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**‘Te Kawau Mārō’**

**The role of media in revitalising te reo Māori**

A three paper thesis  
submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

*Master of Arts*

at

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by

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## ABSTRACT

The intent of this thesis is to investigate the role media plays in relation to the revitalisation of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand society. This is essential as the media's latent potential is often underestimated and therefore underutilised.

For Māori and inevitably te reo Māori, media has been a topic of heated contestation for over a century. It is postulated that throughout this troubled history, media's influence has contributed to an erosion of te reo Māori and then conversely, since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, its attempted revival. The journey of te reo Māori from past to present may be likened to a voyage of a traditional 'waka hourua' (voyaging or double hulled canoe). 'Nga ngaru e toru' ('three waves') illustrates the three stages that I have defined as catalysts significantly impacting te reo Māori.

Grounded firmly in a Kaupapa Māori methodological and theoretical framework based on careful research and intimate cultural knowledge, my innovative approaches to language revitalisation entitled the *Tapatoru (triangle) Model 1* and *Tapatoru Model 2* will be introduced and explained. These distinct language revitalisation paradigms illustrate the core ingredients needed in effective language revival and illustrate the positioning and function of the media within these strategic models.

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This thesis is dedicated to the successful revival of te reo Māori.

## TE KAWAU<sup>i</sup>

This thesis is named after the ‘Kawau’,<sup>ii</sup> a generic term for various species of cormorants or shags. In Māoridom, specific to the Maniapoto iwi, the Kawau are headstrong sea birds that symbolise conventions of strength, determination and unity (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2006). When flying above the ocean, once a Kawau sees prey, it will dive towards its target, with nothing else affecting its focus. These extraordinary birds were selected to represent my thesis, as they symbolise the essence of my distinct paradigms (the *Tapatoru Model 1* and *Tapatoru Model 2*), presented later in this thesis, which are driven by the same principles that characterise the Kawau. The following proverb expresses the essence of these birds, “kia mau ki tena. Kia mau ki te kawau mārō”, translated as: “hold fast to the swoop of the cormorant!”<sup>iii</sup> The philosophy underpinning this axiom is: “our future wellbeing will be determined by the strength of our commitment to stand together united in spirit, mind and purpose” (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2006).

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<sup>i</sup> This photograph of a shag is titled ‘Looking forward’. It was taken at Matapaua Bay, Coromandel Peninsula on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2010.

<sup>ii</sup> For more information on the Kawau see *Chapter 3*, section 3.8.1.

<sup>iii</sup> This proverb and its translation were retrieved from the Naumaiplace.com website (2006, pp. 31-32).

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
TE KAWAU.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
GLOSSARY OF TE REO MĀORI TERMS.....	viii

## CHAPTER 1:

PART A: INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH.....	1
1.1    Rationale and aim .....	1
1.2    Kaupapa Māori theory introduction.....	2
1.3    Terminological issues.....	4
PART B: METHODOLOGY.....	6
1.4    Introduction.....	6
1.5    Kaupapa Māori methodological approach.....	6
1.6    Focus groups.....	8
1.7    Interviews .....	11
1.8    Thesis summary .....	14

CHAPTER 2: THE HISTORY AND COLONISATION OF TE REO MĀORI.....	16
2.1    Introduction.....	16
2.2    Wave 1: European invasion.....	19
2.3    Wave 2: Assimilation of Māori.....	24
2.4    Wave 3: Rediscovering Māori cultural identity, Māori renaissance..	29
2.5    Conclusion.....	35

CHAPTER 3: LANGUAGE REVITALISATION.....	36
3.1    Introduction.....	36
3.2    Language revitalisation concepts.....	37
3.3    Achieving language revitalisation.....	40
3.4    Normalisation.....	41
3.5    Language shift.....	42

3.6	Language death.....	43
3.7	Endangered languages.....	44
3.8	Language strategies.....	45
3.8.1	Tapatoru Model 1.....	46
3.8.2	Education.....	49
3.8.3	Community support.....	51
3.8.4	Home support.....	52
3.8.5	Intergenerational transmission.....	53
3.9	Media and te reo Māori revitalisation.....	54
3.10	Conclusion.....	58
CHAPTER 4: THE STATUS OF TE REO MĀORI.....		60
4.1	Introduction.....	60
4.2	Is te reo Māori a dying language?.....	61
4.3	Characteristics of te reo Māori speakers.....	64
4.4	Te reo Māori revitalisation: by age.....	65
4.5	Te reo Māori revitalisation: by ethnicity.....	68
4.6	Benefits of speaking a second language.....	73
4.7	The future of te reo Māori.....	74
4.8	Conclusion.....	75
CHAPTER 5: LANGUAGE REVITALISATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES.....		77
5.1	Introduction.....	77
5.2	Hawaii.....	79
5.3	Ireland.....	82
5.4	Wales.....	85
5.5	Conclusion.....	87
CHAPTER 6: MĀORI TELEVISION AND MANA MAGAZINE ANALYSIS.....		90
6.1	Introduction.....	90
6.2	Māori Television analysis.....	90
6.3	Mana Magazine analysis.....	99
6.4	The most effective medium in revitalising languages.....	100
6.5	Story: every individual can count.....	101



6.6	Conclusion.....	102
CHAPTER 7: NEW IDEAS IN REVITALISING TE REO MĀORI.....		104
7.1	Introduction.....	104
7.2	Media convergence.....	105
7.3	Focus group results.....	106
7.4	Exploring new mediums.....	114
7.5	Tapatoru Model 2.....	118
7.6	Conclusion.....	121
CHAPTER 8: THESIS CONCLUSION.....		123
REFERENCES.....		129
APPENDICES.....		151
<i>Appendix 1: Focus group advertisement.....</i>		152
<i>Appendix 2: Participant consent form.....</i>		153
<i>Appendix 3: Focus group research information sheet.....</i>		155
<i>Appendix 4: Focus group survey.....</i>		157
<i>Appendix 5: Focus group presentation.....</i>		160
<i>Appendix 6: Ethnic groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand (2001-2006) census..</i>		163
<i>Appendix 7: Māori speakers in the 2006 census.....</i>		164
<i>Appendix 8: Māori population in the 2006 census.....</i>		164



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Tapatoru Model 1.....	47
Figure 2: Opinion poll on Māori Television’s perceived worth.....	94
Figure 3: Pilot group’s icon, Māori warrior.....	107
Figure 4: Focus group 1’s icons. Māori Pronunciation for Dummies and Whānau.....	109
Figure 5: Focus group 2’s icon A, Whetū Waiata symbol and slogan.....	111
Figure 6: Focus group 2’s icon B, Whetū Waiata motif and slogan.....	112
Figure 7: Focus group 3’s icon, Māori-o/Māori-bro.....	114
Figure 8: Tapatoru Model 2.....	119

## GLOSSARY OF TE REO MĀORI TERMS

Aotearoa	the original name for New Zealand, translated as ‘land of the long white cloud’
aroaha	love
haka	traditional dance
iwi	tribe (a confederation of hapū related by one main ancestor)
kaiāwhina	support
kaitiakitanga	guardian
karanga	call, shout
kaumātua	elder
kaupapa	cause, purpose, strategy
kaupapa Māori	policies, rules of an operation
kawau mārō	a generic term for cormorants or shags
kia ora	hello, thanks
Kiwi	Aotearoa/New Zealand’s national bird and an alternative name for a New Zealander
koha	donation, gift
kōhanga reo	early childhood Māori language nest
koro	elderly man, grandfather
koru	fern, frond
kotahitanga	unity
kuia	elderly female
kupuhuna	password
kura kaupapa Māori	te reo Māori immersion primary school
mana	integrity, power, prestige, effectiveness, charisma
marae	meeting house
mauri	life essence
mere	short, flat club
mokopuna	grandchild, grandchildren
nga ngaru e toru	three waves

Papatūānuku	the earth, Earth Mother
pare	tip, head
parirau	wings, flanks
patu	weapon, beater, bat
Ranginui	great sky, Sky Father
taiaha	long club
tāmoko	Māori tattoo
tangata Māori	ordinary, natural people
taonga	treasured possession
tapatoru	triangle
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te ao Pākehā	the Pākehā world
Te Ātaarangi	Māori immersion school for adults, translated as ‘shadow’
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te Tiriti	the Treaty (of Waitangi)
tewhatewha	long axe-shaped club
tupuna	ancestors or grandparents
wahaika	short club
waiata	song
wairua	spirit, soul
waka hourua	voyaging canoe, double-hulled canoe
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	extended family
whāriki	woven mat, carpet
whetū	star

# CHAPTER 1: PART A

## INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

*Tōku reo, tōku ohoo; tōku reo, tōku māpihi maurea;  
tōku reo, tōku whakakai mārihi.*<sup>1</sup>



- 1.1 Rationale and aim
- 1.2 Kaupapa Māori theory introduction
- 1.3 Terminological issues

### 1.1 Rationale and aim

Te reo Māori (the Māori language) has always been a part of my life that I could never fully embrace or appreciate until recently. Prior to attending university I grew up in two small Māori communities; Te Teko and Kawerau. Although the majority of the population were of Māori descent, te reo Māori was not the primary language. As a child I attended kōhanga reo (te reo Māori immersion pre-school) and kura kaupapa Māori (te reo Māori immersion primary school). At the age of six, my father discovered I was finding difficulty constructing sentences in English, so I was removed from kura kaupapa and forced to attend an English-speaking school. My father feared I would grow up incompetent in English if I remained at a Māori immersion school, and therefore be disadvantaged in the educational system. Though my parents valued education highly, they did not see the value of te reo Māori incorporated in the educational system. My father's opinion of the language was "te reo is a bum subject" and "it will get you nowhere", and my mother was supportive of these views. From primary through to high school I was often reminded of my father's agenda and advised not to study te reo Māori. As a result, I grew up believing that learning te reo had no benefits. Then one day I had a revelation, that as a Māori

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning: 'My language is my treasure, my language is an object of affection, my language is a precious ornament, my language is priceless'. This proverb sets the tone of this thesis, emphasising the invaluable nature of language (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, 2009, p. 22) (see also [www.tetaurawhiri.govt](http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt)).

individual, te reo is the core of my identity and its value is priceless. Economic factors were besides the point. Why do many Māori feel negatively about te reo? Why do few grow up speaking it? Why do numerous parents avoid teaching their children te reo? These questions combined with my passion for media and wanting to ensure the survival of te reo provided motivation for undertaking this thesis. I feel since I am not a fluent speaker of te reo, I am deprived of a vital part of my identity as Māori.

Driven by my experience and passion, I formulated the research questions: “how are media being utilised to significantly and successfully aid the revitalisation of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand?” and “how can this be improved?” I have acknowledged that there are challenges to anticipate when researching these questions, primarily the issue that they can not be accurately tested. However, this is a problem that all researchers confront when conducting research on the effectiveness of media. I will address this by utilising qualitative methods through secondary research, interviews and focus group material. Additionally, there are two vital aims within this thesis, firstly to explore the role of media in revitalising te reo Māori and secondly to make a valuable contribution towards the revival of te reo.

I have hypothesised that te reo Māori is currently under threat due to numerous factors and the purpose of this thesis is to examine solutions for revitalising this language, specifically by investigating the potential of media. I put forward that media in a variety of forms can greatly contribute towards the successful revival of te reo Māori in this country.

## **1.2 Kaupapa Māori theory introduction**

Akin to the process of weaving traditional patterns into whāriki (a woven mat), Māori concepts, philosophies and theories will be interlaced in this thesis for structure and guidance. Though specifics can vary between different hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribes), a kaupapa Māori approach was utilised when conducting primary research, as

a means of creating a culturally considerate and safe environment. This research method exists to provide a 'Māori-world-view', to understand the importance of relationships in the Māori context (Lewis, 2007) and hence, provided an important foundation for this thesis. Utilising Linda Smith's (1999, p. 125) definition, kaupapa Māori research entails "bringing to the centre and privileging indigenous values, attitudes and practices". It is a method which challenges Western ways of knowing, whilst providing validity for Māori knowledge, language and culture. Critical elements in kaupapa Māori theory entail 'being Māori', 'identifying as Māori' and 'as a Māori researcher' (Smith, 1999, p. 186). Cleve Barlow (1994, p. 43) defined it as the 'policy' or 'rules of an operation' arguing "it describes the rules (protocols) and functions to be carried out", such as speechmaking on a marae (meeting house). Kaupapa Māori theory is ultimately the practice and philosophy of being Māori and entails "Māori ways of thinking" and "Māori ways of doing things" (Smith, 1999, p. 188). Providing a Māori perspective is vital, since as colonised peoples Māori have often been oppressed and silenced.

Although kaupapa Māori theory is a core component within this thesis, Western knowledge through research and opinions will also be utilised. Smith (1999, p. 1991) argued "kaupapa Māori research is a social project; it weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism". Utilising both Māori and non-Māori perspectives is a valid approach, and I feel taking this stance will strengthen this thesis by acknowledging the legitimacy and difference of both Western and Māori aspects concerning non-Māori and Māori beliefs, opinions and ways of knowing.

'Mauri' ('life essence') is a vital concept strongly grounded in this thesis since it reflects my view on languages. I believe languages possess mauri and are living since they share human characteristics (they can be described as thriving, endangered, dying or dead) and are constantly changing alongside their community members. Barlow (1994, p. 83) asserted that almost everything has a mauri including people,

plants, animals, oceans or houses,<sup>2</sup> as well as the intangible such as language. Mauri can be described as a ‘binder’ or ‘the power to join’, and when a person is born for example; their body and spirit are bound together using mauri, which gives them life. When a person dies, their mauri can no longer bind their spiritual and physical parts together and they become lifeless. Thus, mauri distinguishes the spirit realm from the human world (Barlow, 1994, p. 83). Although mauri is a Māori concept it shares similar characteristics to animism,<sup>3</sup> a term prevalent in cultures worldwide. One theory underlying animism is teaching people the value of respecting others; living and non-living (Harvey, 2006, p. xi).

### **1.3 Terminological issues**

#### **Language revitalisation**

‘Language revitalisation’ is a central theme in this thesis and has been chosen over multiple synonyms (see *Chapter 3*).

#### **Māori, te reo and te reo Māori**

For clarity, in this thesis ‘Māori’ on its own will refer to the people, while ‘te reo’ and ‘te reo Māori’ will be used to indicate the language.

#### **Māori broadcasting**

‘Māori broadcasting’ has a core purpose of promoting te reo and the Māori culture whilst providing a Māori perspective (Hollings, 2005, p. 121). Since broadcasting includes only radio and television, I required a broader definition that encompassed all media, particularly gaming, print and new media. Based on Mike Hollings’ (2005) term, I formulated ‘Māori media’, which will be utilised in this thesis and includes

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<sup>2</sup> Barlow (1994, p. 83) stated when a house is built its mauri is established, becoming the sacred heart of the building. This mauri is the power obtained through a covenant with the gods to take care of the house and to fulfill the desires, hopes and wishes of the noble people who will use it.

<sup>3</sup> Animism is used in numerous ways; for example, the old usage includes “knowing what is alive and what makes a being alive” (Harvey, 2006, p. xi), such as a belief in spirits. A newer usage “refer(s) to a concern with knowing how to behave appropriately towards persons, not all of whom are human” (Harvey, 2006, p. xi). People who envision life utilising these outlooks are called animists.



media with a Māori focus, with the intention of promoting te reo and the Māori culture.

### **Māori history**

Many scholars believe ‘Māori history’ began from initial contact with Pākehā, as this instigated the production of literature to record history. The notion ‘prehistory’ was used to describe the years prior to this (King, 1997, pp. 7-9). I share a similar opinion to Michael King, who asserted this is nonsense. He argued that though literature is an important part of the historical process, Māori history did not come into existence with its birth. For example, this legacy is depicted through artifacts, Polynesian structures and the oral traditions of surviving tribes. Furthermore, Māori have occupied this country for more than 1,000 years, and to suggest they did not have a history before the arrival of Pākehā is a myth resulting from colonial discourse (Karetu et al., 1988-1989, p. 218).

### **Media**

‘Media’ is a complex term impossible to adequately articulate in a simple singular understanding. However, to hazard an unpretentious explanation, the term may be understood as an inextricably intertwined multitude of mediums including television, radio, print, gaming and digital technology such as the Internet.

### **Pākehā**

In this thesis ‘Pākehā’ refers to European New Zealanders who are of non-Māori descent (Sheehan, 1989, p. 5). In other words, this means non-Māori New Zealanders who are of predominantly European ancestry.

## CHAPTER 1: PART B

### METHODOLOGY

- 1.4 Introduction
- 1.5 Kaupapa Māori methodological approach
- 1.6 Focus groups
- 1.7 Interviews
- 1.8 Thesis summary

#### 1.4 Introduction

This section concentrates on the methodology applied in this thesis. A multi-method approach was utilised through use of qualitative methods, particularly focus groups and interviews. This technique is referred to by some as a mixed method approach due to its implementation of a variety of methodology (Tashakkori et al., 2003). Glynis Breakwell, Sean Hammond and Chris Fife-Schaw (1995, p. 3) defended this combined strategy asserting “all methods have weaknesses and limitations; therefore it is argued that theorists will want to have recourse to a variety of methods and will implement them in an integrated fashion”. The methodology utilised was guided by a kaupapa Māori approach.

#### 1.5 Kaupapa Māori methodological approach

A kaupapa Māori framework was undertaken in numerous ways. Firstly, the essence of this thesis is to aid te reo Māori, a topic which predominantly concerns ‘Māori wellbeing’ and involves ‘research undertaken by Māori’. Smith (1999, p. 191) stated “kaupapa Māori research... (is about) bringing into focus the research problems which are significant to Māori”, in this case, the language. The way in which I undertook research, by being ethically considerate and respecting the individuals who participated, was guided by a kaupapa Māori outlook and also fashioned to meet ethical obligations. Smith (1999, p. 191) further argued “the research approach also has to address seriously the cultural grounds of respect, of working with

communities, of sharing processes and knowledge”. This approach was applied by highly valuing the participants’ opinions and allowing every individual to be heard and have a voice. I treated every individual’s opinion as equally valuable. Furthermore, I demonstrated respect towards participants by giving them numerous options, such as anonymity upon request and the freedom to withdraw from research (prior to a specific date). In addition, they were well-informed of the research and were given a koha<sup>4</sup> (donation, gift): a symbol of my gratitude for their participation.

The most fundamental element within Māori communities is the ‘whānau’ (‘family’), defined as three or four generations represented by a single kaumātua (elder) in its traditional sense (Smith, 1999, p. 187; Pihama et al., 2002, p. 48). This term can also be applied as a way of undertaking research, in the form of focus groups. As argued by Roger Lewis (2007) a group project is more likely to be effective and stable if the relationships are based on whānau-type cultural values, customs and practices. These values might include: mutual sharing, nurturing and respect (Bishop, 1999, p. 4). This philosophical principle provided a guide for distributing tasks, ensured all participants’ opinions were voiced and warranted that ‘Māori values’<sup>5</sup> remained central to this thesis (Smith, 1999, p. 187). Smith (1999, p. 187) stated:

*in terms of research, the whānau is one of several Māori concepts which have become part of a methodology, a way of organizing a research group, a way of incorporating ethical procedures which report back to the community, a way of ‘giving voice’ to the different sections of Māori communities, and a way of debating ideas and issues which impact on the research project.*

The application of a whānau approach means an individual participant’s knowledge, when shared with others, is not theirs alone but also belongs to their whānau, hapū, iwi and ancestors who have passed on their teachings to these people (Lewis, 2007;

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<sup>4</sup> Barlow (1994: 49) stated that a koha is a donation, gift or contribution, given as offerings to hosts. Traditionally they consisted of food, however in modern day, they are usually monetary offerings.

<sup>5</sup> For example, respecting individuals, their time and opinions

Smith 1999, pp. 118 & 119). Utilising a whānau concept is effective when conducting research, to allow the incorporation of a range of skills, personalities and background knowledge needed to accomplish a set task. A number of whānau are referred to as a ‘hapū’. Barlow (1994, pg. 21) defined this concept as a “sub-division of a tribe”, whereby a number of hapū create an iwi. “The iwi is the largest political unit in Māori society” (Barlow, 1994, pg. 32). Hence, a whānau can be depicted as a small family unit, within a sub-tribe, located within an iwi.

## **1.6 Focus groups<sup>6</sup>**

Focus groups<sup>7</sup> were conducted to gain valuable, qualitative information and to analyse the general public’s opinions in terms of formulating new ideas to revitalise te reo Māori utilising various media. This often used method was preferable due to its practicality and capacity to gain a variety of opinions regarding a particular topic. Additionally, I undertook focus groups with the intention of gaining rich data, essential to support this thesis, particularly the development of *Chapter 7*.

One pilot and three focus group sessions were undertaken in Hamilton. The clusters ranged from three to five participants. It was mentioned by Ann Cronin (2008, p. 235) that “ideally, focus groups should consist of between six and ten people”. This is generally agreed upon as the standard and moderate size for conducting these sessions to gain a variety of opinions (Bouma, 2000, p. 181; Carey, 1994, p. 229; Cronin, 2008, p. 235). Though this was acknowledged, Cronin (2008, p. 235) also asserted “very small groups of three to four may be useful, particularly if... in-depth accounts are required” (see also Carey, 1994, p. 229). Small groupings were a necessary element for my research, considering I required in-depth, quality discussions to take place. My philosophy with research was to gain ‘quality’, not ‘quantity’, since I was not aiming to be representative of a wider community.

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<sup>6</sup> Due to ethical requirements, full focus group transcriptions will not be provided in the accompanying CD.

<sup>7</sup> A focus group is defined as “a group interview or discussion” (Cronin, 2008, p. 226) (see also Carey, 1994, p. 226). They are increasingly being used as a way of learning about public opinion on a variety of issues (Bouma, 2000, p. 181).

Furthermore, there are many limitations when conducting research using large groups, including difficulty engaging with all of the participants, absorbing every opinion, and keeping people comfortable (Carey, 1994, p. 229). It can be difficult to recruit great numbers of people to meet at a specific venue, at a set time. Cronin (2008, p. 235) highlighted some further limitations stating “running large groups poses a number of problems, resulting in data lacking both depth and substance”. If groups are too large this can lead to ‘social floating’: a phenomenon where participants do not feel the need to contribute, relying on the group to carry the discussion (Morgan, 1997). Hence, for practicality and in pursuit of detailed discussions, small groups were recruited.

The focus groups were conducted in March and April 2009, which ensured I had time to collect and collate the data. All participants had the option of being anonymous, and the members in the pilot group preferred this alternative, viewing this session as practice considering they were the test group. There was also one other participant who elected to be anonymous.

It was necessary for the recruited participants to have a genuine interest in te reo Māori and culture; however, it was not mandatory to speak the language. This prerequisite was designed to screen for participants familiar with Māori media companies, passionate about contributing insightful ideas to help maintain te reo and who would most likely enjoy participating. The participants were recruited through word of mouth and by use of advertisements (Appendix 1). Advertisements were distributed within the University of Waikato, Te Wananga o Aotearoa and at the Te Ātaarangi Campus in Hamilton.

A lecture room within I-block was selected at the University of Waikato. The space chosen was very accessible to the public and was favoured due to having projection facilities and a comfortable atmosphere. For these reasons, conversations could occur with ease, which was needed to create a relaxed, whānau environment.

The focus group method commenced with a pilot group session to gain an idea of the responses I might receive. With both the trial and actual sessions, I began by briefly introducing myself and the research project. Participants were then given three handouts: a consent form (Appendix 2), research information sheet (Appendix 3) and survey (Appendix 4). The consent form provided authorisation to conduct each session, to use the data and additionally gave participants the option of receiving a transcript of their group's discussion. My contact details along with my supervisor's email were included in this form. For ethical requirements it was obligatory for participants to sign the consent form prior to commencing the sessions and upon doing so each received a copy. The research information sheet outlined the project and justified the reasoning for the research needed in my topic. It also informed participants that they had the option of being anonymous and could withdraw from research prior to July 2009. The survey distributed was primarily designed to facilitate discussions within the sessions. Prior to beginning each group discussion, participants' voices were individually recorded to ensure I could recognise them when transcribing at a later date. They were asked the question "why is te reo Māori important to you?" Following a structured schedule, participants viewed a Power Point presentation and were asked step-by-step instructions on developing a Māori media design to effectively aid te reo Māori (Appendix 5). The next task involved the group reading through copies of *Mana Magazine* and viewing pre-recorded video clips from *Māori Television*. Subsequently, they were given questions specifically related to these companies. On completion of the set tasks, I expressed gratitude to participants and gave them a koha. On average, each focus group session lasted one hour.

To ensure important whānau values were maintained, I sought the assistance of a moderator who was selected prior to commencing each session. Their role was to facilitate discussions and ensure participants stayed on track with the activities set. Sharing control within the focus groups was essential for a kaupapa Māori approach: "researchers have to share their 'control' of the research and seek to maximize the

participation and interest of Māori” (Smith, 1999, p. 191). This was also vital to guarantee I did not impose on the group, to allow tasks to be completed efficiently and to balance the power dynamics between myself as the researcher and the participants.

As anticipated, the focus group method contained numerous advantages. I gained valuable opinions and it was only due to each group’s collective involvement that they were able to function to create new ideas to aid te reo Māori revitalisation, which was extremely useful for *Chapter 7*. I enjoyed listening to the participants’ diverse opinions and they helped me understand the value of my research through their enthusiasm about my topic. Overall, the members provided a valuable contribution to my thesis, for which I am very grateful.

With the focus group method I encountered the following drawbacks. Organisation of the sessions was time-consuming, as were transcribing and collating the data. A great deal of effort was required to design various documents and arrange the group gatherings. Another negative aspect was the difficulty recruiting participants to partake in the research, considering most of the people who I approached declined, and permission was required to display my advertisements. Organising a suitable time for all was also challenging and on a few occasions last-minute cancellations occurred.

## **1.7 Interviews<sup>8</sup>**

The core reason for conducting interviews was to gain opinions from experienced professionals in the Māori media industry, as well as academics specialising in language revitalisation. Interviews were an extremely useful method to gain valuable insider knowledge that only experienced academics in language revitalisation or Māori media professionals are familiar with. According to Nigel Fielding and Hilary Thomas (2008, p. 248) “interviews are often used to establish the variety of opinions

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<sup>8</sup> For full interview transcriptions refer to the CD in the back of this thesis.



concerning a topic”. Through this method I could gain answers to numerous questions specific and relevant to my thesis.

One pilot and six interviews were conducted: five face-to-face, one via telephone to Wellington and another through email. The pilot and four of the six interviews were recorded using a dictaphone. The interviews followed a semi-standardised<sup>9</sup> format employing open-ended questions, which were asked to gain quality information and avoid simple yes/no answers. The interviews were partially structured since key questions were asked to develop themes, although I had the flexibility of asking for more detail and was not forced to cover the questions in a particular order. This ensured I did not disrupt the flow of conversation, helping to create a relaxed atmosphere.

The participants were carefully selected based on their expertise or experience in the area of language revitalisation or profession in the Māori media industry. They were *Mana Magazine* editor Derek Fox, *Māori Television* head of current affairs Wena Harawira, Waikato University linguistics professor Dr. Ray Harlow, Waikato University Māori lecturer and Justice of the Peace Waldo Houia, *Māori Television* CEO Jim Mather and *Te Puni Kōkiri* representative Nadia Ward. I felt that the expertise of these participants would enhance my thesis since they could improve my understanding of languages, revitalisation and the Māori media industry. They could also provide perspectives that I could not obtain from reading books or journals.

The face-to-face interviews were mainly conducted in the interviewee’s offices, however, one was completed in an empty room. These private areas were preferable since participants tend to be comfortable in these spaces, which are generally quiet. The only distractions I could not remove were people interrupting the conversations by knocking on the door or cell phone calls. These disturbances were unavoidable

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<sup>9</sup> As stated by Fielding et al. (2008, p. 246) “semi-standardised interview(s); here the interviewer asks major questions the same way each time, but is free to alter their sequence and probe for more information”.

considering the people interviewed have demanding schedules. For example, during my interview with Mather we experienced a power-cut which had to be resolved promptly, as programmes needed to be aired within a few hours. Ward and Harawira's interviews were conducted from my home, which meant there were no such interruptions.

Prior to conducting interviews, a pilot was undertaken to test if I was asking effective questions, whether they were understandable and to develop an idea of the kinds of responses I might receive. The first task entailed giving interviewees a copy of their interview schedule<sup>10</sup> prior to the interview. There were two components of this schedule; the first consisted of a general set of questions asked of all participants, and the second a set of questions specific to the individual. The interviewees received an information sheet containing background on my thesis and a consent form which was signed prior to the interview. They were also given the option of being anonymous and were asked permission for a dictaphone to be used to record their voices. Using the interview schedule, I asked the questions displayed in an unstructured fashion. Some questions were answered earlier than anticipated due to the flexibility of the interviews. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to two hours, depending on the individual. On completion, I thanked each participant for their contribution and gave them a koha.

This method contained numerous advantages including gaining valuable information from knowledgeable and experienced people, specific and relevant to my thesis. I also gained up-to-date information. The interviewees helped me tremendously due to their expertise and insider knowledge. I also felt privileged to get the opportunity to meet and converse with people who are extremely passionate about my topic.

There were some problems encountered with the interview method. With one interviewee I was restricted from asking certain questions, particularly ones involving

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<sup>10</sup> Fielding et al. (2008, p. 246) mentioned that "the piece of paper that the interviewer holds is called the interview schedule".

their opinion. I assumed that this was due to the issue of privacy and perhaps their distrust of researchers. This resulted in gaining answers for only four of the 20 questions prepared. I was also prohibited from using a dictaphone which caused further difficulty in recording detailed information. In regard to this participant, this research method was not as effective as I had initially anticipated.

## **1.8 Thesis summary**

The opening chapter is divided into two sections. The first establishes the nature of this study, the aim, theoretical underpinnings and background; the next section introduces the methodology applied in this thesis, including focus groups and interviews.

*Chapter 2* provides the historical background of te reo, looking into how it has changed alongside media. It examines the struggles and successes the language has endured and divides this history into three stages which summarise the important events that have contributed to both the erosion and attempted rejuvenation of te reo Māori.

*Chapter 3* is a dissection of the theoretical ideas linked to language revitalisation, and its various concerns: language endangerment, language death and language shift. It addresses the question of the ideal target group in effective language revitalisation. Also, predictions on the future of te reo are evaluated. The *Tapatoru Model 1* will be discussed in this chapter and its importance as an essential structure examined. This diagram contains essential areas needed in effective language revitalisation. A central purpose of this model is to illustrate the position of media within the process of language revival.

*Chapter 4* is primarily concerned with addressing the current status of te reo in terms of whether it is a dying language. It looks at the age and ethnic demographics of te

reo Māori speakers. The importance of te reo Māori for all New Zealanders is evaluated.

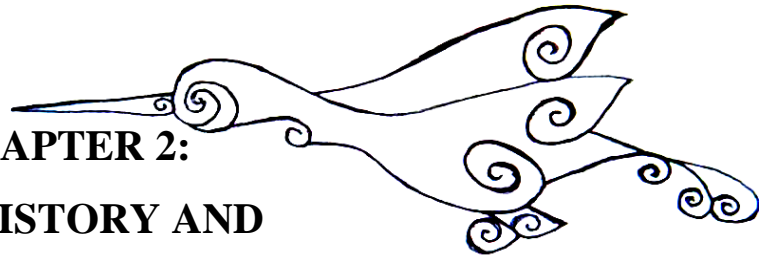
*Chapter 5* provides an analysis of how countries including Hawaii, Ireland and Wales have attempted to revitalise their indigenous languages. The intention is to evaluate how these countries are addressing language revitalisation and apply these as suggestions to improve the status of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

*Chapter 6* analyses Māori media companies *Māori Television* and *Mana Magazine* and explores their contributions to te reo Māori revival. This chapter seeks to explore the relative effectiveness of various media in revitalising languages.

*Chapter 7* investigates media's latent potential in aiding language revitalisation. Using discussions from the focus groups, this chapter provides an exploration of new ways to revitalise te reo Māori utilising various media. The *Tapatoru Model 2* is presented and is a representation of the ideal future of te reo Māori resulting from the recommendations this thesis provides.

*Chapter 8* summarises the key arguments highlighted in this thesis. Particular attention is concentrated on the research questions and hypotheses formulated.

## CHAPTER 2: THE HISTORY AND COLONISATION OF TE REO MĀORI



*Kaua e rangiruatia te hāpai o te hoe; e kore tō tātou waka e ū ki uta.*<sup>11</sup>

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Wave 1: European invasion
- 2.3 Wave 2: Assimilation of Māori
- 2.4 Wave 3: Rediscovering Māori cultural identity, Māori renaissance
- 2.5 Conclusion

### 2.1 Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to take readers on a journey which explores the history<sup>12</sup> of te reo Māori, including its struggles and successes, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the present. The 18<sup>th</sup> century marked the arrival of English explorer Captain James Cook in 1769, and heralded the beginning of numerous foreign encounters. I created an approach entitled ‘nga ngaru e toru’, which is represented by a historical timeline that divides Māori’s post-European contact history into three stages; ‘European invasion (1769-1850)’, ‘Assimilation of Māori (1867-1959)’ and ‘Rediscovering Māori cultural identity, Māori renaissance (1960-present)’. Te reo can be envisioned as a waka (canoe) which travels through these waves, being eroded or buoyed, but ultimately refashioned, depending on the nature of each wave. Māori have voyaged onboard this figurative waka working in unison to move forward. As this chapter will illustrate, Māori have endured many struggles to keep te reo buoyant. Media’s

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<sup>11</sup> Meaning: ‘Do not lift the paddle out of unison or our canoe will never reach the shore’. This proverb serves to emphasise the importance of working together to succeed (Mead et al. 2003, p. 193). These words of wisdom were selected to introduce this chapter since they reflect the analogy of te reo as a canoe and people working collectively to move the language forward into the future and ensure it prospers.

<sup>12</sup> See *Chapter 1*, section 1.3.

contribution to both the corrosion and rejuvenation of this waka (te reo Māori) will be explored in this chapter.

The word ‘Māori’ was originally used to denote anything in its natural state (Barlow, 1994, p. 70). Its origins are not fully known,<sup>13</sup> but one theory for the formation of its racial definition stems from initial contact with Pākehā.<sup>14</sup> It is claimed when Māori first encountered foreigners asking who they were, they simply replied ‘tangata Māori’ (‘ordinary, natural people’) (Keegan, 2007). Until European interaction, Māori had no all-encompassing term and different tribes were considered distinct peoples (Sheehan, 1989, p. 4). Hence, the encounter with Pākehā unified Māori identity, and concurrently separated Māori from non-Māori.

Through an anthropological perspective, the whakapapa (genealogy) of te reo Māori derives from a vast language family called Austronesian, which include the languages of Pacific peoples such as Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia (Keegan, 2007). More specifically, te reo Māori is part of the Proto-Central-Eastern language family, which is a sub-grouping of the Pro-Polynesian family, a larger sub-grouping within the Proto-Austronesian group (Keegan, 2007). Included in the Proto-Central-Eastern language family are languages most closely related to Māori, which began with Hawaiian and moved through Marquesan, Tahitian and Tuamotuan, ending with Rarotongan and finally, Māori (Karetu et al., 1988-1989, p. 219). Thus, te reo Māori is understood by these historians to be the product of an evolutionary language chain, making it distinct from any other language in the world.

A traditional way in which many Māori envision the world is through whakapapa (Simpson, 2005, pp. 26-29; Royal, 1998, p. 2). Roger Lewis (2007, p. 83) argued “It is by the strength of whakapapa that Māori identify themselves primarily as a member

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<sup>13</sup> Barlow (1994, p. 70) claimed that “Māori referred to themselves as Māori well before the arrival of Pākehā”.

<sup>14</sup> See *Chapter 1*, section 1.3.

of an iwi, hapū or whānau”.<sup>15</sup> All humans and their creations, both animate and inanimate have a whakapapa, that can be traced back to the gods; Sky Father Ranginui (great sky) and Earth Mother Papatūānuku (the earth). Through a Māori mythological perspective, the creation of Māori and humankind in general began with Ranginui and Papatūānuku. There are many accounts of this narrative, but one version entails these lovers locking together in an almost inseparable embrace. Percy Smith (1978, pp. 117-118) translated the writing of Hoani Te Whatahoro, who stated that Ranginui and Papatūānuku produced approximately 70 male offspring who were forced to live between their parents and were confined, unable to see daylight. Some were content, while others miserable. One son in particular, Tane, instigated the separation of his parents and convinced three of his brothers to aid him. Together they forcefully detached their parents and due to the couple’s tight hand grip, the sons used an axe to sever their parents’ arms (Smith, 1978, p. 121). By doing so they detached their parents for eternity. Following this, the brothers dispersed and created life. Tangaroa, the god of the ocean, lakes and rivers, became their protector, as well as those that dwelled within them. Tawhirimatea governed the weather, Tumatauenga became the god of war, and the infamous Tane became the forest god and the assumed creator of man-kind.

This creationist view provides the background to numerous theories on the origins of Māori. One predominant theory from iwi on the East Coast<sup>16</sup> of the North Island include Aotearoa/New Zealand’s discovery by Paikea, who came to this country on a whale, a child of tangaroa (Mead et al., 2003, p. 17 & 325). Another theory from the West Coast, which I am familiar with, suggests Māori arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand approximately 1,000 years ago, and settled here in a series of migrations (Harlow, 2007, pp. 1-2; Karetu et al., 1988-1989, p. 218; O’Regan, 2006, p. 157; Walker, 1990, pp. 34-35). This migration was instigated by a descendent of the children of Tane, Kupe, who left his homeland of Hawaiki and, using the stars and

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<sup>15</sup> The concept whānau has previously been described as an approach to research (*Chapter 1*) but can also refer to a family-unit.

<sup>16</sup> Such as Ngati Porou.



birds as tools for navigation, discovered the large land mass which he called ‘Aotearoa’<sup>17</sup> (King, 1997, p. 12; Williams, 2008).

For Māori, language is invaluable. It is a sacred gift given by the gods, Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Language enables Māori to communicate and know the will, power and mind of the gods (Barlow, 1994, p. 114). Ranginui bestowed Māori with ‘reo rauriki’ and Papatūānuku gifted ‘reo reiuru’, each with distinctive powers (Barlow, 1994, p. 114). Reo rauriki is the sacred language that equips Māori with the power to communicate to the gods through prayer, and to channel these messages to others. Reo reiuru gives mankind the ability to communicate with all of Papatūānuku’s offspring, including various species of animals and trees. It also allows women to communicate to the spirit world through karanga (call). Barlow (1994, p. 114) asserted that language can be a blessing if utilised correctly, elevating people to higher planes, or a curse if used improperly, relegating humans to the depths of darkness and despair. Hence, te reo must be used respectfully, as a sacred language.

## **2.2 Wave 1: European invasion**

Prior to Cook’s arrival in Aotearoa/New Zealand, te reo Māori with its various dialects was the only language spoken, and had been so for more than 800 years (Karetu et al., 1988- 1989, p. 218). It was beneficial for non-Māori to speak this language to appropriately function in te ao Māori (the Māori world). After Cook’s arrival, non-Māori interaction and early settlement started and a new language and culture were gradually being introduced, that of the Pākehā.<sup>18</sup> Whalers, sealers and gold miners came to Aotearoa/New Zealand and settled here for economic gain. Missionaries occupied this country with the core incentive of converting Māori into Christians and civilising them, which entailed a need to learn te reo.

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<sup>17</sup> David Bateman (1997, p. 17) wrote that Kupe’s wife Kuramārōtini named the land mass ‘Aotearoa’ which means ‘Land of the long white cloud’ in te reo.

<sup>18</sup> British were not the only people that settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Americans, Chinese and French also migrated to this country.

A major threat to Māori and the language occurred when muskets were introduced by Pākehā, initiating the musket wars between 1818 and 1833 (Walker, 1990, p. 82). Discussion of the musket wars is essential as they represent a time when Pākehā gained immense power and status. This was one considerable factor which contributed to Māori understanding the need to accommodate these people. Māori realised the vast potential of aligning forces with a technologically powerful ally. Moreover, the musket wars were catalysts that induced intense Māori tribal warfare, and they provided tribes with the opportunity of settling old scores and encroaching on new territories (Belich, 1998). Therefore, muskets were a means for Māori to gain power, status, pride and mana (integrity, prestige and charisma).

Enormous changes were initiated on 2 March 1820 (Foster, 2007). On this day Nga Puhi chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato left in the *New Zealander* to visit England. They met King George IV, and Hika received a suit of armour and several guns (Foster, 2007). Prior to his return he detoured to Australia and traded the gifts he received for muskets (Cloher, 2003, pp. 51-52). On Hika's return to Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1821, he brought back many firearms which he gave to his finest warriors. Ranginui Walker (1990, p. 82) believed that this was the start of the musket wars. On 5<sup>th</sup> September, roughly 2,000 Nga Puhi were armed with approximately 1,000 muskets, and they caused havoc in the North Island by killing many Māori (Foster, 2007; Walker, 1990, p. 82). Due to their long range, muskets proved superior to the close-ranged weapons Māori traditionally fought with, such as the taiaha (long wooden-bladed sword), tewhatewha (long axe-shaped club), wahaika (short club) and mere (short, flat club) (King, 1997, p. 20). With one gun a Māori warrior had the potential to kill many. The potency and rarity of muskets added to their worth.<sup>19</sup> However, the musket wars ended roughly in the 1830s once all tribes had guns (Belich, 1998). Hence, the introduction of muskets by Pākehā led to the death of many Māori whilst strengthening the relationship between certain Māori and non-Māori.

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<sup>19</sup> Belich (1998) mentioned that a single musket was worth “eight large pigs and one hundred and fifty baskets of potatoes... the dried heads of enemies... could be traded for another (or a) three week sex contract from a Maori woman... and a dress”.

After the musket wars ended, though the Māori population had significantly declined, they remained the majority in Aotearoa/New Zealand and te reo was the common language spoken on a daily basis for social, commercial and political life (Benton, 1987, p. 64; Sorrenson, 1977, p. 5). Māori were unaware their position as the majority was about to be threatened when they were encouraged to sign the Treaty of Waitangi (Walker, 1996, p. 39).

Significant changes were caused by the signing of the Treaty between Britain and Māori chiefs on 6 February 1840. The Treaty demonstrated the power Pākehā possessed, by bringing together numerous chiefs who, despite some being arch enemies, gathered to sign this historic document. According to Haare Williams (1987, p. 101) approximately 560 chiefs signed the ‘Māori version’ of the Treaty and only 36 signed the ‘English version’. There were clear differences in interpretation between the two versions, with many terms in te reo lacking an English equivalent and this led to various misunderstandings.<sup>20</sup> The intentions of the two peoples were distinct and varied. Māori thought they would gain equality as well as partnership, whereas the British sought power and to spread their empire. The Treaty ultimately favoured British interests, and was an instrument in formalising colonial rule by providing the necessary authority for the Crown to govern Aotearoa/New Zealand. It also aided the establishment of the early image (1840-1920) of Aotearoa/New Zealand with ‘Britishness’ as the basis of settler identity (Gibbons, 2002; Williams, 1997).

When William Hobson collected signatures for the Treaty he said “he iwi tahi tatou: we are one people” to the chiefs that signed, giving false hope to many Māori (Sorrenson, 1977, p. 5). This statement also entailed the establishment of Aotearoa/New Zealand as a monocultural entity. As part of this ‘one people’ discourse it was generally considered in the best interest for Māori to assimilate into the Pākehā culture. Furthermore, the signing of the Treaty was referred to by Dr.

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<sup>20</sup> Barlow (1994, p. 135) argued that Māori were not fully aware of the underpinnings of the Treaty and its principles were presented by William Hobson only one day prior to its signing.

Huirangi Waikerepuru and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo Māori (The Wellington Language Board) (1986, p. 13) as ‘when this nation began.’ This statement entails this was the start of Aotearoa/New Zealand as the multicultural nation it is today, no longer solely inhabited and governed by Māori.

In 1842 the first newspaper in te reo was published, which seemed beneficial to Māori considering these materials were in the medium of te reo (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b). However, the underlying intentions of print media involved equipping Māori with literacy skills to help persuade them towards becoming English speakers, part of the process of colonisation. Māori learnt skills in literacy quickly and by the late 1850s half of the Māori population could read in te reo Māori (Markham, 1963, p. 95). This contributed to creating a literary Pākehā outlook (Simon, 1998, p. 5), whereby Māori learnt skills such as reading and writing, skills needed to master the English language. Hence, newspapers in te reo were significant to Māori, but they were not for the preservation of the language, rather a tool of the dominant culture.

The Treaty also represented the start of intense colonisation<sup>21</sup> efforts by British which caused a decline in Māori as a proportion of the total population. Māori were unaware of the enormity of the British Empire and during this time outnumbered Pākehā more than 100 to one and continued to remain as the majority until 1858 (Waikerepuru et al., 1986). Nonetheless, the signing of the Treaty implied the growing dominance of Pākehā. A leading factor that caused the erosion of te reo and soured the relationship between Māori and Pākehā, was the introduction of foreign diseases to which Māori had little immunity or methods of treatment (Sheehan, 1989, p. 5). Diseases such as influenza, whooping cough and venereal infections devastated Māori since they had no knowledge or experience of these conditions and no medicines for treatment

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<sup>21</sup> As stated by Bateman (1997, p. 29) colonisation occurred in Aotearoa/New Zealand for the most part from 1840 to 1900.

(Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell, 1997).<sup>22</sup> The Māori tradition of living in tight-knit communities exacerbated the problem, aiding the spread of disease.

Many undesirable factors such as muskets, mass settlement and foreign diseases, afflicted the Māori population. In 1858 the Pākehā population surpassed that of Māori, and within 18 years of the signing of the Treaty, Māori not only became a minority in Aotearoa/New Zealand, but the language also became marginalised (Horomia, 2008; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b). This amounted to Pākehā possessing a great deal of power. One significant manifestation (and fuel) of this power involved the English language encroaching onto te reo Māori domains,<sup>23</sup> beginning with literature and the government through the various Acts, then education and lastly by monopolising the economic domain. Non-Māori settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand was remarkable for its speed and grew explosively from 2000 in 1840, to 26,707 in 1851 (according to the first government census), to 171,000 by 1864 and approximately 500,000 in 1882 (Belich, 2001, p. 2; Thorns et al., 1997, p. 33).

When English became the primary, standard language its status was elevated and it became viewed by many Māori as a necessity, while the image of te reo gradually altered and became depicted as unnecessary to many (Boyce, 2005, p. 88). This change was a result of a shift in power to English-speaking Pākehā, and the desire to be associated with this new majority. Furthermore, by the 1860s Pākehā further established their dominant position by spreading throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand; from the 1870s through to the 1900s, many of these settlers could converse in te reo as well as English.

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<sup>22</sup> For example, when Māori contracted influenza they would bathe in the cold river in an attempt to lower their temperatures, showing their helplessness to these unknown conditions (Lieutenant-Colonel Mc Donnell, 1997, p. 613).

<sup>23</sup> A 'domain' is a term which was popularised by Joshua Fishman. Janet Holmes (2001, p. 21) stated that "a domain involves typical interactions, between typical participants in typical settings". They include schools, work places, shopping centers and homes.

### **2.3 Wave 2: Assimilation of Māori**

Although war, disease and mass settlement were devastating to Māori, the biggest danger to the language was the introduction of state institutionalism. This was part of the process of colonialism. This new threat derived from parliaments, courts, laws, statutes, bills, religion and schools (Mataamua, 2006, p. 68). The Native Schools Acts of 1858 and 1867 were damaging to the language and established a national state-controlled schooling system designed to sustain colonial power. These Acts were intended to limit village schools teaching Māori children to English-only education (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b). According to Sandra Coney (1993, p. 196) these Acts had hidden agendas that were not fully recognised: they were designed to ‘assimilate’ Māori. Assimilation meant preventing Māori from speaking te reo and establishing a system that would insist they adopt the social etiquette and customs of the English colonisers. These signified the first of a succession of Acts used to minimise the use of te reo and sustain colonial power (O’Regan, 2006, p. 158). Later, the Education Act (1877) established the Department of Education which in 1880 introduced the Native Schools Code. This code was produced as a direct means of assimilation for Māori into Pākehā society, and required teachers in native schools to instruct Māori children to write, read and speak only in the English language. These policies had devastating effects and as a result many Māori stopped speaking the reo. During a recent interview, Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009) explained that a major cause for language loss was instigated by the education system. He said “there’s an indictment on the New Zealand school system. After all, they killed it (the language)” (Houia, personal communication, March 23, 2009). The Act was ‘rigorously enforced’, with many accounts of Māori being physically punished for speaking te reo (Coney, 1993, p. 196; Simon et al., 2001, p. 141; Spolsky, 2005, p. 69; Thomson, 2009, p. 11; Waikarepuru et al. 1986, pp. 9 & 16). It is the most frequently debated aspect of Native School policies and practices, with Judith Simon and Linda Smith (2001, p. 141) providing examples of the differing experiences under the policy:

*when I was at school I was never punished for speaking Māori. We spoke Māori in our little school in the playground but we were never strapped like some people say they were for speaking Māori (pupil at Tuhara Native School, 1937-45)... If we were heard talking Māori on the playground we would get the stick for it (Māori pupil at Te Kao Native School, 1937-48).*

The historic abuse of Māori school children was a frequent and widespread occurrence, and numerous examples support the claim that Māori were physically and mentally abused.

This Act left many Māori permanently scarred, with a fear of speaking te reo as a result of the punishment they experienced. Not only did they fear for themselves, many avoided speaking te reo to their children worrying their generation would be disadvantaged as they once were (Benton, 1987, p. 65). Mihiupeka Edwards' novels<sup>24</sup> (1990 & 1992) are telling examples of Māori persecution. Edwards grew up in Aotearoa/New Zealand from Māori/Pākehā descent. She experienced internal conflict due to her identity as Māori who wanted to be Pākehā. She even changed her name from Mihiupeka to Ann. This attitude towards her identity began after she was caned severely by a teacher on her first day of school after speaking te reo Māori. Edwards (1992, p. 9) wrote: "te reo was beaten out of me; I would not let anyone know I could speak Māori". From that day onward she changed and began avoiding speaking te reo in an attempt to prevent people recognising her background. Conscious of her appearance, she avoided the sun so her complexion was lighter, and eventually married a Pākehā man so she might have white children, emphasising that she now saw being Māori as undesirable. This is one person's story which illustrates how the image of being Māori became extremely negative and shameful. Discourses associated with colonialism played a part in constructing this negative image.

Many Māori eventually wanted their children to learn English and become bilingual so they would not be disadvantaged in their dealings with Pākehā (Coney, 1993, p. 196). Mather (personal communication, February 23, 2009) said in a recent interview

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<sup>24</sup> See *Mihiupeka: Early Years* (1990) and *Mihiupeka: Time of Turmoil-Nga Wa Raruraru* (1992).



“my mother who... was a native speaker of te reo Māori, Māori being her first language... didn’t speak Māori at all to me... that was a reflection of the views of her generation was that to be successful you needed to... focus on... your English”. Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009) stated “well it was the policy... When you go to school and when I go to Ruatoria and I was told, oh we were told in the classroom... as far as they were concerned the height of bad manners was to speak Māori”. Many Māori were not only growing up not speaking the language, but were forced to embrace the Pākehā way of life ‘for their own good’ and concurrently encouraged to avoid their own roots. Therefore, colonialism took its toll on Māori in many ways, and had a devastating impact on te reo.

The introduction of te ao Pākehā (the Pākehā world) instigated new ways of living. Te reo was no longer deemed to be useful in a capitalist, colonial or economic sense and working for survival became a powerful incentive for Māori (Smith, 1989, p. 6; Waikerepuru et al. 1986, p. 9). English became depicted as a means of economic survival and represented a way of getting ‘bread-and-butter’ (Harlow, personal communication, January 20, 2009; Houia, personal communication, March 23, 2009).

As recorded in the Official New Zealand Census, 1896 was an extremely negative year for Māori in terms of population size. Mark Sheehan (1989, p. 12) pointed out that it marked the lowest point in the Māori population at approximately 42,113 people, less than one third of the Māori population on Cooks’ arrival. According to James Belich (2001, p. 189), due to the steep decline in the Māori population throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, many people believed Māori would eventually die out due to intermarriage, assimilation, modernisation, and individualisation, resulting in ‘brown Britons’. The government expressed the view that Māori would become extinct and as argued by Mason Durie (1998, p. 54) their role was to “smooth the pillow of a dying race”.

In the 1930s urbanisation occurred where thousands of Māori migrated from their rural communities to urban areas. According to David Bateman (1997), Māori land was underdeveloped<sup>25</sup> and as a result of the lack of Māori economic growth, many Māori migrated and actively sought work for survival. The first phase of Māori migration occurred during the Second World War when Māori shifted to towns where labour was needed for the war effort (Bateman, 1997). With urbanisation the Department of Māori Affairs refused to build houses in districts where work opportunities were limited. Soon after in the 1940s the housing policy of ‘pepper potting’, the dispersal of Māori throughout urban areas was implemented (Grin et al., 1998, p. 188).

However, migration during the second world war is one of several theories regarding the urban migration of Māori. There were other underlying reasons for urbanisation, and I believe its core purpose was to assist in colonising Māori. In order to efficiently dominate this country, Pākehā needed Māori to become part of the majority as English-speakers, and to complete the process of developing into ‘brown Britons’. This transformation required separating Māori from their traditional, communal lifestyle (Horomia, 2008; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008, p. 1; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b). Despite individualism being the norm for British, individualised Māori were more susceptible to conforming, as this increased their minority status.

In the space of 25 years, 80% of the Māori population moved from the country into towns and cities and urbanisation continued into the 1950s (Durie, 1998, p. 54). Francois Grin and Francois Vaillancourt (1998) documented this as the second core reason why Māori moved away from speaking te reo. Migration held huge implications for Māori. Due to losing contact with their tribal communities, a new generation developed that identified less with their tribal origins as a result of being

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<sup>25</sup> As discussed by Bateman (1997, p. 91) “in 1939 the economist Horace Belshaw noted... (Māori) numbered 82,326 at the most recent (1936) census. Māori possessed some 4 million acres of land, which when fully developed into perhaps 5000 farms could support 20,000 people at a reasonable standard of living. Not only did the other 60,000 need to find sustenance elsewhere, so did their descendants”.

placed in the suburbs and having more contact with English-speaking neighbours. Living near English-speakers was inevitable considering the vast numbers of settlers occupying both the North and South Islands of Aotearoa/New Zealand, combined with the ‘pepper-potting’ policy (Grin et al., 1998, p. 188). This new generation began to speak English on a daily basis and were inculcated with Pākehā values and ideas, causing a further shift in their identity. Being ‘more Pākehā’ meant not speaking te reo, altering their language determination,<sup>26</sup> changing their values (for example, working for money) and adapting their belief systems (Harlow, 2003). Urbanisation was devastating in terms of sustaining the health of te reo as the constant use and support of the language within homes and marae is essential for its survival.

The language was spiraling towards a dangerous level of inaction, yet in 1942 the first radio broadcast in te reo occurred (Mataamua, 2006). This marked an important step towards the emergence of te reo Māori broadcasting and was a result of a collection of Māori elders who lobbied the government to broadcast the activities of the Māori Battalion (Mataamua, 2006). This request was granted and Wiremu Parker<sup>27</sup> became an announcer. The first programme broadcast lasted for 15 minutes and was the first of its kind (Mataamua, 2006, p. 44). Parker announced once a week on the YA stations the lists of Māori killed at war. Derek Fox (1988) pointed out that Parker’s announcements were not done intentionally to give Māori a voice, rather they were a cheap and convenient way of informing the bereaved instead of sending costly telegrams (Fox, 1988, p. 487). I support Fox’s view of media as influential tools used to spread the dominant language. The New Zealand government exerted copious amounts of energy to silence Māori through encroaching on the common

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<sup>26</sup> Language determination is when people choose to speak and encourage the use of a certain language in their homes (Harlow, 2003, p. 34). For example, decisions about which language to use in certain situations.

<sup>27</sup> Parker was acknowledged for his expertise in both English and te reo Māori (Mataamua, 2006). Williams (1987, p. 103) suggested that the earliest broadcasts were by Uramo Paora, Kingi Tahiwī, Ari Pitama and Airini Grennell.

domains in which te reo was used through education, the home, politics and economics.

#### **2.4 Wave 3: Rediscovering Māori cultural identity, Māori renaissance**

Te reo Māori revitalisation initiatives began roughly in the 1960s through to the 1970s.<sup>28</sup> As stated by the Honourable Parekura Horomia (2008) this period was titled the ‘Renaissance of the Māori language’, and was a time of Māori rediscovering their identity. A flurry of activity and events occurred here, both locally and internationally such as the land march at Bastion Point, the Springbok Tour and the establishment of *Nga Tamatoa*. Acknowledging that te reo was in danger marked an important step for revitalisation initiatives and increased community awareness of this issue. Also, dissatisfaction with social inequality between Māori and non-Māori manifested into protests and litigation. Though tension as to whether Māori should speak English was looming, Māori parents were nevertheless encouraged to speak English to their children in preparation for school (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b). The Māori renaissance also believed in the equal power sharing of the two peoples.

In the 1960s television was introduced into Aotearoa/New Zealand (The Ministry of Economic Development, 2001, p. 5). Television became a threat to te reo Māori. Insidious in its normality, it spread the English language among Māori individuals and communities. Discourses of monoculturalism and monolingualism<sup>29</sup> were dominant during this time and shaped broadcasting in this country. Furthermore, owning a television set was seen as a sign of wealth, success and progress, an ideal popularised by non-Māori.

Protests occurred in the 1970s through to the 1980s (O’Regan, 2006; Walker, 1990, p. 158). They were mainly from the first generation of Māori brought up in cities or

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<sup>28</sup> There are conflicting claims on the start of te reo Māori revitalisation initiatives. Keegan (2007) suggested that they began in the 1960s, however *Te Puni Kōkiri* (2008, p. 2) reported that this movement started in the 1970s.

<sup>29</sup> Monolingual is defined as a person who is competent in one language. Waikerepuru et al. (1986, p. 47) listed examples of monolingual countries: Singapore, Malaysia, Finland, Israel and Belgium.

towns and raised in English, many of whom were aware that by not speaking te reo they were disadvantaged and denied a significant part of their history and identity (Harlow, 2007, p. 197). Walker (1980, p. 1) expressed that during this time “the Māori has finally realised that his identity as a Māori is in jeopardy... his native tongue... torn out of his mouth. The Māori is quickly realising that very soon, unless severe measures are taken, his identity as a Māori will be as extinct as the Moa”.

As a result of the renaissance, activist groups such as *Nga Tamatoa* and *Te Reo Māori Society* emerged, and these specific groups later collaborated (Walker, 1980; Walker, 1996, p. 143). *Nga Tamatoa* surfaced in 1970, when the Māori council held a Māori leaders conference at the University of Auckland. During this event people voiced their concerns on issues such as preserving te reo and fostering understanding and respect for the Māori culture. As a result of this, a report was produced for submission to the government (Harris, 2004, p. 44). This initiated a nationwide petition entitled the ‘Māori Language Petition’, which called for the inclusion of te reo in primary and secondary schools and eventually gathered 30,000 signatures (Harris, 2004, p. 48). Many Māori attended this event including kaumātua (elders), members of the Māori council, Māori corporations, trust boards, unions, students, gang members and church leaders (Harris, 2004, p. 44). These people represented Māori from isolated urban areas uniting in an attempt to rekindle their culture. *Nga Tamatoa* became very successful at helping Māori gain a political voice,<sup>30</sup> useful in addressing Māori concerns. These matters included the right to learn te reo at secondary school, for Māori and te reo content in mainstream broadcasting and the correct pronunciation of te reo in broadcast media (Harris, 2004, p. 48) (see also Williams, 2008).

There were other Māori groups who formed such as *Matakite* (Alves, 1999, p. 40) and individuals who fought for equality. For example, Whina Cooper led a massive

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<sup>30</sup> Nancy Hornberger (1996) emphasised the need for indigenous peoples to have a ‘voice’ since they are often silenced (May, 2006, pp. 306-307). Teresa Mc Carty (2006, p. 313) elaborated and stressed the importance of voice as a change agent. She mentioned that the activation of indigenous voices is central for language revitalisation initiatives.

land march from the far North to Wellington, initially to protest for land rights. Yet, this protest had further importance and signified the struggles Māori endured since colonisation, spanning health, housing, social welfare and the language (Mataamua, 2006, p. 71).

Due to Māori protests, two annual events to acknowledge te reo were established: on September 1972 Māori Language Day was launched, and later Māori Language Week (Māori Television, 2009a). These are customary practices which are carried out to celebrate te reo.

In 1978 the first bilingual school was founded in Ruatoki and this vision was followed by the establishment in 1982 of the first kōhanga reo<sup>31</sup> (Boyce, 2005, p. 88; Grin et al., 1998, p. 189; Harris, 2004, p. 48; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b). The kōhanga reo movement was significant to educate Māori youth on te reo and was an important initiative to prevent the language from dying. This movement was described by Mary Boyce (2005, p. 88), Timoti Karetu and Jeffrey Waite (1988-1989, p. 225) as the most successful in terms of helping to revitalise and sustain te reo Māori. To cater for kōhanga reo graduates another important enhancement occurred in 1985 when the first kura kaupapa Māori was established (Grin et al., 1998, p. 189; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b).<sup>32</sup> Adult speakers were encouraged to speak the language and this resulted in the birth of Te Ātaarangi<sup>33</sup> in 1979 to 1980 (Grin et al., 1998, p. 189; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b). This was an important enhancement, particularly for parents whose children attended kōhanga reo or kura kaupapa Māori, to reinforce the language in the home.

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<sup>31</sup> This initiative was put forward by Sir James Henare at the Summit Conference in 1981, which was organised by the National Government. Mrs. Tilly Reedy proposed the name 'kōhanga reo', literally translated as 'language nest' (Barlow, 1994, p. 52). The kōhanga reo establishments flourished in Aotearoa/New Zealand and by the end of 1987 there were 522 Māori pre-schools throughout the country (Barlow, 1994, p. 52; Karetu et al., 1988-1989, p. 225).

<sup>32</sup> Kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori institutions increased rapidly and in 1997 there were approximately 675 (30 were in the making, there were 54 kura kaupapa Māori and three whare wananga) (Māori Television, 2009b).

<sup>33</sup> Literally translated as 'shadow'. The name derives from a teaching method where students imitate teachers using rods (coloured sticks).

1980 signified a time of litigation for Māori in their pursuit for broadcasting, and enhancements to Māori media<sup>34</sup> occurred. During this time *Koha*, a weekly, 30 minute Māori magazine programme in English was screened on Sundays (Ngata, 2009). Additional improvements through television transpired and in February 1983 *Te Karere* was developed. *Te Karere* was originally a daily four to five-minute television programme in te reo Māori (Fox, 1988, p. 489; Grin et al., 1998, p. 196; Ngata, 2009). Fox played a key role in Māori media broadcasting and established *Te Karere*. In 1985 Fox also facilitated the formation of the Māori Broadcasting Association, intended to provide a political voice for Māori in broadcasting (Reweti, 2006, p. 182). In 1988 *Koha* was succeeded by two one-hour te reo Māori programmes which screened on Sundays including *Waka Huia*, an archival programme entirely in te reo and *Marae* (Harlow, 2007, p. 199; Hollings, 2005, p. 124).

Due to Māori collaborating and expressing concerns to have a voice in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in 1984 the Te Reo Māori claim (WAI 11) was forwarded to the Waitangi Tribunal<sup>35</sup> which aided support for te reo. It was produced by Waikarepuru and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo Māori (Harlow, 2007, p. 198). Using evidence from Article II of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Te Reo Māori claim declared te reo as ‘taonga’ (‘treasured possession’) to Māori, which the Crown has an obligation to protect, normalise and to prevent from being swamped by English (Harlow, 2007, pp. 199-200; Williams, 2008). This was a unique claim considering the Tribunal originally dealt with tangible phenomena including land, fisheries, estates and forests as written in the English version of the Treaty.<sup>36</sup> This report was a direct demand for the government to take active steps to ensure, value, nurture and respect te reo Māori. This report alleged that the Crown had been neglectful to both the language and

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<sup>34</sup> See *Chapter 1*, section 1.3.

<sup>35</sup> The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 and its role included making recommendations to the government on issues which affected Māori. The Tribunal was essential in furthering te reo revitalisation efforts in later years (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008b).

<sup>36</sup> As mentioned, in Māori culture all things including natural and physical resources have a mauri (see *Chapter 1*, section 1.2). Hence, distinctions between inanimate and animate objects are blurred whereby nothing is lifeless (Durie, 1998, p. 23).

culture and had contributed to their loss. It was not released until 1986, and once passed the Tribunal asserted “the language is an essential part of (the Māori) culture and must be regarded as a valued possession” (Waikerepuru et al., 1986, p. 20). This was important to improve the status of te reo Māori, and most essentially instigated the beginnings of the language gaining government/Crown support. It also recognised broadcasting as an essential vehicle to protect te reo and tikanga Māori.

As a direct response of the WAI 11 claim, the Māori Language Act (1987) was established (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008a). It was important in two ways: te reo Māori was given official status and declared an official language of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission)* was established (Harlow, 2007, p. 199; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008a). This company was created to promote the use of te reo as a living language, as well as an ordinary means of communication, and to encourage all New Zealanders to value te reo in written and spoken form (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008a). Its role included administering examinations for translators along with interpreters; researching and formulating policy for the promotion, maintenance and progression of te reo and lexical expansion work<sup>37</sup> (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008a).

With no government support, in 1988 Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo Māori acquired a non-commercial broadcasting license and established the first Māori radio station called *Te Reo Irirangi o Te Ūpoko o Te Ika* (Mataamua, 2006). This was recognised as being the original Māori station and became a catalyst for the production of more iwi radio. Its central concern was Māori broadcasting and presenting continuous bilingual programming (Mataamua, 2006, p. 48).

In 1989 the government reserved radio and television broadcasting frequencies for use by Māori, and the Broadcasting Amendment Act (1993) was established on 1 July. This Act was noteworthy and helped establish a separate Māori broadcasting

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<sup>37</sup> This includes the production of glossaries.



authority called *Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi*, primarily established to provide an independent Māori broadcasting body (Mataamua, 2006). This Act also aided the creation of a new broadcasting commission which became known as *New Zealand on Air*. Its role was to collect and administer the broadcasting fee, develop Aotearoa/New Zealand's culture and identity and to promote te reo Māori and culture by making funds available, particularly for broadcasting (Ministry of Commerce, 1990, p. 1). Funding for broadcasting was shared between *New Zealand on Air* and *Te Māngai Pāho*<sup>38</sup> (*The Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency*) throughout 1993 to 1994.

*Te Māngai Pāho* was established as a result of the Broadcasting Amendment Act (1993) and in 1995 it was entrusted with the future of Māori broadcasting (Mataamua, 2006, p. 50). The role of *Te Māngai Pāho* was to establish and promote te reo and the Māori culture and to develop funding policies that encourage a diverse range of programmes, assist in the revitalisation of te reo and monitor the amount of te reo content in programmes purchased (O'Regan, 2006, p. 160; Statistics New Zealand, 2008, p. 224). This company represented the manifestation of many years of meetings, Tribunal gatherings, proposals, commissions and work by Māori in broadcasting. After a series of meetings held by *Te Māngai Pāho*, the government examined the possibility of having a Māori television channel.

In 1996, as a pilot, the *Aotearoa Television Network* commenced broadcasting, however due to funding restrictions closed in 1997. Then in 1998 the government provided additional funding for a Māori television channel and increased the amount of monetary support to *Te Māngai Pāho*. In 1999 the Labour government pledged to re-establish the station and in 2001 the Māori Television Service was founded (Durie, 2005, p. 49). The Māori Language Act (2003) enabled te reo Māori to be broadcast through a Māori-operated television station and these efforts led to the establishment of *Māori Television* in 2004.

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<sup>38</sup> *Te Mangai Paho* is also called *Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi*.

## 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described the journey that Māori, and inevitably te reo, have experienced throughout post-European history in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Te reo, figuratively visualised as a waka, has struggled to stay afloat due to the negative effects of colonisation which produced devastating consequences for the health of te reo. This damage initially began with intense colonisation upon the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, resulting in mass settlement which eventually led to Pākehā becoming the dominant people and monopolising the language domains. Māori urban migration, institutionalism through education, policies, Acts and the significant decline in the Māori population caused Māori to speak English and filled the waka with holes. Media through broadcasting also influenced the language domains within Māori communities, replacing them with English-speaking ones. Te reo Māori was on the verge of sinking, as seen by predictions of its death. However, due to strong-minded Māori and groups such as *Nga Tamatoa* who patched the waka, the language was saved from the brink of death and support was pushed for. This resulted in the formation of various Māori focused companies. Media, originally tools for creating a literary Pākehā outlook, later became recognised as supporters for te reo. This chapter has illustrated that media has shone throughout the history of Māori and has gradually transformed to enable Māori a voice, helping to keep te reo buoyant.

## CHAPTER 3: LANGUAGE REVITALISATION

*Ka rere te hue mataati.*<sup>39</sup>



- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Language revitalisation concepts
- 3.3 Achieving language revitalisation
- 3.4 Normalisation
- 3.5 Language shift
- 3.6 Language death
- 3.7 Endangered languages
- 3.8 Language strategies
  - 3.8.1 Tapatoru Model 1
  - 3.8.2 Education
  - 3.8.3 Community support
  - 3.8.4 Home support
  - 3.8.5 Intergenerational transmission
- 3.9 Media and te reo Māori revitalisation
- 3.10 Conclusion

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the terminology and theoretical perspectives associated with language revitalisation, illustrating that though these terms have similar interpretations there are clear differences. The related terms language shift, language death, endangered languages and language planning are discussed. Addressing these concepts is essential to allow readers to understand both the theoretical underpinnings

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<sup>39</sup> Meaning: 'The first shoot of the gourd stretches out'. Once the gourd begins to send its runners out the plant continues to grow and eventually bears fruit or flowers. Similarly, when an action is started it should be followed through until a result is produced (Mead et al., 2003, p. 182). This proverb is suitable for this chapter and can be compared to language, which if nurtured will produce positive outcomes (for example, the many cognitive and social benefits of speaking another language).

of this thesis and their complexities. My unique diagram, the *Tapatoru Model 1* is introduced and epitomises the current domains and strategies utilised and required in achieving language revitalisation. An incentive for its design is to illustrate the positioning and function of media within this process. The significance of language must be emphasised from the outset to fully grasp the essence of this chapter.

Language is a complicated term to define, and there are various understandings that reflect it. Language can be understood as a system of communication with preset rules and available vocabulary, specific to a language community. Even the meanings associated with certain gestures (body language, sign language) differ across the globe. Dr. Rangianehu Mataamua (2006, p. 79) sees it as a medium in which ideas, beliefs, values and norms are shared, and it is a way that people transmit their perceptions about themselves and the world. It is a marker of ‘identity’ and defines a person, their origins and provides a basis for their historical past. Through a Māori perspective, language can be interpreted as a taonga from the gods that bestows Māori with the power to communicate to the divine (Barlow, 1994). Language also has a mauri, and is depicted as ‘living’, a core theme within this thesis.

### **3.2 Language revitalisation concepts**

The term language revitalisation is interchangeable with ‘reversing language shift’, ‘language revival’, ‘language restoration’, ‘language maintenance’ and ‘language regeneration’. Although these terms are used in a similar fashion, they have distinguishable features.

‘Reversing language shift’ was pioneered by sociologist Joshua Fishman and entails going backwards in time and returning a language to its original state (Fishman, 2000). Stephen May (2006, p. 305) interpreted it as “turning back the clock”, involving actively restoring or retaining indigenous languages so they can remain alongside majority languages without being compromised.

Margie Hohepa (2006, pp. 294-295) discussed the term ‘language regeneration’, which encompasses the ‘growth’, ‘re-growth’, ‘development’ and ‘re-development’ of a language. It entails the reinvigoration of an existing language and implies re-establishment (Lewis, 2007, p. 6). Hohepa likened this process to the development of a new fern shoot where the fronds circle into itself and then spread out into different directions (Hohepa, 2006, p. 295). The point emphasised is the new direction of growth, post-regeneration. Language regeneration is relevant to this thesis in comparison to the other concepts, as it portrays the language as living, changing and growing. Therefore, its essence will be applied to the term ‘language revitalisation’, which will be utilised throughout this thesis. I appreciate Hohepa’s use of metaphors that incorporate nature to express her understanding of language revival. This helps people understand and empathise with the significance of language as living entities rather than something abstract.

Continuing the analogy of language as living, growing and changing, I envision it as a native forest. It grows and develops depending on the nurturing it receives by members in society. The supporters and users of a language provide the sustenance for the forest to thrive. If a language is healthy, this represents sturdy, vibrant and tall trees, meaning the language is highly used, encouraged and promoted. An unhealthy, dead language can be depicted as a lifeless forest. Similarly to language, a dead or dying forest can be revitalised through conservation efforts, which can restore its mauri.

‘Language revitalisation’ is a commonly accepted variant of the above terms, being used in the body of work of many theorists including Bernard Spolsky (2005). The term was chosen for this thesis due to its familiarity. Language revitalisation involves transforming the language and its community to suit the language use needs for present and future. Its core purpose is to ensure a language’s survival, and can be understood as a response to language decline or death (Grin et al., 1998, pp. 8-9). In addition, revitalising a language on the verge of death is not futile or impossible. A

prime example are the Israelites, who speak Hebrew (Benton, 1997, p. 27; Grin et al., 1998, p. 9; Holmes, 2008, p. 66). This language rebounded from being rarely spoken in common domains to becoming a ‘mother tongue’: a major language used everyday in its own country (Pawley, 1989, p. 16).

Language revitalisation is a complex term with multiple interpretations. Spolsky (2005, p. 68) defined it as the restoration of the natural transmission of a language from one generation to the next. *Te Puni Kōkiri* (2004, p. 18) describe it as the prevention of language death and an effort to increase the number of native speakers and domains where a language is spoken or accepted. Houia and Mather’s interpretation aligned closely with *Te Puni Kōkiri*’s definition. Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009) expressed that it is the acquisition of language and its revival in a communicative way in all domains where practical. Mather (personal communication, February 23, 2009) argued “Māori language revitalisation means... a significant uptake... in (the) Māori language being... supported, embraced and most importantly spoken”. Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) simply saw it as making a language sexy again by promoting its image and making it desirable to speak. Lastly, Harawira (personal communication, February 26, 2009) believed that revitalisation was the “evolution of te reo Māori”, which changes and develops alongside its language speakers.

I found that the opinions varied. Houia concentrated on acquiring skills to learn and speak te reo, a view that Mather espoused. Mather also suggested that language support is necessary. Fox adhered to this position by emphasising the importance of promoting a language’s image and status. Harawira focused on the ability of a language to adapt to suit its users. Hence, from these views, I surmised that language revitalisation is achieved when the ‘majority’ of a population embrace, support and use a language on a daily basis in common domains.

### **3.3 Achieving language revitalisation**

Since ‘majority’ is ambiguous, the question “how is language revitalisation achieved?” needs to be explored. Is it when the population of speakers reaches a specific threshold, or when a certain percentage of the ethnicity as a whole can speak their own traditional tongue? Grin et al. (1998) stated that in order for a language to be maintained, a ‘critical mass’ meaning a ‘higher number of speakers’ is a favourable factor. Donna Starks, Ray Harlow and Allan Bell (2005, p. 21) elaborated: “(in) some places this number (is) as high as 100,000, while others suggest a more conservative figure of 20,000 (Brenzinger, 1997; Fishman, 1985; Kinkade, 1991)”. Seemingly good news, as te reo Māori is spoken by 157,110 people (New Zealand Census, 2006a, p. 10), well above the sufficient number of speakers for a language to be revitalised. However, in reality, only a small proportion of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s population can speak te reo.

So what, then, is the magic percentage of the population needed to revitalise a language? Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009) suggested that it is achieved when approximately 75% of people know a language. A point that can be contested, considering the uncertainty with the understanding of ‘knowing’ a language. For example, there are many people who may know how to speak te reo, but are uncomfortable speaking it publicly. Harlow (personal communication, January 20, 2009) was uncertain of an exact percentage but hazarded when “80% of Māori kids have Māori as their first language”. He added that even if it reached this point the language will never be safe and its maintenance is an ongoing process. Mather (personal communication, February 23, 2009) suggested there needs to be a majority of speakers who employ a language, and though the optimum number was 100% bilingualism, he recognised this was an unrealistic goal. Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) argued that you could not assign a percentage without considering the age demographics: “it’s not as simple as saying a percentage... it’s no point in it being ten percent or 20 percent if they’re all over the age of 60... It’s really a percentage of what’s coming up that’s important”. He also

felt that the value of language revitalisation was secondary to the revitalisation of Māori pride (Fox, personal communication, January 28, 2009).

By considering the expert opinions of the interviewees, it is clear that some major proportion of the populace, for example 75% of the population in its entirety, needs to speak te reo to consider it a revitalised language. Even Harlow's suggestion, that 80% of Māori children having te reo as their first language denotes revitalisation, implies high proficiency amongst the adults who are raising them. These are a far cry from the current statistics, however debatable the finer details and definitions may be. Fox's (personal communication, January 28, 2009) and Harlow's (personal communication, January 20, 2009) opinions about endorsing the language amongst children is an important point. Arguments for this will be elaborated on in *Chapters 4* and *7*. I appreciate Houia's outlook that 'people' in general in this country should speak te reo. I believe this is crucial in language revival to ensure a language is spoken by the majority (discussed in the next chapter).

### **3.4 Normalisation**

Throughout the interviews conducted, normalisation was a resounding theme, as a suggestion and goal in effective language revival (refer to the transcription CD). Normalisation is a way in which an ideological construction can be made to appear as natural and eternal (Billig, 1995; Thompson, 1990). It can be visualised as a powerful tool that shapes attitudes towards a particular topic. Harlow (personal communication, January 20, 2009) argued that the core issue is normalising te reo Māori and suggested media contribute to achieving this: "they all actually support what really is the core issue and that is the language becoming... again the normal language for... those... part of the Māori community that want it to be". Harawira (personal communication, February 26, 2009) adheres to this position: "the more exposure to the reo as a normal part of their life, the better". On normalisation, Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) declared "it's not about revitalising, it's about normalising. It's making it a very normal part of people's lives. And that I



think is probably a better goal is to normalise Māori as an everyday normal event that people automatically don't have any difficulty with... things being in Māori". This point corresponds with Fox's (personal communication, January 28, 2009) previous position on creating an alluring image of a language to attract speakers.

These points illustrate what is meant by normalisation, a term that will be threaded throughout this thesis. Akin to the opinions mentioned, I believe normalisation can provide a solution to potentially revitalise te reo Māori, or at least improve the status of te reo in this country, by increasing, promoting and encouraging people to use te reo or become speakers. It is particularly relevant in this thesis considering that media are renown for their vast capabilities of aiding normalisation (Billig, 1995). Consider the latest trends in this country, such as popular movies, books, clothing styles, or games; they are all normalised via various mediums. For example, an irritating song which is played repetitively on the radio, with over-exposure many people will eventually like or accept it, a phenomenon which occurs due to normalisation.

### **3.5 Language shift**

The opposite of language revitalisation is 'language shift', the shift of a community's quotidian language from the traditional to the new and dominant, a process which occurred in Aotearoa/New Zealand with te reo Māori. It is the gradual death of a language due to underuse and a loss of proficiency by its main speakers (Holmes, 2008, p. 58). This shift typically occurs in cases where two communities, X and Y, are in unequal positions in terms of demographic weight, political power, psychological or economic influence and cultural prestige (Benton, 1997, p. 8; Grin et al., 1998, p. 9). One language declines to become the minority language, while the prospering language becomes the primary, majority language (Holmes, 2001; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004, p. 18). This appears to be a resounding consequence of colonisation, with the dominant group imposing their language on the minority. According to Janet Holmes (2001, pp. 58-59) the main triggers of language shift are economic motives. The second major influence is either the community taking the view that a certain

language is not advantageous for their children, or simply not realising it is in jeopardy of vanishing (Holmes, 2001, pp. 58-59).

If dying languages fail to undergo language revitalisation initiatives they risk ‘language death’ which Nancy Dorian (1981, 1989) called ‘the terminal decline of a language’ (Holmes, 2008, p. 58; Janse, 2003, p. ix). Language death has several interpretations, however, I have identified three: when a language is not spoken by anyone (Holmes, 2008; Janse, 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004, p. 18), when there are no children who speak the language (Benton, 1997, p. 8) or when there are fewer than 100 speakers (Smith, 1998, p. 147). The process of language death can transpire either quickly, when whole populations of speakers are wiped out by genocide for example, or slowly, when two languages come into contact resulting in competition for speakers and speaking space over a number of generations (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004, p. 18).

### **3.6 Language death**

Language death is not uncommon, and of the approximate 6,000 languages<sup>40</sup> in the world it seems inevitable that most will cease to exist in the future (Grenoble et al., 1998, p. vii; Janse, 2003, p. vii; Newman, 2003, p. 1). According to Andrew Dalby (2002, p. ix) languages are being lost month to month and year to year. Horomia (2008) stated “it is estimated of some 6,000 known, living languages in the world, up to 50% are moribund... (and are) spoken only by elders. And another 40% are in danger”. Predictions were made by Michael Krauss (1992) who argued that 600 languages have a good chance of survival in the future.<sup>41</sup> Mark Janse (2003) aims even lower, believing only 300 languages might be considered ‘power languages’ and are thus assured survival into the 22<sup>nd</sup> century (see also Newman, 2003, p. 1). These

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<sup>40</sup> Of the authors analysed, it is generally agreed upon that there are approximately 6,000 languages in the world (Grenoble et al., 1998, p. vii; Horomia, 2009; Newman, 2003, p. 1). Mark Janse (2003, p. vii) stated there are 6,809 languages. Grenoble et al. (1998, p. vii) asserted “there are some countries such as Papua New Guinea in which... approximately 860 languages are spoken in a territory of only 461,690 sq. km”.

<sup>41</sup> Grin et al. (1998, pp. ix & 9) predicted that 90% of languages may be lost in the future and Dalby (2002) assumed that 2,500 languages are likely to vanish.

power languages include Arabic, Chinese, English and Spanish which have secure futures worldwide (Grenoble et al., 1998, p. viii). English has a definite presence as the lingua franca<sup>42</sup> and dominant language for communication in the world. The previously cited predictions about language death emphasise the necessity of revitalisation efforts for not only te reo Māori, but many other languages in the world.

### **3.7 Endangered languages<sup>43</sup>**

A language that has not died but is on the verge of death is considered an endangered language<sup>44</sup> (Janse, 2003, p. ix). Steven Wurm (2003) produced a language endangerment scale consisting of five layers;

- (1) 'Potentially endangered' occurs when children prefer the dominant language and learn the native language imperfectly.
- (2) 'Endangered' is when the youngest speakers are young adults and child speakers number few to none.
- (3) 'Seriously endangered' occurs when the youngest speakers are middle-aged or above.
- (4) 'Terminally endangered' is when a language is moribund, with only a few elderly speakers remaining.
- (5) 'Language death' is the final level, when there are no speakers left (Janse, 2003, p. x).

This scale is useful since it treats languages as living entities, resembling a system of measurement that indicates whether animals are endangered. A possible motive of

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<sup>42</sup> Lingua franca means a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguist groups in multilingual speech communities (Holmes, 2001, p. 78).

<sup>43</sup> Leanne Hinton (2001b, p. 413) calls an endangered language a 'sleeping' or 'silent' language which can not be spoken by anyone due to a lack of domains where it can be used or by having no living speakers. Hinton's (2001b, p. 413) description was similar to that of a dead language.

<sup>44</sup> Fishman (1991) developed a guide to analyse the extent to which a language is endangered titled the 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages'. This scale provides interventions to language loss and each stage focuses on ensuring language survival whereby intergenerational transmission (stage six) is a focal point. The scale consists of eight stages: one is worst and eight is optimum.

this diagram is to present the rather abstract idea of language as something ‘real’. This can arouse an emotional attachment for some, meaning people can appreciate the danger it is in, envisioning it as tangible. Within Wurm’s (2003) endangerment scale, I believe te reo Māori fits into the second level, ‘Endangered’, since most Māori do not speak te reo but are fluent in English (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Furthermore, the majority of te reo speakers are over 60 years (discussed in the next chapter).

### **3.8 Language strategies**

Examining the different strategies is imperative to consider the role and position of media in language revival. Smith (1999, p. 147) suggested the following areas as essential for revitalisation initiatives: education, broadcasting, publishing and community-based programmes. According to Garrick Cooper (2004, p. 12) there are seven essential areas; Language knowledge (the ability to speak, read and write in the target language); Intergenerational transmission (which targets the languages spoken between generations); Language domains (places where the desired language can be heard and spoken); Language status (official language status and enhancing its ‘prestige’<sup>45</sup> value’); Formal education in the target language (for example, immersion education); Literacy (the production of print media in the intended language); Mass media (newspapers, radio and television in the target language).

Anthony Benton (1987, p. 72) espouses Cooper’s (2004) strategies and discussed four areas which he found imperative, including official recognition, education, broadcasting and public life such as community support. Benton (1987) wrote that media, particularly through broadcasting are widely used and recognisable strategies in successful language revival. Through careful consideration and research, I believe there are three key areas needed to restore te reo: education, community support and

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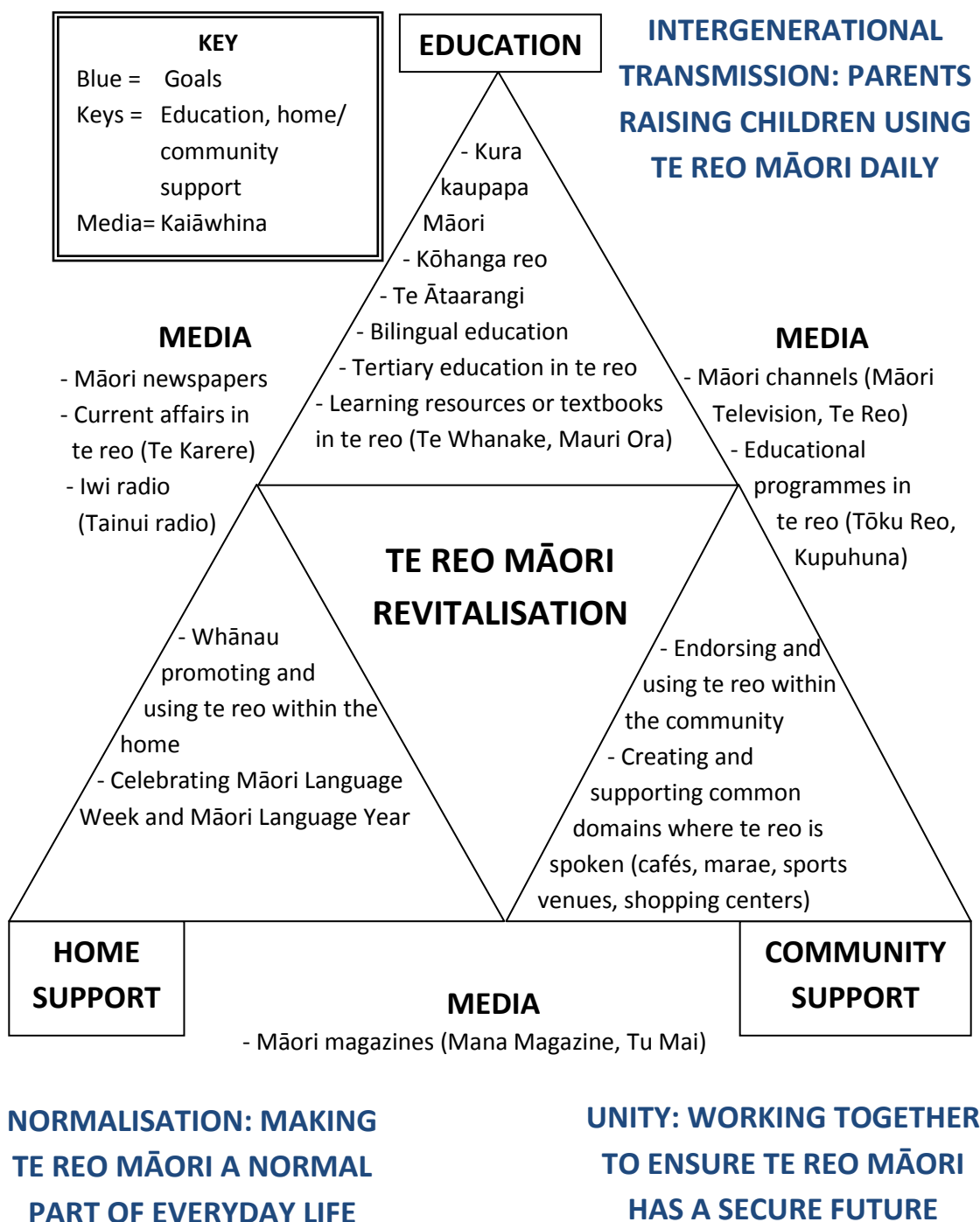
<sup>45</sup> Grenoble et al. (1998, p. ix) mentioned that a predictor of the continued use of a language is the prestige attached to it. Prestige derives from a number of factors including government support or by having a large number of speakers. A language grows in prestige if it is associated with a rich literary tradition, is used in local or national media, in processes of commercial exchange (associated with economic advancement) or if tied to a widely practiced religion.

home support, with media as supporting devices. I believe that Cooper's (2004) seven points can be positioned under the areas I suggested, particularly due to media being listed twice, as literacy and mass media.

### **3.8.1 Tapatoru Model 1**

I created the *Tapatoru Model 1* (represented as *Figure 1*) which signifies a conservation effort plan to revitalise te reo Māori. This diagram was also formulated to gain an understanding of the positioning and role of media amongst the complex components needed to revitalise te reo, to clarify the ideas articulated in this thesis and to illustrate how kaupapa Māori theory structures this paradigm.

**Figure 1: Tapatoru Model 1**



This model is represented by a triangle, recognised as structurally the strongest shape and resembling the traditional, Māori whāriki pattern called ‘Niho Taniwha’<sup>46</sup> (Guardian’s/ Dragon’s Teeth). This design is “regarded as a symbol of guardianship and protection” (INZA, 2009, p. 2) and is appropriate for the *Tapatoru Model 1* as it is a strategic model to ‘protect’ and ‘maintain’ te reo, by assisting it. Within this model, education, community support and home support are called ‘keys’, due to their necessity as the major domains where a language must be used. These keys are represented by three triangles that form a large triangle. The fourth triangle in the centre denotes te reo Māori and its successful revitalisation. Collectively, these four triangles create a virtually indestructible form. Te reo is essential to maintain the structure, and if removed, would cause the entire composition to collapse. This diagram draws on conventions of kotahitanga<sup>47</sup> (unity) whereby the keys must interact and cooperate to support the centre, and if one is removed or dwindles, this would alter the overall shape, meaning it would no longer be a triangle, the most robust form, nor resemble the Niho Taniwha pattern.

The Māori concept, the Kawau Mārō, is an essential theme, particularly due to its purpose and resemblance to the *Tapatoru Model 1*. My paradigm and the Kawau Mārō both signify and promote conventions of unity, collective strength and co-operation to achieve desired roles and outcomes (Ngāti Kāpo o Aotearoa Inc. 2008, p. 13). The Kawau Mārō is the name of a battle formation utilised by Māori during war, meaning triangular formation. This tactic involves soldiers working collectively and advancing in triangular ranks to split the enemy line (Māori dictionary, 2009; Ngāti Kāpo o Aotearoa Inc. 2008, p. 13). My model also has the same characteristics as the Kawau, whereby the tip of the triangle reflects the head of these birds, the ‘pare’, a symbol of unstoppable determination. The diagonal sides of the triangle denote the ‘parirau’, the wings or flanks of the Kawau, which signify flight or movement, and

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<sup>46</sup> The Niho Taniwha design is commonly used by people from the Waikato.

<sup>47</sup> This concept pervaded every aspect of tribal functions and activities within Māori tribal communities, spanning war to food gathering (Barlow, 1994, pp. 56-58). A core purpose underlying this term was to ensure everyone within a tribe worked as a group and were rewarded an equal share of resources for their efforts (Barlow, 1994, pp. 56-58).

link with the idea of a language progressing alongside its community by adapting. This also signifies the fluid nature of language revitalisation, which can be thought of as an ongoing process, never static or fixed, but moving and progressing.

Various forms of media are positioned on the outside of this structure and circulate around the keys. Their positioning is due to their role as supporting devices for these vital areas, reason why I have called them ‘kaiāwhina’ (‘support’). While media can work against this process, it can also aid the restoration of a language by helping it thrive and hence can re-establish mauri, meaning they can bestow life into a language by assisting revitalisation efforts. Within education, media are used as pedagogical tools (for example *Tōku Reo*) and can be employed as resources to educate people on te reo and tikanga Māori. With home support, media can provide a te reo Māori environment within this domain by assisting the teaching of te reo off school grounds and catering to intergenerational transmission. Exposure to Māori culture and te reo at a young age through mediums which endorse them would create a lasting impression. If media are promoted in the home and educational setting this will influence attitudes towards the language within a community. There are many Māori companies that have a strong presence in this area, such as *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* and *Te Puni Kōkiri*. However, this area needs improvement and more Māori media companies are required for this (elaborated on further into this chapter and discussed in detail in *Chapters 6 and 7*). Overall, the goal of this model is the absolute ‘normalisation’ of te reo in the key domains, and media functions by assisting this. Now that the *Tapatoru Model 1* has been discussed, the importance of each key area in revitalising languages will be examined.

### **3.8.2 Education**

Education is a core domain needed in successful language revitalisation and there is much support for this claim. Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009) stated “education is key... For the survival of the reo through the medium of Māori”. Mather (personal communication, February 23, 2009) defended this argument



mentioning “I think... the key driver for... significant increases in the uptake in the language is mainly through the education system, the Māori education system and also mainstream as well... But most importantly... kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, whare wananga and so forth”. The educational sector is a vital domain and can offer an opportunity to obtain skills for learning or using te reo. Children invest a lot of time in this environment and much of their development transpires in this space, moulding his/her attitudes and beliefs drastically. Thus, this is an obligatory domain to ensure the maintenance of te reo Māori.

Andrew Pawley (1989, p. 17) championed this and presented several steps needed for individuals to develop te reo as a first language;

- 1) The kōhanga reo must produce fluent te reo speaking pre-schoolers over 20 years.
- 2) A decent proportion of these graduates must build on and continue to use the language conversationally with family and peers.
- 3) A great percentage of this generation will have to marry other te reo Māori speakers.
- 4) These young couples must continue to use the language regularly in their homes.
- 5) They must persuade their children to speak back to them.
- 6) This cycle must continue.

A note of caution from Pawley (1989, p. 17): one break in this sequence would cause the cycle to restart. Another concern was the impossibility of continuing this sequence if there are not enough native speakers. I felt there were problems with these steps. Asserting a great deal of Māori should marry other Māori speakers is morally wrong, since I believe that people should have the freedom of selecting their life partners without prioritising their language abilities. There would also be hardly any potential companions to choose from, considering the minute percentage of te reo speakers in this country (discussed in the next chapter). It is not necessary to have

two te reo speaking parents since one competent speaker is sufficient. An example is those solo-parents who function effectively. Nonetheless, it is a view that both Benton (1997, p. 29) and Spolsky (2005, p. 81) support, and they suggested that having competent te reo speaking parents is beneficial for children, by creating an immersion environment in the home and assisting intergenerational transmission.

### **3.8.3 Community support**

There are strong opinions that community support is required in successful language revitalisation. The community members create an individual's 'speech network' and shape their language use by influencing the norms and language patterns within a society (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004). They can potentially normalise the use of a threatened language in a wide range of settings (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004, p. 22). The community consists of vast domains and include areas outside the home and educational settings.

The marae is an important concept to address here, as Māori-centric domains located within Aotearoa/New Zealand. Traditionally a 'marae' represented areas where Māori communities once lived and Barlow (1994, pp. 73-74) defined these spaces as 'community facilities'. These traditional, communal, living areas were where Māori could effectively undergo natural intergenerational transmission. Within these settings, te reo is normalised, and traditional Māori values and cultural practices are prevalent. Marae are where whānau, hapū and iwi gather, for celebrations, funerals, meetings and other communal events. Te reo has multiple functions in these domains. It can be a daily conversational and normal language, also used for formal aspects: karanga, speeches.

On March 31 2005, *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* launched a promotional campaign to endorse te reo for Māori Language Week. This involved promoting the catch phrase "give it a go – korero Māori (kia kaha ake)": designed to create a trendy image of te reo. According to Boyce (2005, p. 107) this approach aimed to "promote (te reo) Māori as something 'cool', something that young people are into". This tactic had an

amicable appeal and evaded forcing language learning. Harlow (personal communication, January 20, 2009) agreed with this technique expressing that:

*people don't learn (te reo) Māori in order to help revitalise the language... They do it for themselves, and so... a promotional campaign which says "learn (te reo) Māori or it will die out!"... Is not as effective as "learn (te reo) Māori because you will like it! ... it's a nice language"... All these personal benefits would be the thing to push rather than the doom and gloom dying out thing.*

Additionally, for te reo Māori to become a standard language in Aotearoa/New Zealand, exercised alongside English, some believe that it must develop into a 'language of choice'. Boyce (2005, p. 86) insisted 'language choice' is imperative to ensure the ongoing use of a language within a community. In this country, Japanese is a language of choice, and in 2005 of 19,755 speakers, 6,084 were ethnically Japanese (Starks et al., 2005, p. 23). Japanese is a popular selection amongst other languages in the classroom due to its wide inter-ethnic currency (Starks et al., 2005, p. 23), high availability in schools and prestige resulting from its successful economy. However, in my opinion, its overall popularity is mind-boggling, considering there are few areas where Japanese is spoken and in comparison to countries such as India or China it is relatively minute. This conjures the point that attitudes towards a language and its status as a language of choice are extremely important for its retention or loss (Boyce, 2005, p. 86).

#### **3.8.4 Home support**

The home is a pivotal area to ensure a language thrives, and as suggested by *Te Puni Kōkiri* (2004, p. 22) this domain epitomises the core of an individual's speech network. It generally signifies the area where a child spends most of his/her time and development and hence is an environment heavily influenced by the whānau. The caregivers are the instigators of the socialisation process and through them children can 'inherit' the identity and values associated with a language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004, pp. 21-22). The home is a foundation for language acquisition and can ensure

successful ‘natural’ intergenerational transmission, the ordinary use of a language in familiar settings.

### **3.8.5 Intergenerational transmission**

Intergenerational transmission is believed to be a vital process in successful language revitalisation. It is understood as an extension of a language between parents to children and grandparents to their mokopuna (grandchildren) (Coney, 1993, p. 196). During an interview with Harlow (personal communication, January 20, 2009) he asserted it is the most essential strategy for effective language revival: “there’s one criterion called... intergenerational transmission... which if you haven’t got it, in large part Māori has not got that at the moment... the language is in (a) pretty dire state... because everything you do is sort of artificial”. He also acknowledged it is gradually occurring in this country and this is reflected by some Māori using te reo in common domains, such as supermarkets. However, in order for intergenerational transmission to succeed it needs to be plentiful and the language must become normal and actual (Harlow, personal communication, January 20, 2009). Though Houia argued earlier that education was the key for language survival, he emphasised it must commence in the home. He stated “one of my... foremost principles is that language must start at home. Then in the home you set up... you provide those people with... things that will help them to use the language in that setting” (Houia, personal communication, March 23, 2009). Intergenerational transmission is vital to pass on knowledge that is often not taught in schools, such as Māori traditions, protocols on the marae or valuing Māori concepts, knowledge which can be inherited and gifted to children by their elders.

Though Spolsky (2005, p. 68) is supportive of intergenerational transmission, he asserted it is difficult and unlikely to be regained once lost. Spolsky’s (2008) point is useful to consider, and indicates that not only must a lot of energy be invested to achieve this goal, once this goal is reached it must always be maintained. As mentioned previously, there are telling signs intergenerational transmission is

occurring with te reo and this is explicit through young Māori using the language in common domains with their peers or families. If this attitude is supported and continues, this will guarantee improvements to the language.

### **3.9 Media and te reo Māori revitalisation**

“Are media effective in helping to revitalise te reo Māori?” is the next question to examine. Many Māori once had a sour view of media due to its role in te reo’s decline, having previously bombarded Māori communities with English and assisting in its normalisation and dominance. Cooper (2004, p. 12) described television as an “all English medium” that “forcefully” brought English into Māori homes. Benton (1987, pp. 66-68) asserted media “swamped” te reo, and that television had a powerful influence on children, reinforcing the implicit idea that English was the only language of significance in the wider world. Though media assisted in the establishment of Aotearoa/New Zealand developing into the predominantly monolingual,<sup>48</sup> English-speaking country it is today, they are increasingly being utilised positively. Notable examples include iwi radio or *Māori Television*. Moreover, the previous opinions express media as powerful tools that ‘forced’ or ‘swamped’ the English language into Māori homes and had a ‘powerful influence’ on children. Contrary to this, they can be applied as efficiently to normalise and teach te reo Māori within homes and communities. As expressed, media can function as kaiāwhina that assist the key domains. Furthermore, media cater to most interests and provide people with the option of immersing their lives in a language on a regular basis, in the private space of their homes. Hollings (2005, p. 117) supports this stating:

*it (media) provides synergies with other revitalisation strategies implemented by government and Māori. In particular for young people it provides a Māori linguistic domain outside of the education system. Currently, the main focus on language revitalisation is in the education sector, but because it is not*

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<sup>48</sup> Recent census information showed 80.5% of Aotearoa’s/New Zealand’s populace are monolingual (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, pg. 109).

*supported in other domains, learners do not have any motivation to continue to use the language outside of the educational setting.*

Media is essential and can expand language domains by exposing people to te reo in common domains (within homes or vehicles) outside the educational setting. For this reason, they can bridge the connection between the key domains and strengthen the interaction between these areas.

Numerous people support the potential of media in revitalising te reo. Cooper (2004, p. 14) claimed that media, specifically *Māori Television*, are absolutely critical components in language revitalisation and their absence is certain to affect a language's health. Media specifically in the form of broadcasting are effective due to their accessibility. In 1987 Williams (1987, p. 100), an active supporter of broadcasting in language revival, asserted "radio and television are the main instruments of mass communication and have the capacity to reach every living room, common room, class room, factory floor and motor car". In present day, despite the growing prevalence of new media such as the Internet, it is estimated that 98.8% of people in Aotearoa/New Zealand have a television set and for many, this device symbolises an essential part of leisure (NZTBC Website, 2009).

Broadcast media have vast benefits and can contribute tremendously towards the economy. A study was conducted by Business and Economic Research Limited who estimated *Māori Television's* contribution towards Aotearoa/New Zealand's economy (Māori Television Corporate Profile, 2009, p. 9). Results indicated that *Māori Television's* financial impact on the country has increased over the past five years due to employment opportunities and it has made a decent contribution to Aotearoa/New Zealand's Gross Domestic Product.<sup>49</sup> The bulk of *Māori Television's* expenditure derives from 87% of its programmes being locally-made. Employment opportunities

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<sup>49</sup> As written in the Māori Television Corporate Profile (2009, p. 9): "every year since 2004, Māori Television and the independent production community contributed a total economic impact of between \$25 million and \$41 million to New Zealand's Gross Domestic Product (GDP)... (and) In total, the activities of Māori Television and the production community from 2004 to 2008 have contributed about \$185 million towards New Zealand's GDP".

are essential to sustain the health of a language and as discussed previously, Holmes (2001) believed that economic factors are the main cause of language shift. Hence, using media within an effective language revitalisation plan is destined to increase speakers by making the language more desirable and beneficial to speak.

Media are influential tools that shape the world, and the ideologies within it, by controlling what is seen and heard. Various media can manipulate the angle taken on a story and present a particular view on a topic. They can influence audiences to adore or despise certain people, opinions or topics by controlling how they are portrayed. Fox (1988, p. 483) expressed that news media are constantly shaping the way society sees the world. This justifies the need to represent Māori stories, culture and life through mediums that employ a positive focus. Leoni Pihama (1994) supports the need for Māori having a positive voice and image arguing “Māori people struggle to gain (a) voice, struggle to be heard from the margins, to have our stories heard, to have our descriptions of ourselves validated, to have access to the domain within which we can control and define those images which are held up as reflections of our realities”.

An encouraging image is vital considering that te reo is often bastardised explicitly through its incorrect pronunciation, particularly in mainstream media. This is witnessed daily by watching news segments or listening to various radio stations. Fox (1988, pp. 484-486) was in agreement: “the Pākehā (in) mass media have shown that they are unable and unwilling to fairly reflect the Māori position accurately... Māori is... an official language, yet hundreds of times a day on publicly owned radio and television stations... the Māori language is slaughtered by uncaring Pākehā”. This emphasises that media with an incentive to respect Māori values are imperative for forming people’s attitude towards a language and culture (Grin et al., 1998, p. 97; Hollings, 2005, p. 116). Imagine the controversies that would stir if a Māori news presenter struggled to master a simple greeting in English on mainstream television? This would be viewed as appalling and unacceptable.

Tele-visual media include both aural and visual dimensions, and have the added advantage of presenting Māori role models and showing ways of using te reo. For example, a person can see gestures, as well as how and when to use certain phrases in specific situations. Audio media utilises sounds and demonstrate how they should be pronounced, such as where to stress certain parts and consequently both forms have many learning attributes. Waikerepuru (2008) spoke at the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference where he argued that media have the power to make a language come alive. There are numerous understandings within this statement, but one point introduces the notion that through specific mediums individuals can actively engage, for example, by imitating presenters, rather than passively receive information. The interactive nature of some mediums enhances their power to educate audiences.

The world is altering everyday and as this occurs te reo must continually modify to suit these changes. Media are the appropriate devices for this role. For example, due to the introduction of cell phones Māori created the word ‘waea pūkoro’ in which ‘waea’ means wire or telephone and ‘pūkoro’ is pouch (Moorfield, 2003-2009). This is an example of language codification<sup>50</sup> and the mixing of words in te reo to characterise new terms. The point emphasised is that media assists te reo by bringing it into the modern world and educating people of these changes. Grin et al. (1998) asserted that media can make a minority language seem worthwhile in the modern era by popularising words. Thus, media are meaningful and can educate te reo in a modern context, rather than leaving words trapped in a traditional sphere (Grin et al. 1998, p. 96; Hollings, 2005, pp. 116-117).

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<sup>50</sup> Corpus planning (also called language codification) can be interpreted as efforts to change the ‘body’ or ‘corpus’ of a language by standardising or developing norms for its use. It is defined as the creation of new forms, modification of old ones or the selection of alternative forms in a written or spoken code (Wiley, 1996). It entails activities such as reforming spelling, coining new terms and adopting new scripts (Karam, 1974, p. 112) (see also Wiley, 1996, p. 108). It is practical when avoiding gender biases for terms such as actor or police officer and has been utilised to reform languages such as Hebrew or Norwegian.



### 3.10 Conclusion

The essence of language as invaluable and sacred to Māori set the agenda for this chapter. Introducing and discussing the vital theory underpinning this thesis is imperative to familiarise and educate readers about their complexities and understandings. Hohepa's view of language as living and growing is closely aligned with my view on language as having a mauri. Hohepa's use of metaphor utilising nature to describe the process of language revival also enlightened me and I show this by producing an analogy of language to a forest. I put forward the argument that media like environmentalists can restore life to a dead or dying language (forest). My model, the *Tapatoru Model 1* aids the expression of my ideas in terms of the most essential areas to successfully revitalise a language, the three keys; education, home support and community support, with media as supporting devices. The *Tapatoru Model 1* is based on kaupapa Māori theory and utilises conventions of unity, as well as working collectively to achieve goals set, interlinking with the paradigms the Kawau Mārō and Niho Taniwha. The *Tapatoru Model 1* diagram illustrates media's relationship and function in language revival. Media are positioned around the keys where they interact and assist each, and so they were named kaiāwhina. Important themes in this chapter include intergenerational transmission and the normalisation of te reo, which are imperative for the continued health of the language by ensuring its frequent use. They are also major goals for my *Tapatoru Model 1*. Natural intergenerational transmission is stressed as a necessary element for raising fluent or competent te reo speakers who can be equipped with efficient knowledge of Māori traditions and customs, teachings which will ingrain a positive outlook towards language and culture amongst the youth. Media are essential in achieving normalisation through exposing people to te reo in a variety of forms, in numerous domains. This chapter has also highlighted various reasons underpinning the necessity of media in language revival. They are appealing and influential to most people, are accessible and have economic potential. Furthermore, languages are constantly changing and various media can keep people well-informed and educated with these alterations by introducing new terms and demonstrating their use. Media

are powerful tools that shape people's outlook and have vast potential in endorsing a positive image of the Māori culture and language.

## CHAPTER 4:

# THE STATUS OF TE REO MĀORI

*Ka auē, ka mōhiohia he mate; ka nohopuku, ka pōhēhētia he ora,  
he ngākau tatū.<sup>51</sup>*



- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Is te reo Māori a dying language?
- 4.3 Characteristics of te reo Māori speakers
- 4.4 Te reo Māori revitalisation: by age
- 4.5 Te reo Māori revitalisation: by ethnicity
- 4.6 Benefits of speaking a second language
- 4.7 The future of te reo Māori
- 4.8 Conclusion

### 4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate whether te reo Māori is a dying language by analysing qualitative and quantitative research. Exploring this issue is imperative, considering revitalisation efforts are primarily needed if a language is in decline. The notion that te reo Māori is a dying language requires clarification, having been both promoted and contested. Another aim of this chapter is to address who language revitalisation should be aimed at, in terms of age and ethnicity. Points are made and examined on the benefits of speaking te reo, as a second language. The final section forecasts the future of te reo using predictions from recent census information, the interviews conducted and my personal deductions.

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<sup>51</sup> Meaning: 'People should cry out when they are in pain, if they sit quietly no one will know they are hurting'. This quotation is taken from Mōkena Kōhere's remarks on the Treaty of Waitangi, entitled ko te amuamu te tino rongoā (grumbling is the best remedy) (Mead et al., 2003, p. 151). This whakatauki can be applied to te reo Māori since I believe if people are made aware of its status, this can provide incentive to support revitalisation efforts.

## 4.2 Is te reo Māori a dying language?

Qualitative opinions are vital for this next section, as currently in this country it is unclear whether te reo is a dying language. Some believe it is safe due to the Māori renaissance (see *Chapter 2*, section 2.4), while others disagree or are unsure of its status. Prior to undertaking this thesis, I hypothesised te reo was dying. Grounds for this was my upbringing in two Māori communities: Kawerau and Te Teko. In these areas Māori were and remain the majority, yet te reo was not a primary language utilised by many on a daily basis. Though I assumed te reo was dying, I was oblivious to the extent of its decline.

Although produced at different times, there are numerous arguments that vouch te reo is a dying language. Grin et al. (1998, p. 12) emphasised it is far from being secure in terms of intergenerational transmission (discussed further in this chapter). According to Anthony and Nena Benton (2001) and Starks et al. (2005, p. 19) there is a low percentage of te reo speakers. Hollings (2005, p. 115) alleged te reo is in decline and Boyce (2005, p. 87) wrote it is ‘battling for survival’. Dr. Hirini Moko Mead (1997, pp. 78-79) emphasised that a great majority of people have the attitude that te reo ‘is already potentially dead’ and for them trying to save it is a waste of time. However, this is a self-fulfilling prophecy that will eventuate in the demise of the language. From the recent interviews I conducted, Harlow (personal communication, January 20, 2009) stated “it is certainly a dying language, whether it will die is another matter... it’s dying in the sense that it is in a... precarious state”. Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009) asserted “I think it... is a dying language... Because there’s no domains... it’s still threatened”. These arguments accentuate that revitalisation initiatives are needed, given that te reo is still continually struggling to survive in this country.

However, there are opinions that te reo is not dying. Glenda Wynyard<sup>52</sup> (2008) supported this, stating “I believe that the language is the strongest that it’s been in...

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<sup>52</sup> Wynyard is the managing director of the media council in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

many years and that (it) will continue to strengthen”. The following responses were obtained from recent interviews. Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) asserted “I can’t see the Māori language dying out. I just think... there is a growth trend of things Māori”.

Mather (personal communication, February 23, 2009) is also of this opinion:

*there is a growing renaissance (through Māori education, Māori Television, iwi radio)... there is a movement and it started many years ago... 20... plus years ago in terms of... Māori leadership... seeing the demise of the language and saying we need to do something about it... there’s a big swing in the other direction.*

Harawira (personal communication, February 26, 2009) asserted:

*I think the reo is evolving. More words have been created to fit a modern context. Tribal groupings have taken the initiative and adopted language initiatives such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. Others have become more focused on maintaining their unique dialects.*

I found that Wynyard, Fox and Mather shared the view that te reo Māori is strengthening in this country. These positive opinions are most likely due to the interviewee’s involvement and profession in the Māori media industry. They have personally witnessed and experienced the aftermath of the Māori renaissance and upsurge in government funded support for te reo in their respective fields. Harawira’s view that te reo is ‘evolving’ intrigued me since I agree that in order for a language to survive in the modern day, it must constantly change and ‘evolve’. This can occur by creating new transliterations or hybridising words to suit and develop alongside society, an essential process in language codification (see footnote 50).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> For example, ‘aporo’ is a te reo term that is a transliteration for apple. Changing words so they sound similar to their English interpretations makes them easier to learn. On hybridisation ‘waiwai express’ is a suitable example of an informal, hybrid, English and te reo Māori term which means ‘walking’. For many, these words are used in this country in everyday communication.

Despite the fact that these optimistic opinions give hope for the language, the previous points made that te reo is a dying language contest these views. These qualitative opinions illustrate the complexity of te reo being labeled a ‘dying language’ and demonstrate the multitude of differing opinions. Thus, to clarify the current position of the language, quantitative support is necessary.

According to information from the most recent census (2006), Aotearoa/New Zealand has 4,027,947 people. Of this populace, English is spoken by 3,673,626<sup>54</sup> (95.9%) while te reo Māori is spoken by 157,110 (4.1%) individuals (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, p. 109; New Zealand Census, 2006b, p. 9). Taking into consideration that the census is the most reliable<sup>55</sup> document in terms of issues related to the wider population in this country, this supports the assumption that te reo is a dying language, since it is spoken by a small percentage, while English is a dominant, majority language. The low proportion of speakers accentuates that the language is struggling for survival and is in a poorer state than anticipated. Information from Starks et al. (2005, p. 21) and Statistics New Zealand (2006) revealed that in 2001 te reo Māori was spoken by 160,527 people and in 2006 by 157,113. Hence, the number of te reo speakers has fallen slightly in a five year period. This is problematic considering that the Māori population has increased by 39,045 when comparing the 2001 and 2006 censuses (Appendix 6). This information clearly illustrates te reo Māori speakers are proportionally declining, meaning active measures are needed immediately to prevent the use of te reo falling further.

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<sup>54</sup> English-speakers are increasing in number in Aotearoa/New Zealand: in 1996 it was spoken by 3,290,454 people, in 2001 by 3,425,304 and in 2006 3,673,626 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). This information shows that the dominance of English as a primary language is strengthening.

<sup>55</sup> Although I have supported the validity of census information, I have acknowledged that these documents have faults; they depend on the general public’s interpretation on whether they feel they can speak te reo, a view that varies among individuals.

### 4.3 Characteristics of te reo Māori speakers

“Of the people who speak te reo Māori, which ethnic groups do they belong to?” As argued by Starks et al. (2005, pp. 20-21) in 2001, 19,896 (12%) non-Māori<sup>56</sup> spoke this language. The majority of these speakers were New Zealand Europeans (13,092 speakers) and the remaining were Pacific and Asian. During the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference, Chief Judge Joseph Williams (2008) claimed there were above 31,000 non-Māori who spoke te reo. He reported “20% of the speakers of (te reo) Māori in this country are not Māori” (Williams, 2008). These points illustrate that though non-Māori are increasingly speaking te reo, very few actually speak it as a primary or secondary language.

This section focuses on te reo Māori speakers relative to their age group. From the 2006 census (Appendix 7), of Māori who could hold a conversation in te reo, one-quarter were aged between 15 to 64 years and just under half (48.7%) were aged 65 years and over (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2006). The qualitative opinions and census information clearly indicate that the language is showing signs of being moribund since it is predominantly spoken by the elderly, characteristic of a dying language (Janse, 2003).

Analysing the language use of the Māori population is imperative, considering most te reo speakers are Māori. By doing so, it can provide reason why a particular age demographic should be pursued in language revitalisation and can highlight a focus for Māori media companies. Research revealed one in three (35.4%) Māori are under 15 years of age which indicates a predominantly young population (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, p. 117; New Zealand Census, 2006a, p. 4). Information from the New Zealand Official Yearbook 2008 surmised that this group will remain as the majority within the Māori population in the year 2026 (Statistics New Zealand, 2008). The Māori population graph (Appendix 8) showed that the highest proportion of Māori were from the ages of both five to nine and ten to 14, each comprising 11.8% of the

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<sup>56</sup> Non-Māori are defined as those people who neither define themselves as Māori nor claim they are of Māori descent.

Māori population (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, p. 117; Statistics New Zealand, 2006, p. 4). The second largest group (with 11.7%) were zero to four year olds. Thus, targeting the youthful Māori population for language revitalisation is potentially beneficial, due to their majority status within the Māori populace.

#### **4.4 Te reo Māori revitalisation: by age**

A significant question to deliberate is “who should te reo Māori revitalisation be aimed at?” In order to answer this question effectively, the ideal target audience must be analysed. Previously, I presented arguments that children need to be encouraged to speak te reo for successful language revival, considering their importance in successful intergenerational transmission. They signify the future and can shape the next generation’s attitude towards a language and culture.

Benton (1997) asserted that a language is pronounced ‘dead’ when the last ‘child’ learns it, which emphasises that a prevention method for language death is to ensure children continue to speak and use a language. Moreover, Benton (1997, p. 8) stressed for a language to be revived, support from the community is needed, thereby making it appealing for the next generation: the children. Boyce (2005, p. 99) strengthened this argument stating “youngsters (are) the future of a language”. Cumming (2005, p. 3) argued that more programmes on *Māori Television* should be aimed at young viewers since they represent upcoming te reo Māori speakers. These points share a commonality, highlighting the need for children to learn te reo, as the future generation of a language. In addition, during the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference, Waikerepuru (2008) underlined the importance of children with languages. He declared: “children who can not speak their language are damaged children, are disabled children... Damaged children going to school find many hurdles” (Waikerepuru, 2008). This passionate argument emphasises the importance and value of language for the development of a child’s identity, a message that I can intimately relate to. Since I was unable to learn te reo throughout



childhood and master the language in a natural way, I feel I was deprived of an essential part of my identity as Māori.

This next section looks at the biological reasons underpinning children's importance in language revival. Pawley (1989, p. 16) iterated to gain native competence in a language as adults this must start at childhood and children need to continue learning a language till they are ten years old. If children fail to attain te reo by this age they are unlikely to be competent speakers for social and biological reasons. Pawley (1989, p. 16) stated "especially up to the ages of about eight to nine... we have the greatest facility to learn a language, and above all, to master the sound system of a language". Though Pawley's claims may have validity, language attainment is complex. For example, children's abilities differ and though they should be prioritised, I do not agree a specific age should be specified in this way. Language learning is an ongoing process and must commence and continue from the earliest age possible. I believe the longer children are exposed to a language, the more likely it will be ingrained into their minds.

Noam Chomsky proposed the Language Acquisition Device (LAD), a familiar and therefore essential theory to consider when discussing language attainment and learning (Cook et al., 2007, p. 58). The LAD can be described as a postulated organ of the brain that functions as a device for language acquisition. The theory behind this concept draws from the idea that humans are born with innate or instinctual abilities for acquiring languages. When children hear sentences, called the primary linguistic data (input), this goes through the LAD and the knowledge of language comes out (output). Simply put, language acquisition is the attainment of knowledge. Chomsky believed the LAD expires after a certain age (the critical period hypothesis). According to Chomsky, this is reason why children have the ability to learn languages more easily than adults (Cook et al., 2007, pp. 52-55). If children learn to speak te reo Māori at an early age they will not have to consciously learn, it will be part of a natural process.

Dalby (2002, p. 5) claimed that infants can unconsciously learn any language perfectly and stated:

*children devote a massive amount of time and work to language, especially in those early years. Some of the activity is conscious. Children play with words; they conduct nonsense conversations. Children play with and imagine conversations; they memorise, invent and transform stories. All of this is serious linguistic work. They are doing it, almost full-time for years.*

I find this quote to be true from personal experience as I can not remember learning English and te reo Māori as a child. There was no pressure or struggle to learn either language. Yet, although I stopped learning te reo at the age of six, what I learnt has remained with me today.

Another approach to this issue is that both adults and children should be targeted in effective language revitalisation. Harlow (personal communication, January 20, 2009) was of this opinion, asserting they should both be focused upon and can equally share the passion of language learning. An analogy is children are ‘putty’ and parents ‘sculptors’. Parents mould their children and if they choose to, can reinforce a language by promoting its use in the home. An argument was put forward by *Te Puni Kōkiri* (2008, p. 7) which described parents as the ‘key decision makers’ in determining the educational pathways of their children. Particularly during earlier stages of childhood, parents can decide whether their child’s environment is immersed in a language and if that language is cherished. I feel teachers also shape children and act as ‘unconscious decision makers’. For example, if a teacher pronounces te reo terms incorrectly, a child will think this is normal and acceptable. Accordingly, teachers have the power of sculpting children without realising their influence. Their personal opinions of a language can imprint onto children whether either party want this or not, and on that account they are an essential group to target.

#### **4.5 Te reo Māori revitalisation: by ethnicity**

I acknowledge that many New Zealanders may not feel compelled to learn te reo; many non-Māori may feel that they do not have the right to speak the indigenous language of this country and the economic benefits of speaking te reo may seem minimal. Yet all people who have made Aotearoa/New Zealand their home have a right to learn the native language of this country, as this will benefit the health of the language which is such a strong part of the cultural identity of their homeland. Media efforts to revitalise te reo must therefore be aimed not only at Māori, but non-Māori as well. The following section will provide grounds for this.

If non-Māori speak te reo, as the majority, this will assist in normalisation and revitalisation by ensuring its use in every situation possible, throughout common domains in this country. Media aiming to promote te reo use amongst non-Māori New Zealanders, convincing them that te reo creates a unique image of this country whilst characterising all people who inhabit it, is essential for the secure revitalisation of this language. For instance, New Zealanders are also called ‘Kiwi’, a te reo Māori term. A significant portion of the national and global identity of this country is defined by the Māori culture, through the language.

There are several examples already of aspects of te reo Māori being normalised by the media. One was mentioned by Harlow (personal communication, January 20, 2009) and Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) during recent interviews. They recalled the event in 1999 when Hinewehi Mohi sang *God defend New Zealand* during the Rugby World Cup game in England. Instead of singing the English version, she sang it only in te reo. This caused outrage from the audience who complained and firmly protested that what she had done was inappropriate. Mohi’s response was it seemed like the natural thing to do (New Zealand History Online, 2008). Williams (2008) recalled no one wanted the national anthem to be sung in two languages, it just happened. Due to Mohi’s courage and as a result of normalisation,

the singing of both the te reo Māori and English versions of the national anthem prior to important sports events has developed into a customary practice in this country.

Another example is the ‘haka’ (‘traditional Māori dance’) performance by the *All Blacks*, which is carried out prior to rugby games. This is a prime example of a piece of Māori culture (with accompanying te reo) being normalised by sports media. The haka is known globally for being associated with both Aotearoa/New Zealand’s rugby team and this country. Many New Zealanders are proud of this tradition and enjoy showing their connection to this country by associating with this team and traditional dance. On *C4’s* (2009) *Rocked the Nation 2*, the haka was labeled Aotearoa/New Zealand’s number one pop culture story. Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) stated “we’re the people that do the haka”, emphasising it helps define New Zealand’s identity. *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (2009) reported that te reo Māori is increasingly becoming part of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s national and international identity. This maintains that te reo bestows New Zealanders with a unique image distinguishable from other cultures worldwide.

If non-Māori speak te reo, this will strengthen their relationship with Māori by enhancing cross cultural connections and understandings. Boyce (2005) stressed that if New Zealanders work together to learn the language, this will strengthen the bond between non-Māori, Māori and their identity as Kiwis. Boyce (2005, p. 107) asserted:

*if we as a nation get ‘into Te Reo’, we will live in a New Zealand where (the) Māori language is valued, and considered part of our identity. More New Zealanders will learn some Māori, and those who already speak Māori will increase their proficiency, their functional range, and their rate of use because it will be ‘cool’ to speak Māori. Māori will... be seen as a means of enhancing their identity as New Zealanders. Knowing at least some Māori would be a marker of what it means to be a citizen of New Zealand.*

Though promoting the language as ‘cool’ is beneficial for its health, knowing just some te reo is not enough, since it has few speakers and is not used as a major

language in this country. Therefore, more media revitalisation efforts aimed at non-Māori are needed to assist the language.

Spolsky (2005) presented three views used to describe the attitude regarding te reo Māori; assimilationist, amalgamationist and separatist. Spolsky (2005, p. 70) mentioned their usefulness in terms of categorising the competing views of the nature of Aotearoa/New Zealand's identity.

- (1) The assimilationist view has no difficulty with the loss of te reo Māori.
- (2) The amalgamationist stance would like non-Māori as well as Māori to learn the language.
- (3) The separatist position insists on the revitalisation of te reo as a living language of the Māori community, ideally a language that re-establishes the appropriate dialect for each iwi.

A common non-Māori attitude remains among many individuals, including those of Māori descent, who favour complete assimilation. A second non-Māori view shared by many Māori is that Aotearoa/New Zealand's identity can be achieved by the amalgamation of people and the development of a single blended, merged population, with appropriate adoption of some aspects of the Māori culture and language by the non-Māori majority (Spolsky, 2005). The third, separatist view assumes Māori and non-Māori can live side-by-side, with equal rights, but distinct social and cultural institutions and languages (Spolsky, 2005, p. 70).

I feel that Spolsky's three positions are simplistic distillations of the plethora of possible positions. Realistically, they can be imagined as three points on a scale, with any number of differing intermediate perspectives located between them. My position is a balanced second and third view. Although I want the two peoples to unite and embrace te reo by speaking it, 'blending' New Zealanders into one people must be avoided. It should be acknowledged that 'New Zealander' is an umbrella term which encompasses distinct, but separate ethnicities and identities within it. By speaking te

reo, this would not eradicate the identities of being Pākehā, Māori, or other non-Māori; it will be used to enhance the relationship between non-Māori and Māori, creating balance in language use and domains, and by improving cultural understandings. I feel the assimilationist view is flawed in its pessimism and disregards the value and importance of both te reo and the Māori culture. Again, media may be utilised to counter this view by convincing assimilationists that te reo Māori is a part of their identity as New Zealanders, and by emphasising the benefits and usefulness of this language.

Māori are the tangata whenua (people of the land) of Aotearoa/New Zealand and have special footing in this country (Benton, 1987, p. 70; Karetu et al., 1988-1989, p. 226). Pawley (1989, p. 121) supports this, reporting that te reo Māori have special claims in Aotearoa/New Zealand's educational system since it belongs to the tangata whenua and deserves respect. The Crown has an underlying obligation to actively support te reo as an official language of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, pg. 109) and due to Waikerepuru et al.'s (1986) findings in the WAI 11 report. In accordance with the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi, te reo is guaranteed protection (Grin et al., 1998, p. 189;<sup>57</sup> Harris, 2005; Hollings, 2005, pp. 114 & 129). Waikerepuru et al. (1986, p. 20) argued 'guarantee' means active steps are required to ensure Māori have possession of their language and culture. Although the Crown/government has an obligation to protect te reo Māori, this was not acknowledged until after 1986 when the language was belatedly granted official status.

Pete Barnao (1998, p. 2) summed up the government's policies as follows;

- 1) Increasing opportunities to learn te reo Māori.

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<sup>57</sup> According to Grin et al. (1998, p. 189) "the Tribunal found that te reo Māori is a taonga guaranteed protection under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi, since it is part of customs and possessions. The Tribunal described the language as an essential part of Māori culture and found that the guarantee contained in Article II requires affirmative action to protect and enhance the language, not just a passive obligation to tolerate its existence, and certainly not a right to deny its use in any place".

- 2) Enhancing proficiency in speaking, understanding, reading and writing in te reo.
- 3) Improving opportunities to use the language by increasing the number of situations where it can be used.
- 4) Boosting the rate of te reo Māori development, so it can be used for a full range of modern activities.
- 5) Fostering positive attitudes, accurate beliefs and good values of the language.

From this information it is clear broadcasting is suitable to help reach the government's aims since these mediums can enhance the use of te reo in all the above ways.

However important it is to direct te reo revitalisation efforts via the media at the non-Māori majority, it is of even greater importance to ensure the normalisation of te reo among its original speakers. For Māori, language is an irreplaceable part of personal identity, history and culture. Sir Apirana Ngata (1939) declared: “(there is) nothing worse than for one to be with Māori features but without his own language” (Benton, 1984: 10) (see also Coney, 1993: 196). Beyond the non-Māori reasons of identifying with the country they call home, te reo is at the core of what it is to ‘be’ Māori. Sir James Henare (Harlow, 2007, p. 200) (see also Williams, 2008) reflected this point:

*language according to Oliver Wendell Holmes is a solemn thing, it grows out of life, out of its agonies and its ecstasies, its wants and its wariness, every language is a temple in which the soul of those who speak it is enshrined... (Sir James Henare) said... language is the very essence of the... Māori identity.*

I can appreciate Holme's view on language as growing, living and as a temple that enshrines the soul. These views are appealing since they mesh with my vision on the imperativeness of language for individuals, both internally and externally. Internally, language is vital for the soul and signifies how an individual sees themselves. Externally, language is essential for communication, outer identity and expression.

Prior to the introduction of literature into Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori used the spoken word as the core means for preserving history, tradition and knowledge, with stories, songs and myths passed down from generation to generation. Waikerepuru et al. (1986, p. 17) accurately reflects this position with his statement:

*the Māori culture of New Zealand is unique in the world. Its carvings are rich in symbolism. Its music is harmonious and appealing. Its dancing has captivated many hearts and its oral tradition is abundant in song and story. There is a great body of “oral literature” that has survived for many generations, full of wisdom in its narrative and beauty in its poetry and at the heart of it all is the Māori language.*

Language had and still possesses extreme value in terms of passing on this knowledge. A great body of history, poetry, skill (through art, carving and tāmoko)<sup>58</sup> and song depend on this oral tradition to sustain it.

#### **4.6 Benefits of speaking a second language**

There are many cognitive benefits on a personal level of speaking more than one language, yet information from the most recent census showed that 80.5% of Aotearoa's/New Zealand's populace are monolingual (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, pg. 109). This equates to four-fifths of the population who could be advantaged by becoming bilingual. The role of media here is to advertise these advantages and normalise the choice of te reo Māori as a preferred second language. Peter Keegan (1996, pp. 2-3) described a study conducted by Pearl and Lambert (1962) where bilingual and monolingual children were compared. The outcome of this study revealed bilingual children significantly outperformed monolingual children in all tests undertaken, both in verbal and non-verbal tasks (Keegan, 1996, p. 2). Keegan further argued bilingual individuals have enhanced abilities such as improved concept formation, divergent thinking and a greater ability to detect ambiguity. Due to their exposure to more than two cultures, they have enhanced cognitive skills and are more capable of complex, analytical thinking. Additionally, they have a wider and more

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<sup>58</sup> Tāmoko is a Māori tattoo which uses traditional designs.



varied range of experiences in comparison to monolingual speakers (Keegan, 1996, p. 2; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1993, pp. 9-10).

Being bilingual also increases employment opportunities, within Māori media companies for example. Keegan (1996, p. 17) asserted bilingualism will establish employment opportunities in areas requiring skills in both te reo and English, such as journalism, translation, publishing and teaching. Additionally, increasing the amount of Māori media companies will strengthen the motive to be employable and successful in fields requiring highly developed te reo skills. This will bestow value to the language and increase competent people in these areas.

#### **4.7 The future of te reo Māori**

There is uncertainty of the survival of te reo in the future. Benton (1981, pp. 3-4) stated te reo Māori having official status in Aotearoa/New Zealand would provide a solution for the troubles of the language. While Benton's hopes were answered, and perhaps, as he described, the language was 'snatched from the jaws of death' (Benton, 1987), is this still enough to recover it?

Predictions were made in the New Zealand Official Yearbook 2008 that from 2006 to 2026 the Māori population will increase by 1.4% a year (up 190,000, predicted to reach 818,000 in 2026) (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, pp. 88-89). This leads to the assumption that te reo Māori speakers will concurrently increase. Keeping this information in mind, the Pacific population will escalate by 2.4% annually (up 180,000, to 482,000 by 2026) and the European population by 0.3% annually (increasing by 220,000 to become 3,429,000 in 2026) (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, pp. 88-89). Thus, though the Māori population will increase, the European population will proliferate at a greater rate. In addition, the Asian population has a growth rate of 3.4% a year and it is anticipated that they will increase by 380,000 people from 2006 to 2026 (to 788,000 in 2026) and will become a significant proportion of Aotearoa/New Zealand's populace (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, pp. 88-89). This

justifies a core point in this thesis; in order for te reo Māori to have a bright future it needs to be spoken and supported by non-Māori, since they will increasingly become the majority, while Māori will be an ever-shrinking minority.

I believe te reo Māori speakers will remain and strengthen in number if individuals both Māori and non-Māori are willing to take action and ensure its successful revitalisation. Promising predictions were made in the interviews conducted with Mather and Fox. Mather (personal communication, February 23, 2009) believed “ideally... we would become a truly bilingual nation”. Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) stated te reo Māori will be used, spoken and completely normal.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

Through exploring qualitative arguments and quantitative data from the most recent censuses, this chapter revealed that te reo is a dying language since it is spoken and supported by few. Thus, revitalisation efforts are needed to prevent further decline and ensure the language is maintained in the future. When examining who should be targeted in terms of age, there was a resounding and dominant theme that children should be the focus to ensure the future of the language, since language learning is a natural process at an early age. Considering that Māori make a minute percentage of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s populace, it became clear that both Māori, and non-Māori as the majority, must be targeted for effective language revival. Since very few non-Māori speak te reo, they need to be a primary focus. The census information illustrated that proportionally the Māori population is likely to decline: in other words, non-Māori will become an even larger majority. Reasons were given for all New Zealanders to speak te reo: to strengthen their identities as Kiwis, to recognise the language’s official status and to acknowledge both Māori as the tangata whenua and te reo as a taonga protected under the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori should speak te reo to preserve and sustain their culture, identity and history. The many benefits of speaking a second language were outlined, such as the cognitive and intellectual advantages, expanding one’s outlook on life and increased employability and

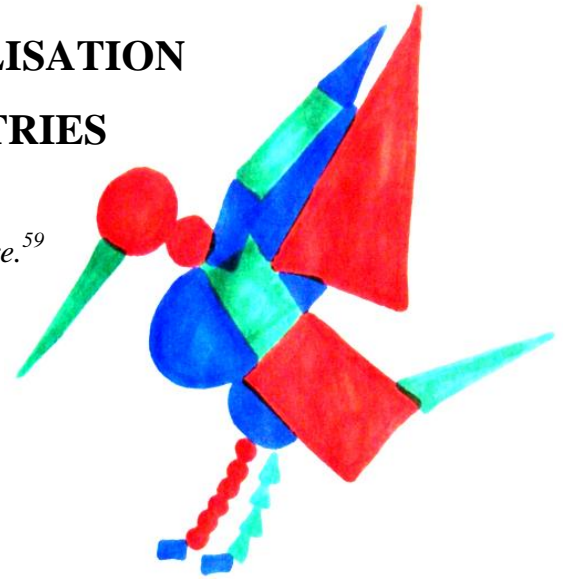
economic potential. Additionally, though the interviewees' opinions on the continued survival of te reo were optimistic, this future can not be assumed and must actively be ensured and maintained.

## CHAPTER 5:

# LANGUAGE REVITALISATION

## IN OTHER COUNTRIES

*Honoa te hono a te kiore.*<sup>59</sup>



- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Hawaii
- 5.3 Ireland
- 5.4 Wales
- 5.5 Conclusion

### 5.1 Introduction

As mentioned in *Chapter 3*, of an estimated 6,000 existing languages worldwide, the majority are declining towards imminent language death. Many languages such as Hawaiian, te reo Māori, Saami in Scandinavia, Catalan in Spain and Crow in North America are struggling (Keegan, 1996; Warner, 2001, p. 135). Numerous languages have already undergone language death including to some extent Cornish, Manx and many aboriginal languages in Australia (Holmes, 2008, p. 58). Complacency with the current levels of proficiency in te reo Māori can easily lead to the death of this precious language. Te reo Māori, with its various dialects, is the sole indigenous language of Aotearoa/New Zealand and should be less complex to maintain compared to minority languages in countries such as Australia or Canada which have many indigenous languages.<sup>60</sup> In this thesis, I have assumed that media are being used

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<sup>59</sup> Meaning: 'Follow each other like rats.' Although this seems like a crude proverb, its message is insightful and provides useful guidance. This advice was given to Māori warriors during war and means to stick close together, like rats that follow close behind one another when coursing over forest trails at night. These words ensured warriors were close enough to assist each other in battle (Mead et al., 2003, p. 142). I selected these words for this chapter since I believe Aotearoa/New Zealand must follow the success of other countries' revitalisation methods to improve the status of te reo. In other words we must 'stand on the shoulders of giants', by building on the success and progress of others so that we can make more valuable improvements and stand higher than our predecessors.

<sup>60</sup> In Canada there are approximately 53 aboriginal languages and in Australia there is an estimated 50 surviving aboriginal languages (LaRose, 2008; Turner, 2008).

internationally as effective supporting devices in language revitalisation. To investigate this claim I formulated and examined the question: “are media effective in assisting the revival of languages in other countries?”

For the first time in 2008, the ‘World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference’ was held in Aotearoa/New Zealand: an international event at which broadcasters gathered to share stories of their unique cultures. Claims were made that media, predominantly through television, has had a powerful influence in helping to revive various languages globally. Numerous indigenous channels were presented, such as Canada’s Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, BBC Scotland, National Indigenous Television in Australia, South African Channel, Taiwan’s Public Television Service and Taiwan Broadcasting System (Moulaudzi, 2008). During this event a representative for BBC Scotland, Margaret Murray (2008) reinforced the importance of television broadcasting in language revitalisation, claiming it is imperative for the ongoing health of Scotland’s indigenous languages: Gaelic, Welsh, Irish Gaelic and Ulster Scots;

*in Scotland it’s accepted that broadcasting has an important role to play in sustaining, revitalising and strengthening the language, acting as a door in which new participants can access the language, creating profile and enhancing the image of the language, validating and normalising its use and being a medium for self expression for a community of users.*

The powerful points in this quote reflect the importance of broadcasting media in ensuring the survival of languages through normalisation and promotion. These core themes have previously been emphasised in this thesis as fundamental ingredients for sustaining te reo Māori.

The question “how have struggling minority languages been revitalised in other countries?” is considered, as effective approaches utilised elsewhere may be successfully applied in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Hawaii, Ireland and Wales, due to their respective ongoing efforts, were selected to provide possible solutions for this. I

compared these countries with the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand, acknowledging they are historically distinct. The reasons underpinning their selection was their small and comparable population sizes and shared past, in which their indigenous languages were displaced by the English language. These countries were examined in terms of the incorporation of the indigenous language in the education system, government support, their language situation, similarities with Aotearoa/New Zealand and their use of media in language revival.

## **5.2 Hawaii**

There are numerous languages spoken in Hawaii: Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese and English. In 1959 Hawaii became the 50<sup>th</sup> American state which caused the loss of Hawaiian political independence, culture and their natural environment. Membership as one of America's states triggered an influx of tourists, who flooded the chain of islands, affecting the people and their native language, whilst benefiting Hawaii's economy (Warner, 2001, p. 135). Over time these influences contributed to the precarious state of near-disappearance the Hawaiian language is in today (Dalby, 2002, p. 207). Another major cause for this demise was the ban of the Hawaiian language from use in schools in 1886. During a recent interview with Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009), he mentioned that Hawaiian was banned until 1994, when a group from Hilo University fought the regulation (see also Warner, 2001, p. 133). Also, in 1900 the Organic Act was passed, meaning all businesses were made to conduct their dealings in American-English (Warner, 2001, p. 135). The loss of political independence and the control of institutions (particularly through education) were a direct result of colonisation, and these factors impacted on the encroachment of Hawaiian language domains by English. Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009) asserted "in Hawaii they don't have maraes; they've got no venue where... the language can be used". This is a severe handicap, as marae are domains where hapū and iwi can use te reo as a primary means of communication and partake in traditional Māori practices and rituals: singing,

dancing and preparing traditional meals or medicines for example. Precious knowledge which is essential for the preservation of the indigenous Māori culture. In Hawaii attempts were made through education to secure the language in the form of ‘punana leo’, established in 1984 and ‘kula kaiapuni’, founded in 1987 (Warner, 2001, p. 136). Similarly to the English translation of kōhanga reo, punana leo means ‘language nest’ in Hawaiian. Punana leo are total immersion pre-schools designed for children aged two to five years. Kula kaiapuni are Hawaiian immersion programmes intended to continue teaching the language after punana leo through to high school (Warner, 2001, pp. 137-138).

According to Sam Warner (2001, p. 133) from the University of Hawaii, the exact number of native Hawaiian speakers is unknown, but is estimated at fewer than 1,000 (see also the US Census Bureau Website, 2009). This number is indefinite since the number of speakers is not listed in the decennial census records, which is America’s equivalent to New Zealand’s census. Warner (2001, p. 133) provided detail on the existing Hawaiian speakers mentioning they consist primarily of people aged 80 years and over, symptomatic of being moribund (Janse, 2003).

The Hawaiian language was made an official language of the state in 1978 (Warner, 2001, p. 135). Benton (1981, p. 3) acknowledged the language situation in Hawaii and said:

*the fate of Hawaiian should be sufficient warning for anyone who thinks that official status... will ensure the maintenance and growth of the Māori language. Languages are frequently the victims of hunger-strikes on the part of their speakers; discouragement, disillusionment and despondency leads speakers to stop using their own language, often despite their great love for it, so that their children grow up familiar only with an alien tongue, and the ancestral language fast becomes no more than a memory.*

This statement indicates that official language status will not ensure the survival of a language and more is required to make certain it is used and spoken. Though

Hawaiian is in a further advanced state of decline than te reo, this quote contains a clear warning for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In the opinions of Henry Niedzielski (1992, p. 370) and Keegan (1996, p. 3), Hawaiians are an indigenous group who share many commonalities with Māori. Both peoples speak a threatened language belonging to the Polynesian language family and share rich oral cultures which include the telling of myths, histories, words of wisdom and teachings (Warner, 2001, p. 134). Furthermore, they have similar pre-European cultures and experienced many commonalities with colonisation. Parallel to Māori, Hawaiian migrated from their homeland and discovered a new home where they thrived for more than 1,000 years as independent, self-sufficient people (Dalby, 2002, p. 207).

Both suffered immensely from large scale land alienation and forced assimilation into the dominant English language and culture as a result of colonisation (Keegan, 1996, p. 3). Similarly to the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hawaii had missionaries, however they arrived in 1820 (Warner, 2001, p. 134). Due to this encounter, many adopted the Christian religion which introduced literacy and created a literate populace (Dalby, 2002, p. 208).

Forced assimilation contributed to the rapid decline of both people's populations, meaning they became minorities. For example, in 1778, when Hawaiians experienced initial contact with foreigners, their population was estimated at 800,000 (Stannard, 1989; Warner, 2001). David Stannard (1989) asserted that unfamiliar diseases caused the death of 80% of the Hawaiian population. In 1878 only 47,500 Hawaiians remained (Schmitt, 1968). Although foreign diseases proved devastating to Māori, this was not the major cause for the population's decline and a variety of other factors also contributed.



Hawaiians, like Māori, were advised to speak English and many were disciplined for speaking their native language from 1900 to 1920 (Warner, 2001, p. 135). Due to these negative factors many avoided intergenerational transmission which was detrimental for the health of the language and assisted in the creation of generations of English-speaking Hawaiians. Parallel to the Māori resurgence, in the late 1960s a cultural revolution occurred amongst young Hawaiians (Warner, 2001). They developed interest in their culture, illustrating this by singing traditional songs and learning customary dances (Warner, 2001, p. 135).

Media support for Hawaiian is limited when compared with the situation of te reo Māori. Unlike Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hawaii does not have a television channel devoted to the indigenous language. Instead it has programmes such as *Kulaiwi*,<sup>61</sup> an online language programme in Hawaiian (Kamehameha Schools Distance Learning, 2007). In 2008, a Hawaiian television news segment regularly aired on KGMB9 and screened at 7.30am on weekdays (Ka Wai Ola Website, 2008). The lack of media revitalisation efforts is reflected in the low uptake of the language by the population of Hawaii.

### 5.3 Ireland

In Ireland Gaeilge<sup>62</sup> (which is Irish for Gaelic) is spoken alongside English, which has been indigenous in Ireland for centuries. Gaeilge is Ireland's national language and was the first official language of Ireland. There are designated areas where it is the primary language of the community. During the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference, Chief Executive of *TG4* (a Gaeilge channel), Pól Ó Gallchóir (2008) emphasised the importance of Gaeilge:

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<sup>61</sup> This is translated as 'native land' in Hawaiian.

<sup>62</sup> Grin et al. (1998) mentioned Gaeilge is a Celtic language of the Goidelic branch closely related to Scottish Gaelic and more distantly to the Celtic languages of the Brythonic branch (including Breton and Welsh). Gallchóir (2008) mentioned "in Ireland there are two official languages, English and Irish or the Gaelic language".

*with wealth and strength we... need more, we need to preserve and have our own identity and central to that identity is our language. Because what makes me or us different to other... places in Europe is not exactly just where I live... but the language that I speak and you can be very proud when you, not just when you leave Ireland but when you're at home and you're able to speak your own language and that makes you truly, I think, an Irish person.*

The essence of this statement reflects the importance of language as a marker of 'identity'. By having a positive image of a language this contributes to having an optimistic view of the people who speak it. These same points have been threaded throughout this thesis to emphasise the significance of te reo Māori.

In Ireland, Gaeilge can be taught in gael scoil (Gaeilge immersion schools) and some naíonraí (Gaeilge pre-schools) (Gaelscoileanna Teo, 2008). There are also tertiary institutes such as the National University of Ireland where students are required to pass Gaeilge (unless they receive exemption) to gain admission.

In the most recent census (2006) in Ireland, of 4,239,848 people, 1,656,790 (41.9%) spoke Gaeilge (three years and under were not included) (Central Statistics Office Ireland Website, 2009). Gallchóir (2008) provided detail on these speakers asserting that the age group with the highest facility in the language were aged ten to 19, reflecting a reasonably healthy language since it is spoken and supported by the youth. Additionally, of 1.6 million Gaeilge speakers, 540,000 claimed they used it on a daily basis, and the vast majority of those were within the educational system (Gallchóir, 2008).

Gaeilge education is strongly supported in Ireland, thanks in large part to the Gaeilge revival movement which began in the 1920s. This movement aimed at having all subjects within every school taught in this medium. This has benefited the language immensely, whereby it is a core curriculum topic throughout many primary and post-primary level schools (Little, 2003, pp. 10 & 16). For example, Gaeilge is taught in most English medium schools and is compulsory in government funded schools in Ireland (Curriculum Online Website, 2009).

A further reason underpinning Ireland's strong initiatives to teach Gaeilge is its membership in the European Centre for Modern Languages in Graz (established in 1994) and the European Union (founded in 1973) (Little, 2003, p. 23). David Little (2003, p. 25) reported that a European Language Policy exists in Ireland aiming for individuals to learn the "mother tongue, plus two", with English being highly selected. Ireland experienced similar circumstances to Māori as both peoples share a history where their indigenous languages and people have struggled for survival. For example, from the 1940s to the 1960s many Irish emigrated abroad to Britain,<sup>63</sup> America and Australia, as a result of high levels of poverty in Ireland (Gallchóir, 2008). However, Māori emigrated to urban areas in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Similarly to the Māori renaissance in the 1960s, the Irish underwent a similar resurgence where many returned to Ireland, determined to re-establish equality with English-speakers in terms of their culture and language (Gallchóir, 2008). As a result of litigation, campaigns for a national radio (established in 1972) and television service in Gaeilge occurred (Gallchóir, 2008).

*TG4* (also called *TG Ceathair*) is one of many Gaeilge television channels, and was established on 31 October 1996. The first channel *RTE1* was launched in 1962 followed by *RTE2* 15 years later (1977) (Gallchóir, 2008). *TG4* aims at providing an attractive and innovative television service in Gaeilge which celebrates Irish creativity and identity (Gallchóir, 2008; TG4 Website, 2009). *RTE News Now* is another channel and there are plans to produce more in the future. In addition, there are four radio stations with Gaeilge content including *RTE Radio 1*, *RTE 2fm*, *RTE lyric fm* and *Raidio na Gaeltachta* (RTE Website, 2009). *TG4* is strongly focused on appealing to youth and 35% of its output programming is for children (Gallchóir, 2008). They also have a variety of dubbed mainstream programmes in Gaeilge such as *Teletubbies*, *Sesame Street*, *Dora the Explorer* and *Sponge Bob*.

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<sup>63</sup> In Britain they emigrated to cities such as Liverpool, Birmingham and London.

## 5.4 Wales

During the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference, *S4/C* Chairman John Jones (2008) argued in Wales “you can do anything and everything in the medium of the Welsh language”. This suggests that the current language situation in Wales is healthy. There are numerous motives underlying Jones’ (2008) optimism. Welsh is an official language under the Welsh Language Act (1993) and has equal status to English (UK National Statistics Online, 2009). Additionally, Jones (2008) claimed that Wales has a population of just fewer than three million and over 21% are fluent Welsh-speakers. Smith (1999, p. 147) claimed the Welsh are often studied as an example of indigenous achievement due to their successful language revitalisation initiatives, particularly in education. The government is supportive of the compulsory teaching of Welsh in some areas as a first language from kindergarten through to secondary school, for example Carnarvon (Smith, 1998, p. 148). Holmes (2008, p. 67) reported that this is a successful method for decelerating language loss.

Television and newspapers in the medium of Welsh provide a comprehensive approach to language revitalisation in Wales (Grin et al., 1998, p. 95; Smith, 1998, p. 148). Broadcasting is particularly impressive with television channels *S4/C* (established on 1 November 1982) and the digital service *S4C/2* (launched on September 1999). The broadcasting schedule of *S4/C* is extensive, with Welsh content broadcast between 7am to 10pm on weekdays, and from 10am to 12pm on weekends (Jones, 2008; *S4/C* website, 2009). In 2008, *S4/C* proved its dedication to appealing to young audiences by adding a separate children’s service in Welsh, and the first phase included six and a half additional hours of programming. This was done to increase young viewership, particularly amid nursery school children (Jones, 2008). Another reason for the respected image of *S4/C* is that its presence has spanned 25 years, which earned it the title as the oldest indigenous broadcaster in the world at the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference (2008). The channel is accessible worldwide, with content available on the Internet. Jones (2008) believed *S4/C* has played a pivotal role towards language planning in Wales due to

the channel's influence and contribution to linguistic development. Grin et al. (1998, p. 120) shares a similar opinion claiming the provision of minority language programming has made significant improvements to many languages.

*S4/C* shares *Māori Television*'s aim of having a presence on every major platform (discussed in the next chapter). It has partially achieved this by branching out into digital services including the Internet, digital satellite and Internet protocol television. Jones (2008) stated: "new platforms are universally important, but more so to our younger audience, they've embraced... technology and that's why we want to extend *S4/C*'s output in this key area". This illustrates that a variety of media are essential to target the youth and to enhance the accessibility and widespread presence of the channel.

Additionally, the economic benefits of *S4/C* are immense. Through independent research commissioned by this company in 2007, information revealed the channel's activities support over 2,200 jobs in Wales and contributes seven million pounds to their economy (Jones, 2008).

According to Smith (1999, p. 148) the Māori people in Aotearoa/New Zealand have followed a similar historical language pattern to the Welsh through official language status, associated educational programmes and by having a clear singular language. Also, in comparison to te reo Māori, Welsh once flourished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century where it was spoken by the majority as a primary language on a daily basis. However, the language eroded due to the impact of English industrialists (Holmes, 2008, p. 67). Assumptions are made that this changed in 1991, the year the number of language speakers stopped declining.

Holmes (2008, p. 69) suggested that Welsh has been successfully revitalised. She argued "it is important to remember examples like Welsh... which demonstrate that languages can be maintained, and even revived, when a group values their distinct

identity highly and regard language as an important symbol of that identity”. This assumption is problematic and fails to consider the number of people who actively use a language nor the proportion needed in effective language revitalisation. Although a language may be considered highly amid the community in terms of providing a distinct identity, this does not entail revitalisation and as suggested in *Chapter 3*, reviving a language is not simple or clear-cut.

Furthermore, Grenoble et al. (1998, p. 49) alleged that Aotearoa/New Zealand has one of the most successful language revitalisation programmes;

*New Zealand... (is) home to one of the most vigorous and seemingly successful revitalization programs. This success can be accounted for in terms of the relative strength of two other variables: on the macro-level, the issue of language density and the shift of governmental educational policy; and on the micro level, the strong commitment among the community to its language and culture.*

The possible reasoning underpinning this claim include the educational options for te reo, government support through Māori broadcasting and strong commitment by some members of the community. The kōhanga reo model has also been adopted on a small scale in countries such as Australia, the Pacific Islands, Japan, America and Canada (Barlow, 1994, p. 53). Additionally, Aotearoa/New Zealand’s broadcasting is notable with two channels and over 20 iwi radio stations. Nonetheless, it is overall misleading to regard this country as having the most successful language revitalisation strategies, regardless of the arguments provided. I argue this because of the small fraction of te reo speakers, their declining numbers and the ever-increasingly dominant English language. These are clear signs of language endangerment.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

Considering the three countries examined and their number of speakers, this illustrates that te reo Māori is in a precarious position. According to census

information, in Wales, 21% speak Welsh fluently and in Ireland, 41.9% speak Gaeilge. Although Gaeilge appears to be in a more suitable position, I put forward that Welsh is, considering the high rate of 'fluent' speakers and its greater everyday use in contrast to Gaeilge. The point stressed is the number of fluent language speakers is a significant indicator of the success of a country's language revitalisation initiatives. Although censuses are not completely accurate, they are perhaps the most reliable in terms of issues relating to the wider population in each country.

Consequently, due to the number of Welsh and Gaeilge speakers, Aotearoa/New Zealand can learn a lot. Though the strength of the Hawaiian language is the initiatives within the education system through *punana leo*, a lack of media focus on language revival was reflected in its dire state. Aotearoa/New Zealand on the other hand, is in a better position, already having many *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* Māori institutes as well as strong broadcasting support for *te reo*.

A core incentive within this chapter was to examine media's effectiveness in the revival of languages in other countries. Through research, opinions and by examining the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference (2008) audio/visual material, it appeared that broadcasting, specifically via television are crucial in the maintenance, ongoing development and survival of languages globally.

Representatives from numerous countries have supported the use and effectiveness of media incorporated into their respective language revitalisation strategies, particularly their appeal to youth, who appear to be a focal target in language revival. Moreover, media are widespread, accessible and familiar, which makes them suitable in endorsing a language and culture, both nationally and globally.

Of the countries analysed, Ireland was interesting because its indigenous channel (*TG4*) strongly focused on children's programming. This was explicit through its use of modern and familiar mainstream television programmes. Ireland also has five channels dedicated to Gaeilge. In Wales, television is impressive and *S4/C* has extremely respectable broadcasting hours. Similarly to *TG4*, *S4/C* focuses on

children's content and have demonstrated this by making a separate television service particularly for infants. In Wales, Welsh language education is compulsory for children under the age of 16. The education system in Ireland is similar, since Gaeilge is a compulsory subject from primary level in government funded schools. As expressed, there are many benefits of learning and using more than one language. I put forward that increased availability of te reo in education, more community and government support and an increase in improvements to Māori media will greatly contribute in reviving te reo Māori.



## CHAPTER 6:

# MĀORI TELEVISION AND MANA MAGAZINE ANALYSIS

*E kore e ngaro taku reo rangatira.*<sup>64</sup>

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Māori Television analysis
- 6.3 Mana Magazine analysis
- 6.4 The most effective medium in revitalising te reo
- 6.5 Story: every individual can count
- 6.6 Conclusion



### 6.1 Introduction

Two Māori media companies, *Māori Television* and *Mana Magazine*, were selected for analysis. They were examined in terms of their background, contribution to revitalising te reo and whether their attempts were effective. They were selected for having a sound focus on tikanga Māori, their influence, familiarity and place in Aotearoa/New Zealand's media-scape. The question that shapes this chapter is “are Māori media companies *Māori Television* and *Mana Magazine* effectively contributing towards te reo Māori revitalisation?” Another incentive of this chapter is to examine the most effective form of media in language revival.

### 6.2 Māori Television analysis

On May 1998, the government agreed to establish a Māori television trust to manage the ultra high frequencies (UHF) reserved for the promotion of te reo and Māori culture, with \$11.1 million dollars invested in the establishment of a nation-wide Māori television channel (Hollings, 2005, p. 125). In 2001, the government

<sup>64</sup> Meaning: ‘Do not forget the language of our ancestors’ (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, 2009b, p. 21). This is a suitable proverb for this chapter, since it has been argued in this thesis that media are useful in assisting language revival, as supporting devices. Through numerous mediums, the language of our ancestors will not be forgotten.

confirmed its decision and the Māori Television Service Act was passed in 2003. *Māori Television* was launched at long last on 28 March 2004 (Statistics New Zealand, 2008, p. 224). The founding of this channel represented a step forward for Māori and te reo, as the previous battles through various protests and litigation had finally been won. *Māori Television* has two distinct stakeholders; the government and Māori, represented by *Te Putahi Paoho* (*The Māori Television Service Electoral College*). *Māori Television* also works in partnership with *Te Puni Kōkiri*, *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* and *Te Māngai Pāho* (Māori Television Statement of Intent, 2008-2009, p. 7).

*Māori Television* denotes ‘Māori pride’ by showing the people and culture positively through a medium which is widely accessible, and hence, has a vital role in endorsing the language. Pride is also generated from its attempts to preserve the diverse Māori dialects that exist, and distinguish different iwi and hapū as distinct language communities. This illustrates that *Māori Television* respects the differences and uniqueness of each Māori tribe in this country.

At the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference, Horomia (2008) emphasised that *Māori Television* gives Māori a ‘voice’, as a powerful means of communication through television, telling stories through a Māori perspective and increasing Māori pride. As emphasised in *Chapter 2*, during the Māori renaissance, many political battles were fought for Māori to have a political voice and to be heard from the margins. Media such as *Māori Television* have made this dream a reality, and in present day, all aspects of Māori life can be presented to the public.

*Māori Television* aims at maintaining quality broadcasting in te reo, which ensures the language is promoted positively (Māori Television Annual Report, 2008, p. 13). *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* conduct regular external audits and monitor the quality of te reo used in the channel’s content (Mather, personal communication, February 23, 2009). This illustrates that *Māori Television* attempts to be extremely

respectful of Māori values. Although occasionally there are errors in language use, the point stressed is dedicated attempts are made to produce quality te reo, which should be applauded.

The channel assists intergenerational transmission by immersing the homes of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori students or children in general who are interested in te reo Māori. Waikerepuru (2008) stated that *Māori Television* can provide the lifestyle of te reo Māori in the home, so when children go to school they are equipped with the language of their tupuna (ancestors). By doing so, this extends children's immersion in the language and creates a te reo Māori atmosphere in the home. Veeshayne Armstrong supported this claim:

*as a parent who sent her son to a kura kaupapa, I think it's really important that it's not just left at school – Māori Television is another resource and it's so accessible. It helps to normalise te reo and have it as part of everyday life... It is helping to bring Māori into the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Cumming, 2005, p. 3).*

*Māori Television* is economically valuable and provides employment opportunities which increasingly motivates people to learn te reo. As mentioned, economic factors raise the prestige and status of a language. During the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference, Horomia (2008) asserted that *Māori Television* employs approximately 170 people, who are predominantly Māori. As stated, *Māori Television* is extremely cost-effective in terms of its contribution towards Aotearoa/New Zealand's gross domestic product (see *Chapter 3*, section 3.9). Additionally, Kiwa films Chief Executive Rhonda Kite reported that their company produce a documentary for *TVNZ* or *TV3* at \$100,000 to \$140,000 an hour, as opposed to the \$40,000 spent on *Māori Television* (Cumming, 2005). Hence, the channel purchases cost-effective material and contributes to Aotearoa/New Zealand's economy.

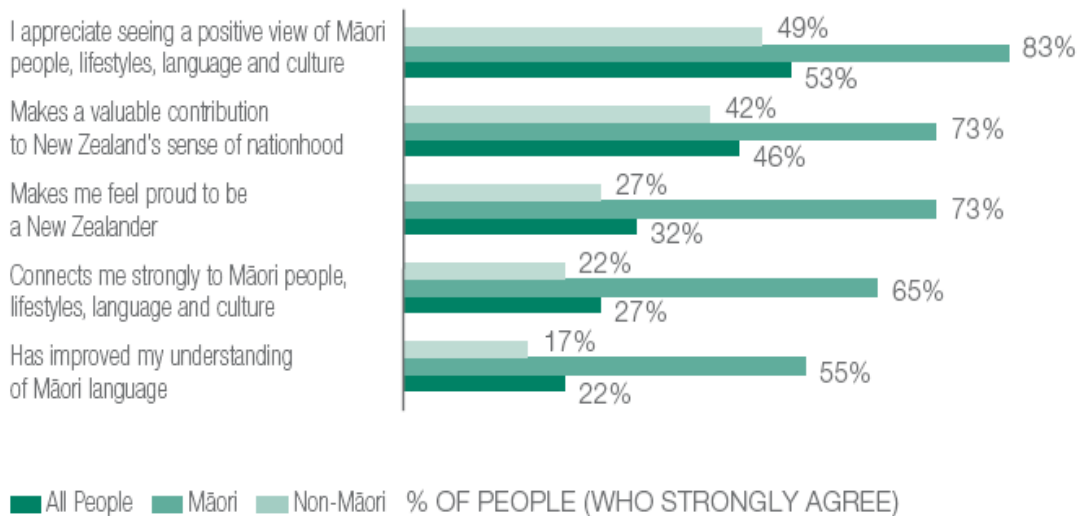
The station creates an upbeat image of te reo Māori and Māori as ‘cool’, (an important aim for *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* in 2005, see *Chapter 3*) by showing professional, skilled, bilingual Māori on television. Wynyard (2008) argued it has helped people become proud of their identity as Māori, and has inspired many to learn the language. It is essential for Māori youth to see their people in the media portrayed positively, since this contributes to making them proud of who they are. This image is vital, considering a few decades ago generations of Māori were growing up ashamed of their identity (see *Chapter 2*). This was a negative result of colonisation which created an image that there were many disadvantages of being Māori and speaking te reo. However, companies such as *Māori Television* have helped transform this negative image into one which is optimistic, by showing the people and culture in a positive light. *Māori Television* is also available worldwide through the Internet, and not only gives Māori a positive presence within Aotearoa/New Zealand, it establishes this virtuous image worldwide.

As reported by Williams (2008), *Māori Television* plays a pivotal role in normalising te reo and tikanga Māori (see *Chapter 3*). Consider examples of normalisation, such as the fight for a Māori television channel, Mohi’s brave stance when she sang the Māori version of the national anthem for the first time or ‘kia ora’ (‘hello’) as an everyday greeting. Though these examples represent positive change for te reo Māori and have become traditional and normal practices for New Zealanders, there was outrage when they initially occurred. The point underlined is change is difficult to tolerate, but once it occurs and people warm to it, deeming it ‘normal’, normalisation transpires and it develops into a natural extension of everyday life. Thus, the everyday use of te reo Māori within common domains in Aotearoa/New Zealand can be normalised in a similar fashion.

The question “does *Māori Television* help to revitalise te reo Māori?” was partly examined in *Chapter 3* through arguments put forward on media’s effectiveness in language revival. *Māori Television*’s Chairman, Garry Muriwai claimed the channel

helps to revitalise te reo: “*Māori Television* had been established as one of a number of important initiatives to promote and revitalise the Māori language” (Māori Television, 2008–2009, p. 3). Additionally, a quantitative research project depicted as *Figure 2* was conducted by *Māori Television* using a telephone interview method. 1,000 New Zealanders aged 18 plus participated, in which over 600 were Māori (Māori Television Corporate Profile, 2009, p. 8). This study was designed to highlight the positive indications of *Māori Television* in Aotearoa/New Zealand and to address important matters such as whether it should be a permanent broadcaster, and if it contributes to language fluency.

**Figure 2: Opinion poll on Māori Television’s perceived worth<sup>65</sup>**



The results illustrated many Māori (73%), and nearly half of all New Zealanders (46%) believed *Māori Television* makes a valuable contribution to Aotearoa/New Zealand’s sense of nationhood.<sup>66</sup> The results revealed the majority of Māori (83%)

<sup>65</sup> This diagram was obtained from the Māori Television Corporate Profile (2009).

<sup>66</sup> As discussed by Dr. Giselle Byrnes (2009, p. 2) ‘nation’ and ‘national identity’ are dominant themes in New Zealand history, as terms that generally define how individuals see themselves in relation to the country in which they live in. Byrnes (2009, p. 2) also mentioned that ‘nationhood’ in this country is evolving, meaning as time has progressed its understandings have changed. Although I have acknowledged that nationhood is a highly contestable term, in my interpretation and within this thesis it is defined as unifying non-Māori and Māori as New Zealanders, and accepting the beauty of both cultures whilst respecting them as distinct. It does not entail merging the identities of both peoples as

and more than half of all New Zealanders (53%) appreciate the positive view of Māori presented on *Māori Television*. Many Māori (73%) also concur that *Māori Television* makes them feel proud to be New Zealanders. Almost two thirds of Māori (65%) agreed that *Māori Television* gives them a strong sense of connection to Māori people, lifestyle, language and culture (Māori Television Corporate Profile, 2009, p. 8). Though these results do not illustrate drastic changes, they indicate most Māori and one-fifth of non-Māori believe *Māori Television* helps them learn te reo, which was a key issue to address in this chapter, by encouraging non-Māori as the majority to become te reo speakers and aid language revival. Though promising, these results emphasise that *Māori Television* cannot revitalise te reo Māori alone, but has vast potential as kaiāwhina in converting non-Māori into te reo speakers and/or supporters and contributing towards language revitalisation.

Hone Paul (personal communication, February 23, 2009), marketing executive for *Māori Television*, underlines the company's accessibility, asserting that it reaches approximately 90 to 94% of Aotearoa/New Zealand's population via free to air UHF (see also the Māori Television Statement of Intent, 2008-2009, p. 7). Given that 98.8% of people have a television set in Aotearoa/New Zealand, *Māori Television* is very effective at reaching audiences (NZTBC Website, 2009). In addition, in this country, *Māori Television* reaches anyone with a satellite, has a presence on Freeview and Sky and broadcasts daily from 3pm to 12pm. Hence, most New Zealanders have the option of watching the channel, and this alone can contribute substantially to language immersion. Furthermore, in a typical month it is watched by half of all Māori aged five plus, and over a third of all people five plus (Māori Television Corporate Profile, 2009, pp. 7-8).

*Māori Television's* goals for 2008 to 2011 are outlined in the Statement of Intent (2008-2009, pp. 4-9), with language revitalisation being fundamental. Under the Māori Television Service Act (2003) it must:

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this should remain separate for the purpose of sustaining one's distinct identity.

- (1) Significantly contribute towards te reo and tikanga Māori being increasingly valued, embraced and spoken.
- (2) Make a noteworthy contribution in the revitalisation of tikanga Māori and te reo by being an independent, secure and successful Māori television broadcaster.
- (3) Facilitate fluent te reo speakers.
- (4) Provide an upbeat image of te reo.
- (5) Develop successfully as an independent national Māori television broadcaster with an assured future.
- (6) Aspire to contribute to Aotearoa/New Zealand's economy.
- (7) Improve the levels of educational participation and high achievement by Māori.

These goals reflect an ambitious Māori media company eager to not only aid the fundamental task of revitalising of te reo, through promoting and facilitating this sacred language, but to also contribute to Aotearoa/New Zealand's economy.

When addressing the question “who watches *Māori Television*?” Sir Paul Reeves, Saul Berman, Margaret Murray & Patricia Turner (2008) (see also the New Zealand Listener, 2008) claimed that 25% were Māori and 75% were non-Māori. This substantiates claims the channel is highly viewed by New Zealanders, specifically non-Māori. I feel this is a triumph for encouraging non-Māori, as the majority, to welcome te reo by speaking it, so it prospers. It can be surmised that people who watch *Māori Television* have some interest in the Māori culture. By viewing the channel, this initial interest can potentially develop into a fascination with the language, or at least foster enthusiasm in tikanga Māori. Hence, this success justifies reason why *Māori Television* is partly in English, to appeal and be suited to all people in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This approach seems to be effective; since the launch of *Māori Television* audience reach has tripled (Māori Television Corporate Profile, 2009).

As reflected in *Māori Television*'s slogan "mā rātou, mā mātou, mā koutou, mā tātou",<sup>67</sup> the target audience is everyone regardless of ethnicity or age. The channel attempts to satisfy these diverse groups by producing and presenting a variety of programmes ranging from children's shows, arts, culture, news, sports, current affairs, films, music, the environment, history, indigenous programmes, drama and te reo content. It also uses the approach of dividing audiences into three groups:

- 1) Fluent Māori: for this group *Māori Television* aims at making te reo a normal part of everyday life for families, whilst providing entertaining and educational programmes that can cater towards the acquisition of te reo.
- 2) Non-fluent Māori who are learning the language: *Māori Television* can support language learners seeking higher levels of fluency through the use of language learning devices and bilingual programming.
- 3) Non-Māori New Zealanders with an interest in te reo Māori: it can greatly contribute in strengthening the recognition and status of te reo (Māori Television Statement of Intent, 2008-2009, pp. 7 & 12).

Categorising audiences into three distinct groups is a useful tactic to ensure everyone is catered for. This further explains the universal appeal of *Māori Television*, its respectful approach towards the diverse groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand and reinforces the welcoming image that te reo is for everyone. In this way, people do not have to feel forced to watch te reo content and can genuinely relish the material, without it being too challenging or non-stimulating.

*Māori Television* has many programmes designed to equip people with spoken te reo skills, such as *Akina*, a drama which was built into *Korero Mai*. It begins by presenting an episode and at the end, particular phrases within this show are repeated with their use and structure examined. In addition, *Māori Television* has another

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<sup>67</sup> This slogan is translated as 'for them, for us, for you, for everyone.'



language learning programme called *Tōku Reo*,<sup>68</sup> which is specifically designed to teach people introductory skills of speaking te reo Māori (Māori Television, 2009c). *Tōku Reo* is studio-based and uses field footage and graphics to support the lessons. The format consists of three parts: grammar, vocabulary and activities (Māori Television, 2009c). Part one, grammar, begins with presenters explaining the construction of a sentence in te reo, reinforced by graphics and role-playing. Part two, vocabulary, is based on a specific theme taught each week. The third part involves activities where audiences/participants have the opportunity to practice what they have learnt. This ranges from multi-choice exercises to freeze-frame activities. *Tōku Reo* is assisting the ‘digital future’ aim of *Māori Television* (which will be discussed further in this chapter) whereby audiences can download podcasts from the show via the Internet, which are i-Pod compatible.

*Māori Television* is contributing further in revitalising te reo Māori and established a second channel *Te Reo*, to cater to the needs of fluent te reo speakers and second language learners (Māori Television Statement of Intent, 2008-2009, p. 3). The purpose of this channel is to promote the use of te reo in the home (Māori Television Statement of Intent, 2008-2009, p. 3). The channel broadcasts from 4pm to 11pm each weekday and achieved a minimum of 1,095 broadcasting hours for the 2008 to 2009 financial year (Māori Television Statement of Intent, 2008-2009, p. 4).

According to Mather (Māori Television Statement of Intent, 2008-2009, p. 9) *Māori Television* is exploring and developing a digital future aim which involves adopting new technologies such as web television broadcasting and expanding its Internet presence. In fact this is already underway; *Māori Television* has a highly developed

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<sup>68</sup> This is translated as ‘my language’. *Toku Reo* is based on a te reo teaching resource called *Te Kakano*, created by John Moorfield. This series consists of books, study guides, tapes and other teaching resources known collectively as *Te Whanake*. These resources are widely used in tertiary institutions around Aotearoa/New Zealand. As mentioned on the Māori Television Website (2009b) *Toku Reo* has taught te reo to tens of thousands of beginning te reo speakers. It first screened on *Māori Television* on 31 March 2009, and runs from Tuesday through to Saturday. The hosts are Raimona Peni, who has a background in teaching, and Raukura Huata who has worked extensively in the Māori media industry (Māori Television Website, 2009b).

interactive website, designed for anyone interested in keeping well informed with issues relating to the station.<sup>69</sup> As written in the Māori Television Statement of Intent (2008-2009, p. 10), the aim of *Māori Television* is to broadcast te reo and Māori culture on every viable platform. The channel is moving towards new technologies as a method to give viewers more information through increased options, for entertainment and to bring together fragmented audiences (Māori Television Statement of Intent, 2008-2009, p. 3). These are important aims reflecting a company willing to adapt to changes in modernisation and move with society rather than against it.

### **6.3 Mana Magazine analysis**

*Mana Magazine* was founded in 1998 by Derek Fox, who is the current editor. It can be described as a Māori lifestyle magazine since it focuses on stories relating to Māori life and culture. *Mana Magazine* does not have an intended target audience (Fox, 2009, personal communication, January 28, 2009). It is bi-monthly and each magazine costs \$6.00 as of February 2010. *Mana Magazines* are very accessible and are available in most book stores. Additionally, they can be accessed in university libraries and people have the option of subscribing to them. The results of a readership survey, conducted and completed by willing volunteers who purchased the magazine, revealed *Mana Magazine* attracts approximately 136,000 to 140,000 readers annually (personal communication, January 28, 2009).

*Mana Magazine* has little te reo content, making it suitable for most New Zealanders as non-te reo speakers. Occasionally articles in te reo Māori are produced and there is a glossary in each magazine which defines the te reo Māori terms used. During an interview, when Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) was questioned on the amount of te reo Māori content in the magazines he stated “it’s... primarily in English... From time to time we’ve... done... parts of the magazine in Māori”. Additionally, Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) asserted “I don’t think

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<sup>69</sup> See the *Māori Television* website by following this link: [www.maoritelevision.com](http://www.maoritelevision.com).

Mana the magazine actually necessarily encourages revitalisation of (the) Māori language”. I have assumed Fox stated this due to the contents being primarily in English. However, though *Mana Magazine* has minimal te reo content, this does not undermine its contribution to language revival. *Mana Magazine* has a valuable role in normalising and endorsing the image of ‘being’ Māori, and as articulated earlier this also promotes the language, increasing its prestige and status. By writing inspiring stories about Māori, readers may also be enthused. Furthermore, *Mana Magazine* has numerous advertisements intended to promote Māori education and skills, such as carving courses, Māori universities and te reo classes. Consequently, it endorses the lifestyle of being Māori and, being in the medium of English, can appeal to non-te reo speakers.

During an interview with Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) he cited readership figures revealing that 60% of readers were Māori. Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) described the readership asserting that most were women ranging from 25 to 45 years. Other characteristics include being well educated since most had a tertiary education. Additionally, on average the readers earned well, ranging from \$40,000 to \$70,000 annually. This information illustrates that *Mana Magazine* appeals to a core group of interest in language revitalisation: educated, professional, Māori women. These people are vital to target and reflect the optimum group who are in a stable position to start families. Therefore, *Mana Magazine* can potentially initiate a positive image of Māori and te reo among beginning Māori families.

#### **6.4 The most effective medium in revitalising te reo**

Another question to consider is “what media are the most effective in revitalising te reo?” From the interviews, Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) initially argued that a combination of media are required in effective revitalisation. However, further into the discussion he declared that television was the most effective medium, since it plays a critical role in normalising te reo. Harlow (personal communication,

January 20, 2009) also argued for television, as it promotes te reo and demonstrates language usage. Being a passionate reader he believed books were second, though he conceded that for others it was the Internet. Mather's (personal communication, February 23, 2009) views aligned with Harlow's (personal communication, January 20, 2009) since he assumed that currently television and print are the most effective media, but suggested in a year or two the power of the Internet will intensify and it will become predominant. Houia (personal communication, March 23, 2009) viewed radio and television as the most effective avenues. Harawira's (personal communication, February 26, 2009) position was that all forms of media are imperative, and expressed there is no singular way, utilising media, to revitalise te reo.

Overall opinion supported the view that television is the most effective medium in revitalising te reo. There were also predictions that the Internet will replace this device in the future. Though each interviewee's opinion is valid, I agree with Harawira's position, that all media are needed to appeal to the preferences of different people. While each medium has the core purpose of promoting the Māori culture and language, they undertake this role in different forms. In print form *Mana Magazine* targets the literate and many people in this group may prefer this medium above television. To satisfy the varying interests and abilities of Māori and non-Māori as potential and current te reo speakers or supporters, a variety of media are necessary.

### **6.5 Story: every individual can count**

Since people have different interests and abilities in te reo, this justifies that a variety of media are required to cater to the varying needs and preferences of these individuals. It should be acknowledged each individual can be a vital contributor in revitalising te reo, a point emphasised by re-telling a story a good friend once told me. A small boy was frolicking in a forest next to his house, and he decided to catch birds. Upon catching a bird he ran to his koro (grandfather), hid it behind his back and asked him "koro, is the bird dead or alive?" The grandfather replied, "it's dead!"

The boy laughed and threw the bird into the air and it flew away hurriedly. He went outside again and hunted for more birds. Once he caught another he confronted his grandfather again, hid the bird behind his back and asked the same question “koro, is the bird dead or alive?” The elderly man said “it’s alive!” The boy swiftly wrapped his hand around the bird’s neck and snapped it. He revealed the lifeless body to his grandfather. The boy ran outside again and found another bird which he presented to his grandfather. For the third time he asked “koro, is the bird dead or alive?”

Realising his grandchild’s intentions the man said “whether the bird lives or dies is in your hands”. For me this story has a valuable message; the survival of te reo Māori, whether it lives or dies, particularly within a family or generation, depends on each individual. It was stressed by Cath Rau (2005) that choice rests on the indigenous stakeholders and hence, the future of a language depends on an individual’s choice to sustain it. This claim has validity, considering the revival of Hebrew was largely influenced by one pioneer, a Jewish man – Eliezer Ben-Yehuda.<sup>70</sup> He devoted his life to revitalising Hebrew, envisioning it as a way to reunify the Jews (Fellman, 1974, pp. 454-455).

## 6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that both *Māori Television* and *Mana Magazine* are not only essential in the revitalisation of te reo Māori, but they also contribute towards the revival of Māori pride. There are vast benefits with having inspiring Māori media companies willing to promote the image of te reo among Māori and non-Māori. This chapter also suggested that Māori media does not necessarily have to be in the medium of te reo to revitalise the language and as Fox (personal communication, January 28, 2009) mentioned in a recent interview revitalisation: ‘is about making the language sexy again’ and enticing people to want to speak te reo. Considering that most people in this country are non-te reo speakers, Māori media primarily in English are useful to address and appeal to this majority. Also, as asserted, the essential

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<sup>70</sup> Yehuda was determined to have a Hebrew-speaking home, though his wife could not speak the language. So he worked towards helping revive Hebrew in speech and literature and instigated many positive changes (Fellman, 1974, pp. 454-455). He aimed at modernising Hebrew and coined nearly 4,000 new Hebrew words based on ancient Hebrew roots (Hinton, 2001b, p. 416).

ingredients for achieving language revitalisation include an efficient language plan and the use of effective strategies (in my opinion the three keys and media as support) and above all the normalisation and promotion of te reo which generates language pride and prestige. Referring to the interview material it was also acknowledged that in present day television and the Internet can effectively aid language revival. However, a variety of media are beneficial to target the varying demographics and interests of society.

## CHAPTER 7:

### NEW IDEAS IN REVITALISING TE REO MĀORI

*Hui tātou ka tū! Wehewehe tātou ka hinga.*<sup>71</sup>

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Media convergence
- 7.3 Focus group results
- 7.4 Exploring new mediums
- 7.5 Tapatoru Model 2
- 7.6 Conclusion



#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores new ways of assisting the revival of te reo Māori by examining a variety of media which have not been utilised to date. It begins with reaffirming the idea that the youth, both non-Māori and Māori, need to speak te reo to maintain and ensure its ongoing survival. The focus groups conducted for this thesis will be covered in this chapter and their innovative, new ideas in revitalising te reo Māori presented. This section is followed by an examination of my own ideas for successful language revival, including the potential of developing a Māori social network and comic book. Lastly, I created the *Tapatoru Model 2*, a strategic plan for revitalising and ensuring the continued survival of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

As expressed, Māori and non-Māori youth need to be targeted to effectively revitalise te reo Māori, because of their imperative role in successful intergenerational transmission and as the future generation of a language. In present day, the youth in Aotearoa/New Zealand have grown in an environment saturated in new media,

<sup>71</sup> Meaning: 'United we stand! Divided we fall'. This proverb appeared on the title page of *Te Toa Takitini* (1923, p. 211) (Mead et al. 2003, p. 142). This whakatauki establishes a suitable climax for this thesis, underlying that New Zealanders, non-Māori as the majority and Māori, must work together to ensure te reo is revitalised.

especially with respect of computer-based and mobile technology. Digital media<sup>72</sup> lies within the comfort zone of this youthful population, whereby practices such as emailing, texting and adopting an online presence, through membership in one of the numerous social networks for example, are common practice.

## **7.2 Media convergence**

With the abundance of new media technology, there are countless activities that people can pursue at one time. As a consequence, it is difficult to grasp the attention of people in modern society. This initiated the ‘convergence of media’, such as continued enhancements made to computers which act as multi-faceted tools that replace the role of numerous devices, and appeal to many people through this versatility. Computers possess television capabilities, are movie compatible, and can partially replace books through electronic journals or dictionaries for example. Henry Jenkins (2004, p. 34) reported that convergence media came about due to society entering an era where media saturates and is everywhere. The portability of new media and proliferation in channels has contributed to this immersion (Jenkins, 2004).

Inevitably the Internet through various mediums (such as computers, cell-phones, blackberries) has become an accustomed part of the lives of many people. Keith Newman (2008) viewed the Internet as a “modern miracle, a network of millions of intersecting networks, a spider’s web of connections which meshes the globe, crosses all time zones and all political, social, and geographical borders wherever a telecommunications infrastructure exists”. This claim highlights the power of the Internet as a tool that brings together diffuse cultures, allowing people to communicate from all sides of the globe, unhindered by distance.

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<sup>72</sup> The term ‘digital media’ is a subgroup within ‘new media’. Chris Chesher (2001, p. 228) stated “new media... concentrates particularly on the inseparable processes of technological and cultural innovation”. It incorporates emerging uses of the Internet, electronic mail, digital television, and multiplayer computer games.



Nielsen Media Research (2007) conducted an independent study which supports the common use of the Internet and results showed 86% of people in Aotearoa/New Zealand connect to cyberspace from home, school, work, libraries or Internet cafes. 72% have access to the Internet from home, 74% are regular users and 60% use the Internet daily (Internet NZ, 2009).<sup>73</sup>

### **7.3 Focus group results**

As highlighted throughout this thesis, various mediums have not been fully explored in aiding the revitalisation of te reo. A pilot and three focus groups were conducted in March and April 2009 to examine their potential. A scenario was put forward and participants were advised to collectively create an idea to facilitate the revival of te reo using one form of media. As the researcher, I assisted the consolidation of ideas by asking specific questions to guide the formation of a design to aid te reo.

#### **Pilot group**

The focus group method commenced with a pilot group which consisted of four people. They selected electronic gaming as their preferred medium. The group also asserted television, magazines and films are mundane and new mediums should be developed. The rationale for selecting gaming was its under-representation, yet underlying potential in aiding te reo Māori. The participants emphasised that gaming is a useful pedagogical tool due to its repetitive and popular nature. Through repetition people have the potential to learn many skills, though these are not usually beneficial, such as memorising particular sequences or puzzles. Hence, a fun but non-educational puzzle segment could be substituted with a language element in te reo (for example, memorising particular words, definitions or proverbs). The group insisted language revitalisation could be partly achieved by using certain catch phrases within the game. There was a shared belief that merely having te reo present would aid language revival by exposing people to the language through a common and familiar medium. An example catch phrase was ‘ka pai’ (‘very good’).

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<sup>73</sup> Internet NZ (2009) are a non-profit organisation. They acquired their information from Nielsen Media Research Panorama, Q2 (2007).

Participants delved into their idea and explained exactly how it would potentially function. Sharing similar characteristics to a Japanese game, *Katamari Damashii* (*Clump Spirit*), the aim is for the avatar (Maui or Puku) to control a magnetic sphere (the sun), and collect the surrounding objects (See *Figure 3*).

The company name was decided as ‘Aotearoa Story’, an allusion to the game ‘New Zealand Story’. Two icons were created, a big, red Moa called ‘Puku’ (‘Stomach’), a name characteristic of its large appetite, and Maui, named after the renowned Māori legend. The group’s attempt to formulate a slogan were not successful due to time restrictions and exhaustion of ideas. The aims of the company included establishing a reputation, selling games, creating content with obvious te reo elements and fostering language learning (such as catch phrases and character names in te reo). The target group of interest were originally Māori children, but this branched to any child for universal appeal. The group justified their selection of children as a focal target for their hypothetical company with claims it is easier to produce games that will interest this group, whereas adults are difficult to impress.

**Figure 3: Pilot group’s icon, Māori warrior**



### **Focus group 1 (FG1)**

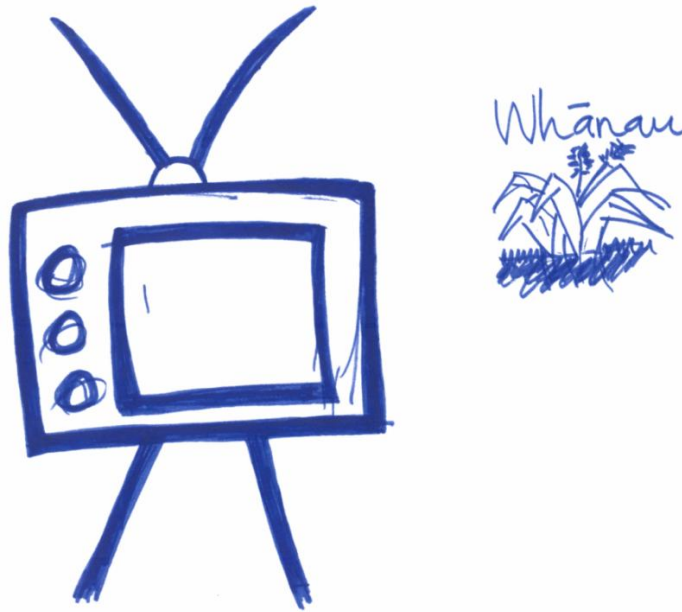
FG1, consisting of three participants, favoured television as their preferred medium. Participant 1A believed it was the most effective form of media as an intrinsic part of most homes and being a focal point in the lives of many. He asserted that language revitalisation comes from the home and claimed he is uninterested in magazines or newspapers. Participant 1C thought television or radio were worthwhile options; with television she asserted both children and adults watch it since it is the culture of today. Participant 1B argued television was preferable, but felt it did not have decent coverage since she could not access *Māori Television* from her home. She also argued television and radio were generally available, and gaming and newspapers in te reo Māori were not.

There were many disagreements on an ideal target audience, and 1A argued it should be non-Māori speakers. 1C saw benefit in targeting non-Māori as the majority audience and to encourage more people to become te reo speakers. 1A acknowledged that material should include English and te reo to cater to the preferences of New Zealand's majority and avoid annoyance. The group were compelled to target the youth and they believed this could partly be achieved by motivating children through actively participating within the community. From personal experience, 1C claimed eight, nine and ten year olds should be aimed at since these age groups are often pressured to sway towards speaking the majority language. 1B believed teachers should also be addressed as educators and role-models. Near the end of the discussion, the group altered their core target group and agreed on appealing to people starting families, due to their shared belief that children should be raised speaking te reo. The new family-orientated channel created was titled 'Whānau' (*See Figure 4*).

Their collective aim was to make quality programming that motivates Māori to learn te reo, and the company was called *The Treaty*. Within their design they produced a bilingual television programme intended to introduce basic skills of acquiring te reo.

The group called their programme *The Pronunciation Show*, though the idea of making a comedy came to mind and they changed the name to *Māori Pronunciation for Dummies* (Figure 4). 1A claimed that Māori fancy comedy, so incorporating humour would be appealing. A slogan was not produced due to difficulty establishing one in time.

**Figure 4: Focus group 1's icons. Left: Māori Pronunciation for Dummies. Right: Whānau**



### **Focus group 2 (FG2)**

A group of three participated and their first task was to select one medium.

Participant 2A favoured television, considering its popularity and presence in most households, particularly among adolescents. Participant 2C chose gaming since it targets the youthful majority of Māori. 2C also argued that other media are not useful and provided examples, such as Māori-centered newspapers being unfashionable and rarely used, magazines are too expensive, radio is undesirable, there are few Māori films making them inaccessible and television is cliché as well as overdone.

Participant 2B recommended the power of music in language revitalisation, because of its predominance in Aotearoa/New Zealand, its ability to teach sounds which is

useful for pronunciation, and its appeal to all ages, an idea favoured by the other members. 2C recalled when she was a child, she knew songs in te reo before familiarising with their English interpretations. 2A claimed that songs in te reo can pass down Māori wisdom and teachings. 2A and 2C expressed the view that music has a powerful influence on people and admitted that they experience intense feelings when listening to songs in te reo Māori, such as having affective bodily responses (goose bumps). 2C asserted that music affects her wairua (spirit, soul) and aroha (love). The potential of music's versatility with an array of media for future expansion was foreseen, an idea which led to the proposition of collaborating music and gaming. 2C suggested producing a Māori dance game, sharing similar features to those in most arcades. To broaden their prospective market, 2B proposed a karaoke game for the home, and from this idea 2A suggested creating a Māori version of *Sing Star*.

The idea outlined was called '*Whetū Waiata*', meaning 'Sing Star' in te reo Māori. 2A developed the slogan "*Whetū Waiata* will help Māori get far." When formulating an icon for this plan 2C insisted on using a star with the Matariki constellations within it. Since participants forgot what they looked like, they substituted this image with koru designs and two were created, *Figures 5* and *6*. Detail was added to the proposed game. 2A believed it should have a tempo option to speed or slow down songs, a proposal made to target both the youth and elderly. This suggestion is also beneficial to assist people learning lyrics for songs. It was forecast that if the product was successful, it could expand by incorporating other media such as the Internet, utilising websites with frequent competitions and prizes to attract children. 2C suggested escalating this idea by creating a Māori version of *New Zealand Idol*, which would act as a promotional campaign for *Whetū Waiata*.<sup>74</sup>

The group collectively agreed to target all New Zealanders. 2A justified this stance by addressing the Treaty of Waitangi which includes all people. 2C claimed if more

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<sup>74</sup> A similar programme called *Homai Te Pakipaki* exists, which regularly airs on *Māori Television*.

non-Māori start speaking te reo, this will motivate Māori to become speakers. Upon asking the preferred age group to target, 2B reported all should be included and, describing a possible scenario in the fictional company, he spoke of the younger employees targeting the youth demographic and the mature marketing for the elderly, since they are familiar with the preferences of their specific groups.

The group's aims included marketing the game effectively so it is seen by all people, making it user-friendly and cost-effective. 2C asserted that their goal was to revitalise te reo Māori. 2B also wanted to create a government supported product to overcome funding restrictions.

***Figure 5: Focus group 2's icon A, Whetū Waiata symbol and slogan***



**Figure 6: Focus group 2's icon B, Whetū Waiata motif and slogan**



### **Focus group 3 (FG3)**

Of four participants presented with the question “which media are the most useful in helping revitalise te reo?” various responses were voiced. Participant 3D preferred radio and television due to the influence and accessibility of these mediums.

Participant 3C approved of these specific media considering broadcasting’s immense popularity and widespread presence. The group reminisced on films with Māori themes or actors, particularly *Once were Warriors* (1994), *Whale Rider* (2002) and *The Māori Merchant of Venice* (1999). They drew response to their necessity in terms of providing a presence for Māori in mainstream media. 3C chose gaming believing many children lived sedentary lives indoors, and warmed to the idea of a Māori focused game. Participant 3B thought *Māori Television* and iwi radio were plentiful and suggested utilising uncharted media, such as the potential of electronic gaming in revitalising languages. This appealed to 3C who asserted that there is an increase in technology. 3D disputed this, and from personal experience she claimed that Māori children are technologically illiterate. Nonetheless, 3B re-affirmed the potential and

power of gaming, and recollected a memory as a child when he and other children would gladly play math games since they were the only ones available on the school's computer and 3C championed this. The group were compelled to create a design for a computer game since these devices are authorised in schools and are Internet compatible, whereas gaming consoles are banned. 3B elaborated on the benefits of utilising the Internet, asserting that through this medium games can easily be distributed and downloaded.

The group had conflicting ideas on a suitable target audience, and preference was shown for either New Zealanders or solely Māori. For a brief period, 3A chose Māori, considering that a major focus of the activity was to revitalise te reo. However, 3C liked the idea of gradually expanding their imaginary company, by initially aiming towards Māori, then New Zealanders and later broadening this to target worldwide audiences. 3D asserted that everyone in Aotearoa/New Zealand should be targeted since this country is multi-cultural. 3B approved and extended the benefits of focusing on this considerable group, such as monetary value. 3D also stated the product should aim at schools to facilitate children learning te reo and the main age group selected ranged from five to 18 years.

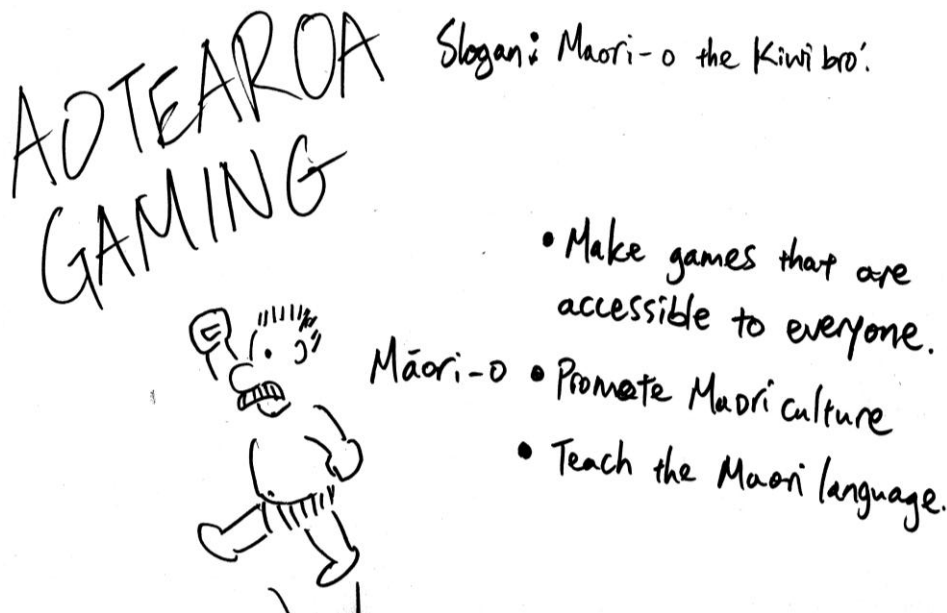
Two names were created for their hypothetical company, 'Aotearoa Gaming' and 'World Class New Zealand Games'. However, 3B contested that the latter was a dull title. A miniature icon of a Māori warrior was formed by 3C, and 3B contributed to this idea calling it 'Māori-o', a reference to the popular Nintendo character Mario, yet 3A fancied 'Māori-bro' (*Figure 7*). The group discussed the abilities of this character mentioning taiaha and patu throwing skills. 3C disapproved and reminded the group they were targeting children; thus projectile weapons were not suitable. The slogan produced was "Māori-o is our Māori-bro", whereas participant 3D proposed "kei te tika" ("you're right"). Later, 3A challenged the previous slogan preferring "Māori-o is our New Zealand-bro", while 3C and 3B felt "Kiwi-bro" was a better substitute to "New Zealand-bro." 3C sought to produce a game appealing to the youth and



believed this could occur by applying detail to visual components, such as numerous pictures and intense colours. 3B insisted on giving Māori-o a sidekick named Rangi, and 3D initially agreed with this. 3C disputed the name and suggested Le Tainya or Aroha and 3D mentioned Maia or Manu.

The goals outlined included making a user-friendly product accessible to everyone and having te reo components. 3B claimed that an introductory language component could include giving the characters names in te reo.

**Figure 7: Focus group 3's icon, Māori-o/Māori-bro**



#### **7.4 Exploring new mediums**

While developing my own personal opinions to assist language revival, I thought social networks would provide a possible solution due to their popularity and universal appeal. Social networking sites are Internet sites that allow users to create personal profiles, link to friends and communicate (Gilbert, 2008, p. 514). Jay Liebowitz (2007, p. 3) defined “social network(s)... (as) a set of relationships between a group of ‘actors’ (individuals) who usually have similar interests”. They are a

globally popular phenomenon in present day. Most countries have a shared fascination with these platforms, specifically *Face Book*, *My Space* and *Bebo*. The potential of computer technology for language learning has countless benefits. Leanne Hinton (2001a, p. 267) wrote that the Internet is popular and is a powerful means of communication. Hinton (2001a, p. 267) elaborated on computer aided pedagogy claiming that it is being frequently used in schools and universities worldwide. Liebowitz (2007, p. 3) also supported the benefits of social networks asserting they have the ability to expand an individual's reach and increase their potential for learning. For example, computers are convenient and Internet compatible, with online dictionaries which can be easily accessed. Liebowitz (2007, p. 11) mentioned "social networks can play a powerful part in the process of synergizing one's ideas with those of others, and (they) improve the process of knowledge exchange and the generation of new ideas". This statement has validity, as people from all over the world can be linked together via a social network to communicate, exchange opinions and hence 'synergise' ideas with others.

Hinton (2001a, p. 267) referenced Nick Ostler (1999) who proposed negative aspects of computer technology;

- (a) Loss of memory.
- (b) Loss of oral traditions, since computers replace some of their functions.
- (c) Loss of traditional occasions.
- (d) Computers are a novelty particularly appealing to the youth and can make them lose touch with their roots by minimising interaction with elders.
- (e) Computers can do little to help someone learn to communicate within the context of traditional cultural practices.

Hinton (2001a, p. 267) also supported these views claiming that "computers... are expensive and anti-traditional... (since they do) not teach you much about natural communication between human beings". However, most of Ostler's (1999) criticisms

can be contested, and my arguments can be clearly expressed through discussion of a Māori social network in te reo which resembles *Bebo* for example. This idea can enhance the relationship between Māori, regardless of age demographics, by creating a domain where te reo can be spoken, unrestricted by location or time. A marae-like environment shared by an online community can be created in this space, and te reo can be both used and normalised within this domain. The development of a Maori social network can also aid intergenerational transmission, since computers can act as mediums where te reo can be practiced by all family members. Though I agree that computers break the natural means of traditional communication between people, as mentioned, media are highly used and in order for a language to survive in this modern era it must move with social trends and keep in tune with society in present day. Another benefit is people who are learning te reo and involved in this community would not be isolated from other te reo speakers, since they can find other learners online. One of the greatest advantages is people will not be whakama (shy) to use the language online as an anonymous persona is easily adopted in a virtual environment. Additionally, people can put thought into sentence construction and can perfect their skills in te reo. Social networks can assist conversational language usage by building confidence in written te reo skills that could eventually be applied in real life settings. Actively using a language is extremely important for language attainment. It could also contribute towards normalising te reo by providing new turf where it can be used on a regular basis as a primary or secondary language.

Another potential idea that may influence many people of all ages to learn te reo, and spark motivation in reading materials in the language, is the formation of a variety of comic books. By employing comics, readers are shown how to use particular phrases through the combination of illustrations and text, which can improve literacy skills. Comic books are an essential part of the lives of millions of people in countries such as America (for example Marvel comics) and Japan,<sup>75</sup> and they have a visible presence in France (Gravett, 2004, p. 13). Paul Gravett (2004, pp. 12-13) reported

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<sup>75</sup> Japanese comics are called manga or mangashi (Gravett, 2004, p. 13).

when comic books were invented they became a familiar part of life for many, and were irresistible to readers. In Japan “Japanese comic books... (have) developed comics into such a powerful mass literature that it can stand up against the seemingly unstoppable dominance of television and movies” (Gravett, 2004, p. 12). Since these amazing materials are powerful in these countries, they are useful to consider in facilitating te reo Māori.

In order to effectively produce a likeable comic book, exploring their success in other countries is vital. Gravett (2004, pp. 13-15) discussed reasons behind Japan’s success with comics, citing the variety of stories, their cheap production and entertainment value. An example is the eminent, Japanese, weekly serial comic magazine *Shonen Jump*,<sup>76</sup> which consists of regular chapters from popular comic book titles such as *One Piece*. This is a living-established cultural phenomenon which can be replicated to the same extent in other cultures.

Producing comics in te reo or about Māori is not an entirely new idea. There are comics in the medium of te reo Māori such as *He Korero mo Maui* (2005), by Jason Te Puia, which consists of myths and legends revolving around Maui. There are also comics based on Māori life in English, such as *Nga Tupuna* (2001). This was produced by many comic book artists and comprises of many short comics that particularly centre on Maui and colonisation. Though Maui is admirable and Māori history vital, a variety of comics which are unique, and perhaps modern, may be more appealing and successful since they will gratify a broader spectrum of interests.

Another interesting idea in terms of new ways of aiding te reo Māori was the development of a Māori game show called *Kupuhuna* (password). It was produced by Kura Productions and is entirely in the medium of te reo Māori. The game is played between two competing teams, each comprising of a guest who gives clues and a contestant who plays for prize money. The aim is for one team member to

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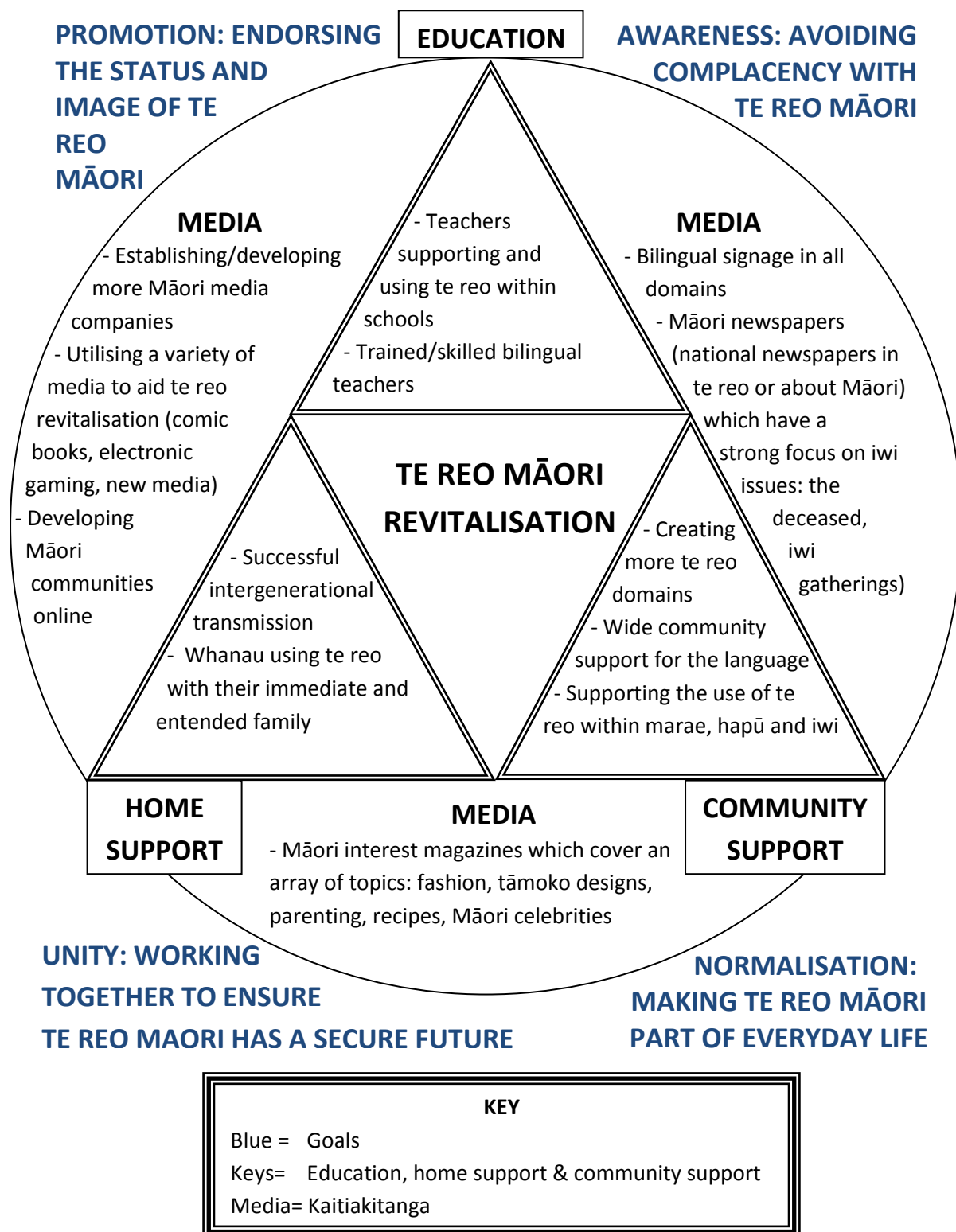
<sup>76</sup> Shonen is Japanese for ‘young man’.

communicate the kupuhuna to their partner by using clues. *Kupuhuna* is screened on *Māori Television* and information from the focus groups conducted revealed that participants enjoyed watching this programme. In fact, two were previously contestants. One in particular regularly watched the show with her family, but was repelled by the continuous repeats. She insisted she would continue watching the show if new episodes were produced. This is an example of a unique educational programme in te reo Māori that people are interested in watching and engaging with.

### **7.5 Tapatoru Model 2**

The ‘*Tapatoru Model 2*’ (*Figure 8*), driven by the same Māori concepts that characterise my previous paradigm, represents a strategic re-design of *Tapatoru Model 1* after recommendations from this thesis are applied. This structure also reflects my hope for the future of te reo Māori.

**Figure 8: Tapatoru Model 2**



Regarding education, I argue that improvements are needed to boost the status and number of te reo speakers in this country. Encouraging the production of fluent, skilled and trained te reo Māori and English-speaking teachers might provide a solution. Qualified bilingual teachers are imperative to efficiently teach, promote and normalise the language amongst children. They are vital as role models and unconscious decision makers (see *Chapter 4*, section 4.4). This proposal has the added advantage of creating employment opportunities in an area which will benefit the language and concurrently provide incentives to learn te reo.

Community support also needs improvement, and everyone in Aotearoa/New Zealand must become aware that te reo is in decline. Once people are familiar with this situation, they may be motivated to learn the language and help sustain it. I have acknowledged that an optimistic incentive for learning a language, such as promoting it as ‘cool’, is useful to target some people. Nonetheless, others will be inspired to speak it if they are simply made aware it is a dying language. The community holds extreme value, and signifies vast language domains outside the home and education setting. The community members also possess enormous power in numbers and can provide a political ‘voice’. Through these members certain legislations and Acts could be influenced, via protests for example.

Within the home, the main concern is the need to establish an optimistic image of the language among children and their caregivers, to boost intergenerational transmission, thereby significantly aiding the revival of te reo. As mentioned with the story of the boy catching birds, every individual has the potential to influence their families to speak and have a positive image of a certain language.

This chapter has presented opinions that media, particularly television, gaming and the Internet has tremendous potential as vehicles in aiding successful language revival. Hence, if a variety of media became core devices in revitalising languages and highly valued within an effective language plan, this will strengthen the *Tapatoru*

*Model 2.* Media's role will also intensify and evolve from 'kaiāwhina' ('support') to 'kaitiakitanga' ('guardians') for te reo Māori due to gaining a valuable role and purpose in language revitalisation. Durie (1998, p. 23) describes kaitiakitanga "to be guardians of a resource or taonga for future generations" which provide restoration and harmony.<sup>77</sup> Barlow (1994, pp. 34-35) asserted that kaitiakitanga protect sacred places and can be represented in many forms, in this case, through a variety of media. Once media's role elevates and becomes depicted as vital, they will no longer be positioned on the outside of my model, but within this structure. This is reason why my *Tapatoru Model 2 (Figure 8)* visually differs to my previous diagram, whereby the triangle has a thicker boarder, in which various media fill the inside of this structure. Media can be visualised as blood, which flows through the veins of this paradigm. Their role can be described as breathing life into the key domains; education, home support and community support, by restoring the mauri into a language through enhancing and bridging the connection between these key areas. For instance, through education, media (through various forms: games, comic books, the Internet, and social networks) have numerous pedagogical benefits as interactive, portable and versatile tools for learning te reo.

## 7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated innovative, new ways in aiding te reo Māori revitalisation by utilising a variety of media. The focus group participants facilitated in the development of these ideas and of four groups, one selected television and three chose electronic gaming as the most effective mediums to assist the revival of te reo. Gaming appeared to be a useful area to explore as relatively new devices in supporting language revival; they appeal to the youth, are versatile (computer and Internet compatible) and have potential as language learning devices (for example, through repetition and entertainment). Television was highly selected by the focus group participants, though there was a predominant view that it is common and over-

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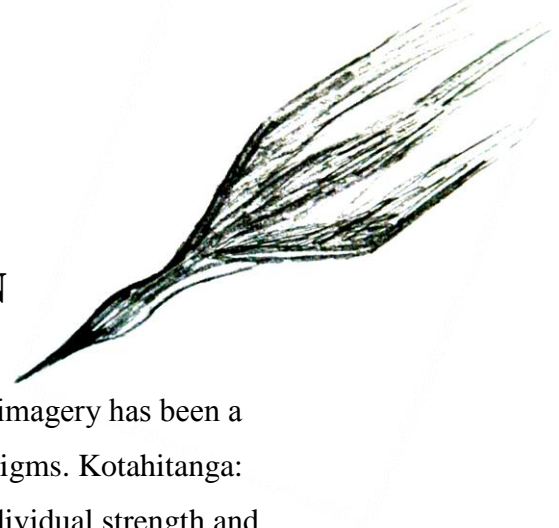
<sup>77</sup> When Durie (1998, p. 23) discussed the concept kaitiakitanga he applied this to Māori environmental values. However, I am primarily interested in its concept and meaning in relation to media, hence, I adapted this term so it could be used to describe media's role and function in language revitalisation.



used. There were differing opinions on the ideal target age group, but overall strong preference was shown for the youth and ‘all’ New Zealanders, both Māori and non-Māori. I explored the potential of social networks and comic books as new areas in assisting language revival and their many advantages were outlined. Social networks appeal to most people, specifically adolescents, are popular worldwide and have a plethora of learning advantages. For example, people can find other language learners online (perhaps these learners reside overseas), they are unhindered by location, they can ‘actively use’ te reo, can adopt an anonymous persona and by doing so will not be afraid to make mistakes. Comics appeal to a wide age demographic, can improve literacy skills and have immense popularity and success in countries worldwide. My paradigm was introduced, entitled the *Tapatoru Model 2* and signified my future hope for te reo. It contained recommendations from this thesis that should be utilised to aid te reo Māori, specifically endorsing the idea that a variety of media can significantly aid the language through normalisation and promotion.

## CHAPTER 8:

### THESIS CONCLUSION



The Kawau Mārō was a fitting motif for this thesis, and the imagery has been a consistent and frequent reminder of the essence of my paradigms. Kotahitanga: working together to ensure the healthy survival of te reo, individual strength and determination to achieve set goals.

I began this thesis hoping to find solutions to revive te reo Māori by specifically exploring the effectiveness of media in language revival. Though this task appeared straightforward, I discovered there were numerous obstacles to overcome and uncertainties to clarify prior to addressing this. The ambiguity and complexities surrounding the understanding and meaning of language revitalisation, not to mention the essence of language itself being difficult to capture, made answering my research questions intensely challenging. There were further uncertainties on te reo Māori as a dying language, and addressing who should be of focus in successful revitalisation.

Revitalisation is a highly contestable term with numerous synonyms and interpretations. I preferred Hohepa's view on language as living and growing in new directions. This understanding is suitable in this thesis since it aligns with my belief that languages possess a mauri and are constantly developing and changing alongside their community members (for example transliterations, hybrid words, language codification).

Examining an appropriate target group for effective language revitalisation proved demanding as there are multiple opinions on the subject. However, through researching academic sources, interviews and focus group material, there was collective agreement that children should be prioritised as the future generation of a language and their essential position in maintaining successful intergenerational transmission. Additionally, language learning comes naturally at an early age for both

biological and social reasons. There were strong opinions that non-Māori, as well as Māori should be targeted in effective language revival. I presented arguments outlining the many benefits of learning and speaking te reo: language is an imperative part of cultural identity, enhancing inter-cultural connections and understandings. Additionally, as both an official language and taonga protected under the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown/government has an obligation to actively support the indigenous language of this country. Being spoken by a majority of the population will aid the normalisation, promotion, and therefore the revitalisation of te reo. As discussed with the examples of the national anthem and haka, broadcast media can assist the normalisation process of te reo Māori.

Through analysing qualitative and quantitative research, I found that te reo Māori is a dying language spoken only by a small percentage of New Zealanders. It is not highly used by non-Māori who represent the majority in this country and is primarily spoken by people aged 60 years plus, systematic of being moribund. Although I hypothesised te reo Māori is a dying language, this was under debate and numerous opinions either supported my claim or completely disagreed. Comparing the most recent censuses conducted showed that the proportion of te reo speakers has decreased since 2001, even as the Māori population increased.

Utilising a kaupapa Māori outlook, within this thesis, language was envisioned as living and possessing a mauri, a belief prevalent in Māoridom. Language is not only essential for communication, identity and expression; it is a sacred gift that connects the divine to the living and is a vehicle which preserves history. By treating languages as tangible, I felt this could help people to relate and empathise with its specific situation, as living, dying, endangered or threatened.

Based on thorough research (secondary research, interviews, and focus groups) I produced the *Tapatoru Model 1* to clarify my understanding of te reo Māori revitalisation, and to illustrate how media functions within this vital process. Initially,

I envisioned media as kaiāwhina, supporting devices located outside the central domains (keys): education, community support and home support. I found that media compliments the keys by enhancing the learning of te reo via notable mediums such as television and radio. They also aid the promotion of a language's image, status and prestige within the core domains. Most essentially they cater to normalisation, which was emphasised in this thesis as an imperative goal within an effective language revitalisation plan, as a means of making a language part of everyday life. Due to media's nature of shaping ideologies, their saturation, widespread popularity and familiarity, these devices appeared well-suited in aiding this vital task. I discovered that media alone can not aid language revival, but has great power in assisting the revitalisation of languages alongside the keys.

Another important goal addressed to successfully aid language revitalisation was successful intergenerational transmission, a continuous process which relies on nurturing te reo within the whānau, hapū and iwi. Although currently underutilised, media has vast potential in assisting successful intergenerational transmission by enhancing language learning within the home. By helping parents who are teaching te reo to their children, they can create an immersion environment within this setting, effectively normalising te reo. Endorsing te reo and tikanga Māori, normalisation and successful intergenerational transmission were emphasised as imperative goals in effective language revival and various media play an important, yet often underestimated role in aiding these fundamental areas. Similar to the way environmentalists restore life to a dead or dying forest, I believe media can restore life to a dead or dying language by complimenting the key areas.

Through numerous academic opinions and my own critical analyses I have shown within this thesis that media are crucial vehicles in aiding the revitalisation of te reo Māori in this country. I explored Māori media companies *Māori Television* and *Mana Magazine* to support this claim. *Māori Television* is primarily in the medium of te reo and *Mana Magazine* in English, both examples endorse a positive image of being

Māori and aid normalisation by showing the people and culture through widespread, familiar mediums; important ingredients in effective language revitalisation. I felt that by achieving these goals, being in or partly in English was acceptable and mediums such as these are crucial and valuable. Additionally, being communicated through the English language has the added benefit of appealing to Aotearoa/New Zealand's majority as non-te reo speakers, and can contribute to aiding interest in the culture and catering towards language learning. Based on research and these examples, I suggested that all media are imperative to aid the revitalisation of languages since they can be converged with other mediums and they appeal to the varying interests, needs and abilities (visual, audio, kinesthetic) of different people.

Moreover, I found that media, particularly through television and radio are being utilised in numerous countries worldwide (Australia, Canada, Ireland, South Africa, Wales) to compliment their respective language revitalisation plans. In these countries television was emphasised as fundamental for the continued health and success of their indigenous languages. Due to the convergence of media, television is no longer solely situated in the living room or bedroom, it has portable qualities (blackberries, i-Pods, laptops) and is ubiquitous.

As stressed, media's potential in language revival is often undervalued and underutilised, therefore I explored the many possibilities of utilising these devices to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Of the four focus group sessions I conducted, three groups selected electronic gaming and one television, believing that these mediums can assist the revitalisation of te reo. In my opinion, gaming as a suitable tool in revitalising languages was a surprising revelation. It was selected by participants due to its popular, entertaining and interactive nature and the groups' shared belief that these devices appeal to children, whom should be prioritised. Additionally, during these sessions there was a widespread belief that television was the most effective medium in revitalising te reo, however, the general opinion was that since television is currently being developed, new mediums should be explored. I

felt that comic books and social networks were interesting areas to expand on in effective language revival. Comics attract a wide age demographic, can improve literacy skills and have vast popularity and success in countries worldwide. Social networks appeal to most people, especially youthful audiences, are popular globally and have numerous learning advantages: they are not restricted by location, they can be converged into other mediums and through these devices people have the ability of adopting an anonymous persona whereby making errors will seem irrelevant.

The *Tapatoru Model 2* was a strategic paradigm introduced in the seventh chapter. This model was essential, signifying my future hope for te reo Māori and represented a collection of recommendations from this thesis to successfully revitalise the language. One important suggestion was utilising a variety of media to aid the revival of te reo, a proposal which is likely to succeed due to media's familiar, popular and influential nature. Also, by creating more Māori media companies this will produce employment opportunities in areas requiring skills in te reo, which will benefit both the language and Aotearoa/New Zealand's economy. I proposed that media's role in language revival should be elevated and by doing so, this will enhance its position from kaiāwhina to kaitiakitanga. Media will no longer be supporting devices, they will evolve into guardians in assisting language revitalisation, protecting te reo Māori and ensuring its survival.

Though my thesis journey is about to come to an end, it is apparent that there is plenty of future research needed in the area of media and language revitalisation. As mentioned in *Chapter 1*, my thesis contained the obstacle that I was not able to 'accurately' test the efficiency of media in language revival, as it is a highly subjective topic. However, I think this could be partly resolved by undertaking large-scale research. One underdeveloped idea in this thesis was the creation of a Māori social network, a project I personally have not yet undertaken due to its enormity. As argued in this thesis, te reo Māori is in a threatened state and ideas to aid its revival must be pursued. As stressed in this thesis, people must avoid being complacent with

te reo Māori and active measures embarked upon to ensure and maintain the continued survival of this precious, yet precarious language.

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# APPENDICES



## Appendix 1: Focus group advertisement




Kia ora!

- 1) Are you interested in the Māori language?
- 2) Do you want to share your ideas?
- 3) Do you have one hour to spare?
- 4) Do you want to get a free Memento voucher?

If you answered “yes” to all of the following questions, then I want to hear from you! I am conducting research on Māori language revitalisation. I am holding focus groups and I need participants! So please feel free to contact me through email: [jesslee.hill@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:jesslee.hill@waikato.ac.nz) and we can organise a time to meet.

Looking forward to hearing from you!

Sincerely Jessie Hill



Jessie Hill  
Email: [jesslee.hill@gmail.com](mailto:jesslee.hill@gmail.com)

Jessie Hill  
Email: [jesslee.hill@gmail.com](mailto:jesslee.hill@gmail.com)

Jessie Hill  
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Jessie Hill  
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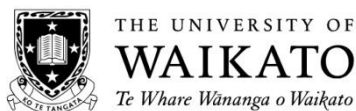
Jessie Hill  
Email: [jesslee.hill@gmail.com](mailto:jesslee.hill@gmail.com)

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## Appendix 2: Participant consent form



# Participant Consent Form

**Research Project Title: “how are media being utilised to significantly and successfully aid the revitalisation of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand?” and “how can this be improved?”**

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.

1. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.
2. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study prior to July 2009 or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study.
3. I agree to provide information to the researcher under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the information sheet.
4. I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.
5. I have acknowledged that the information I give will be used towards a master's thesis. When completed this thesis will be available online and in the library.
6. I would like my information: (circle your option)
  - a) sent to me (please write your postal address below)
  - b) not sent to me
  - c) other
  - d) (please specify).....




7. I consent/do not consent to the information collected for the purposes of this research study to be used for any other research purposes.

---

**Participant's name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Participant's signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:**    /    /

**Contact details:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Researcher's name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Researcher's signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:**    /    /

## ***Information Sheet for Focus Groups***



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

### **Māori language revitalisation**

My name is Jessie Hill and as part of the Masters of Arts programme that I am undertaking, I am required to complete a research project which will be used towards my thesis on Māori language revitalisation. This focus group will be used to form an important part of my Master's degree. For my project, I wish to research the questions "how are media being utilised to significantly and successfully aid the revitalisation of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand?" and "how can this be improved?"

The topic of Māori language revitalisation is important as New Zealand's Māori language is underused. The 2006 New Zealand census revealed that New Zealand has a population of 4,143, 279 people (New Zealand Census, 2006, p. 1). However, only 4.1 % (157,110 people) of the population speak Māori and 95.9 % speak English (New Zealand Census, 2006, p. 9). If the Māori language dies, with it dies a huge part of New Zealand culture.

You will be involved in a focus group discussion. This will take approximately one hour in most cases (and considerably less in some). I will record the discussions that take place in the focus group with a dictaphone.

Your responses will be used to write my thesis. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the information you provide me during the focus group including notes and tapes. Afterwards, all tapes will be destroyed. I will keep a copy of the discussions that take place during the focus group on file but will treat it with the strictest confidentiality. The information will be protected using a confidential password, which will be changed regularly.

You will not be identified in any publication or dissemination of the research findings without your explicit consent.

The final thesis will be available online and in the Waikato University library.

Declaration to participants

If you take part in the focus group you have the right to:

- Refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study prior to July 2009.
- Ask any further questions about the study that occurs to you during your participation.
- Be given a copy of your focus group transcript if you choose to receive a copy.

If you have any questions about this research project you can email me at [jesslee.hill@gmail.com](mailto:jesslee.hill@gmail.com). My project is being supervised by Lisa Perrott. She can be contacted by emailing [lperrott@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:lperrott@waikato.ac.nz).

**Researcher's name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Researcher's signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Contact details:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date:**    /    /

#### Appendix 4: Focus group survey



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
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*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

### Focus Group Activity 1: Questionnaire

***Please answer ALL of the questions correctly. This questionnaire is designed to take approximately five minutes to complete.***

Organisation: \_\_\_\_\_ Group no: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Location: \_\_\_\_\_

1) Are you a New Zealand citizen? (Please tick).

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

2) What ethnic group do you belong to? (Please tick).


- ☐ Māori, write your hapū and iwi: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Pākehā
- ☐ Other: please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

3) What age group do you belong to? (Please tick).

- ☐ 10 – 14
- ☐ 15 – 19
- ☐ 20 – 24
- ☐ 25 – 29
- ☐ 30 – 39
- ☐ 40 – 49
- ☐ 50 – 59
- ☐ 60 – 69
- ☐ 70 – 79
- ☐ 80 +



- 4) Gender (Please tick).
- ☐ Male
  - ☐ Female
- 5) Can you speak Māori? (Please tick).
- ☐ Yes, I can. I'm a fluent speaker.
  - ☐ I am at an advanced level, but not fluent.
  - ☐ I am at an intermediate level. So I can have a conversation.
  - ☐ I am a beginner. I can have a basic conversation.
  - ☐ I can speak a little.
  - ☐ No, I can't. (Go to question 7).
- 6) Where did you learn to speak Māori? (Please tick).
- ☐ University, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  - ☐ Polytechnic, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  - ☐ Kōhanga reo
  - ☐ Kura kaupapa
  - ☐ Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
- 7) Do you think that media can help people learn Māori?
- ☐ Yes
- Why?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ No
- Why not?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- 8) Do you think that media is important in revitalising te reo Māori? Why/why not?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- 9) Did media help you in anyway to learn te reo Māori? (Please tick).
- ☐ Yes (Go to question 10).
  - ☐ No (Go to question 11).
- 10) What media helped you learn te reo Māori?
- ☐ Radio, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  - ☐ Television , please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  - ☐ Newspapers, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  - ☐ Magazines, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  - ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_



11) On a scale from 1 – 5, how important is the Māori language to you?

- ☐ 5: Very important
- ☐ 4: Important
- ☐ 3: Average
- ☐ 2: Unimportant
- ☐ 1: Not important at all

12) Why did you write this answer?

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### **Focus Group: Activity 2**

*This activity will be presented by the researcher. Please ensure that you have a blank piece of paper.*



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
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*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

# Māori Language Revitalisation and the Media

## Focus Group

Researcher: Jessie Hill

### *Part 1*

- Voice recordings. Name (anonymous?). Why you study te reo Māori?
- Please fill in the questionnaire.
- This questionnaire should take you five minutes to complete.
- Please remember to answer questions seven and 12 in detail.

## Part 2

- Scenario: You have been hired by the Māori Language Commission. In groups you must design a media company which will promote and help revitalise the Māori language.

2

## Task 1

- 1) Choose one media to focus on?
- 2) Why did you choose this medium?
- 3) What is the name and slogan of your company? For example, the slogan for the Warehouse is "Where everyone gets a bargain." Why did you choose this slogan?
- 4) What icon will you use? (Why?)
- 5) What ethnicity/ethnicities will you choose to target? (And why?)
- 6) What age group will you choose to target? (And why?)
- 7) List your three most important aims.
- 8) Describe how your company will effectively target language revitalisation?
- 9) Draw a picture of your final product.

3



## ***Part 3: Mana Magazine/ Māori TV***

- 1) With Māori Television/Mana Magazine who do you think Māori language revitalisation is aimed at?
- 2) What age group is targeted? Why do you assume this?
- 3) Who do you think Māori language revitalisation should be aimed at?
- 4) Do you watch Māori Television? Why/what would make you watch it?
- 5) Do you read Mana Magazine? Why/what would make you read it?
- 6) Do you think that media is important to help people learn Māori? Explain.
- 7) Which medium (radio, TV, film, print etc.) is the most important when it comes to teaching people Māori?
- 8) If you're interested in learning te reo Māori, what media do you use to help teach yourself? 4

## ***Final Note***

Thank you very much for participating!!!

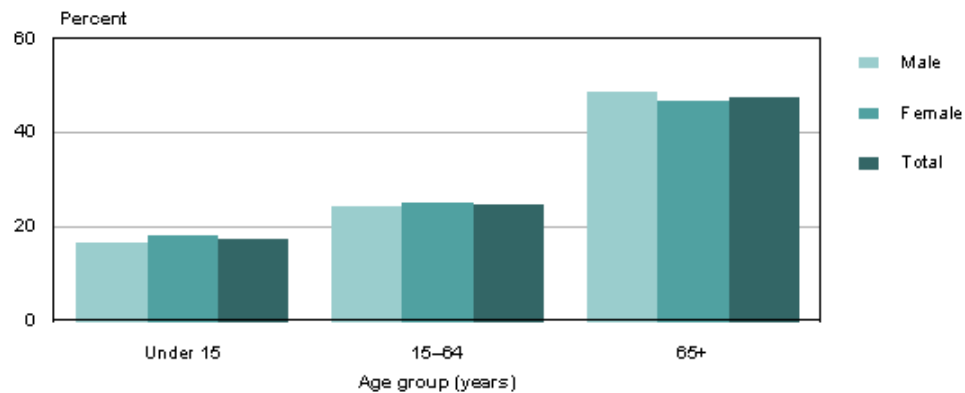
Appendix 6: Ethnic groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand (2001-2006) census<sup>78</sup>

<b>Ethnic Groups in New Zealand,<sup>(1)(2)</sup> 2001–2006 Censuses</b>		
Ethnic groups	2001	2006
European	2,871,432	2,609,589
Māori	526,281	565,326
Pacific peoples	231,798	265,974
Asian	238,176	354,549
Middle Eastern/Latin American/African <sup>(3)</sup>	24,084	34,746
Other ethnicity <sup>(4)</sup>		
New Zealander	...	429,426
Other ethnicity–other	801	1,494
Total	801	430,878
Total people	3,586,644	3,860,163

<sup>78</sup> Appendix 6, 7 & 8 were obtained from:  
 Statistics New Zealand. (2006). *Tables about New Zealand*. Retrieved 25 November, 2008, from:  
<http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/census-outputs/tables/aboutplacetables.htm?id=9999999&tab=Culturaldiversity&type=region&ParentID=>

Appendix 7: Māori speakers in the 2006 census

**Māori Speakers of te Reo Māori as a Proportion of the Total Māori Population**  
*2006 Census*



Appendix 8: Māori population in the 2006 census

**Māori Population**  
*New Zealand*  
 2006 Census

