



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Tē Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

The School of Māori and Pacific Development

He Puna Kōrero - Journal of Maori & Pacific Development



He Puna Kōrero
Journal of Maori and Pacific Development
Volume 6, Number 1
February, 2005

ISSN 1175-3099

A publication of:

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

The University of Waikato School of Māori and Pacific Development has a non-exclusive distribution rights agreement with EBSCO Publishing, Inc. and RMIT Publishing in relation to this journal.

Guest Editor:	Hēmi Whaanga, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Production Editor:	Associate Professor Dr. Winifred Crombie, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Assistant Production Editor:	Hēmi Whaanga, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Editorial Board:	Associate Professor Dr. Winifred Crombie, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato Dr. Eci Nabalarua, Senior Lecturer/ Chairperson of Development Studies, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato Professor Dr. Tamati Reedy, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato Professor Dr. Aroha Yates-Smith, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

He Puna Kōrero
Journal of Maori and Pacific Development

Vol. 6, No. 1, February 2005

ISSN 1175-3099

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	1
ARTICLES	
Development and care of <i>pā harakeke</i> in 19th century New Zealand: Voices from the past Priscilla M. McAllum	2
The concept of partnership and <i>The Treaty of Waitangi</i>: Three case studies Sandy Morrison	16
The arguing genre and the explaining genre: A comparison in terms of discourse relational analyses of texts written in English and texts written in Māori Winifred Crombie, Ian Bruce and Ngaere Houia-Roberts	27
Sustaining management of indigenous-owned resources: The relevance of multi-dimensional training to the multi-million dollar mahogany industry in Fiji Eci K. Nabalarua	34
Te whakahuatanga i te reo Māori: Kua ahatia e tātou i roto i ngā tau 100 kua hipa nei? (<i>The pronunciation of Māori: What have we done to it in the last 100 years?</i>) Ray Harlow, Peter Keegan, Jeanette King, Margaret Maclagan and Catherine Watson	45
INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS	Back cover

TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

Kei te ara ake te reo o Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao. Kei te puta atu anō te reo karanga ki ngā hau e whā kia huri mai ngā kanohi ki ngā maunga teitei o te mātauranga. Tēnā koutou e hoa mā. Kei te tukua atu ēnei kohinga kōrero hei tirohanga mā koutou, hei whakahihiri hoki i ō koutou hinengaro. Pānuihia, ā, wānangahia ngā kai o roto. Tēnā koutou katoa.

It is a real pleasure to act as guest editor for this issue of *He Puna Kōrero* in which a broad range of Māori and Pacific development and language issues is presented.

The leading article, by Priscilla McAllum, examines Māori planting practices of *pā harakeke* and other aspects of resource management in literature sources from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries. McAllum demonstrates how these literature sources can assist in providing information about the evolution of traditional Māori planting practices that should be of interest to scientists and contemporary weavers alike.

The next article – by Sandy Morrison – arises out her personal and professional interest in the *Treaty of Waitangi* and its relevance to contemporary Aotearoa/ New Zealand. With reference to three different case studies, Morrison argues that organisational and institutional restructuring, even where it increases Māori participation in decision-making, should not be seen as an expression of treaty ‘partnership’, but may, nevertheless, offer a way forward in terms of equity and justice.

The third article – by Winifred Crombie, Ian Bruce and Ngaere Houia-Roberts – reports on a comparison of two groups of texts (texts written in Māori and texts written in English) exhibiting two different genres – *explaining* and *arguing*. Their findings are in some respects surprising and will lead readers to question some commonly held beliefs about indigenous writing.

The article by Eci Nabalarua contributes to an emerging discourse on holistic development among grassroots communities in the Pacific Islands. Nabalarua presents that the notion of multi-dimensional training as having great potential for encouraging real growth in indigenous-owned and managed resources.

The final article – by Ray Harlow, Peter Keegan, Jeanette King, Margaret Maclagan and Catherine Watson – reports on the initial findings of a Marsden funded research project that involves a fascinating investigation of changes in the pronunciation of Māori over the last century.

I hope that readers will enjoy the articles in this issue as much as much as I have.

Hēmi Whaanga
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

Development and care of *pā harakeke* in 19th century New Zealand: Voices from the past

Priscilla M. McAllum

Doctoral Student

Te Aka Tikanga (*Department of Māori Culture*)

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (*The School of Māori and Pacific Development*) and the
Department of Biological Sciences

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (*University of Waikato*)

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[mcallump@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

Māori weaving is experiencing a resurgence. Some weavers are involved in the planting of *pā harakeke* so that they have a high quality resource on hand ready for use. A number of recent scientific publications, undertaken jointly with weavers, have explored the unique fibre qualities of different harakeke varieties along with specific aspects of Māori use of these varieties. In this paper, I examine Māori planting practices of *pā harakeke* and other aspects of resource management as revealed in literature sources from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries. Although some of the practices outlined here may have fallen into disuse over time, they may, nevertheless, continue to be appropriate for contemporary *pā harakeke*. It is hoped, therefore, that the information provided here will be of interest to contemporary weavers.

Introduction

Harakeke (*Phormium tenax*, commonly known as New Zealand flax) is overwhelmingly the most frequently used plant in Māori weaving, and has been since pre-European times. Numerous essential items were made from harakeke in Māori society prior to European colonisation, including many different kinds of basket (*kete*), clothing (*kākahu*), floor mat (*whāriki*), and fishing net (*kupenga*). Buck (1926, p. 61) notes that “with the exception of kiekie and toi used in some rain capes, the fibre used in Māori garments was obtained from the leaf of the *Phormium tenax*.” That is, harakeke was a key economic resource which provided the basis of life in previous times. However, weaving of all kinds became less common after European colonisation (Buck, 1911). The near loss of weaving (*whatu*) as an art, together with its revitalisation through the commitment of a small number of weavers in the mid-twentieth century, has been documented by Paki-Titi (1998). In spite of revitalisation efforts, the years during which the art of weaving was almost lost have had a negative impact on the transmission of traditional knowledge of harakeke itself. Indeed, Colenso (1880) remarked on the remains of old harakeke plantations which he came across in his travels.

Recent literature indicates a revived interest in traditional Māori management of weaving resources (see, for example, Mihinui, 2002; Moeke-Pickering & Kete, 2002; Puketapu-Hetet, 1989; Scheele & Walls, 1994). It also draws attention, in relation to traditional resource management by Māori, of a Māori world view in which concepts such as *whakapapa* and *mauri* play an important role. That this world view continues to be central to contemporary Māori resource management practices is evident in the

discussions of contemporary Māori authors (see, for example, Kawharu, 1998; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003; Mihinui, 2002; Puketapu-Hetet, 1989; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi & Kirkwood, 1995). A number of recent scientific publications have elucidated aspects of harakeke growth and have provided information about some of the approximately sixty varieties known to Māori (see, for example, Harris, Scheele, Brown & Sedcole, 2005; Harris & Woodcock-Sharp, 2000; McBreen, Lockhart, McLenachan, Scheele & Robertson, 2003; Scheele & Walls, 1994). All of these sources are of very considerable significance. Even so, there has to date been no comprehensive examination of historical resource use and management of harakeke by Māori.

With the current resurgence of Māori weaving, many contemporary *pā harakeke*, or cultivated harakeke gardens, are being developed at sites around the country, including schools and *marae*. However, because of processes of colonisation, migration and other factors, the transition of knowledge through the generations has not been complete. For this reason, a critical analysis of historical documents is an essential part of the recovery of traditional knowledge. It is therefore timely to examine information associated with past Māori management of *pā harakeke*.

This paper analyses information contained in literature from the late 18th to the early 20th century with a view to illuminating historical Māori management techniques, and particularly planting practices, used in the development and care of *pā harakeke*. It is hoped that the information provided will be of interest and use to contemporary weavers. The focus here is on 'hands on' practical management of harakeke.

The Data

Historical documents form the basis for this enquiry into Māori management of *pā harakeke* in the 19th century and earlier. However, there are many problems associated with these texts.¹ These include the fact that the observers/ writers will have been influenced by their own interests and value systems. Thus, for example, Williams (2001, p. 217) notes that past Crown policy on the preservation of Māori knowledge (often involving indifference, apathy or outright challenge) has had a negative impact on transmission. In place of traditional coherent and intensive transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next in the setting of the *whare wānanga*, we witness a struggle for survival in an unfamiliar and often hostile context. Thus, for example, Williams (2001, p. 224) notes that although the ethnographic work of Elsdon Best is of great value, Best himself neglected to preserve the original material of *tohunga* Te Matorohanga, material that was written down at a specially convened *wānanga* or gathering. What remains for posterity are only fragments of Te Matorohanga's works which exist in Best's notes.

The historical literature from the late 18th to the early 20th century can be divided into periods: the first period (from 1769 to 1840) was notable for the investigation of visitors from overseas; the second period (from around 1840 to the 1920s) can be characterised as a period of investigation by resident naturalists and ethnographers. In the first period, a number of early visitors to New Zealand made observations in diaries, journals and letters, mainly describing life in the first half of the 19th century. This group includes writers such as Lang, Marsden and Yate. A later group of New Zealand writers, such as Colenso, Beattie and Best, demonstrated their keen interest in ethnography in late 19th and early 20th century publications, and included material

relating to Māori plant knowledge. Māori writers such as Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck) and Makereti also contributed during this period.² I have, however, been unable to find early material written by Māori weavers about their practices, although it is possible that some exists, perhaps retained in private collections. Moreover, of the early ethnographers, only Best, Beattie and Shortland are recorded as having female informants (Yates-Smith, 1998, p. 27). Because Māori women have generally been the weavers, holding a great deal of knowledge concerning harakeke, this is of particular concern.

The Report of the Flax Commission to the House of Representatives (1870-1872) and its Appendices form the most comprehensive historical record for harakeke in the 19th century. The primary purpose of the Flax Commission was to investigate different varieties of harakeke that might have fibre suitable for commercial use, and the Commissioners reported on research into flax varieties and preparation relevant to that purpose. They therefore noted aspects of Māori practice and use of different varieties, mainly via reports received from different districts. The information recorded covers a range of material provided by both Māori and non-Māori. However, the brief of this report was such that it placed limitations on the kind of information recorded. The focus was on commercial use of harakeke fibre, or *muka*. As such, their interest in Māori methods of managing harakeke had a narrow focus.

Results

Early references to the management of *pā harakeke* are sparse. In the first half of the 19th century, some Pākehā observers seemed to consider either that harakeke had never been cultivated (see, for example, Terry cited in Bell & Young, 1842, p. 25), or alternatively that Māori had forgotten any resource management practices that had once been known (Bell & Young, 1842 p. 12; Brodie, 1845, p. 95).³ Brodie reported that “the cultivation of the flax has of late years been entirely neglected [by Māori]” (p. 95) which suggests a period of inactivity and loss. In a similar vein, Heaphy wrote that “[no] pains have ever yet been taken in its culture; and indeed but little are necessary, so luxuriant is it in its wild state” (Heaphy cited in Bell & Young, 1842, p. 19). Other early writers, such as Lang (1839, pp. 59-60), made only superficial observations of Māori weaving, or appeared to have little interest in harakeke (see, for example, Yate, 1835, p. 31).

Ethnological writing during the later part of the 19th and early 20th centuries which relates to harakeke is heavily weighted towards descriptions of the art and customs of weaving (see, for example, Best, 1898; Buck, 1923, 1924; Roth, 1979). These ethnographers recorded terminology associated with weaving in great detail, as well as customs associated with the *whare pora*, and names for different items of clothing. Unfortunately, they paid almost no attention to the plant itself. The exceptions to this trend are two papers, one by Best (1908), the other by Buck (1911), which provide what are almost certainly the two most valuable historical accounts of harakeke management. Additionally, a number of practices are reported, often fleetingly, in other sources. Taken together, these sources provide an important resource in relation to the practices used by Māori to manage *pā harakeke*.

Propagation by root division

Harakeke can be propagated by separating out and planting leaf fans taken from an established bush; this is often referred to as propagation by root division. Each of the ramets or fans (also sometimes referred to as ‘roots’ or ‘offsets’) must have attached root stock in order to grow. The second method is propagation of harakeke from seed.

Māori use of root propagation is reported in numerous sources (Best, 1908; Buck, 1911; Elder, 1932, p. 241;⁴ Kelly, 1866; King, 1793; Report of the Flax Commissioners, 1870-1871; Selwyn, 1847; Williams, n.d.). These sources cover much of the country, from Northland to the Eastern districts, Taranaki and the Urewera. Root division therefore appears to have been a well-known common method of propagating harakeke.

Propagation of harakeke by root division appears to have been well established before the arrival of Pākehā. Some of the earliest information about Māori cultivation techniques comes from Tuki and Huru, two high ranking Māori kidnapped in 1793 from the Bay of Islands, who were taken to Norfolk Island in the hope that they would be able to help the convicts there extract fibre from harakeke for the growing trade.⁵ Philip Gidley King (1793, p. 188) described in his journal how, according to Tuki and Huru, “it [*harekeke*] is cultivated by seperating [sic] the roots”. This method of propagation was still reportedly in common use a century later: Williams (n.d.) recorded that when Māori discover a *tihore* plant, they “propagate it by dividing the root stock and . . . plant it in rows near their ordinary habitations”. Propagation by root division remains the preferred method of establishing *pā harakeke* today. It appears, therefore, that Māori have been propagating harakeke by root division for at least 200 years, and most likely longer.

Distribution data from the Pacific Islands provides evidence that Polynesians had developed techniques to propagate other weaving plants in a similar way to harakeke prior to the colonisation of New Zealand (see, for example, Connor, 1983, p. 19). Propagation by root division developed as a cultivation method prior to colonisation of Aotearoa, and hence was probably quickly adapted by Māori to a range of plants in this country.

Propagation from seed

The Report of the Flax Commissioners (1870, p. 6) stated categorically that Māori did not grow harakeke from seed, and always transplanted harakeke, and this view was echoed by others (Canterbury Flax Association, 1871; Atkinson, 1921a). This view seems to be widely accepted today, as propagation by seed is not discussed in any later references. Additionally, Kelly reported that Māori had tried to propagate from seed unsuccessfully (Report of the Flax Commissioners, 1870, p. 9). However, detailed description of Māori seed propagation methods for other plant species such as *hue* (*Pteris esculenta*) are given by, for example, Colenso (1880), and Makereti (1986, pp. 215-216). These writers provide evidence that Māori experimented successfully with different methods of maximising seed germination.

There *is* evidence which refutes the widely held view that Māori did not propagate harakeke by seed. Examination of an early text by Murray (1836, p. 13) reveals evidence that they did. He quoted the words of a friend who wrote to him after consultation with a Māori informant (unfortunately neither the friend nor the Māori

informant are named) describing the Māori method of sowing harakeke seeds as follows:

After preparing the ground and sowing the seed, if they do not quickly see the plants appear, they spread a quantity of brushwood over the land and set fire to it. This being done, the plants soon make their appearance, and a crop is ensured.

This method is similar to other seed propagation methods described much later for *kumara* by Best (1976, p. 188). It is, however, currently unclear under what conditions Māori chose to grow harakeke from seed: propagation by root division is likely always to have been, in most contexts, a more effective way of propagating this valuable weaving resource. As Murray (1836, p. 15) noted (with regard to cultivating harakeke in the Scotland): “The difficulty of obtaining mature seeds appears to be a subject of little or no regret, from the great facility with which plants may be cultivated by offsets.” That is, propagation of harakeke by root division is much more effective than seed propagation for multiplying desirable varieties at a fast rate. This supports Māori preferential use of root division to propagate desirable varieties in *pā harakeke*.

Propagation from seed encourages genetic diversity and the establishment of different genetic varieties. That is, seeds have a mixture of characteristics of the parent plants, and tend to be very variable. On the other hand, propagation by root division effectively preserves the characteristics of the parent plant, as the genetic material in every fan is identical to the parent bush. This is extremely useful where a weaver wishes to increase stocks of highly valued varieties.

It is not clear whether an interest in genetic variability was the purpose behind germination of harakeke from seed, although the identification and use of around 60 harakeke varieties by Māori suggests this would be a valid hypothesis. Two issues pertaining to this suggestion need to be considered. Harakeke growth from seed germination is much slower than propagation by root division, as it takes approximately 6-8 years for a seed to develop into a mature plant. As well, a range of desirable forms in natural stands (which could then be cultivated by root division at a faster rate) may have been available for selection by weavers. Another hypothesis is that Māori germinated harakeke from seed when attempting to establish large areas of harakeke in areas with a poor natural distribution, or with large populations and high resource usage. As yet data on natural distributions of harakeke in the pre-European period have not been analysed in relation to weaving needs.

Planting methods

The development of *pā harakeke* using propagation by root division raises the question of planting methods. There are, in fact, a number of 19th and early 20th century sources which describe planting of harakeke. Buck (1911) provided the most succinct record of planting as follows:

Suitable ground having been prepared, the roots were planted perhaps in groups of four, slanting outwards from one another. These would all grow up into one large bunch, which was called a *pu harakeke*. The next *pu* would be planted about 8 ft. away. The bunches were arranged in rows of from six to

thirty or so. Each row was called a *pa*, a term which was also applied to the whole collection in the phrase *pa harakeke* or *pa muka*. The *pa harakeke* was carefully weeded, and as the various roots sprouted up earth was banked between the divisions of the bunch.

However, contrasting information is provided by other authors in relation to planting distances. These can be compared in *Table 1*.

Table 1: Descriptions of planting distances between *pū harakeke*, and rows from 19th and early 20th century literature

Planting description	District	Source
roots one foot apart	Northland	King (1793, p. 188)
each root to be planted about 2 yards apart	unknown	Brodie (1845, p. 92)
spaces of 6 feet between plants, and rows 6 ft apart	possibly Eastern districts	Selwyn (1847)
each native flax plant occupies about two square yards of ground; <i>Tihori</i> [sic] is set in rows about 3 feet apart	unknown	Moore (1849)
spaces of 6 feet between plants, and rows 6 feet apart	probably Taranaki	Kelly (1866)
6 feet between rows and plants		Report of the Flax Commissioners (1870)
<i>tapoto</i> variety is planted in rows 20 feet apart	Pourerere, Hawke's Bay	Nairn, in the Report of the Flax Commissioners (1870 D.14, p. 8), from Māori sources
<i>wharanui</i> variety is planted in rows 20 feet apart	Pourerere, Hawke's Bay	Nairn, in the Report of the Flax Commissioners (1870 D.14, p. 8), from Māori sources
6 ft or 8 ft or 10 ft apart.	possibly Wellington	J T Mitchell (1905, p. 35) based on his memory of Māori plantings 35 years prior

There is considerable variation in reported distances between harakeke bushes. This variation may relate, in part, to the fact that some authors appear to be describing planting methods whereas others may be describing either planting distances, or the distances between *existing* plants. However, the distances recorded between planted harakeke roots certainly appear to increase over time. There are two likely reasons. Firstly, there may have been substantial variation in planting practices, particularly between regions. These regional differences may also have included variation in which varieties were chosen for cultivation, with bush size depending on both the variety and growth conditions (see below for further discussion). Secondly, the commercial milling for industry may have had a significant impact on harakeke planting distances. During the later part of the 19th century, commercial harvesting was prevalent in many areas, and non-Māori interest was closely focused on this industry. Although initially natural stands of harakeke were harvested, by the end of the 19th century landowners were planting harakeke for planned commercial harvest. Large distances between rows of harakeke allowed tramlines to pass through so the leaves could be carted more easily. It is possible that what has been reported as Māori

practice during this period is misrepresented as such, or that Māori planting distances themselves changed in response to industry. Hector (1889, p. xvii) noted that harakeke was in constant use by Māori during the early contact period, and that “a very considerable trade in the article [*Phormium* fibre] existed as early as 1828”. This trend increased with the development of more effective stripping and scutching machinery in the second half of the 19th century.

The Flax Commissioners (1870, p. 6) noted in their report that “[it] seems to be overlooked that planted flax will not be allowed to grow into large bushes”. This suggests that small distances may be appropriate in some contexts. Crozet (1999) noted that harakeke bushes he saw planted in Northland were “small”. This, together with the fact that Tuki reported close planting (King, 1793, p. 188), lends support to the hypothesis that there was a relationship between planting distance and bush size.

The transplanting of fans to propagate harakeke also requires a decision on the number of fans to place together at any one site. Evidence suggests that the number of fans planted in any one hole probably varied in different areas (*Table 2*).

Table 2: Records of the number of rooted harakeke fans placed in one planting hole.

Number of fans (with root attached)	Reported District	Time period	Source
3	Bay of Islands	1793	King (1793, p. 188)
2	possibly Tuhoe but not specified	around 1900	Best (1908)
4	Whanganui River	around 1900	Buck (1911)

Planting one fan only in each hole is probably the most common method of planting today, possibly because that is the amount of material often supplied by the giver of a desired variety. However, some weavers still prefer to plant two or three fans together. Pendergrast (2000, p. 14) noted a “traditional method used by the late Mrs Marara Maihi” where fans were planted singly or in groups of three with the rhizomes pointing outwards. It can be seen here that there appears to have been considerable variation in practice previously. Best additionally recorded that in Tūhoe tradition it was considered unlucky to plant an uneven number of harakeke fans in a hole (Best, 1972, p. 1010). The number of suggested fans recorded in Pendergrast differs from Best’s record, although Pendergrast’s description of planting orientation from the East Coast area is similar to that described by Buck (1911) with reference to the Whanganui River area. However, the overall preference for more than one fan may be based on the faster speed of bush development into harvestable material.

The Flax Commissioners (1870, p.7) noted one practical reason for variation in the number of roots planted: “[if] close planting should be adopted, only one root should be planted at one place”. Although it is not clear from the context whether this referred to Māori practice, it seems likely that it did. Another explanation relates to the nature of traditional knowledge itself, which is based on experience, and therefore open to change (see, for example, Grenier, 1998).

Planting seasonality

Seasonality is mentioned frequently in the 19th and early 20th century literature in relation to resource management by Māori. It is mentioned, for example, with reference to *kumara* (Best, 1976; Makereti, 1986, p. 193). Harakeke planting also appears to have been strongly seasonal. Kelly (1866) reported that the best season for planting is April or May. His indication of seasonality may be based on communication with Bishop Selwyn as his list of harakeke varieties is strongly suggestive of Selwyn's work (Selwyn, 1847). Best (1908), however, reported that fans were planted out in the 4th month of the Māori year, which corresponds to spring in the western calendar. Firth (1972, p. 71) also recorded flax planting as an activity for September, or spring. In this case, historical reports and modern practice correlate well: transplanting of harakeke fans in autumn or spring is common today. Because seasonality is important for a large variety of activities undertaken by Māori, from fishing to planting of crops, it is likely that continuation of this practice has been supported by this broad base of traditional knowledge.

A number of planting practices for harakeke were dismissed as involving superstition by Best (1977, pp. 102-103). These involve practices that involve observation of wind and wind direction:

When it was planted near a village for daily use, it was highly essential that the planters should note and remember what wind was blowing at the time of planting. When the plants had developed and the leaves were ready for use it was necessary that such leaves be cut during the prevalence of the same wind; if cut at any other time the fibre of the leaves will be found to be of poor quality.

At face value, these practices might seem strange, but there is at least one oral tradition maintained among weavers that suggests the way harakeke is planted in relation to the prevailing winds of the area is important in terms of survival and growth. Winds are often indicators of bad weather, something that can clearly affect the appropriate timing of harvesting, or the growth of the plant itself. Further consideration of the meaning behind these comments may yet illuminate the practices described.

Irrigation of pā harakeke

Māori irrigation of harakeke was not recorded by Kelly (1866), Best (1908), Buck (1911) and others. However, Crawford (1869) noted that "it is said in the old days of Māori flax cultivation, the plants were irrigated, although always planted on a hillside". This record provides evidence of a significant resource management practice. Cross (1912, p. 151) also mentioned irrigation by Māori, but as her writing is remarkably reminiscent of that of Crawford, he is likely to have been the authority for her statement. Frustratingly, Crawford (1869) did not elaborate further on his comment. It therefore remains unclear whether he was referring to watering or ground-based irrigation systems. Nor can we know the extent of irrigation use from this rather tantalising report. Even so, the fact that Crawford's paper focussed on the usefulness of cutting drains to increase growth in commercial harakeke plantations, places his comment in a context of ground-based irrigation of some kind.

Management of the flower stalk

A small number of historical records refer to management of the harakeke flower stalk (that is, the peduncle and inflorescence, or *kōrari*). Hector (1889, p. 9) recorded a number of practices that ‘should be’ carried out in relation to the harvesting of harakeke. He did not, however, specifically identify them as Māori. One of these practices was cutting the flower stalk as soon as possible, and then rubbing the cut part with a little earth to prevent “bleeding”,⁶ or, better still, twisting it off. Buck (1911) also identified the Māori practice of removing the flower stalk. He gave two reasons for this: firstly, that it “exhausts” the plant, and secondly, that there was no chance of cross-fertilisation and propagation by seed. Two further sources (Atkinson, 1921a, 1921b; Report of the Flax Commissioners, 1870, p. 7) reported that Māori refrained from cutting *harakeke* from the time that the flower stalk shoots until the time that it dies off. Removal of the flower stalk continues to be part of Māori management of highly valued varieties today.

Fertilisation of the harakeke plant

Expert contemporary weavers consider the return of excess or ‘waste’ material from the harakeke plant to the base of the plant a traditional part of the weaving process. Weavers are held to have a responsibility to nurture the plants they use, and as part of this philosophy, to return any excess material from weaving “*hei whāngai i te harakeke*” (Mihinui, 2002).⁷

The return of excess weaving material to harakeke plants is, however, poorly documented in the 19th century literature. For example, the practice is not recorded by Best (1908) or Buck (1911). However, in their report to Parliament, the Flax Commissioners recorded their belief that a top dressing of refuse (thoroughly decomposed) would keep down weeds and shelter roots from sun and supply the minerals required by a harakeke plant (Report of the Flax Commissioners, 1870 p. 7). This seems remarkably similar to what has been recorded as traditional Māori practice, although, in fact, Māori practice was not mentioned in this context in the report.

One late 19th century source outlines a different approach to the disposal of excess material from harakeke. Guthrie-Smith (1969, p. 92) reported the story of Te Otua who, while he was running, “stepped on the spot where the refuse flax of the village was deposited. It was about a couple of feet thick with the butts of the great blades . . .”. This story suggests that, in this case at least, excess harakeke material had *not* been deposited back with the plant. In this part of Hawke’s Bay in the North Island, there may have been a designated area for such material. The village to which reference is made appears to have been close to the lagoon where a flax swamp was growing, so that the harakeke may not have been highly valued ‘*muka*’ harakeke from cultivation, but a more common variety from the swamp. It does, however, suggest that more than one strategy was used by weavers in the 19th century in relation to disposal of excess material.

The Report of the Flax Commissioners recorded that Māori “do not use manure though they prepare the soil with great care” (Report of the Flax Commission, 1870, p. 7). That Māori did not use manure would be expected given a Māori world view in which bodily functions and *tapu* are linked. The comment on soil preparation, nonetheless, emphasises the importance of soil condition to promote growth and

vigour of harakeke and accords with the observations of Buck (1911). Furthermore, careful weeding of cultivations seems to have been a feature of Māori agriculture (see, for example, Best, 1908, 1976; Buck, 1950, p. 89; Kelly, 1866; Makereti, 1986, p. 191; Selwyn, 1847).

It appears that ashes were at times used to assist growth of the plant, as reported by Murray who observed that the ashes from burning brushwood were used when propagating from seed (Murray, 1836, p. 13). This method of using ashes as fertiliser has also been reported by Shortland (1856, pp. 203-204) and Buck (1950, p. 89). Nonetheless, excess harakeke was not burned, according to Best (1908), but this restriction pertained only to *harakeke muka* (or *harakeke whitau*) varieties, and not to “common varieties” or *harakeke māori*. Contemporary weavers also ensure that harakeke refuse is not burned, but the differentiation between burning *harakeke muka*, and *harakeke māori*, has become blurred and this distinction does not now seem to be made by large numbers of weavers.

Discussion

Relatively little detail of Māori harakeke management practices is recorded in the literature prior to the 1930s. In part, this appears to be due to the perceptions, and misconceptions, of non-Māori observers, many of whom appeared to believe that harakeke cultivation had either long been abandoned by Māori or had never existed. In fact, in the entire period from the late 18th to the early 20th century, there is, very little recorded material about resource management of harakeke. Furthermore, very little information of any kind has been gleaned from South Island historical sources. This makes the little information that *can* be recovered about the management of *pā harakeke* by Māori during this period even more valuable.

In spite of the limitations of the written historical records, they do reveal a number of interesting practices, some of which confirm what has been passed down in oral tradition. For example, themes which emerge from the historical literature are considerations of seasonality, the life cycle of the plant, and suitable conditions for growth. Other historical practices are either not referred to at all today, or are different from usual practice. There appears, for example, to be a discrepancy between early planting distances and commonly recommended distances today (see, for example, Scheele & Walls, 1994). Particularly interesting are references to irrigation of *pā harakeke* and traditional sites for *pā harakeke* on hillsides.

Conclusion

What is clear is that Māori have planted harakeke in a structured and methodical way possibly for several hundred years, and that care was given to maintenance of the *pā harakeke*. It was probably common in many regions for Māori to plant a number of roots together, leaning outwards. These were most likely arranged in rows in *pā harakeke*, which may in turn have bordered other cultivations. Planting of harakeke appears to have occurred preferentially in spring or autumn. Weeding was considered important, as was the care of bushes. Soil preparation, irrigation and aspect of the *pā harakeke* also seem to have been considered. In the final analysis, these historical reports are of traditional methods which have evolved over time through Māori experience of different environmental conditions and observation of the effects of different treatments. These examples of traditional knowledge can therefore be considered by contemporary weavers in the light of their own experience of harakeke,

with the continuing goal of developing and maintaining well cared for and vigorous *pā harakeke*.

Endnotes

1. A discussion of issues in historical research, including validity and accuracy of data can be found in Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000).
2. Detailed biographical information and context about many of the ethnographers from the 19th century can be found in Yates-Smith (1998).
3. It is important to bear in mind that some of these writers may not have had access to information that may have tempered their views.
4. This compendium of Samuel Marsden's letters mentions root propagation on his 1820 visit.
5. Norfolk Island harakeke is described as *Phormium tenax* and no morphological features which are different from the range of *Phormium tenax* in New Zealand have been reported.
6. The rubbing of earth is reminiscent of measures taken when bark is removed from traditional dyeing trees by Māori.
7. Literally, to feed or nourish the harakeke.

Acknowledgements

This study was funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, and Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, University of Waikato. Many thanks to the reviewer who provided valuable comments on an earlier manuscript.

References

- Atkinson, E. H. (1921a.). *Phormium tenax*. The New Zealand fibre industry III. Conservation and cultivation. *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture*, 22, 283-288.
- Atkinson, E. H. (1921b) *Phormium tenax*. The New Zealand fibre industry IV. Milling processes. *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture*, 22, 347-356.
- Best, E. (1908). Maori forest lore: Being some account of native forest lore and woodcraft, as also of many myths, rites, customs and superstitions connected with the flora and fauna of the tuhoe or Urewera district. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 41, 231-286.
- Best, E. (1972). *Tuhoe, the children of the mist: A sketch of the origin, history, myths and beliefs of the Tuhoe tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, with some account of other early tribes of the Bay of Plenty district* (2nd ed.). Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Best, E. (1976). *Maori agriculture: the cultivated food plants of the natives of New Zealand, with some account of native methods of agriculture, its ritual and origin myths*. Wellington: Board of Maori Ethnological Research for the Dominion Museum. (Original work published 1925)
- Best, E. (1977). *Forest Lore of the Māori*. Wellington: Government Printer. (Original work published 1942)
- Brodie, W. (1845). *Remarks on the past and present state of New Zealand, its government, capabilities and prospects: With a statement of the question of the land-claims, and remarks on the New Zealand land company: Also, a description (never before published) of its indigenous exports and hints on emigration, the result of five years residence in the colony*. London: Whittaker & Co.
- Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa) (1911). On the Maori art of weaving cloaks, capes, and kilts. In *New Zealand Dominion Museum: Bulletin no. 3*. (pp. 69-90). Wellington: Govt. Printer.

- Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa) (1923). *Maori plaited basketry and plaitwork: I. Mats, baskets and burden-carriers. Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, 54, 705-744.*
- Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa) (1924). *Maori plaited basketry and plaitwork. 2. Belts and bands, fire-fans and fly-flaps, sandals and sails. Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, 55, 344-362.*
- Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa) (1926). *The evolution of Maori clothing.* New Plymouth, N.Z.: Printed by Thomas Avery & Sons under the authority of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research.
- Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa) (1950). *The coming of the Maori.* Wellington: Maori Purposes Fund Board.
- Canterbury Flax Association. (1871). *Information relative to the utilisation of the Phormium tenax and its adaptability for manufacturing and other purposes.* Christchurch: Committee of the Canterbury Flax Association and Jones & Tombs.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research methods in education* (5th ed.). London: Routledge Falmer.
- Colenso, W. (1880). On the vegetable food of the ancient New Zealanders before Cook's visit. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, 13, 3-38.*
- Connor, J. B. (1983). *Polynesian Basketry.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.
- Crawford, J. C. (1869). On irrigation as applied to the growth of New Zealand flax. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, 2, 129-130.*
- Cross, B. D. (1912). *Investigations on Phormium with regard to the improvement of its economic importance.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.
- Crozet, J. M. (1999). *Crozet's voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand, the Ladrone Islands, and the Philippines in the years 1771-1772* [Translated by H. Ling Roth]. Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers. (Original work published 1891)
- Elder, J. R. (ed.) (1932). *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden.* Dunedin: Otago University Council.
- Firth, R. (1972). *Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (2nd ed.). Wellington: Government Printer.
- Grenier, L. (1998). *Working with indigenous knowledge: A guide for researchers.* Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre.
- Guthrie-Smith, H. (1969). *Tutira: The story of a New Zealand sheep station* (4th ed.). Wellington: A H and A W Reed.
- Harris, W., & Woodcock-Sharp, M. T. U. A. (2000). Extraction, content, strength, and extension of *Phormium* variety fibres prepared for traditional Maori weaving. *New Zealand Journal of Botany, 38, 469-487.*
- Harris, W., Scheele, S. M., Brown, C. E., & Sedcole, J. R. (2005). Ethnobotanical study of growth of *Phormium* varieties used for traditional Maori weaving. *New Zealand Journal of Botany, 43(1), 83-118.*
- Hector, J. (1889). *Phormium tenax as a fibrous plant* (2nd edition). Wellington: Government Printer.
- Kawharu, M. (1998). *Dimensions of kaitiakitanga: an investigation of a customary Maori principle of resource management.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, Oxford, U.K.
- Kelly, T. (1866). *The soil, climate and capabilities of Taranaki, with a description of the several raw materials, etc., (the production of the province) shown in the intercolonial exhibition.* Melbourne; New Plymouth: Woon & Atkinson.

- King, P. K. (1793). *Journal* [Manuscript MS Papers 720/4] Wellington: Turnbull Library.
- Lang, J. D. (1839). *New Zealand in 1839: Four letters, to the Right Hon. Earl Durham, Governor of the New Zealand Land Company, on the colonization of that island and on the present condition and prospects of its native inhabitants*. London: Smith Elder and Co.
- Makereti. (1986). *The old time Maori*. Auckland: New Zealand New Women's Press. (Original work published 1938)
- Marsden, M. (2003). *The woven universe: Selected writings of Rev. Maori Marsden* (ed. T. A. C. Royal). Otaki, N.Z: Estate of Rev. M. Marsden.
- McBreen, K., Lockhart, P. J., McLenachan, P. A., Scheele, S., & Robertson, A. W. (2003). The use of molecular techniques to resolve relationships among traditional weaving cultivars of *Phormium*. *New Zealand Journal of Botany*, 41, 301-310.
- Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Mihinui, H. B. (2002). Hutia te rito o te harakeke. A flaxroot understanding of resource management. In Kawharu, M. (ed). *Whenua: Managing our resources* (pp. 21-33). Auckland: Reed.
- Mitchell, J. T. (1905). Evidence given to the Flax Committee. *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*. I. 12D: 35.
- Moeke-Pickering, T., & Kete, R. (2002). *Traditional dye processes with harakeke: Nga korero tukuiho mai i te tai hauauru*. Hamilton: Waikato Institute of Technology.
- Moore, F. (1849). On the importance of the native flax, and its manufacture in New Zealand. *New Zealand Pamphlets Vol. XXXVIII*. Dunedin: Hocken Library papers.
- Murray, J. (1836). *An account of Phormium tenax; or New Zealand flax*. London: Henry Renshaw.
- Paki-Titi, R. (1998). *Rangimarie: Recollections of her life*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Pendergrast, M. (2000). *Te mahi kete Māori flaxcraft for beginners*. Auckland: Reed. (Original work published 1975)
- Puketapu-Hetet, E. (1989). *Māori weaving*. Auckland: Pitman.
- Report of the Flax Commissioners. (1870). *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*. D 14.
- Report of the Flax Commissioners. (1871). *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*. G 4.
- Roberts, M., Norman, W., Minhinnick, N., Wihongi, D., & Kirkwood, C. (1995). Kaitiakitanga: Maori perspectives on conservation. *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 2, 7-20.
- Roth, L. (1979). *The Maori mantle*. England: Ruth Bean. (Original work published 1923)
- Scheele, S. & Walls, G. (1994). *Harakeke. The Rene Orchiston Collection* (revised ed.). Lincoln: Manaaki Whenua Press.
- Selwyn, G. A. (1847). *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*. London, England: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Shortland, E. (1856). *Traditions and superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2nd ed.). Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, London.
- Williams, D. V. (2001). *Crown policy affecting Māori knowledge systems and cultural practices*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal.
- Williams, W. L. (n.d.). *Manuscript papers c.1896-99* [MS Papers 1914]. Wellington: Turnbull Library.
- Yate, W. (1835). An account of New Zealand and of the formation and progress of the

Church Missionary Society's mission in the northern island (2nd ed.). London: R. B. Seeley & W. Burnside.

Yates-Smith, G. R. A. (1998). *Hine! e Hine! Rediscovering the feminine in Māori spirituality*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

The concept of partnership and *The Treaty of Waitangi*: Three case studies

Sandy Morrison

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (School of Māori and Pacific Development)

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato)

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[samorr@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

There has been, and continues to be, considerable debate about the meaning and intent of different versions of the *Treaty of Waitangi* and about the extent of its relevance to contemporary New Zealand. It is in this context that a number of organisations and institutions in New Zealand, anxious to demonstrate their positive support for the creation of a just society, have attempted to restructure in ways that allow for a ‘partnership’ between Māori and Pākehā. With reference to three different case studies, I argue here that such restructuring, although generally very well intentioned and very welcome, should not be seen – as it frequently is – as an expression of the fulfilment of partnership obligations arising out of the *Treaty of Waitangi*. To treat organisational restructuring in this way, particularly where it does not provide both ‘partners’ with an equal right to determine the operational parameters and future direction of the organisation, is to misrepresent (often wholly unintentionally) the nature of the *Treaty*. Nevertheless, one way of resolving some of the debates concerning the meaning and intent of the *Treaty of Waitangi* might be to establish a principle of equal partnership in the governance and management of state institutions.

Introduction

In many public institutions in New Zealand, whether they be Crown agencies or community agencies, the *Treaty of Waitangi* has been written into mission statements, charters, constitutions, policy, philosophy statements, guidelines and other regulations. In a number of cases, three of which will be discussed here, organisations have sought to restructure in ways that are intended to signal a positive approach to what are seen as society’s obligations under the terms of the *Treaty*. I shall argue here, however, that welcome as many of these restructuring initiatives are, they cannot – and should not – be interpreted as representing an adequate response to the *Treaty*. Indeed, there is a danger that such restructuring, even where it does not involve any genuine sharing of power and control, will eventually be seen as somehow representing the fulfilment of the Crown’s *Treaty* obligations. In such circumstances, those Māori who insist that more, and different, measures are required may be seen as ungracious, as attempting to undermine the efforts of those very people who are most anxious to support them. It is important, therefore, to support and endorse the actions of those who aim to secure a more just society at the same time as insisting that these actions should not necessarily be interpreted as representing a direct response to the *Treaty of Waitangi*.

Background to the *Treaty of Waitangi*

By the time Captain Cook arrived in NZ in 1769, Māori society had evolved to the extent that it was firmly established with its own systems of political units being the hapū and its own systems of laws. Interaction with other hapū as well as interaction with the small number of settlers depended upon mutual understandings and agreements. The early settlers were, in the main, traders while the missionaries

arrived a little later. Māori chiefs enjoyed access to technology and new trade route opportunities brought by the settlers. Many chiefs were already well skilled in bartering and exchange and were always on the lookout for new trading partners. By the late 1820s, settler numbers were increasing to the extent that they were adversely impacting upon the Māori way of life. The introduction and use of firearms resulted in Māori chiefs asking the missionaries to act as mediators for peace between tribes, and between Māori and Pākehā. Estimates of the Māori population in the 1800s were 100,000 to 200,000, the settler population being around 2,000 (Walker, 1990). There was no denying that through their chiefly systems, the Māori chiefs were in control; socially, politically, economically and culturally.

On October 28, 1835, 34 Northern chiefs and the British Crown (through the Crown representative, governor James Busby) signed *The Declaration of Independence (He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni)*. This document was transported around the country and was eventually signed by a total of 52 chiefs. There are two texts – an English text and a Māori text (translated from the English version by James Busby and Henry Williams). The Declaration consists of four articles. In the English version, *Articles 1 and 2* read as follows:

We the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes (tino rangatira) of the northern parts of New Zealand . . . declare the independence (rangatiratanga) of our country, which is hereby constituted and declared to be an independent state (wenua rangatira) under the designation of the United Tribes of New Zealand.

All sovereign power (kīngitanga) and authority (mana) within the territories of the United tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes (tino rangatira) in their collective capacity, who also declare that they will not permit any legislative authority to exist, nor any function of government (kawanatanga) to be exercised within the said territories, unless by persons appointed by them, and acting under the authority of laws regularly enacted by them in Congress assembled.

Article 3 allows for a meeting to be held in the autumn of every year in order to make laws for justice, peace and trade. *Article 4* thanks the King for recognising the national flag and entreats him to continue to be the parent of their infant state and to protect them from any attempts upon their independence (translated as *rangatiratanga*).

The Declaration of Independence (which clearly affirms the retention of *rangatiratanga* by Māori) provides considerable insight into the *Treaty* itself. For discussion of the *Declaration*, see, for example, Durie, 1998; Moon, 2002; Orange, 1989.

A brief discussion of *The Treaty of Waitangi* and its interpretation

Much has been written about the issues that have created difficulties in relation to the *Treaty of Waitangi* (which is provided in the English and Māori versions in *Appendix 1*). It is not my intention to go into detail here about these issues, issues which are likely to be very familiar to many readers. However, for the benefit of those who *are* unfamiliar with the issues, it is important to note that there are two main versions of

the *Treaty* – an English version and a Māori version – and that the perceived differences between these versions have created considerable tension (see, for example, Brookfield, 1999; Cleave, 1989; Durie, 1998; Kelsey, 1990; Moon, 2002; Orange, 1989; Ross, 1958; Walker, 1990 & 1996). About the right of Māori to retain their land and possessions, there is, however, no informed disagreement. This right is clearly specified in the *Treaty*. Dispute in this area relates to the fact that this right has been violated. So far as *interpretation* of the *Treaty* is concerned, a significant area of dispute relates to the words *rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga*, the first generally interpreted as referring to sovereignty, the second generally interpreted as referring to governance. Although the Māori version of the *Treaty* makes reference to *kawanatanga*, the English version uses the word ‘sovereignty’. At the time of the signing of the *Treaty* (1840), the vast majority of the population was Māori, a primary task of the representative of the British queen (the governor) being to maintain order among those who had migrated from Britain. Even those who argue that *rangatiratanga* (sovereignty) was ceded would find it very difficult to find any justification for arguing that this also implied a loss of the right to *kawanatanga* (governance) by Māori in relation to those matters that directly affect Māori.

The Treaty of Waitangi and the concept of partnership

Although Māori and Pākehā can be said to have been partners in relation to the *Treaty* itself, there is nothing in the *Treaty* that supports the notion that partnership between Māori and Pākehā (particularly an unequal form of ‘partnership’ in which Pākehā retained overall control) was to replace control by Māori of matters pertaining directly to Māori. In fact, Durie (1998) notes that the word ‘partnership’ in relation to the *Treaty of Waitangi* was introduced in 1975 by the Anglican church when it established a Māori Bishopric of Aotearoa to operate ‘in partnership’ with the general section. The concept of partnership was subsequently referred to in the Waitangi tribunal reports (Manukau, 1985, § 8.3 and Te Reo Māori, 1986, § 4.2.8). In 1986, Cabinet issued a minute directing all government departments to assess the impact of the *Treaty* on their future policies. They responded in various ways, many referring to ‘partnership’, a concept that was then built into a number of government policies. In particular, the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1988* states that in making appointments to the *Waitangi Tribunal*, the Minister shall have due regard to the partnership between the two parties to the *Treaty*. However, although in 1988 the *Royal Social Commission* referred to partnership as one of its key principles, it also observed the need to define who the partners were, how the relationship between them was to be conceived, and what the arrangements for the conduct of the partnership were to be. During the discussions that members of the Commission had with communities, it became clear that Māori and representatives of the Crown had a different understanding of the concept of partnership. For Māori, partnership meant sharing power and control; for representatives of the Crown, partnership was a rather vague notion that need not involve any real power-sharing. Even so, the word ‘partnership’ is frequently found in Crown policies that refer to the *Treaty* and is frequently used by officials with reference to the *Treaty* although many Māori (see, for example, Henare, 1990) have pointed out that this is not a concept that arises directly from the *Treaty* and that it is, furthermore, a concept that is open to a wide range of very different interpretations. It may be useful, therefore, to explore the ways in which this concept has been interpreted in different organisations.

The concept of ‘Treaty-based partnership’: Three case studies

In this section, the concept of *Treaty*-based partnership as expressed in three different organisational contexts – *Literacy Aotearoa*, the Anglican Church and the University of Waikato – is explored.

Literacy Aotearoa

Literacy Aotearoa (Yates, 1996) was previously known as the *Adult Reading and Learning Assistance Federation* (ARLA) and was established in 1982. Its mission is to develop accessible quality literacy services that ensure the people of New Zealand are critically literate. Trained tutors (mainly volunteers) provide adult literacy services throughout the country.

In the early years of the organisation, questions were raised about the equity of provision. Although Māori made up the majority of those with literacy problems, they were not accessing the services offered. In 1988, a remit was passed for the organisation to address issues of biculturalism and multiculturalism. The National Committee attended a Project Waitangi course. From that point on, they became committed to undergoing a process of structural change aimed at the creation of an equitable and representative educational model for delivery and service. They began by coopting Māori onto their National Committee and employing more Māori staff to work with Māori communities. A Māori Development Committee was established, its primary function being to actively identify ways of addressing the representation and participation by Māori in the organisation. A decision was made to write the Māori text of the *Treaty of Waitangi* into the goals and principles of the organisation. Māori structures and processes were thus validated and began to become visible within the organisation. Currently, there is equal representation of Māori and tauwi at national committee and management levels and the organisation now has a dual structure in relation to both governance and management. Governance matters are the responsibility of a group (Te Koruru) which comprises three Māori and three tauwi members. So far as management is concerned, there are two Chief Executive Officers, one Māori and one Pākehā. The organisation works actively to recognise and implement Māori as well as tauwi practises and tuition is provided in both English and Māori (as required/ requested) using flexible methods of delivery.

The Anglican Church

The Anglican Church has its beginnings in New Zealand in 1814 with the arrival of Reverend Samuel Marsden (Melbourne, 1999). Missionary activity then rapidly spread throughout the country. The Anglican Church had 584,793 adherents in 2001 according to the 2001 government census. It is a constitutionally autonomous member of the worldwide Anglican Commission and has an ordained ministry of bishops, priests and deacons. The Constitution of 1857 was amended in 1992 to provide for equal partnership and effective participation in decision-making by the three tikanga – Māori, Pākehā and Pasifika. The revised Constitution describes the mission of the church as including the proclamation of the Gospel, the teaching, baptising and nurturing of believers within eucharistic communities of faith, responding to human needs in love and service, seeking to transform unjust structures of society, and caring for God’s creation and establishing the values of the Kingdom. It fulfils its mission through diverse agencies and activities and through the participation of its members in the life of the community.

In 1984, the Māori section of the Anglican Church proposed a motion to the General Synod asking that the Church examine the implications of the *Treaty of Waitangi* for the church. As a result, a bicultural commission comprising three Māori and three Pākehā was established, the aims of that commission being:

- to study the *Treaty of Waitangi* and to consider whether any principles of partnership and bicultural development are implied and the nature of any such principles that may serve as indicators for future growth and development;
- to consult with Māori and non-Māori people thereon at such marae and other venues as may be appropriate;
- to advise General Synod on any ways and means to embody the principles of the *Treaty* in the legislation, institutions and general life of the Church of the Province of New Zealand.

A comprehensive discussion document was prepared. It examined the *Treaty* texts and the status and nature of the *Treaty* in international law, exploring its potential status as a source of rights and obligations in New Zealand law. It also discussed the principle of partnership and bicultural development and suggested possible options for the church. Many meetings and hui were held throughout the country and a total of 264 oral and 91 written submissions were received by the Commission.

After consideration of the submissions, the Commission resolved that the *Treaty* did clearly establish the principle of partnership and also implied the principle of bicultural development. It then defined both these terms. *Bicultural development* was defined as “the process whereby two cultures grow and develop within one nation in a spirit of mutual respect and responsibility”. *Partnership* was said to “[involve] cooperation and interdependence between distinct cultural or ethnic groups within one nation” (Anglican Provincial Bicultural Education Unit, 1990). The Commission also noted that the *Treaty* is a fact, and therefore relevant for all the people of New Zealand and further argued that its principles are consistent with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Eighteen recommendations followed from this determination. These included:

- revising the Constitution so that the principles of partnership and bicultural development are expressed and entrenched ;
- establishing a permanent bicultural commission charged with the responsibility of devising programmes within the Church for a better understanding of the meaning and practice of partnership and bicultural development.

Other recommendations included a requirement that priests should minister to the Māori people in their own language and culture and participate in marae experiences. In fact, the Report went so far as to say that a person who was not able to minister to the Māori people in their own language and culture was not equipped to be a bishop in the Church. It was recommended that services be available in both languages. There was also a strong statement that another Commission should be established to examine and report on the size of the problem relating to the acquisition of Māori

land, particularly where such land had been disposed of or was not being used by the Church.

In 1992, the General Synod (also known as Te Hinota Whanui) adopted a revised constitution which provided an opportunity for three partners to be equal in the decision-making processes of the General Synod. The three partners (or three cultural streams) are known as 'tikanga' and are made up of Māori, Pākehā and Pasifika peoples. The inclusion of a Pasifika partner is an acknowledgment of the fact that islands of the South Pacific are included in the Church of the Province of New Zealand (with branches being largely based in Fiji, Tonga, Samoa and the Cook Islands). No decision can be ratified without the agreement of all three partners. If a matter is contentious, the preferred course is to caucus in tikanga groups and to negotiate mutually acceptable outcomes. The Constitution was amended to include the statement that each partner accepts responsibility for its own approach to Church matters and manages its own budget whilst having an implicit obligation to the other partners.

Jenny Te Paa, Dean (*Ahorangi*) of Te Rau Kahikatea, the Māori theological College in Auckland is quoted (Melbourne, 1995, p. 167) as saying:

The new [Anglican church] structure has made Pākehā aware of their treaty obligations and more open to examining issues of historical injustice and so on. For Māori it is like being set free! It's almost beyond belief. We rejoice in our ability to control events.

There are, however, problems. As Murray Mills, Bishop of Waiapu, observed (*Sunday Star Times*, Sept 2, 2001):

We've gone forward on grounds we think are consistent with the gospel and consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi, but that doesn't mean to say we carried all our people with us. . . . [There's] a strong backlash on the fringes of the church anyway. There's a backlash to us using Māori language and being too cooperative. And why can't we go back to all being one.

The 1984 Discussion Paper circulated by the Bicultural Commission contains substantial debate on the meaning of the Treaty and, in particular, on the kawanatanga/ rangatiratanga issue. The paper contends (on the basis of Article 1 of the English text) that the Crown did secure sovereignty, but that Parliament is obliged to legislate in a way that recognises the special position of Māori in a way that is not subject to majority vote. The conclusion is that the Treaty "its context, words, structure and spirit – recognised and established the principle of partnership", the recommendation being that partnership be defined as involving cooperation and interdependence between distinct cultural or ethnic groups within one nation (Anglican Provincial Bicultural Education Unit, 1990). Also recommended is what is referred to as 'bicultural development'.

Māori make up 10% of the membership of the Church. They now control their own affairs and can make decisions which are in their own interests so long as they do not impact in a negative way on the other two 'tikanga' (Pākehā and Pasifika).

Furthermore, they have been bequeathed a share of assets estimated at around \$4 million. This is an excellent outcome in terms of any concept of social justice, and one with which the Church can be justifiably satisfied. Even so, it is important, I believe, to question the nature of the scholarship involved and the conclusions reached in some areas. For example, the conclusion that Māori ceded sovereignty appears to be based on a less than full analysis of the Treaty and its context. Furthermore, a tripartite relationship model cannot logically be derived from a Treaty involving two groups. Strictly speaking, therefore, the new Constitution cannot be said to be Treaty-based notwithstanding the following extract from the Anglican Church Constitution:

AND WHEREAS (6) by the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840, the basis for future government and settlement of New Zealand was agreed, which Treaty implies partnership between Maori and settlers and bicultural development within one nation.

The University of Waikato

The University of Waikato (UOW) was established under the *University of Waikato Act 1963*. The University's Charter (<http://www.waikato.ac.nz/charter>: visited 10 June 2005) includes the following statement:

We are committed to meaningful partnerships under the Treaty of Waitangi and to providing leadership in research, scholarship and education relevant to the needs and aspirations of iwi and Māori communities. We value our relationship with Tainui as mana whenua, and we are committed to the iwi forum of Te Rōpū Manukura as a partner of the University. We are dedicated to supporting our Māori student and staff communities with a focus on leadership and academic excellence.

The University of Waikato is located on land that was returned to Tainui (the local Māori tribal confederation) by the Crown under the Tainui Raupatu Settlement process (a process involving a measure of restitution for past wrongs). In 2004, there were 14,023 students. Of these, 6,335 identified as European/Pākehā and 2,480 as New Zealand Māori. Thus, the proportion of Māori to Pākehā students was approximately 2:5 (the highest proportion of Māori to Pākehā students in any university in New Zealand). The University is recognized throughout New Zealand for its positive stance on Māori issues. It is, after all, the first University to have established a School – Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao – that is largely run by Māori and that is largely made up of programmes designed to meet the needs and interests of Māori (although it also seeks to make a contribution to education and research relevant to the needs and interests of Pacific Islands peoples and attracts students – including international students – who identify as neither Māori nor Pacific Islanders). At a governance level, however, the commitment of the University to its Māori constituency is not much in evidence, except to the extent that there is a Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori position (one Pro-Vice Chancellor – currently only occupying a 0.2 position¹ – among several) and an *advisory* group (Te Rōpū Manukura) made up of representatives of Māori tribal bodies throughout the university's catchment area. In essence, therefore, the *University of Waikato* does not have any genuine power-sharing structures or processes in place.

Conclusion

Three different 'partnership models', all of which arise out of a stated commitment to honouring the *Treaty of Waitangi* and/or the principles of that *Treaty*, have been discussed. In each case, Māori have been accorded some measure of control in relation to matters of direct relevance to them. In two cases (*Literacy Aotearoa* and the Anglican Church), the institutions have been restructured in ways that provide Māori with the opportunity to have a real impact on institutional direction and decision-making. In one case only, however, (*Literacy Aotearoa*) has an attempt been made to link restructuring to the Māori version of the *Treaty of Waitangi* and to Māori perceptions of the implications of the *Treaty* for institutional relationships. Even so, it is important to stress that neither version of the *Treaty* makes any direct statement about partnership. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the fairest way of resolving disputes concerning *rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga* in the *Treaty* is to establish a principle of equal partnership in the governance and management of state institutions. In such a context, *Literacy Aotearoa* would provide an excellent model.

Endnotes

1. This is, however, we have been assured, only temporary, the full Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori position being due for restoration.

References

- Anglican Provincial Bicultural Education Unit (Auckland N.Z.) (1990). *A Legacy of promise*. Auckland: Anglican Provincial Bicultural Education Unit.
- Bi-cultural Commission of the Anglican Church on the Treaty of Waitangi (N.Z.), & Church of the Province of New Zealand. (1986). *Te ripoata a te komihana mo te kaupapa tikanga rua mo te Tiriti o Waitangi: the report of the bi-cultural commission of the Anglican church on the Treaty of Waitangi*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Provincial Secretary of the Church of the Province of New Zealand.
- Brookfield, F. M., & Baragwanath, D. (1999). *Waitangi & indigenous rights: Revolution, law and legitimation*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.
- Cleave, P., & Victoria University of Wellington. Institute of Policy Studies. (1989). *The sovereignty game: Power, knowledge and reading the treaty*. Wellington N.Z.: Institute of Policy Studies for Victoria University Press.
- Coates, K., & McHugh, P. G. (1998). *Living relationships: Kōkiri ngātahi: The Treaty of Waitangi in the new millennium*. Wellington N.Z.: Victoria University Press.
- Durie, M. (1998). *Te mana te kāwanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. Auckland; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Henare, M., & Catholic Commission for Justice Peace and Development (Aotearoa-New Zealand). (1990). *The Treaty of Waitangi and its significance for social and health policy development*. Wellington, N.Z.: Catholic Commission for Justice Peace and Development (Aotearoa-New Zealand).
- Ihimaera, W., Williams, H., Ramsden, I. M., & Long, D. S. (1993). *Te ao mārama: Regaining aotearoa: Māori writers speak out*. Auckland N.Z.: Reed.
- Kelsey, J. (1990). *A question of honour? Labour and the Treaty, 1984-1989*. Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin.
- Melbourne, H. (1995). *Maori sovereignty: The Maori perspective*. Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett.
- Melbourne, S. (1999). *Te Tiriti o Waitangi - tino rangatiratanga: The parallel system*

- within the constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand & Polynesia Te Waaka Melbourne.* Hamilton, N.Z., University of Waikato.
- Moon, P. (2002). *Te ara ki te tiriti: The path to the Treaty of Waitangi.* Auckland, N.Z.: David Ling.
- New Zealand. Waitangi Tribunal. (1989). *Report of the Waitangi tribunal on the te reo Māori claim (Wai 11).* Wellington, N.Z.: Waitangi Tribunal Department of Justice.
- New Zealand. Waitangi Tribunal. (1989). *Report of the Waitangi tribunal on the Manukau claim (Wai 8).* Wellington, N.Z.: Waitangi Tribunal Department of Justice.
- Nga Tumuaki, Literacy Aotearoa Inc. (2000). Strategies for Treaty Implementation. In Treaty Conference 2000 Publication Group. Ed). *Treaty Conference 2000* (pp. 101-108). Auckland: Treaty Conference 2000 Publication Group.
- Orange, C. (1989). *The story of a treaty.* Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press.
- Ross, R. M. (1958). *Te tiriti o Waitangi.* Wellington, N.Z.: Govt. Printer.
- Walker, R. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end.* Auckland: Penguin.
- Walker, R. (1996). *Nga pepa a ranginui: The Walker papers.* Auckland, N.Z.; New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books.
- Yates, B. (1996). Striving for tino rangatiratanga. In J. Benseman, B. C. Findsen & M. Scott (Eds.), *The fourth sector: Adult and community education in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 95-111). Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press.

Appendix 1: Treaty of Waitangi – Māori and English versions

Māori Version

KO WIKITORIA te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira - hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani - kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira Maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te wenua nei me nga motu - na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei. Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana. Na kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aiane amua atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.

Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu - te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangitira ki nga hapu - ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o

English Version

Preamble

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

Article the First

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

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families

ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua - ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini - Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

(signed)

William

Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.

Hobson,

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

Article the Third

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

(signed)

William

Lieutenant Governor.

Hobson,

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

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu.

Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga.

The arguing genre and the explaining genre: A comparison in terms of discourse relational analyses of texts written in English and texts written in Māori

Winifred Crombie

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato)

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[crombie@waikato.ac.nz]

Ian Bruce

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato)

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[ibruce@waikato.ac.nz]

Ngaere Houia-Roberts

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato)

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[nroberts@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

There is a commonly held belief that those who are immersed in indigenous cultures have a tendency, when constructing academic texts, to avoid sequential, deductive argumentation. We report here on a comparison of two groups of texts exhibiting two different genres – *explaining* and *arguing*. One group of texts was written in Māori by indigenous authors, the other group was written in English by non-indigenous authors. Our findings are that although the percentage use of logico-deductive relationships is roughly equivalent for both groups of texts/ writers in the case of the *explaining* genre, the Māori texts/ writers use almost twice the percentage of logico-deductive relationships as do the English texts/ writers.

Introduction

There are a number of schools in New Zealand – Kura Kaupapa – where the teaching of academic subjects is conducted wholly, or largely, through the medium of Māori language and where the philosophy upon which teaching is based is embedded in a Māori world view. For the vast majority of students and many teachers, Māori is a second language. Some of these students go on to university and continue to study through the medium of Māori. Other students who study Māori and also study through the medium of Māori at university – many of whom are training to be teachers – will have little or no proficiency in the language when they begin their university programmes. Another group of students is those educated in Kura Kaupapa schools who then study academic subjects at university through the medium of English. For all of these students, the writing of academic assignments (both in Māori and in English) raises issues that need to be addressed. If we are to provide them with adequate assistance in writing in both English and Māori, we need to understand the characteristic similarities and differences between authentic texts belonging to different genres and text-types written by educated native speakers of both languages. This type of understanding will help address the following three concerns:

- students often appear to produce assignments in Māori that are, we believe, structured in ways that are typical of assignments written in English and that, therefore, do not capture the authentic essence of genuine Māori textual organisation and structuring;

- students whose lives are deeply embedded in Māori cultural contexts often appear to structure assignments written in English in ways that are different in some respects from those typically written by other students and may, as a result, be given poorer grades by some teachers and lecturers;
- there appear to be widely held beliefs about the writing of Māori and other indigenous peoples (including the belief that it is likely to be less marked by sequential, deductive argumentation), that need to be subjected to rigorous investigation.

Over the past few years, a number of staff members at the University of Waikato have been involved in conducting research that relates to genre and text-type. One research project (Houia-Roberts, 2004) examined texts written in Māori by educated native speakers of the language from the perspective of genre and text-type; another (Bruce, 2003), examined texts written in English from the same perspective. Both of these research projects were conducted under the supervision of the same person, someone whose own research has included text construction in English and Māori and who, therefore, has been able to facilitate the comparison of the results of these two different research projects, one aspect of which is reported here.

Background

Although Bruce (2003) and Houia-Roberts (2004) reviewed many of the same books and articles in setting the context for their research, the analytical approaches that they eventually adopted were different in a number of respects, as was their use of terminology and the ways in which they categorised texts and text-segments. Thus, for example, Bruce refers to *explanation* as a ‘cognitive genre’, Houia-Roberts refers to *explaining* simply as a ‘genre’. Both believe, however, that a single text may exhibit a range of different genres/ cognitive genres. In looking at whole texts in terms of different social purposes (e.g. advertisements), Bruce uses the term ‘social genres’, whereas Houia-Roberts uses the term ‘text-type’. A further difference is that because the research of Houia-Roberts was concerned only with those text-types that are characteristic of academic assignments, she was able to reduce the number of text-types investigated and to align them directly with genre types. Thus, for example, she refers to a whole text whose primary focus is the presentation of an argument as exhibiting the *argument text-type*, a whole text that focuses on the provision of an explanation as an *explanation text-type*. Although an argument text-type will necessarily include *arguing* as a central genre, it may include other genres, such as *explaining* or *describing*.

In spite of the differences of approach and terminology between these two research projects, there are some central areas of agreement in relation to analytical approach. Our focus here is on one of these areas (analysis of different genres in terms of discourse relations), and on two particular genres – *explaining* and *arguing*.

Discourse patterning and discourse relations

Both Bruce (2003) and Houia-Roberts (2004) analysed samples of text exhibiting a number of different genres in terms of discourse relations, the model used categorising discourse relations into three main relational types which are seen as

representing different cognitive processes: *logico-deductive*, *associative* and *tempero-contigual* as outlined in *Table 1* below (adapted from Crombie, 1985a; 1985b):

Table 1: Cognitive processes and associated discourse relations (adapted from Crombie, 1985a; 1985b)

Cognitive processes and discourse relations			
Cognitive processes	Associative (comparison/contrast)	Logico-deductive (cause and effect)	Tempero-contigual (time and space)
Inter-propositional relations	Simple contrast; Comparative similarity (Simple comparison); Statement-affirmation; Statement-exception; Statement-exemplification; Statement-denial; Denial-correction; Concession-contrarexpectation; Supplementary alternation; Contrastive alternation; Paraphrase; Amplification.	Condition-consequence; Means-purpose; Reason-result; Means-result; Grounds-conclusion.	Chronological sequence; Temporal overlap; Bonding.

Definitions and examples of these relations are provided in *Appendix 1: Definitions and examples of discourse relations*.

The explaining genre in English and Māori

Bruce (2003) analysed a corpus of academic articles exhibiting various different genres in terms of discourse relations. Houia-Roberts (Houia-Roberts, 2004) analysed a corpus of texts exhibiting different genres written by highly educated and highly proficient first language users of Māori in terms of discourse relations. The findings of both, as they relate to relations belonging to the three different cognitive process types in the case of the *explaining* genre (Bruce, 2003, p. 250; Houia-Roberts, 2004, p. 205), are outlined in *Table 2* below:

Table 2: Distribution of relations in terms of cognitive process in a corpus of English texts and a corpus of Māori texts exhibiting the explaining genre

Explaining genre		
	English corpus	Māori corpus
Associative	20%	34%
Logico-deductive	20%	18%
Tempero-contigual	60%	48%

What this *Table* indicates is that although the percentage of *logico-deductive* relations is approximately the same in each case, the percentage of *tempero-contigual* relations is lower and that of *associative* relations higher in the case of the Māori corpus. Thus, so far at least as the corpora analysed by Bruce and Houia-Roberts are concerned, Māori texts exhibiting the *explaining* genre rely considerably more heavily than do English texts belonging to the same genre on discourse relations of the *associative* type.

An examination of the percentage occurrence of certain of the discourse relations themselves is even more revealing. *Table 3* is derived from Bruce (2003, p. 248) and Houia-Roberts (2004, p. 207) and includes only relations or groups of associated relations that occur at least 5% of the time in at least one of the two corpora.

Table 3: Percentage occurrence of certain discourse relations in a corpus of English texts and a corpus of Māori texts exhibiting the explaining genre (including only relations or groups of associated relations that occur at least 5% of the time in at least one of the two corpora).

	English texts	Māori texts
Associative		
<i>Simple Contrast & Comparative Similarity</i>	2%	9%
<i>Concession-Contraexpectation</i>	5%	7.3%
<i>Supplementary Alternation</i>	1%	5.5%
<i>Amplification</i>	7%	7.3%
Logico-deductive		
<i>Means-Purpose</i>	6%	9.1%
<i>Means-Result</i>	6%	
<i>Reason-Result & Grounds-Conclusion</i>	4%	5.5%
Tempero-contigual		
<i>Bonding</i>	58.5%	38.4%

Table 3 indicates that, in the case of the corpora analysed, the Māori texts exhibiting the *explaining* genre make *considerably less* use than do the English texts exhibiting the same genre of the *Bonding* relation (38.5%; 58.5%) and *considerably more* use of the *Simple Contrast* and *Comparative Similarity* relations (9%; 2%).

The arguing genre in English and Māori

Houia-Roberts (2003, p.69) refers to the *arguing* genre as involving “[persuading] readers to accept a point of view”; Bruce (2003, p. 215) refers to the *discussion* genre as having a “[focus] on the organisation of data in relation to possible outcomes, conclusions or choices”. Although these descriptions are not identical, they would appear to be indicative of the same genre (as would the actual examples provided in both cases), a genre referred to here as *arguing*. Comparing the discourse relational analyses of English and Māori corpora in this area yields the information in *Table 4* (derived from Bruce, 2003, p. 250; Houia-Roberts, 2004, p. 161)

Table 4: Distribution of relations in terms of cognitive process in a corpus of English texts and a corpus of Māori texts exhibiting the arguing genre

Arguing genre		
	English corpus	Māori corpus
Associative	27%	30%
Logico-deductive	26%	47%
Tempero-contigual	46%	23%

In the case of the corpora examined, there is a considerable difference between English and Māori texts exhibiting the *arguing* genre in terms of the overall occurrence of relations belonging to the three cognitive process types. Although the percentage of *associative* relations is roughly equivalent in both cases, the texts in the Māori corpus seem to rely far more heavily than do the English ones on *logico-deductive* relations. If this finding is anywhere near representative of texts in general exhibiting the *arguing* genre written by educated, highly proficient writers of English and Māori, then it seems to run counter to popular beliefs. It is useful, therefore to make a further comparison of the two corpora in terms of the percentage occurrence of specific discourse relations (as was done in the case of the *explaining* genre). The result of such a comparison (see Bruce, 2003, p. 248; Houia-Roberts, 2004, p. 151) is provided in *Table 4* below.

Table 4: Percentage occurrence of certain discourse relations in a corpus of English texts and a corpus of Māori texts exhibiting the arguing genre (including only relations or groups of associated relations that occur at least 5% of the time in at least one of the two corpora).

	English texts	Māori texts
Associative		
<i>Concession-Contraexpectation</i>	11%	6.6%
<i>Amplification</i>	4%	9%
<i>Supplementary Alternation</i>	2%	5%
Logico-deductive		
<i>Condition-Consequence</i>	5%	10.5%
<i>Reason-Result & Grounds-Conclusion</i>	15%	30%
Tempero-contigual		
<i>Bonding</i>	43%	21%

The most significant differences here relate to the occurrence of the *logico-deductive* relations of *Reason-Result* and *Grounds-Conclusion* (English corpus 15%; Māori corpus 30%) and the tempero-contigual relation of *Bonding* (English corpus 43%; Māori corpus 21%).

Conclusion

So far as the corpora examined are concerned, Māori texts belonging to both the *explaining genre* and the *arguing genre* have, overall, a higher percentage occurrence

of *associative* relations (only slightly higher in the case of the *arguing* genre), and a lower percentage occurrence of *tempero-contigial* relations than do English texts. The overall percentage occurrence of *logico-deductive* relations is slightly lower for Māori than for English texts exhibiting the *explaining* genre, but considerably higher in the case of Māori texts exhibiting the *arguing* genre.

Several objections could be made to the particular comparison reported here in that, for example, the nature of the corpus is rather different in each case. For this reason, the results should be regarded as indicative rather than definitive. However, the findings reported here represent the first stages of a more extensive comparative study, a study that will be based on a range of different corpora and will take account not only of genres but also of text-types (in terms of overall rhetorical structuring), and not only of the percentage occurrence of different discourse relations, but also of their interaction. It is hoped that this study will help to resolve some of the current uncertainties about the typical comparative compositional characteristics of texts written in English and texts written in Māori by highly proficient users of these languages.

References

- Bruce, I. J. (2003). *Cognitive genre prototype modelling and its implications for the teaching of academic writing to learners of English as a second language*. Unpublished Ph.D., University of Waikato, Hamilton.
- Crombie, W. (1985a). *Discourse and language learning: A relational approach to syllabus design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crombie, W. (1985b). *Process and relational discourse and language learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Houia-Roberts, N. (2004). *An examination of genres and text-types in written Maori discourse: Analysis and pedagogic implications*. Unpublished Ph.D. (Applied linguistics), University of Waikato, Hamilton.

Appendix 1: Definitions and examples of discourse relations

PROCESS	RELATION	DEFINITION	EXAMPLES
Associative	Simple Contrast	Involves the comparison of two things, events or abstractions in terms of some particular in respect of which they differ.	He was Tuhoë; she was Tainui.
	Comparative Similarity (Simple comparison)	Involves the comparison of two things, events or abstractions in terms of some particular in respect of which they are similar.	He was Tuhoë. She was Tuhoë too.
	Statement – Affirmation	The truth of a statement is affirmed.	A: He should leave. B: I agree.
	Statement-Exception	Involves a statement and an exception to that statement.	All of the warriors returned except for Rangī.
	Statement-Exemplification	The first member provides a general statement and the second adds a proposition which is presented as an exemplification of the general statement in the first member.	All iwi, Ngāti Porou, for example, use symbolism in their songs.
	Statement-Denial	Involves the denial of the truth of a statement or validity of a proposition.	A: He won. B: Not so.
	Denial – Correction	Involves a corrective non-antonymic substitute for a denial.	She wasn't a teacher; she was a lawyer.
	Concession-Contraexpectation	Involves direct or indirect denial of the truth of an inference.	Although there was a good combination of rain and sun, the plants failed to flower.
	Supplementary Alternation	Involves two or more non-antithetical choices.	Nobody tended the plants or fed the animals.
	Contrastive Alternation	Involves a choice between antitheses.	Either he did it or he didn't.
	Paraphrase	Involves the same proposition expressed in different ways.	He began combat; he started to fight.
	Amplification	Involves implicit or explicit repetition of the propositional content of one member of the relation in the other, together with a non-contrastive addition to that propositional content.	He seized someone. It was Aroha.
Logico-deductive	Condition-Consequence	Involves a consequence which depends upon a realizable or unrealisable condition or hypothetical contingency.	Had he fought, they would have won.
	Means-Purpose	Involves a consequence which depends upon a realizable or unrealisable condition or hypothetical contingency.	He did it in order to win favour.
	Reason-Result	Involves an action that is/was/will be undertaken <i>with the intention of</i> achieving a particular result.	He left because there had been no powhiri.
	Means-Result	Involves the provision of a reason <i>why</i> a particular effect came about or will come about.	He angered her by refusing to speak.
	Grounds-Conclusion	Involves a deduction drawn on the basis of an observation.	He is wearing a medal so he must be one of the winners.
Temporo-contigual	Chronological Sequence	Involves a sequential (non-causative) link between propositions.	He tidied up and then left.
	Temporal Overlap	Involves a link between two events which overlap either wholly or partly in time.	As he fled, he looked over his shoulder.
	Bonding	The 'base line' relation. Involves a non-elective, non-sequential relation between juxtaposed propositions.	He wore a cape and carried a dagger.

Sustaining management of indigenous-owned resources: The relevance of multi-dimensional training to the multi-million dollar mahogany industry in Fiji¹

Eci K. Nabalarua

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

The School of Māori and Pacific Development

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[nabala2@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

This paper contributes to an emerging discourse relating to new pathways towards engaging in holistic development measures among grassroots communities in the Pacific Islands by using the notion of critical mass as a viable option for sustaining real growth in small rural economies. It is argued here that the multi-dimensional training techniques applied in the case of a project involving capacity building among indigenous women in Tailevu Province in Fiji could be applied with equal validity to the multi-million dollar mahogany industry in Fiji. This insight into mahogany suggests by implication that multi-dimensional training has great potential for sustaining effective management of indigenous-based and indigenous-owned resources.

Introduction

The point of contention driving this discussion argues that there is a need for a multi-dimensional training strategy in the case of indigenous-owned resources in rural Pacific Island communities. The specific example provided is that of the multi-million dollar mahogany industry in Fiji.

Prevailing issues associated with institutionalized divide-and-rule systems of governance continue to overshadow Fiji's path to becoming a stable nation-state. Dogged by the stigma of previous coups, Fiji had to face yet another overthrow of government in May 2000. The precise nature of this overthrow indicated that many of the underlying concerns surrounding social, political and economic issues, added to those relating to access, control and distribution of resources had not been adequately addressed. Indeed, some have suggested that the specific triggers for the growing dissension that finally led to political mayhem and civil unrest in 2000 were pre-cut deals for mahogany and the pending restructuring, without adequate consultation, of Fiji's land tenure system. The significance of the mahogany deals is indicated in the fact that those mahogany reserves that are now ready for harvesting are likely to bring in billions of dollars. In fact, mahogany sales have the potential to match, even supersede, those of the now ailing sugar industry if political stability and a guaranteed and workable system of land tenure can be achieved.

The aim in this paper is to explore the dimensions of training for sustainable development of indigenous-owned resources (such as mahogany) in Fiji. The paper is in five sections. The first section deals with the issue of grassroots empowerment. The second section examines sustainable development from the perspective of indigenous Fijian views and aspirations. In the third section, the concept of multi-dimensional training for sustainable resource management is explored. The fourth

section applies the concept of multi-dimensional training to grassroots human capital development in mahogany-based communities in rural Fiji. In the final section, there is a discussion of the significance of appropriate grassroots training programmes for community empowerment and development and, ultimately, for long term socio-political stability and economic growth in Fiji.

Locating the emerging interests of grassroots empowerment for sustainable development

The notion of grassroots empowerment for sustainable development has emerged from a number of different sources.

‘Bottom-up’ approaches to development (outlining both processes and experiences) have been documented in a way that makes both intellectual and practical sense. These include Robert Chamber’s (1983) notion of ‘putting the last first’ and Freire’s popular participatory methods with grassroots Latin American communities (McLaren, 2000). However, the challenge is to put these ideas into practice in a rural Fijian context (White, Nair & Ascroft, 1994).

In an earlier article (Nabalarua, 2001), a number of requirements that were considered critical to the success of an attempt to apply the concepts of popular participation and empowerment to a rural-based and provincial women’s project (Tailevu province, Fiji) were outlined as follows:

- knowing oneself and one’s role in relation to the community is critical to building credibility and integrity;
- understanding the relevant traditional and non-traditional systems and their associated rituals and protocols;
- being wholly familiar with the language and culture of the community in which one intends to operate;
- identifying and acknowledging key centres of authority, influence and leadership to assist in providing support and strategic direction for the processes of change and so that the processes involved will be seen as being authoritative;
- facilitating processes of learning and upskilling that provide for the growth of individuals and groups and that encourage and support partnerships;
- adopting a work ethic and management style that is team-oriented and participatory;
- raising awareness and generating commitment, holding intensive, consultative small group meetings in the early stages of the empowerment process;
- avoiding ‘reinventing the wheel’ and making the best possible use of existing networks and processes;
- staying focused and committed to small and manageable outcomes; and
- being conscious of the need to take account of the community’s eagerness to drive the process and of the need not to betray its trust.

Although all of these requirements may be met, any attempt to apply global concepts of empowerment in a local context will inevitably give rise to problems. However, problems encountered in relation to the Tailevu province project referred to earlier

created important learning opportunities for the team and ultimately led to an analysis of the empowerment process, particularly what works and what does not, that should prove useful in the future. In particular, that analysis clarified the difficulties associated with the multiple roles (for example, researcher, participant) that had to be adopted in some cases by the same person.

It is important to consider how projects such as that of the rural-based and provincial women's project in Tailevu province, Fiji, relate to mainstream discourse of Pacific Islands (PI) development. Much has been said and written by scholars and aid agencies about the significance of sustainable development processes in communities that are disadvantaged, poverty-stricken and marginalized, communities whose members occupy the lowest socio-economic tiers of society. Although it is not my intention to revisit that literature here in any detail, I would like to take issue with some of its underlying assumptions.

Factors that affect development performance in Pacific Island countries have been documented by Siwatibau (1991, 1992) who provides an insider's view of the stark realities on the ground. He examines the multiple and interconnected dimensions of development (natural, physical, social, cultural, political, economic, demographic, and sectoral) in Pacific Island countries in relation to industry and to primary and secondary services, arguing that the following factors are characteristically present:

- fragile island environment where the small scale of operations limit what can be achieved;
- frequent exposure to natural catastrophes like cyclones;
- increasing dependence on primary industry for livelihood;
- relatively small domestic markets linked to small populations and low income levels;
- remote external markets with associated high transportation and marketing costs;
- vulnerability of open economies;
- high population growth rates;
- skills shortage, high wage levels and low productivity;
- pervasive and dominant public sector;
- limited growth of private sector influenced partly by inappropriate fiscal policies;
- low level of domestic savings;
- scarcity of good 'bankable' projects;
- complex land tenure systems yet to be effectively addressed in Melanesia (high islands); and
- increase in recent years of political and social instability in the Pacific region.

This list represents what I shall refer to as ‘development orthodoxy’. It is, in many ways, technocratic in character. It is predominantly quantitative in nature. Above all, it lacks a strong social and human focus. In these respects, it is characteristic of a traditional school of economic development thinking that has had limited success on the ground in many Pacific Island countries. In relation to this school of thought, the following questions arise: By whose standards is development performance in Pacific Island countries being assessed? On whose values are these standards based? Are particularities on the ground taken into consideration in the evaluation of development performance? These questions are particularly relevant in view of the fact that continued moves to ‘correct’ the shortcomings of small Pacific Island economies, and to align them structurally with the demands of an increasingly global market, have not produced the improved quality of life and sustainable development outcomes that were envisaged. Indeed, so far as there has been an improved standard of living, it has been largely confined to those at the top of the socio-economic scale. Indeed, the socio-economic gap between segments of communities has widened.

New aid policy initiatives in relation to Pacific Island countries now focus on poverty alleviation. It is currently argued, for example, by NZAID, that in the context of the Pacific it is ‘poverty of opportunities’ that is at the heart of the problem. Experience on the ground however, suggests that the opportunities are there. What is at stake is ‘poverty of access’ to these opportunities. Therein lies the real cause of, for example, gender inequity. The fight to eradicate poverty is not a struggle against lack of opportunities. Rather, it is a struggle against inequality of access to opportunities. Unless issues of gender equity are addressed at all levels, we will continue to have a category of poor people in our midst who are further disadvantaged by institutionalized structures and processes that restrict equitable access to opportunities.

How does this tie in with sustainable development? Underpinning the concept of sustainable development is the necessity of meeting current needs without compromising or jeopardizing the needs of future generations. This necessarily involves being cautious, people-oriented and mindful of the needs of others. It incorporates the values of sharing, nurturing, caring, responsibility, trust, respect, tolerance, humility, love, partnership, and wisdom. It involves respect not only for people, but also for the knowledge systems that have sustained, and continue to sustain, human communities. When one compares the underlying value assumptions of sustainable development and those of indigenous worldviews, one finds that the two are strongly aligned. It follows, therefore, that locating the empowerment process within the parameters of a sustainable development framework is likely to create a context in which indigenous peoples, including rural Fijians, are comfortable. It is in this context that I consider indigenous resource development in Fiji in terms of the development aspirations and expectations of the people. The primary focus is on the multi-dimensional training needs (at rural and national levels) of indigenous Fijians for the sustainable use and development of the emerging mahogany industry.

Contextual overview of indigenous resource development in Fiji

The potential of the mahogany industry to generate millions of dollars, along with issues relating to the possibility of land restructuring, have sometimes been said to have been the main triggers of the last coup in Fiji. The common factor between

mahogany and land restructuring is the notion of land (*vanua*), a notion which lies at the heart of Fijian identity. From a development researcher's perspective, what was particularly interesting about the 2001 coup was the way in which it could be seen to be related to indigenous resource issues. For example:

- Many of those who mobilized and marched with banners expressing their discontent and anger with the way in which issues relating to land and indigenous sovereignty had been treated were from the lower socio-economic echelons of Fijian society.
- There were clear indications that there was dissatisfaction with traditional authority and a general feeling of having been 'let down and left out' by those who exercised such authority.
- It was evident that needs and the support services designed to meet these needs were not adequately aligned.
- There were unambiguous expressions of frustration with inequality of access to goods and services, and with the double standards that applied to the redistribution of these goods and services.
- Increasing disquiet about the visible disparity between 'haves' and 'have-nots' was evident.
- Distrust of some Fijian leaders (who were accused of being too ready to compromise Fijian interests) was clearly growing.
- There were expressions of dissatisfaction in relation to the low-level of commitment to the enhancement of indigenous development and in relation to the lack of visible progress in this area.
- Many indigenous Fijians expressed a 'fear' of domination by Indians leading to the loss of identity, security and sovereignty.

As traditional alliances and old loyalties were realigned, and as new partnerships were formed, one key issue emerged: indigenous resources and indigenous development. It was this issue that underpinned resistance. Related to this issue was the issue of monetary compensation for historical injustices committed by the State in respect of the acquisition of indigenous resources. It was claimed that the State had used chiefly authority to obtain landowner consent to the selling of land and resources in return for a mere pittance.

The crisis in Fiji sent strong signals to the leaders of the day that institutions needed to be transparent and accountable. Among other things, indigenous owners of resources wanted to have a greater say in the development of these resources and in the distribution of the benefits of such development. In short, indigenous Fijians in rural communities wanted access to the same quality of life as their urban counterparts and they wanted to ensure that the process by which this was achieved did not undermine their status as resource owners. They wanted to be assured that the process would be both transparent and just. This could, however, be assured only if they were themselves centrally involved and this, in turn, meant that there was an urgent need for multi-dimensional training in the sustainable management of indigenous-owned resources.

Multi-dimensional training in sustainable management of indigenous-owned resources: Developing the concept

The notion of multi-dimensional training derives its fundamental assumptions from systems thinking. Each dimension, reflective of a subsystem, while distinct in its character and form, is a part of the others. Together they form a robust collection of training modules that blend into one another and are consistent with the ways of being of indigenous communities. In the case of developing countries which have distinct dual economic bases, communities exist in a state of flux, and development is inevitably guided by a worldview that is embedded in traditions and custom. Related to this is the need, in the case of indigenous communities, to ensure that organization is structured in such a way as to ensure that there is harmony among the social, political, economic and spiritual dimensions of communities within the broader framework of the living and dynamic ecosystem in which such communities exist. Such a framework, aligned as it is to systems theory, assumes a symbiotic relationship among these parts of society and, hence, among the dimensions of training.

A key aspect of the viability and feasibility of this concept of training is its ability to ensure that its multi-dimensional aspect is reflected in the way in which the components respond to the dynamics of rapid social change, something that is often beyond the control of these grassroots communities. Merging old and new ways of thinking and doing things provides an effective bridging process whereby rural-based communities have a greater success rate in terms of participation in a transitional market-oriented economy.

With this in mind, it is suggested that multi-dimensional training is appropriate for sustaining effective management of indigenous owned/based resources and sustainable community development because it is holistic, integrative, sustainable, partnership-oriented, focused, replicable and community-based, and because it includes a strategic human resource development component and involves a multi-pronged approach to poverty elimination. Each of these is discussed briefly below.

Multi-dimensional training is *holistic* in the sense that it recognizes that the sum total of the whole is made up of parts which cannot be individually addressed in isolation from each other. It is *integrative* in the sense that it acknowledges the inter-connectedness of the multiple dimensions of indigenous communities and attempts to incorporate this inter-connectedness into training packages by, for example, including different (but related) packages for school youth, adults and community leaders, and who represent the broader community, including migrant village kin.

It is *sustainable* in the sense that it focuses on grassroots learning aimed at facilitating popular empowerment, resulting in community ownership and, hence, commitment of the key stakeholders to the training and capacity building process.

It *promotes partnership* at different levels, including new alliances among local private training enterprises (PTEs) and between local and foreign PTEs, between PTEs and industry, and between those who own natural resources (i.e., landowners) and those who own the capital used to develop these natural resources (i.e., Government, business and private investors).

The distinct, but overlapping, levels mean this form of training is *focused* and geared towards the achievement of outcomes.

It is *replicable* in different areas of the same country, and in different grassroots communities of the Pacific region.

In attempting to develop a new and innovative ethos of upskilling, empowerment, economic growth and enhanced quality of life for landowning communities associated with natural resources, it includes training that is *community-based* and community-driven, the outcomes being community-owned. In the case of grassroots communities, an economic emphasis unaccompanied by a human resource development emphasis would have the potential to destabilize indigenous Fijian organization and polity.

Multi-dimensional training includes a *human resource development* component which, in the case of the multi-million dollar mahogany industry, necessarily involves an integrated strategy for self-development, long term stability and sustainability.

Finally, the concept of multi-dimensional training includes a rigorous *multi-pronged approach to poverty elimination* at grassroots level. The assumption is that the more informed people become through training and learning processes, the more equipped they are to make informed choices. This, in turn, increases access to those opportunities which can lead to significant increase in earning potential and significant enhancement of quality of life.

Multi-dimensional training in mahogany-based communities in rural Fiji: An illustration of concept application

Applying this notion of multi-dimensional training to mahogany-based communities involves the assumption that organization in rural Fijian villages adheres to a Fijian worldview. A multi-dimensional strategy complements village lifestyles because it builds on existing social frameworks and brings the added potential of new economic growth opportunities that reduce inequality and poverty. Although it changes aspects of the old world where subsistence living is the order of the day, it nonetheless fits comfortably with the demands of an evolving and transitional phase in a developing market-oriented economy.

The rationale for multi-dimensional training in the mahogany industry is grounded in lifestyle shifts which are currently underway on the ground. However, the complementary nature of land (*vanua*) and sustainability which are evident in mahogany-based rural communities are also evident in other areas of natural resource development so that insights gained in mahogany-based community development training can readily be transferred to other areas.

Although the three core levels of training outlined below are stable aspects of multi-dimensional training, it needs to be borne in mind that the specifics of particular population groups and their context, including environmental characteristics, demographic profile and infrastructural logistics, need to be taken into account in establishing multi-dimensional training programmes. Thus, for example, discussions with a head of one of the key landowning units currently boasting one of the larger stands of mahogany in Fiji, indicated that multi-dimensional training was considered

appropriate precisely because it was likely to be responsive to the aspirations and specific circumstances of the community. With a view to meeting the training needs and interests of this key landowning unit, I approached a small New Zealand firm which had expressed an interest in contributing to capacity-building and trade skills development in rural communities.² My aim was to form a partnership between academia and industry to facilitate a three pronged training approach involving: *trade skills development*; *supervisory and management upskilling*; and *community-based life skills training*. Each of these was to be designed to suit the local circumstances. Although *trade skills development* would relate specifically to timber and timber-related activities, *supervisory and management upskilling* and *community-based life skills development* would be more generic in nature and could be adapted to apply in the case of other resource-based training programmes such as, for example, programmes designed for the fishing industry (see *Table 1* below).

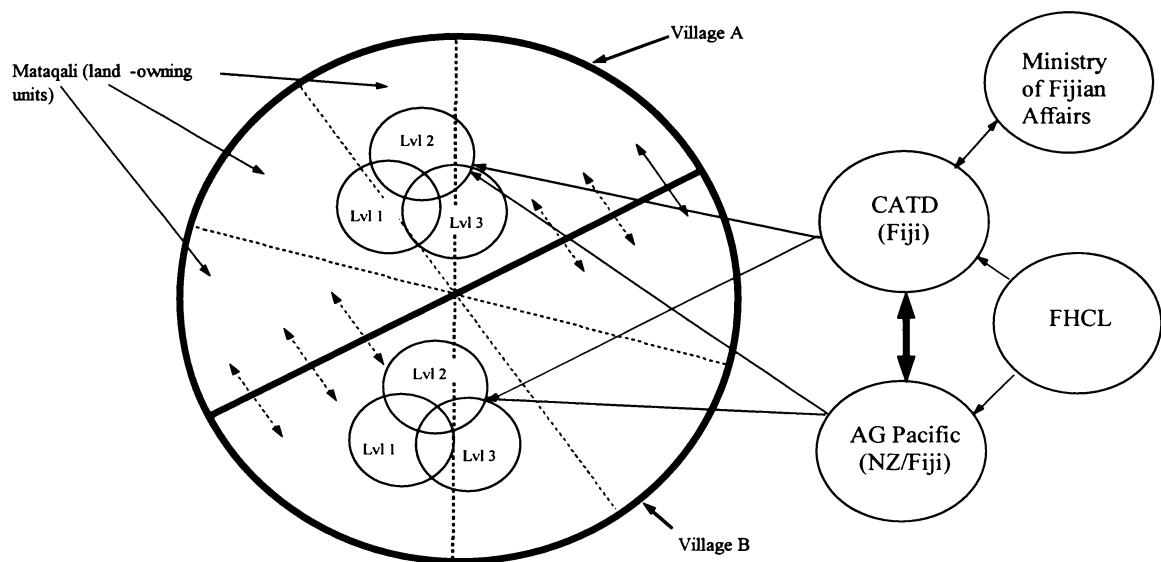
Table 1: Levels of training

Level 1 Trade Skills Development	Level 2 Supervisory & Management Upskilling	Level 3 Community-based & Life Skills Training
<p>A. Building trades</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Carpentry and joinery b) Blocklaying c) Masonry d) Tile laying and plaster e) Woodworking machine maintenance f) Power tools g) Wood fitting and finishing h) Stores and stock control i) Basic electrical wiring – domestic j) Plumbing – sewer and water licences k) Painting and decorating l) Landscaping <p>B. Engineering trades</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Welding – all stages b) Workshop fitting and machining c) Motor mechanic –all stages d) Security and sound systems e) Auto-cad f) IT support <p>All training modules will include an OHS component</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Supervisory skills b) Leadership for change c) Basic organisation and management skills d) Managing issues of change e) Options for effective community governance f) Setting up small business and entrepreneurial cell g) Savings for family investment h) Marketing and distribution i) Networking and communication j) IT skills development k) Needs identification l) Project management m) Monitoring & evaluation n) Developing annual community work plans o) Compilation of community resource inventory database re human and natural resource p) Good practices of resource management for sustainability <p>All training modules will include an OHS component</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Parenting skills/roles for quality family life b) Cornerstones of health for wealth & QOL c) Setting up functional literacy support centres d) Establishing homework cells for children e) Communal vs individual rights f) Understanding rights to participation, representation and governance g) Knowing gender issues h) Caring for the elderly i) Rural technology for reducing rural drudgery j) Computer literacy for knowledge transfer k) Networking, partnerships & strategic alliances for sustainable devt l) Savings, household budget, and money matters m) Collateral & credit options for economic growth n) Youth initiatives for income-generating <p>All training modules will include an OHS component</p>

The overlapping nature of the three types of training is a micro reflection of the macro interconnectedness of indigenous Fijian organization on the ground. Links to external stakeholders (both local and foreign) are seen as being critical to the eventual success of the community's industrial efforts. After all, indigenous rural Fijian communities will need to work with others in their attempt to create and promote value added options in the development of their resources.

The overall framework is indicated in *Figure 1* provides an example of the type of training model that could be applied in the context of a Fijian community aiming to develop a mahogany-based industry.

Figure 1: Locating Multi-dimensional training in a rural Fijian Context



KEY

- AGP Advance Group Pacific (foreign PTE)
- CATD Centre of Appropriate Technology and Development (local PTE)
- FHCL Fiji Hardwood Corporation Limited

This hypothetical scenario shows two villages identified as A and B with each village comprising 4 *mataqali* (landowning units). The dotted arrows that cross A and B's boundaries indicate that these two villages will most likely share a common tribal ancestral deity and would in all respects come to reflect a large kinship organization in the area. The three intersecting circles in each of these semi-circles locate the multidimensional training in its rural context and implies here that a possible sixty percent of the training modules ought to be located and undertaken at community level.

This framework provides an initial step towards further consultation and dialogue along the way as stakeholders begin to see the merits of the approach. More importantly, it provides a template for innovative measures which can be adapted to any context in a way that relates directly to the specific needs and aspirations of an

indigenous community whose members are searching for maximum returns on their resource.

Of importance to note in the training framework is the relationship among the key stakeholders, the particulars of the training context, the linkage between the local and the global in terms of the specific local space that this intervention has come to occupy and the interconnectedness between the training paradigm and Fijian societal dynamics itself.

Key issues relating to the dynamics of sustainable development in Fiji

In this section, key issues relating to the dynamics of an indigenous development process that is particular to Fiji are examined and the wider implications of this type of process for peace, progress and prosperity are discussed.

Development intervention processes in rural communities in Pacific Island countries such as Fiji require understanding and acceptance of each of the following:

- Smallness in all respects is a fact of life that needs to be understood and well managed when undertaking development interventionist work with rural or island communities.
- While all rural subsistence economies are different in character and form, the rural populace is increasingly literate, increasingly mobile, and increasingly able to traverse rural and urban lifestyles.
- The ability to live and operate in a dualistic mode is due, in part, to historical circumstances and, in part, to a deliberately cultivated choice linked to a growing consciousness of indigenous sovereignty and Fijian identity.
- Many indigenous Fijians maintain contact with their villages and rural roots throughout their working lives, even in semi-retirement mode. Villages therefore have access to pockets of expertise on the ground that can supplement and or complement external training initiatives.
- Individual and collective owners of resources are increasingly aware of the potential returns on these resources and expect to be provided with appropriate support for the development of the skill and knowledge bases that will underpin value added development.
- Unequal distribution of the benefits of resource development and unequal access to opportunities for development remain, and are perceived as open wounds of a colonial legacy, wounds that can be healed only through a process of popular empowerment. While we cannot undo our history, we should never try to recreate it or perpetuate systems that disempower and destabilize.
- Grass roots communities form the base and foundation of our society. If the base is unstable, the nation is weak. If, on the other hand, it is nurtured in order to become robust and strong, it can provide the foundation upon which vibrant economic growth and lasting peace and national stability can be built.

Conclusion

Multi-dimensional training can play an important role in the development of indigenous-owned and indigenous-based resources in Fiji and in other Pacific Island states. It would appear to have greater potential to enhance sustainable development than any of its predecessors for two main reasons. Firstly, in incorporating old and new forms of thinking into its framework of human resource, it is well placed to encourage effective transitioning from a subsistence economy to a market-oriented mode of economic development. Secondly, in aiming to encourage empowerment and self-determination through training and upskilling, it acknowledges, and builds upon, core indigenous values, recognizing the significance of community ownership and the necessity of community operation of resources.

Endnotes

1. This article is a development of a paper presented at the Development Research Symposium: South Pacific Futures which was organized by *The Foundation for Development Cooperation* and held in Brisbane, Australia, in July 2002.
2. The information that forms the basis of this article was formulated in consultation with a New Zealand based firm.

References

- Chambers, R. (1983). *Putting the First Last*. London: Longman.
- McLaren, P. (2000). *Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the pedagogy of revolution*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Nabalarua, E. K. (2001). Creating community-based systems of good governance at grassroots level: A case of organisational strengthening and capacity building among indigenous women in Tailevu Province, Fiji. *Journal of Maori and Pacific Development*, 2(1), 50-66.
- Siwatibau, S. (1991). Some Aspects of Development in the South Pacific: An Insider's View. In P. T. Bauer & S. Siwatibau & W. Kasper & C. G. F. Simkin & P. Jennings & Centre for Independent Studies (N.S. W) (Eds.), *Aid and development in the South Pacific* (pp. 21-39). St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Centre for Independent Studies.
- Siwatibau, S. (1992). Report on consultations with Pacific Governments: Identification of priorities for UN regional assistance. In J. Gale de Villa (Ed.), *Environment and development: A Pacific Island perspective* (pp. 223-224). Manila: Asian Development Bank.
- White, S. A., Nair, K. S., & Ascroft, J. R. (1994). *Participatory communication: Working for change and development*. New Delhi; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.

Te whakahuatanga i te reo Māori: Kua ahatia e tātou i roto i ngā tau 100 kua hipa nei?

(The pronunciation of Māori: What have we done to it in the last 100 years?)

Ray Harlow

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato)

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[rharlow@waikato.ac.nz]

Peter Keegan

(Waikato-Maniapoto, Ngāti Porou)

Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki-makau-rau (University of Auckland)

Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1020, New Zealand

[p.keegan@auckland.ac.nz]

Jeanette King

Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha (University of Canterbury)

Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8020, New Zealand

[j.king@canterbury.ac.nz]

Margaret Maclagan

Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha (University of Canterbury)

Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8020, New Zealand

[margaret.maclagan@canterbury.ac.nz]

Catherine Watson

Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki-makau-rau (University of Auckland)

Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1020, New Zealand

[c.watson@auckland.ac.nz]

Aria (Abstract)

E kī ana te whakataukī: ‘Toitū te whenua, whatungarongaro te tangata.’ E tika ana pea kia whakawhānuitia tēnei, kia pēnei ai: ‘Toitū te whenua, whatungarongaro te tangata, rerekē haere te reo.’ Nō te mea, he mea tahito te reo, he mea e tukuna iho nei e tēnā whakatipuranga ki tēnā whakatipuranga, engari ahakoa pēhea, ka rerekē haere. Ko te reo Pākehā o nāianeī, ehara i te reo o Rūrūtao mā, o Tiōha mā. Kua rerekē te whakahua, kua uru mai he kupu hōu, kua ngaro ētahi kupu, kua rerekē hoki te whakatakoto i ngā kupu.

Kei te pēnei hoki te reo Māori. I roto i ngā rautau e rua kua hipa nei, he nui ngā āhuatanga o te reo kua kore e pērā tonu i ō te reo o mua atu. He nui ngā kupu kua tīkina atu ki te reo Pākehā, ā, kua tangatawhenuatia. He nui ngā kupu hōu kua hangaia i ngā tau tata nei hei kawē i ngā kaupapa o te ao hōu e kōrerohia ana ki te reo Māori. He maha hoki ngā kupu kua tīni te tikanga, pēnei i te ‘pūtea’, i ngā wā o mua he momo kete, i nāianeī he puna moni! Mō te āhua o te papareo, ko ētahi o ngā whakatakoto e rangona ana i ēnei rā, kāore i tika i tērā atu rautau.

Mō te taha ki te whakahua i te reo, me pēhea te tirotiro? Koinā te kaupapa o tētahi rangahau kātahi anō ka tīmata, ā, ko te kaupapa o tēnei pitopito kōrero he whakamārama i te āhua o taua rangahau me ētahi o ngā kitenga e putaputa mai ana i te mahi. Nō reira ko te taitara o te tuhinga nei: ‘Te whakahuatanga i te reo Māori: Kua ahatia e tātou i roto i ngā tau 100 kua hipa nei?’ Ko te mahi he mea tautoko-ā-moni nā te Pātea Mātenga.

In the words of the proverb: 'The land remains, but humankind vanishes.' One should perhaps extend this to read: 'The land remains, humankind vanishes, and language changes.' For languages are old, handed down from one generation to another, but no matter what, they change. Present-day English is not Shakespeare's or Chaucer's language. The pronunciation has changed, new words have entered the language, some words have been lost, the grammar is now different.

Māori is like that as well. Over the last two centuries, many aspects of the language have become different. Many words have been borrowed from English, and become part of the language. Many new words have been created in recent years to accommodate the new topics now being spoken about in Māori. Many words have changed their meaning, e.g., 'pūtea' originally a type of basket, but now a 'fund', source of money. In the grammar, there are now constructions being used which were not correct in earlier centuries.

So far as the pronunciation is concerned, how is one to observe its development? That is the substance of a research project which has only just now begun, and it is the purpose of this paper to explain the nature of that research and show some of the preliminary findings. Hence the title: The pronunciation of Māori: What have we done to it in the last 100 years? The project is supported by the Marsden Research Fund.

Te Take (Introduction)

Ko te rōpū rangahau nō Wīwī, nō Wāwā: ko ngā pūkenga hoki he whānui. Ko ētahi e whai ana i ngā āhuatanga o te reo Māori, engari ko Margaret Maclagan rāua Catherine Watson he tohunga ki tēnei mahi, ki te āta wetewete i ngā tūmomo tangi o ngā reo. Arā, ko tā te rōpū rangahau e whai nei ko te āhua o te whakahua i te reo Māori i roto i te rautau kua taha ake nei. Me tēnei anō; kua roa kē ngā reo e rua e noho tahi ana i Aotearoa nei, ā, kua neke atu hoki i te kotahi rautau te iwi Māori e kōrero ana i aua reo e rua. Nō reira ko te tuarua o ngā pātai: I pēhea te whakapā o tētahi reo ki tētahi? Me pēhea e taea ai te rangahau ngā piki me ngā heke o te whakahua i roto i ngā tau? Heoi anō, waimarie te hunga rangahau i te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero i hopukina ā rātou kōrero e te Reo Irirangi i ngā tau 1946-8. Ko aua rīpene kei te pātaka e kīia nei ko Ngā Taonga Kōrero e tiakina ana. Ko te nuinga he Pākehā, engari ko ētahi he Māori. Ko ngā kaumātua nei he mōhio ki ngā reo e rua, engari ko te reo Māori te reo tuatahi. Nō reira, ko te āhua o te rangahau he āta tātari i te whakahuatanga a aua kaumātua, me te whakarite ki te reo e kōrerohia ana i ēnei rā.¹

Ko ngā hōtuku o tēnei mahi ko ēnei rōpū e toru e whai atu nei. He tāne anake, nō te mea e pērā ana te rōpū tuatahi:²

- Ko ngā kaikōrero kei ngā Taonga Kōrero ā rātou kōrero e puritia ana;
- Ko ngā kaumātua, āhua 65-80 te pakeke i nāianei;
- Ko te reanga taitamariki: 15-30 tau te pakeke i nāianei.

Āhua tekau ngā kaikōrero o ia rōpū, ā, ka tirohia ō rātou reo e rua

The research group is spread over several universities and combines a wide area of expertise. Many of us are researchers of Māori language, however Margaret Maclagan and Catherine Watson bring expertise in the study of phonetics. The

research group is investigating the pronunciation of Māori over the last century. Further, Māori and English have now long been living side-by-side in New Zealand, and Māori have been bilingual for over a century. Our second question is thus: What has been the influence of these two languages on each other?

How is one to study the progress of the pronunciation over the years? The research group is fortunate to have at its disposal a number of speakers whose speech was recorded in 1946-8 by Radio New Zealand. These tapes are held in the Radio New Zealand Sound Archives. Most of the speakers are Pākehā, but some are Māori. These Māori elders spoke both languages, though Māori was their first language. Thus the research consists in the careful analysis of these elders' pronunciation and the comparison with the language as spoken today.¹

The data for this study consist of the following three groups. All are male, since the Sound Archive speakers were all men:²

- *The speakers in the Sound Archive tapes;*
- *Elders alive now, aged between 65-80;*
- *Younger speakers, aged 15-30.*

There are ten speakers in each group whose English and Māori will be analysed.

Kua tīmata kē te tiroiro i ētahi wāhanga o te whakahuatanga. Tuatahi ko te whaihau, te korehau o ngā orokati /p, t, k/. Te tikanga o tēnei kupu 'whaihau' e pēnei ana. I te tangata e kōrero Pākehā ana, ka puta tētahi paku hau i muri i ēnei oro. E rangona ai tēnei, me mātua whakatū te ringa ki mua tata i ngā ngutu, me te whakahua i te kupu 'tar', tōna tikanga ka rangona te hau e pupuhi nei ki ngā matimati. Kātahi ka whakahuatia ko te kupu 'star', ā, kua kore e rangona te hau. Koinei e kīia ai ko te /t/ o te kupu 'tar' he whaihau, ko tō te kupu 'star' he korehau. Nā, i āta whakaritea te whaihau, korehau rānei o ēnei oro i roto i te reo o ētahi kaikōrero tokotoru. Ko te kitenga, tata kore e whaihau te reo o ngā kaikōrero TK, engari kua kaha haere te whaihau o ēnei oro i roto i te reo o ngā reanga o muri mai. Nā te aha? Nā te whakatata pea o te whakahua i ēnei oro Māori ki ō te reo Pākehā.

Some aspects of pronunciation have already been investigated. Firstly, the aspiration of the consonants /p, t, k/. The meaning of the term 'aspiration' is the following. When one is speaking English, a bit of breath is released after these sounds. To appreciate this, one should place one's hand immediately in front of one's mouth and say the word 'tar'. One will feel a puff of air on the fingers. If one says 'star', this puff of air will not be felt. The extent of aspiration of these sounds in the speech of three speakers has been studied and it was found that there was very little aspiration in the speech of the older speaker (Sound Archive), but that it increased in the generations since then. Why? Perhaps because these sounds are becoming more like the corresponding English sounds.

Pērā anō te <wh>.³ I ēnei rā, ko te whakahua a te nuinga i tēnei oro, he [f], pērā anō i tō te reo Pākehā. He wā anō, ka rangona hoki he [h], [ϕ], [ʌ]. Ko aua whakahua anō i whakamahia e ngā kaikōrero TK, engari ko tā rātou tino whakahua he [ϕ], ehara i te [f].⁴

Ko tā mātou e whakamārama atu nei i tēnei tuhinga ko te whakarite i ngā oropuare roa me ngā mea poto o te reo o ngā kaikōrero o tērā atu rautau me ō te reanga taitamariki o nāianei.

Similarly the pronunciation of the sound represented by the letters <wh>.³ In modern Māori, the usual pronunciation is [f], as in English. One does also encounter [h], [ϕ], [ʌ]. All of these pronunciations occurred in the Sound Archive speakers, but the dominant pronunciation was [ϕ], not [f].⁴

In this paper, we compare the pronunciation of the short and long vowels in the speech of the 19th century speakers and the younger group of today.

Tokorua ngā kaikōrero o ia rōpū ka noho hei taurira mō ō rātou whakatipuranga. E toru tekau ngā whakaputanga o ia oropuare i kohia, ka āta inengia me te whakarite kia kitea ai kua pēheatia te whakahua i roto i ngā tau.

Ko ngā kaikōrero o ngā Taonga Kōrero ko:

Raureti, i whānau mai i te tau 1885, Te Awamutu (Ngāti Maniapoto, Tūwharetoa);

Hoani, i whānau mai i ngā tau 1880, Paeroa (Ngāti Tamaterā)

Nō te reanga taitamariki ko:

Matiu, i whānau mai i te tau 1972, Waihopai (Te Whakatōhea);

Te Rau, i whānau mai i te tau 1979, Ōtaki (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāi Tahu)

Two speakers from each group will serve as examples for their cohort. Thirty articulations of each vowel were collected, analysed and compared, in order to plot what has happened over the years. The Sound Archive speakers are:

Raureti, who was born in 1885 in Te Awamutu (Ngāti Maniapoto, Tūwharetoa);

Hoani, who was born in the 1880s in Paeroa (Ngāti Tamaterā)

The younger speakers are:

Matiu, who was born in 1972 in Invercargill (Te Whakatōhea);

Te Rau, who was born in 1979 in Ōtaki (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāi Tahu)

Ka toko ake i reira te pātai me pēhea tēnei mea te oropuare e inengia ai, e kōrerohia ai, e whakaritea ai?

The question arises how one is to measure, analyse and compare vowels.

Ngā tikanga (Methods)

E rua ngā huarahi: mā te āhua o te whakaputa o te oropuare i te waha tangata, ka tahi: mā te tiroiro i te oro e rere atu ana i te waha tangata ki te taringa o te hunga whakarongo, ka rua. Ko ngā oro katoa he pōkarekare nō te hau, nō reira ka

whakaritea ngā oro ki ngā ngaru, ki ngā karekare o te moana me ngā tihi, ngā hōhonu, ngā piki, ngā heke.

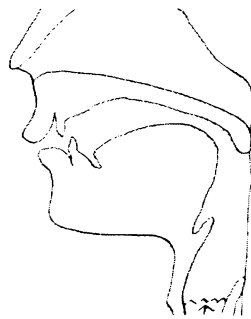
Mō te taha ki te whakaputa, ko te mea nui ko te takoto o te arero, arā, ko tēhea wāhanga o te arero e hikitia ana ki tēhea wāhanga o te waha.

There are two approaches: the way in which a vowel is articulated in the mouth of the speaker; and the study of the vowel as a sound wave as it passes to the ear of a hearer. All sounds are fluctuations of the air, likened to the waves of the sea with peaks and troughs.

With respect to articulation, it is the position of the tongue which is the most important aspect, which part of the tongue is prominent and to what height in the mouth.

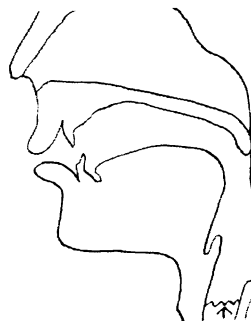
Ki te āta tirohia te pikitia nei, ka kitea ko te wāhanga o muri o te arero kua hikitia ki te wāhi o runga i roto i te waha, he [u] tēnei.^{5,6}

This diagram shows the back of the tongue raised high in the mouth to produce the sound: [u].^{5,6}



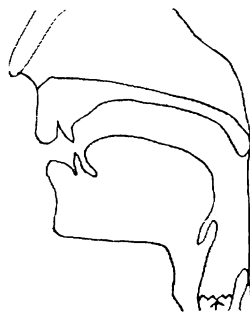
Ko te pikitia tuarua: ko muri tonu o te arero, engari kāore i te pērā rawa te teitei, he [o].⁷

In the second picture, it is again the back of the tongue which is raised, but not so high: this is [o].⁷



Tuatoru, ko mua kē o te arero e whai wāhi ana ki te whakaputa i te oro, he [e].

In the third case, it is the front of the tongue (rather than the back) which is raised to produce the sound [e].



Nō reira e pēnei ana te kōrero mō ngā oropuare, kei runga ~ raro rānei, kei mua ~ muri rānei. Ki te kīa tētahi oropuare he 'oropuare runga', ko te tikanga, kei runga rawa te arero e takoto ana i roto i te waha; ki te kīa tētahi oropuare he 'oropuare raro', ko te tikanga, te pikitanga ake o te arero i roto i te waha he tino iti noa iho; ki te kīa tētahi oropuare he 'oropuare waenganui', ko te tikanga, kei waenganui te arero i ngā nohoanga o 'runga', o 'raro' hoki. E pēnei ana anō te kōrero: ki te kīa tētahi oropuare he 'oropuare mua', ko te tikanga, kei te wāhanga o mua i roto i te waha te arero e hikitia ana; ki te kīa tētahi oropuare he 'oropuare muri', ko te tikanga, kei te wāhanga o muri i roto i te waha te arero e hikitia ana; ki te kīa tētahi oropuare he 'oropuare pokapū', ko te tikanga, kei waenganui o ngā wāhanga o mua, o muri hoki i roto i te waha te arero e hikitia ana. E pai ana hoki te kī, kei runga ake te [u] i te [o], kei mua atu te [e] i te [o].

Thus, we say of vowels that they are high, mid or low, front, central or back. In other words, if we say that a vowel is 'high', we mean that the tongue is raised high in the mouth; if we say that it is 'low', we mean that the tongue is only slightly raised; if we say that it is 'mid', we mean that it is raised to a position that is somewhere between 'high' and 'low'. Equally, if we say that a vowel is 'front', we mean that the tongue is raised at the front of the mouth; if we say that it is 'back', we mean that it is raised at the back of the mouth; if we say that it is 'central', we mean that it is raised in the area between the front and back of the mouth. Thus, we may say that [u] is higher than [o], and [e] is more front than [o].

Koinā te āhua o te whakaputa oro, engari, i te oro e rere atu ana i te waha ki te taringa, he karekare hau te oro. Tua atu anō i tēnā, ko ia oropuare he hononga nō ētahi karekare e rere tahi ana. Ko ngā mea nui ko ngā karekare e toru e kīa nei ko F0, F1, F2, ā, ka inengia te tere o ia karekare, arā e hia ngā tihi karekare ia hēkona.

That is how we use our mouths in the production (or articulation) or speech. However, we also use our ears to hear sounds. When a sound passes from the mouth of the speaker to the ear of the hearer, it does so in the form of air waves, that is, sound waves that are transmitted via air. Every vowel sound is made up of a combination of several air waves flowing together. The important ones are the first three, labelled F0, F1, F2, and one measures the frequency of each wave, that is, how many peaks occur every second. When we describe how sounds are transmitted and received, we are concerned with acoustics (rather than articulation).

Hei tauira, ko te oro nei, a [i], he āhua pēnei te tere o ngā karekare hau e toru e pā atu ana ki te taringa kia rangona ai e te tangata taua oro:

[i]: F0 = 200, F1 = 300, F2 = 1800.

Mō te [o], e pēnei ana: F0 = 200, F1 = 450, F2 = 900.

I te tangata e whakarongo ana ki tētahi kōrero, ka mau ēnei karekare i te taringa, ā, ka haere te karere ki te hinengaro, he [i], he [o], he aha kē rānei tā te taringa i rongo ai.

For example, for the vowel [i], the frequencies of the three airwaves which reach the ear so that the hearer perceives this sound are approximately:

[i]: $F0 = 200$, $F1 = 300$, $F2 = 1800$.

For [o]: $F0 = 200$, $F1 = 450$, $F2 = 900$.

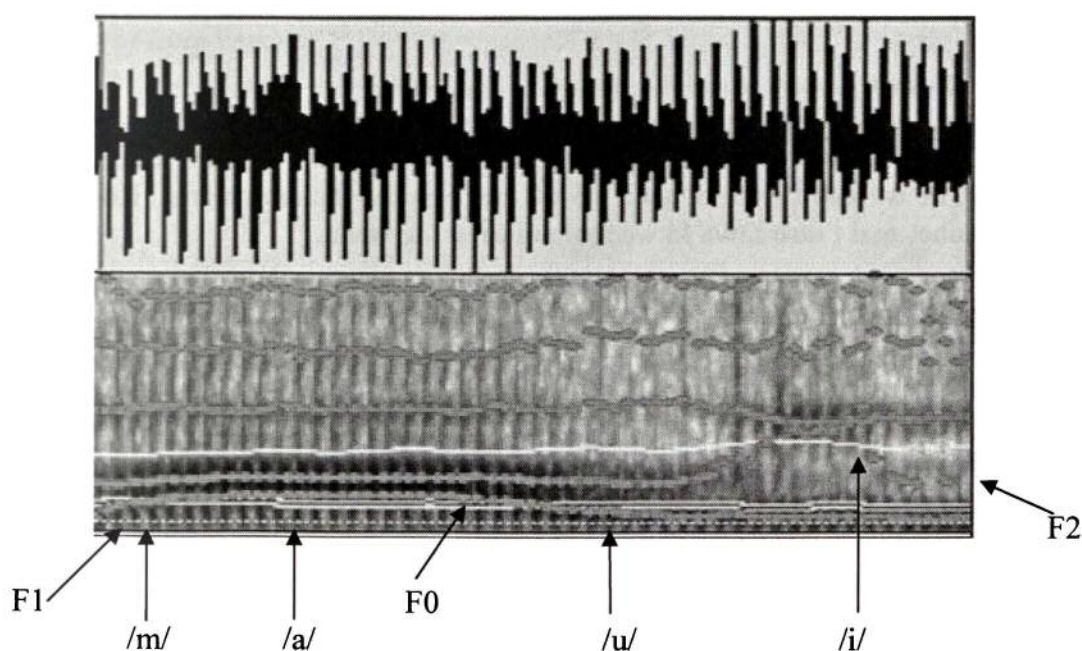
As a hearer listens to speech, these waves are received by the ear, and the signal is passed to the brain that what the ear heard was [i], [o], or whatever else.

Nā, i ēnei rā he pūrere, he mīhini anō hei ine i ēnei āhuatanga o te oro, ka taea hoki ki te rorohiko. Ko ngā pūmanawa rorohiko e whakamahia nei e tēnei rōpū rangahau ko: ‘Praat’ me ‘Akustyk’. Kāore he utu, he māmā hoki te tiki atu ki te ipurangi.

There are now machines and computer software which measure these features of sound. The programs used in this project are Praat and Akustyk, both free downloads from the internet.

Hei tauira, ko te kupu ‘Māui’ e whakahuatia ana e Raureti. Kei runga ake ko te whakaahua o ngā karekare hau, kei raro nei he raina e tohu ana i ngā inenga o aua karekare; arā, ko te raina āhua tōtika o raro, ko $F0$, ko ngā raina o runga ake ngā $F1$, $F2$, $F...$, nā, ko ngā mea e rua o raro ngā tino raina mō te ine i ngā oro. Ka kitea hoki te nekeneke, te piki me te heke o aua raina e hāngai ana ki te /a/, ki te /u/, ki te /i/ o te kupu.

For example, take the word ‘Māui’ pronounced by Raureti. In the top part of the figure is a representation of the airwaves, below there are lines which represent the analysis of these waves; the relatively straight line at the bottom represents $F0$, the lines above $F1$, $F2$, $F...$, and it is the lowest two of these which are significant. One can see the shifts in the lines the rising and falling corresponding to the vowels /a/, /u/, /i/ of the word.



Nā, ko te pai o ēnei tirohanga e rua, kei te hāngai tētahi ki tētahi:

Mai i runga ki raro, arā, e hāngai ana ki te heke o te arero, ko te nui haere o F1.

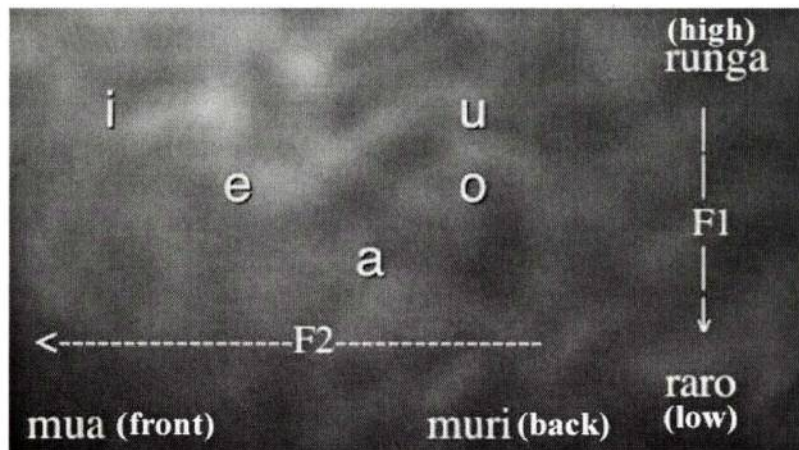
Mai i muri ki mua, ko te nui haere of F2. Nō reira, ka noho pēnei te kauwhata hei whakaatu i te wehewehenga o ngā oropuare.

A convenient property of these two approaches (the articulatory approach and the acoustic approach) is that they match:

Tongue position descending from high to low corresponds to an increase in F1.

Similarly, the transition from back to front corresponds to an increase in F2.

Thus, the graph showing the vowel distinctions has the following appearance.



Me mutu i konei te paku whakamārama i ngā tikanga me ngā taputapu o tā mātou mahi. Ka tahuri i tēnei wā ki te whakaatu i ētahi o ngā putanga.

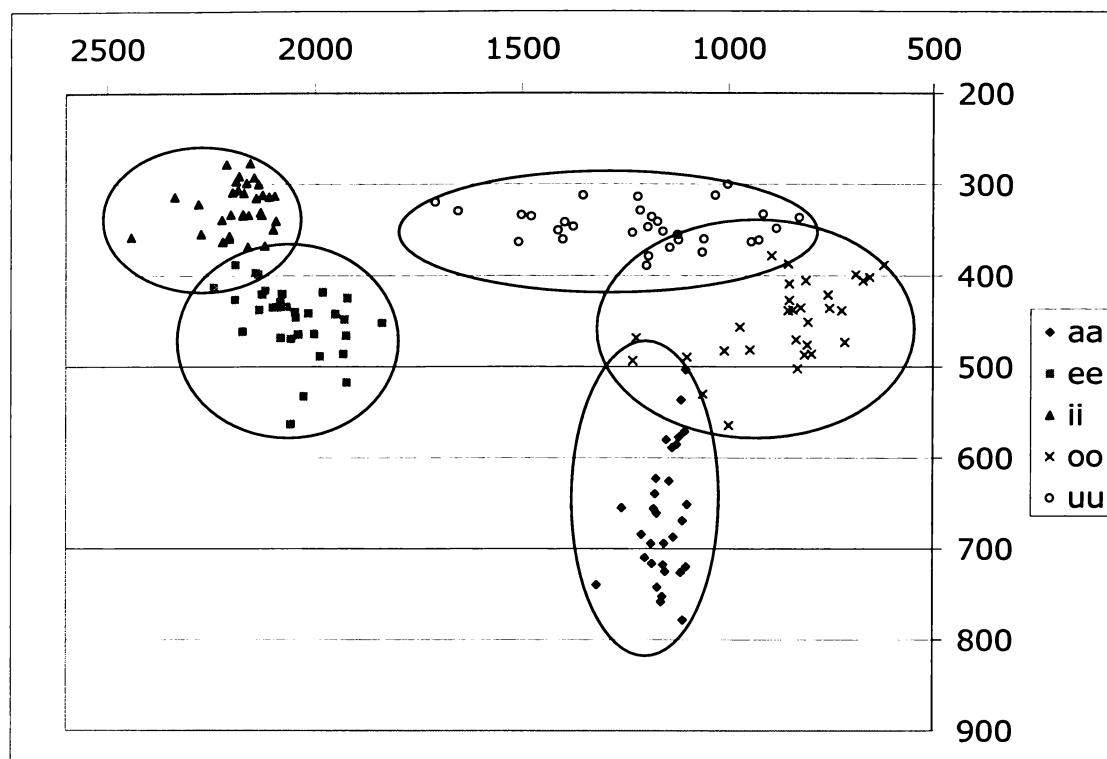
Let that suffice as a brief explanation of the methods and equipment for the research.

Ngā Putanga (Results)

Hei tīmatatanga, anei te kauwhata (*Kauwhata 1*) o ngā oropuare roa i whakahuatia e Raureti. Ka kitea i konei, te whānui o ia oro, kāore i te ōrite i ngā wā katoa. Hei taurira ko te /u/, he wā anō kei muri rawa, he wā anō e neke whakamua ana. Ko te /a/, he whānui te noho, mai i raro rawa ki waenganui tonu i te waha.

We turn now to some preliminary results. The following figure (Figure 1) displays the long vowels (signalled by a double letter in the legend) in Raureti's speech. One can observe the variation within each vowel: they are not identical all the time. For example, the /u/ is sometimes very far back, and at other times progresses towards the front. Similarly, the /a/ extends up from very low to a mid position.

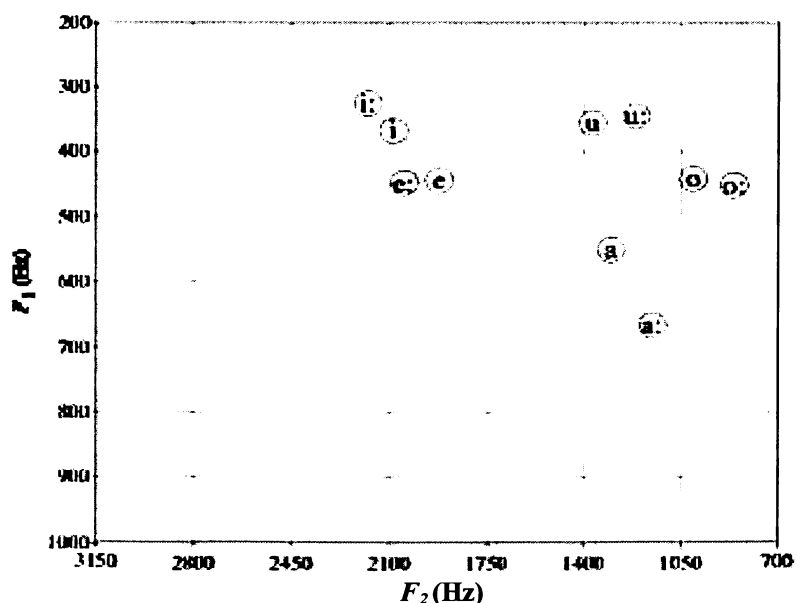
Kauwhata 1: Raureti: Oropuare roa (Figure 1: Raureti: Long vowels)



Ko te kauwhata nei e whakaatu ana i te whānui o te whakahua a Raureti i ngā oropuare roa. Kei te mea o raro nei (*Kauwhata 2*) ko ngā tino wāhi o ia oropuare, arā, te wāhi o waenganui tonu i te takiwa o ia oropuare, roa mai, poto mai.⁸

This graph displays the range of Raureti's pronunciation of the long vowels. The following figure (Figure 2) shows the mean values for each vowel, that is, the central position for each vowel, both the long and the short.⁸

Kauwhata 2: Raureti: Whakawhānui o ngā oropuare roa (Figure 2: Raureti: Range of long vowels)



For example:

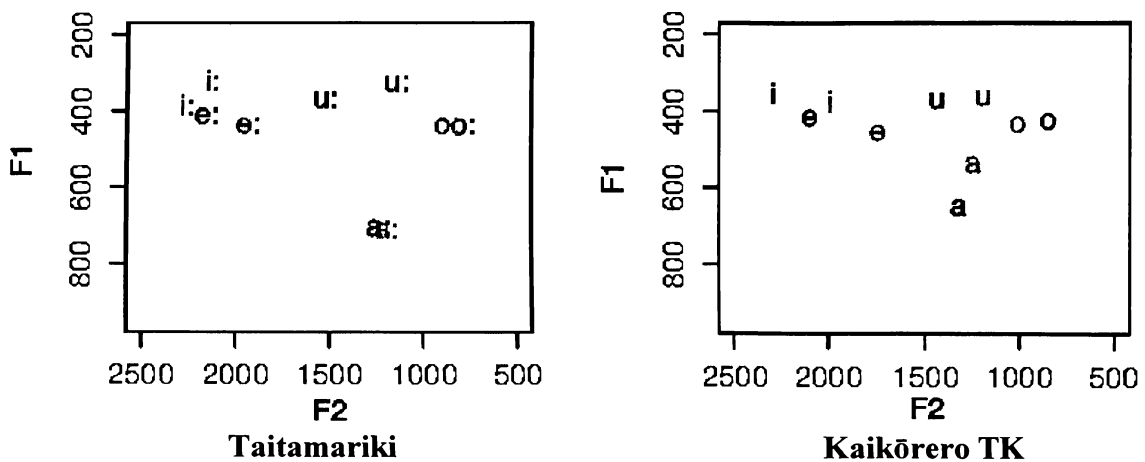
1. In the earlier group, the Sound Archive speakers, the long vowels lie well outside the short ones, that is, more towards the outside of the 'ba\ox', the 'articulatory space'; the /ii/ is further forward and higher than the /i/, the /aa/ is lower than the /a/. However, careful examination of the pronunciation of the younger speakers shows that the positions of the long and short vowels are very much the same.

2. The modern pronunciation of /u/ is much further towards the front (i.e., the tongue is raised more towards the front of the mouth) than it is in the case of the older pronunciation. It has fronted over the years.

Anei anō he whakaritenga:

Here again are the comparisons:

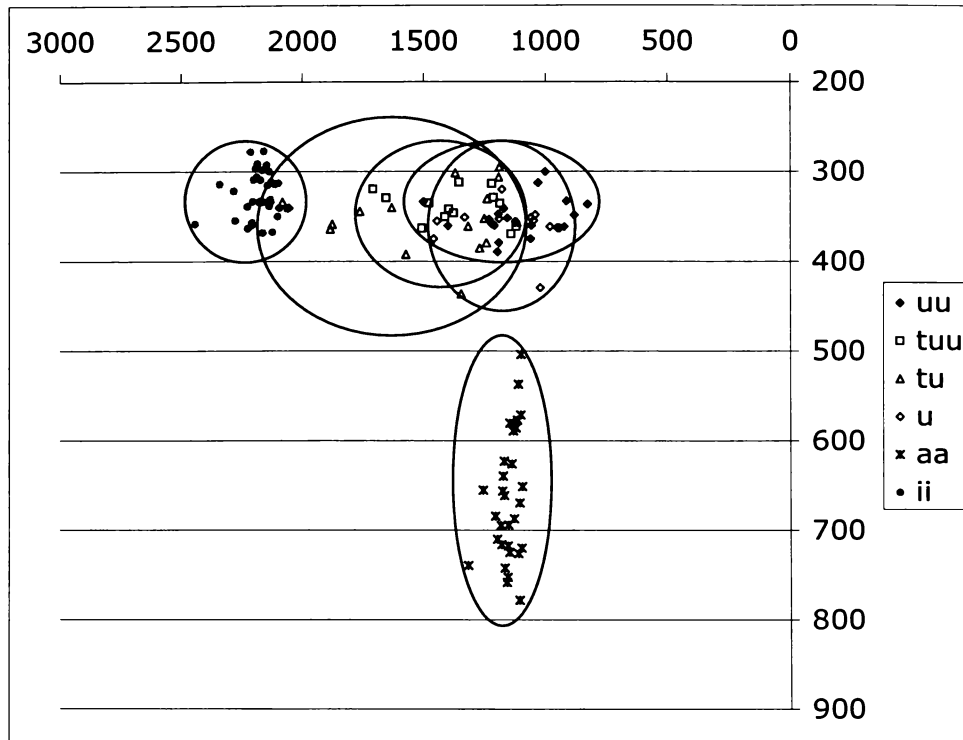
Kauwhata 4: Ngā whakaritenga o ngā kaikōrero (Figure 4: Comparisons of the speakers)



Nā, ka kitea kētia ngā tīmatanga o taua nekehanga whakamua o te /u/ i roto i te reo ake o Raureti. Tirohia te kauwhata whakamutunga o raro nei. kei reira te /aa/, te /ii/, me ngā /uu/, /u/ katoa. Engari kua wehea mai ngā /u/ kei muri i tētahi /t/ e noho ana, ko ngā tapatoru me ngā porowhā puare.

The beginnings of the fronting of /u/ can already be seen in Raureti's speech. The last graph below shows all Raureti's /aa/, /ii/, /uu/, and /u/, but those /u/ and /uu/ which follow /t/ have been separated out and designated with the hollow squares and triangles.

Kauwhata 5: Te whakahua o Raureti (Figure 3: Raureti's pronunciation)



Te āhua nei, ko ngā /u/ i muri i te /t/ i neke tuatahi, ā, ko ērā atu katoa kāore anō kia neke i roto i te reo o Raureti, engari, i ngā tau mai i taua wā, ka whai mai te toenga o ngā /u/. Ka toko ake te pātai, nā te aha pea i pērā ai? Nā te āhua pea o te whakahua i te /t/, nō te mea i te tangata e whakahua ana i te /t/, ko mua o te arero e piki ana ki ngā niho, arā, te wāhi whakahua o te /t/ ko mua, ā, ka tōia te /u/ kia whai atu, kia māmā ake ai te whakaputa tahi i ngā oro e rua, i te /t/ me te /u/ o muri tata atu.

It seems that those /u/ which follow /t/ were the first to shift forward, while the others had not yet begun to shift in Raureti's pronunciation. In the succeeding years until the present these other instances of /u/ have now also moved forward. The question arises as to why this has happened. It is perhaps the way in which /t/ is pronounced, since this involves bringing the front of the tongue towards the teeth, that is, the /t/ is a 'front' sound and attracts the /u/ towards itself to facilitate articulation of the /t/ with immediately following /u/.

He whakaaro (Some conclusions)

Heoi anō, me waiho ēnei paku kōrero hei whakamārama i ngā whāinga me ngā tikanga o te rangahau nei. Ā te wā pea mā ngā mahi pēnei e taea ai te tāhu o te hītori o te reo Māori te whakatakoto, me ngā kōrero e whakaatu ana nā te aha i pērā ai.

These then are the goals and methods of this research project. In due course, such research will provide considerable detail on the history of Māori and suggested explanations for the changes which have taken place.

Endnotes

1. Ko ngā tino kōrero mō te whakahuatanga o te reo Māori kei ngā pukapuka a Biggs (1961) rāua ko Bauer (1993). Ko ngā whakamārama whānui mō te rangahau i ngā oro reo kei ngā pukapuka pērā i tā Ladefoged (1982).

1. *Full accounts of the pronunciation of Māori can be found in Biggs (1961) and Bauer (1993). Ladefoged (1982) provides a good introduction to the study of phonetics.*

2. Ko te tūmanako, kia whakawhānuitia te titiro kia āta rangahaungia ai hoki te reo o te wāhine.

2. *It is hoped in due course to extend the study to women's pronunciation.*

3. Tirohia Maclagan and King (2002).

3. *See Maclagan and King (2002).*

4. Ko te tikanga o te tohu [ɸ] e pēnei ana me te 'f' of the reo Pākehā engari ko ngā ngutu e rua e pātata ana, ānō nei kei te pūhia atu he makawe kei te waha e takoto ana. Ko te tikanga o te tohu [ɺ] e tohu ana i te oro 'wh' o te reo Pākehā o ētahi, arā, te whakahua o ngā kupu 'white, whale' etc.

4. *[ɸ] designates a sound rather similar to 'f', but involving both lips, as if one were blowing away a hair lying across the mouth. [ɺ] is the sound used by some speakers of English in words spelt with 'wh', such as 'white, whale', etc.*

5. I te whakahuatanga o te [u], e kūtia ana ngā ngutu.

5. *Note that the lips are rounded in the production of [u].*

6. Ko te āhua o te noho o ngā ngutu me te arero i roto i ēnei pikitia he 'whāinga'. Ko ngā oro o mea reo, o mea reo kei te āhua hāngai, kei te whakatata ki ēnei whāinga. Nō reira, ka taea te kī, i runga anō i te noho o ngā ngutu me te arero i roto i mea reo, ko mea oro 'e tata ana ki te [u]', 'kei te whai i te [u]', 'kei waenganui rānei o te [u] me te [o] e whakahuatia ana'.

6. *Note that the position of the lips and tongue in these diagrams provides us with a series of 'reference points'. The actual sounds produced by speakers of particular languages can be related to these reference points. Thus, depending on the actual position of the lips and tongue, a sound may be said to be, for example, within the general domain of [u] or somewhere between [u] and [o].*

7. I te whakahuatanga o te [o], kāore i te pērā rawa te kaha o te kūtia o ngā ngutu i tō te [u].

7. *Note that the lips are less rounded in the production of [o] than they are in the case of [u].*

8. Ko ngā kupu 'oropuare poto', 'oropuare roa' he kōrero mō te rerekē o ētahi oropuare, o tētahi i tētahi, i runga anō i te roa o te whakahuatanga. Ko te oro kotahi (ētahi oro e rua rānei e tino tata nei te whakahua) he 'poto' mena he poto noa iho te wā o te whakahua, he 'roa' rānei ki te mea he roa ake te wā o te whakahua.

8. *The terms 'short vowel' and 'long vowel' are relative. They are used to refer to distinctions that are based on the duration of sounds. Thus, the same sound (or a very similar one) may be 'short' (lasting for a short time) or 'long' (lasting for a longer period of time).*

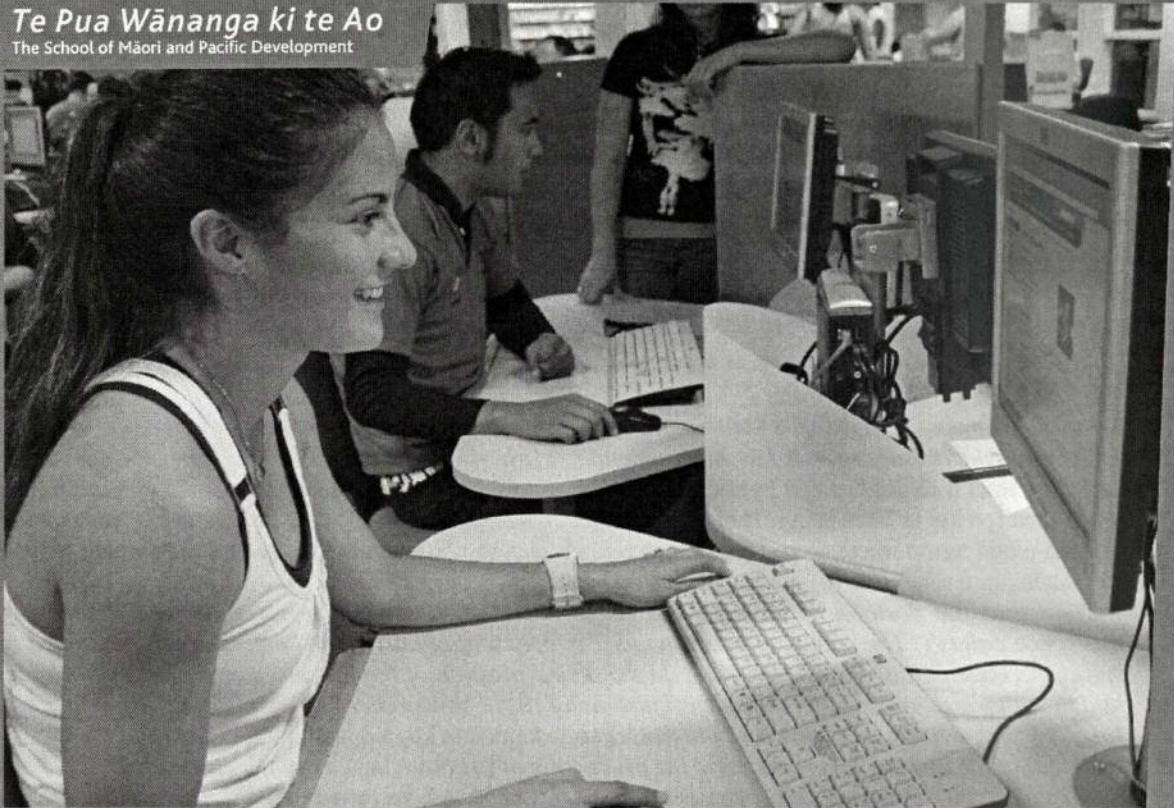
References

Bauer, W. (1993). *Māori*. London: Routledge.

Biggs, B. (1961). The structure of New Zealand Māori. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 3(3), 1-54.

Ladefoged, P. (1982). *A course in phonetics* (2nd edition). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Maclagan, M., & King, J. (2002). The pronunciation of wh in Māori – a case study from the late nineteenth century. *Te Reo*, 45, 45-63 .



Te Reo Māori Pre-Advanced me Te Reo Māori Advanced

Tēna koutou e tai mā e koingo mai nei ki te whakapakari, ki te whakawhānui, ki te whakanikoniko i tō koutou nei reo Māori. Ahakoa kei hea koe i te ao nei, ka taea e koe te whakauru i a koe mēnā rā kua tutuki i a koe ngā pepa reo o te tau tuatahi, tau tuarua, ki runga ki ēnei pepa reo Māori e rua, e taea rā e koe te mahi mai i ēnei mā te rorohiko, mā runga i te ipurangi. Me āhua mātau anō koe ki te whakamahi i te rorohiko, ā, me āhua mātau anō koe ki te reo Māori e pai ai te whakatutuki i ngā mahi e iri ake nei i te ipurangi.

Te Reo Māori: Pre-Advanced to Advanced

The School of Māori and Pacific Development invites you to undertake this part of your journey of learning the Māori language through the Internet. If you are competent in Te Reo, self-motivated, and able to study for at least 6-8 hours a week you can successfully complete this paper no matter whether you are in Ruatoria, Remuera, Romania or anywhere else in the world.

ENROL NOW!

Call 0800 WAIKATO
WWW.WAIKATO.AC



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAIKATO

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao



THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO THE SCHOOL OF MAORI AND PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT

**Professor Aroha Yates-Smith
Dean**

**Private Bag 3105 - Hamilton - New Zealand - Phone #: 64 - 7 - 838 4737 - Fax #: 64 - 7 - 838 4742
E-mail: smpd@waikato.ac.nz - Website: <http://www.waikato.ac.nz/smpd>**

Dean's Welcome

Nau mai haere mai

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (The School of Māori and Pacific Development) aims to lead the way for the new millennium as an educator and research institute in Māori and Indigenous Studies. In achieving this we strive to be a world centre of excellence in teaching and research. Underpinning our School activities is the commitment to the advancement of Māori through the teachings of Te Reo, Tikanga, and indigenous development. With our quest for knowledge, Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao is committed to building long term relationships. Our School aims to provide life long learning opportunities and to prepare our students for successful careers. We welcome all to join our whānau at Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao.

Professor Aroha Yates-Smith
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

The School consists of several departments that contribute to our vision of uplifting the people:

- Te Aka Reo
- Te Aka Tikanga
- Development Studies
- Te Timatanga Hou
- Te Whakapiki i te Reo
- Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research

Te Aka Reo and Te Aka Tikanga

Our School was founded on the strong teachings of Te Reo (Māori Language) and Tikanga (Māori Protocol or Traditions). It is through the teachings of language and traditions that the School aims to maintain and develop the cultural identity of Māori as indigenous peoples of New Zealand.

Staff at our School are involved in a wide range of activities outside of their teaching duties. Staff are involved in activities such as iwi/hapū management and treaty negotiations, kapa haka and other Māori performing arts, which all contribute to the teachings and learning within Te Aka Reo and Te Aka Tikanga.

By maintaining and developing Māori cultural identity, the School plays an important role in indigenous nation building in New Zealand.

Development Studies

Our Development Studies department offers the opportunity for incorporating the international dimensions of development issues for our School. Alongside the Māori development issues, the department offers learning about other indigenous peoples and the challenges they face in nation building. The department provides a multidisciplinary approach to learning by offering courses from a wide range of fields that relate to issues of development.

Te Tīmatanga Hou

Te Tīmatanga Hou is a foundation programme designed for Māori students in mind. The programme is taught under a kaupapa Māori philosophy where tikanga, and te reo are incorporated where possible. The programme targets in particular Māori who do not have any previous tertiary education study experience and require preparation for entering the tertiary education environment. This is a commitment by the University and the School for providing accessibility to tertiary education for Māori through providing sufficient academic preparation in a culturally sensitive environment.

Te Whakapiki i te Reo

Te Whakapiki i te Reo offers practicing teachers the opportunity to enhance and develop their language proficiency and competency. The course further seeks to develop language skills for the delivery of Māori as a second language. This service helps the School to achieve the promotion and development of Te Reo outside and beyond the tertiary level of education.

Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research

Given our School's relative youth, we have been successful in securing and undertaking research contracts. The School will be opening a new Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research, which will help to manage the research activities within the School.

Guidelines for Final Submission of Article for JMPD

General

Manuscripts should be in Times 12 cpi with 1.5 spacing and fully justified. There should be the equivalent of one line left between paragraphs within sections and new paragraphs should not be indented. Articles that are 20 pages in length or shorter are preferred. The manuscript should **NOT** have numbered pages but should have a footer on each page with the first three words of the title.

Title

The title should be in Times 12 cpi boldface and should be centred on the page. The title should indicate as clearly as possible the nature of the content of the manuscript. All content words of the title are to have an initial capital letter.

Abstract

Each article must include an abstract of not more than 200 words. The heading Abstract should be in Times 12 cpi boldface, and centered.

Headings

Level 1 headings should be capitalized in the same way as the main title, and centered. The font used is Times 12 boldface. The format for *level 2 headings* is the same as for *level 1 headings* except that the font is Times 11, and the heading is justified to the left of the column. There should be the equivalent of a one line space between level 1 and level 2 headings and the following text. The format for *level 3 headings* is the same as for level 2 headings, except that the font is Times 10, and there should be no space left between the heading and the text.

References within the text

All references within the text should be placed in parentheses containing the author's surname followed by a comma and a space before the date of publication (Jones, 1999). If the sentence already includes the author's name, then it is necessary only to put the date in parentheses: Jones (1999). When several works are cited, each entry should be separated by a semicolon: (Jones, 1999; Peters, 1995; Simon, 1993). When a reference has more than three authors, cite only the name of the first author followed by *et al* in every subsequent reference to the same work. When including page references, separate them from the date by a comma and a space (Jones, 1999, pp. 7 – 14). Page numbers should be indicated as follows: Peters (1999, p. 1), Jones (1998, pp. 4 - 7).

Endnotes

Endnotes are indicated within the text by a number¹ in superscript. They should be in Times 9, and appear together at the end of the article and before the reference list.

Tables and Figures

All tables and figures should be centered in the manuscript. Tables and figures should be numbered in the text, and should be preceded by a caption in Times 12 cpi italic. The equivalent of one line space should be left between captions and the tables or figures to which they refer. Captions and the tables or figures to which they refer should always appear together on the same page.

References

References should be listed in alphabetical order at the end of the article. The title of the section, 'References', should be a *level 1 heading*. The first line of each bibliographical reference must be justified to the left of the column, and the rest of the entry should be indented five spaces. The following examples (of fictitious references) illustrate the format required for conference proceedings, books, journals, articles, Ph.D. theses, and chapters of books respectively:

- Jones, L. E. (1999). Marae Protocol. In *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society for Māori Language Revitalisation* (pp. 71 -- 133). Wellington, NZ: Te Rapa Books.
- Peters, S. O. (1997). *Words and Meanings*. London: Groves and Parker.
- Stephens, E. & Jones, A. E. (1987). An Experimental Approach to Case, *Journal of Case Studies*, 2 (3), 12 - 17.
- Houia, A. (1992). Common Syntactic Errors in Young Learners of Greek. Doctoral Thesis. University of Te Rapa, Auckland.
- Edmonds, A. B. (1991). Scaffolding Second Language Learning. In T. A. Stone, A. T. Bread & V. Matthews (Eds.), *Scaffolding in Education* (pp. 12-48). Wellington, NZ: Learning Media.

Policy regarding use of the macron

The editors will respect the decisions made by authors in relation to their use of the macron in text written in English and/or Maori. Where Maori words are included by the editors themselves in text written in English, the macron will not be used in cases where a particular word (such as, for example, the word *Maori* itself) is deemed by the editors to have been fully integrated into New Zealand English. Thus, the macron is not used in the title of the Journal.

Submission

Each manuscript should be submitted on white A4 paper (3 copies) and sent to the Production Editor (Dr. Winifred Crombie) at *Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao* (the School of Māori and Pacific Development), *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* (University of Waikato), Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

The manuscript should be accompanied by a Word Disk and/or also sent by email attachment to <crombie@waikato.ac.nz>. Author's names should **NOT** be included in the manuscript but should be indicated in an accompanying letter in which institutional affiliations, institutional addresses, email addresses and phone and fax numbers are also included. The accompanying letter should indicate clearly whether the content of the manuscript has, in the same or similar form, either (a) been delivered as a conference paper and, if so, where and when, or (b) been produced or published in any other context and, if so, where and when.

Acknowledgments

Place all acknowledgements (including those concerning research grants and funding) in a separate section at the end of the article.