in the health sector. For example, it is cited in the 'He Korowai Oranga' policy document (Ministry of Health, 2001) encouraging its use in the sector, and is a reference for workforce training in other sectors such as the careers sector (Careers NZ, 2012) and for numeracy and literacy teacher training (National Centre of Literacy and Numeracy for Adults, 2012). A common theme in these developments is the support of greater awareness and responsiveness in the workforce for the social, cultural and political environments that exist among Māori communities and for the diverse realities they occupy.

The key elements of the three models are listed in Table 11, to help reveal the level of alignment between the dimensions, as well as some important features of difference. Durie's schema offers the core elements of Māori health by recognising an inherent priority for social and spiritual well-being among Māori people. Pere's model clearly reinforces the elements proposed by Durie, while extending the scope of health to incorporate vital cultural markers of well-being in the form of authority (mana ake),

environmental life essence (mauri), heritage (te hā a koro mā, a kui mā) and identity (whatumanawa). The schema by Henare does not directly intimate the nature of Māori health but the wider pre-requisites or conditions in which Māori health is most affected. All three models place social relationships and networks, 'whanaungatanga', in a position of primary importance.

Table 11: Three Māori health schema

Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985)	Te Wheke (Pere, 1984)	Ngā Pou Mana (Henare, 1988)
Whānau	Whanaungatanga	Whanaungatanga
Wairua	Wairuatanga	
Hinengaro	Hinengaro	
Tinana	Tinana	
	Mana ake	Tūrangawaewae
	Mauri	Te Ao Tūroa
	Hā a Koro mā a Kui mā	Taonga Tuku Iho
	Whatumanawa	

adapted from Palmer (2002, p. 88)

The realignment of Māori health to place greater priority on customary values and community development aspirations can be considered to be derived within the wider critical interrogation of the predominance of European norms of practice and the assertion of Māori sovereignty and indigenous rights that gathered momentum through the 1970s (Durie, 1994, p. 69). By visualising Māori health and development in culturally relevant symbols, the schemata reinforce the position of a Māori worldview as an inherent feature of Māori health, increasing the potential for whānau and Māori community participation in Māori health initiatives. An example of this is the strong involvement of the Māori Women's Welfare League using Te Whare Tapa Whā since it was first proposed in 1982 (Durie, 2011, pp. 305-306). When, in 1984, fundamental economic reforms of neoliberalism championed market-driven services, independent Māori health providers emerged with a "…Māori solutions to Māori problems" approach that maintained the relevance of the schemata (p. 307). These three Māori health schema have offered

accessible concepts of self-determination and a coherent way of envisaging empowerment within the overarching objective of Māori well-being.

International Context for Māori Health Promotion

Origins of health promotion

Callahan (1973) traces the underpinnings of the formal notion of Western health, as it is applied currently, to the 1946 redefinition of the concept of 'health' by the World Health Organisation (WHO) as "…a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity…" (p. 77). The statement was incorporated into the WHO Constitution's preamble in 1948 (World Health Organisation, 2005). This redefinition better recognised the need for an ecological understanding of determinants of health. The broadening of interpretation recognised the limitations of medical intervention to incorporate environmental and social factors with a more holistic perspective of health. Further, health was redefined as a positive concept and not merely the absence of disease. It was a ground-breaking development for that time and gave rise to new interventions that were not solely focussed on disease and ill-health, but were advancing a holistic view of socio-ecological well-being seeking to address determinants of health (Ratima, 2001, p. 32).

Health promotion, in its current form, is commonly considered to have arisen from many drivers within the health field, particularly those linked to socio-cultural and economic factors related to community development. The Alma-Ata Declaration (World Health Organization & UNICEF, 1978) was adopted at the International Conference on Primary Health Care in Alma-Ata, Kazak (USSR), convened by WHO and UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), and is often cited as initiating an international shift in thinking towards health promotion (Baum & Sanders, 2011; Catford, 2007, p. 6; 2011; Green & Kreuter, 1990, pp. 328-329). This was the first international declaration to give strong emphasis to the critical importance of primary health care.

Emphasis given to the Alma Ata Declaration (World Health Organization & UNICEF, 1978) reflects the significance of the international commitment gained for improving population health by building strength in primary health care. A key element of the declaration was providing support to less developed nations and poverty-stricken sections of society in developed countries. Consequently, "…the overall economic and social development of the community…" feature prominently where health, in the first instance, is recognised as being a product of the lived community setting (p. 2). Health promotion in this context was considered to be located within primary health care, with the objective of changing personal behaviour so as to support positive lifestyle among populations. This early stage of health promotion became inadequate for reflecting the wider social, environmental, political and economic conditions that impacted on population health (Minkler, 1989, pp. 18-20).

Also of strong influence in the early development of health promotion as a distinct approach for state-centred health initiatives was the consequential health report by Canadian Minister of National Health and Welfare, Marc Lalonde (1974), as a new direction for Canada's federal health policy. The report, 'A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians', gave comprehensive recognition and theoretical structure to a much broader way of understanding health, with an appreciation of ecological and holistic health determinants in contrast to approaches conventionally centred on institutional, biomedical healthcare interventions. The Lalonde report was a radical health proposal that advanced the use of a conceptual framework, the 'Health Field Concept', with four equally weighted elements of the principle causations of disease and death (p. 31). 'Human biology', the first element, largely emphasised research in scientific principles of health care; 'environment' was based primarily on control of environmental hazards through acts and regulations; 'lifestyle' dealt mainly with the promotion of positive change in personal behaviour; and 'health care organisation' was associated with the effectiveness of "…people, facilities and systems involved in providing personal health care." (pp. 46-52). Twenty-three specific courses of action are presented in the first of the five strategy areas of the report. That strategy area was referred to as Canada's 'Health Promotion Strategy' (pp. 67-68). Lalonde's policy document was the first significant government report to present a unified approach to "…the gravity of environmental and behavioural risks…" (p.

6) to the well-being of its population and it "…laid important groundwork for the broader reconceptualizations of health that were to follow" (Minkler, 1989, p. 18).

More than ten years after the Lalonde report the Minister of National Health and Welfare of the time, Jake Epp, built on the health promotion approach in Canada with a report titled 'Achieving Health for All: A Framework for Health Promotion', (Epp, 1986). The framework recommended three strategies: fostering public participation, strengthening community health services, and coordinating healthy public policy (pp. 29-32). Epp's report also located the main challenges for health promotion in Canada as: reducing inequities in economic status, increasing the efforts for prevention by reducing the environmental conditions causing "… the occurrence of injuries, illnesses, chronic conditions and their resulting disabilities", and enhancing community and individual capacity to cope with social change (Epp, 1986). Importantly, Epp's interpretation shifted the emphasis of health promotion, previously centred on influencing personal choice and behaviours with the objective of promoting positive lifestyles, to make the role of the state more apparent. This would be achieved by working to reduce inequities, and to empower people to have increased control over the conditions that affect their health (Labonte, 1994).

In the years that followed the Alma-Ata Conference of 1978, 'health promotion' increasingly became a term used by public health activists seeking to change a perceived overemphasis given to the role of professionals rather than communities. Another driver was a recognition of "…the limits of medicine, pressures to contain high medical care costs, and a social and political climate emphasizing self-help and individual control over health" (Minkler, 1989, p. 18). Some confusion also occurred in the use of the word 'promotion', as it was more commonly considered to be linked with marketing or selling rather than community development and empowerment. A discussion document (World Health Organization, 2009a), 'Concepts and Principles in Health Promotion', was presented in 1984 by a WHO working group in Copenhagen calling for clarification of the concept of health promotion; for an expression of commitment from authorities for health promotion approaches; for priority to be given to policy development with ongoing discussion and consultation among both professional and lay people; for a review to be conducted before

priorities for policy development are identified; and for comprehensive and integrated research methodologies to be devised and established.

As a result of the Copenhagen discussion document, and in response to discord in the health sector through the early 1980s, WHO moved to call 'The First International Conference on Health Promotion' (1986) in Ottawa (Catford, 2011, p. ii164). The Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion was adopted by the Conference. It articulated the meaning of health promotion to enable shared understandings and increased consistency and collaboration in approaches internationally. The Charter was recognised officially by the WHO and by the 38 participating nations represented at the conference, and was rapidly adopted into government health policies of countries worldwide (Nutbeam, 2008, p. 436). Despite some criticisms, the Ottawa Charter consolidated an established definition for health promotion approaches that were being used in many countries prior to the conference and continues to provide the most widely used comprehensive definition of health promotion globally.

The Charter defines health promotion as a "…process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve, their health…" where health was considered to be "…a resource for everyday life, not an objective for living" (p. 1). As a resource, 'well-being' is enhanced by an individual or group's ability to identify their needs, realise their aspirations and respond effectively to their environment. Consequently, community development and empowerment are fundamental strategies to be advanced by health promotion. These broader interpretations of health as "…an important dimension of quality of life…" are further revealed in the Charter's list of eight 'prerequisites for health', all of which are primarily located outside of the conventional health sector – "…peace, shelter, education, food, income, a stable eco-system, sustainable resources, [and] social justice and equity" (p. 1). The Charter identified these eight prerequisites as variables of population well-being and they are recognised as key determinants of health. Their significance is not that these societal resources of health were newly introduced by the Ottawa Charter but in the level of global endorsement and subsequent adoption within health policy by states. The Charter officially recognised the instrumental value of good health and quality of life in its

contribution to the social, cultural and economic advancement of communities, and the discourse moved against the trend of blaming individuals for ill health they experience.

At the same time, strong concerns were voiced that the Charter was put together primarily by developed countries. It has also met with criticism for the inability of nations to make radical change through the implementation of health promotion policy in order to respond effectively to global issues of impoverishment among developing countries (Baum, 2005). This is especially the case in the wake of globalisation and free-market economic reforms, where it is argued that the activities of transnational corporations represent a major threat to health promotion objectives (Baum & Sanders, 2011; McMichael & Butler, 2006). Early challenges argued that health promotion was being applied less for the empowerment of community action and more for the empowerment of professional practice in health promotion and building institutional capacity (Labonte, 1994). In the two decades following the Charter, some contend that most attention has been given to internal health priorities directed mainly at specific diseases of national concern (Baum, 2005, p. ii254). The intent of the Ottawa Charter for the re-orientation of health services has also proved difficult to use in order to effect a shift due to the existing inertia of bureaucratisation centred on the individual mandate of health care institutions (Green, Poland, & Rootman, 2000, p. 185). Subsequent global health promotion conferences have acted to respond to criticisms with further statements, declarations and charters.

Six further global conferences on health promotion have been held to date – in Adelaide, 1988; Sundsvall, 1991; Jakarta, 1997; Mexico, 2000; Bangkok, 2005; and Nairobi, 2009. Each conference sought to refine and enhance the original 1986 Charter (De Leeuw, Tang, & Beaglehole, 2006). In Adelaide, the second health promotion conference (Organization, 1988), the conference theme focussed on 'healthy public policy', the responsibility of policy in achieving real improvements in the lives of impoverished sections of society. The Adelaide Conference sought to make explicit the distinct role of the full range of state agencies in better coordinating their policy implementation. The third international health promotion was held in Sundsvall in 1991, with the theme of 'Supportive Environments for Health' (WHO, 1991). The Sundsvall Conference followed the 1989 Geneva call for action for improved health promotion among developing countries and, in turn, made its call for

action for building supportive environments for health, incorporating the combined settings of physical, social, economic and political environments. In 1997, the fourth international conference produced 'The Jakarta Declaration' (World Health Organization, 1997) with a theme of 'new players for a new era – leading health promotion into the 21st century'. The Jakarta Conference was the first global health promotion conference to be held in a developing country and, after a decade since the Ottawa Conference, the Jakarta Declaration presented evidence of the effectiveness of health promotion approaches (Groot, 2011). The conference emphasised that effective health development requires a comprehensive approach that embraces many strategies; that various social settings require distinct ways in which strategies are implemented, that is there is no 'one way' to proceed; that the people being targeted must participate at the heart of decision-making and health promotion action; and that education and information are vital factors that impact on community participation. The Jakarta Declaration confirmed poverty as the greatest threat to health, highlighted the need to strengthen human rights and build social capital, and established new priorities for health promotion beyond the year 2000. The Fifth Global Conference on Health Promotion was held in Mexico City, 2000, with a focus on "…bridging the equity gap…" (World Health Organization, 2009a). It produced a ministerial statement signed by the Ministers of Health attending the conference. 'The Mexico Ministerial Statement for the Promotion of Health' (World Health Organization, 2000) had three objectives: to demonstrate how health promotion improves health and quality of life; to increase the priority of health among agencies, locally, nationally and globally; and to cultivate partnerships between sectors and various levels of society (p. 3). Harnessing globalisation was the primary theme at the Sixth Global Conference in Bangkok (World Health Organization, 2005). The conference statement, referred to as the Bangkok Charter, reinforced the concept of the full potential of an individual's health as a right to quality of life, being "…one of the fundamental rights of every human being without discrimination" (p. 1). The Bangkok Charter identified five critical factors influencing health: rising inequalities between and within nations; changes in patterns of consumption and communication technology; increased commercialisation; deterioration of the global environment; and the high rate of urbanisation (p. 2). The conference challenged the role of private sector activity to recognise its responsibilities for improving determinants of

health. Finally, the most recent conference, held in Nairobi in 2009, gave special attention to current critical issues, the global economic recession, climate change, and the dire consequences of potential pandemics (World Health Organization, 2009b). The conference formulated a statement in the form of the 'Nairobi Call to Action for Closing the Implementation Gap in Health Promotion', observing challenges in the implementation resulting in the failure to realise the true potential of health promotion programmes. These gaps were observed where evidence of good practice could be applied; where policy and intersectoral collaboration should be strengthened; and, in political will, governance and systems for equity in health to be better supported.

The Ottawa Charter outlined the form and function of health promotion, gaining endorsement from all participant countries and being upheld at each of the subsequent conferences (McMurray & Clendon, 2010, p. 46). It has remained a key point of reference for a widespread paradigm shift and change in public health policy, advocating for an holistic approach to a socio-ecological strategy for health (Nutbeam, 2008, p. 435). An important factor ensuring the Ottawa Charter's longevity is its development-centred priority responding to contemporary issues being faced by communities, for example the highlighting at the Nairobi Conference in 2009 of the global recession and the consequences of climate change to health. Further, there is a continued level of international consensus for the role of global governance in improving the basic prerequisites for health by aligning "…foreign policies on development, equity, peace and security…" (Labonte, 2008, p. 479). This is in part due to the reframing of language, with terms such as 'global public goods' for stable living environments in contrast with 'global public bads' for increased rates of disease or pollution, in an attempt to insert public health issues into economic discourse (pp. 473-474). At the same time, global governance of the economy, since globalisation, has not created equitable living conditions and must continually be reminded that economic growth is a tool for the achievement of the objective of human development (p. 478). The Ottawa Charter brought the broad social determinants of health, in the form of prerequisites for health and inclusive of environmental impact, to the table of international debate dominated by the primacy of economic priorities.

Strategic approaches presented in the Ottawa charter

The Ottawa Charter (1986) helped redefine the premise of health promotion by describing what forms of approach and activity can be identified as consistent with the process of empowering people to take greater control over the key determinants of their health. Three central activities of health promotion are identified in the Charter: 'Advocate' – seeks to influence ecological factors[63] within society to create favourable conditions for well-being; 'Enable' – recognises the need for equity in the opportunities and resources, working to make them available to communities to achieve the vision of 'health for all' to the fullest potential; and 'Mediate' – seeks to ensure the best multisectoral coordination of the state sector, non-governmental organisations, local authorities, private sector and media, particularly through the mediation of contested interests between groups in society (World Health Organisation, 1986). Five health promotion actions are derived from the eight health prerequisites identified within the Charter. Those actions are: to 'build health public policy' by directing collaborative policy development to recognise inherent responsibilities for health extended to all sectors and to build awareness of the consequences of their activity; to 'create supportive environments' by linking the objectives of local and global interests for the effective management of natural resources and of living/working conditions in a way that is mutually sustainable and safe; to 'strengthen community action' by supporting participation and the empowerment of communities to shape their own destinies through access to resources, development support and relevant information; to 'develop personal skills' by enhancing the learning opportunities for people throughout life in formal and informal settings in order to make informed choices to sustain their well-being and to cope with the effects of ill-health; and to 'reorient health services' by shifting focus within the health sector to include a broader mandate for action and coordinated health promotion approaches through research, professional development, communication with communities and redistribution of resources. After an intervening 20 years of application in the sector, it has been suggested that the resilience of the Ottawa Charter can be linked with the regular global conferences that have honed the essence of health promotion practice as a living and dynamic accord

63 Seven factors are identified: political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, behaviourable and biological (ibid).

(Nutbeam, 2008, p. 436). Those conferences, following the Ottawa Charter, complemented its fundamental premise by emphasising further enhancements of understanding: for example, in Jakarta the importance of evidence based activity and the poverty of developing nations were highlighted; in Bangkok the impact of globalisation on health was prioritised; and most recently, in Nairobi in 2009, the economic recession and climate change were primary agenda items (Groot, 2011).

The New Zealand Context for Māori Health Promotion

The Ottawa Charter was quickly adopted into New Zealand health promotion strategy. Within two years the New Zealand Board of Health (NZBH) produced 'Promoting Health in New Zealand' (Board of Health Promotion Committee, 1988), encouraging discussion on the Charter as well as the status of the Treaty of Waitangi as key frameworks of health promotion in New Zealand. It urged government and community action in three fundamental conditions of health: "…to safeguard peace…, … the reduction of social inequities …", and access to adequate nutrition, drinking water, suitable housing, education and employment with sufficient income (p. 7). New Zealand's health promotion activity continued with leadership from the national Health Promotion Forum (HPFNZ) formalised as a legal entity in 1988, with Dr Erihapeti Rehu-Murchie as its chair and a strong bi-cultural perspective within the organisation (Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand, 2009).

The 1988 NZBH document, in particular the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi to health promotion approaches in New Zealand, was confirmed once again almost ten years later at the 'Creating the Future' conference in Auckland 1997, run by the HPFNZ (Ratima, 2001, pp. 81-82). A significant resolution to emerge from the HPFNZ conference was the remit to reaffirm the leadership role of HPFNZ in New Zealand and ensure the central influence of the Treaty of Waitangi in meeting the core premise of 'health for all', declared by the Ottawa Charter, in this country. As a result of this remit, the HPFNZ initiated a process of consultation with the health promotion workforce that, over the next two years, gave strong support for the development of a Treaty-based framework document to guide their

work in the field (Zealand, 2002, p. 5). The key intent of the 'TUHA-NZ' document, 'A Treaty Understanding of Hauora in Aotearoa-New Zealand', is the active promotion and development of Treaty-based practice. It makes particular reference to the position of Te Tiriti o Waitangi[64] as the country's founding document and its "…paramount relevance…" in the field of health promotion (p. 4). TUHA-NZ affirms partnership of Māori and non-Māori interest groups in order to build social factors of well-being distinct to New Zealand's cultural and political setting. Additionally, the document makes the statement that health is a Treaty-based resource guaranteed protection by the Crown and a key element of 'tino rangatiratanga' affirmed in Te Tiriti to be retained and controlled under the authority of customary tribal groupings. This is of particular relevance when responding to high levels of disparity between the status of Māori and non-Māori health. The argument made within the TUHA-NZ document is that Māori hold the right to maintain control over their health and the State has an obligation to contribute to Māori health providers' and funders' development (pp. 8-11). To achieve this goal TUHA-NZ proposes that the three articles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi act as a framework upon which health promotion in New Zealand can be centred. The intent of Article One in Te Tiriti is suggested to cede governorship by Māori to the Crown and bears a corresponding responsibility for government to ensure Māori participation in services extending to "…all aspects of health promotion…" (p. 13). Article Two requires that health goals of Māori, "…by Māori and for Māori…", will be actively advanced with adequate resourcing and opportunities for self-management by iwi (p. 14). The third article relates to equity and the rights of citizenship for Māori, requiring that health promotion implement strategies that demonstrate effectiveness in achieving improvements in health outcomes for Māori (p. 15). Finally, the TUHA-NZ document has sought to demonstrate an unmistakeable move for health promotion in New Zealand beyond the Ottawa Charter by realising an approach for "…our part of the world..." as well as attempting to role-model, through experience and robust process, effective practice for the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples internationally with a locally relevant and principle-based framework for health promotion (pp. 5-6).

64 Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the Māori expression linked to The Treaty of Waitangi. It is commonly used in writing to distinguish the Māori version of the Treaty to limit confusion in the inherent differences of meaning that exist between the English langugae and Māori language versions. 'Te Tiriti' also recognises the status and legitimacy of the indigenous language version signed by a significant majority of signatories.

The Health Promotion Forum's 2009 revised strategic plan (Zealand) again declared it's commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and aligns its approaches to the Ottawa Charter, the Bangkok Charter, Te Pae Mahutonga and TUHA-NZ. Te Tiriti is immanent in the plan, with the description of hauora (health) as a taonga (something of great value), correlating with Article Two rights and a basic human right that can be associated with Article Three. Similarly, Māori cultural points of reference with the use of whakataukī (Māori proverbial statements) sustain a perspective of Māori/non-Māori partnership. The strategy's goals recognise the need to prioritise activity for the benefit of disadvantaged sections of New Zealand society to achieve equity and, therefore, make specific reference to supporting development among Māori, Pacific peoples and other groups experiencing inequalities of health. Four areas of development are targeted in the plan: leadership, strategic partnerships, workforce development, and the internal sustainability and effectiveness of HPFNZ. This indicates that the strategy aligns well with the 'Required Actions' detailed in the Bangkok Charter (World Health Organization, 2005) seeking to "…advocate for health based on human rights and solidarity…"; to "…invest in sustainable policies, actions and infrastructure…"; to build the capacity of leadership and develop health promotion policy, practice, information sharing, research and literacy of the field; to "…regulate and legislate to ensure … protection from harm … [and] enable equal opportunity…" for a high health status among all people; and, to cultivate effective partnerships at all levels of society to make these activities sustainable (p. 3).

Table 12: Links between Bangkok charter actions and HPFNZ goals

Goals/Actions	Revised HPFNZ Strategic Plan	Required Bangkok Charter Actions
Equity – 'Health For All' Human Rights	"Hauora is a taonga, a fundamental human right founded on respect for the mana of people…"	Action 4. "regulate and legislate to ensure a high level of protection from harm and enable equal opportunity for health and well-being for all people"
Indigenous Rights	"an approach to social justice and social change"	Action 1. "advocate for health based on human rights and solidarity"
Leadership	Goal 1. "Develop and offer leadership"	Action 3a. "build capacity for policy development, leadership…"
Partnership	Goal 2. "Develop strategic partnerships and relationships"	Action 5. "partner and build alliances with public, private, nongovernmental and international organizations and civil society to create sustainable actions"
Workforce Development	Goal 3. "Strengthen and build the health promotion workforce"	Action 3b. "…health promotion practice, knowledge transfer and research, and health literacy"
Infrastructure	Goal 4. "Develop as a healthy and sustainable organisation"	Action 2. "invest in sustainable policies, actions and infrastructure to address the determinants of health"

HPFNZ (2009, pp. 1-2) & Bangkok Charter (2005, p. 3)

The two documents demonstrate consistency in describing their general goals and actions for generic health promotion. The HPFNZ Strategic Plan (2009) allows for organisational and political space for Māori community health aspirations to be included within a partnership relationship founded on Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Alignment with the required actions of the Bangkok Charter recognises the need for key strategies of generic health promotion applied in New Zealand to be consistent with international frameworks of

action. At the same time, TUHA-NZ advances a Tiriti partnership relationship that allows for Māori communities to determine what a Māori expression of health promotion may be.

Māori Health Promotion

Māori health promotion has been defined as "…the process of enabling Māori to increase control over the determinants of health and strengthen their identity as Māori, and thereby improve their health and position in society" (Ratima, 2001, p. 419). This succinct statement reveals much of the core purpose associated with Māori health promotion and requires a more full description to explain the extent to which this approach can be applied to achieve improved Māori health outcomes. As a starting point, Māori health promotion is considered distinctly separate to 'health promotion for Māori', that can be considered as generic health promotion services aligned to Māori community needs. Māori health promotion is premised on Māori health, a direct expression of a Māori worldview of well-being. Health promotion for Māori instead applies generic health promotion programmes to Māori individuals and their networks. This does not imply the affirmation of a Māori paradigm of health but the health of people with Māori ethnicity as an identifiable segment of the population. These generic health promotion objectives are made more urgent by the high levels of poor health experienced by the Māori population relative to the wider population. Māori health promotion does not merely seek to reduce disparities but to reframe the notion of health within a self-defined paradigm of well-being.

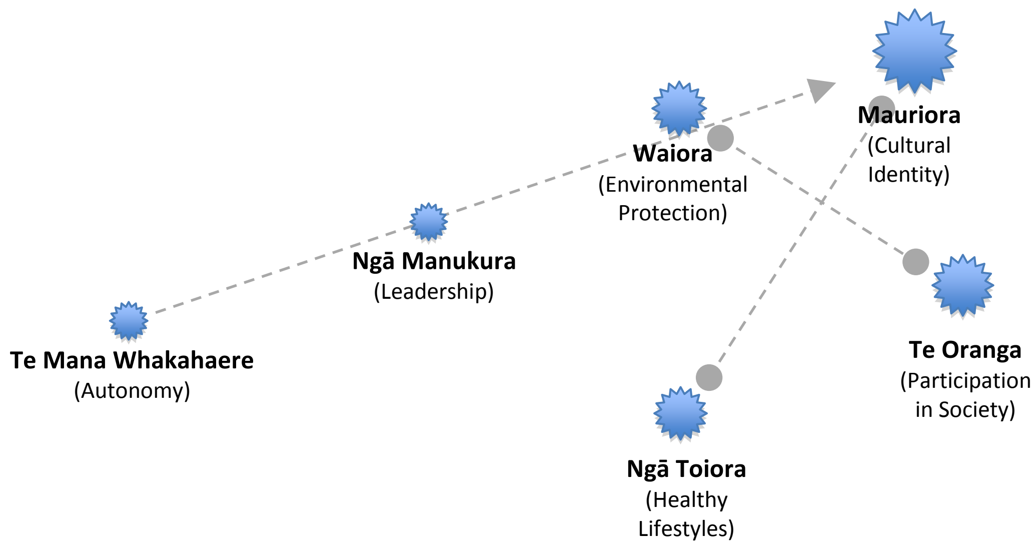
Māori health promotion modifies the Ottawa Charter definition of health promotion, with greater emphasis on identity and social, political and economic power in society. Most importantly, these objectives are to be achieved 'as Māori'. Others from outside the group do not determine the identity of 'being Māori' – it is determined internally, defined or accepted by the group itself. Where a group is formed or maintained within customary networks of iwi and hapū, there are often existing frameworks of identity from traditional concepts shared through whakapapa. Such groups will also commonly be connected with customary rohe inclusive of landmarks, sacred sites, past and present settlements, resources and sites of historic events. Alternatively, the group's identity may be formed

within shared interest, collective action or close proximity, often seen in urban settings. It will tend to be more dynamic or fluid depending on levels of commitment or the status of projects of shared interest. In this setting, 'being Māori' may incorporate the traditions of many iwi and rohe or be based in the traditions of the local iwi. The key concern of Māori health promotion is that this self-defined expression of identity is also an articulation of well-being by the group. Similar expressions of Māori community empowerment are demonstrated in education, with the "…goal of enabling Māori to live as Māori. That meant being able to have access to te ao Māori, the Māori world - access to language, culture, marae, resources such as land, tikanga, whānau, kaimoana" (Durie, 2005a). Inherently, this description incorporates rights claimed to be guaranteed under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, beyond material property and environmental resources to include cultural and intellectual 'taonga' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Māori health promotion is a meeting point between the core principles of health promotion and the foundation of Māori development and self-determination.

Te Pae Mahutonga – A Māori health promotion schema

The first comprehensive model for describing Māori health promotion was 'Te Pae Mahutonga' (Durie, 1999), presented figuratively in the form of the Southern Cross star constellation, a critical night sky navigational reference point because it remains directly above magnetic south continuously throughout the year. Symbolically, Durie proposes that the Southern Cross represents a critical reference point of guidance for Māori health promotion as it relates to Māori health with a Māori worldview as its centre. The constellation's six prominent stars are described as depicting two important prerequisites, 'Ngā Manukura' and 'Te Mana Whakahaere', and four key tasks or goals within Māori health promotion, 'Mauriora', 'Waiora', 'Te Oranga' and 'Toiora'. The two prerequisites are represented as the two pointer stars directing attention to the largest of four stars at the apex of the Southern Cross, each of which indicates one of the four key goals. Importantly, each of the stars is associated with traditional concepts distinctly aligned with a Māori worldview of well-being and development.

Figure 2: Te Pae Mahutonga



(Durie, 1999)

The first of the two pointer stars, the outermost star from left to right, is associated with the health promotion prerequisite, 'Te Mana Whakahaere' (autonomy). 'Autonomy' refers to the pivotal involvement of people within communities to achieve self-defined aspirations. In contrast to outcomes pursued by central government, local bodies or the business sector, locally determined goals are not imposed or prescribed. They engender a sense of ownership and control over the development. This first star reminds health workers to refrain from undermining community autonomy by assuming key roles in initiatives. The second pointer star, 'Ngā Manukura', represents the notion of community leadership, the inspiration and guidance derived from within the community. While external technical and professional support may be needed to foster the enhancement of community level skills and experience, the role of local leadership is critical in motivating community members to engage in activities of health promotion and to help coordinate community action with that of other local groups and health professionals. Community leadership, therefore, consolidates internal capacity to achieve local empowerment, sustainability of outcomes over time, and strengthening broader community networks of support. Durie also calls on health workers to recognise cultural and socio-economic barriers to establishing effective alliances between professional and community leaders (pp. 5-6).

Four stars form the prominent cross to the right of the constellation. They are aligned with four central tasks in achieving health promotion goals. The uppermost star is 'Mauriora', cultural identity, and is associated with access to a Māori world in its broadest sense. Cultural resources, for example Māori language, history and cultural practice settings such as marae, remain out-of-reach to many community members and, therefore, an essential task is to facilitate entry points and ongoing access. Further, 'Mauriora' indicates access to natural resources, such as land and food-gathering areas, used to sustain culturally relevant ways of life. To the left of the cross the second star depicts 'Waiora', the physical environment. Ensuring the protection of the natural resources, the quality of air, water, earth and other environmental features, is vital to sustaining quality of life with a vibrant indigenous identity. This key task strengthens a sense of the traditional Māori relationship and interdependence with the physical environment. To the right the star is named 'Te Oranga', participation in society, and recognises well-being for Māori communities as their ability to have ongoing access to, and to control and assert ownership over goods and services available to it in society. This focus on participation gives strong consideration to the structural disparities of access for Māori communities, and between members within those communities, to such resources as employment, safe shelter and education. Health promotion strategies employ affirmative action to respond to prevailing disparities in participation, access and control. The fourth and final star to the bottom of the Southern Cross is identified as 'Toiora', healthy lifestyles. This key task targets interventions of cultural relevance and positive development to reduce factors of risk that threaten the health of community members. Interventions are centred foremost on the individual behaviour but clearly recognise the influence of macro-level conditions that contribute to lifestyle choices and behaviour. Social norms or levels of acceptance for risk-laden practices, such as alcohol abuse, disregard of road safety regulations, practising unsafe sex or poor financial management, lead to community-wide and enduring ill-health. Health workers may seek to protect communities from negative influences, for example by the removal of incompatible advertising, by targeting specific health interventions and by conducting awareness programmes, to limit risk factors in communities (Durie, 1999).

Durie's model for Māori health promotion provides the important opportunity for Māori communities to interact orally in the field of health promotion. The strong cultural

significance of star constellations in traditional navigation links contemporary theoretical approaches with the integrity and status associated with customary and tangible points of reference. The symbolic nature of navigation and strong presence of Mahutonga (Southern Cross) in oral traditions lends Durie's framework Māori community ownership by sustaining cultural relevance and making the goals and approaches, derived initially from generic health promotion, more accessible in settings of Māori cultural identity. When discussed in formal oratory or community hui, the concepts are easily recognised as being drawn from an authentic Māori worldview, opening the model to more vigorous local debate and interpretation. A further characteristic of the model is that 'Waiora', 'Mauriora', 'Te Oranga' and 'Toiora' are readily associated with concepts of development and growth, of well-being and positivity, something that engenders support and engagement from Māori communities. Autonomy, leadership and identity are also quickly recognised as having long been strongly advocated for in Māori communities from the point of the earliest contacts with Western governments. As prerequisites for health promotion there is a lineage of a pre-existing framework of self-determination and empowerment that immediately gives Te Pae Mahutonga a high level of integrity beyond the health field.

Te Pae Mahutonga should also be recognised as a rendering of the previous health promotion charters (World Health Organisation, 1986; World Health Organization, 2005), directed primarily towards the health promotion workforce and policy writers, to align with Māori community perspectives. The key tasks in the Ottawa Charter are to "…advocate … enable … [and] … mediate …" (World Health Organization, 2009a, p. 2) and the five required actions of the 2009 Bankok Charter are to "…advocate … invest … build capacity … regulate and legislate … [and to] … partner and build alliances…" (World Health Organization, 2009a, p. 26). These strategies are centred on the health sector, in contrast with the two prerequisites and the four key goals identified by Durie that indicate conditions or states of development aspired to by Māori communities into which health promotion approaches have been aligned. Te Pae Mahutonga acts as a community-centred schema that can be applied in a broad range of community settings to guide the locally relevant activities and initiatives for community well-being.

Kia Uruuru mai a Hauora – An evidence-based Māori health promotion framework

The framework formulated for Māori health promotion, 'Kia Uruuru mai a Hauora' (Ratima, 2001), is a research derived framework and is complementary to the Te Pae Mahutonga model (Durie, 1999) by detailing the range of characteristics by which Māori health promotion can be described and then applied in practice. In its opening statement the framework provides a succinct definition of Māori health promotion, extending the Ottawa Charter's definition to include the concepts of identity, self-determination and community development. The framework establishes minimum conditions required for Māori health promotion to be effective. This includes the consistency of approach with a Māori worldview paradigm, while sustaining the values of identity, collective autonomy, social justice and equity. Identity reflects the central concept of actively supporting communities to operate within a self-defined expression of their Māori-ness. Collective autonomy refers to the ability of Māori communities to collectively assert control over the core determinants of their health. The third value, social justice, can be considered within the wider scope of community development for the purpose of addressing structural disadvantage (Ife, 2002). Equity differs from equality, with its expectations of sameness, by emphasising equivalency of self-defined outcomes among different social groups achieved potentially via different approaches.

Table 13: Kia Uruuru Mai a Hauora – a framework for Māori health promotion

Characteristics	Māori health promotion
Concept	The process of enabling Māori to increase control over the determinants of health and strengthen their identity as Māori, and thereby improve their health and position in society.
Concept of health	A balance between interacting spiritual, mental, social, and physical dimensions.
Purpose	The attainment of health, with an emphasis on the retention and strengthening of Māori identity, as a foundation for the achievement of individual and collective Māori potential.
Paradigm	Māori worldviews
Theoretical base	Implicit
Values	Māori identity, collective autonomy, social justice, equity
Principles	Holism, self-determination, cultural integrity, diversity, sustainability, quality
Processes	Empowerment, mediation, connectedness, advocacy, capacity-building, relevance, resourcing, cultural responsiveness
Strategies	• Reorienting health systems and services towards cultural and health promotion criteria • Increasing Māori participation in New Zealand society • Iwi and Māori community capacity-building • Healthy and culturally affirming public policy • Intra- and inter-sectoral measures to address determinants of health • Effective, efficient, and relevant resourcing of Māori health
Markers	Secure Māori identity, health status (positive and negative), health determinants, strengthening Māori collectives

(Ratima, 2001, p. 243)

Six principles are listed in the 'Kia Uruuru mai a Hauora' framework – holism, self-determination, cultural integrity, diversity, sustainability and quality. Much has been discussed earlier with regard to the special emphasis given by health promotion to a very broad interpretation of determinants of health, particularly beyond the health sector. Holism resonates with the expression of Māori empowerment through spiritual, physical

and cultural approaches at multiple levels of community networks. Self-determination is the control and ownership of collective resources that, in Māori health promotion, seeks to encourage control and ownership of the key determinants of Māori health. Cultural integrity indicates the appropriateness of cultural activity in a way that maintains and supports a foundation of consistency with the development of a community's expression of cultural identity. It is important for Māori health promotion to be based on principles recognising the need for diversity, rather than holding expectations for conformity of service between groups and regions. The sense of ownership, responsibility and identity are enhanced when communities establish localised characteristics. Continuity of cultural development and sustainability of progress in communities can be maintained by seeking solutions that are inherently durable and by supporting intergenerational transfer of values, language, culture and knowledge. Finally, the sixth principle identified within the framework involves the maintenance of high standards in technical, professional and cultural capacity in health promotion activities, while ensuring accurate information is gathered to build confidence and operational integrity.

Summary

This chapter has examined the concept of Māori health promotion that has included a description of a Maori worldview and a background to generic health promotion, and has explained their relationship to a notion of Māori health as the foundation of Māori health promotion. Māori health promotion has arisen from a convergence of two processes of enablement, both of which became prominent in the mid-1980s. Generic 'health promotion' was consolidated within a definition given in the Ottawa Charter, and adopted by 'The First International Conference on Health Promotion' held in Ottawa in 1986 (Catford, 2007). The process of 'Māori development' was advanced at the Hui Taumata: the Māori Economic Summit, held in Wellington in 1984, that has come to be known as the beginning of the 'decade of Māori development' (refer to Chapter 3). Despite the fact that health promotion was initially centred in health and Māori development in economic transformation, both processes have recognised a broader interpretation of health and development. Contemporary Māori development recognises self-determination and

advancement beyond goals for economic growth and success, to concentrate on affirming a Māori worldview maintaining a congruity with Māori realities. Māori health promotion is a process of Māori development and health promotion within a Māori worldview that determines the nature of health as Māori.

C H A P T E R 6

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework and research methods applied in the study. The decision to locate this research in a community setting carried with it a responsibility to conduct the study in a manner that recognised the participating communities as active voices rather than passive objects of inquiry (L. T. Smith, 1999). That responsibility extended further, to ensuring the community beliefs, values and preferences would be reflected in the research design to guide all stages of the project.

Inquiry Paradigm

A 'paradigm' is a perspective of reality that enables a person to make sense of the world. It can be thought of as a lens, particular to each individual, through which they determine what is real, important, relevant and legitimate. That perspective is based on faith or personal beliefs that are held to be true. Recognising the presence of paradigms confronts the notion of absolute truths by accepting the existence of alternative perspectives about the nature of reality and knowledge derived from it. All research interprets the world and, therefore, the process of research planning and design should clearly establish a theoretical framework to position the researcher and their work. That framework can be referred to as an 'inquiry paradigm' or 'interpretive paradigm' and is widely understood through four abstract premises: ontology – the nature of reality, epistemology – the nature of knowledge, methodology – the nature of investigation and evidence, and axiology – the nature of value and ethical choice (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The premises do not stand alone but are influenced by one another and impact on the fundamental decisions made by the inquirer on issues such as what will be researched, who should be involved, how information will be gathered, and what information has value. "…The answers given to

these questions may be termed, as sets, the basic belief systems or paradigms that might be adopted…" (Guba, 1990, p. 18).

The premise of ontology relates to questions and information that explore and describe what exists in the world. This basic belief shapes the research by determining what information will be sought, that is, what counts as legitimate information and what can be known about it. For example, in a science centred paradigm "…only those questions that relate to matters of 'real' existence and 'real' action are admissible; other questions, such as those concerning matters of aesthetic or moral significance, fall outside the realm of legitimate scientific inquiry…" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). These parameters delineate what knowledge can legitimately exist and directly affect the decisions made about what will be researched. Cram (1995) observes that ontology is characterised by a continuum between realism at one end and relativism at the other. Realism presents the world as existing independently of the inquirer and, therefore, capable of being observed objectively from a distance. Relativism considers the world as having no absolute truth as such, but being instead a construction of the inquirer's subjective perspective preventing objectivity.

Epistemology raises questions about the nature of the "… relationship between the inquirer and the known…" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22) and is constrained by the ontological parameters described above. Cram (1995) again describes epistemology within terms of a continuum, with the two poles of objectivism and subjectivism. So, for instance, if a researcher holds a relativist view of the world directly reflecting the distinct set of attitudes and feelings of the inquirer then they will tend to consider knowledge to be their construction and think of it as subjective. The alternative realist perspective would be one where the inquirer feels they are able to observe reality as it actually occurs and able to place objectively derived knowledge alongside the cumulative experience of others.

The third premise, 'methodology', is described by Denzin & Lincoln (2005) as responding to the question "How do we know the world, or gain knowledge of it?" (p. 22) and applying "…the best means for acquiring knowledge about the world…" (p. 183). The 'best means' will be influenced ultimately by the concept of the world and the knowledge derived from

it that is held by the researcher. The process of inquiry or the strategies applied range from experimental/ manipulative methods to gather quantitative data characterised within the realist perspective of a positivist paradigm to the relativist view of the world of a constructivist paradigm where strategies are applied to determine hermeneutical and dialectical relevance to human participation and experience.

Ethics or axiology, linked as a fourth premise by Guba & Lincoln (2005, pp. 197-200), carries the notion of intrinsic value associated with the inquiry. It incorporates spirituality, aesthetics and religion that historically have not been well recognised from a positivist position. Inquiry reflected within ethics raises questions about the nature of an "…ethical-moral stance towards the world and the self of the researcher…" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 183).

Paradigms of inquiry have been differentiated further within a challenge to historic systems of Western modernist thought. A post-modernist critique confronted the intellectual legitimacy of positivism and post-positivism establishing the two paradigms of subjective thought – critical theory and constructivism – that have helped orient the development of qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Heron and Reason (1997) argued for the paradigmatic framework to include a 'participatory' paradigm with "…a worldview based on participation and participative realities…" (p. 275). These five paradigms, if placed along a continuum, would see the essentialist position of positivism located at one extreme and the subjectivist constructivism at the other.

Positivism has been strongly questioned as to the appropriateness of its use to interpret the social world. There is scepticism toward the notion of achieving true objectivity by way of removing the contamination of human comprehension from the research act. The relationship between the subject and the researcher were based on the premise that "…foundations of scientific truth and knowledge about reality reside in rigorous application of testing phenomena against a template as much devoid of human bias, misperception, and other idols … as instrumentally possible…" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 203). In spite of the desire to conduct empirical observation outside of human bias, the act of research itself was conducted within the norms of the systems of knowledge held by the researcher,

and their ability to generalise their findings across a culturally diverse population was unachievable. Theorists such as Karl Popper (1902-1994) and Thomas Kuhn (1922-1996) recognised the aspiration for an absence of contamination from the mind of the researcher to be naïve, and sought to modify the model of inquiry to recognise the worldview of the researcher. However, the proposed shift in paradigm was not a rejection of the tradition of objective scientific method or the ontological premise of realism. Instead, it incorporates a development in thinking about responding to the perspective of the inquirer in social research.

Constructivism can be perceived as diametrically opposite to the position of positivism, centring attention on the relativist perspective of subjective social knowledge. It recognises knowledge as actively constructed and co-created within the multiple realities of both the inquirer and the people within the social setting, where the values and beliefs of all those involved in the research are reflected in the research findings (ibid). Whereas traditional positivist epistemologies were preoccupied with objectivity, distance and an aversion to bias, the constructivist approach moved to advocate for the insider perspective, achieving shared legitimacy and integrity of data within rigorous processes of accountability and reflection.

Other paradigms arose alongside constructivism from the sustained subjectivist critique of traditional Western positivism and the politically motivated academic and disciplinary resistance toward qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 8). Critical theory has been most instrumental in the critique of historical hegemonic structures of society in its attempt to free academic thought from control by capitalist thought and from the overwhelming rhetoric of egalitarianism. It differs from constructivism by maintaining a realist perspective of history within a somewhat modernist purpose of emancipation of dominated sections of society. The wider project of critical theorists has been differentiated into multiple critical theories as other social explorations and theoretical frameworks of inquiry emerged within a constantly evolving critique and theorist’s reluctance to be too specific and to resist conformity (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 303). The critical theories include feminist, racial, ethnic, neo-Marxist, semiotic and indigenous

paradigms where any claims for generalisability of research findings were strongly contested.

Locating a Māori Inquiry Paradigm

The proposition of a Māori inquiry paradigm in itself embodies the potential for recognising latent Māori worldviews concealed by the modernist discourse of Western systems of knowledge. The critical theory paradigm drove the legitimation of the Māori 'voice' in research, reflected in the title of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) seminal publication 'Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples'. This wider critique by Māori academics of Western positivist knowledge, and related economic and political hegemony inherent within Western research, did not in itself develop a Māori inquiry paradigm but created ideological space for the project to be undertaken. That space and project can be associated with the expression 'Kaupapa Māori'. The 'space' is linked with the status and capability of locally defined Māori community culture to sustain itself, and the 'project' is linked with what has been considered a modernist enterprise (Eketone, 2008) to empower Māori communities and the legitimacy of their forms of knowledge. Smith's (op.cit.) publication closed with suggestions for the strategic directions in which Kaupapa Māori research could proceed (pp. 191-193), while recognising the project was well underway both in theory (Bishop, 1999; Durie, 1998; G. H. Smith, 1997) and practice[65].

There remains an expectation in Māori communities that research conducted among them should be undertaken in a distinctly Māori context. A sentiment commonly expressed in Māori settings is 'by Māori for Māori', and such research is often referred to as Kaupapa Māori research (Bevan-Brown, 1998; Cram, Smith, & Johnstone, 2003b; L. T. Smith, 1995). In an Iwi setting similar sentiments may be expressed with regard to Iwi knowledge and practice of their members should, in turn, be researched by members also of that Iwi. This proposition implies that Māori researchers "…would care for and protect their [the community's] korero (discussion) [gained] from the research sessions…" (Cram, Phillips, Tipene-Matua, Parsons, & Taupo, 2004, p. 15). A Māori inquiry paradigm in this sense is

65 Most readily observed in the establishment and growth of Kura Kaupapa Māori.

informed less by approach and more by context. 'Whakapapa' is such a dominant criteria of community connection that it is, unsurprisingly, invoked to verify the legitimacy of the research approach.

Yet the whakapapa-centred principle has been heavily criticised by Elizabeth Rata (2004, 2007) as promoting the belief that

> …Only those 'of the blood' can fully understand and participate in this Māori 'way of knowing'. Despite the racist premise of ethnic 'ways of knowing', kaupapa Māori knowledge has acquired considerable influence in teacher education circles, especially since its promotion in Linda Smith's 1999 *Decolonising Methodologies*… (Rata & Openshaw, 2006, p. 33).

Aside from the fact that these criticisms have generated extensive rebuttals, Rata's views[66] are grounded within her wider critique of, as she refers to it, 'neotribal capitalist elite' (ibid). Rata (2000) contends that Māori development, and reframed notions of tradition based on Māori lineage, have been captured by self-serving leaders and academics applying capitalist and new-right models of development. Eketone (2008) responds to the criticism of racism by highlighting the historical power imbalance and the sustained cultural domination of social, political and economic variables of development that have underpinned the oppression of Māori communities. Kaupapa Māori, within a critical theory paradigm, therefore acts to respond to the hegemony of the West with emancipatory strategies and goals for community empowerment. The fact that communities feel it necessary to express a shared cultural and historical experience, and to use genealogical markers (whakapapa) to self-identify as Māori, is a vital component of emancipation.

Ratima (2008) also strongly argues against Rata's position presented in a paper (2004) that aligns Kaupapa Māori with fundamentalism, anti-democratic education and "…linking of culture to a primordial ethnic identity…" that is akin to Nazi Aryan ideology (p. 34). He observes the vastly different motivations, where Kaupapa Māori education "…is open to anyone … as long as they are willing to respect the culture and language of Māori people…" and that "…making provision for the linguistic and cultural development of indigenous peoples within modern nation states is being increasingly acknowledged as more

66 Rata's paper, published in 2006 by DELTA 58 (1), was originally presented in July 2004 to the 'Teacher Education Forum of Aotearoa New Zealand Conference', Auckland College of Education.

democratic…" by ensuring the basic human right to speak and maintain indigenous language (Ratima, 2008, p. 2). Ratima also concurs with Eketone (2008), asserting that Kaupapa Māori can realistically be located within both a critical theory and a social constructivist paradigm. The former recognises the place of critical theory in the 'macro' project of achieving a Freireian emancipatory goal, defining and making "…space for Māori ways of being…" (op.cit.). The latter acknowledges the 'micro' project of a constructivist paradigm in the space, where specific, idiosyncratic and local forms of knowledge are constructed and validated (p. 1).

The term 'Kaupapa Māori' is associated with research largely because it is the expression readily recognised in Māori communities and considered to reflect their aspirations to assert control within the associated activity (Cunningham, 1998). Communities also commonly make reference to 'tikanga Māori' (Māori accepted practice), with emphasis placed on what is considered appropriate by the Māori group(s) involved (Mane, 2009, p. 2). This varies distinctly from Rata's assertions of neo-tribal elite or fundamentalist rejection of scientific rationality in that it conveys a community-up perspective of the research process that has been described within an ethical framework (Cram & Kennedy, 2010; L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 120; 2005, p. 98). This does not necessarily exclude notions of scientific rationality, especially in so far as they align to the empowerment of Māori communities and the legitimation of their voice. Walker, Eketone and Gibbs (2006) identify five perspectives that help distinguish Kaupapa Māori research. The first is ensuring that "…Māori cultural values and systems…" are fully recognised. The second is that "…dominant Pākehā constructions of research…" are confronted from a position of strategic strength. The third requires any critique of the research undertaken to clearly identify the "…assumptions, values, key ideas and priorities…" being advanced. The fourth is ensuring Māori maintain a high level of "…conceptual, methodological, and interpretative control…", and the fifth is that the research is guided by Kaupapa Māori philosophy and affirms the use of Māori protocol throughout the research processes (p. 333). These five perspectives include elements of both critical theory and constructivism. For example, the first point urges researchers to recognise localised cultural codes and standards held by the community and the second point proposes the need to challenge external constructions of research (ibid). As a form of ideological resistance and an

unfulfilled project for self-determination, or as a framework of ethical engagement with community to co-create new knowledge, it is apparent that Kaupapa Māori can be considered beyond the delineation of inquiry paradigms.

Cram (2000) expands the explanation of the seven codes of conduct for Māori research proposed by Smith (1999, p. 120). This framework of principles helps guide the methodologies of a Māori inquiry paradigm and advances the idea of Kaupapa Māori research being better located alongside ethical considerations of inquiry. Under the terms of Smith's (2005, p. 98) and Cram's (2000) code of conduct principles the appropriateness of a research approach will be directed largely by the Māori group or individual being researched. This enables a firmer alignment with a social constructivist paradigm of co-constructed knowledge and process, allowing for the research activity to be situated almost wholly within the control and worldview of the community being researched. Associations made with a critical theory paradigm may be better placed at the front-end of Kaupapa Māori research, creating ideological space and emancipating the voice of Māori communities. At which point

> …the Critical Theory critique fades leaving Kaupapa Māori what many in the community seem to believe it to mean – a Māori philosophical approach to working with Māori, that stands on its own and makes reference back to itself to achieve validity… (Eketone, 2008, p. 8)

Māori Ontology

A generalised Māori community worldview is largely unachievable from the perspective of a relativist view of the world. Where some tribes and sub-tribes find common ground, their paths can often be found to diverge over the next hill. Royal (1998) has provided a sound foundation from which to approach the notion of a Māori worldview while describing the concept of 'mātauranga Māori' (Māori knowledge) developed within Te Wānanga o Raukawa[67]. That worldview is referred to as 'Te Ao Mārama'[68], a well-recognised term that is associated with the very beginning of mortal life, when

67 One of three State recognised Māori tertiary institutions designated as 'Wānanga' under the Education Act 1989, s162(b)(iv).

68 This is most often translated as 'the world of light' and, by implication, is also associated with the original first dawn, therefore taking on further meaning as 'the genesis of understanding' or 'the origin of lived existence'.

Papatūānuku (the earth) was forced apart from Ranginui (the sky) by one of their offspring, Tāne te tokorangi. The expression is presented by Royal to identify a paradigm and develop a working definition of traditional mātauranga Māori that would help define research methodologies by using the framework of whakapapa and systems of knowledge contained within the notion of Te Ao Mārama. The association with Te Ao Mārama is appropriate as it incorporates the point at which the genealogy of the physical and metaphysical environment was formed, as well as the concept of living existence, of humankind and of individuals, as they are born into the world of light.

This association is demonstrated in Ruka Broughton's (1979) listing of some 220 genealogical stages of development recounted through the oral traditions of Ngā Rauru and recorded by Hetaraka Tautahi (1835-1908) in a private manuscript dated 1897 (pp. 16-25). Broughton refers to the sequence as a 'wahaatai' (genealogy sequence of spiritual connection to the environment) that distinguishes ancient lineage beyond 'Te Ao Mārama'. Tautahi's account locates Te Ao Mārama at the 160th stage of the sequence following the first stage identified as 'Matua te Kore' (Absolute Void)[69]. This sequence, given in the form of genealogy, is significant because it links the present day Ngā Rauru tribe through their common ancestor 'Rauru-kī-tahi' to the very beginning of time and space in a very real and tangible way (ibid). Broughton also explains tribal accounts of celestial lineages of Kāhui Rere (people with the ability of flight) whose descendants married into the Rauru line. This form of heritage is not isolated to Ngā Rauru. Many iwi, if not most, retain traditions of descent from celestial or prominent environmental reference points. Two very prominent Taranaki lines of descent from environmental points of origin are easily identified, and it is appropriate to discuss them here, given that the researcher is from Taranaki. Te Ati Awa makes well-known references to Tamarau, the father of their common ancestor Awanuiārangi, who came to earth from the sky and is associated with the flow of water from the atmosphere, so naming his son 'Awa-nui-ā-rangi' (the great river from the sky). A further set of traditions directly links the tribe of Taranaki with the actual volcanic mountain, also named Taranaki, through the common ancestor Rua-Taranaki, whose son climbed the peak, lit a ceremonial fire to recite 'karakia' (ritual incantation or statement)

69 The original thesis is written entirely in Māori and was later accompanied by an interpretation of the full document in English, rendered by Ruka himself.

and linked the name of the mountain with his father. The genealogy of Taranaki the mountain and Taranaki the person are, therefore, inseparable in tribal accounts.

Royal (2002) recognises this cultural phenomenon shared among many indigenous peoples, a fact he contrasts with the Western Judaeo-Christian worldview that perceives God as located externally and heaven located in the direction of the sky, and with the Eastern worldview that perceives divinity as located internally and uses meditation to establish a closer relationship. The indigenous perspective he notes tends toward recognising a vital relationship between people and the environment, seamlessly connected through lineage or direct communion with significant features of the environment such as rivers, mountains, sea, earth, sky, flora and fauna (ibid). A scientific positivist approach would largely disregard such cultural sentiment, noting tests that have shown the mountain began forming 120,000 years in the past with the last recorded activity some 230 years ago. These figures are not consistent with 220 genealogical stages that, in human terms of 25 years per generation, would only place descent 5,500 years earlier. Such a perspective would fail to appreciate the paradigm human-environment relationship expressed within a whakapapa framework. It would also fail to recognise the cultural practices associated with the recounting of oral traditions within formal recital of karakia, waiata and whakapapa. These three components come together in Taranaki and Whanganui in the form of poi, consisting of poipoi (recital of whakapapa with poi), poi manu (poi recital of karakia), and poi karaipiture (poi recital of biblical statements) (T. M. Hohaia, 2010, p. 23). In this context the cultural determinants of reality are relative to validation in the accuracy and spirit of the recital, in the appropriateness of when and where they are performed and, the most important fact, of the legitimacy of whakapapa held by the performers and linking them to the content and to performers of the past.

Post European contact, the continuity of tradition in Taranaki was interrupted by warfare. The region sustained twenty-four years of raids made by northern tribes between 1810 and 1834 (S. P. Smith, 1910), and then the sequence of wars with the Crown and protest action resulting imprisonments between 1860 and 1884 (Riseborough, 1989). This impacted on the worldview held by Taranaki Māori communities, who reframed their perspective, often in terms of Old Testament biblical narratives, to maintain consistency

with their experience of oppression by Western authority (Elsmore, 2000). For example, the people of Parihaka refer to themselves as descendants of Joseph, son of Jacob (Israel) and Rachel (Genesis 30 to 50). Joseph was sold into slavery by his jealous elder brothers, only to rise to a position of power through faith and the guidance of visions. These new narratives marked a shift from some aspects of traditional practice and values to better embrace practices of passive resistance and the establishment of an inter-tribal community. They sought to achieve the return of their confiscated lands and the restoration of their authority over them. This paradigm expresses similar emancipatory objectives to the critical theory arising from their prolonged challenge to the authority of the Crown's confiscation of their lands and the legitimacy of their ideology (T. Hohaia et al., 2001).

Māori Epistemology

Traditional knowledge was highly contextualised in areas of specialised activity, for example in carving, gardening, healing, navigation, weaponry and genealogy. These specialisations were often controlled in the form of esoteric knowledge, with rigorous criteria for access and context of use. Knowledge was perceived as equivalent with its holder, where the holder of knowledge was referred to as that knowledge by the use of the terms 'wānanga', 'pūkenga' and 'tawhito'[70]. The researcher has proposed, in earlier studies, that the notion of knowledge was significantly altered on contact with the West with its systems of writing and with the translation of the Bible. The Bible's translators used the word 'mātauranga' for 'knowledge'. Analysis of early text indicates that 'mātauranga' was not in common use, and on translation of the Bible the term became associated with the new knowledge of the Pākehā and the knowledge transmitted in schools. Traditional knowledge transmitted within formal traditional systems of learning was referred to more commonly as 'wānanga' or 'kura'. The term wānanga was not used anywhere in the Bible. One assumes that was because of an undesirable association with

70 The terms 'wānanga', 'pūkenga' and 'tawhito' refer to people with a high level of knowledge as well as to forms of knowledge..

traditional Māori knowledge. 'Kura' was used to translate the word 'school' in the formal Western form (Hond, 2001).

Once knowledge could be written and held externally from its source it could be considered more a taonga in itself, away from the human holder. Also, the experts in Māori knowledge quickly became the ethnographers who interpreted the integrated traditions and practices of many iwi (Best, 1923; Buck, 1950; S. P. Smith, 1910). Many communities became suspicious of writers and researchers, with grave concerns for how they would be portrayed and how their knowledge would be treated. These sentiments also helped generate a reluctance to share information with researchers from outside community whakapapa connections. It was understood that what can be known about an iwi, hapū or whānau is greatly influenced by who you are. This is particularly the case for knowledge that is transmitted orally through generations. The alternative forms of knowledge constructed within or alongside Western knowledge systems, for example critical analysis of texts or research of environmental phenomena or accounts of personal experience, may be considered differently and, therefore, more readily accessed.

Māori Methodology

Research methodology relates to the higher philosophical questions that guide research activity. How and where value is placed within a research project, and what form of knowledge or outcome is sought, will directly influence the research questions and methods used. Methodology provides direction and context for the development of the methods or strategies applied to gather or access information (Davidson & Tolich, 1999, pp. 25-26). 'Methods' differ from 'methodology' in that they relate to specific strategies or techniques used to generate data. Social research generally involves multiple sources of information and a variety of data. This enables verification of findings by comparing information across various collection methods and the triangulation of data sources (p. 248).

A critical theory based approach challenges inequitable structures of power in society and attempts to build capacity and confidence among oppressed communities linked with the research. However, reluctance has been shown among Māori groups toward the use of critical theory in that it can tend to become too negatively focussed on external Western systems, history and culture, giving less attention to internally focussed research objectives (Cram et al., 2004, p. 16). The alternative methodology draws on a social constructivist paradigm where meaning and knowledge are believed to be constructed, validated and valued within community defined parameters (Eketone & Shannon, 2006, p. 468). Both methodologies seek to achieve positive, liberating outcomes from different perspectives of research.

Methods and ethical considerations are likely to be more readily discussed and negotiated in a community environment. Cram and Kennedy (2010) highlight the importance of ethical considerations in a whānau research activity with five values: respect people within accepted protocol to maintain relationships; establish relationships with face-to-face interaction; place emphasis on looking and listening, speaking only when it is appropriate; maintain reciprocity of resources such as food and expenses, and enable whānau participation within the research; and, take care not to impose attitudes or beliefs, and critically reflect on issues of whānau support and the safety of their mana (ibid:6). Social and cultural settings influence the nature of information made available. For example, the exploration of esoteric knowledge may be better suited to the formal location of a marae or wharenui, whereas personal or whānau-based information may be more likely to be communicated over shared food.

Qualitative and Quantitative Research Approaches

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are equally valid in responding to research questions. They are not mutually exclusive and in need of separation, but rather each form of approach is better suited to some contexts than others. The appropriateness of purpose lends itself to both approaches being used within a single study to access two distinct perspectives of information and to enhance the integrity of the findings. Placing emphasis

on one approach or the other depends largely on the research setting and the form of question being posed.

Quantitative research is concerned with the analysis and measurement of variables of "…quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency…" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 10). There is a normal tendency for a quantitative approach to separate information into distinct categories for a systematic comparison of variables to provide predictive theories and universals (Flyvbjerg, 2006). While quantitative investigation tends more toward objectivity of inquiry, it is also recognised in post-positivism that quantitative data collection is not completely objective. Quantitative research remains subject to the judgement and bias of the researcher, for example in formulating the research questions, selecting information sources, and constructing the systems of analysis. When studies involve large samples with randomly selected research participants, the wide range of variation and sources of data can be more easily managed with distinct categories of information and with results presented as calculations of measurement and probability.

A qualitative approach is context-sensitive and enables the researcher to understand the phenomenon under study within its own context and does not attempt to manipulate the setting. Pre-determined frameworks are generally not imposed in collecting data. Rather, the findings emerge from the information gathered. This approach gives greater priority to the personal interactions within real life of the research subjects. Qualitative research tends to engage smaller numbers of participants, spending more time on the specific context of each case and describing the results in an in-depth, rich and broad portrayal of lived experience (Patton, 2002). Rigour associated with qualitative research is centred on thoroughness of process and method, particularly in planning. The results of qualitative studies give status to the voice and perspective of each case.

Why a Qualitative Approach Was Chosen

There are four key features of this study that make a qualitative approach appropriate for the research. First, the research investigates the phenomenon of community development in the form of Māori language revitalisation that is located within a rich social and cultural

setting. An ecological approach is required in order to best understand this phenomenon within its natural context, and a qualitative approach is best suited to this task.

Second, the approach enables greater priority to be given to the personal interactions within real life of the research subjects and for their voice to be more clearly heard. The research does this by avoiding pre-determined frameworks for data collection that enable the findings to emerge from the information gathered through the case studies.

Third, indications were that there are relatively few examples of identity-based community development present in initiatives that are actively engaged in Māori language revitalisation. As well, it was considered likely that personal and shared attitudes, aspirations and motivations might vary widely between groups and regions. A qualitative approach is best suited to the small numbers of participants in the study and the anticipated distinctiveness of views shared.

Fourth, the role of identity in forming communities is not easily measured quantitatively and is best investigated through the collection of rich, in-depth and detailed information. The collection of in-depth and detailed information is characteristic of a qualitative approach.

A further point to note is that historically concerns have been repeatedly expressed regarding the imbalance of power imposed by a researcher with external parameters for initiating the motivations, representation and accountability of the research (Glover, 2002; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2005). These concerns are mitigated by a researcher positioned as a cultural insider and conducting the research in such as way as to operationalise self determination (Bishop, 2005).

Research Strategy – Case Study

> The case study is a naturalistic and context sensitive research strategy that applies an ecological approach. Further, the case study is used when there are many more variables of interest than data points, and where there are multiple sources of evidence and data converges in a triangulating manner (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Stake, 1995, 2010).

The case study strategy is commonly used in studies conducted among communities, where the research seeks to explore new or variable social phenomena. The case study strategy is well-suited to a study when the activity or conditions of the case are current, are subject to change over time, or vary between different settings (Stake, 1995). The scope of data can be widened from historical analysis through to aspirational future focused ideas as a means of describing events and behaviour located in contemporary practice. A case study approach is not intended to enable generalisation of findings across the wider population, but is able to help refine understandings of widely-held perspectives of social factors through intense familiarisation with a few distinctive cases (Stake, 2010). The primary function of a case study is "…particularization, not generalization … There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself…" (Stake, 1995, p. 8).

Therefore, the case study approach is best applied in research to gather information from a case, or cases, engaged within an activity or social setting. A researcher should not seek to influence the activity or setting of the case study (Stake, 1995).

Why a Case Study Strategy Was Chosen

The naturalistic and context sensitive nature of the case study strategy is consistent with both the constructivist inquiry paradigm underpinning this research and the need for a context sensitive approach to investigating the phenomenon of community development in the form of Māori language revitalisation that is located within a rich social and cultural setting. A context-sensitive approach is required in order to best understand this phenomenon within its natural setting. As well, the research is investigating a contemporary phenomenon that may vary across different settings, and in this respect a case study strategy is also well-suited to the research. Further, the research does not seek generalizable findings, but rather to gain a greater depth of understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

The research draws on more than one data source and particular attention is paid to data convergence, and these are features that lend themselves to a case study strategy. The

researcher undertakes the study within real life settings, and in no way seeks to manipulate or influence the case study settings.

Research Questions

Yin (2009) identifies three distinctive types of case studies – descriptive, exploratory, and explanatory, though in practice the boundaries between these types of studies are not so clear. This research is both exploratory and explanatory in nature.

The primary research question posed in this study was 'How can identity-based community development, in the form of Māori language revitalisation, facilitate intergenerationally sustainable Māori health outcomes?' Secondary questions refined the areas for investigation. The four questions were:

- What are the key concepts that underpin identity-based community development for Māori?
- What is language revitalisation as it relates to identity-based community development for Māori?
- What are intergenerationally sustainable outcomes that arise from language revitalisation and align to Māori health promotion?
- What are the characteristics of identity-based community development that contribute to intergenerationally sustainable Māori health outcomes?

Broadly speaking, these secondary questions relate to four areas for the enquiry: identity-based community development; Māori language revitalisation; intergenerationally sustainable outcomes; and positive Māori health outcomes.

Case Study Selection

Three case studies were selected that incorporated, as a key focus of their organisation and activities, at least one of the two main areas of investigation identified in the research questions. The areas were 'identity' in the form of identity-based community development and 'language' in the form of language revitalisation. Identity-based community development focused on the relationship of identity among those involved in the activities

of the case studies. Identity indicates the way the group defines its connection and how it actively generates a collective vision. Groups could be founded in a customary configuration of mana-whenua and networks of whānau, hapū, marae, and iwi using whakapapa relationships as a main basis of collective identity. Alternatively, the groups could be formed within shared practice and regular interaction. The second area is concerned with approaches aligned with Māori language revitalisation, for example the approaches of intergenerational language transmission, language planning, or management of language domains (Hornberger, 2002; Spolsky, 2003). The researcher's perspective was that of an insider having many years experience with language revitalisation approaches.

Further criteria for selection were the inclusion of diversity with regard to their scale and their central motivation in relation to 'community'. 'Scale' relates to the size and scope of operations, from small locally focused communities to large national and internationally based organisations. 'Central motivation' refers to the key emphasis of the group, the objective that motivates the collective and individuals to maintain and enhance participation. This was a difficult feature to determine, as some groups had three or more major areas of motivation and some areas were not explicit.

The three groups selected were: Te Ataarangi, Te Reo o Whanganui and Te Kōpae Piripono. Each of the groups had a background with Māori language based activities that could be associated with language revitalisation approaches and all three groups demonstrated a strong sense of collective identity and shared practice.

Te Ataarangi is a national organisation with strong local networks extending to affiliated groups in Australia; Te Reo o Whanganui (TRoWh) centres its activity in the Whanganui region under the customary networks of communities associated with the iwi, Te Ati Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi; Te Kōpae Piripono operates a single early childhood education (ECE) centre located in the urban setting of New Plymouth. Each of these groups has differences in central motivation. Te Ataarangi manages immersion domains primarily for the purpose of language acquisition and community development. TRoWh runs high proficiency programmes that promote the use of Whanganui reo, a local form of language variation,

particularly in the formal oratory of the marae and hapū events. Te Kōpae Piripono operates a highly regarded Māori immersion ECE setting but considers its main area for achievement to be whānau development.

At the time this research began Te Ataarangi had just established a pilot revitalisation centred programme, 'He Kāinga Kōrerorero' (HKK), funded by Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development) and then by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission). Later, Te Kōpae also became involved in the programme. HKK is directed toward the use of Māori language in the home. Communication is prioritised to communication in Māori by parents and adult caregivers to children. The new initiative was not included in this research because it was, at that time, being piloted within the community with an aligned research programme. The involvement of Te Kōpae in the initiative is a consequence of their prominent background in supporting intergenerational language transmission and whānau development. The researcher also subsequently became involved in the programme, providing professional development to language mentors. The focus of the case study of Te Ataarangi was centred on the well-established immersion methodologies of the Ataarangi programmes 'Te Tuara', 'Te Tinana' and 'Te Mana me Te Wehi'. In respect to the involvement of Te Kōpae as a case study, attention was given to their practice as an early childhood centre and their activities based on whānau development.

Recognising the Researcher's Location

The selection of case studies in this research was strongly influenced by the location of the researcher in relation to whakapapa associations and recognised work history. That is, national recognition as a Taranaki Māori language advocate and the high prominence of past employment and community work relating to Māori language education and immersion activities. When potential case studies were identified, some initial contacts were made with key individuals from those communities. Feedback confirmed predictable difficulties of recruiting case studies from other regions, in particular being considered an outsider of the community. Positions held by the researcher on national bodies and

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intrinsic element of a Kaupapa Māori

Māori communities is that people with lo

settings. Consistent with this view and a Kau

located as an insider in relation to the case studies included

their recruitment each of the cases selected was able to identify a distinct relationship with the researcher, without being directly influenced by the researcher. An insider can be perceived from a constructivist perspective as having a better understanding of the context of the case and an alignment with the perspective of the communities being studied.

Research Methods Applied

The theoretical framework applied in this study seeks to give voice to participants to articulate their perspectives on community development, Māori language revitalisation and its relationship to the achievement of positive Māori health outcomes. According to Yin (2009) the six sources of case study data are: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artefacts. Common sources of qualitative data are in-depth open-ended interviews and written documents (Patton 2002). The primary data sources for this study, and derived from the case study groups, are documentation of the organisation, literature, and key informant interviews.

Literature review

A systematic review of international and local literature relating to the research questions was carried out. Particular attention was given to the areas of community development, language revitalisation and health promotion with reference to Māori. The key tool used to identify literature was online article databases (e.g., Web of Science, ERIC, Index New

Zealand, PubMed and Google Scholar). University library catalogues and Internet searching were also used. Particular attention was also given to the identification of grey literature through Māori community and academic networks.

Communication with case study groups

Initial discussions with potential case study groups were held in person with key individuals. Subsequent communication was conducted by telephone or email. The decision whether or not to consent to become involved was left for the organisations to progress. Prominent members with historical knowledge of the organisations represented the groups in interviews. A copy of the participant information sheet provided to the case study groups is attached in Appendix One. Copies of the participant consent forms used for individuals (see Appendix Two) and for rōpū (the organisations) (see Appendix Three), are attached.

Interviews

Interviews are one of the most important sources of information for case study research. In-depth, open-ended interviews were conducted, with knowledgeable representatives of the organisations acting as key informants. An interview schedule (see Appendix Four) was developed and presented to the case study groups for consideration and to enable interviewees to prepare for the interview. The interviews were directed using the technique of guided conversation. This technique enabled expert input by the key informants directly into the research, while allowing for a high level of flexibility of responses. In this approach, topics and issues to be covered are identified in advance. However, the sequence and wording of questions are decided by the interviewer over the course of the interview. This approach is somewhat systematic while allowing the interview to remain conversational and situational (Patton 2002).

The intention was to conduct a separate interview with three different people from each organisation. However, two of the groups were satisfied with two interviews of knowledgeable representatives. While it was intended that all interviews would be conducted face-to-face at a time and place suitable to participants, two respondents

indicated alternative preferences. Five interviews were conducted in person, one interview was carried out by telephone, and one participant provided detailed written responses in areas of interest. No interview lasted for longer than two hours, and face-to-face and telephone interviews were recorded. Two of the interviewees provided further written information to elaborate on their interview responses following the interview. Audio recordings were transcribed and all interviewees were given the opportunity to review data used in the research from their transcripts.

Programme documents and archival data

Case study documents were provided by the participating organisations for analysis and the researcher sourced other relevant documents through the literature search process. These documents included a range of organisational documentation, literature and archival print material. Programme documents and archival data were used to provide background information on the organisations, as a primary data source, and also to corroborate information generated through the interviews.

Data analysis

Three stages of data analysis were carried out. The first stage of analysis was carried out on the data collected through each of the individual interviews and, therefore, each transcript was separately analysed. Consistent with thematic analysis processes described by Patton (2002), the interview schedule was employed during this stage of analysis as the analytical framework for organising data. Data was labelled and categorised to enable the determination of key themes arising from it. The inductive coding process therefore enabled the identification of key themes during the data analysis phase.

The second stage of analysis involved an analysis of the combined interviews for each of the case studies. This meant that, if three interviews were carried out for a given case study group the analysis was synthesised to enable the identification of key themes in that case study. The narratives of interviewees within each case study were, therefore, combined.

The final data analysis stage involved cross-case analysis whereby the data from the three case studies was brought together to identify commonalities and differences and to synthesise the data in addressing the research questions.

Summary

This chapter has described the theoretical underpinnings, methodology, research approach, research strategy and research methods used in this research. The chapter has discussed theoretical and methodological issues of significance to this study. Overall, the chapter has outlined the process by which new knowledge has been generated through the research project.

C H A P T E R 7

CASE STUDY PROFILES

Introduction

The profiles of the three case studies are presented in this section. The groups are Te Kōpae Piripono, Te Reo o Whanganui and Te Ataarangi. Each organisation was formed based on an identification of a specific community-level need, rather than a response to a government policy or contracting opportunity. Due to the complex context in which the case study organisations were established, the profiles include an overview of their historical context and establishment phase.

Case Study 1: Te Kōpae Piripono (Early Childhood Local Language Revitalisation)

Te Kōpae Piripono – Synopsis

In 1994, Te Kōpae Piripono (Te Kōpae) was established under the designation of an Early Childhood Education (ECE) centre in Part 26 of the Education Act 1989. Although the centre is relatively small, with only 32 children between the ages of one to five years, Te Kōpae is one of the more progressive and widely acknowledged Māori language immersion initiatives in the Taranaki region. This was recognised in 2008, when the centre was awarded a three-year research project as a 'Centre of Innovation' by the Ministry of Education to explore "…how whānau development fostered leadership across all levels, and enhanced educational success and fulfilled lives for Māori children and their families" (ECE Educate, 2012). Most prominent has been Te Kōpae's strength in building whānau-based leadership and maintaining Māori language immersion using Māori values and traditional frameworks of reference.

Te Kōpae Piripono – Background

Ngāmotu (New Plymouth) is the largest Taranaki urban centre, located to the south of the North Taranaki Bight on the West coast of the North Island of New Zealand. The city is next to the customary boundary marking the region of the Te Ati Awa confederation of iwi in the north and Taranaki Iwi to the south. This location is significant as the first Taranaki area, in the 1840s, to be intensively settled by Pākehā immigrants. The region had experienced repeated raids by northern iwi through the 1820s and early 1830s, forcing many of the Te Ati Awa and Taranaki iwi to shift to the lower North Island and leaving the North Taranaki countryside heavily depopulated. Land speculators seized on the opportunity for easy land sales and that became the impetus for most Taranaki tribes refusal to sell any more land. As a result, conflicts over the dubious land buying activities by the Crown led to the first outbreak of war with Māori, in 1860. Very quickly the Crown enacted the 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act that effectively saw the entire Taranaki region (1,199,622 acres) confiscated in 1865. Two hundred and fifty-six thousand acres was later returned to Māori who were deemed loyal to the Crown but even this remaining land was actively pursued by Crown agents for purchase. This left few areas for Māori communities to form settlements as they had in the past. Conflict due to communities being removed from their lands, and the repeated protests well into the 1890s over the enforced settlement of the region by settlers and soldiers, left most Taranaki Māori deeply traumatised and divided (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). Many opted to assimilate into Pākehā ways of living, leaving language, culture and Māori community networks severely weakened. This has culminated in Taranaki, especially to the north of the region, having very low levels of language proficiency and Māori cultural influence (Ministry of Māori Development, 2004a).

In the early 1980s, the renaissance of Māori identity began to have an impact in the Taranaki region. There was support for large Māori language movements such as Te Ataarangi and Te Kōhanga Reo and community organisations such as Te Reo o Taranaki that worked to revitalise the local Taranaki form of Māori language variation. Through the 1980s, challenges were successful in leading the Taranaki Polytechnic (the regional tertiary education institution) to offer Māori language and culture courses. When Te Wānanga Māori, the Māori Studies section of the Polytechnic, was set up in 1989 under the direction

of Te Ururoa Flavell it became an important driver for Māori development in North Taranaki. Most notable of the developments were Te Pihipihinga, a Kura Kaupapa Māori; Te Korimako o Taranaki 94FM, a Māori radio station; Te Kōpae Tamariki kia Ū te Reo, a Kōhanga Reo; and Te Huatahi, a kapa haka. Te Kōpae Tamariki was formed by whānau who were predominantly also involved in the other activities. When differences in preferred approaches arose between those whānau it was decided by some whānau to establish a new initiative, Te Kōpae Piripono, at a vacant building on a former hospital site at Barrett Street. As a newly formed group, Te Kōpae explored options for funding and organisational structures to best meet its needs. Eventually it was determined not to pursue Kōhanga Reo status as had previously been the case but to set up as an autonomous Māori immersion ECE setting, a relatively new designated category of preschool education at that time.

Te Kōpae Piripono – Establishment

So, in 1994, this group of teachers and parents moved to form a new early childhood centre. They were successful in gaining approval to establish what would later be known as a 'Puna Reo', a Māori language immersion-based ECE centre under Part 26 of the Education Act 1989. They saw the ECE category as providing greater opportunities for self-management and a more steady form of funding that reflected the full range of activity the group hoped to achieve. The new designation had requirements for teachers to hold ECE qualifications consistent with national standards, and Te Kōpae's activities were directly accountable to the Ministry of Education. With voluntary support and fundraising, Te Kōpae became operational within three months of taking over the building's lease. Over the first five years or more, the centre trialled a range of policies and operations that have become its established practice.

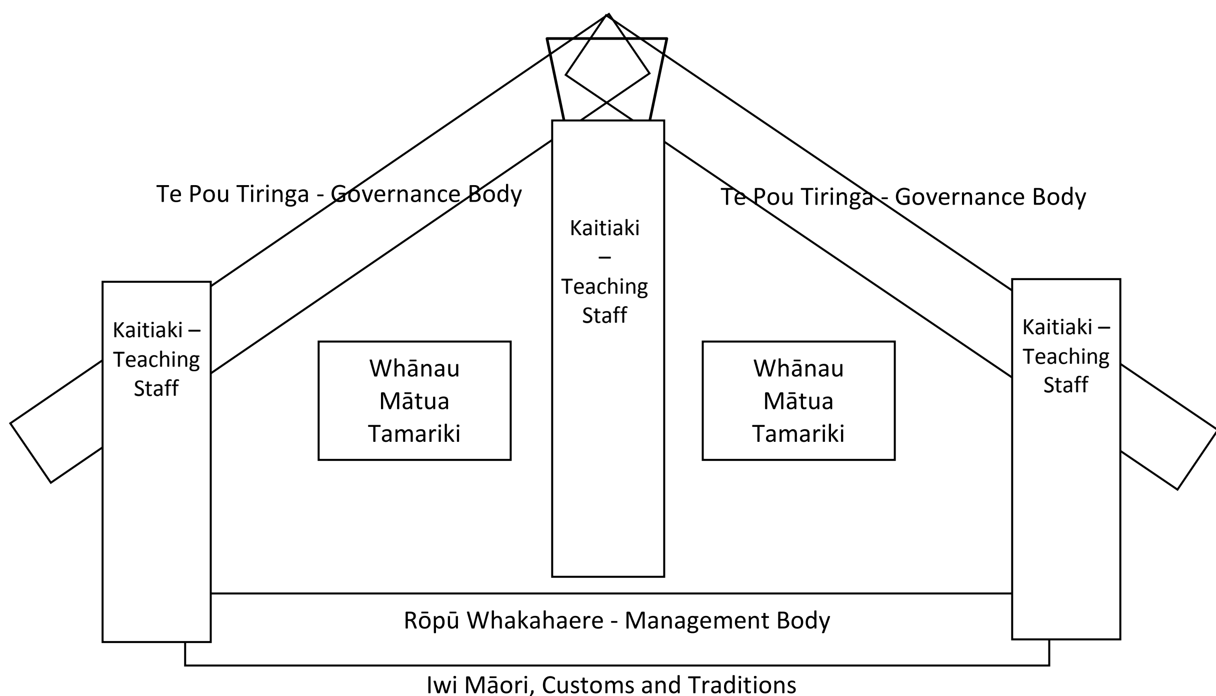
Its name, Te Kōpae Piripono, reflects two foundational concepts it has maintained throughout its existence. Kōpae is a word used in Taranaki for a kōhanga (nest) and indicates Te Kōpae's parallel association with the principles espoused by Kōhanga Reo for the revitalisation of reo and tikanga among whānau. Piripono (allegiance) refers to the

high level of commitment needed from everyone to build a robust and functional collective that is the "…everlasting and genuine embrace of whānau" (A.Tamati, key informant interview).

Te Kōpae Piripono – Structure

The whānau of Te Kōpae describe their structure in the form of a wharenui (meeting house). The governance body, Te Pou Tiringa, is likened to the building's roof. Kaitiaki, teaching staff, are aligned with the concept of the supporting posts of the walls and Te Rōpū Whakahaere, the management committee made up of staff and parent representatives, are the floor. The central pillar supporting the ridge beam is conceptualised as the philosophy and working practice of the centre, and all entry points (windows and door) and internal space are associated with the community and whānau who will access the service. Finally, the foundations for the wharenui are the wider iwi relationships, customs and traditions (Tamati, Hond-Flavell, Korewha, & Te Kōpae Piripono Whānau, 2008).

Figure 3: Schema of Te Kōpae's Organisational Structure



While some hierarchy exists in Te Kōpae's levels of operation, management and governance, it is reluctant to portray its structure in models of hierarchy. The structure of Te Kōpae is associated with a wharenui to be symbolic of a safe and protective environment. Roles within the organisational structure are interdependent, with an emphasis placed on participation and taking responsibility for leadership and contribution made in each area of the kaupapa of Te Kōpae.

At the level of governance, board members are acknowledged for having a high level of experience in Taranaki reo, tikanga, iwi networks and education in the region. Their guidance and direction for management in things Māori ensures relevance for iwi and integrity in the kaupapa. The Rōpū Whakahaere includes parent representatives and two Tumu (directors). The Tumukāuru is responsible for the overall management and guidance of the centre's operations while the Tumukātake "… has responsibility for curriculum, teaching and learning" (p. 5). Five Kaitiaki (teachers) hold ECE qualifications, two to post-graduate level. Three are primary trained teachers, one of whom is pursuing post-graduate ECE study. Other Kaitiaki have enrolled in degree level study to further their qualifications. The centre maintains an expectation that parents/caregivers should be directly engaged in Te Kōpae's activities among the children through the week and in intensive quarterly projects and programmes in each school term. Those caregivers without proficiency in te reo Māori are required to enrol or participate in immersion reo programmes to enhance the quality of their involvement in Te Kōpae.

Te Kōpae Piripono – Initiatives

Designation of Te Kōpae as an ECE centre has provided access to Ministry of Education funding to sustain its programme provision. This requires its centre operation to demonstrate consistency with the guidelines of Te Whāriki, the Ministry's early childhood curriculum policy statement (Ministry of Education, 1996). The centre operates Monday to Friday from 8.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m., with a directed education programme. Additional hours are set aside to support Te Kōpae's hockey teams, fundraising events, training

evenings in whānau reo use, waiata and language planning, and as many as four wānanga – two to three day intensives for whānau development.

Te Whāriki has sufficient scope and clarity with regard to whānau development and Māori perspectives of child development that Te Kōpae has been able to advance its vision with favourable support from the Ministry. The core aspiration of Te Whāriki is for children,

> …to grow up as competent and confident learners and communicators, healthy in mind, body, and spirit, secure in their sense of belonging and in the knowledge that they make a valued contribution to society." (p. 9)

Te Kōpae's own aspirations are similar to those of Te Whāriki, with the prominent addition of whānau awareness and development as a goal that "Taranaki Maaori children be prepared for life through high quality Maaori education provided by competent educators in adequately resourced facilities and supported by well informed w'aanau" (Te Kōpae Piripono, 2012, p. 1).

This emphasis on whānau development is due in part to Te Kōpae's contracted programme requirement. However, from the outset it has been an underlying objective of Te Kōpae to respond to the social and cultural impact of historical grievance (land confiscations and Taranaki wars) and the continued trauma experienced by Taranaki Māori communities in order to restore cultural and social strength to its community. Māori language, culture and immersion education have been key factors influencing whānau wanting to enrol their children in the centre, yet Te Kōpae considers one of its key priorities, particularly among new whānau in the early period after enrolment, to be one of whānau development.

> The reality of Te Kōpae Piripono's historical context … has resulted in patterns of behaviour within our whānau that have cultivated closed and distrustful communication. Because we have continued to experience (often sub-consciously) the effects of the trauma of historical injustice, we have tended to exist in survival mode, preoccupied by self-preservation at all costs. (Tamati et al., 2008, p. 82)

Te Kōpae Piripono – Effectiveness

In 2008, Te Kōpae was awarded a research grant by the Ministry of Education as a Centre of Innovation. This grant recognised innovation by the centre in "…[a] range of whānau development initiatives … undertaken to strengthen and distribute leadership" (ECE

Educate, 2012). Based on the value of its research, Te Kōpae has delivered presentations to many conference workshops and speaker sessions.

With regard to the integrity of its Māori language immersion environment, Te Kōpae is widely recognised in Taranaki and abroad as being an excellent example of Māori early childhood education. This is reflected in the long waiting list they generate each year, where they often have had to turn away whānau because of lack of capacity within the facility. To an extent, the presence of a waiting list for entry to Te Kōpae has helped enable it to assert greater influence over expectations for levels of participation in the centre, for development of oral proficiency in te reo Māori, and for support of extra-curricula events and activities.

Also, Te Kōpae's high level of retention of well-qualified kaitiaki with high proficiency in oral use of te reo Māori indicates a sound working environment and consistent capacity to maintain standards of practice. Active provision of professional development and support for staff to enrol in tertiary programmes helps support a high level of critical awareness for the objects and strategies of early childhood education.

Case 2: Te Reo o Whanganui Trust (Iwi-based Language Revitalisation)

Te Reo o Whanganui – Synopsis

Whanganui is the name of a large river to the west of the North Island of New Zealand. It travels from the inland mountain of Tongariro and its surrounds to the sea, where the current city of Whanganui is located. Whanganui is also a common name of identity associated with the customary tribal region and people of Te Ati Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi whose hapū and community settlements are distributed along the length of the river. Te Reo o Whanganui (TRoWh) was established in 2008 as a legally registered charitable trust by leaders of the renaissance of the language, culture and identity of Whanganui. It has the specific objective of supporting "…the use and retention of Whanganui reo and tikanga" (Te Reo o Whanganui Trust, 2008b). Their establishment of the Trust reflected

the need to formalise an organisational structure in order to better advance a range of community-based activity being applied to achieve that objective.

Te Reo o Whanganui – Background

The relatively recent decision to form a legal entity for TRoWh's activities belies the long background of intense activity centred on the restoration of community level capacity in the language, culture, knowledge and identity among the networks of settlements and collectives of Whanganui. In particular, these activities have concentrated on local information, oral features, and practices that distinguish and assert the identity of people associated with the river that flows through their region.

Whanganui River has been described as "…the aortic artery of the Atihaunui heart. Shrouded in history and tradition, the river remains symbolic of Atihaunui identity" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p. xiii). In the past it has acted as the main access route to the numerous communities distributed along its banks as far as the inland cluster of mountains in the central North Island referred to as Te Kāhui Maunga. The western-most peak, Ruapehu, is an important reference point of cultural connection along with the river that links the people spiritually, physically and socially. This is indicated with the statement of identity made by those communities and increasingly relevant as more people connected with Whanganui, who may be living elsewhere, reclaim their solidarity.

> E rere kau mai te awa nui nei, mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa. Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au. (Te Ara, 2011)
>
> This vast river flows freely from the mountains to the sea. I am the river and the river is me.

In addition to its unifying influence, there are three distinct social groupings located along the river. They are the upper, mid- and lower sections, identified with three ancestral siblings, Hinengākau, Tama-ūpoko and Tūpoho respectively. Their parents Ruakā and Tamakehu are ancestors held in common by the descendants of Te Ati Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi.

The foundation of its cultural strength has continued to be the integrity of the authority based in the river itself. The petitions, legal challenges and claims over the river, its

resources and its use and despoliation began as early as 1873, and in 1988 the Whanganui River Māori Trust Board was established (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999). Prominent leaders who worked to put in place the river's Trust Board were also instrumental in the region's cultural renaissance. Che Wilson identifies an important hui held in 1981 for the younger leaders of Whanganui, those in their 40's and younger. It took place at Ngāpūwaiwaha, a marae in Taumarunui near the river's headwaters. When kaumātua, such as Titi Tihu and Hikaia Amohia, arrived to participate they were asked to convene their own hui in the adjacent building. When the two groups had finished their separate discussions they came together to determine the cultural future of Whanganui. This gathering was a critical moment in deciding how the issues related to the guardianship of the river, as well as the culture and identity of Whanganui, would be advanced. The majority of the elders resolved to work on the issues related to the river, whereas the younger leaders, particularly Ruka Broughton, Matiu Mareikura, John Tahupārae and Mark Cribb, were determined to drive the cultural renaissance, with special attention to the majority of Whanganui descendants who were now living in urban centres outside the region.

The timing of this initial gathering, in 1981, is important to note as it coincided with some of the earliest community-led movements of cultural renaissance that arose around the country. Through the late 1970s and early 1980s many groups began to enact and articulate expressions of sovereignty and self-determination. They worked to reclaim Māori language and culture and reconnect with customary forms of authority as part of the advancement of indigenous rights (Maaka & Fleras, 2000). The Ngāpūwaiwaha hui marked the emergence of a concerted approach by the iwi of Whanganui for the reclaiming of their cultural, social and political authority in the region.

In 1985, they worked on the concept of a more intensive initiative, a pilgrimage by waka (canoes) along the river to make a physical connection with the cultural points of reference and allow people to travel together to continue to collate and share knowledge and build mutual support among communities and descendants. They named the kaupapa 'Te Tira Hoe Waka' (TTHW). Consent to proceed was gained in a forum held in 1986 at Upoko-tauaki, a traditional house of learning located in Jerusalem, within the Tama-ūpoko section of the river.

TTHW's journeys acted to strengthen community ties and collective action in three ways. First, the bringing together of key Whanganui leaders, young and old, in a project they all were able to contribute to. Second, the reconnecting of whānau with their important cultural sites, many of which were seldom used or visited, provided opportunities to give regard to and reflect on the inherent value these places could offer Te Ati Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi. Finally, travelling the full length of the river, through the three divisions of Hinengākau, Tama-ūpoko and Tūpoho, and staying at many settlements of hapū that had traditionally constrained their authority specifically to their own customary section of the river, reduced perceptions of separation.

> … tae atu ki tērā wā i noho tonu te tikanga – nē i nō tai koe? Kaua e piki ake ki hapū kē, kaua e haere ki te awa. Nē i nō uta? Kaua e haere ki te puku o te awa. Nō reira he mea whakamakere atu i ngā herehere … kia kauria te awa mai i Hinengākau tae atu ki Te Matapihi. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …up until that time the practice persisted – if you were from the coast? Don't go inland to the river. If you were from inland? Don't go to the central section of the river. So this loosened those restrictions … to experience the full length of the river from Hinengākau to Te Matapihi.

The old expressions 'Te Wainuiarua' or 'Te Awanuiarua' also began to be used more commonly, as they better reflect the entire length of the river, in contrast to the more widely recognised name 'Whanganui' that tends to be associated with the lower river section, especially the river mouth.

Through the 1990's, TTHW was one of the main opportunities for people of Whanganui, particularly those living away from the area, to reassociate themselves with cultural practices, reference points of identity, skills and knowledge that affirmed their identity with Te Ati Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi. It gave substance to the meaning of the statement "…kaua e kōrero mō te awa, me kōrero ki tō awa; do not merely speak about your river, go and commune with it" (Kōkiri, 2008, p. 16). From these activities, leaders of TTHW and key people among the iwi started more intensive training in waiata, karakia, poi, mau-rākau and historical traditions. Esther Tinirau (key informant interview) recalls these early years and identifies them as a turning point for focusing on Whanganui language, cultural knowledge and identity.

> …i timata ai ngā momo wānanga o te kāinga ko te mau rākau tērā, ko te poipoi tērā, ko ētehi atu tono hoki kia noho a Whanganui ki tōna ake ao, ki mōhio ai a Whanganui ki tōna ake ao. Āna, ko tētehi tono ki ngā pahake - me pēhea te reo o Whanganui… (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …when the learning intensives began, there was mau rākau, there was poipoi and other calls as well for Whanganui identity to be affirmed within its own world perspective. Yes, there was a further demand requested of the elders - what should we do with regard to the language of Whanganui…

The river pilgrimage had a direct impact on the presence and recognition of Whanganui language and culture, encouraging people to build their Whanganui identity through community interaction and shared experience within culturally robust community contexts.

Te Reo o Whanganui – Establishment

Over the first five to ten years, TTHW achieved much of what it had set out to accomplish. Youth trained by Ruka Broughton, Matiu Mareikura, John Tahuparae and Mark Cribb in the 1980s were the foundation of the next generation of leadership. There were a wide range of participants in the TTHW events. The groups were large, with many people returning home from other parts of the country and overseas. Whanganui cultural knowledge began to accumulate and was shared with the groups as a significant factor of interest in the trips, and people from all sections of the river became heavily involved. As a result, more queries were being received about opportunities to learn Whanganui reo. In 1995, iwi-based wānanga for reo immersion began to be held as a more intensive extension of the TTHW learning approach.

For many learners Rangahaua, the Māori studies faculty of Wanganui Regional Community Polytechnic, provided courses with the intensity needed to build oral proficiency. The courses were run under the reo unit, Te Kōpae, with tuition from Morvin Simon and others. However, in the latter half of 2001, the Government's Tertiary Education Commission moved to merge the Whanganui-based polytechnic with the Universal College of Learning (UCOL), a tertiary institution located in Palmerston North. The language

courses moved to UCOL and concerns grew as to the appropriateness of programmes delivered in Palmerston North, outside the region, for sustaining Whanganui reo.

At the same time in 2001, the Government announced the launch of a community-focused Māori language fund, 'Mā te Reo'. This funding programme was set up by Tau Henare, then Minister of Māori Affairs, "…to support projects, programmes and activities that contribute to local level Māori language regeneration" (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2011). A group from TTHW was successful with its Mā te Reo application to run an iwi reo forum and wānanga. The first forum was held in October 2002 at Pūtiki Marae and was well attended, particularly by those involved with TTHW.

The early emphasis of its activities supporting language and culture at that time was aligned with the original philosophy of TTHW, to build a strong Whanganui identity. In June 2004, the education focused 'Te Puna Mātauranga o Whanganui' (TPMoWh) was formally incorporated under the Charitable Trusts Act 1957. TPMoWh was supported by the Ministry of Education in an iwi partnership arrangement and was later successful, in 2006, with the second offering of one of the Ministry's Māori language programmes, Community Based Language Initiative (CBLI). The reo-based activities of running wānanga and making resources in Whanganui reo were progressed under this organisation. Examples of its early initiatives include the development of a Whanganui reo strategy; the collection of Whanganui sayings, phrases and proverbs compiled by Wilson (2010); and providing support and expertise to events with high levels of exposure to Whanganui reo, such as the 'Te Awa Tupua' exhibition from November 2003 to May 2006 in Te Papa Tongarewa, The Museum of New Zealand, and 'Te Pihi Mata', the Partington photograph collection, 1892-1908, exhibited in the Whanganui Regional Museum between December 2007 and September 2009.

Some of the key leaders of TTHW felt this level of activity was not achieving the types of results they had earlier envisaged possible in 2002 and so other initiatives were investigated. After a visit by John Tahuparae, Che Wilson and Esther Tinirau to a high proficiency reo programme run in Taranaki in 2007, the decision was made to formalise an organisation focussed specifically on Whanganui reo. Part of the motivation for forming a

legal entity was to create and manage a structured learning programme for high proficiency Whanganui reo and in-depth oral traditions. This legal status made it easier to formalise a partnership agreement with a tertiary education institution and initiate other language revitalisation strategies. Their high proficiency programme, 'Pōkaitahi Ngā Muka o Te Reo o Whanganui': Certificate in Whanganui Reo (Oral) Level 4, commonly referred to as 'Ngā Muka', was accredited by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) in partnership with UCOL (UCOL, 2008).

Students of Ngā Muka are enrolled in the programme with UCOL, while programme content is delivered by TRoWh on marae throughout the Whanganui region. The first intensive course was run on Rānana Marae, of Ngāti Ruakā, on the twelfth of June 2008 (Te Reo o Whanganui Trust, 2008a). By choosing to begin the programme at Rānana, the whakapapa connections of all Whanganui were recognised in the relationship with Ruakā, the mother of Hine-ngākau, Tama-ūpoko and Tūpoho, aligned with the three sections of the river. Ngā Muka has been successful in building a greater level of participation of students and graduates in roles of formal ritual at tangihanga and marae-based events. In 2009, TRoWh proposed an extension to the programme to include a second stage (Te Reo o Whanganui Trust, 2009). 'Pōkairua Te Taurahere': Diploma in Whanganui Reo (Oral Tradition), Level 6 was accredited in 2011, with plans to offer a further, third, year at undergraduate degree level.

The increased level of organisational structure and administration systems has enabled TRoWh to formalise partnerships, funding and contract agreements that would otherwise be beyond the capacity of an informal community-level group.

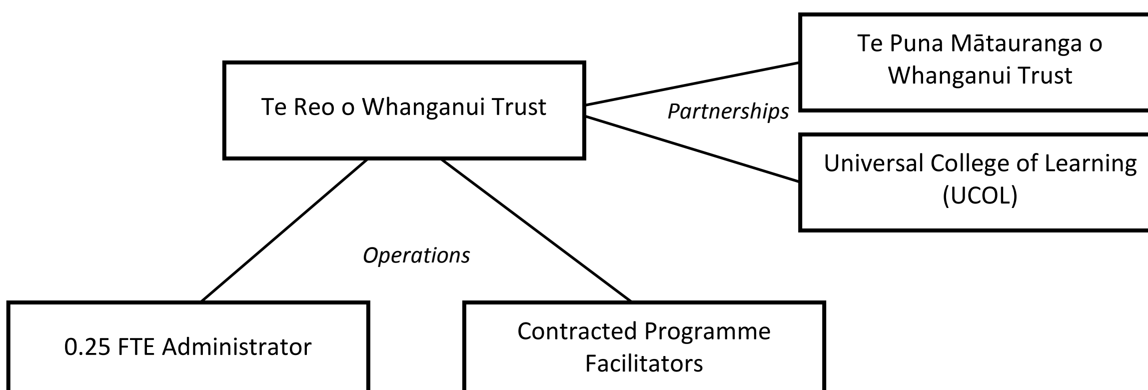
> Tae atu ki te wā ka tū a Ngā Muka. He waka noa iho te Tarati nei hei whakakikī i ngā puare, i ngā whewherua, kia taea te whakatutuki ētehi mahi... (C.Wilson, key informant interview)

> It was up until the time when Ngā Muka was set up. This Trust has simply been a vehicle to fill the holes, to plug the gaps, so that some important tasks could be accomplished...

Te Reo o Whanganui – Structure

The limited size of operations allows TRoWh to maintain a simple structure, particularly relying on Trust members to provide administrative and facilitation support. Contracted staff include a part-time administrator and as many as four casual facilitators for content delivery (refer to Figure 7.2). Partnership agreements with TPMoWh and UCOL offer additional support for its administrative systems and improve its access to funding sources.

Figure 4: Organisational Structure of Te Reo o Whanganui Trust



There are six members on the Board, providing a diverse range of support to the programme provision, from research, content delivery, administration, promotion and management of the partnership agreements. Two trustees are also members of TPMoWh. They all have a high level of proficiency in Whanganui reo and have been prominent in the TTHW initiative. Three members have key roles in the governance and management of local iwi. The 0.25 full-time equivalent paid position manages the administrative responsibilities of the Trust and its areas of operation for the high proficiency reo programmes.

Te Reo o Whanganui – Initiatives

The main motivation for initially establishing the organisation was the delivery of high proficiency Whanganui reo programmes in tertiary education. Although Ngā Muka and Taurahere are qualification-bearing, formal education programmes, the delivery of content

takes place on marae along the river, outside a formal classroom setting. These formal education programmes have been used to achieve community level outcomes over and above student success in achieving tertiary qualifications. Assessment is performance-based that tests proficiency in applying oral traditions and takes place in a marae setting. The programme aims are to "… increase oral competence in Whanganui Reo among those with high … Māori language proficiency, as part of a Whanganui revitalisation language initiative. Further, to enable students to acquire a high proficiency in Whanganui's unique dialect and increase competence in Whanganui oral traditions and protocol" (UCOL, 2008). The entry criteria require students to have a high level of Māori language proficiency, and either they have a whakapapa connection to local hapū, they are working in immersion environments within Whanganui, or they are able to demonstrate a high level of personal interest and commitment to Whanganui reo.

With the support of Ngā Muka students, graduates and facilitators and in partnership with TPMoWh, TRoWh have been able to help advance another reo initiative named 'Taimaru'. A series of intensive language and cultural training wānanga for year nine to year twelve high school students (14 to 17 years of age) was launched in 2012. There are many strong similarities between the delivery and curriculum in Ngā Muka, in TTHW and in Taimaru. Impetus for the programme came from parents and whānau of youth from many high schools and wharekura, who had involvement in TTHW (Karauria, 2012). Such initiatives indicate the long-term vision of TRoWh, working alongside TPMoWh, building succession planning for cultural knowledge and expertise throughout the region.

Te Reo o Whanganui – Effectiveness

The broader organisational objectives toward the revitalisation of Whanganui reo are given recognition by the organisation, but they have been directed under the terms of the programme contract. The Ngā Muka programme has had four intakes over four years and the recent first offering of the Taurahere programme had a full cohort of students. To graduate from the programme students must demonstrate their ability in a broad range of traditional oral competencies that fulfil formal rituals of the marae and community

gatherings. Those competencies include traditional and contemporary recitations and songs, creative composition, formal debating skills, and the presentation of historical accounts. Students who complete the assessment criteria provide a significant increase in community level capacity to meet customary roles among hapū and marae of the region (UCOL, 2011).

Case Study 3: Te Ataarangi (National Māori Language Revitalisation)

Te Ataarangi – Synopsis

When Te Heikōkō Mataira demonstrated a language immersion learning approach, 'The Silent Way', to Ngoi Pēwhairangi in 1978 they both determined that the approach was well suited to building community-level Māori language use. They found it could be quickly demonstrated to elderly speakers, the last remnants of former native speaker communities, enabling them to become community-based kaiwhakaako[71] without the need for formal training or qualifications. This work, in the early 1980s, formed a national organisation with many thousands of voluntary members. The organisation, named Te Ataarangi, received limited government support when the State's focus was on immersion learning in compulsory schooling and preschool education. It forced many of the younger practitioners, who needed an income, to take up roles in tertiary education institutions and private training establishments (PTE). Some were able to use Te Ataarangi-based approaches while others had to change their lesson delivery method. The period from the late 1980s to the 1990s saw a gradual shift in the organisational emphasis to formal, qualification-bearing programmes, adversely affecting the voluntary community-based activity. In more recent times, as language revitalisation approaches and strategies have become better understood, government has turned to Te Ataarangi to help re-establish community level, self-priming, language activity. Programmes supporting intergenerational language use in the home and informal immersion learning in

71 The original term used within the organisation was 'kaiwhakaako', teacher. However, the word most often used in some communities was 'kaiako', in spite of the fact that it could also be interpreted as meaning student. After the first five to ten years the terms used within the organisation for its practitioners were separated into three levels: kaiāwhina – trainee practitioner or support teachers; kaiako – trained practitioners with experience at the first (Tuara) stage of teaching; and pouako – very well-experienced practitioners with the recognised ability of facilitating learning at higher levels. For the purposes of this study, kaiwhakaako will be used to describe all levels of practitioner within Te Ataarangi.

communities have been established using Te Ataarangi's practitioners, regional networks and organisational infrastructure. The emphasis in the vision of Te Ataarangi has completed a full swing back to the intent first espoused by Pēwhairangi and Mataira, the re-establishment of communities where Māori language is normalised.

Te Ataarangi – Background

Research conducted by Richard Benton (1979) into the use of Māori language in communities clearly showed a shift in language use norms in rural Māori communities, formerly the mainstay of native speaker acquisition, toward English. He predicted that, with the imminent passing of elderly native speakers, the reliance on Māori language learning in schools and the levels being taught was inadequate to sustain a sufficient speaker population to ensure the survival of the Māori language other than as an academic subject of study or a formal language of ritual. This evidence helped spark a nation-wide Māori cultural renaissance. With a dearth of learning approaches that targeted oral language proficiency the language component of that renaissance was under threat. Three approaches were prominent: the intensive wānanga approach used by Te Whakatipuranga Ruamano (W. Winiata, 1979); the early childhood immersion of Te Kōhanga Reo (J. King, 2001); and the community immersion learning approach of Te Ataarangi (Higgins, 2011).

The initial adaptation of the 'Silent Way' approach for Māori language learning that became Te Ataarangi was carried out by Mataira (1980) as a research fellow in the University of Waikato. The study was incorporated as part of her M.Ed. thesis. When her husband took up a teaching position in 1973 at the Teachers' College in Fiji, Mataira began to learn Fijian in formal grammar-translation based classes. The experience of the struggles of conventional foreign language learning in institutions was brought into sharp contrast when she observed the relative ease of conversation in Fijian achieved by a group of American Peace Corps students after just 10 weeks of learning in New York. When their teachers, a Jewish woman and a Japanese man, arrived in Fiji, Mataira attended an intensive course and was duly amazed with the speed of acquisition and the strongly practical nature of the oral proficiency she was able to acquire (Higgins, 2011). On

returning to New Zealand, her post-graduate study gave her an opportunity to develop a sequence of language learning for the approach that was most appropriate for Māori language.

Prior to the completion of her research in 1978, Mataira was challenged by Sir Henry Bennett, chair of the New Zealand Council of Adult Education of which she was a member, to find a solution to the accelerating loss of Māori language from community use. The challenge had arisen from repeated calls from fellow member and strong Māori community learning leader on the East Coast, Ngoi Pēwhairangi, for the Council to become involved. Following the meeting, Mataira undertook to demonstrate the Silent Way learning approach to Pēwhairangi. After almost a day of her presenting the learning method they both felt confident that the approach would be well suited to community language learning. Mataira credited Pēwhairangi with the enhancement of the approach to be more conducive to community learning needs. Ngoi suggested ways to incorporate more physical movement into the lessons and encouraged greater use of waiata and role-playing.

The main role for native speakers within the approach was to model the oral language of everyday use, slowly building the range of language constructions in the learner's oral proficiency by creating a supportive immersion environment for all participants. These native speaker kaiwhakaako were themselves initiated into this approach to learning by simply watching and practising. For theoretical understanding they were guided by thirteen simple statements used to manage safe learning environments. The beginner's lesson book, 'Te Tuara o te Reo' (Te Ataarangi Inc., 1982), is introduced with a brief statement explaining the approach, encouraging native speakers to participate while asserting the validity of community learning.

Te Ataarangi – Establishment

In 1979, Pēwhairangi and Mataira approached Kara Puketapu, the head of the Department of Māori Affairs, convincing him of the value of the learning approach. They gained support to allow regional Māori officers to coordinate local gatherings of key community

leaders and native speakers. Over the next three years Pēwhairangi and Mataira travelled the country, demonstrating the programme among community leaders and native speakers, running training workshops, and gaining the assistance of other like-minded people to further develop the learning approach (Higgins, 2011). It was at one of those community training hui, at Wellington in 1979, that Pēwhairangi proposed the kaupapa be named 'Ataarangi' in reference to a traditional institution of learning from Ngāti Porou that covered a broad range of skills used in support of other, more in depth, forms of learning. She saw the facility of oral language proficiency as the foundation for all other traditional forms of knowledge and, therefore, a foundation for Māori community education. At a large hui held at Tokomaru Bay in 1980, the proposal to establish a formal organisation under the name Te Ataarangi was accepted and within the following year Te Ataarangi Incorporated Society was registered as a legal entity. The first two years of development were critical in reinforcing the foundations of the kaupapa throughout the country by empowering community level influence. Mataira (key informant interview) states that the objective in these early years was clear: "…ki te timatanga o Te Ataarangi, kotahi te whakaaro, ko te whakaora i te reo me te tiki atu i te hunga matatau kia riro mā rātou e whakaora te reo" (ibid). *…at the start of Te Ataarangi there was one thought, to revitalise the language and to gather together fluent speakers, native speakers, so they would drive the revitalisation of Māori language*.

The prevalent language learning approach used in the late 1970s was the grammar-translation method, because it was considered the most suitable method for classroom learning (B. H. Douglas, 2000). Few opportunities were available for immersion language learning. When Te Ataarangi began its work it offered an immersion approach for learners at all levels of proficiency, it could be readily practised by native speakers among communities, and it required few resources. Te Ataarangi thrived in its early years, moved mainly by the voluntary elders who were retired, well established in their homes, with relatively low levels of financial burden, and who had time available to provide support. Costs for travel, resources and running learning hui were paid for mainly by fundraising. Mataira and Pewhairangi also saw a distinct practical advantage in drawing on the language and cultural strength of native speakers, the remnant of former Māori speaking communities. In most cases they had little background or experience in formal education

institutions, so these elders would be less distracted by motives of learning other than for the transmission of language and cultural knowledge within the community where they were based. They would be able to share their own form of localised language variation and reassociate spiritual values and traditional knowledge back into the customary settings of their regions. It drew the act of language use back to the communities where it belonged.

> …i pā mai ki a au te whakaaro i taua wā tonu, ko te reo nei nō te iwi nō ia hapū, nō ia whānau, ā, kāore au i whakaae mā ngā Whare Wānanga kē e pupuri te reo nei … Me taku kite ko te hunga, ehara ko te reo anake, engari ko te wairua o te reo i mau i a rātou, i a rātou e pakeke haere ana i roto i ngā whānau, i ngā hapū. Ko te wairua tonu o te reo, te wairua tonu o te whānau, te wairua tonu o te iwi i roto i taua reo … Me hoki anō ki ngā kāinga, ki ngā hapū, ki ngā iwi, ki ngā tāngata i tipu mai i roto i te reo. Koirā pea te take i whai wāhi ai au ki te rapu haere i tētahi tūāhua ako i te reo nei. I rapu i tētahi āhuatanga, mōhio pai au, ka taea e te hunga matatau. Ko te hunga i tipu mai i roto i te reo, ahakoa pea te rahi o rātou, kāore i haere ki ngā kura tuarua, kāore i haere ki ngā whare wānanga engari i tipu mai i roto i ō rātou iwi, whānau, kāinga, marae… (K.T.Mataira, key informant interview)

> …the thought came to me at that time, that the language belonged to the iwi, to each hapū, to each whānau, and, I did not agree that it should be universities who retain this language … And I saw the [elderly speakers], not just their language, but the spirit of the language that they held, from when they were growing up in whānau, in hapū. The inherent nature of the language, the inherent nature of the whānau, the inherent nature of the iwi was in the language … it needed to return to the homes, to the hapū, to the iwi, to the people who grew up in the language. That perhaps is the main reason I put the effort into seeking a learning methodology for this type of language. Looking for a way, as I understood, that could be undertaken by native speakers. The people who grew up in the reo, regardless of how few they may be, who didn't go to high school, who didn't go to university, but who grew up among their iwi, whānau, kāinga and marae…

By the time the organisation convened its first Annual General Meeting (AGM), in 1982, lesson resources had been produced and a specific set of guidelines for teachers and rules for students had been rigorously discussed among many committed practitioners. Regions formed their own independent organisations as rohe (regions) or peka (branches) affiliated to the parent body, Te Komiti Matua. Nine rohe were established, based roughly on conventional Māori regions of collectivity: Te Waipounamu, Te Tauihu, Te Upoko-o-te-Ika, Te Tairawhiti, Taranaki/Whanganui, Waiariki, Tainui, Tamaki-makaurau and Te Taitokerau. A further, tenth, rohe, Te Pāpaka-nui-a-Māui (Australia), was formed recently in 2010. Retaining regional control of activities has been an important feature that ensured the distinct character of local communities was recognised. Involvement of the national body has been mainly for coordinating projects involving all rohe, such as national training programmes for kaiwhakaako, advocating for the kaupapa in government and accessing larger national contracts.

After the death of Pewhairangi in 1985, and as the ten year anniversary for the Society drew closer, increasing tensions began to arise regarding the appropriateness of awarding certificates for achievement in the programme. Large sections of the organisation were strongly opposed to allowing any sort of formal qualification. They tended to feel that awarding qualifications would demean the cultural and moral value of their work, that it would force lessons to conform to externally determined criteria of performance, and would gain the participation of people with conflicting motivations. However, Te Ataarangi was faced with another dilemma. Younger practitioners, with young families and establishing their homes, found it difficult to maintain their participation without associating their work to some form of employment. Many of these kaiwhakaako were frustrated that the high level of oral proficiency achieved in Te Ataarangi was seldom recognised by employers. They often found work only as assistants to graduates of programmes with formal qualifications but who lacked the oral proficiency. The underlying problem for Te Ataarangi was due less to the need for qualifications and more to the result of a chronic shortage of resourcing. Government funds were only being made available to formal bodies that delivered accredited programmes and approved qualifications. As a result, increasingly the kaupapa shifted away from an emphasis on community-based learning and towards the provision of well-resourced qualification-bearing programmes with formally enrolled students. It was with extreme disappointment for many of the original practitioners that more and more the programmes became accessible only to people with the means to pay fees. In a formal education setting the essential objective of speaker community formation was shifted to the formation of groups of students who met the criteria of entry and dispersed once the achievement standards were fulfilled (op.cit. Mataira).

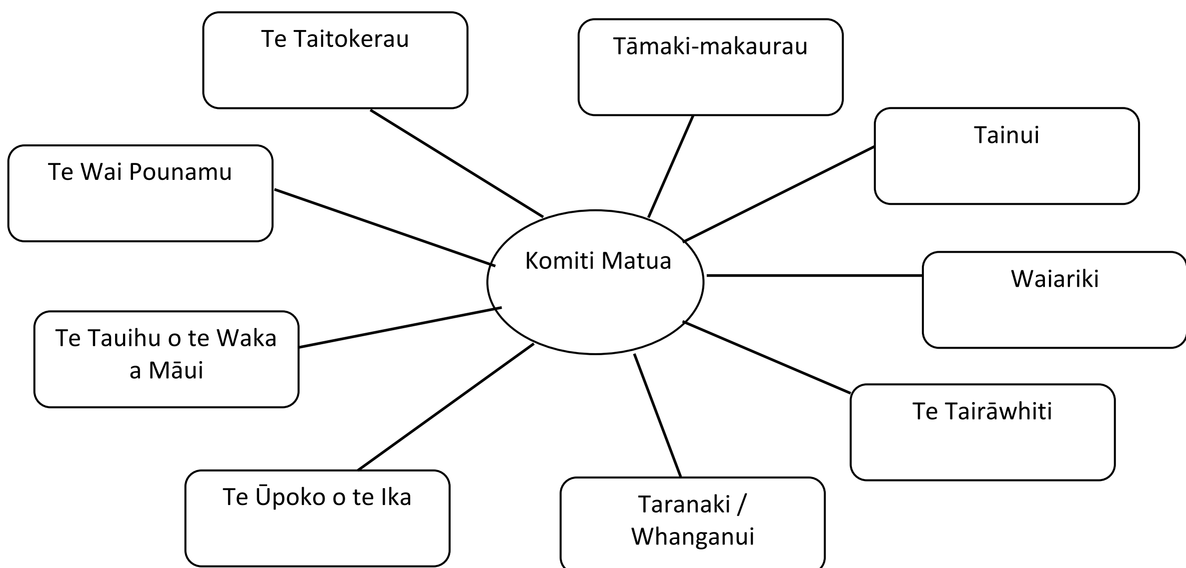
The emphasis given to oral proficiency in Māori language as a private good to derive personal gain has been a strong theme of government policy since the late 1980's in a shift towards market-driven education. Accordingly, community-based learning for public good objectives has been less well supported. Limited funds for community learning tended to be offered from within the formal institutions of polytechnics, wānanga and schools. With the exception of the registration of 'Te Kura Motuhake o Te Ataarangi' (TKMoTA), a national Private Training Establishment (PTE) offering unit standards under the National

Qualifications Framework (NQF), Te Ataarangi chose not to seek recognition as a formal institution. PTE status provides access to a low level of funding and is often subject to very restrictive entry criteria. Just prior to her death in 2011, Mataira had made significant progress in supporting a change in approach toward Māori language revitalisation. Placing emphasis on the formation of speaker communities rather than qualifications, Mataira was able to gain acknowledgement from government of the original objectives of Te Ataarangi in supporting intergenerational community domains of Māori language. She led the restructuring of the Society to form a national charitable trust, Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi (the Rūnanga), and was successful in helping secure a budget allocation to pilot the provision of 'He Kāinga Kōrerorero' (HKK), an initiative supporting intergenerational language use in the home, involving close to a thousand participants around the country.

Te Ataarangi – Past Structure (pre-2009)

When Te Ataraangi began, the structure was simple and non-hierarchical. A central body, Te Komiti Matua, helped coordinate national activities of the collective and advanced the national interests of the nine rohe, particularly in approaches made to government.

Figure 5: Organisational Structure of the Initial Te Ataarangi Parent Body



Annually Te Komiti Matua held very large Hui-ā-tau (AGMs) that were open to all members and combined the administrative responsibilities of the organisation with at least one full day and evening of demonstrations of learning approaches in many papamahi (workshops). At every third Hui-ā-tau the Komiti Matua elected members stepped down and the rohe nominated members from the floor. At many of these elections nominated members were required to address the gathering, presenting their position on key issues. Once nominations had closed the Society's members in attendance, through their rohe, elected the new Komiti Matua body. In most elections only two or three of the nine members changed and Te Heikōkō Mataira was not subject to this process, being annually reconfirmed as the organisation's founder. With regard to the operation of Te Komiti Matua, each rohe sent their takawaenga (representative) to national meetings when required but otherwise the elected Komiti Matua members managed national issues as they arose.

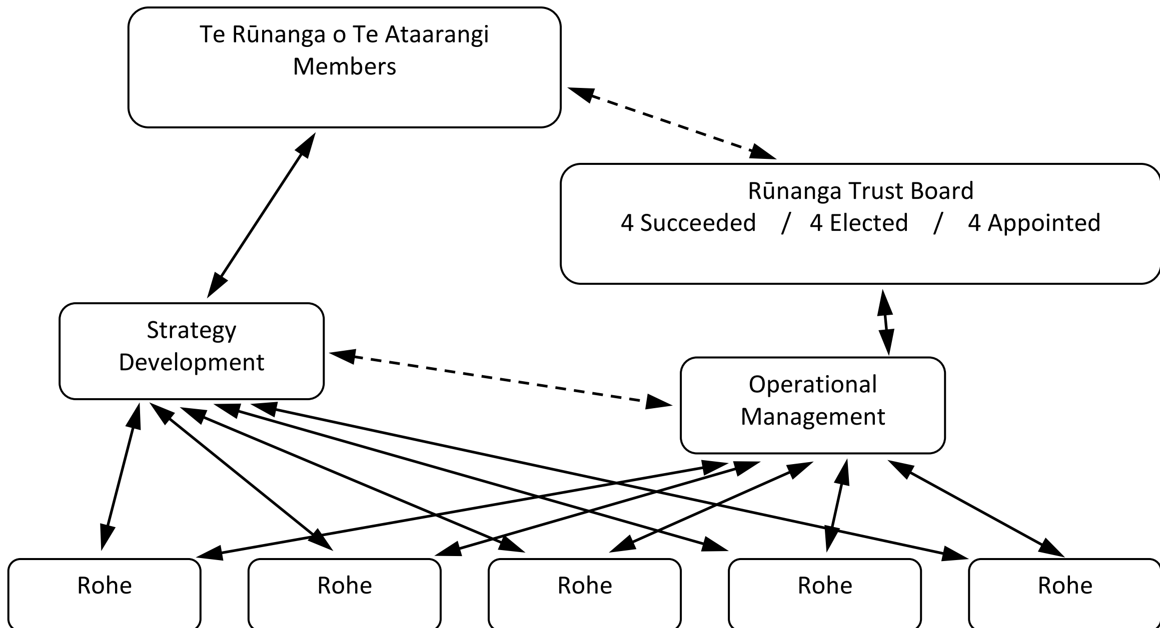
Two other bodies were also associated with the structure of Te Komiti Matua. It was decided, in 1995, to establish an accredited multi-site PTE, TKMoTA, in order to access training funding to run programmes for long-term beneficiaries (people receiving government benefits such as unemployment, sickness or domestic purposes benefits), or based on other criteria determined by the Education and Training Support Agency (ETSA). Only programmes in Wairoa, Te Kākano o Te Ataarangi, and Taranaki, Te Tirohanga Roa ki te Paerangi, were successful in receiving funding for the programme and both were managed from Wairoa. The programme closed in Taranaki three years later but has continued in Wairoa as the PTE's only site (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2011). The other affiliated body set up under Te Komiti Matua in 1999 was 'Te Ataraangi Educational Trust' (TAEdT). It was formed to progress internal capacity and business initiatives for Te Ataarangi, helping with programme design, resource development, the internal professional development of practitioners, income generation initiatives, and the advancing of joint venture agreements with tertiary institutions. These bodies within Te

Ataarangi were established to advance business and educational opportunities to support community activity that has been poorly funded (Te Ataarangi Inc., 2003).

Established partnerships between TAEdT and tertiary institutions became more difficult to maintain after changes to the tertiary education sector in the years 2000 to 2010. Te Ataarangi moved to discuss its future directly with government agencies when partnerships with two tertiary education institutions ended in 2009 and 2010. To help avoid confusion of roles it was decided to consolidate the three bodies, Te Komiti Matua, TAEdT and TKMoTA, into a single legal entity, Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi (Rūnanga), in 2008. Its structure is presented in Figure 7.4.

The current Rūnanga body is made up of three forms of trustee. Members of the organisation from all rohe elect four trustees, a further four trustees are internally appointed based on their contribution of skill and expertise and four positions, referred to as 'Manutea', are long-serving practitioners selected by succession, who maintain custodianship of Te Ataarangi's kaupapa (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi Trust, 2011). At an operational level the organisation employs a 'Tumu Whakahaere', a chief executive, alongside other people in roles of contract management, operational services, coordination and programme delivery depending on the mix of project contracts Te Ataarangi is fulfilling at any given time. A further area that fluctuates based on service needs is advisory roles and services in strategy development. This area interacts directly with membership, rohe organisations and management as needed to ensure clear direction and a high level of organisational critical awareness of the strategy approaches being implemented.

Figure 6: Organisational Structure of Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi Trust



Adapted from (Te Ataarangi & Lockhart, 2011)

Te Ataarangi – Initiatives

Te Ataarangi is most recognised for its use of cuisenaire rods to facilitate the learning of te reo Māori in an immersion environment, particularly for beginner students. The learning approach, 'The Silent Way', was developed initially and presented in a book of that name by Caleb Gattegno (1963). Gattegno, a prominent mathematics educationalist turned language acquisition theorist, described the approach as "…the subordination of teaching to learning…" (p. 13). The expression 'silent way' implies the silencing of the teacher to empower the student. Using cuisenaire rods as the principal learning resource, Gattegno was able to strictly control the context of language use to progressively extend the student's proficiency to new language settings. The main role for the teacher is to create conditions of natural language acquisition, enabling learners to experience direct participation in immersion environments.

The adaptation of the approach for te reo Māori by Mataira (1980) proposed a more eclectic range of learning approaches. When Ngoi Pēwhairangi helped launch the programme for community learning, other learning approaches were also included. The emphasis of the programme was to establish and maintain immersion environments to support the full participation of all members of a community, respecting their distinct identity and encouraging internal leadership.

On entry to formal adult education the Ataarangi approach was made to conform with tertiary qualification standards. Resources that were developed to guide the sequence of learning were converted into a structured curriculum with assessment criteria and externally approved standards of performance. Although there were some variations in the structure of programmes depending on the institution where the programme was being run, most were consistent with the widely used four levels of learning. 'Te Tuara' and 'Te Tinana' were derived from the two learning resources developed nationally. The third and fourth levels were developed in Waikato Polytechnic to extend learning beyond the acquisition of sentence structure to support practical oral use. 'Te Rākeitanga' practised the use of creative language and recognised multiple dimensions of our lived environment where language is used to describe and respond to, for example, the social, political, spiritual, environmental and cultural dimensions of life. The fourth level, 'Te Mana me te Wehi', developed proficiency in formal traditional language use and encouraged research and reconnection back into the customary networks, knowledge and identity associated with each student. In the 1990s, teacher training programmes were developed at three levels: kaiawhina, kaiako and pouako. Later, a partnership agreement was formed with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in 2001, offering a national diploma and Bachelor of Māori Immersion Teaching in adult education. Of significance is the persistence of Te Ataarangi's own PTE, TKMoTA based in Wairoa, which has continued to offer community-based training programmes in Māori language under the National Qualifications Framework since it began in 1996. It is now preparing to have its own Bachelor in Māori Language programme registered.

Over the last five years, return to the organisation's original intent has been made possible by government recognition of the importance of community level initiatives for supporting

language revitalisation, especially for encouraging intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori in the home. In 2005, TPK funded a one year pilot, Tukutuku Kōrero, to support the use of te reo Māori in the home in Kirikiriroa, Whatuwhiwhi and Whaingaroa (Ritchie, 2005). Following from this pilot a more developed programme structure, HKK, was developed to extend the project to 10 sites and was increased to 150 homes in as many as 20 sites in a contract managed by Te Taura Whiri. Meetings of the Rūnanga over 2011 and 2012 have resolved to give high priority to these forms of initiative by providing professional development training and awareness building workshops to its practitioners to help facilitate an organisational shift in focus back to supporting community-centred language use.

Te Ataarangi – Effectiveness

The objective first proposed by Te Ataarangi for its activities is the statement included in the organisation's logo, "Kia kore koe e ngaro taku reo rangatira", 'So that you will never be lost my noble language'. The statement indicates a personal connection of the speaker with that objective. 'My noble language' refers to the distinct form of language associated with the status of a community as opposed to Māori language in general. It also speaks of a personal responsibility to not allow your distinctive language of identity to be lost from use. This challenge is compelling and difficult to achieve nationally, but is a more realistic objective when considered in a local community and personal context.

Clear evidence of numbers involved in the organisation is difficult to determine. Registration of members was patchy, with some rohe enthusiastically registering everyone involved and others just registering kaiwhakaako. The voluntary nature of the activities, and the encouragement given to community groups and their regions to develop the organisation as they saw fit, did not place a great priority on maintaining robust information systems. They were highly motivated practitioners with a diverse range of learning groups and delivery environments. Having said that, in 2003 it was estimated that in the previous 21 years of programmes 30,000 people had learnt to speak Māori (Te Ataarangi Inc., 2003, p. 6), and over the first decade large numbers regularly attended the

Society's training workshops and AGMs (as many as 1000 people but usually in the vicinity of 500 people from all rohe) held in the rohe with minimal financial support. This information suggests Pēwhairangi and Mataira were very successful in forming a voluntary, community level language movement.

The effectiveness of Te Ataarangi in supporting the revitalisation of local language has been despite an immense challenge with the lack of any significant resourcing or support. In terms of the delivery of tertiary education programmes and contract fulfilment, Te Ataarangi has demonstrated its effectiveness. Although most of these activities did not provide a good fit for Te Ataarangi's kaupapa and that often led to tension in expectations between both parties. HKK has offered the best alignment of purpose for Te Ataarangi, in spite of a requirement not to include reo lessons in the programme. The project has included research-based review of its effectiveness and recently, in 2011, the Minister of Māori Affairs, Hon Peter Sharples, approved an extension to the programme from 100 homes to 150.

Te Ataarangi recognises that a broad range of activity is required to achieve the revitalisation of Māori language and is continually exploring ways that speaker community development can be advanced. One such way has been the facilitation of language planning exercises for iwi and hapū groups, running community and iwi language revitalisation training workshops and continuing to provide professional development in language revitalisation and planning for its members. The level of critical awareness has been built with some unease for many practitioners who were not a part of the organisation in the 1980s. This second generation of practitioners was not present to experience the original approaches used and have mainly been engaged within tertiary education based programmes. There may be some level of reluctance to shift away from the provision of education-centred delivery, in particular away from established sources of funding through the Ministry of Education, to reappraise the feasibility and effectiveness of language revitalisation-centred approaches. This work in progressing revitalisation strategies is continuing and has been confirmed as the organisation's main priority by its Rūnanga.

Summary

The three case studies share five common characteristics. First, each of the initiatives was established due to a community-identified need. Second, they all have objectives with alignment to language revitalisation and third, all seek to establish or enhance a strong sense of local identity within communities of speakers. Fourth, in spite of their clear relevance to Māori health in a holistic sense, none of them were established with the specific objective of contributing to Māori health gains in their community. Further, they have all been able to access government resourcing, even though the services being contracted have not always been aligned particularly well with their organisational objectives.

The case studies also differ significantly in their level of influence. They operate at three different levels of activity: a national organisation, an iwi initiative, and a local community. They are Te Ataarangi, Te Reo o Whanganui, and Te Kōpae Piripono respectively. Together the cases are well placed to provide evidence of how language revitalisation and community development approaches contribute to sustainable health gains.

Chapter Eight

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

A great amount of debate has centred on the distinct features of Māori language revitalisation, especially on the various roles of orgranisations and groupings of participants from government agencies to small households choosing to speak Māori. The data presented in this chapter is an account of the forms of practice and organisational strategy undertaken by the case studies, three Māori language immersion groups. The intent of this research is to describe three features: first, the nature of Māori language revitalisation within this type of organisation; second, the specfic relationship between their activities and sustained Māori health outcomes as the broader implications of their efforts; and, finally, the approaches used by the groups to build the necessary capacity to be effective in meeting their objectives.

Core Objectives of Case Studies

Erana Brewerton (key informant interview) describes Te Ataarangi's core activity, the provision of a reo immersion learning environment, as a point of entry into a Māori worldview and the opportunity to form a personal expression of Māori identity. This is in contrast to a widely-held external perception that Te Ataarangi is focussed on Māori language acquisition alone.

> … ehara te reo te mea nui rawa o Te Ataarangi. Engari anō mā te reo pea ka kitea e te tangata ko tōna … whakapono tūturu, o te Māori. Ka kitea te ara wairua … he timatanga anō tērā kia tuwhera anō te ngākau o te tāngata ki tēnei mea ki te ako i tana reo engari kia tuwhera anō ki wērā āhuatanga nō ngāi tāua, nō te Māori tonu, e mārama pū ana ki te āhua o tana wairua … Koirā, ko tētahi mea nui tonu … o Te Ataarangi. (E.Brewerton, key informant interview)

> … reo is not the primary aspect of Te Ataarangi. But in a way, reo provides the opportunity for people to determine their core beliefs, of being Māori. They determine a spiritual path … a beginning of sorts to open their hearts to this challenge of learning their reo, to be open to carefully consider those perspectives from our relationship, of a Māori world, understanding well the nature of their being … That is the main focus of Te Ataarangi.

Te Kōpae considers reo and tikanga arise inherently from a Māori worldview approach to whānau development. It seeks to achieve this objective over and above the contract-based ECE environment of its daily programme delivery to children. From Te Kōpae's perspective the context of whānau is the notion of a community where te reo Māori, tikanga and identity are normalised. It understands that community associated with the whānau collective must be inspired and convinced by the shared vision of the Centre to be durable over the length of a child's enrolment and, subsequently, over the child's lifecourse. The vision needs to rouse a strong sense of commitment for each whānau to be able to maintain their Māori language immersion routines and help reinforce the status of local identity. Encouragement for oral language use comes from a personal connection and commitment to the Centre's kaupapa, particularly a kaupapa grounded in local identity, not in the language alone.

> One of the key factors is that the whānau who want to be part of the Kōpae are clear on what the kaupapa is – they want te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori o Taranaki for their children and they're prepared to commit to that. … They want their children to stand strongly in their taha Māori and they want them to move forward in life, through the lifecourse. … [W]hat's important in terms of creating this community is that we have learnt, as we have gone along, about how to work with families. Te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori are a natural consequence of what we do with whānau and outside of what the children do. These will naturally spring from how we organise ourselves as adults and as whānau. (A.Tamati, key informant interview)

> When a whānau [macrons not used in original text] enrols at Te Kōpae Piripono they are effectively agreeing to a way of life for themselves and their children that embraces reo Māori and tikanga Māori, essentially embracing their identity as Māori and as part of a whānau/community. This is the optimal backdrop for their children's dynamic learning and development. (H.Korewha, key informant interview)

Te Reo o Whanganui Trust (TRoWh), in the provision of its core high-proficiency reo programme 'Ngā Muka', seeks to instil and strengthen identity where reo and tikanga are the essential character and the key points of reference for Whanganui identity.

> …ko te tuatahi nei a te kaupapa ko te reo, ko te wānanga ko te mita kia hua mai ai tō mātou Whanganuitanga. Koirā te kaupapa, ā, i whai mātou i ngā kaupapa ako i te reo o Whanganui, arā, ko pōhiri, ko te whaikōrero, ko te pakimaero, ko te poropititanga ... kia mōhio ai ngā tauira kia mārama ai ngā tauira ki ngā kōrero o Whanganui ake. Mā reira ka kitea ngā tikanga o Whanganui ake arā, ko te whanonga o te tangata. Ehara i te mea ko te kōrero anake engari mā te kōrero e mōhio ai te tangata ko wai a ia, nā wai ia me pēhea te kawe i a ia anō i raro i ngā tikanga a kui mā, a koro mā i tēnei ao hurihuri. Nō reira koirā te tino kaupapa mō Ngā Muka. Ko 'Ngā Muka', i tīkina atu i te kōrero rongonui i runga i te awa ko 'te taura whiri ā Hine-ngākau'. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …the first aspect of the kaupapa is the reo, the customary knowledge, the local language forms to give rise to our shared Whanganui identity. That is the kaupapa and we advanced it within learning topics of ritual of encounter, formal oratory, customary stories, spiritual movements … so that learners would know and understand the Whanganui perspective. From this arise the tikanga distinct to Whanganui, the personality of the people. It is not just a description, but it is an expression that allows people to know who they are, who are they from, how to carry themselves in this world within the cultural legacy of their forebears. So that is the kaupapa of Ngā Muka. Ngā Muka, the flax fibre, is derived from the renowned statement from the river, about the flax fibre of the plaited rope of Hine-ngākau.

This feature of language implicitly linked to identity-based communities has generally not been the main basis for resourcing support provided to the organisations. They have pursued and managed service delivery contracts that prioritise Māori language development as their publicly recognised character. Their promotion of Māori values and tikanga are considered to be implicit within their prime concern, reo immersion and acquistion. Further, they have recognised that community/whānau development is essential to achieving the revitalisation of reo and tikanga within those communities.

Case Study Communities

When discussing communities associated with their core activity, the three organisations had common views about the role of communities in the revitalisation of local language and supporting the tikanga in practice. The revitalisation of local language is treated synonymously with the restoration of authority and control among communities, also influencing their extended networks of support. This, they understand, is needed to sustain long-term gains for programme participants. Te Kōpae places a high priority on community to create the optimum conditions for their children to reach their full potential as Māori. This was a primary motivation for its establishment and is reflected in its name. "Piripono speaks about devotion and commitment, and can be translated as an everlasting and genuine embrace…" of whānau (Tamati et al., 2008, p. 2).

> …one of the key drivers why we established … was about a kaupapa Māori paradigm, a Māori way of being and doing because you can't have Māori language sitting in isolation of a community. So, those concepts or the ways that Te Kōpae Piripono was established was premised on a community, that is, whānau. (A.Tamati, key informant interview)

In a similar way, TRoWh consider the existing customary groupings along the river as their main focus on community. They identify the loss of families from the region, as a result of urban drift, to be the main reason for the diminished presence of reo and tikanga among Whanganui communities. The motivation for their activity has been to draw back descendants to their marae and settlements throughout the region with the enticement of contributing to, and reconnecting with, Whanganui's shared identity. Che Wilson (key informant interview), a founding member of TRoWh and who began in the first series of Whanganui wānanga, describes an initial hui held in Taumarunui, in 1981, as the beginning of a concerted effort to restore the cultural capacity among communities of Whanganui. The hui gave rise to Te Tira Hoe Waka (TTHW), which led to a widespread renaissance of Whanganui reo, tikanga and identity in the region through the late 1980s and 1990s. The significance, for subsequent developments, of this pivotal event in Taumarunui became more obvious when it was recognised that most of the leaders of community initiatives and reo-related activity over the last twenty years or more were the early students and participants of the first set of wānanga run in the 1980s.

> …ko te kaupapa nui he wero ki ngā kaumātua o tērā wā. I kite te hunga rangatahi nei kei te ngarongaro haere ngā pūkōrero i runga marae, kei te ngarongaro ngā tikanga me te reo … nā ngā whiriwhiri, nā ngā kōrero i puta mai i tērā hui, tērā te timatanga o Te Tira Hoe Waka. (C.Wilson, key informant interview)

> …the main intention [of the hui] was to challenge the elders of that time. The younger ones saw that the speaker capacity of the marae were being lost and with them the reo and tikanga was also lost … from the deliberations, the thoughts expressed at that hui, the genesis of Te Tira Hoe Waka occurred.

Esther Tinirau (key informant interview), one of that first group of students, a founding member of TRoWh and a prominent leader in the iwi of Ngā Rauru and Whanganui, spoke of the level of support she continues to receive from those key leaders of development that arose from TTHW, such as the informal classes held in people's homes and the mutual understanding of shared commitment that they associate with their sense of community. She and others of TRoWh now seek to instil the same level of support in the next generation of young leaders.

> …kua tino tau mātou i te mea i roto i ngā tau, i ngā wānanga, i ngā nohoanga tahitanga kua tino piri mātou. Kia tae atu ki tētehi hui ehara i te mea me tohu mai – 'māu tēnei, māu tērā' – kei te mōhio mātou ki a mātou anō. Ehara i te mea me tohu mai he aha ngā mahi. He pērā ngā tauira. Nō reira he oranga nui tēnei mō ngā tauira, mō mātou katoa. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …we have become very stable, because through the years, at the learning intensives, at the live-ins we have drawn close together. Arriving at a hui, there is no need to signal – 'you do this, you do that' – we automatically know among ourselves. There is no need for instructions to be given for our tasks. That is how it should be for the students. So there is a great feeling of confidence and achieving capacity in this for our students, for all of us.

Te Ataarangi is a large organisation covering social settings that range from urban environments to relatively isolated rural communities and from iwi and areas with high ratios of Māori population to areas with little Māori presence. It is difficult for a national body to directly form community. However, the nature of the immersion approach advanced within Te Ataarangi creates conditions conducive to community. There is an expectation that kaiwhakaako help build a form of community with reo immersion as one of its principles, or will offer the immersion approach to help build reo capacity within a pre-existing community. In the early years of the kaupapa, classes for the first two levels, 'Te Tuarā' and 'Te Tinana', were to build language proficiency. The third stage, 'Te Mana me te Wehi', was to encourage students to return to their hapū and marae to learn and re-engage with those communities and the knowledge of their ancestry.

> …mārama ana ki ngā kōrero mō 'Te Tuarā', anō ko ngā koiwi o te reo. Kātahi ka whakakikikokikohia ki ngā kura 'Tinana'. Kātahi ka whakaarohia … me hoki ērā tangata ki ngā marae, kei reira ngā kōrero tonu mō tērā kura anō [Te Mana me Te Wehi] me kī te kōeke tuatoru, nui rātou i hoki ki ngā marae. Engari kāore he tangata i reira, ka hoki mai tonu ki Te Ataarangi me te pīrangi kura anō. Nō reira noho rātou ki ētehi o ngā pakeke o Te Ataarangi. (E.Brewerton, key informant interview)

> …the explanation of 'Te Tuarā' is easily understood, the bones of the reo. Those bones are then given flesh in the learning of 'Tinana' [the second stage]. Then it was considered … that the people should return to their marae, that is where the knowledge of the third level was, and many of them returned to their marae. But there were few people [at the marae], so they returned back to Te Ataarangi wanting the next level of learning. So they stayed to continue with elders of Te Ataarangi.

In the first decade of its operation, the communities of hapū and marae were intended to have been the social groupings to make continued progress, instilling reo and tikanga of identity among advanced students. However, many of those communities were not well prepared to provide that level of language, learning and support. Some students did manage to re-connect with their whakapapa networks, finding ways to participate in local events and support the Ataarangi rohe groups. However, the majority were not able to

access support for their learning and instead found a sense of community within the organisation of Te Ataarangi itself.

In the three case studies, the communities associated with their activities are pronounced. It is likely that these communities became prominent and enthusiastic because they chose to speak a language that was not the recognised lingua franca of the wider society. The emphasis on reo use in immersion situations helped distinguish and differentiate each group. It also reinforced the high level of commitment needed among all people participating to speak in te reo Māori and to practise tikanga not characteristic of society. Community as expressed by the case study groups is generally considered by them to be groups of people in regular contact and who maintain a shared commitment to speak Māori in everyday interaction.

Community Formation and Development

Actively constructed Māori language immersion environments are a common feature of the three case studies. Reo immersion is important for building oral proficiency and a sense of cultural integrity. It requires strictly controlled rules of participation, to maintain the integrity of reo use, and shared involvement. In setting themselves apart from the norms of English language use in society, the groups in the case studies all describe ways their participants maintain contact with each other, as a community, outside of the core activity of the organisation. They have become what may be percieved as a form of 'Community of Practice' (Wenger, 1998), where their 'shared enterprise' is equated with the use of te reo Māori in immersion settings and in the ongoing nurturing of identity among participants.

The community associated with Te Ataarangi is recognised as part of the organisation's network of kaiwhakaako and support people. However, it is the network of local communities made up of students, with the involvement of kaiwhakaako, that forms the most important environment of reo immersion. Participants express their relationship in terms of their connection with the objectives of the organisation and the support it provides for them to enhance or maintain their reo use.

> …i waho tonu o te akomanga ka tū anō ko tētahi hapori anō o Te Ataarangi. Ko te reo kei te rere, ko te reo tonu te reo o te hapori nei. Āe he āhuatanga anō i hono ai rātou ki a rātou anō. Ehara i te mea he hongonga whakapapa, he hononga kaupapa. … Ka kitea he hoa anō o tērā hapori āhua rarahi nei pea, oo anei ko ētahi tino rite ki a au nei, e whakapono nei nā ki tēnei kaupapa ka kaha ki te tautoko i a au, te mahi ngātahi…' (E.Brewerton, key informant interview)

> …outside of the classroom, another type of community formed in Te Ataarangi. The reo was being used, the reo was the language of this community. Yes, there was a different form of connection among the people involved. It wasn't a whakapapa connection it was a kaupapa connection. … They found friends within the diverse community thinking 'oh, here is someone just like myself, believing in this kaupapa, providing me with solid support, working as a collective…'

Community formation observed in the Whanganui case study may be considered less well-defined, especially among participants living outside the region, due to the temporary nature of their shared gatherings. However, it is the nature of whakapapa connection that makes the relationships between members inherently more enduring. There is an expectation that customary networks of support, through hapū and marae, will be available to participants at iwi-centred events. When a gathering such as a tangihanga occurs, the graduates and participants of reo wānanga associated with TTHW and with Ngā Muka are generally singled out to take up cultural roles on the marae. They provide each other with support and, in most cases, continue to maintain their reo use when communicating with one another. These temporary but repeated forms of contact strengthen the sense of reo Māori-based community throughout the Whanganui region. The grounding of participants in whakapapa conveys an expectation that this legacy will also be available for their children and descendants. Tinirau (key informant interview) explains the students of Ngā Muka are acknowledged by their whānau and hapū for the cultural roles they fulfil within the community. This, in turn, strengthens the shared sense of collectivity among the students and facilitators and it creates a cultural capacity that is made available for the benefit of other iwi members.

> I kite mātou he āhua tokomaha ngā tāngata e kōrero ana i te reo i te kāinga. Ehara i te mea he tokoiti, kāore. He tokomaha e kōrero ana i te reo. Me te kite atu anō hoki kāore e ora ana ngā paepae i runga i ngā marae. … Koirā te oranga kei te kitea i roto i ngā tauira kua uru mai ki roto i tēnei kaupapa me te kōrero a tēnā a tēnā i roto i te iwi. Ka kite atu, āna, ka mihi mai ki a mātou ngā kaiako, ā, ko ngā tauira o Ngā Muka, kua kitea te hua kua puta i roto i ngā tau. He kaha nō rātou ki te tū ki te paepae, he kaha no rātou ki te hāpai ake i ngā tikanga, ki te kawe i ngā tikanga, ki te kawe tika i ngā tikanga … me ngā waiata hoki. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> We observed that there were a relatively large number of people able to speak Māori in Whanganui. It wasn't just a few, no, there were many speaking Māori. And yet we also observed that the paepae on our marae were not doing well. … That is the positive outcome demonstrated among the students who have become a part of this kaupapa, and is commented on by many of the iwi. They can see it, yes, and they commend us, the programme facilitators, because the students of Ngā Muka demonstrate the value of the programme achieved over the years [of their involvement]. They have strength in fulfilling the role on the paepae, they have strength in managing the protocols, fulfilling the protocols appropriately … and traditional song.

For a number of important reasons, Te Kōpae is the best placed among the case studies to maintain an active form of community. First, the kaupapa of Te Kōpae carries an expectation for participation to be maintained as a demonstration of commitment to the Centre's kaupapa. Second, the reo immersion environment for young children naturally encourages involvement from whānau members in the Centre's activities. Third, the close proximity of all participants in regular contact, five days a week or more, establishes conditions conducive to sustaining an expression of community in the lived context of whānau.

> Fluency in the indigenous tongue is considered essential if children and parents are to gain access to the Māori world. Only as a speaker of Māori can people experience Te Ao Māori first hand. So it is that only Māori is spoken within the boundaries of Te Kōpae Piripono (except for a designated English-speaking room). … All whānau members, adult and children, must be working towards reaching the goal of fluency in Te Reo Māori, and therefore, of full participation in Te Kōpae Piripono. "Te Kōpae Piripono is committed to the daily use of Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga for whānau" (Pukapuka Whakamārama, p.4). (Hond-Flavell, 2004, pp. 18-19)

The statement made by Korewha (key informant interview) indicates the intensity of activity practised on a regular basis at the Centre. The emphasis on goal setting, planning, review and problem solving ensures a high level of awareness about what whānau participation means for the Centre's success.

> …it is essential that you [a new whānau member] become a speaker of te reo Māori, and that your home becomes a Māori speaking environment for language development. Whanau are then expected to share in their child's learning and development through regular hui with Kaitiaki (qualified teachers), building a whānau plan personalised to their whānau and to their child's development. The learning that happens as a result of that plan, is shared and written up together with whānau, by way of a learning story and filed in the child's individual profile booklets. ... The learning plan is ideally about taking indigenous practices … into the home, and into the Kōpae to support the child, the whānau and the Kōpae community learning. The whānau make the decisions on what they want to do and how they want to do it. The Kaitiaki are there to support with knowledge, resources, advice, enthusiasm and celebration. ... New ideas evolve as a part of that process which informs the learning and the plan then evolves. Whanau inform the Kaitiaki and the information is then 'weaved' into the Kōpae whānau development. This is how the individual learning contributes to the wider whānau learning, which then contributes to the Kōpae's objectives and aspirations of restoring the language and tikanga, to its rightful place of use, between people and between generations. (H.Korewha, key informant interview)

Anderson (1991) argues that all forms of community, apart from small village groupings, are 'imagined' or artificially constructed and the most appropriate way to define them is by the style in which they are shaped (p. 6). Each of the case study groups has artificially constructed their communities through shared practice, with an emphasis on Māori development. Te Kōpae operates in the ECE education setting, where the community members interact by way of their whānau. TRoWh facilitates iwi and hapū-oriented wānanga and community programmes, while linking their constructed community into the established whakapapa-based communities of customary identity. Te Ataarangi works to construct communities of Māori language speakers within immersion learning approaches and by supporting reo use in local environments outside their structured language learning activities. In all three case studies the reo immersion environment is a critical factor in determining the character of relationships between participants. This distinguishes the nature of their community.

Language Revitalisation

The key elements of language revitalisation have been presented as a set of five intersecting spheres of activity. They are language status, language corpus, language acquisition, critical awareness, and language use (Ministry of Māori Development, 2004b). This structure of five elements is used here as a way to indicate how the three case studies apply language revitalisation in their initiatives. There are many examples of ways in which

the five elements are being applied by the three case studies. Some of them are outlined below.

Language Status

TRoWh promotes language status by reinforcing the main expressions of cultural identity in language, such as oral literature and the characteristic features of regional language variation. Social relationships are also enhanced among participants in the form of involvement within their whakapapa connections to marae and hapū. The status of Whanganui reo emanates from the expression of Whanganui identity with perceived integrity. Becoming skilled in forms of karanga and whaikōrero and performing these roles for marae, hapū and iwi is the fulfilment of their cultural responsibility.

> …ka kōrero mai a [Te Manawanui Pauro], he kupu whakatūpato 'ki te ngaro tōu reo, ka ngaro ōu maunga, ka ngaro ōu awa, ka ngaro ōu kuia, ka ngaro ōu tūpuna.' Engari ko tērā tana akiaki mai. Ka huri te kōrero, ki te ako koe i tōu reo ka hokihoki mai ōu maunga, ōu awa, ōu kuia, ōu tūpuna ki runga ki a koe… (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> ...Te Manawanui Pauro said to us, in words of caution, 'if you lose your language, you lose your mountains, your rivers, your matriarchs, and your ancestors. But that was her challenge to us. When you turn the statement around, if you learn your language, your mountains, your rivers, your matriarchs and your ancestors return back into you…

Both Te Ataarangi and Te Kōpae implement strategies that support language status in their initiatives by strictly confining the use of English to limited contexts. For example, Te Kōpae uses one area in the office that can act as a reception area, where English can be spoken if necessary. It is important to note that the room is accessible from outside the main entrance to the Centre and children are restricted from entering this space. Te Ataarangi uses karakia to signal the opening and closing of immersion times, especially for new learners. Experienced kaiwhakaako have a range of strategies to ensure that learners do not need to revert to English to seek clarification. The strategies include the use of body language, constructed diagrams, the use of rākau and role-playing to maintain the participation of the whole group. Their strict monitoring of language use asserts high status for Māori language and seriously limits the dominance of English in their immersion environment.

Language Corpus

Regional language variation is given high priority by the three groups as a critical element of local identity. Communities associate the way a speaker sounds with an impression of where they are from. Sapir (1986) states that language corpus among speech communities is a powerful indicator of collectivity. "... 'He speaks like us' is equivalent to saying 'He is one of us' ..." (p. 16). Corpus is an overt expression of shared identity. This concept is recognised by each of the case studies, particularly where group activities give emphasis to local identity, especially in support of mana whenua (customary regional authority). It is not their determined goal to retain distinctive features of local language for linguistic interests alone. Local corpus helps build confidence among participants to become familiar with distinct language features and to practise their use to become more fully involved and accepted in local events and activities. These distinctive features are not easily grasped, with students needing sustained exposure to native speaker interaction, their language nuances and cultural behaviours.

> …ko Rāwiri tonu tētahi. Ka kōrero Māori a ia, ana ko aku akonga kei reira e āhua pēnei ana ngā taringa ki te whakarongo, kia waia hoki rā anō rātou ki te reo rerekē. … Nā te mea i a ia tonu tōna reo o Ngāti Porou. I a ia tonu te ngahau, te katakata, ā, kāore hoki rātou i mōhio, aaa, 'he aha tāna e kata rā?' Ērā momo mea katoa. Ka kite mai i te whānau me tā rātou 'ō āe'! Kāore e taea tēnei i roto i ngā pō anake, o te rua haora... (E.Hunkin, key informant interview)

> …Rāwiri was one of those. When he spoke Māori, there were my students, tuning in their ears to hear it, so they could become familiar with this different language. … That is because [people like Rāwiri] had his language from Ngāti Porou. He had the liveliness and the humour, and they were not accustomed to it, aaa, 'what was he laughing about?' All of those aspects. The group could then be seen to say 'oh yes [now I get it]'! This is not possible just with night[classes], for two hours…

Participants with proficiency in local corpus are potentially more likely to be accepted within communities with local identity, such as the hapū and marae communities of Whanganui, or at regional cultural events in Taranaki.

In urban settings the presence of local variation is often much less prominent, given the diversity of speakers present. Te Ataarangi has always tried to encourage students, in groups who have participants of many iwi backgrounds, to reconnect themselves with the identity of their whakapapa and its associated language characteristics. For many participants their hapū and marae are not well placed to provide the support they need. In these situations, Te Ataarangi learners often form their own collectives of speakers. One

would expect that a style of language use and a pool of language resources would consequently develop among them through regular interaction. This would constitute, over time, their group's distinct form of corpus.

Language Acquisition

The three groups have strong involvement in language acquisition activities but with some significant variation of approach. Te Ataarangi creates and supports immersion environments in formal programmes, in planned events of the organisation, or in support of immersion activity in communities. The learning approach used by Te Ataarangi presents new words and phrases to students in a measured sequence, with achievable language learning outcomes. However, outside of the classroom there is an expectation that reo Māori will continue to be spoken, in a less structured way. As student proficiency increases, the length of time and the range of environments for immersion language use increases to a point where Māori is the normal language of communication established within the group.

There is an expectation from TRoWh that participants in its programmes will have previously acquired high proficiency in te reo Māori before entering the programmes. This decision by TRoWh is made mainly because of the limited time and resources available to its group to become involved in the very intensive task of running programmes for new learners. TRoWh has focused its role on providing people from Whanganui with immersion opportunities to become familiar with, and practise, their regional forms of language variation and to learn corpus-based resources of identity, such as karakia, waiata and whakataukī. It also recognises that there are other formal and informal language learning initiatives present within the region, and in other regions, where students will be able to become proficient once they have a sufficient base of language to enable their participation.

Te Kōpae offers a range of options for whānau to build their reo proficiency. Te Kōpae's preference is for parents or guardians to have some level of pre-existing proficiency that would lend weight to their initial application for the enrolment of their children.

Alternatively, parents and caregivers without high proficiency must enrol in language learning programmes, preferably those with immersion-based approaches. The other key approach used in Te Kōpae is the expectation that whānau members will be active participants in the Centre's activities where only Māori is spoken. There is a high level of motivation to speak Māori when the children's needs are the focus of whānau-directed activities. Te Kōpae is proactive in holding a number of whānau-based events throughout the year, where all parents and caregivers are expected to participate.

Critical Awareness

In describing what is expected of new whānau in its induction process, Te Kōpae gives priority to acquiring oral proficiency in reo Māori as a starting point for supporting awareness and commitment. The Centre is resolved to build an understanding of language development strategies among whānau over the full length of their children's enrolment. These routines can be carried on when the child moves to primary schooling. The way kaitiaki report back to whānau on the learning and development of their children offers the Centre an excellent opportunity to engage with whānau on language revitalisation approaches for their home environment. Whānau create development plans for their children with the support of kaitiaki, and these plans are reviewed at regular intervals throughout the year. Planning of reo development for children and whānau is consistent with the wider whānau development objectives of Te Kōpae.

> Firstly, as an individual, it is essential that you become a speaker of te reo Māori, and that your home becomes a Māori speaking environment for that language development. Whanau are then expected to share in their child's learning and development through regular hui with Kaitiaki (qualified teachers), building a whānau plan personalised to their whānau and to their child's development. The learning that happens as a result of that plan, is shared and written up together with whānau, by way of a learning story and filed in the child's individual profile booklets. These booklets are then presented to whānau when the child leaves for kura or when whānau leave the Kōpae. The learning plan is ideally about taking indigenous practices simultaneously into the home, and into the Kōpae to support the child, the whānau and the Kōpae's community learning. (H.Korewha, key informant interview)

Critical awareness of language revitalisation is less obvious in the activities of Te Ataarangi and TRoWh. Most often the groups become distracted from the wider implications of their activities by the task of maintaining language use, education and operational

responsibilities. Tinirau (key informant interview) voiced surprise when reminded by a programme participant of the impact the Ngā Muka programme had on the well-being of Whanganui people. The statements made by that participant highlight the relationship between language, culture and identity, and iwi development and well-being. This refers to a point of critical awareness that to be engaged in language revitalisation is to be engaged in Māori development.

> ...Ka heke iho ōna roimata ka kī mai 'he oranga nui tēnei mō Whanganui, mō te tangata kāore i te ora, mō te tangata wairangi, mō te tangata kaiā, mō ngā mea kua taka ki te hē, mō ngā mea māuiui ā-hinengaro, ā-tinana. He oranga kei konei. He aha te take kāore koutou i te pōwhiri i a ratou? He ora. Nei rā te ora mō Whanganui. Nei rā te ora mō ngā uri.' I ohorere au. Tō mātou pōhēhē kei te tuku kōrero... (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> ...While shedding her tears she said 'this is significant for the well-being of Whanganui, for the people who are unwell, for the depressed, for those who steal, for the lawbreakers, for those with mental and physical illness. There is a wellness here. Why don't you invite them here. It is health. This is wellness for Whanganui, wellness for the descendants.' I was shocked. It was [because of] our preoccupation with providing them knowledge...

Language Use

Language use is an essential element within the initiatives of all three case studies. It corresponds directly to the groups' clear commitment to maintain Māori immersion in all routine and programmed activities with participants. A key point of difference, however, is the emphasis they give the prioritisation of immersion. Te Kōpae states an unabashed expectation that Māori language will be used in the home, particularly between parents and children. This includes an expectation that whānau will participate in the Centre. Language use and interaction with children among kaitiaki models, to parents and caregivers, the type of language appropriate for use in the home.

The formal protocols of marae, hapū and iwi events are the main priority for the wānanga run by TRoWh. Prioritised use and oral literature within its initiatives emphasise Whanganui reo, with some localised variation among community settlements distributed along the river. Therefore, language is not taught formally. TRoWh relies on the modelling of language patterns by proficient Whanganui speakers to support student learning. There is a general expectation that speakers representing Whanganui will sound a certain way.

They will also be able to recite recognised Whanganui verse and song and display the idiosyncratic mannerisms that bring to mind renowned Whanganui speakers of the past. Language use is prioritised for the formal performance of ritual because it enhances regional identity. All interaction outside of formal learning and practice remains in Whanganui reo.

For Te Ataarangi, outside of the structured immersion of their controlled learning environment, the widely accepted expectation is that gatherings will be conducted in te reo Māori. Kaiwhakaako encourage students to become fully involved in these large gatherings, to help extend their language use beyond their normal domain of use. These opportunities also help, by maintaining a safe and supportive setting, to allay fears among students moving into new domains and interacting with new groups.

Māori Language Immersion

Language immersion has been described among the three organisations as a critical strategy for building oral language proficiency. This strategy has value in the way it helps grow the language capacity within the community, to enable it to function effectively in Māori language rich settings. Reo immersion is so strongly advanced by the groups that it is considered an essential component of their character.

Te Kōpae (2012) makes the explicit statement in the constitution of its governing board, Te Pou Tiringa, (clause 3.5 of its aims) regarding the support for the reo of Taranaki and the use of total immersion as an approach "… [t]o actively support the development and re-establishment of Te Reo Rangatira in Taranaki, particularly through total immersion Maaori education" (Te Kōpae Piripono, 2012, p. 1). Reo immersion as an essential character of Te Kōpae is integrated within its broader vision for whānau development beyond the Centre's operation and activities and into the homes of its members.

> For some whānau our kaupapa whānau is sometimes difficult to comprehend. This is possibly due to their own negative lived experiences of educational institutions. Some signs of this are their lesser sense of place, usually evidenced by lower levels of participation in whānau activities. We actively address this by having conversations with these whānau to find out what are the barriers for them. Another obvious indication of a whānau's lack of understanding of the importance of their role in Te Kopae's kaupapa is the level of their active support for Māori language use within their home environment. Even whānau with fledgling fluency in te reo, who commit to a Māori speaking environment at home, can have considerable success in fostering their children's fluency of reo. (H.Korewha, key informant interview)

Similarly, TRoWh (2008b) makes a statement in its 'Deed of Trust' (clause 2.d of its aims) "…[t]o initiate projects and strategic partnerships that encourages the use and retention of Whanganui reo and tikanga" (Te Reo o Whanganui Trust, 2008b, p. 3). The need to establish immersion environments or domains of Whanganui reo use is not specifically mentioned. The observation is made that instituting a reo immersion approach became more achievable as a result of changes in wider community expectations and as numbers of people with proficiency in the reo increased. This was considered to be the coming to fruition of strategies first put in place by the elders when TTHW was conceived.

> …ko te rautaki o ngā pahake 'kauaka e kōrero mō te awa, me kōrero ki te awa'. Tērā ko te rautaki. Arā, kaua e tirohia atu ngā … pukapuka anake, engari haere ki ngā hui hei ringaringa waewae mō ngā hui. Haere ki ngā wānanga, haere ki te awa, kauria te awa kia mōhio koe ko wai koe, nā wai koe, e ahu ana koe ki whea? … Ki te kōrero te tangata ki te awa, nā wai rā ka rongo i tōna reo, ka rongo te ngākau i te karanga o ngā ripo o te awa, kia huri tōna reo kia rite anō ki ngā ripo o te awa. Tērā te momoeā ō ngā pahake i te mea ahakoa ko Te Tira Hoe Waka, kua nui te reo Pākehā i ngā tau ki muri engari i ēnei rangi kua piki ake te reo. I ētehi wā ka kōrero reo Māori anake engari i ngā wā o ngā Pāpā ia wā ngā kōrero rātou ka huri, ka whakapākehāngia ō rātou kōrero. Engari i ēnei rā nei kua āhua rerekē mātou i te mea kua pakari ake te reo o te nuinga. [I te tau] 89 'good' Māori tonu tātou…. Kua rerekē te ao, ko te kitea atu te aotea i kōrerotia e ō tātou tūpuna. Āna, ko taua aotea, ko te whakatutukitanga o ngā moemoeā. (C.Wilson, key informant interview)

> ...the strategy of the elders was 'don't speak about the river, commune with the river'. That was the strategy. That is, don't only research books, but go to the hui, to work at the hui. Go to the intensives, go to the river, immerse yourself in the river, so you know who you are, where are you from, where you are going? If a person speaks in the river, eventually you will hear your reo, your heart will hear the call of the currents of the river, so your reo will change to reflect the movement of the river. That was the aspiration of the elders, because although the Tira Hoe Waka was established, a lot of English was being spoken in the early years, but in these days the reo has really increased. At times only reo Māori is spoken, but in the days of the leaders before, every time they spoke they translated their statements into English. But these days we are different, most people have good reo. In 89 we were still 'good' Māori … this world has changed, we are seeing the cumulus clouds forming that were spoken about by our ancestors. Indeed, those clouds represent the fulfilment of their vision.

Reo immersion has always been the approach used by Te Ataarangi. In its early development, the leaders relied heavily on the remaining native speakers within communities. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, few youth had high levels of reo

proficiency. Native speakers, almost all of whom were elderly, were the mainstay of the organisation that made reo immersion possible from the outset. One of the first things learnt by students are the five rules that help to establish a reo immersion learning environment. The rules are also followed by a statement about initiating immersion learning.

> 1. Kaua e kōrero Pākehā.
> 2. Kaua e poka tikanga.
> 3. Kaua e akiaki tētahi ki tētahi.
> 4. Kia ahu atu te pātai ki a koe, kātahi anō koe ka āhei ki te whakahoki.
> 5. Kia ngākau māhaki tētahi ki tētahi.
>
> ...I te timatatanga o tō ako i te rōpū hou kia mārama tō whakaputa i ēnei ture ki ngā kai-ako. Mā te kōrero Pākehā tonu ka puta mārama. Pai noa iho tēnei mō te timatatanga. Engari kia mōhio mai ngā kai-ako, a muri i tēnei, kua kore koe e kōrero Pākehā anō[72]. (Te Ataarangi Inc., 1982, p. 9)
>
> 1. *Don't speak English.*
> 2. *Don't go against the tikanga [set down by the kaiwhakaako].*
> 3. *Don't give verbal prompts to others.*
> 4. *When a question is asked of you, only then are you allowed to answer.*
> 5. *Have a sense of empathy for others.*
>
> *...At the start of your teaching a new group carefully explain these rules to the students. By speaking English they will fully understand. This is all right for the beginning. But the students should know, after this, you will not be speaking English again.*

The selection of the three case studies recognised their reo revitalisation approaches being applied within communities and the establishment or re-establishment of immersion domains of reo use as a critical strategy. The ways in which the immersion environments were established among the case studies is a point of difference. Te Ataarangi initiated an immersion approach from its beginning, by including existing native speakers from communities around the country. Those speakers, with a diversity of regional and language variations, were trained to build reo proficiency among second language learners, reflecting that diversity at a local level. Te Kōpae was formed by a group of speakers in the mid 1990s, the first generation of second-language speakers produced within North Taranaki. They instituted immersion approaches the way many of them had developed their own oral proficiency. Reo immersion in Whanganui was more difficult to achieve for the close-knit group of speakers leading TTHW. This was mainly because of the range of people participating in the trips and wānanga. Many participants lacked oral proficiency

72 Note is made that the addition of macrons and some capitalisation has been made to maintain consistency with the language used in this document. Also it should be noted that kai-ako refers to the student, not the teacher, as the word is used today.

and so the activities relied on some English being spoken. In recent times, TRoWh has consolidated some of its activities to specifically involve people who are speakers of the reo but want to develop oral skill and knowledge that reflects Whanganui identity with the performance of formal tikanga, particularly on the marae. Reo immersion has been an important step for these groups in forming and gaining the commitment of people in their community development activities.

Development of a Community of Speakers

It is unlikely that networks of Māori language speakers, who choose to use their language, would form communities spontaneously. Without the influence of inspired leadership and strong critical awareness of effective language management strategies, it is probable that the level of language immersion would be limited at best. The dominance of English in New Zealand is deeply entrenched. All three groups expressed the aspiration to help establish stable networks of reo use within their communities. They have implemented language management practices that actively support the formation of communities committed to maintaining Māori language, customs and identity normalised in everyday contexts of their lives.

TRoWh had difficulty with the proposition of providing regular immersion environments to students simply for the purpose of supporting language acquisition among students. Its frustration was the difficulty to gain real momentum behind sustained community reo use. Many of the students were dispersed across the country and the regularity of important events for reo use, with the level of significance that would draw students back to the region, were not frequent. Most often, the hui of high status were tangihanga (the burial process), including the preceeding uhunga (mourning process), where the ritualised encounters of formal oral language use occurred throughout the day and into the evening with high value attached to Whanganui reo, tikanga and kōrero. TRoWh found that environments for community contact needed to be constructed, with priority given to language and cultural knowledge acquisition, to achieve the level of value where students would be motivated to participate. More important was the need to maintain consistent

contact with generally the same group of people, to build momentum and consolidate the capacity of the community.

> I taua wā ko te tino kaupapa o te wā mō te reo, āna, kia noho mō te wiki kotahi, kia rumakina te reo. Nō reira e rua pea ngā wā i tono atu ki Mā-te-Reo ki te whakatū i ngā wānanga reo, rumakina te reo mō te wiki kotahi. E toru ngā wānanga i te tau engari i kite atu he rerekē ngā tāngata i tae atu i ia wā ki te wānanga kāore i roto i a mātou. Kāore i tino whaihua tērā wānanga nō te mea i te kimi mātou i ngā tāngata ka tae atu ki ia wānanga, ki ia wānanga, āna, whakapakari haere i ō rātou reo. Ā, me te mea anō hoki i whakatūria ngā hui mō Whanganui whānui kia kōrerotia tōna reo … kia timata mātou o Whanganui ki te kōrero me pehea te whakaora mai i te reo o Whanganui mō mātou o Whanganui. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> At that time [in the early 2000's] reo was a major emphasis, yes, to hold week-long reo immersion intensives. So, two applications were made to Mā-te-Reo to hold these reo wānanga, reo immersion for one week. Three wānanga a year were held, but it was noted that different people came to each intensive, not from within our [Whanganui] community. The intensives didn't really achieve what was intended, because we had to find the participants with each wānanga, yes, coming along just to build their reo proficiency. And alongside this, hui for all of Whanganui were being held to discuss our reo … for us to begin to discuss how the language of Whanganui would be revitalised for us from Whanganui.

Based on these observations, TRoWh moved to take a more active role in selecting students, with an expectation of commitment to maintain regular participation in events with intensive immersion in Whanganui reo. In Ngā Muka, where the enrolment process is managed within UCOL's policies, students could not be selected based on criteria of whakapapa. However, the programme content and networks used for promotion of the programme indicate a strong preference for Whanganui descendants. Students must commit to regular participation and involvement in wānanga held in Whanganui. They are,

> …required to attend block courses over six weekends, Friday to Sunday, through the year and demonstrate a willingness to actively participate in a total immersion environment. Students are required to attend every marae noho and spend up to 26 hours per week on independent learning and practice. These block courses are held at various marae in the Whanganui Iwi region… (UCOL, 2008, p. 8)

Students are also expected to be engaged in marae-based activity outside of programmed wānanga, to help build their oral proficiency and contribution in Whanganui community networks. The graduate profile statement for the second year programme, Taurahere, indicates a stronger expectation of outcome for community benefit and development.

> Graduates will have an in-depth knowledge of a range of Whanganui oral traditions and the place of oral traditions in the context of language and protocol revitalisation. The graduates will be lateral thinkers who are able to perform these oral traditions with meaning and use them as inspiration to create new material. They will become advocates and guardians of the transmission of accurate tribal knowledge and history in a wide range of settings and forums. (UCOL, 2011, p. 6)

Te Ataarangi's experience with the provision of reo immersion programmes within tertiary education does not have an explicit expectation for students to be involved in community formation, contribution or engagement following study. Students develop shared capacity as a group over the course of learning that quickly dissipates when assessment criteria are achieved and the group exits the programme to make way for the next intake of students. The challenge is to keep people engaged within the vision of a speaker community, using their reo, knowledge and experiences to support others in developing their proficiency.

> Kāore te kaupapa i tohutohu ki te tangata me aha ia me tōna reo. Nē rā, kei ia tangata tonu tana rangatiratanga, ka ahatia e ia tōna reo. Engari i reira tonu. I roto tonu i te kaupapa te wawata kia tahuri mai ētahi ki te kaupapa ki te hāpai i te kaupapa me taku mīharo i pērā. Ehara i te mea i haere te tono kia matua tahuri mai ngā tauira i timata mai i te korekore i roto i te kaupapa. Koinā pea te mea whakamīharo ki a au e kiia nei ko te wairua o te kaupapa tērā. Ka rongo te tangata i roto i a ia ngā painga o te kaupapa, ka aroha ki te kaupapa. Na, ko tērā pea ka whakaoho pea i roto i a ia tana hiahia hāpai tonu i te kaupapa, hei painga mō ētahi atu. (K.T.Mataira, key informant interview)

> [Te Ataarangi's] kaupapa does not demand what a person should do with their reo. You know, each person has their right to do what they want, what they do with their reo. But there is a desire in the kaupapa that some will stay involved with the kaupapa, supportive as a community, and I am amazed that they do. There is no major expectation placed on students who may have begun with no reo at all. That is what inspires me [when they stay engaged] it can be considered to be the spirit within the kaupapa, they develop a deep affinity for the kaupapa. So, perhaps it will be that something will awaken in them to maintain involvement in the kaupapa, for the benefit of others.

Te Kōpae is in a different position for achieving community formation. Whānau do not become involved with Te Kōpae's kaupapa in a passive way. Newly enrolled whānau are expected from the beginning to make a determined commitment to support the kaupapa of the centre and actively participate, as part of a collective. There is an expectation of community formation that comes as a result of relationships created in the shared practice and active support of the immersion environment. This is a vision of multi-generational whānau with the capacity to participate fully in reo immersion well into the future.

> …we are really clear that whānau belong and they are part of the whānau whether they are current or past whānau. So, once you become part of the whānau you remain part of the whānau forever. So, when we talk about a modern day whānau, or constituted whānau that comes together on a kaupapa rather than whakapapa links, by the very nature of our kaupapa, we actually start a whakapapa of sorts by the fact that whānau belong. I've had whānau come in, whose children have left ages ago, and they come in and they still feel they are part of Te Kōpae. And that's a really, really important part, that there's a sense of place now and into the future, for whānau. (A.Tamati, key informant interview)

Differences between the case studies exist in the way they gain participation, in their core immersion activities, and in the levels of expectation they place on participants. TRoWh has entry criteria into the Ngā Muka and Taurahere programmes requiring full participation and an appropriate level of pre-existing oral proficiency in reo Māori. Any goals whereby students maintain involvement with Whanganui-based speaker communities are encouraged, by building community networks and instilling pride in the Whanganui community among students while the programme is running. Similarly, Te Ataarangi hopes that students will stay engaged in domains of reo use outside, or after, the programme. Originally, the intention was that students return to the marae and hapū communities connected to their whakapapa. However, many students found more effective support and stronger immersion environments in communities formed within Te Ataarangi. Finally, Te Kōpae stipulates conditions of entry to the Centre with a requirement for participation in the immersion environments of its daily practice. Te Kōpae has an explicit objective to build a sense of whānau that equates to a community of speakers, among the extended families associated with the Centre.

Identity

The case study groups consider the engagement of participants in their activities is motivated and enhanced by supporting the formation of collective identity and by strengthening participants' sense of personal identity. Whakapapa connections are recognised as an essential component of personal identity. Encouragement is given to the people involved to seek information and support networks associated with their whānau, hapū, iwi and marae. Collective identity offers networks of similarly motivated speakers, commited to the use of their language, where participants can access support in maintaining a high level of reo use and tikanga-directed activity.

In describing how identity is supported within Te Ataarangi, Brewerton (key informant interview) indicates that inspiring students to enhance their personal expression of identity as Māori is an essential aspect of the learning environment. Students developing their own distinct sense of personal identity may be a stronger characteristic of programmes delivered in urban contexts, where exposure to the identity of local iwi may not be as great, or where the majority of students come from iwi outside the urban region. Brewerton suggests that if the programmes are run with strong emphasis on localised identity, with an orientation of learning material toward a particular region, the students may be more actively supported in building confidence in local identity.

> …ko te mea pai ka hoki anō ki ō rātou ake iwi me te pātai mō ērā āhuatanga he aha ngā karakia, ngā tikanga. Nō reira ko wētahi ō rātou kaha i te whai i wētahi o ngā kōrero i puta i Te Ataarangi. Nō reira he tīmatanga, kua tuwhera te ngākau, kua tuwhera te ara, te ara wānanga pea ki ēnei āhuatanga … mēnā e whakaaro ana mōku ake, koirā. Ehara i te mea i noho ki wētahi wānanga Ataarangi ā mutu noa. Engari nā taku noho ki Te Ataarangi i āhua tuwhera anō ko wētahi āhuatanga … ki te āhuatanga o tēnei mea te wānanga... (E.Brewerton, key informant interview)

> …it was an important feature, that they returned back to their own people, to ask about those aspects [of identity], what were the karakia, the tikanga. So there were some who were highly motivated to follow on from material covered in Te Ataarangi. Therefore it [Te Ataarangi] was a beginning, the personal connection was made accessible, their options were then possible, options perhaps for intensive learning these aspects of identity … if I think back to when that was me, that's the way it was. It wasn't as though I went through Te Ataarangi's programmes and learnt everything I needed to. Instead, my time within Te Ataarangi presented me with other opportunities … opportunities for access to in-depth personal knowledge…

Te Kōpae approaches identity development among its whānau at two levels. The first is in the way individual whānau are encouraged to commit to the kaupapa of reo and tikanga associated with the Centre. It creates a shared sense of identity in the collective and also a shared sense of responsibility.

> So that building of community is always about ensuring that people feel they belong. How people feel they fit and have a place where they can just be, is an important part of the community way of building reo. Keeping in mind that the kaupapa is sacrosanct, which is when we go through those doors that they are clear about the tikanga of reo Māori anake. So they come into it really clear about what is required of them … And for those who do commit, we don't talk about a five year timeframe at the Kōpae. They have to really be thinking that this is a lifelong commitment. (A.Tamati, key informant interview)

The second level is in the wider community in the region of North Taranaki, in Te Ati Awa, among local hapū. Taranaki reo and tikanga, as well as participation in local iwi events and activities, are actively pursued. Te Kōpae recognises the importance of encouraging reo

use among whānau who are engaged in the community or have strong links in the region for generating local reo capacity and community level normalisation of reo use in everyday settings.

> We don't have any hard and fast rules around … [selection priority given to Taranaki whānau] however those whānau who have greater potential to maintain the language with other whānau of like minds on an ongoing basis once they finish Kōpae are of high priority for Te Kōpae Piripono, particularly if they are Taranaki and they have a strong desire to foster the language. We prioritise that and even if we are full we try to find ways to enable their participation. (A.Tamati, key informant interview)

Personal identity emphasised among participants of TRoWh programmes is directly linked with the whakapapa networks of the customary Whanganui communities. The reo, tikanga and kōrero learnt are immediately relevant to the reo environments present on marae, among communities, and at iwi gatherings. The objective is not just the revitalisation of the reo, but also a restoration of the ability among Whanganui marae and communities to fulfil cultural roles and expectations and to assert the distinct expression of their local identity. These goals are advanced in communities and, more importantly, in participants' everyday lives.

> Ki a au nei, mō te reo o Whanganui, he hapori kua puta, he ora kua puta i roto i te tangata engari i runga i ngā marae hoki o Whanganui. Ētehi, kāore au i te kī te katoa nō te mea he tokomaha, he nui tonu ngā marae. … Kei te kite atu au. Ehara i te mea kei te noho ko mātou anake e aue ana 'kei te aha te iwi nei?' Engari kei te kite atu he hapori kei te ū ki tō rātou Whanganuitanga, kei te kawe i ngā tikanga i roto i tō rātou ake oranga hoki. Ehara i te mea ko te hapū, ko te iwi whānui hoki, engari kei roto i tō rātou oranga. Kua tino whai oranga rātou… (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> To me, regarding the reo of Whanganui, a community has formed, a sense of well-being has become apparent, but it is associated with the marae of Whanganui. Some of them, I can't say all of them because this involves many people, and many marae. … I am seeing it. It's not as though it is only us now appealing 'what is this iwi doing?'. But a community can be observed upholding their Whanganui identity, carrying the practices in their personal lives. It is not just hapū and the wider iwi doing this, but it is in the student's personal lives. They have found a way of life…

Identity for the three groups is most prominently developed among participants at three levels. The first is personal identity, linking the participant's development with beliefs that enhance their level of engagement in programmed activities. Personal identity strengthens the sense of value they associate with the shared activities and drives a commitment and responsibility to learning and to active participation. The second level is collective identity, cultivated within the groups' activities, for mutual benefit. This is particularly the case regarding immersion reo use when the groups seek to exclude the use

of English, effectively excluding external participation except by those with some oral reo proficiency. The commitment to each other intensifies each group's sense of collectivity. The third level of identity is formed or strengthened with external communities or networks of association. This is mainly in the form of whakapapa-based linkages of whānau to marae, hapū and iwi. To a certain extent, local reo initiatives and organisations provide support for participants and may enhance a group's collective identity. Reo use in community immersion settings enhances the value of the reo for participants within local networks of speaker communities and builds a shared commitment to sustain reo domains. With the exception, perhaps, of distinctly urban settings, where local forms of customary identity may be weaker, identity of local iwi and hapū help stimulate participation and reo use.

Sustainability of Outcomes

The groups share concerns for the sustainability of outcomes their initiatives generate. They seek to empower and build cultural confidence among individuals, to restore a sense of community identity, and to increase the capacity for collective action on issues they each identify to be of importance. All three groups place a high priority on the sustainability of outcomes that reflect their understanding of identity, language and culture as resources of lifelong value and relevance. They also recognise the importance of whakapapa as a social structure to support the sustainability of outcomes across generations, knowing that many of their participants and members are motivated by the need to build confidence and capacity among their own descendants and their relatives.

Sustainability of outcomes for Te Kōpae is a goal in response to the historical impacts of war and land confiscations carried out by the Crown, and active campaigns of successive governments to inhibit the use of reo and the expression of Māori culture in Taranaki. A key objective of Te Kōpae is the empowerment of whānau to participate in and take control of their future, to change the context of the impact of colonisation, of dispossession and cultural repression.

> One of the key things that we do or try to be cognisant of is to always look at the wider picture of where we fit in the continuum, of what happened in the past, where we sit and the role that we play in the future. So we are active participants in our destiny. We have a role to play. I'm not just talking about us as teachers or as an early childhood setting, I'm talking about families. Whānau can make a difference in the lives of their children, now and in the future, that the efforts and contributions they make to their children's Māori language education will have positive ramifications, positive benefits for their children and their grandchildren into the future. … For us, the looking back to the beginning of the breakdown of whānau, goes right back to the land confiscations. We are always mindful that when we meet with a family that has difficulty we are always looking at how that fits in the picture we have of how this situation came to be and then how we work to help that family have fulfilled lives. Because that's the whole focus. (A.Tamati, key informant interview)

Te Kōpae understands that the strengthening of whānau networks of support and normalised reo and tikanga in the home will greatly improve the sustainability of outcomes. Yet whānau members often consider reo, tikanga and Māori knowledge to be more relevant to their immediate need, particularly because reo immersion and Taranaki tikanga are such important features of the Centre. Once proficiency and confidence improves it is anticipated that whānau will better understand the concept of whānau development.

> It is te reo, tikanga and whānau development … [that are] essential components in achieving a full education through the medium of the Māori language. Though as a transition, it may mean that there is an acceptance by the Kōpae, that for some families, whānau development simply means learning te reo, tikanga and matauranga Māori. … Most whānau learn to understand they are the objective of the Kōpae's kaupapa, but generally, this aspect takes some time to learn because initially, whānau believe their responsibility to be around becoming a speaker of te reo Māori, working bees, fundraisers, paying fees, whānau hui etc. It is only from being involved in the Kōpae, over a period of time that we get to fully support the individual whānau commitment. (H.Korewha, key informant interview)

In a similar way, TRoWh acknowledges the restoration of reo and tikanga among multiple generations and communities throughout Whanganui as running in parallel with the intent of empowerment and capacity-building associated with iwi development, Treaty settlements and wider regional issues that reflect collective well-being.

> Me hoki au ki ngā tau 80. Nā Ruka matua i puta atu i te awa kia tū ngā wānanga tikanga i roto i ngā taura here. He tuatahitanga tērā mō Whanganui i te mea he iwi kaiponu a Whanganui. Ko tā Ruka, i kite atu a ia he nui, he tokomaha ngā uri noho atu ana o waho atu o Whanganui. Nō reira me kawe atu ngā wānanga ki rātou kia tōia mai ngā ngākau o te tangata kia hoki mai ki te kāinga. Āna, i timata tērā i roto i ngā tau 80 – 90, 82 pea. … timata mai i a ia, kua timata te hoki mai. Āe, whai muri i a ia ko Matiu, ko Tahu. Whai muri i rāua kua huri atu ki tēnei reanga. Engari kua kite au te noho tahi, te noho iho ki ngā rekereke o ngā pahake. Mō mātou, āna, ka tonoa mātou ki te kawe i te kaupapa o te reo o te tikanga, o te whenua, o nga kereme whenua, te take mō te awa, te take mō te matauranga. Me taku whakaaro ake, nē i kua tipu ake te tangata kua whāngai mai ērā kōrero ki te tangata, ko te taea e ia i roto i ngā kaupapa katoa nei. E kōrero ana mō te ora o te iwi, ahakoa he aha te kaupapa te pūtaiao, te mātauranga, te hauora. Ko ērā kōrero katoa, me te reo, kua tū tangata tonu e whai-whakaaro ana i ngā wā katoa ki te ora o te iwi. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> I need to go back to the 80s. It was Ruka who went outside of the region to run intensive learning sessions for the networks of relatives living away. That was a first for Whanganui, because Whanganui are very guarded in what knowledge they let out. What Ruka did was recognise the numerous descendants living outside of Whanganui. The learning intensives were taken to them, to entice them to return home. Yes, it began in the 80s, 1982 perhaps … he started it, and they started to return. And yes, following on from him was Matiu [Mareikura] and Tahu[pārae]. Following on from them is this generation. Actually, I see the continuity, the sitting at the heels of the elders. For us, certainly, we are called to carry the issues regarding reo and tikanga, land and land claims, regarding the river, education. And I am left thinking, if a person is raised with this and acquires this knowledge, they are capable of fulfilling all those roles. This is talking about the well-being of the people, regardless of what comes up, issues regarding science, education, health, in all those topics, including reo, they will be able to stand their ground and always stay focussed on the well-being of the iwi.

For Te Ataraangi, sustainability of outcomes has been linked to its ability to instil a strong sense of identity, with capacity for oral reo use within the programme. The intention is that the community and customary iwi structures of relationships will be able to provide the conditions for that reo and identity to be sustained.

> E toru ngā wāhanga o te reo kei roto i te pukapuka tuatahi e kī ana ko Te Tuara, ko Te Tinana, ko Te Mana me Te Wehi. Koirā pea te wāhi kua āhua wareware i te hunga o nāianei. … ko te tuatoru Te Mana me Te Wehi kei ia iwi kē tērā. Nā reira me hoki koe ki tō iwi. Mā tō iwi koe e whāngai ki ngā tikanga, ngā kōrero tipuna, ngā whakapapa. (K.T.Mataira, key informant interview)

> There are three parts to reo [taught by Te Ataarangi] in the first book is Te Tuara, next Te Tinana and then Te Mana me Te Wehi. That is the part that has been generally overlooked by people today … the third, Te Mana me Te Wehi is actually among the respective Iwi [of students]. Therefore, you are expected to go back to your Iwi. Your Iwi is the appropriate one to teach the tikanga, traditions, whakapapa, etc.

However, there were many difficulties faced by learners in fulfilling that third stage of development and integration back into their communities of identity. In many cases students formed their own communities of support, outside of the formal learning environment, to sustain their reo use. Also, graduates of Te Ataarangi programmes found support for ongoing learning and language use in other, similar, reo-based initiatives such as Kura Kaupapa Māori or Kōhanga Reo. Many also became part of the organisation of Te Ataarangi as kaiwhakaako, administrators or support workers at events.

> Engari he wā anō ka puta te akonga i ngā panekoti o tana kaiako/pouako. Ka whai i tana ara … engari ko te mea kē kei a ia te tūāpapa … Nō reira nā rātou tonu [ngā pouako] i whakatakoto tērā tūāpapa, ā, tuwhera mai ngā kuwaha. Engari ehara i te mea i āta whai i tō rātou [pouako] ake ara … Kei te kitea i a rātou e noho tonu mai ki te kaupapa nei, āe, wētahi o rātou kua haere ki te whakaako i te Kura Kaupapa. Kei te kitea tonu wētahi o ngā tino akonga tonu o Te Ataarangi. Wā rātou mahi rawe rawa ki te taha o ngā tamariki, engari mau tonu i a rātou ko wērā āhuatanga, te māramatanga tonu ki te tuakiri o te tangata me te mea nei he mea nui tiaki i ngā mea pakupaku rā. Taku mōhio nā Te Ataarangi i tō i tērā whakaaro, tērā whakapono tonu ki wērā āhuatanga. He rerekē pea ia tangata ahakoa te aha. Kua kitea he nui rātou … kei kaupapa kē. (E.Brewerton, key informant interview)

> Yet there comes a time when the student leaves the guidance of their pouako. They pursue their own path … but what is important is that they have a foundation … So they [the pouako] have laid a foundation, and the doors are opened. But it is not as though they [the students] are expected to follow the same path as their pouako … It can be seen when [past students] stay within such [reo-based] kaupapa, indeed, some went to teach in Kura Kaupapa. This can still be seen to be the case among many of the prominent students of Te Ataarangi. Their work alongside the children is amazing, but they retain those things [they learnt], their understanding of personal identity, and even more so it is so relevant when nurturing young children like that. From what I know, Te Ataarangi instilled that thinking, that belief in those aspects [of development]. Each person is different regardless. This has been witnessed among many who are engaged in other [reo-based] initiatives.

Sustainability of outcomes is perceived by the groups to be directly linked to the sustained use of reo and tikanga and to the confidence shown by whānau and individuals in expressing their identity. Primarily, these outcomes are advanced and sustained within the activities and support of community groups motivated by a shared vision, and with the capacity built among whānau, hapū and iwi as the embodiment of intergenerational transmission of language, values, beliefs and identity.

Sustainability of Operation

Where there is an alignment of the group's core activities with stable income streams, less concern is voiced regarding the sustainability of the operation and longer-term planning is more evident. Te Kōpae has a well-established name in the area of early childhood education that is central to the organisation's long-term viability. Their governance body's mission statement indicates the emphasis of the organisation.

> Taranaki Maaori children be prepared for life through high quality Maaori education provided by competent educators in adequately resourced facilities and supported by well informed w'aanau [sic]. (Te Kōpae Piripono, 2012)

Te Kōpae considers the provision of reo, tikanga and identity to be central to the notion of "…high quality Maaori education…" and, therefore, is able to fulfil its cultural objectives alongside its contracted educational services.

> There are two worldviews, the Kōpae's worldview that is based on the Māori worldview, and the early childhood worldview, which is based on the Western worldview. Although the early childhood education intent and inclusive practice, is to accommodate the different philosophies … in the end, the government's funding rationale is based on Western practices. The Kōpae is trying to operate and exist within a system of philosophy, policies and practices, that are not supportive of, or compatible to the Kōpae philosophy, policies or practices. The best support that the ECE environment can provide for the Kōpae, is to encourage the acknowledgement of the different identities and celebrate the differences. Until the considerations of reo, tikanga and whānau, and then Taranaki reo tikanga and whānau, are truly reflected in government policy the Kōpae will be independent at supporting its own development and in its own way. It will continue to seek support from Māori community whose aspirations align with those of the Kōpae. (H.Korewha, key informant interview)

Te Ataarangi, on the other hand, has not had stable sources of income to maintain its activities. This was particularly the case in its first decade of operation, where financial support from state resources was almost non-existent. This led many regions to consider changing their community-based approach to find alignment with tertiary education funded formal programmes. Liz Hunkin (key informant interview) spoke of the establishment in Wairoa of the first Ataarangi-based Private Trainging Establishment (PTE), Te Kura Motuhake o Te Ataarangi, that involved a major increase in organisation and a re-alignment of programme delivery to the National Unit Standards under NZQA.

> …ko tō mātou rōpū … ko Te Kura Motuhake o Te Ataarangi ... I timatahia i te tau 1996 i raro i te tino hiahia kia haere tonu tētahi kura reo Māori i roto o Te Wairoa. … I taua wā, i mua o te timatanga o Te Kura, ko ngā kura pō anake e whakahaerehia ana e mātou. … kotahi te pō, ko te pō o te Tūrei. Engari ka timata au ki te whakatū kura pō ki Nūhaka, ki roto o Te Māhia. Mai i tērā mahi, māmā noa iho te kohikohi i aku akonga … ā, kua uru kē te hiahia kia noho rātou mō te katoa o te wiki i roto i te reo, kaua mō tētahi pō, rua hāora noa iho nei. … Tokowaru pea nga akonga i te tuatahi … Mai i taua tau tuatahi, ka noho mātou pērā ki te whakaako i ngā Paerewa mai i te kaupae tuatahi ki te kaupae tuawhā. Engari kite ahau i roto i taua tau tuatahi ētahi o aku akonga kāore i tutuki i a rātou nō reira ka tono atu ki a NZQA kia hōmaingia tētahi atu tau nō reira ka noho ko te kaupae tuatahi, tuarua, kaupae tuatoru, tuawhā mō te tau tuarua ... ko te mahi tuhituhi te mea uaua ki a rātou nā te mea kāore mātou i tino mahi i te tuhituhi i roto i a mātou kura pō ... Anā, i tēnei wā kua whiwhi anō mātou i te kaupae tuawhitu engari ko te tino hiahia ka hurihia tēnei hei tohu paetahi, engari he kōrero anō tērā. (E.Hunkin, key informant interview)

…our group … is Te Kura Motuhake o Te Ataarangi … it began in 1996 with the desire for more intensive reo Māori classes in Te Wairoa. … At that time, before the Kura began, we only ran night classes … one night on Tuesdays. But I started to set up night classes in Nūhaka, and in Te Māhia. From that work it was easy to gather together my students… and they were already wanting reo immersion for the full week, not for one night, for just two hours. … There were eight students at first … from that first year we ran it teaching Unit Standards from level one to level four. But I could see in that first year some of my students not completing, so I applied to NZQA to extend it out to a second year [of delivery], and so level one and two in the first year and levels three and four in the second … the writing was the difficult thing for them, because in our night classes we didn't really focus on writing … hence, at this time we have been approved for level seven, but the main intention is to have that recognised as a bachelor degree, but that is another story.

However, even with the contracted positions set aside for students who met the criteria for entry – for example, low levels of achievement from schooling, or long-term unemployment – Te Kura Motuhake continued to make available their classes to all people wanting to learn or participate in their activities.

Kāore he utu i roto i tō mātou kura. I tēnei tau mō te kaupae tuatahi ki te kaupae tuarima – kāore he utu. Haramai rātou, haramai ā rātou tamariki ahakoa te aha. Koinā te āhuatanga o tō mātou kura. I ētahi wā, e hika, kīkī katoa, kei reira a Uncle Grae e mea mai ana, 'oh he akonga hou?' Ka mea atu 'kao he whānau tērā'. Pērā tonu tō mātou kura, e kore e pana tangata. Haramai ētahi, ētahi he tino māuiui nei … mehemea kāore e pupuri ana koira hoki tōna matemate hinengaro nei … Nō reira ka mea atu au ki a Tamara, oh, kotahi hāora he rahi tēnā. Oh ko tana mahi ko te kapu tī. … kei te pai, waihohia kia kapu tī, kei te pai. I mea atu au ki a ia, he rerekē te haramai o tēnā ki a tātou, he wāhi mahana i te hotoke, he wāhi katakata kei reira. Mōhio a ia ki te nuinga nā te mea nō Te Wairoa tonu a ia, nō reira hei aha. (E.Hunkin, key informant interview)

There are no fees in our kura. This year, for levels one through to five – there are no fees. They come, their children come, whatever the circumstances. That is how our kura operates. Sometimes, gosh, its all full up, and there is Uncle Grae [the administrator] saying 'oh, are they a new student?' The response is 'no, they are whānau.' It is like that at our kura, people are never denied access. Some just come along, some who are seriously impaired … if they can't retain [the lesson], that is just the effect of mental impairment … so I say to Tamara [a kaiwhakaako], oh, one hour that's enough for them. Oh, they can go and have a cup of tea. … that is fine, leave them to have a drink, its alright. I say to her [Tamara] they are coming to us for other reasons, a warm place in winter, a place for laughter. She knows most of them anyway, because she has always been in Te Wairoa, so it is not really a problem.

The organisational activities of TRoWh are focussed mainly on the delivery of contracted services and the management of partnership agreements. This does not mean the services are the focus of the Trust but that they make up most of the administrative responsibilities TRoWh must fulfil. Selection of contract agreements or partnerships is based on what gives the best result for the advancement of Whanganui tikanga and identity with a foundation of Whanganui reo. This partly reflects the way that most of the key leaders of the organisation are employed with other initiatives, and their cultural roles and

responsibilities in the community are well-recognised and aligned with the objectives of TRoWh. If funded contracts for reo-centred services become unavailable, the community activities and cultural roles of TRoWh members will continue to be acknowledged as an extension of the Trust. This can be seen in the way members continue to challenge each other to remain active and to maintain the legacy of Ruka, Tahu, Matiu and Māka, the initial four leaders who initiated Whanganui's cultural renaissance, outside of their funded programmes.

> Kei te kaha akiaki, wero, mātou i a mātou anō, ko wai tāu? … atu i ngā kōhi me ngā karaihe e whakahaerehia ana. Engari, ko wai ngā mea kei raro i a koe? Ko wai kei te kai i ngā mānga. (C.Wilson, key informant interview)

> We are challenging and demanding of ourselves, who is your student? … this is outside of courses and classes being run. Despite that, who are those under your personal tuition? Who is being fed from your plate, from your pool of knowledge?

All three case study groups expressed their determination to continue with their kaupapa in spite of whether they were successful in gaining contracts or other sources of funding. However, the impact of a significant drop in income would severely limit their sustainability of operation and their ability to fulfil their objectives. Sustainability in an operational sense is in maintaining the robustness of contract administration and providing financial support to programme facilitators.

Empowerment

The three case studies have slightly different approaches to empowerment. This reflects the nature of the social groupings in which they concentrate their activities. However, each group recognises the reciprocal relationship between increased community capacity and development of the individual.

TRoWh has witnessed an inceased level of confidence among students of Ngā Muka. For TRoWh, it is not sufficient for students to simply pass the asssessments and fulfil all programme criteria to graduate. The organisation focusses its attention on seeing the knowledge and expertise developed in Ngā Muka applied in the community and on the marae. From a tertiary education perspective, this community context represents the

industry for which the training has been designed. Student performance in assessments needs to be tested and reviewed for relevance to the field of industry. A key point of difference of community from the context of industry is the motivation for engagement. In conventional industry students are likely to be motivated by career options and the potential for employment and levels of income. In this community-focussed environment, students of the Ngā Muka programme are likely to be motivated by a responsibility that comes as a consequence of strenthened identity. Empowerment in this setting relates to the potential for contribution, the willingness to contribute, and recognition that collective status and pride is enhanced through that contribution. TRoWh works to create opportunities for students to stand in prominent roles and make a contribution. They are given opportunities to have that contribution recognised and have the learning they acquired valued as a means of empowering the collective.

> …i tērā atu tau … i te matenga o Whatumoana, i te māuiui katoa ngā kuia. Āna, i haere atu mātou i reira ētehi o ngā tauira o Ngā Muka. Kī atu au ki rāua, mā kōrua te reo … Ka tukuna tōna reo, ko te kaikōrero tuatahi o te haukāinga, ka mihi ki tōna reo. He tohu nui tērā … tere ringi atu au ki [ngā hoa i Whanganui] … e, i runga i te harikoa. … Engari ko te taha tāne, kāore i te rite te kaha ki tō te wahine kaha … taku whakapae nei … ngā aupēhitanga a-hapori kua pā atu ki te tāne … he rerekē ki ngā aupēhitanga kua pā atu ki te wahine. … Kua kite i … aua raruraru ā-hapori i roto i ngā whakamātautautanga o roto i Te Reo o Whanganui. Me pēwhea te whakaora i te hapori nē i e huna ana ngā pāpā, e huna ana ngā tāne? (C.Wilson, key informant interview)

> …in the previous year … on the death of Whatumoana [the late Māori Queen's husband], the kuia [of our region] were all unwell. And so, we went with some of the students from Ngā Muka there. I said to them [two], you now have the role of calling … She gave her call [the other student did not call] and the first speaker of the marae complimented her call. It was a huge honour … I rang up immediately after to our friends in Whanganui … it was jubilation [for her]. … But then on the male side, they do not have the strength that our women have … my impression of this … is the community/social pressures placed on men … are different to the type of pressures put on our women … [We] have seen the difficulties of community in the challenges faced by Te Reo o Whanganui. How can the community be empowered if the fathers and the men are absent, are hiding away…

This statement also identifies the work that must be done to empower certain sections of Whanganui communities. Wilson highlights the need to empower men to become involved in the Ngā Muka programme, to achieve similar levels of enrolment to that of women. TRoWh's motivation to improve participation by men is not based on a sense of equality or gender balance but on understanding that the roles of both men and women are vital for the mana of hapū and iwi to be enhanced. In this instance, he points to a distinct social experience that impacts on the choices men make that are generally different to those of women. This dilemma, Wilson concedes, needs to be addressed in

order to improve male participation. This is TRoWh's recognition of the wider context of empowerment it must engage with, which overarches its objectives for Whanganui reo.

Te Kōpae aims to ensure whānau are fully supported and empowered to participate in and sustain reo use in their homes with regular planning sessions, particularly when whānau start. Its approach encourages individual whānau members as well as collective whānau effort. Te Kōpae aligns these concepts with the assertion of 'tino rangatiratanga' (self determination).

…Formal celebration is also part of the individual whānau plan and Kōpae whānau planning. It is critical, as this is the part that acknowledges the individual contribution to the collective aspirations. This is where the individual gains a sense of pride and worthiness, and a positive sense of self, of place and belonging. Step by step, through the individual and Kōpae whānau plan … we change our identity/ies. After a while, whānau become confident and competent in this way of being and it becomes the lifestyle they choose to live and pass down. Tino rangatiratanga in action. (H.Korewha, key informant interview)

Te Kōpae's description of leadership is its expression of empowerment that is often mirrored in the accounts provided by the other two groups.

> At Te Kōpae Piripono, we believe that if you take the traditional Western hierarchical structure out of the thinking about leadership, you are simply left with people and relationships. Therefore, if we follow with Lambert's argument, that every person has a right, responsibility and ability to lead, then every person at Te Kōpae Piripono – whether adult or child – is a leader. For us, leadership is about four key responsibilities – Te Whai Takohanga - Having Responsibility, Te Mouri Takohanga - Being Responsible, Te Kawe Takohanga - Taking Responsibility and Te Tuku Takohanga - Sharing Responsibility. …
>
> Leadership is, therefore, both an individual and collective responsibility. Focusing on the notion of responsibility serves to remove the spotlight on people's status, rank and position. It offers no commentary on people's feelings, fears, or lack of confidence. Rather, it articulates the expectation of everyone's contribution and involvement. The 'Four Responsibilities' implies a person's right and ability to lead. In our view, every person is already a leader, whether they realise it or not. The concept of responsibility encourages and challenges us to consider the nature and level of our courage and commitment to ourselves and others, to step up to the plate, in our shared endeavours as a whānau learning community. What people do, for their own and other's ongoing learning, – sincerely, genuinely and passionately – is both the essence and the evidence of leadership. (Tamati et al., 2008)

There is variation within Te Ataarangi, where the form of empowerment and strengthening of community support networks is different depending on the local context. In strongly urban environments community networks tend to be weaker. Therefore, empowerment of the individual is emphasised. In contrast to this, programmes run in more rural settings tend to make better use of marae and hapū and their associated communities. Progress made in the empowerment of these groups inherently impacts on the capacity of the community-based groupings and students to maintain those connections, regardless of where they end up living.

> Koirā e kite mai ana mātou e haramai ana te tuakana, te taina. I pērā a [student name] rāua ko [student name]. I timata rāua tahi i te wā kotahi hei pupuri pea i te ringaringa engari ka haramai pērā rātou, a [student name] i timata ia i te taha o tōna kōkā. Pēnei tonu au ko tōna whaea engari ko tōna kōkā kē. Ka haramai me te whakamā o tērā tamaahine. Kore, kore nei e rewa tana māhunga i te kura pō, pēnei, pēnei kāore e titiro. Titiro koe ki a ia ināianei, te ātaahua hoki. Nā Te Ataarangi tērā, nāna tonu, nā tōna kaingākau ki te reo me te aroha ki te kaupapa, ki ahau hoki. Kei te mea mai ki a au "pīrangi koe ki a au, ka hoki atu au ki Te Wairoa kāore au e noho. Kaua e wareware whaea, pīrangi koe ki ahau ka hoki atu au ki te kāinga". Nā taku mōhio he mea nui tērā. Ka mōhio rātou, ka rongo rātou i tō aroha ki a rātou, ahakoa he aha te mea kei te whakaakohia atu ki a rātou ... (E.Hunkin, key informant interview)

> That is how it is, we see elder siblings coming along with younger siblings. That is like [student name] and [student name]. They began together at the same time, perhaps to give reassurance to each other, but that's how they came. [Student name] started alongside their aunty. I thought it was her mother, but it was her aunty instead. The shyness of that girl when she came. She wouldn't raise her head in the night class, like this, like she wasn't looking. You look at her now, just beautiful. That was Te Ataarangi, and her, it was her desire for the reo and feeling for the kaupapa, to me. [She] says to me "[when] you need me, I will come back to Te Wairoa, [but] I can't stay. Don't forget whaea, when you want me I will come back home". To me that is very important. They know, they have felt the love given to them, no matter what was being taught to them [at the time]...

The groups achieve empowerment by sharing a common vision and sustaining engagement through shared activity. Empowerment arises from contribution and the recognition that is derived from it. Participants come to understand that their contribution has value and is valued.

Health Outcomes

In general, the three organisations do not consider their activities to be directly related to the achievement of health outcomes, in particular, the narrow perspectives of physical and mental health. They understand, however, the beneficial impact of their activities in the

lives of participants and members of their organisation, often describing them in terms of "ora" or well-being. The strongest emphasis is given to spiritual and cultural confidence, strong identity, social cohesion and collective action.

TRoWh associates well-being with the achievement of confidence and pride among the communities throughout the region. In particular, they associate well-being with cultural and identity-based strength within formal cultural settings, such as those of marae and wharenui.

> …He oranga, he oranga nui. Ki ētehi o ngā marae kua tino kuiatia ngā kuia, kua koroheketia ngā koroheke. Ehara i te mea me tū rātou ināianei. Ko ētehi kua taka mai te wareware. Arā tētehi atu reanga ināianei ka taea atu te kawe ngā mahi a te paepae, ngā mahi whakahaere hui hoki. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …there is well-being, a great deal of well-being. At some marae the kuia are very elderly, the koroheke are very elderly. They don't really need to stand now. Some have become very forgetful. There is another generation now able to carry the formal roles of the marae, the management of large gatherings.

Yet they recognise that the well-being of individuals is also greatly enhanced through their activities. Students gain new perceptions of their lived experiences and suggestions have been made for a more concerted effort to encourage people with personal difficulties, or those who have come into conflict with society, to be a part of TRoWh programmes as an opportunity for healing.

> …ko ētehi anō o ngā tauira i roto i ngā aromatawai. I te kōrero mātou i roto i te taura here me kī mō te 'conflict', ngā waiata 'conflict'. Whakaako mātou i ētehi waiata i puta i te pakanga i roto i ngā tau, ngā wā o te muru me te raupatu. … Ko te mahi a te tauira he tito i tana ake waiata mō te conflict. Tīkina atu ko te waiata 'Taku Turanga ake' hei tauira engari me tito tētehi waiata mō te conflict me tō mātou pōhēhē ka aro ki te pakanga. Kāore, i aro ki rātou anō. Tō rātou tū ki tēnei ao. Ngā taupatupatu o nāianei. Āe. Ko te nuinga i pērā. Ko te nuinga ko ā rātou waiata he kimi i te ora o ngā pēhitanga o tēnei ao, o tō ratou ao, te noho ki te kāinga. Āna, ko te tāne pea e whakararu ana i te wahine, ko te whānau whānui kua puta tētehi raruraru. Arā ko tā rātou he kimi i te ora i roto i te waiata i roto i te reo kua akona e rātou, i roto i ngā kōrero kua akona e rātou, me te kī mai he oranga nui tēnei mōku ia marama. … Āe ka whāwhāngia ngā kōrero ā kui mā, ā koro mā engari ko te mea nui ki rātou he noho tahi me ō rātou hoa me mātou, ngā kaiako, ki te kimi i te ora. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …it was again obvious in the students' assessments. When we were talking about inter-tribal links within the context of conflict, songs about conflict. We taught some of the songs that arose out of battles of the past, in the times of confiscations and of [our] overthrowal [by the Crown] … Students had to compose a song about conflict. The waiata 'Taku Tūranga ake' was used as an example … we thought they would compose about the wars. No, they concentrated on themselves. About their place in this world, the conflicts of now. Yes, most did that … about men abusing women perhaps, or an issue facing their whole whānau. That was their focus looking for well-being within the language of the songs they had been been learning, in the traditions they had been learning, saying this is a vital form of health for me each month [in each intensive] … Yes, these traditions of our elders are being unraveled, but the important thing for them is being there with their fellow learners and us, the facilitators, searching for well-being.

Repeated statements were made by Te Ataarangi in reference to the objectives of their kaupapa to restore well-being among their members and participants in their activities. Just prior to her passing, Te Heikōkō Mataira finished a book 'Mauriora' (Mataira, 2011) modelled on five concepts of well-being she and other pouako had incorporated in the mid-1980s into 'Te Rākeitanga', the third level of Te Ataarangi's learning programme. The five concepts are: Oranga Wairua – spiritual well-being; Oranga Tinana – physical well-being; Oranga Taiao – environmental well-being; Oranga Whānau – socio-cultural well-being; and Oranga Tangata – societal well-being. The resource was created with the input of many people who sought to "…see if we could contribute to the debate [on effective kaupapa for health services] and offer another philosophy on well-being that might be of help to our people …" (Jackson, 2011, p. 2). Mataira also incorporated these concepts in a set of eight values to guide the national organisation of Te Ataarangi. They included three further notions of well-being as goals for Te Ataarangi: Oranga Reo – well-being of language; Oranga Tikanga – well-being of culture; Oranga Whenua – well-being of the land. The concepts were made prominent again for the organisation in preparation for a presentation (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi Trust, 2010) made by Te Heikōkō Mataira to the panel of Ministerial Review of Māori Language Strategy and Sector (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011). Emphasis is given to the far-reaching implications of Te Ataraangi's activities, with the overarching goal of development, restoration and well-being.

There is a well-established perception of Te Kōpae, both by the community and within the organisation, that quality education, language revitalisation and whānau development are vital components of its kaupapa. But of equal significance is the enduring well-being of whānau.

> It's about how the whānau of the Kōpae can sustain their lifelong well-being, right through to future generations. You've got to remember, they come to Te Kōpae and they are with Te Kōpae for only five or six years, at the most. That's the window of opportunity that we have in the lives of children and families. We don't require families to have a sustained involvement with Kōpae until their children are, say, 21, then or into the future – although they are welcome to maintain their links with the whānau. But we have to have that long-term vision for these families, even if they don't realise it yet. That vision determines what we do and how we work with children and whānau, today. (A.Tamati, key informant interview)

Te Kōpae also combines its early childhood operation with its research-focussed objectives. Having completed its Centre of Innovation (CoI) research, in 2008, into its underpinning philosophy and approach, Te Kōpae is, through its governing board, developing a health-focussed research partnership with the University of Otago. The project will, among other things, investigate the effectiveness of the Kōpae approach as an intervention that contributes to positive health and other outcomes for children and whānau throughout the lifecourse.

As holistic health and well-being is increasingly acknowledged in society, the case study organisations recognise the strong relationship between cultural and social capacity within their communities, and the promotion and sustainability of health outcomes.

Summary

This chapter is an analysis of the data gathered from the three case study groups. The information has been grouped in themes that align with the central questions of the research. Three major themes are prominent: evidence of language revitalisation practice; evidence of community and whānau development; and, evidence of outcomes from their activities, particulary outcomes that enhance the well-being of participants.

Chapter Nine

DISCUSSION

Introduction

Language revitalisation has been identified as a key approach to ensuring the retention of Māori language as a living cultural resource. The implications of language revitalisation strategies extend beyond the perpetuation of a living language. This research has examined the nature of community-level language revitalisation initiatives to investigate the wider impact of language revitalisation, including its contribution to the achievement of positive Māori health outcomes.

Language Revitalisation

According to the literature, language revitalisation refers to the formation of native speaker communities in 'un-isolated' language settings, such as is the situation for Māori language where English is dominant. Language revitalisation is considered in this research to be a process of transition. That is, transition from a position where the target language is in a threatened state through to a state where the language has become more secure within a stable community of native speakers. At this end-state the process of language revitalisation will have changed to conditions of language maintenance. The community setting will have sufficient language capacity, will maintain a well-established expectation that the target language will be used in strict preference to any other language, and will have well-established practices and patterns of language use for sustaining natural language transmission to new community members. Language maintenance is described in the literature as a form of language management that exerts influence within the community of native speakers to retain the conditions of language vitality. It recognises that the wider implications of the continued dominance by the other language means the circumstances that drove language shift in the first place are likely to remain. Intervention

strategies are still required. When these community conditions of language vitality are restored the maintenance and growth of normalised language use can occur naturally. Once language vitality has been achieved by a community, a speech community can be considered to have formed. The speech community becomes more identifiable over time by generating its own, increasingly distinctive, language features and language use patterns shared among its speakers. This is a key objective of language revitalisation.

To fulfil the objectives of language revitalisation a community needs to re-engage, within the home, natural intergenerational transmission of the language as a mother tongue (Spolsky, 2003). It is unlikely that this can be achieved without a worldview, shared by the speakers, that is conducive to instilling a high level of personal and collective commitment to using the language. Each of the groups examined in the case studies presents such a worldview and actively creates conditions where Māori language, culture and identity are normalised as a collective resource for everyday life. This has been achieved by two of the groups, Te Ataarangi and Te Kōpae, in situations where the level of language proficiency is low. The third, TRoWh, is able to create the conditions within the expectation that students who enrol in its programme will have a pre-existing high proficiency in Māori language.

This study has analysed language revitalisation practice and the motivations that underpin the commitment needed for maintaining conditions of language immersion. A high level of motivation is required because of the formidable task facing the case study groups in re-establishing speech communities in the face of English language dominance. The research has also identified contributions of Māori language revitalisation to the achievement of positive Māori health outcomes. Each of the groups studied has demonstrated a clear recognition of the impact of their activities in terms of achieving and sustaining improved well-being for Māori.

Locating Language Revitalisation

The review of literature on the use of the term 'language revitalisation' in relation to Māori language has indicated a diverse range of ascribed meaning in its application. As a

consequence, efforts linked with the term can be less effective or incorrectly guided toward other objectives. The most common misinterpretation is that 'language revitalisation' should be applied as a generic term for all activities associated with the use, restoration or perpetuation of a threatened language. It has been argued by some (Edwards, 2010) that greater differentiation and redefinition of terms is unnecessary in a "… field already cluttered with too many [neologisms], about which there are endless definition, redefinition and argument" (pp. 109-110). This study falls foul of Edwards' call by proposing to simplify the plethora of terms with an overarching expression, 'reversing language shift', a designation favoured by Fishman (1991). The research explores the nature of language revitalisation in practice and proposes greater clarity for the terminology and objectives.

In essence, language revitalisation is not suited to being used as an overarching term to describe the broader field of working to retain a threatened language. Revitalisation refers instead to restoring language 'vitality', first described by Stewart (1968), specifically centred on restoring the conditions of self-priming native speaker communities. Data from the case studies suggests that the objective of language vitality remains the essential principle of language revitalisation. The term's wider application is a misinterpretation of its meaning. By extending the term's application, through semantic widening, its core intent is potentially subsumed under the objectives espoused by authorities external to a community, most often by the State. Further, the activities undertaken by groups who understand its intent are more likely to have their contribution overlooked or, in unfavourable circumstances, discouraged. This has been shown to be the experience among all three of the cases studied. The original community-centred approach strongly advanced by Te Ataarangi in the first decade of its establishment was not provided with support by the State. At that time the New Zealand Government's priorities were to encourage economic independence and change the way the marketplace influenced key public services. This included a reorientation of tertiary education to a user-pays, business model of operation. The three cases studied have accessed resources for their language revitalisation efforts by managing education programmes that do not necessarily align well with their main objectives. Te Ataarangi and TRoWh have provided tertiary level qualification-bearing programmes, while Te Kōpae manages license provision for early

childhood education. Their resourcing appears to have been listed by the Ministry of Education as budget allocation made for Māori language (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011), but it is not necessarily directed toward language revitalisation. A large proportion of the $500 million of the total Education budget allocation (pp. 86-87) may be considered an endeavour to gain greater participation of the Māori population in all levels of education or in meeting national objectives for increasing qualification rates among Māori as a significant segment of New Zealand society. Differentiating expenditure on projects of language management by the State and those of community level language revitalisation offers the potential for an increased effectiveness in targeting resources. Greater differentiation of terminology would contribute to achieving that.

Perceptions of case study participants indicated that the use of the term 'language revitalisation' has also tended to emphasise the language as an objective in itself. In contrast to this, it is the general understanding of the case study groups that language is not an end, but a means for participants to achieve greater access and enhance their contribution to a Māori world. Wider social and cultural ambitions can become sidelined against the more tangible focus on linguistic features that places a stark spotlight on the language's words, phrases, literature (both oral and written), its nuances, its correctness of use and its diversity of style and variation. Hidden in the shadows, or waiting in the wings, is the ecology of the language. In the context of Māori language revitalisation it may be described as 'te ao Māori', a Māori worldview. A Māori paradigm is an authentic expression of identity and culture. Language revitalisation seeks to establish the capacity of language appropriate to convey content and context that is relevant to that paradigm. For example, in the case of TRoWh, the perspective constructed and reinforced is distinctly that of hapū and iwi associated with Whanganui. Its language revitalisation efforts may be misunderstood as a language-centred project, that is, providing much needed language proficiency and oral resources into customary networks of iwi and hapū. In fact, TRoWh's underlying project has much wider implications than language. The demonstration of high proficiency oral language in formal ritual is considered the quintessence of mana for the iwi or hapū represented by the speaker. TRoWh seeks the empowerment of local communities and marae through the restoration of cultural and human capacity to sustain their local mana. This can be seen in the statement, often referred to, "Kaua e kōrero mō

te awa, kōrero ki te awa." *Don't talk about the river, commune with the river*. The underlying objective is to support the return of Whanganui descendants with skills, experience and commitment to engage with their communities of identity, to be a part of a Whanganui renaissance, the embodiment of a Whanganui paradigm of well-being. The revitalisation of Whanganui reo is an integral component of the revitalisation of Whanganui identity.

Language revitalisation is considered the most appropriate term to be associated with the three case study groups. This is primarily because they undertake to establish normalised use of Māori language in the daily lives of participants and their activities as a community of speakers. The encouragement given by the groups to participants to speak Māori in their home environment also has the potential to recreate conditions of intergenerational transmission of language, culture and identity.

Five Elements of Language Revitalisation

Five elements of language revitalisation presented by the Ministry of Māori Development (2004b) have been identified and described in the review of literature. Other frameworks have been applied, particularly in iwi language strategies. However, the 2004 framework acts as a foundation for iwi language plans (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2006; Te Reo o Taranaki Trust, 2005), each presented with some variation. The framework is used here to structure an explanation of the features observed among the case studies that relate to language revitalisation.

None of the three cases studied specifically uses this language revitalisation framework, but their practice can be readily situated within the five elements. The first element, 'language status', indicates the value a community places on the language. This is most readily observed among the case studies in the high levels of motivation and commitment among participants to use Māori language in strict preference to English. Their strong motivation indicates the intense passion the groups feel for the value of the Māori language. 'Language corpus' refers to the body of language resource available to a community and that supports the depth and range of language use of the group. A further

aspect is the integrity of the corpus in conveying the localised form of identity, especially as locally specific language variation, being sought by the group. ‘Language acquisition’ refers to the processes used by the groups and through which the language is learnt or transmitted, whether in formal education, in informal community language immersion settings, or in the environment of the home where language is acquired as a mother tongue. ‘Critical awareness’ indicates an understanding of language choices available to the group and the strategic approaches that can be applied to support the language being used. The final element is ‘language use’. The strongest feature of all case studies, this includes general use in the wider society and use in specific everyday immersion settings of their respective communities.

Table 14 shows how the groups have understood their community level approaches to reo revitalisation. Their perspectives are derived from data gathered and have been aligned with the five elements of language revitalisation to demonstrate how the groups contribute to language revitalisation in practice.

Table 14: A community perspective of language revitalisation approaches

Element	Language Revitalisation Approach	A Community Perspective of Reo Revitalisation
Language Status	Increase or highlight the value of the language	Reo is considered integral to personal and whānau identity. They see language revitalisation as a cultural responsibility, a realisation of their shared rangatiratanga and an expression of well-being.
Language Corpus	Identify and provide access to language forms relevant to the community of speakers	An accessible reo resource enhances local identity. It is relevant to practical, daily language use, and builds language capacity for participation of speakers in a diverse range of community activities.
Language Acquisition	Provide opportunities to learn and practice language use	The priority for language learning is primarily by intergenerational transmission in the home. Immersion activities of normalised reo use enhance levels of community/whānau language proficiency.
Critical Awareness	Manage revitalisation strategies and support community understanding of approaches and goals	The community have an understanding of what they are seeking to achieve. They are committed to implementing effectual language revitalisation approaches.
Language Use	Establish and maintain high value domains of language use	Language use in the community is supported with established routines of immersion practice. Domains encourage participation and have cultural integrity for the community.

(Ministry of Māori Development, 2004b)

The five elements of language revitalisation, as they relate to Māori language, can be used to describe and understand the approaches applied by the three case study groups. In spite of the fact that the groups may not have immediately considered their activities to be directly based within this language revitalisation framework, it can be clearly argued that their activities are drivers for the revitalisation of their local forms of Māori language.

An alignment of the core activities being undertaken by the case study groups with the five elements of language revitalisation provides three important insights. The first is that the shared enterprise of each of the groups can be directly linked to the achievement of Māori

language revitalisation. Second, the core intent expressed among the groups has distinct differences to the intent of government language initiatives directed through formal education. Third, the core business of the three case study groups in the education sector, through which they have derived the greatest level of income, is not directed toward language revitalisation. It is noted, however, that after this research was initiated the language revitalisation based programme, He Kāinga Kōrerorero, was funded by the Ministry of Māori Development and, more recently, by the Māori Language Commission. For Te Ataarangi and for Te Kōpae, to a lesser extent, this has made available a significant source of income that is aligned with language revitalisation approaches.

Critical Language Revitalisation Conditions

At the centre of the proposition of language revitalisation is the image portrayed by Stewart (1968) and Fishman (1970) of a self-priming native speaker community with the resilience to resist the prevailing norms for the use of a high status national language. According to the literature, locally relevant forms of language will be retained if their speakers are able to prioritise their language use behaviour to the most effective activities and environments that ensure its transmission, use and value. Three forms of language revitalisation condition have been prioritised by the case study groups and can be considered critical to restoring Māori language vitality. They are 'intergenerational language transmission' as the self-priming mechanism of socialisation for future generations, 'domains of use' as the normalisation of language use in the daily lives of a community of speakers, and the formation of a well-grounded and locally relevant 'Māori worldview' that assures the language's high value and drives strong motivation and commitment among community participants.

Intergenerational Language Transmission

Language revitalisation literature describes the condition of intergenerational language transmission as one of the most critical, if not the most critical, condition needing to be re-

established in a community. Spolsky (2012) identifies the loss of this condition as "…the key marker of language loss and it occur[s] within the family…" (p. 4). The case study groups recognise the vital contribution language use in the home plays in restoring vitality to local language, but the means by which this can best be supported are less obvious.

Intergenerational language transmission is inherently a micro-level language planning activity. However, the variety of factors that influence the language behaviours of whānau members are extensive. An example is the regional identity of Whanganui promoted and practised in TRoWh programme exercises. The association of whānau-based intergenerational language transmission with iwi-based identity is not immediately clear. TRoWh describes a link related to the enhanced sense of personal responsibility, conveyed within high-proficiency reo programmes, to ensure succession of knowledge and language capacity to the next generation of Whanganui speakers.

> "…ko wai ngā mea kei raro i a koe? Ko wai kei te kai i ngā mānga …" (C.Wilson, key informant interview).

> … who are those under your personal tuition? Who is being fed from your plate, from your pool of knowledge? …

This relates to the younger whānau members of each student. They may also consider supporting the acquisition of reo, tikanga and kōrero among younger generation members of their marae, their hapū, their kura or local community. Students of the programme are aware of the need for a foundation of high language proficiency before they attempt formal oral language use on the marae. Intergenerational language transmission for TRoWh extends the context of family and home to their wider network of whakapapa that includes hapū, marae and papakāinga.

This condition of intergenerational language transmission is also observed within the activities of Te Kōpae. Its main priority for the home is to integrate a seamless transition for the child between the whānau of the centre and the whānau of the home. For the child, this essentially extends the effectiveness of practice in the centre over the full course of the day. It also allows for greater access of whānau members to language use and the core philosophies of Te Kōpae's kaupapa. Language immersion is the conspicuous feature of Te Kōpae's daily practice and, therefore, a priority is to encourage language choice

behaviours in the home that give preference to te reo Māori use. Less obvious are established norms instilled at the centre, such as cultural practices, behaviour management approaches, daily routines, and belief systems. Te Kōpae is aware that if these values, practices and capacity are established in the home there is greater potential that they will be continued within the whānau well after the child has moved on to primary level schooling. The centre prioritises support to whānau home environments because the broader identity it seeks to revitalise within homes can be sustained beyond the length of the whānau's enrolment.

Distance is a limiting factor impacting on a group's ability to influence intergenerational language transmission in the home, because of reduced interpersonal contact. The groups that operate at a large scale appear to be less effective. The regional setting of Whanganui , where TRoWh provides services, and the national organisation of Te Ataarangi provide fewer opportunities. Te Kōpae, by comparison, appears to be the most effective in this respect because of the frequent and sustained contact between centre staff and whānau members. A mitigating factor for Te Ataarangi has been the encouragement of affiliated local groups to become more engaged with whānau and their home environments. Support has been given in the form of training, such as its recent community level wānanga on language revitalisation, or in providing resources to local practitioners to include in their regular immersion activities. TRoWh is able to promote the concept of intergenerational transmission among the many settlements and community groups spread through the Whanganui region. By highlighting traditional references to the nurturing of children, or the whānau's role in retaining customary identity, the role of marae and hapū can be enhanced.

The case study groups also understand that if children witness the determination of their parents in learning or using Māori language they will be inherently influenced to value the use of the language. Te Ataarangi attempts to influence reo use in the home by encouraging adults to participate in regional and national immersion gatherings and in its smaller community-level hui where children are more easily accommodated in shared activity. TRoWh works to influence the use of Whanganui reo by supporting similar reo environments on the marae and at hapū/community gatherings for the participation of

whānau. Te Kōpae uses its immersion environment to great effect, where adults regularly interact with children in te reo Māori. In witnessing this effort by parents and caregivers, the children can be expected to use te reo Māori in the home environment with adults.

The core intent of language revitalisation is the restoration of self-priming native speaker communities with the resilience to resist the prevailing use of a dominant language, particularly the high status language of the State. Intergenerational language transmission is the natural self-priming mechanism for the socialisation of new generations into the language, culture and identity that express a robust and high status, localised worldview.

Domains of Language Use

The second critical condition for language revitalisation is the establishment and maintenance of vibrant domains of immersion language use. The creation of these environments works to normalise language use in a community. In turn, these immersion environments provide necessary support to whānau implementing strategies of intergenerational language transmission in their homes, and who would otherwise be isolated in their endeavours. The opportunity for children and adults to interact with others engaged in similar approaches is an affirmation of the importance of shared responsibility and fosters a sense of safety and normality that the familiarity of connection with a community offers.

Language immersion is one of the main strategic approaches used by the three groups that were studied. This language immersion feature was a key aspect of commonality recognised among the groups. The cases studied may be readily described as Māori language immersion initiatives, and reo Māori use is prominent in their goals. Examples of the prominence of reo in the organisational objectives can be seen in the statement included in the logo of Te Ataarangi "Kia kore koe e ngaro taku reo rangatira", which translates as 'So that you will never be lost my noble language' (Te Ataarangi Inc., 1982). It is also seen in the clearly identified 'reo Māori only' zones of Te Kōpae, and in the name Te Reo o Whanganui, that is directly related to the distinct local language variation of the Whanganui region.

Language domains are recognised in the literature as an important intervention for interrupting long-held attitudes and behaviours about the use of English and its perceived value in society. People involved in immersion settings, especially language learners, are forced out of an English-speaking comfort zone to experience the practical value of Māori language. In the first instance, these reo immersion environments are unlikely to occur naturally. It has been observed in the research that the case studies have had to create the settings of targeted language use and have done so by applying three forms of immersion management. They are the 'location', 'duration' and 'context' of language use. These three immersion settings differ from the way language domains are described, in a New Jersey study of the Puerto Rican barrio, by Cooper, Fishman & Ma (1971; cited Spolsky, 2004, p. 42). The domains are described by them as the planning dimensions of 'location', of 'people' and 'topic'. The language domains present among the three case studies are managed specifically to enable each group to support the use of Māori language among their participants. The three immersion management domains each create very clear parameters that communicate strict expectations that participants must use only Māori language. Each approach also retains the option for participants to choose whether to enter or withdraw. Choosing to withdraw is an option that does not necessarily exclude re-entry. However, people who choose to participate will strengthen their language proficiency, and this in turn will tend to encourage them to extend the range of immersion activities they engage in. Each of the groups is inclined to focus on one of the three strategies, but there are times when two, or all three, immersion strategies are employed together.

Location defined immersion domain

Immersion determined by 'location' is a strong feature of the approach used by Te Kōpae. As part of the induction, whānau are made aware of the Māori immersion policy of the centre that identifies an immersion zone beginning at the entrance, a child-proof gate. Just outside the gate the building has a door to the office, the only place in the centre where the use of English is permitted. Importantly, children of Te Kōpae are restricted from entry to this English zone.

Duration defined immersion domain

In most situations Te Ataarangi clearly identifies the start and end points of lessons or immersion sessions with the use of karakia, sometimes in the form of waiata. This signals a clear differentiation of immersion times from other interaction. This is a particularly effective strategy for the early stages of learning, when students may have little or no prior experience of immersion. Making the periods of immersion short (30 minutes to an hour or two) at the beginning of the programme makes the proposition of only using te reo Māori less threatening. Duration defined periods of immersion also give the kaiwhakaako more flexibility in extending the length of the sessions as student proficiency improves. Further, students naturally extend the immersion setting after a while by naturally continuing their use of te reo after the immersion period has ended.

Context defined immersion domain

TRoWh makes good use of this approach in the delivery of the Ngā Muka and Taurahere programmes. This approach is viable because these programmes require the students to have a high level of oral proficiency prior to enrolment. The programme does not teach Māori language, as such, but creates conditions where there is an expectation for the use of Māori language among programme participants regardless of their location, including settings outside the programme.

Table 15 has been developed based on the data from the case studies. The three approaches used by the groups to manage their Māori language immersion domains are described in terms of the approach and parameters used to signal to participants when English language use is not permitted. The statements of rationale describe how the management approaches for maintaining the integrity of immersion function in practice.

Table 15: Approaches for management of language domains

Approach	Parameters	Rationale
Location	A clearly defined location is set aside as a Māori speaking only zone	The physical boundaries create proximity of speakers that encourage people to participate. Selection of the location is critical for the type of language use being prioritised.
Duration	A distinct time is set aside with start/finish signals or agreed period for immersion activity	Immersion within specific timeframes work well for groups without control over a location or in bringing together people living far apart. Use of a strict timetable or markers such as karakia or waiata.
Context	An agreement is made to speak Māori only when engaged in specific activities or gatherings	Activity or cultural context based immersion are powerful enablers of established community practice. Māori language use becomes normalised within specific groups or community enterprises or protocols.

With increased confidence and proficiency among participants the three groups encourage extending Māori language use beyond these parameters of controlled immersion domains. Domains of language use are considered a critical success factor for these groups to change behaviours related to language choices made by speakers. Language domains instil positive attitudes as to the practical value of language use. When participants are ready to seek involvement in other reo-based initiatives they understand how immersion environments can be organised. They will have acquired some level of oral language capacity, they may have intervention strategies to manage reo use and they may have developed a high level of commitment to continue using their language within other similarly oriented organisations such as Māori radio, Kura Kaupapa, kapa haka and in formal marae settings.

> …he wā anō ka puta te akonga i ngā panekoti o tana kaiako/pouako. Ka whai i tana ara … engari ko te mea kē kei a ia te tūāpapa … Nō reira nā rātou tonu [ngā pouako] i whakatakoto tērā tūāpapa, ā, tuwhera mai ngā kuwaha. (E.Brewerton, key informant interview)

> …there comes a time when the student leaves the guidance of their pouako. They pursue their own path … but what is important is that they have a foundation … So they [the pouako] have laid a foundation, and the doors are opened.

Māori Worldview

Providing domains for Māori language use is integral to the normalisation of the language in daily life. At the same time, the establishment of Māori language domains makes possible the expression of Māori paradigms. The case studies have shown that immersion domains construct an environment for practical expression of being Māori in the present day, making available a direct relationship with a Māori world of the past and the potential for an enhanced existence as Māori in the future. The immediate impact of having established Māori language immersion environments in contexts aligned to a community is the strengthened relevance of the language and its oral literature resource in the daily lives of participants. Language revitalisation is more than restoring vitality to a language, described by Stewart (1968). It is the restoration of conditions necessary for a localised worldview to be validated in practice.

> …ki te ako koe i tōu reo ka hokihoki mai ōu maunga, ōu awa, ōu kuia, ōu tūpuna ki runga ki a koe… (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …if you learn your language, your mountains, your rivers, your matriarchs and your ancestors return back into you…

The case studies reveal the way language revitalisation approaches drive a shift in thinking to engage with a Māori worldview. There are two fundamental ways the case studies approach development as Māori, from a social perspective and from a cultural perspective. They are whānau or community development, and identity development respectively. Both forms of development may be present in the one initiative and for larger organisations, such as Te Ataarangi, there may be many different expressions of the development depending on where the initiative is located.

Whānau or community development is concerned with the realisation of social potential in a collective. Māori language revitalisationist activity supports a Māori way of interpreting the physical, spiritual and social environment, creating a particular vision of each group's core activity. Te Kōpae demonstrates this, while operating an early childhood setting within the guidelines of the curriculum document, 'Te Whāriki' (Ministry of Education, 1996). But its core service is not driven by those guidelines. Understanding this, Te Kōpae aligns its practice to a vision of whānau development. Its intent is for a restoration of social

cohesion and collective well-being, considered to have been lost to whānau through a shared historical experience of colonisation, of suppression of language and identity and of cultural dislocati on.

> …that [whānau] will understand that te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori continue to be paramount for them, to ensure a community, to ensure that Taranaki reo is maintained. All those things that they are actually thinking outside of themselves, that communities of our whānau think community wise rather than the individual-wise. And even if we can do that on a fundamental level, on a basic level, we've changed a whole paradigm, we've made a whole paradigm shift, a way of thinking about being Māori. Because from that whole gap, that huge cavern or void of loss [from the process of colonisation], in the 1990s we started out to rebuild pathways back to some sense of wholeness for our whānau. (A.Tamati, key informant interview)

This construction of a way of being Māori in the present day is an important resource made available to participants and whānau. It is necessary so that actions such as the use of Māori language, enrolment in Māori-centred education, or changing the way your whānau acts and interacts is deemed valid as Māori. This is different from mentally justifying these actions with the rationales of other paradigms, for example choosing to speak Māori or supporting reo use among children because it improves employability. Within a Māori worldview decisions such as the enrolment in immersion education may be chosen by a whānau because it is consistent with the aspirations of the whole whānau to be engaged in a Māori way of being.

The second perspective, identity development, works by situating Māori knowledge and language in a lived customary identity. Language immersion environments provide a sense of authenticity and a flexibility of expression to cultural identity that can reinforce a Māori paradigm among customary networks of whānau, hapū and iwi. Regional language variation and local corpus are given high priority by TRoWh as these features are considered critical elements of local identity. Communities tend to associate the sound of a speaker, their behaviour and the forms of statements they make with an impression of who they are and where they are from. Sapir (1986), states that language corpus among speech communities is a powerful indicator of collectivity. "...'He speaks like us' is equivalent to saying 'He is one of us'..." (p. 16). Wenger (1998) refers to this as 'shared repertoire' as a set of signals that indicate accepted practice of a community. TRoWh expresses this by using local language features to enhance the status of customary networks of community, on marae, at papakāinga and at hapū and iwi gatherings. The

forms of speaking and behaving associated with renowned leaders of the past and present, especially those leaders who have worked to uphold the heritage and identity of Whanganui iwi and hapū, connect participants with the integrity they represented. The paradigm being advanced is one of positivity and high value of customary identity sustaining the status of iwi and hapū of Whanganui.

> …he wānanga tērā kia hoki atu ai ngā uri ki runga i te awa o Whanganui, mai i Te Puru-ki-Tūhua ki Te Matapihi. Kia kauria te awa, kia wānangahia ngā kōrero i ngaro i roto i ngā tau, i noho anake ki tēnā hapū ki tēnā hapū ... nēi e kī ana 'ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au', me kōrero ki te awa? Me mōhio ngā uri ki ngā kōrero o Te Awanui-ā-Rua. Koirā te take i whakaritea ai tērā wānanga. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …[Te Tira Hoe Waka wānanga] was an intensive learning forum for the descendants to return back upon the river of Whanganui, from Te Puru-ki-Tūhua to Te Matapihi. To be immersed in the river, to assimilate the accounts that have been lost over the years, that were connected directly and uniquely to each tribal grouping … if it is said 'I am the river and the river is me' should you not commune with the river? The descendants must know these accounts of Te Awanui-ā-Rua. That is why these intensives were put in place.

Both forms of development create paradigms that build commitment in an expression of resistance, resilience and positivity. Māori language immersion is a very tangible point of differentiation from the rest of society where English language is normalised. This creates a different set of parameters for participation that provide opportunities for groups to reconfigure their paradigm of identity in a way that is relevant to their shared experience and engagement. The value of this paradigm is in its contribution to shared vision that instils pride and motivates commitment among participants.

> There are two worldviews, the Kopae's worldview that is based on the Maori worldview, and the early childhood worldview, which is based on the Western worldview. … The best support that the ECE environment can provide for the Kopae, is to encourage the acknowledgement of the different identities and celebrate the differences. Until the considerations of reo, tikanga and whanau, and then Taranaki reo tikanga and whanau, are truly reflected in government policy the Kopae will be independent at supporting its own development and in its own way. It will continue to seek support from Maori community whose aspirations align with those of the Kopae. (H.Korewha, key informant interview)

Language Revitalisation Expressed by the Case Studies

There is a general perception that Māori language revitalisation and acquisition are the primary objectives of the case studies. Yet each group has indicated their motivating

objectives were more closely aligned to empowerment and Māori development than to Māori language in itself. They understand that proficiency in reo Māori improves a speaker's capacity to participate and engage more fully in the broader scope of Māori development. Their initiatives have sought to create optimal conditions for active participation within a Māori worldview as an expression of personal and collective identity, and to support involvement in initiatives of development.

> Mā reira ka kitea ngā tikanga o Whanganui ake arā, ko te whanonga o te tangata. Ehara i te mea ko te kōrero anake engari mā te kōrero e mōhio ai te tangata ko wai a ia, nā wai ia me pēhea te kawe i a ia anō i raro i ngā tikanga a kui mā, a koro mā i tēnei ao hurihuri. Nō reira koirā te tino kaupapa mō Ngā Muka. Ko 'Ngā Muka', i tīkina atu i te kōrero rongonui i runga i te awa ko 'te taura whiri ā Hine-ngākau'. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> From this arise the tikanga distinct to Whanganui, the personality of the people. It is not just a description, but it is an expression that allows people to know who they are, who are they from, how to carry themselves in this world within the cultural legacy of their forebears. So that is the kaupapa of Ngā Muka. Ngā Muka, the flax fiber, is derived from the renowned statement from the river, about the flax fibre of the plaited rope of Hine-ngākau.

Language revitalisation objectives have been reframed by these groups to incorporate the revitalisation of a Māori way of being in today's environment. In other words the revitalisation of Māori language has been applied in practice as a 'means' rather than an 'end' goal. The normalisation of Māori language in a community ensures its members retain the capacity to engage with and to be a part of the expression of a Māori worldview.

Māori Development

The establishment phases of the three groups took place just prior to, or within, the period often described as the Decade of Māori Development from 1984 to 1994. The decade began with the 1984 Hui Taumata for Māori Economic Development and coincided with the beginning of a New Right economic approach to development in the New Zealand government. The groups' establishment occurred within the context of Māori development, and that has been a factor influencing the underlying goals for their current activities. They all made repeated reference to the origins of their kaupapa in that period and themes from the 1984 Hui Taumata continue to be key points of reference in discussion.

Six themes arising from the Hui Taumata were the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, tribal development, economic self-reliance, social equity, and cultural advancement (Durie, 1998). In general Māori development is considered to be a process for Māori self-determination and "… is about the retention and development of a Māori identity and a Māori world-view" (Durie, 2004a). If the three organisations were to be solely focused on language use and acquisition then language learning programmes and language promotion would be sufficient to achieve those goals. Language revitalisation, on the other hand, is inherently a community-centred approach based on language use in the home and community domains of use. Māori identity and a Māori worldview have been described as being critical perspectives applied by the three groups in language revitalisation. These perspectives are important to help enable Māori to participate more fully in society 'as Māori'. Additionally, the participation in society of Māori-speaking groups with a secure Māori cultural identity makes their contribution more important for the continuation of a Māori perspective of development and well-being.

An example of how the groups contribute to Māori development can be shown in the experience of TRoWh. The organisation has prioritised iwi development as a primary objective among the iwi and hapū associated with Whanganui. The Trust's relatively recent incorporation as a legal entity does not reflect the length of time since the early 1980's that its members have been active with initiatives related to Whanganui reo, tikanga and identity, for example wānanga mau rākau and TTHW. An increased capacity in formal oratory is given priority because it contributes to tribal development. Marae have the pressure of ensuring they have speakers with sufficient proficiency for fulfilling the roles of kaikaranga and kaikōrero, for the performance of local language corpus in forms such as waiata and karakia, and for the retention of whakapapa, proverbial statements, historical accounts and traditions. These skills and cultural resources associated with the use of Whanganui reo are a critical factor in maintaining the integrity of Whanganui's tribal identity and cultural status. TRoWh's strategies for language revitalisation can be considered a vital component of Māori development within its region.

A relevant perspective of Māori development was expressed in 2005 at the second Hui Taumata on Māori Economic Development. Speaking to the summit, Durie (2005b)

proposed a futures framework for Māori. The first of the five major themes is recognising 'a Māori paradigm' for being Māori in the future and is the most well-aligned theme to the notion of language revitalisation. Seven attributes describe this Māori paradigm[73]:

> …identifying as Māori; being part of a Māori network or collective; participating in te ao Māori, and enjoying a closeness with the natural environment; celebrating the use of Māori language; possessing some knowledge of custom and heritage; participating as a whānau member and having access to Māori resources… (p. 13)

These attributes are aligned to the approaches taken by the three case studies. This provides an indication of how the case studies, and therefore language revitalisation efforts, may make a direct contribution to the vision of Māori development.

Speaker Community

This research provides a way of understanding the influence of language revitalisation on community development and its contribution to the achievement of broader outcomes, with specific reference to Māori health outcomes.

For the purposes of this research, initially identity-based community was considered to be the best way to distinguish the activities of the case study groups. During the design of the research the concept of 'identity-based community development' was adopted to cover the range of initiatives being undertaken. However, this research has found that identity-based community development does not adequately capture core case study activity and is only relevant under the following circumstances. First, the concept is appropriate when a prominent objective of the groups is concerned with the use of a language that clearly conveys the central identity of the group. Second, it is appropriate where the community associated with the activity has long-term goals that are shared by participants and contribute to building a strong collective identity. This aspect relates to the priority given by the group to the integrity of an identity and ensuring that it can be transmitted inter-generationally. Further, during discussions with the case study groups on the concept of

73 Semi-colons have been inserted to indicate the end of each bulletpoint.

‘identity-based community development’, many interviewees did not see how the concept could be related to their practice.

From a purely practical perspective, identity-based community development fails to articulate the relationship that is formed between participants of group activities and to clearly describe the actual activity the group is engaged in. It was found that identity can be applied too widely among the groups and lacks the specificity to articulate the particular form of identity being expressed by participants. The approach taken in this research has been to develop a concept that differentiates the groups in terms of the primary activity they are engaged in. ‘Speaker communities’ is proposed as the concept that captures the form of collective observed to be present among the case study groups.

The act of speaking a local language distinguishes a group of speakers in a very tangible way. Understandably there will be difficulty when this designation is applied to differentiate the subtle variations that exist between two communities who speak two different forms within the same language. These variations within a language also constitute valid forms of local language. In this respect the appropriate expression to use is ‘speech community’ (Gumperz, 1968; Labov, 1972), which is a sociolinguistic-based designation of a group identified by the style and variety of language, and the norms and attitudes the group holds for the language it speaks. This designation is not what is conveyed in the term ‘speaker community’. The choices made among speakers within an approach of language revitalisation, centre their attention on the act of speaking. They engage in the active construction and participation in domains of language use that are distinctly different from the norms of society. The term ‘speaker community’ recognises the act of speaking a threatened language not simply as an act of communication but also as an act of resistance. Further, it recognises that considerable commitment is required to re-establish normalised use in a society where the local language is vulnerable. The practices and values present among speaker communities seek to protect the integrity of the language while many of the participants are developing proficiency and while the act of speech is a difficult undertaking. The community also needs to develop language capacity to be able function effectively in the range of everyday contexts of normal community interaction. Speaker community denotes the act of speech in a threatened language as a

defining characteristic of shared engagement and collective vision for the revitalisation of that language.

Distinguishing this form of collective, speaker community, from the established socio-linguistic concept of speech community facilitates a particular way of understanding the nature of language revitalisation. Revitalisation has been explained in the literature in a context of language vitality. That is, the presence of a local language sustained within self-priming native speaker communities while in the presence of another language that is dominant or has high status, especially a national or official language (Stewart, 1968, p. 536). A community where language vitality exists is able to sustain its localised form of language and it can be reasonably expected to have active forms of 'speech community'. The process of language revitalisation, on the other hand, seeks to restore language vitality, to reach a point where language vitality can be assured in the future. Language revitalisation can be considered to be a means by which to achieve a state of language use where speech communities function in normal practice. It must be inferred that speaker communities, aligned with language revitalisation, are also a means to reaching a state where speech communities occur naturally among local collectives.

Such is the situation experienced by the three groups in the case studies, where the environments of language use must be constructed within the practice of each group's participants. The organisation where this characteristic is most obvious is Te Ataarangi, especially in the early stages of developing language proficiency in the group. For learners, involvement within language domains is an extremely difficult proposition and one that is achieved with strong commitment and support from its kaiwhakaako. In the setting experienced by whānau enrolled with Te Kōpae there is a regular movement of participants into and away from the centre, as children are newly enrolled and as they exit to other education providers. The integrity of the immersion environment is maintained in principle by the staff and community support people. Although many whānau who have children leave the centre continue to have some involvement in Te Kōpae, such as playing in Te Kōpae's higher grade hockey teams, there is a constant priority placed on supporting new whānau with awareness of the centre's kaupapa and with improving language proficiency and cultural knowledge. Te Kōpae refers to this ongoing process as whānau

development, highlighting the need for all people involved in the centre to be engaged as Māori with a shared commitment to restoring the conditions of collective responsibility and leadership for the expression of whānau. TRoWh can be considered to be an advanced stage of speaker community by requiring participants to have high language proficiency. It may also be considered to demonstrate some features aligned with the notion of speech community, by directing programme participants toward the use of a distinct form of Māori language variation, the form associated with the Whanganui region. Such a perception would fail to recognise the difficulties they face. First, they must contend with the geographic distance between most participants, resulting in significantly reduced opportunities for interaction. Second, the communities formed within the Ngā Muka programmes are directed to engage with marae, hapū and whānau where language proficiency is generally not high, limiting the capacity for speech community activity. Third, the emphasis given to traditional forms of formal oratory reduces the range of contexts of language use and potentially distracts students from colloquial use of Whanganui reo in everyday contexts. The language activities managed by TRoWh can be described as speaker communities because they work to construct immersion environments and have the expectation that members of the organisation and participants of its programmes will maintain the use of Whanganui reo in daily life, especially in communication between each other.

This use of the concept may be challenged with the view that the act of communication, verbal or non-verbal, is a characteristic of all communities. Therefore, is not 'speaker community' too broad a concept to be used specifically in relation to the revitalisation of threatened languages. This observation is correct. However, the emphasis in suggesting its use is on the formation of community. It is proposed that the word 'speaker' defines this form of community. Referring back to Anderson's (1991) argument, all communities in today's environment are 'imagined', or socially constructed, defined by the style in which they were first shaped. The term uses the reference to speaking as a defining characteristic of the community's formation and the basis of its ongoing activity.

Speaker communities should be considered an intermediary state of development in working to support a threatened language. Where language revival may be described as

the intermediary process in the revernacularisation of a language that has fallen out of functional use, as was the situation for Hebrew (Fishman, 1991, p. 291), language revitalisation should be explained as the intermediary process in the reforming of native speaker communities. The term 'native speaker communities' is an expression that often appears in the literature, although the context in which it is used is usually descriptive and not often applied to their restoration. 'Speaker community' signals the proposition of transition and the practical consequence of successful implementation of language revitalisation.

Dimensions of Speaker Community Development

'Speaker community development' is inextricably linked with positive well-being. Reference to 'community' invariably conveys somewhat of an idealised positivity and confidence in the future, or in reinterpreting the world within the perspective of a collective. 'Community development' extends on the vision of 'community' to include action for the empowerment of community agency, working to reform the lived world of the community mediated within structures of power in society (Shaw, 2008). The concept of 'development' in the context of Māori language speaker communities has also been drawn from the notion of Māori development in contrast to Māori advancement. Māori "…advancement is about reducing inequalities between Māori and other New Zealanders while development is about the retention and development of a Māori identity and a Māori world-view…" (Durie, 2004a). Advancement indicates referential achievement measured against the wider society, while development has self-determined measures of achievement and validates a group's worldview. Development and community in Māori settings are associated with processes of decolonisation and empowerment.

Four dimensions that can be considered expressions of development have been observed among the three case studies. They are presented in a later section as a basis for the Framework for Speaker Community Development (see Table 16). The four dimensions are essentially areas of organisational strategic focus and, therefore, activity that are required in order for a collective to effectively contribute to the achievement of language

revitalisation. The first dimension proposed within the framework is 'Vision'. It refers to the vision held in common among participants in the revitalisation-based approach. The strength and validity of the vision, from the perspective of participants, contributes to the level of commitment to and value placed on the initiative. The second dimension is the 'Approach' utilised by the initiative, in particular, how reo, tikanga and identity are incorporated into the regular activities of the collective. The approach needs to be consistent with the vision, matching the core values of the group. 'Organisation' is the third dimension and is a reference to the management and coordination of activities associated with the initiative. It is important for the group to manage the initiative in a way that ensures keen participation and recognises contribution among all of its members. The final dimension, 'Outcomes', also acts to strengthen motivation for the group. Participants need to recognise and experience direct benefit for themselves, their whānau members or within the broader collectives of shared identity.

Speaker Community 'Vision'

A shared vision was articulated by each of the case study groups. This vision is more than a set of organisational objectives, a planned schedule of events, or a sequence of development activities for its members. The group should be able to articulate an inspirational vision that connects with people's own personal ambitions and those of their whānau. 'Vision' may be considered a form of positioning statement from a cultural perspective, personalised to the needs of members. A clear example of this is TRoWh's repeated reference to the statement made in TTHW, "…kauaka e kōrero mō te awa, me kōrero ki te awa…" (C.Wilson, key informant interview), *don't speak about the river, speak in the river* Its strategic goal was to bring Whanganui descendants back to learn their culture and identity on their marae, among their hapū, in their language. What is important is that this vision corresponds with the people's own ambition to re-engage with their identity. The vision matches that of the participants. A further example is the vision expressed by Te Kōpae in providing an environment where a Taranaki Māori worldview is accessible to the children enrolled and is inclusive of their wider whānau. The concept of 'Piripono' is indicated in Te Kōpae's name, referring to "…an everlasting and genuine

embrace…" (Tamati et al., 2008, p. 2). It can take time for some whānau to fully comprehend the concept but "…when whānau get [sic] the kaupapa and the role that they play, and they support the whole kaupapa, that is when things not only hum, they take another gear completely…" (A.Tamati, key informant interview). When the vision matches participant aspirations the effectiveness of the initiative is greatly enhanced.

Many may contend that the need for a shared vision is a generic condition applicable to all manner of organisations or informal groups. While an inspirational and relevant vision may be considered as a critical success factor for most collectives, this is particularly the case for community-based initiatives or initiatives that rely heavily on voluntary support. It is argued here that speaker communities are more reliant on this condition than most. This assertion is made on the basis that maintaining speaker community activity requires a deep-seated belief in the value and feasibility of success of the collective's initiative. Fishman (2007) referred to this condition as a form of "…community of belief…" that is required for achieving success in language revitalisation, noting that "…[c]reating community is the hardest part of stabilizing a language. Lack of full success is acceptable, and full successes are rare…" (p. 80). The level of commitment needed is immense. Newly introduced whānau need to change long-established patterns of language choice and, for many, to undertake the substantial task of acquiring a high level of language proficiency. Whānau within the community need to resist the prevailing expectation for English language use and trust that progress achieved in the present day will enhance the well-being of their generation's descendants well into the future. This level of commitment is driven largely by the integrity and relevance of a shared vision.(p. 80)

Speaker Community 'Approach'

The development of a coherent approach will often arise from an articulation of the group vision. Alignment with the core values of the group and consistency with practices seen by members to be appropriate helps identify an approach that feels right to participants. This could be seen when the Ataarangi methodology was developed. It included the design of language learning resources and programme guidelines. Ngoi Pewhairangi and Katerina Mataira were able, between them, to pull together the first generation of kaiwhakaako,

people with native speaker proficiency, and propose five group learning guidelines. The final guideline, "…kia ngākau māhaki tētahi ki tētahi…" (Te Ataarangi Inc., 1982), *act with empathy and deep sensitivity for each other*, is frequently alluded to as a core value of the organisation and is often stated in gatherings where different interests between groups and members are discussed. This value influences the whole approach used by Te Ataarangi, where programme delivery is incorporated into the multiple needs and diverse backgrounds of community. The approach must recognise and match this diversity. The community-centred approach is made clear early on through an explanation in the first resource, 'Te Tuara o te Reo Māori' (Te Ataarangi Inc., 1982). "…Kia tau pai te mahi i roto i ngā kāinga maha, i roto i ngā marae, i ngā takiwā katoa, kātahi anō ka tino pakari haere te reo…" (p. 4). *So the work can be well established in the many homes, on the marae, and all places, only then will the language be truly secure.* This learning approach guideline remains a key resource for programme development among kaiwhakaako today, thirty years on. The ability and experience of native speakers, alongside the next generation of community-based second-language kaiwhakaako, was the vital teaching resource and strategy that enabled Te Ataarangi to cater to the diverse needs of community.

For TRoWh the approach to its activities has been to maintain a continuity with a learning methodology from pre-European contact times. Matiu Mareikura, Maaka Cribb, Ruka Broughton and John Tahuparae adapted and applied the traditional learning approach of wānanga to the needs of Whanganui iwi in the 1980s. The approach was continued within the wānanga of TTHW and has been maintained in the Ngā Muka tertiary programme series and, more recently, in the youth development wānanga, Taimaru. The approach is more than being seen simply as an effective way of instilling the values, principles and Whanganui based content. It maintains the continuity of project initiatives today with the legacy of TRoWh's foundation of identity.

Speaker Community Organisation

Organisation refers to the management of activities to achieve the group's objectives. There are two features of this management. In the first instance, it is concerned with the coordination of the operational systems needed to achieve greater efficiencies in the

allocation of the range of resources available to the group. This is the administrative capacity of the group. The other feature of 'organisation' relates to improving the participation of members, the distribution of roles and responsibilities based on the attributes of members that maximise their contribution to the group's activity. Members are the social and cultural resource being cultivated by the group. This is not to achieve operational efficiencies, but to ensure the full engagement of members as an expression of whānau or community. This is an organisational approach to the empowerment of whānau. Te Kōpae has carried out research on the role of leadership within its centre.

> For Te Kōpae Piripono, whānau development involves the learning and development of every member of its whānau, whether that be children, parents, teachers, or management. Therefore, a key aspect of its kaupapa is the support and development of the whole whānau, not just the child enrolled… (Tamati et al., 2008, p. ii)

Speaker Community Outcomes

Whānau are inherently motivated by outcomes, the achievement of targeted states or conditions. The outcomes need to be recognised by the community as tangible benefits for themselves or for whānau. This means understanding how outcomes are understood by communities and whānau. This is reflected in the comments made by Che Wilson about the acknowledgement, at a national event, by the paepae of another iwi regarding the quality of the karanga performed by one of the Ngā Muka students.

> …i tērā atu tau … i te matenga o Whatumoana, i te māuiui katoa ngā kuia. Āna, i haere atu mātou, i reira ētehi o ngā tauira o Ngā Muka. Kī atu au ki rāua, mā kōrua te reo … Ka tukuna tōna reo. Ko te kaikōrero tuatahi o te haukāinga, ka mihi ki tōna reo. He tohu nui tērā … tere ringi atu au ki [ngā hoa i Whanganui] … e, i runga i te harikoa… (C.Wilson, key informant interview)

> …in the previous year … on the death of Whatumoana, the kuia [of our region] were all unwell. And so, we went there, along with some of the students from Ngā Muka. I said to them two, you now have the role of calling … She gave her call and the first speaker of the marae complimented her call. It was a huge honour … I rang up immediately afterwards to our friends in Whanganui … it was jubilation…

Such examples of jubilation are repeated by iwi members to other students, inspiring increased participation, and to iwi elders, encouraging greater support for the wānanga ā-iwi.

> …ko ngā tauira o Ngā Muka kua kitea te hua kua puta i roto i ngā tau. He kaha nō rātou ki te tū ki te paepae, he kaha nō rātou ki te hāpai ake i ngā tikanga, ki te kawe i ngā tikanga, ki te kawe tika i ngā tikanga … me ngā waiata hoki. (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …the students of Ngā Muka demonstrate the value of programme achieved through the years. They have strength in fulfilling the role on the paepae, they have strength in managing the protocols, fulfilling the protocols appropriately … and traditional song.

These are tangible benefits to the Whanganui community and are directly related to the outcomes first proposed by leaders of the early cultural renaissance in the 1981 hui at Ngāpuwaiwaha. Ngā Muka has provided the second generation of leaders, following on from similar wānanga with TTHW held in the late 1980s and the 1990s. TRoWh are now considering preparation of the next generation of leaders through a youth programme, 'Taimaru', using the same model. The iwi are able to recognise, to have confidence and to be reassured of the maintenance and continuity of the customary knowledge and skill base of Whanganui.

Areas of Integrity in Speaker Community Development

Findings of this research indicate that the level of achievement attained among speaker community development initiatives is heavily influenced by the integrity of the enterprise. Three areas of integrity are proposed that qualify the four dimensions described above – integrity of identity, integrity of operation and integrity of benefit.

Integrity of 'Identity' is the most readily observed area among the case study groups. The vision of each case study group is inherently reliant on a foundation of identity. An initiative must be able to show an explicit alignment of practice with the identity being expressed in participants' aspirations for development. As an area of integrity, 'Operation' is about the capacity to ensure the administrative and infrastructure-based needs of the initiative are being fulfilled and can be sustained. Whānau members should be assured of the group's long-term capacity for activity in achieving its objectives. This relies on the group's ability to determine the needs of members, to have access to appropriate resources and then to use the resources wisely. Resources are not only considered in terms of economic value. Capacity is also generated within human, cultural, spiritual,

political and language resources. The third area of integrity is 'Benefit'. A group must be able to advance an affirmative purpose and ensure that all members derive positive benefits or see benefits generated within their whānau or wider community. A statement made by Mataira (key informant interview) about Te Ataarangi reflects the potential of the initiative to respond to the broad development needs of speaker communities over and above the perceived language focus of its activity. Non-linguistic resources are nurtured within Te Ataarangi. Should Māori language be restored to a state of language vitality, the wider implications for speaker communities is also the restoration of spiritual, environmental, cultural, political and social well-being. According to Mataira, the integrity of Te Ataarangi is partially fulfilled with the achievement of language strength in a group, but a community has many other identifiable needs where sustained local language capacity makes a substantial contribution.

> …Ka hoki ngā mahara ki te pātai a tētahi, kua wareware i a au ināianei nā wai te pātai … 'Kāterina, pēhea rawa te roa o tēnei kaupapa?' Tumeke pai au ki tērā pātai engari ko taku whakautu i tērā wā, 'kāore pea he mutunga' … Taku mōhio ka haere tonu. Ko taua wairua kē te mea nui nē rā. Mehemea kua uru tērā wairua ki roto i te hunga kei te ako ināianei, ka haere tonu. Mehemea kāore taua wairua i reira, a, kāti, tērā pea ka mimiti haere. Me te aha hoki, mehemea ka kōrero Māori te motu katoa kua kore pea he mahi hei mahi mā Te Ataarangi. Engari e kī nei au ehara ko te reo anake te kaupapa a Te Ataarangi. He oranga mō te iwi te kaupapa o Te Ataarangi. He oranga mō te ao, he oranga mō ngā tikanga, he oranga mō ngā whānau, he oranga mō ngā tamariki ērā kaupapa katoa kei roto i te kaupapa o Te Ataarangi. Ahakoa he aha ahakoa kōrero Māori te motu ka noho mai tonu ērā kaupapa hei hāpai mā te whānau o Te Ataarangi… (K.T.Mataira, key informant interview)

> …I remember back to someone's question, I have now forgotten who asked it … 'Kāterina, how long will this kaupapa be maintained?' I was quite shocked with that question, but this was my response, 'perhaps it won't have an end' … In my mind it will continue. That it is the wairua that is most important, is it not. If that wairua is instilled among today's learners, it will continue. If the wairua is not maintained, then, perhaps it will disappear. Who knows, if the whole country speaks Māori perhaps there will be nothing left for Te Ataarangi to do. But I say, Te Ataarangi's kaupapa is not just about language. The well-being of the people is Te Ataarangi's objective. The well-being of the environment, the well-being of culture, the well-being of whānau, the well-being of children, of all those things, they are in Te Ataarangi's objectives. No matter what, no matter whether the country speaks Māori, those other things will remain for the whānau of Te Ataarangi to uphold...

A Framework for Speaker Community Development

Speaker community development objectives in general will seek to establish or re-establish a self-priming, self-identified community of people who speak a local language variety. These objectives convey an inspirational vision that is relevant to their collective identity

and their contemporary reality. It is a worldview of their making. Table 16 seeks to capture the dimensions and areas of integrity of speaker community development described. They are presented as a Framework for Speaker Community Development that demonstrates their relational links and articulates the way integrity impacts on the four dimensions of development advanced within speaker communities.

Table 16: Framework for speaker community development

Areas of Integrity	*Dimensions*			
	Vision	**Approach**	**Organisation**	**Outcomes**
Identity	Vision has relevance and is consistent with community identity	Approach feels right for the cultural context of the community	Organisation, in practice, enhances shared identity of the community	Outcomes contribute to an enhanced sense of collective identity
Operation	Vision makes sense and appears to be achievable	Approach is effective and generates buy-in from all members	Organisation has robust processes to empower member participation	Outcomes are achieved within relevant and sustainable processes
Benefit	Vision is affirmative and promotes positive goals	Approach is conducive to the achievement of positive goals	Organisation has the capacity to improve the lives of its community	Outcomes are recognised by the community and their value is understood

Sustainability in the Social Mechanism of Whakapapa

Speaker communities are primarily distinguished by their intent to re-establish and strengthen the socialisation of young community members to become proficient speakers of the threatened language. Intergenerational language transmission is the process of socialisation of children to become native-speakers. This is a natural process whereby a child acquires their first language, or mother tongue, from the speech environment in their home and from their families. There is a high priority placed on this natural mechanism because families have the ability to manage their own language use environment.

Sustainability, in the context of speaker communities, is a characteristic that arises from the process of intergenerational language transmission. Raising children in environments where the threatened language and its associated culture are normalised, a normal feature

of community life, will influence how children, on reaching adulthood, determine their own approach to childrearing. Children who grow up in this environment will potentially be more inclined to reproduce practices of their upbringing among their own children. This can be considered the natural 'self-priming mechanism' of family childrearing practice that reproduces language and cultural knowledge capacity in successive generations. Fishman (1991, 2001) describes this mechanism in presenting his model of the 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (1991, pp. 87-109). The difference is that he presents the revitalisation process in reverse, to explain the loss of native-speaker development from minority language use in a community. Once a generation decides to shift their language use practices to an external majority language it is extremely difficult to reverse that established practice.

An underlying belief that must be generated, in revitalising a language, is that a secure cultural identity, enhanced by proficiency in the target language, constitutes a positive social resource. When this resource is made available to new members it helps them prepare for a life that is relevant to the paradigm espoused by their community. Within a Māori paradigm intergenerational language transmission can be perceived as the lineage of inheritance derived from a person's whakapapa. The way a person speaks, how they behave, the knowledge and values they express can be considered valued treasures of heritage needing to be passed on to new generations. This notion is described as 'taonga tuku iho' (cultural inheritance), one of the four 'Pou Mana' (pre-requisites for Māori health) in the schema by Manuka Henare (1988). Pere (1984) describes a similar concept as "…te hā a kui mā, a koro mā…" (the breath of life from forebears), a heritage dimension to health emphasising whānau in her 'Wheke' schema (T. K. R. Kingi, 2002, pp. 241-242). 'Taonga tuku iho' is a positive and commonly used expression in Māori society. It therefore resonates within a Māori paradigm. 'Taonga tuku iho', used in a Māori language revitalisation context, refers to the language, culture and identity sustained through transmission within the self-priming mechanism of the whakapapa of Māori speaker communities.

Speaker Community Development and Māori Health Outcomes

Contribution of the case studies to the achievement of good health

This research provides evidence of alignment between Māori health promotion and Māori language revitalisation. This is not surprising given that Māori language revitalisation is considered to be a key component of Māori development (Durie, 2005c, pp. 13-14), and likewise Māori health promotion has been represented in the literature as the meeting point between Māori development and generic health promotion (Ratima, 2001). This research identifies contributions of language revitalisation to positive Māori health outcomes for Māori individuals and collectives. Research findings indicate that positive Māori health outcomes are derived from the Māori language revitalisation activities carried out by the case study groups.

Recognised Māori models of health articulate what it is to be healthy 'as Māori'. Central to these models is the notion that a secure cultural identity is fundamental to the achievement of good health 'as Māori'. The relationship is made explicit in definitions of Māori health promotion as "…the process of enabling Māori to increase control over the determinants of health and strengthen their identity as Māori…" (Ratima, 2001, p. 419). The model Te Pae Mahutonga identifies one of the four key tasks of Māori health promotion as 'cultural identity', that is, to facilitate Māori access to the Māori world including Māori language (Durie, 1999). Another well-known model of Māori health promotion, Kia Uruuru Mai a Hauora, states the purpose of Māori health promotion as "…The attainment of good health, with an emphasis on the retention and strengthening of Māori identity, as a foundation for the achievement of individual and collective Māori potential…" (Ratima, 2001, p. 234). In that model, cultural integrity is identified as one of the principles of Māori health promotion.

Each of the case study groups recognises that its initiatives have an important role in promoting well-being among Māori. Consistent with Māori health models, well-being is understood in a broad sense as opposed to a narrow view of health that focuses on physical, and sometimes mental, health measures. Therefore, among the three case study organisations the revitalisation of Māori language, culture and identity are fundamental to the achievement of wellbeing among Māori. This view is consistent with Māori health

promotion understandings as made explicit in Māori health promotion models. This research has identified four Māori health outcomes that language revitalisation activities of the case study groups contribute to. They are: a secure personal identity as Māori; a locally relevant collective identity as Māori; a Māori worldview with authenticity; and whānau well-being.

Secure personal identity as Māori

All groups described a sense of achievement and confidence gained when whānau members or students gained Māori language proficiency and were thereby able to participate more fully in immersion activities. This was spoken of as making sense of the world from a Māori perspective, as being Māori. The metaphor of the opening of a pathway or point of entry to connect the individual with others who are of a like mind was often described.

> …kia tuwhera anō ki wērā āhuatanga nō ngāi tāua, nō te Māori tonu, e mārama pū ana ki te āhua o tana wairua …" (E.Brewerton, key informant interview).

> …to be open to carefully consider those perspectives from our relationships, from a Māori world, understanding well the nature of their spiritual being …

This may also be considered as described by King (2007), as a humanist expression of personal transformation and holistic health. Fishman (1996b) describes a perception of personal responsibility or "… a kind of a moral commitment … and a moral imperative …" to do something to protect your language (pp. 73-74). By fulfilling that responsibility, so can the person become fully confident and self-assured in the expression of their identity. The concept of a 'secure personal identity' reflects the grounding of an individual's self-concept within a compelling social identity. The health outcome is the achievement of a secure personal identity as Māori.

Locally relevant collective identity as Māori

The three groups supported different expressions of the collective identity of their members. TRoWh was the group most engaged in iwi and hapū identity, or more precisely

iwi and hapū pride and status that arises from the proficient expression of identity. Participants are able to explain their connection to Whanganui and link back to a marae or community as an avenue to express their identity. The national organisation of Te Ataarangi has a broad range of groups that are iwi and hapū centred, reo groups in urban environments, as well as whānau or special interest groups. Shared identity often develops inherently as a consequence of the group's collective activity. In this situation, the immersion environment forms the community in much the same way as Wenger (1998) describes a 'community of practice'. Te Kōpae prioritises the expression of whanaungatanga among whānau within the context of Taranaki Māori identity. It undertakes team building exercises at the beginning of each year or as they are needed. This involves decolonisation training and induction of new whānau. Whānau work together to develop a sense of shared commitment to the growth and development of their children in the centre. A sense of collectivity evolves among participant whānau and is actively cultivated by Te Kōpae staff within a Taranaki Māori identity.

In most cases, collective identity is strongest and can be sustained over long timeframes when derived from genealogical connections held in common among members. However, community identity formed within shared practice has the potential to be sustained over an extended period. Such an identity needs to be relevant to local conditions and convey a compelling vision to maintain shared commitment. Māori immersion approaches help strengthen relevance and vision. The achievement of a locally relevant collective identity as Māori, as a health outcome, refers to the shared capacity derived from the expression of collective identity. Local relevance indicates the collectives' recognition of value in the identity for their shared and separate lives. The groups perceive collective identity, as supported within their initiatives, to be inherently Māori.

Authentic Māori worldview

Collective action in each of the groups is a negotiation of the lived reality experienced by participants and how a Māori worldview should be practiced by the collective. This does not imply that a Māori worldview does not exist and therefore requires construction. Instead, the expression of a Māori worldview evolves as a vision of a Māori way of being

that is shared by the collective, motivating their engagement and contribution. This process takes into account the knowledge from authoritative sources aligned with the groups. For example, members of TRoWh spoke of the four founding authorities of the cultural renaissance of Whanganui as the gospels of Mathew, Mark, Luke and John, a reference to Matiu Mareikura, Maaka Cribb, Ruka Broughton and John Tahuparae. The integrity of the vision from these four leaders for Whanganui underpins much of what TRoWh seeks to achieve today. Students are encouraged to take this original vision, the ways of presenting and identifying oneself, and interpret it in their, the student's, world. A worldview for TRoWh encompasses the broad community connected to the customary groupings of Whanganui iwi. The vision is described as being,

> …kia mōhio ai ngā tauira kia mārama ai ngā tauira ki ngā kōrero o Whanganui ake mā reira ka kitea ngā tikanga o Whanganui ake, arā, ko te whanonga o te tangata. Ehara i te mea ko te kōrero anake engari mā te kōrero e mōhio ai te tangata ko wai a ia, nā wai ia me pēhea te kawe i a ia anō i raro i ngā tikanga o kui mā o koro mā i tēnei ao hurihuri… (E.Tinirau, key informant interview)

> …so the students would know, so they would understand the accounts that convey Whanganui traditions, and from that the customs of Whanganui can be comprehended, that is the idiosyncrasies of the people. It is not as though they are just statements, but from these statements a person gets to understand who they are, who they are from, how to hold themselves under the conventions of their elders and in this ever changing world…

It is only within a Māori paradigm that a secure cultural identity as Māori is able to be achieved. As a health outcome, an authentic Māori worldview is the structuring of a vision of how individuals and collectives view their past, act in their present and move toward their future in a way that strengthens a secure Māori identity. The vision is shared among the collective to be interpreted and applied by individuals. It may be referred to as the collective's kaupapa and individuals and whānau are invited to engage with that vision. When the vision is shared, the value of that vision is greatly enhanced. For the three groups the vision is to be Māori, or more accurately, to be an 'uri' of the customary iwi of Whanganui, a Māori speaking whānau or a part of a local Māori community. To be Māori is to recognise your Māori whakapapa in practice and in the way you wish to express it with others. Authenticity is a subjective term that relates to the relevance and inferred value attributed by the people who express it.

Whānau well-being

Māori models of health and Māori health promotion place strong emphasis on whānau wellbeing as a core dimension of good health for Māori. Whānau well-being, or whānau ora, is concerned with the enhancement of whānau capacity for self-management and self-determination to the extent that whānau are well-positioned to lead their own health development. The achievement of whānau well-being as a health outcome is reliant upon activities that promote whānau development. When considering Te Kōpae, whānau development is readily seen as what its whānau regards as a keystone of its initiative. This is possible due to the frequent contact between individuals and sustained involvement of participants over the years of a child's enrolment. Te Kōpae and the other groups refer to their collectives as 'whānau' in a way that recognises the intrinsic sense of closeness and cultural value associated with conventional forms of whakapapa-based whānau (Metge, 1995, pp. 54-60). The word whānau can be used for both the extended family units who participate together in the collective or to identify the wider group involved in the shared activity, inclusive of students, community participants, extended family members, as well as staff and support people.

Whānau development in Te Kōpae relates to both levels of whānau but it is used most commonly to refer to the wider collective. Its primary aim for whānau development is to "… encourage the development and growth of the parents and families of children attending the centre" (Te Kōpae Piripono, 2005, p. 27). Its vision of development prioritises improvement in language proficiency, positive parenting skills, personal confidence and awareness. Te Kōpae expends a large amount of time and energy to help bring each of the whānau members to a common level of awareness. This improves the value of the contribution by those members. Te Kōpae describes this in a leadership framework that distinguishes four forms of responsibility: having responsibility, being responsible, taking responsibility, and sharing responsibility (Tamati et al., 2008, p. 27). The framework sets out an expectation for participation that leads to greater involvement in leadership roles for all whānau members. A result of this process is the empowerment of people involved in the centre, recognising their contribution to achieving goals shared by the collective. An important characteristic of Te Kōpae is its engagement with multiple generations, from young children to elderly whānau members. Empowerment gains made

at one level of whakapapa filter through to others and allow for the outcomes achieved within the centre to be carried on by the whānau unit well after their children have left to enter higher stages of education.

Speaker Community Development and Health Outcomes

The findings of this research indicate that speaker communities have distinct features that are not as obvious in other forms of community. Those features are as follows. First, intergenerational transmission of sociocultural resources to younger generations creates opportunities for re-envisaging a way of life as Māori. The intent is to provide a secure vision for the future life courses of new whānau members through a relevant and compelling worldview. Children will be provided with the values, experiences and proficiencies that will make a Māori paradigm accessible to them. Second, speaker communities place emphasis on enhancing the socialising practices for young members of their whānau. This is more effective when initiated from birth. This type of socialisation by whānau Māori (Māori families) will be inherently positive as an expression of Māori development. Third, the immersion environment, whereby only te reo Māori is spoken in selected practices and contexts of whānau life, reinforces a close personal connection and commitment to other members of the community, strengthening identity and providing powerful networks of support through life. Fourth, the mechanism of intergenerational transmission provides social and cultural momentum behind an empowerment of whānau and an enhancement of community self-determination. It can be anticipated that there will be less need for ongoing external investment in formal acquisition of Māori language and in community-based support networks with Māori cultural integrity. Speaker community development establishes an increased level of independence and recognises the importance of decision-making processes of whānau as critical factors in achieving the revitalisation of Māori language, culture and identity.

Table 17 (see below) introduces the 'Matua te Reo' Framework. This brings together the three main themes of this research: language revitalisation, community development and Māori health outcomes, and the key principle of 'sustainability – taonga tuku iho'. The

themes are presented as three columns. The principle, which is concerned with the sustainability of outcomes through the self-priming mechanism of socialisation in whakapapa, is shown in the first row under the headings. In this way ‘sustainability’ is presented as a principle that has relevance across all three research themes.

The ‘Community Features’ column to the left details the four features that help define speaker communities, the embodiment of language revitalisation, and at the same time guide revitalisation practice. The centre column indicates some key characteristics of development in practice within speaker communities. The column to the right identifies the positive Māori health outcomes to which speaker community development and the activity of language revitalisation contributes.

Table 17: Matua te Reo: Framework of Māori health outcomes achieved within speaker communities

Community Features	Characteristics of Speaker Community Development	Positive Māori Health Outcomes *(aligned with Māori Health Promotion)*
TAONGA TUKU IHO – Sustainability: cultural inheritance made accessible by the self-priming mechanism of whakapapa		
Intergenerational transmission of relevant cultural resource	• A locally relevant and authentic expression of a Māori worldview is formed • Natural transmission of Māori language, culture and identity is re-engaged • Language, culture and identity are sustained through a self-priming social mechanism • Younger generations are prepared with resources to engage in a Māori world	**Secure Personal Identity as Māori** A secure cultural identity is engendered in the lived reality of individual whānau members
Inherently affirmative within a relevant worldview	• Māori socialisation practices are reassessed and improvements adopted • Greater attention is given to whānau role in child-rearing behaviours and objectives • Whānau are empowered to re-envision their own positive Māori paradigm • Language, culture and identity are recognised as positive community resources	**Locally Relevant Collective Identity as Māori** Each group expresses its collective identity through shared practice and cultural connection
Reo immersion domains	• Reo domains provide opportunities for strengthening community proficiency • Immersion activity supports intergenerational language transmission among whānau • Māori language evolves within the conditions of the lived world of its speakers • Speaker community cohesion and shared commitment is strengthened	**Authentic Māori Worldview** The shared worldview of the collective is relevant to their local context and is an important factor of motivation
Empowerment of whānau and community	• Whānau and community better understand their role • The home environment is recognised by whānau as being under their full control • Less time, energy and resources are spent learning reo and tikanga later in life • Whānau are able to develop a holistic perspective of their well-being	**Whānau Well-being** Whānau are empowered to act with others using a self-determined vision of collective well-being

Presenting the three themes in a single table indicates their interrelationships and connectedness in community practice. While the importance of proficiency in Māori language has long been identified by Māori and health sector stakeholders as a critical cultural resource underpinning good health for Māori, substantiation of this claim has largely relied on anecdotal evidence. Further, there has been a lack of work carried out to investigate the role of language revitalisation in contributing to the achievement of broader health and other gains. As presented in the Matua te Reo Framework, this research has provided evidence of the wide-ranging and positive impacts of community level collectives engaged in the initiatives of Māori language revitalisation. The impact of their activities extends well beyond the regeneration of the language itself. In this research, specific attention was given to the contribution of language revitalisation by the case study groups to the achievement of Māori health outcomes. Further, data derived from participating community groups has driven the determination of what constitutes well-being and positive health outcomes. The articulation of these understandings has not been constrained by Western notions of health and how it may be achieved through generic health promotion. By centring this framework on the concept of well-being, defined within the distinct context that is articulated (i.e. language revitalisation), the framework is able to conceptualise not only the features of community and characteristics of development but also health outcomes that may be achieved within initiatives of language revitalisation.

Implications

For the area of study

Before beginning to explore the implications of the 'Matua te Reo Framework' (the framework), the obvious point of interest is the central concept of 'speaker community' that proposes a striking shift in the way Māori language activity can be conceptualised. 'Speaker community' is proposed as a notion of community best aligned to the 'grass roots' level activity of language revitalisation. Refocusing the description of community back toward its fundamental activity of speaking increases the opportunity to reconsider the nature of language revitalisation and the process of community development being applied

by those engaged in such programmes of revitalisation. The study demonstrates the need to review the current use of terms and concepts to improve clarity in describing the range of activities associated with the general field of reversing language shift.

A key implication of the framework is the fundamental importance of intergenerational language transmission as an activator of long-term sustainable outcomes. Sustainability may be achieved through the self-priming mechanism of socialisation in whakapapa. This is described in the framework as Taonga Tuku Iho: the cultural inheritance mechanism. Little is really understood of how whānau, parents and caregivers may be best supported to maximise the positive effects derived from this mechanism. In sectors such as health, there is much potential for this mechanism to be used to, for example, facilitate the transmission of healthy lifestyle practices over generations with little or no intervention required from the State. In a similar way, there is a potential for the intergenerational Māori language transmission mechanism to reduce the level of resources required to maintain proficiency among communities. Importantly, it is whānau who derive the greatest benefit from re-engaging the self-priming mechanism of intergenerational language transmission.

Whānau

The home environment is under the direct influence of whānau decision-making. Key decisions are made in this setting with regard to language choice, that is, when, where, with whom and how a language should be used. Whānau need to understand the difficulty in making the decision to change established language use patterns. Further, seldom does such a shift in use happen spontaneously or without the determined effort of whānau members to implement and engage with a great many forms of language management strategies. Whānau risk becoming quickly disillusioned in situations where they feel they have been ineffective because the pace of progress seems too slow. The Matua te Reo Framework offers insights into how motivation, focus and shared participation can be enhanced. Strategies may include developing an inspirational vision, being clear about the worldview the whānau wish to engage with, and finding community-based immersion domains that will offer vital support when obstacles are encountered.

Customary iwi

For iwi and customary whakapapa-based groupings, the potential for marae and hapū-led initiatives should generate enthusiasm. One of the case study groups presented its interpretation of the project of language revitalisation, using values that emphasise traditional notions of mana whenua and rangatiratanga, in the context of immersion language use at key events and gatherings. Their experience indicates how hapū and iwi members may become motivated within the perspective of a moral responsibility to uphold the status and cultural integrity of their whakapapa. Intergenerational language transmission is unlikely to be achieved immediately but, once an immersion-based cultural foundation within high value settings such as marae and papakāinga are supported with high proficiency reo use, the expectation is that whānau will see the value of participating in speaker community activity and become actively engaged.

Contemporary community

Community without whakapapa connection is a reality of New Zealand society as a result of urban drift, increased mobility and a postmodern diversity of cultural expression. In the current environment of migration to Australia, the needs of Māori living overseas to maintain cultural groundedness becomes more pressing. Speaker community offers a very tangible path for whānau and individuals to reconnect within a Māori paradigm. A key consideration for community groups, especially those in heavily urbanised environments, is the reestablishment of a Māori worldview, of a way to *be* Māori, away from the foundations of a secure cultural identity, customary hapū and iwi. Language capacity is one issue, however, interconnecting the values, beliefs and experiences of diverse groups is a difficult but necessary challenge. Two of the case studies have demonstrated how this can be accomplished. Correspondingly, two elements, inherent in the framework, are seen to be relevant to this task. The first is the need for inspired leadership with the ability to put in place a process of decolonisation or empowerment of community. It may be that a process of wānanga is regularly carried out to revisit rangatiratanga, historical legacy, essential notions of a Māori paradigm and robust systems of tikanga. The second inherent

element is critical awareness of the characteristics of language revitalisation, such as the role of intergenerational language transmission, immersion domains, regular contact, and exploration of identity. These aspects, though not specifically language focused, must be put in place to raise awareness and increase understanding of a shared vision. To build a community of speakers, under normal circumstances, a strong community is a necessary pre-requisite.

Health sector

In terms of health, the Matua te Reo Framework links speaker community features with Māori health outcomes. There will be cases where the inability of a collective to achieve its vision of well-being will be due less to their own inadequacies and more to a failure of state-based policy and service delivery models to accommodate the vision and practice of the collective. Health sector stakeholders will need to look beyond narrow views of health, what constitutes interventions for health, and the constraints imposed by health sector contracting mechanisms. It is important for health sector stakeholders to recognise diverse approaches to achieving health outcomes that take advantage of the significant pre-existing capacity of Māori collectives and that such collectives are also aligned to community motivations, needs and approaches. By supporting the identified characteristics of speaker community development, health services are potentially able to make a substantial contribution to the achievement of community-defined positive health outcomes. This is consistent with the sector's commitment to addressing determinants of health and with a whānau ora approach.

Education sector

The framework has the potential to influence policy and practice for formal education. A drawback of limiting an educational activity to building the practical language capacity among students is that the approach is disempowering and an inefficient use of education resources. Language revitalisation holds the view that intergenerational language transmission is the most culturally and socially robust approach to sustaining high value

functional language capacity in society. For many years, community groups such as the three case study groups have attempted to generate speaker community capacity while meeting resourcing criteria for the delivery of formal education services. The success of these groups has relied on a multitude of factors. However, the framework indicates that a collective worldview and a compelling vision of the future can enable and sustain high levels of commitment and motivation, even when resourcing or funding has declined. Ideally, educational programmes would be well aligned and require little distraction from the core intent of language revitalisation. The framework provides both a description of features that help facilitate speaker community development, and a set of characteristics that will support identification of collectives with the potential to contribute to language revitalisation.

Further Research

There is much scope for further research in this field. More focussed analysis is necessary in language revitalisation areas of strong contention, for example, in relation to the differentiation of the macro/micro roles of state and community, the best systems for resourcing communities, and the ability of geographically dispersed genealogical-based networks to form speaker communities. The Matua te Reo Framework offers a starting point for considering the contribution of community-driven initiatives in language revitalisation to health and other non-linguistic outcomes for Māori. Much work is required to further explore this notion (for example, in relation to outcomes such as business development, participation in education, and reconnection with customary iwi) and to inform the determination of strategies for enhancing the role of speaker communities and their formation. Fishman and Spolsky have contributed a large body of work, some of which has strongly influenced the thinking within this research. However, there is a need for more community-focused research that specifically focuses on the Māori context of language revitalisation to be undertaken.

Summary

This study has proposed a new term, speaker community, to describe a community that is formed through the conscious act of speaking a threatened language in strict preference to a dominant language. The speaker community must necessarily implement proactive measures in order to maintain the integrity of the immersion context where the threatened language becomes normalised. Distinguishing this form of collective from the established socio-linguistic concept of speech community supports an alternative way of understanding the nature of language revitalisation as a transition towards a state of language vitality. This research has explained the role of language revitalisation in the achievement of positive Māori health outcomes, as seen among the three case study groups. It is argued that the sustainability of outcomes can be enhanced by encouraging a key language revitalisation approach and the re-engagement of natural intergenerational transmission of language, culture and identity.

This research contributes to understandings of the way in which speaker community development, and thereby language revitalisation, can contribute to the achievement of broader, non-linguistic gains for Māori. By understanding the broader outcomes derived from the activity of speaker communities, health, education and other sectors may be motivated to recognise the wide-ranging positive outcomes that may be achieved by groups such as those represented in the case studies.

Chapter Ten

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

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

New Zealand Māori is considered to be a threatened language. There are many practical and moral reasons why Māori language revitalisation should be a well-established endeavour in New Zealand. Māori are a reasonably large segment of New Zealand society (approximately 15%) and the size of the Māori language corpus is substantial. More than forty years has passed since a Māori language petition was delivered to Parliament (14 September, 1972), highlighting the urgent need to address Māori language decline. Coincidentally, at that time language revitalisation emerged as an area of study in literature. The widespread outcry that followed the announcement of the initial findings of Richard Benton's (1979) sociolinguistic survey of Māori language use in communities around the country, signalling the imminent demise of naturally occurring Māori language use, was the impetus for Māori language community action. It was the beginning of an extraordinary proliferation of community-based Māori language initiatives launched in the late 1970s and 1980s that responded to concerns for the future of Māori language.

This research suggests there are few such remaining community organisations today that are strongly centred on language revitalisation. The reason for the decline in the initial groundswell of community initiatives is not completely clear, however there are indications that there has been reduced attention given to intergenerational language transmission in the home. Leadership of initiatives has struggled to maintain the focus on community-based language use, given the strong political emphasis on Māori language acquisition and use for educational achievement and for economic development, that is, through gaining qualifications that lead to increased employment and business opportunities that incorporate Māori language. The dilemma is distinguishing between language revitalisation objectives that include the reinforcement of localised Māori worldviews and economic advancement objectives that are externally driven by market forces.

This research investigates the phenomena of practice aligned with language revitalisation by examining community-based settings of language use. The practice was demonstrated within the activities, experiences and aspirations of three community groups who have remained involved in revitalisation-based approaches since the 1980s and early 1990s. The study's intent was to better understand what these groups were doing that has allowed them to maintain their alignment with Māori language revitalisation. It investigated three key areas: the characteristics of Māori language revitalisation; the form of community development approaches used; and Māori health outcomes that arose from this practice.

The research was located within a constructivist paradigm, using a qualitative approach and case study methodology. Three groups participated in the research. They were Te Ataarangi, Te Reo o Whanganui and Te Kōpae Piripono. Organisational documents and archival data were reviewed and in-depth open-ended interviews were carried out with knowledgable group representatives.

Language revitalisation was identified as a core focus of the three case study organisations. The groups demonstrated areas of commonality and of difference in the way that language revitalisation was being implemented. Three areas of commonality were identified. The groups actively managed Māori immersion settings (or domains of language use) where strict preference was given to the practical application of Māori language in daily life. All

groups were able to articulate an inspirational vision of their initiative that encouraged participants to commit to the groups' objectives and contribute to their effectiveness. A final area of commonality, and perhaps most important, was recognition that Māori language was not the core objective that underpinned their activity. Each group readily explained well-being objectives that motivated them to continue. They felt language acquisition was too narrow a focus to inspire engagement by participants. For example, Te Kōpae Piripono expected all participant whānau to speak Māori in the home environment. Those interviewed explained the importance of intergenerational language transmission as partly to provide a seamless extension between the immersion setting of the home and the immersion setting of the Centre. However, one of the most important motivating factors was the reestablishment of continuity with the authority and status that the ancestors possessed prior to the impact of colonisation, of land confiscation, and of war and imprisonment. Parents felt motivated to break the legacy of disempowerment and oppression in their own and their children's generation. Māori language proficiency was considered a key enabler in sustaining a secure cultural identity as a foundation for Māori community empowerment.

Areas of difference were identified in the approaches used for intergenerational language transmission. For example, Te Reo o Whanganui directed their attention to customary marae and regional events and gatherings of hapū. Language use was seen to be motivated by role-modelling secure identity and whānau, hapū and iwi leadership. Parents were thought to be motivated to speak Māori to their children because of a moral responsibility to ensure the status and respect in their regions and venues of cultural heritage, particularly marae. Another main point of difference, was the way regional language variation was promoted. Te Reo o Whanganui was the strongest of the case studies in terms of the use of a regional form of language and oral literature. Whereas Te Ataarangi kaiwhakaako, who offered immersion settings in urban centres, were less able to maintain many forms of language variation. They, therefore, encouraged each student to reconnect with the whakapapa networks of their inherited identity.

The research has presented two areas of new knowledge that relate to language revitalisation. The first area is the reconceptualisation of language revitalisation within the

notion of a community. New terminology, 'Speaker Community', is proposed to signal a shift in perspective in the way the process of restoring vitality to a threatened language is accomplished. Language vitality is understood to be a state of language strength that arises from the restoration of the conditions of resilience in use of a local language, in a community of native speakers, where another language is present and is dominant. Vitality should be considered the sustained existence of a speech community, an end goal for language revitalisation. Language revitalisation is a community level undertaking, applied as a means to achieve language vitality. Language revitalisation is shown in this research to be characterised by four features: the intergenerational transmission of cultural resources, inclusive of a threatened local language; the expression of a worldview relevant to the threatened language; the active management of immersion domains with strict preference given to the use of the threatened language; and, the empowerment of a community with a vision and self-determined authority to manage the conditions of language use. Speaker community is the social context in which language revitalisation is enacted. It denotes the formation of a collective with the specific intention of restoring the conditions necessary for a threatened language to become secure.

The second area of new knowledge is presented in Matua te Reo: Framework of Māori Health Outcomes sought within Speaker Communities. This framework addresses the question as to how speaker community development contributes to Māori health, and the positive health outcomes that directly result. The health outcomes identified, underpin a secure Māori identity (which is a core dimension of good health, 'as Māori') and are community defined. Therefore, the Framework highlights the role of speaker community development not only as a means to achieve linguistic outcomes, but also to achieve positive health outcomes. Language revitalisation seeks to restore the authority and influence of families and communities in managing patterns of local language use that resists an inherent tendency to shift patterns of use toward a dominant language also present in their society. Language shift also implies a shift in cultural norms and associated social identity. Māori health promotion seeks to enable Māori individuals and collectives to increase their control over the key determinants of health to achieve good health, as Māori. The Matua te Reo Framework presented in these findings advances the role of community-led initiatives of Māori language revitalisation as an expression of an authentic

Māori worldview held by a collective, as a key element of Māori health promotion. Speaker communities that enable intergenerational language transmission are also recognised to be self-priming, social mechanisms for the sustained transmission of collective cultural identity and the imparting of values and practices that support the achievement of positive health outcomes.

The Matua te Reo Framework, therefore, describes the relationship between Māori language revitalisation (through Speaker Community development) and the achievement of positive Māori health outcomes. Māori health outcomes are understood, from a Māori health promotion perspective, to be inclusive of a secure cultural identity. A shared, localised Māori worldview binds and empowers communities and drives their commitment to function collectively and overcome the onerous endeavour that is language revitalisation and the achievement of sustained positive Māori health outcomes. The Matua te Reo framework identifies whakapapa as a self-priming mechanism that enables a relevant worldview to be sustained through multiple generations.

The Framework's proposition may draw criticism, particularly within a social frame of reference that is sceptical of the feasibility and validity of community in addressing such important issues. This study provides evidence of functioning communities that can successfully achieve goals of both Māori language revitalisation and Māori health promotion.

The research examined three examples of how an authenitic worldview can be established and enhanced within contemporary forms of Māori community. Even in collectives that do not necessarily share a whakapapa connection their motivation for the intergenerational transmission of a cohesive worldview, along with its associated language, culture and identity, likely helps sustain the outcomes of their activities and their expression of well-being over multiple generations. Whakapapa connections, in such cases, are reinforced by linking to traditional whakapapa networks of identity. Language revitalisation not only supports but is itself also sustained by community development and an authentic local worldview. These are all core elements of Māori health promotion.

The Matua te Reo framework, therefore, proposes the reconceptualisation of language revitalisation as primarily a community-centred endeavour that supports vitality and security of language, culture and identity. These are the factors that give expression to being Māori and underpin the notion of well-being, as Māori.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS [74]

ā-iwi	of the tribe; tribal
āhuatanga Māori	Māori traditions
Aotea	a ancestral canoe, a marae in South Taranaki
Aotearoa	New Zealand, original name for North Island
ariki	leader at tribal level
Atihaunui	shortened name for the tribe Te Ati Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi
atua	god, gods
Awanuiārangi	ancestor of Te Atiawa tribe
haka	Māori performing art; war dance
hapori	community
hapori whānui	wider community/society
hapū	sub-tribe
hauora	health
He Kāinga Kōrerorero	inter-generational Māori language revitalisation programme funded by Te Puni Kōkiri
He Korowai Oranga	Ministry of Health policy document, 2001
he moenga rangatira	a highborn union, marriage
He Pataka Kupu	Māori dictionary authored by the Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori)
He Taua	a Māori activist group
Hinengākau	ancestor of Whanganui tribes
Hoani Waititi Marae	West Auckland marae
hui	meeting, gathering
hui-ā-tau	annual meeting, gathering
Hui Taumata	Māori Economic Summit, 1984
Hui Whakaoranga	Māori Health planning workshop at Hoani Waititi Marae, 1984
iwi	tribe
iwi tapu	sacred tribe
Ka Awatea	Māori Affairs policy document
Ka Hikitia	Māori Education Strategy, 2008 - 2012
kai	food

74 Definitions are given in the context of this thesis and may not be generically applicable.

kaiāwhina	supporter, helper
kaikarakia	religious Minister, leader of incantations or prayers
kaikaranga	ceremonial caller
kaikōrero	orator
kaimoana	seafood
kāinga	home
kaitiaki	guardian
Kaitiaki	teacher at Te Kōpae Piripono
kaitiakitanga	an ethical principle denoting guardianship, stewardship
kaiwhakaako	teacher
kanohi kitea	presence and participation, face-to-face
kapa haka	Māori cultural performance
karakia	prayer
karanga	ceremonial call
kaumātua	elder/s
kaupapa	subject, topic
kaupapa Māori	a Māori philosophical framework
kāwanatanga	governance
kawa	protocol
Kia Uruuru mai a Hauora	evidence-based Māori Health Promotion framework
Kīngitanga	Māori King Movement
Kirikiriroa	a place

koha	contribution, gift
kōhanga reo	total immersion pre-school
kōrero	to speak, talk, discuss
kotahitanga	an ethical principle denoting solidarity and the worth of people, unity
kura	school; traditional form of knowledge
kura kaupapa Māori	total immersion primary schools
mana	a principle denoting status, prestige, dignity, autonomy
mana ake	authority dimension of Te Wheke concept of Māori health
mana motuhake	concept of self determination
mana whakahaere	concept of authority to achieve self determination, Durie, 1998
mana whenua	tribal land tenure
Manatū Māori	Ministry of Māori Affairs
manuhiri	visitors
Manukau	place
manutea	trustees on Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi
marae	a traditional meeting centre often comprising of a formal courtyard, meeting house(s) and a dining house
marae matua	parent marae
mātauranga	knowledge, education
mate	spirit of ancestors
Mā te Reo	Government Māori language fund
Matua te Kore	absolute void
mau rākau	Māori weaponry
maunga	mountain
mauri	life force
Mauriora	aspect of Te Pae Mahutonga Māori Health Promotion scheme
mouri	life force
Muriwhenua	a tribe
Ngā Manukura	aspect of Te Pae Mahutonga Māori Health Promotion scheme
Ngā Matatini	diversity principle proposed by Durie, 1995
Ngā Muka	Māori language programme
Ngā Rauru	a tribe

Ngā Tamatoa	a Māori activist group
Ngā Wahine Toko i te Ora	Māori Women's Welfare League
Ngāi Tahu	a tribe
Ngāmotu	New Plymouth
Ngāti Kahungunu	a tribe
Ngāti Kurī	a tribe
Ngāti Maru	a tribe
Ngāti Mutunga	a tribe
Ngāti Porou	a tribe
Ngā Pūwaiwaha	a marae in Taumarunui
Ngāti Rangi	a tribe
Ngāti Raukawa	a tribe
Ngāti Ruakā	a tribe
Ngāti Ruanui	a tribe
Ngāti Tamahaki	a tribe
Ngāti Toa	a tribe
Ngāti Whātua	a tribe
ora	health
oranga	health, well-being
Ōtaki	a place
pā	a Māori village
paepae	place reserved for formal speakers and callers during ceremonies
pahake	elderly
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
papakāinga	collective housing complex
Papatūānuku	earth mother
Parihaka	a settlement south of New Plymouth
poi	Māori performing art
poipoi	recital of genealogy while performing poi
poi karaipiture	poi recital of bible scriptures
poi manu	poi recital of incantations
Pokairua Te Taurahere	Diploma in Whanganui Reo (Oral Tradition)
Pōkaitahi Ngā Muka o Te Reo o Whanganui	High proficiency Māori language programme of Te Reo o Whanganui

pou	pillar of support
pouako	teacher
Pūao-te-Atatū	Ministerial Advisory Committee's report for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986
pukenga	person with high level of knowledge
Puna Reo	Māori language immersion-based centre under Education Act 1989
Pūtiki	a marae
Rānana	a marae
Rangahaua	Māori Studies Faculty at Wanganui Regional Community Polytechnic
rangatahi	youth
rangatira	leader
rangatiratanga	chieftainship, leadership
Ranginui	sky father
Ratana	movement led by T. W. Ratana
Raukawa	a tribe
Rauru-kī-tahi	ancestor of Ngā Rauru tribe
rohe	region, area
rōpū	group
Ruakā	ancestor of Whanganui tribes
Rua-Taranaki	ancestor of Taranaki tribe
Ruapehu	a mountain
Ruātoki	a place
rūnanga	a council, tribal council, assembly, board
Rūnanga-ā-Reo	language revitalisation regional associations
taha	side, dimension
taha hinengaro	mental aspect
taha tinana	physical aspect
taha wairua	spiritual aspect
taha whānau	social/family aspect
taiaha	weapon
Taimaru	Te Reo o Whanganui youth programme
Tainui	ancestral canoe of Waikato people; a region
Tainui-Āwhiro	a tribe

takawaenga	regional representative within Te Ataarangi
Tamarau	ancestor of Te Atiawa tribe
tamariki	children
Tama-ūpoko	ancestor of Whanganui tribes
Tamakehu	ancestor of Whanganui tribes
Tāmaki-makaurau	a region
Tāne te Tokorangi	one of offspring of Ranginui (sky) and Papatūāknuku (earth)
tangata whenua	home people
tangi	to cry, mourn
tangihanga	mourning ritual often carried out over a number of days
taonga	treasure
taonga tuku iho	cultural heritage
tapu	sacred, restricted
Taranaki	a tribe; a region in the west of the North Island
tātai whakapapa	genealogy
tauiwi	person other than of Māori descent
Taumarunui	a place
Taura Here	graduate programme at Te Wānanga o Whanganui
tawhito	a person with a high level of knowledge
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world, as opposed to Te Ao Whānui, the wider world
Te Ao Mārama	the realm of being, world of light
Te Ao Tūroa	the natural world
Te Ao Whānui	the wider world, as opposed to te Ao Māori, the Māori world
Te Arawa	a tribe
Te Ataarangi	a community-based Māori language immersion approach
Te Ati Awa	a tribe
Te Ati Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi	a tribe
Te Awa Tupua	Exhibition on the Whanganui river at Te Papa Tongarewa, 2003-2006
Te Awanuiarua	alternative name for the Whanganui river
te ha a koro ma a kui ma	heritage dimension of Te Wheke concept of Māori health
Te Huatahi	Māori performing arts group in Taranaki
Te Kāhui Maunga	cluster of mountains in central North Island
Te Kakano o Te Ataarangi	Te Ataarangi programme in Wairoa

Te Kaunihera o Ngā Neehi Māori o Aotearoa	National Māori Nurses Association
Te Kōhanga Reo Trust	Māori language preschool national body
Te Komiti Matua	parent body of Te Ataarangi
Te Kōpae	shortened name of Taranaki Māori immersion early childhood centre – Te Kōpae Piripono
Te Kōpae	Māori language unit at Wanganui Regional Community Polytechnic
Te Kōpae Piripono	Taranaki Māori immersion early childhood centre
Te Kōpae Tamariki kia U te Reo	Taranaki kohanga reo
Te Kōpua	Raglan Golf Course
Te Korekore, te kore	the realm of potential being, the nothingness
Te Korimako o Taranaki	Māori radio station in Taranaki
Te Kotahitanga	educational initiative designed by Bishop et al
Te Kura Motuhake o Te Ataarangi	Private Training Establishment (PTE) under Te Ataarangi
Te Mana me te Wehi	fourth level of Te Ataarangi grogramme
Te Mana Whakahaere	aspect of Te Pae Mahutonga Māori Health Promotion scheme
Te Matatiki	Māori dictionary authored by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo (the Māori Language Commission)
Te Ohu Rata o Aotearoa	Māori Medical Practitioners Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Te Oranga	aspect of Te Pae Mahutonga Māori Health Promotion scheme
Te Oru Rangahau	conference regarding Māori and research in 1998
Te Pāpaka-nui-a-Māui	a grouping of Te Ataarangi based in Australia
Te Pae Mahutonga	Māori Health Promotion model
Te Papa Tongarewa	the Museum of New Zealand
Te Pihi Mata	Partington photograph exhibition at the Whanganui Regional Museum, 2007-2009
Te Pihipihinga	Māori immersion primary school in New Plymouth
Te Pō	the realm of becoming, the night
Te Pou Tiringa	governing board of Te Kōpae Piripono
Te Puni Kōkiri	Ministry of Māori Development
Te Rākeitanga	third level of Te Ataarangi programme
te reo Māori	Māori language
Te Reo o Taranaki	community-based language group in Taranaki

Te Reo o Whanganui	community-based language group in Whanganui
te reo rangatira	Māori language
Te Roopu Awhina ki Porirua Trust	Wellington Maori urban authority
Te Roopu Manaaki	Māori cultural group associated with Hoani Waititi marae
Te Rōpū Whakahaere	management committee of Te Kōpae Piripono
Te Runanga a Iwi o Te Oranga Ake	urban Māori authority
Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa Charitable Trust	Hamilton Māori urban authority
Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu	Ngāi Tahu tribal authority
Te Runanga o Ngā Matā Waka Inc	Christchurch Māori urban authority
Te Runanga o Ngāti Awa	Ngāti Awa tribal authority
Te Runanga o Te Ataarangi	Te Ataarangi authority
Te Taura Whiti i te Reo Māori	Māori Language Commission
Te Tairawhiti	a region
Te Taitokerau	a region
Te Tauihu	a region
Te Tinana	second level of Te Ataarangi programme
Te Tira Hoe Waka	annual canoe pilgrimage along the Whanganui river
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Te Tirohanga Roa ki te Paerangi	Te Ataarangi programme in Taranaki
Te Tuara	first level of Te Ataarangi programme
Te Upoko-o-te-Ika	a region
Te Wainuiarua	alternative name for the Whanganui river
Te Waipounamu	the original name for the South Island; a region
Te Wānanga Māori	Māori Studies section at Taranaki polytechnic
Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa	Māori tertiary education institution in Ōtaki
Te Whānau o Waipereira	West Auckland urban Māori authority
Te Whare Tapawhā	a Māori model of health
Te Whare Ahorangi	community-based Māori language project
Te Whare Wānanga o Awaniārangi	Māori tertiary education institution in Whakatane
Te Whāriki	Ministry of Education’s early childhood policy statement, 1996
Te Wheke	a Māori model of health
tikanga	Māori process, customs
tinana	body; the physical

tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
Tira Ahu Iwi	Iwi Transition Agency
Titirangi	mountain-range associated with Hoani Waititi marae in West Auckland
Toiora	aspect of Te Pae Mahutonga Māori Health Promotion scheme
Tongariro	a mountain
Tuhoetanga	affiliation to the Tuhoe tribe
TūKaikaha Whānau	Māori language community project
Tukutuku Kōrero	pilot Māori language programme funded by te Puni Kōkiri in 2005
Tumu	director at Te Kōpae Piripono
Tumukātake	director at Te Kōpae Piripono responsible for curriculum, teaching and learning
Tumukāuru	director at Te Kōpae Piripono responsible for overall management
Tumu Whakahaere	chief executive of Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi
Tūpoho	ancestor of Whanganui tribes
tūpuna	ancestors
tūrangawaewae	land base
uhunga	mourning process
uri	descendant
urupā	graveyard
wahaatai	genealogical sequence
Waiariki	a region
waiata	song
Waikato	a tribal region
Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust	trust established to manage Waikato tribe's settlement assets
Waiora	aspect of Te Pae Mahutonga Māori Health Promotion scheme
Waitaha	South Island tribe
Waitākere	river associated with Hoani Waititi marae
Waitangi	place in Northland where Treaty of Waitangi was signed
wairua	spirit
wairuatanga	an ethical principle denoting spirituality
Waiwhetu	a place

waka	canoe
wānanga	Māori higher institution of learning; traditional form of knowledge
whaikōrero	formal speechmaking
Whaingaroa	a place
Whakaako	concept of Ngāti Kahungunu tribe’s language planning framework
whakakotahi	unity
Whakamahi	concept of Ngāti Kahungunu tribe’s language planning framework
Whakamana	concept of Ngāti Kahungunu tribe’s language planning framework
whakamana	legitimation
Whakaoho	concept of Ngāti Kahungunu tribe’s language planning framework
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatauākī	proverbial saying in which circumstances of the identity of the person who coined the saying is known
whakataukī	proverbial saying in which the information regarding the specific context or individual is not known
Whakatupuranga Rua Mano	Generation 2000 tribal strategy of the Raukawa Maori trustees
Whakawhanaunga	concept of Ngāti Kahungunu tribe’s language planning framework
whakawhanaungatanga	interconnectedness
whānau	family, usually encompassing wider membership than the nuclear family
whanaungatanga	an ethical principle denoting connectedness to Māori collectives
Whānau Ora	policy strategy of current National government
Whanganui	name of large river; a city in the west North Island
whare	house
wharekura	Māori language immersion schools
wharenui	meeting house
whatumanawa	identity, emotional dimension
Whatuwhiwhi	a place
whenua	land; afterbirth

Appendix One

Case Study Participant Information Sheet

School of Public Health
Massey University
Private Bag 11 222
Papaioea 4442

CASE STUDY PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher: Ruakere Hond

Kaupapa: 'Identity-based community development as a mechanism for sustainable pathways in Māori health promotion - The role of Māori language revitalisation programmes.'

Tēnā koe, tēnā koutou e ngā ringaringa, e ngā waewae ki te ohu whakaora reo otirā ko te whakapiki ora ki ō tātou iwi. Koinei tāku, he oha, he mihi ki ō koutou kaha koia i kikokiko ai ērā o ō koutou wawata, koia i para ai ō koutou huarahi. Ehara i te mea ka noho mokemoke noa koutou, engari anō ko te kōangiangi o ngai ihiihi, o ngai wanawana e mārama nei ki ngā ara kōpikopiko ki te taumata o te ora. Anei au e whakapā atu ana nā runga i te ara kua whāia, nā runga i ngā taumata kua ēkena. Tēnā anō koutou e kite nei i te ora i roto i te mate, o tātou tini mate, otirā, tō tātou māia tonu ki te hari i te ora.

He īnoi tonu tēnei ki a koe, ki a koutou kia kōrero tahi ai tāua/tātou mō ngā ara i whāia nei e koutou. He rangahau tēnei i te ara e tutuki ai ngā wawata ki te ora o tō tātou reo, o ō tātou whānau hoki. Ka koutu te tahā ki te wai o te ora. Kāore i te haere ki te pūwaha koutu ai, engari ki te mātāpuna. Kei reira te wai kātea. Kei reira te wai koropupū. Māu hei wherawhera? Mā wai atu rānei? Kei a koutou te kupu hei utu i tēnei īnoi.

Who is the Researcher?

Ruakere Hond (Taranaki, Ngāti Ruanui, Te Ati Awa, Whānau-a-Apanui). I am a doctoral student studying with Massey University in the School of Public Health towards a PhD in the field of public health.

This study is supervised by Professor Sir Mason Durie, Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Māori and Pacific), Massey University.

What is the study about?

Much of the ill health and early death suffered by Māori is preventable, and therefore there is an important role for Māori health promotion. However, a major challenge for Māori health promotion is how to initiate positive sustainable health outcomes that are driven and maintained by communities. The main purpose of this project is to investigate the potential of Māori identity-based community development (i.e. culturally-based action to strengthen localised Māori communities) to contribute to meeting the goals of Māori health promotion in a sustainable way. That is, to explore this approach and how it may enable communities themselves to support the transmission of positive health practices and outcomes over time.

Māori language revitalisation is a form of identity-based community development which supports the forming of speaker communities who use Māori language on a daily basis and for whom this is normal. This research involves three case studies of Māori language revitalisation initiatives and ten expert interviews as a basis for understanding identity-based community development as a mechanism for sustainable pathways in health promotion.

Findings from this research will inform Māori health promotion policy, funding and service delivery in communities. It is intended that this in turn will contribute to Māori living healthier and longer lives in the long term.

You are invited to participate in this research

Your kaupapa has been approached because it represents at least one of the key focus areas of a range of community development responses that potentially have positive health pathways within reo and tikanga initiatives. Your mahi is an excellent example of community development support. If you and your organisation are willing to participate in this study the information you provide will be carefully considered alongside the two other initiatives that are case studies in this research. In total, across the three initiatives (including your own) that we hope to include in the research, it is intended that up to 12 participants will be interviewed. That is, up to four participants from each initiative. The number of interviews is based on what has worked well in the past on similar research projects.

What will my participation involve?
If you agree to participate in the research you will be asked to take part in an interview with the researcher of approximately 90 minutes duration. Interviews may be carried out one-to-one, or in a group situation if you prefer (with other participating members of your initiative).

Will I be named in the research?
Participants have the option of being named, but you will only be named in the research reports if you have given the researcher permission to use your name. However, should you provide consent to use your name your rōpū should be informed as they may be able to be identified through you. For those who do not choose to be named, their identify will remain confidential and all data will be stored digitally with password protection. Paper copies of data will be stored separately from securely stored identifying information.

How will data be managed?
The information gathered during the interview will only be used for the purposes of this research project, unless those interviewed give the researcher permission for an audio recording of the interview to be released to a permanent digital archive of their choice. Participants who agree to their interview being sound recorded have the option of having their sound recording returned to them at the conclusion of the project. Otherwise, data will be kept securely for a period of five years after the end of the project at which time it will be securely disposed of. A summary of project findings will be provided to all interviewees.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation.

If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

1. decline to answer any particular question;
2. withdraw from the study (prior to write up of study findings);
3. ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
4. provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
5. be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded; and,
6. ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Note:
This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 11/27. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Julie Boddy, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A telephone 06 350 5799 x 2541, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor Mason Durie, Professor of Māori Research and Development, telephone 06 350 5109, email m.durie@massey.ac.nz.

If you have any questions about the research you can make contact with me through the contact details listed on the next page.

Heoi anō, ko tā ngā tūpuna kua mene ki te pō, he mana tō te kupu. Kāore au i te hiahia tūkino i tērā mana. Kei herea te reo, kei herea te tikanga, kei herea te tangata. Noho ora mai rā

Ruakere Hond
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Appendix Two

CASE STUDY - INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

KEY INFORMATION INTERVIEW CONSENT AGREEMENT

Researcher's Name: Ruakere Hond

Research Topic: 'Identity-based community development as a mechanism for sustainable pathways in Māori health promotion – The role of Māori language revitalisation programmes.'

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree / do not agree to the interview being sound recorded. (Circle one)

I agree / do not agree to being identified as a participant of the study (Circle one)

I wish / do not wish to have my recordings returned to me. (Circle one)

I wish / do not wish to have data placed in an archive (Circle one) ... if so the archive is

....

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Please note: This consent may also be given orally in the form of an audio recording

Written Consent

Signature: .... **Date:** ....

Full Name - printed ....

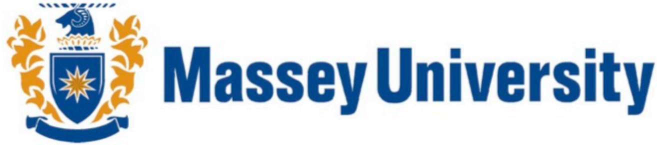
Oral Consent

Witness Signature: .... **Date:** ....

Witness Name ....

A p p e n d i x   T h r e e

CASE STUDY - RŌPŪ PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM



School of Public Health
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Private Bag 11 222
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RŌPŪ PARTICIPANT CONSENT AGREEMENT

Researcher's Name: Ruakere Hond

Research Topic: 'Identity-based community development as a mechanism for sustainable pathways in Māori health promotion - The role of Māori language revitalisation programmes.'

We/I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to us. Our questions have been answered to our satisfaction, and we understand that we may ask further questions at any time.

We/I agree / do not agree to the interview being sound recorded. (Circle one)

We/I agree / do not agree to being identified as a participant of the study (Circle one)

We/I wish / do not wish to have our recordings returned to us. (Circle one)

We/I wish / do not wish to have data placed in an archive (Circle one). If so the archive is

....

We/I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Please note: Group and individual consent may also be given orally and audio recorded.

Written Consent

Signature(s): .... **Date:** ....

Full Names - printed ....

Oral Consent

Witness Signature: .... **Date:** ....

Witness Name ....

Appendix Four

CASE STUDY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CASE STUDY – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Thesis Topic:

How can programmes of Māori language revitalisation enhance Māori Health promotion?

Main Question:

How can identity-based community development, in the form of Māori language revitalisation, facilitate intergenerationally sustainable outcomes in Māori health.

Questions:

1. Describe your initiative/kaupapa … in particular, what are its distinctive features?
2. What were/are the key motivations for establishing and maintaining your activity/kaupapa?
3. Describe the community that is associated with your kaupapa and its maintenance
4. Describe the contribution of your initiative to 'identity-based community development'.
5. What are the key outcomes that have come from your kaupapa to date?
6. What is the role of reo revitalisation in your kaupapa and how does it impact on your community?
7. Does your kaupapa enhance Māori control over those factors that impact on Māori wellbeing? If yes, how?

A p p e n d i x   F i v e

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

School of Public Health
Massey University
Private Bag 11 222
Papaioea 4442

"How Can Programmes of Māori Language Revitalisation Enhance Health Promotion for Māori?"

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I .... (Full Name - printed)

agree to keep confidential all information concerning the study titled above being conducted by Ruakere Hond.

I will not retain or copy any information involving the project.

Signature: .... Date: ....

Appendix Six

TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

School of Public Health
Massey University
Private Bag 11 222
Papaioea 4442

"How Can Programmes of Māori Language Revitalisation Enhance Health Promotion for Māori"

TRANSCRIBER'S CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I .... (Full Name - printed)

agree to transcribe the recordings provided to me.

I agree to keep confidential all the information provided to me.

I will not make any copies of the transcripts or keep any record of them, other than those required for the project.

Signature: .... Date: ....

Appendix Seven

ETHICS APPROVAL NOTIFICATION

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

FILE

15 June 2011

Mr Ruakere Hond
64C Whiteley Street
NEW PLYMOUTH 4310

Dear Ruakere

Re: **HEC: Southern A Application – 11/27**
Identity-based community development as a mechanism for sustainable pathways in health promotion for Māori – The role of Māori language revitalisation programmes

Thank you for your letter dated 2 June 2011.

On behalf of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A I am pleased to advise you that the ethics of your application are now approved. Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch, Acting Chair
Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A

cc Professor Sir Mason Durie
Research Centre for Maori Health & Development
PN601

Professor Tai Black
School of Maori Studies
PN601

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

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