

*Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao*

The School of Māori and Pacific Development

He Puna Kōrero - Journal of Maori & Pacific Development



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## TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

### EDITORIAL

*E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā matāwaka, tēnā koutou.*

*Ko aua mihi anō ki a Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu i roto i tēnei tōna tau 40 i runga  
i tōna taumata.*

*Tēnā hoki tātou i roto i ō tātou tini mate, rātou ki a rātou kua whetūrangitia. Tātou ki  
a tātou te hunga ora.*

*‘He pukenga wai, he pukenga tāngata –  
He pukenga tāngata, he hokinga mahara.’*

Greetings to all.

A special tribute to Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu in celebrating this year, her  
40th anniversary as Māori Queen.

With an acknowledgement of those who have passed on, and those of us who hold  
rich memories of them and their activities.

*‘A deluge of water, waves of people –  
With those people, a torrent of thought.’*

Welcome to the 12<sup>th</sup> issue of *He Puna Kōrero, Journal of Maori and Pacific  
Development*. It has been a real pleasure to edit this issue which contains articles  
dealing with a wide range of issues, including education, social policy and planning,  
politics, nationhood and identity, and architecture. In each case, the perspective is  
informed by a combination of scholarship and personal experience.

The issue opens with an article on colonisation and the complexity of nationhood in  
Solomon Islands (*Solomon Islands: Colonisation and the complexity of nationhood*).  
The author, Frederick Isom Rohorua, is a Solomon Islander who has had considerable  
personal experience of the issues he writes about. Frederick was in New Zealand  
completing his doctorate during recent rioting in Solomon Islands following the 2006  
elections. Unable to contact his family, and not knowing whether or not they were  
safe, he read every report he could find, followed every radio and television broadcast  
he could access, and, inevitably, began to detect very different voices with very  
different, and often conflicting, messages. This, when put into the context of his  
research topic – problems relating to development in Solomon Islands – raised for him  
the complex issues of colonisation, nationhood and identity that he discusses here. He  
notes that “[unrest] in Solomon Islands is as much, if not more, about corruption and  
foreign intervention and control as it is about internal strife among people of different  
linguistic and cultural backgrounds”, arguing that the dangers of further strife in  
Solomon Islands “will not be averted by attempts by outsiders to shore up a political  
system which is clearly not meeting the needs and aspirations of the people”.

The second article (*My Journey with te reo Māori*) is also one in which personal experience plays a major role. Here, Ngaere Houia-Roberts revisits, in the context of a detailed understanding of the political, social and educational context, the way in which her experiences as a child, a student, a teacher, and a lecturer were shaped by her early immersion in *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*. She describes her entry into the educational system in the late 1940s where “the curriculum was totally divorced from our world of home and *whānau*”, the culture shock she experienced as a student where there was always “an underlying sense of difference, even inferiority”, the difficulty of teaching what was referred to as *Taha Māori* in intermediate schools in the 1970s and 1980s, and the efforts she made in the 1990s to support trainee teachers who wished to teach in *Kaupapa Mātauranga Māori*. Returning to study in the 1990s, at the same time as continuing to teach at university level, she found it difficult to come to terms with an educational context in which the dominant language was English. Nevertheless, she persisted, completing her PhD in 2004 and moving to a new university position where she would be surrounded by *te reo Māori* on a daily basis. Once again, however, she experienced difficulties, finding that “those involved in Māori education, at whatever level and in whatever context, are too busy, too driven by the immediate needs of their current students, to think beyond the immediate imperatives”. Her decision, in 2005, to retire from full time employment in education was motivated, in part, by her desire to have time - “time to appreciate the changing seasons, time to watch my *mokopuna* grow, time to . . . turn my research into something practical, time to contemplate the journey that I and my reo have taken together”. This article is dedicated to “all of our *mokopuna*, whatever their origin and whatever their colour”. It is an article which, I believe, has something very important to contribute to our understanding of Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

The third article (*Replacing medical and social models of disability by a communities-based model of equal access for people of differing abilities*), also draws on personal experience. The author, Huhana Hickey, is the indigenous Peoples representative on the steering committee off the International Disability Caucus which is negotiating the United Nations disability convention. Here, she argues that although the social model of disability which is currently in favour in New Zealand and many other countries has considerable advantages over the earlier medical model, it is nevertheless inadequate in that it effectively continues a tradition of negativity. She examines a number of Māori models of health and wellbeing, arguing that one of them, *Te Whare Tapa Whā* proposed by Mason Durie, could provide the basis for a communities-based model of equal access for people of differing abilities. A particularly interesting aspect of this article is the author's argument that any model should be accompanied by effectiveness indicators and should involve the creation of more, rather than fewer, options. She argues convincingly that the type of communities-based model she proposes "has the potential to challenge existing myths about impairment and to remove at least some of the barriers that currently prevent people of differing abilities from participating fully in our communities".

The fourth article (*The teaching and learning of te reo Māori in a higher education context: Intensive fast track immersion versus gradual progressive language exposure*) is by Sophie Nock, a lecturer in *te reo Māori* at the University of Waikato. It provides us with a detailed and carefully structured comparison of the effectiveness, in terms of student performance in course assessments, of two different pathways towards majoring in *te reo Māori* at the University of Waikato – a traditional pathway

in which language courses at different levels are spread over three or four years, and an intensive, fast-track, language immersion pathway in which courses in *te reo Māori* are concentrated into the first year of the degree programme. One thing that is particularly interesting about this article is the meticulous way in which the author reviews literature on language immersion, noting, for example, that “[it] is important when reviewing what has been written about the teaching and learning of languages in immersion settings to separate belief and assertion from evidence”. Her conclusion is equally measured and careful, a significant indicator of good scholarship. She notes that although at first sight her results appear to indicate that the intensive, fast-track pathway is preferable to the more traditional one, any such conclusion must be treated with caution bearing in mind the wide range of factors that are not included in her study. I very much look forward to the further studies in this area that she promises in the future.

This issue ends with what I believe is an exciting new direction for the Journal – a move into photographic journalism. In *The Diaolou of Zili Village*, Howard Scott, a New Zealand photographer and business analyst currently living and working in China – a country with which he has a long history of association, examines some of the splendid fortified homes built amongst paddy fields and lotus ponds by Chinese migrants returning from overseas. In these *diaolou*, east meets west in an extravagant combination of Chinese, Greek, Roman and Islamic architecture whose cultural significance is now recognised by the United Nations.

I hope that readers will enjoy reading these articles as much as I have enjoyed, with the advice and assistance of Hēmi Whaanga, putting the collection together.

Associate Professor Winifred Crombie  
*Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao*

**Solomon Islands: Colonisation and the complexity of nationhood**

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**Abstract**

To many people, ‘Solomon Islands’ is little more than a name attached to a group of islands on a map, a place often associated with unrest and internal strife. That these islands are perceived as a totality, as a bounded entity, relates to the fact that they are identified by a single name and the fact that this name is now associated with a political entity, a nation state. Whether these islands can be said to represent a social entity is a rather different matter, one that is critical to our understanding of both the people who inhabit these islands and the political processes that have played a part in shaping their sense of identity. In this paper, I attempt to unravel some of the complexities of nationhood and identity in contemporary Solomon Islands society with reference to three readily identifiable metaphors: *island*, *betel nut* and *wantok* which were first used with reference to Solomon Islands by Bishop Brown (2003).

**Introduction**

In the light of recent events in the Solomon Islands, this paper sets out to demonstrate that contemporary Solomon Islands society could be better understood through the broad framework of the following metaphors: *island*, *betel nut* and *wantok*, metaphors that were first used with reference to the Solomon Islands by Bishop Brown (2003). Critical to the perspective adopted here is the notion of ‘wantok’, literally meaning in Pidgin English ‘one talk’ (someone with whom you share the same language). *Wantok* is used in Solomon Islands as a marker of social identity in two different ways. *Within* the islands, it is commonly used by people of the same cultural and linguistic background to refer to one another. In this context, it is an identity marker referring to people from the same geographical area, region, island or even province. *Outside* Solomon Islands, Solomon Islanders use the word *wantok* to greet one another or to refer to fellow Solomon Islanders generally or, indeed, to refer more widely to people from the Pidgin speaking Melanesian countries (including Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea). The word *wantok* therefore serves an important purpose as a marker of collective identity both at the individual and group levels. However, at the institutional and nation-wide level *wantok* identity could be complemented by the metaphor of the *betel nut*. That is, the outer wrapping (the betel nut husk) is the state or Constitution, and the inner core (the kernel) is *kastom*, the customs and practices of the people. Visitors to the Solomons know that Solomon Islanders often chew a mixture of betel nut, lime (made from burnt coral), and areca leaf (commonly known as *lif*), the last two providing additional flavour. Here, following Bishop Brown (2003), the lime and the *lif* are taken as symbols of the role of the church. In seeking to understand Solomon Islands society today, it is important to take account of the inner core (*kastom*), the husk (state/Constitution) and the lime and *lif* (the church), all of which are important aspects of *wantok* or Solomon Islander identity.

What is symbolised in these metaphors is something that is absent from the Solomon Islands 'story' that was passed on to generations of school pupils in the past. Attending primary school in the late 1960s and early 1970s, I was taught in social studies that the Spanish explorer Alvaro de Mendaña was the first person to discover these islands. He it was who named them after the biblical King Solomon. The main thoroughfare of the central business district (CBD) of the Solomon Islands capital, Honiara, is called *Mendana Avenue*. The once premier hotel of the CBD is called *Mendana Hotel*. Honiara's CBD itself is often referred to also as Point Cruz after one of Mendaña's Spanish galleons. Certainly, then, there are many reminders of Mendaña in the Solomons. However, Mendaña was by no means the first person to discover these islands. Soon after political independence, we began to teach our young people that Mendaña was certainly a first, the first foreign 'tourist'. The first people to discover these islands were the indigenous peoples themselves. That this self-evident truth needs to be emphasised demonstrates the important role that naming can play in historical and political awareness. Naming is, in fact, a critical aspect of that process of misrepresentation of history that has so often typified the process of colonisation.

To many people, Solomon Islands is little more than a name attached to a group of islands on a map, a name associated with a green, blue and gold flag with five stars, a National Anthem with sentimental lyrics (*God Bless Our Solomon Islands, From Shore to Shore*),<sup>1</sup> a legal Constitution, a Coat of Arms featuring native creatures and symbols and bearing the slogan *To Lead Is To Serve*, and its own Passport (a small green book stamped throughout with reminders that it is the property of the Solomon Islands Government). That these islands are perceived as a totality, as a bounded entity, relates to the fact that they are identified by a single name and the fact that this name is now associated with a political entity, a nation state. Whether these islands can be said to represent a social entity is a rather different matter, one that is critical to our understanding of the people who inhabit these islands, the political processes that have played a part in shaping their sense of identity, and the conflict that flares up from time to time.

### **Islands in a sea of islands**

Solomon Islands, as the name indicates, is an island country. From a geographical point of view, this implies both location and spatial orientation. In terms of location, Solomon Islands lies in the wider South Pacific Islands or Oceania region, and sub-regionally in Melanesia. It is a tropical country, sharing a number of important characteristics with the other South Pacific Island states or countries. From a political perspective, the Oceania region is often said to be made up of small, scattered, isolated communities with open economies which are vulnerable to the vagaries of global political and economic factors. With reference to British occupation of the Solomons, Judith Bennett (1987, p. xix), has noted the extent of this vulnerability:

Once the islands officially became a British possession, there was . . . a kind of inevitability about how the administration would finance itself, given the apparent abundance of land and labour. These developments were largely beyond the control of the fragmented peoples of the Solomons, but soon involved them largely in the world economy. On such a wide stage they could play only the most insignificant role.

The current vulnerability of Oceania is evident. Even so, it is possible to conceptualise Oceania in a different way – as a series of islands constituting a single entity (metaphorically an ‘island’).<sup>2</sup> The smallness, remoteness, and vulnerability of each of the politico-social ‘islands’ can be seen as being potentially offset by the fact that each of these ‘islands’ is part of a bigger ‘island’, potentially a formidable force, but currently, like the smaller politico-social ‘islands’ from which it is constituted, lacking the necessary unity and power to have any significant impact on the inequalities, the injustices and the disparagement that currently typify development and development discourse on the world stage (Hau’ofa, 1993a & b; 2000).

### **Solomon Islands as a political entity**

As a political entity, Solomon Islands is located between 5 and 13 degrees south longitude, and 155.5 and 170.5 degrees east latitude. In the context of the South Pacific islands, it is one of the major island groups of Melanesia, larger than both Vanuatu and New Caledonia in terms of population and land mass, and, before independence, apart from Fiji, the largest of Britain’s tropical dependencies in Oceania. The Solomon Islands group is a scattered island archipelago extending over 60,000 sq. km of sea and is oriented from the northwest to the southeast. It consists of six large, mountainous continental islands - 1,400 km from one extremity to the other and with a total land mass of 29, 785 sq km with hundreds of little islands and islets. The six major islands of the Solomons are Choiseul (also known as Lauru), New Georgia, Santa Isabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita and San Cristobal (also known as Makira). These six islands also constitute six of the nine provinces that make up the provincial government system in Solomon Islands. The major islands are largely volcanic in origin, although Ontong Java (or Lord Howe) in the north and Sikaiana (Stewart Island in the northeast) are both coral atolls, while Rennell Island (in the south), which is home to Lake Tenggano, is a raised coral atoll. Of the six major islands, Guadalcanal is the largest, with a total land area of approximately 5,650 sq km. It is also the site of the country’s national capital, Honiara.

Solomon Islands is the second largest country in the South Pacific region in terms of total land mass (after Papua New Guinea) and is third overall in terms of population, with approximately 500,000 people (after both PNG, with approximately 5 million, and Fiji, with approximately 900,000 people). On the whole, the islands of the Solomons are well watered by rivers and streams and many of the islands are overlaid by marine sediments and fringed coral reefs surrounded by lagoons. Two of the famous lagoons in the Solomons are also featured in anthropological studies, Marovo Lagoon by Edvard Hviding (1996) and Langalanga Lagoon by Pei-yi Guo (2001). Langalanga lagoon, or rather the people of Langalanga, near Auki in Malaita, are famous in the Solomons for their shell-money and ship building industries. Marovo Lagoon is being considered as a possible World Heritage site by UNESCO.

### **Societal overview**

The current political and socio-cultural structure of Solomon Islands is related to its historical evolution. Although Solomon Islands as an entity came into existence only at the time of political independence, that is, on 7 July 1978, its roots are based on earlier migration and settlement patterns. In Melanesia generally, the indigenous foundation of contemporary society is widely known as *kastom*. The early migration and settlement of the indigenous people of the islands was followed in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by sporadic European contact. This contact took place initially through

seafaring explorations, followed by trading expeditions and later intense missionary activity. In the case of Solomon Islands, that historical wave of European adventure and travel into the south seas led to the declaration of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (B.S.I.P.) which involved direct political and administrative control by Britain. Solomon Islands became, in terms of modern political discourse, a protectorate of the British Isles, formerly a British colony or outpost (for more detail, see for example, Judith Bennett, 1987; Hugh Laracy, 1989).

### **Early settlers**

Linguistic and archaeological understanding of the pre-historic period of the islands now known as Solomon Islands is limited although it is generally believed that the central Solomons were occupied by hunters and gatherers about 10,000 years before the present (B.P.) and that these hunter gatherers were later overrun by Neolithic peoples (who spoke a variety of languages belonging to the widely spread Oceania branch of the Austronesian language family) about 4,000 B.P. (Boutilier, 1981, p.265). These newcomers, who must have had a high level of marine technology which enabled them to cross the open seas between the islands, appear to have been agriculturalists who planted taro and domesticated chickens, dogs, and pigs. Archaeological fieldwork indicates that the island cultures enjoyed a remarkable degree of continuity over time (Rukia, 1989, pp. 3-13). In many important respects, contemporary Solomon Islands society reflects earlier patterns of indigenous society. For example, it is widely accepted that about 80% of contemporary Solomon Islanders continue to live in rural locations on the numerous islands of the Solomons. Wherever the ancestors of the present indigenous population of the Solomon Islands originated, and whatever their reasons for migrating to these islands, these settlers and their descendants adapted over time to their new environment and developed their own *kastoms* before the arrival of European explorers.

### **European exploration**

In terms of written historical records, the first Europeans to visit the Solomon Islands were Spaniards who, under the command of Alvaro de Mendaña, set out from Peru in South America and landed on the east coast of Santa Isabel (Estrella Bay) in February 1568 (Boutilier, 1981, p.265). Mendaña then sailed through the central Solomons, skirmished with the islanders in an attempt to secure food, and eventually retired to Peru, believing, that the islands were rich in gold. In fact, what was often mistaken for gold at the time was one of three minerals – pyrite, chalcopyrite or weathered biotite mica: “The discovery of the fool’s gold, exaggerated by sailor’s talk, led to the islands being officially described as the Isles of Solomon in 1574” (p. 265). In a second expedition to the ‘Isles of Solomon’ in 1595, Mendaña established a settlement at Graciosa Bay on Santa Cruz, traditionally called Nendo. When he died, the remnants of the expedition departed for the Philippines although a small party of Spaniards did reach and settle in Makira. Later, other European explorers, including, in 1643, the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman visited the islands. In the late eighteenth century, a number of European explorers also visited the islands. These included Carteret (1767), Bougainville (1768), Surville, Comte de Laperouse (1788), Shortland (1788), and Ball (1792). It was, however, not until 1838 that a French navigator, d’Urville, confirmed that these were in fact the same islands that had been referred to by Mendaña as Islands of Solomon (Boutilier, 1981, p. 265).

These early European explorers had no immediate significant impact upon the lives of the islanders, although they did prepare the way for other Europeans, some of whom recorded their impressions of life in these and other islands or supplied information that was later used by others (see, for example, Charles Woodford, 1890; R.H. Codrington, 1891; Charles Fox, 1924; Walter Ivens, 1927; Cyril S. Belshaw, 1945 and 1954; Harold Scheffler, 1965; Ian Hogbin, 1969, and Judith Bennett, 1987). Boutilier (1981, p. 265) provides a brief description based on such sources:

The Melanesian societies which the European explorers encountered were highly fragmented linguistically and geographically. Broadly speaking, the islanders were interior-dwelling, up-country, swidden agriculturalists (later known as 'bush people') or coastal-dwelling fisher folk (known as 'saltwater people'). In kinship terms, they might be matrilineal or patrilineal depending on the island or part of the island where they lived. Most of the Solomon Islanders lived in small villages or hamlets seldom exceeding two hundred people. Their wood carving, canoe making, and other crafts were highly developed and artistic. They indulged in fairly constant interclan warfare of a largely ritualistic, honour-readjusting variety on a small scale, though fairly large head-hunting raids did take place in and from the New Georgia archipelago until early in the twentieth century. The islanders inhabited a world of ghosts, spirits, sorcery, and magic and many of their activities involved the propitiation of spirits or the enactment of appropriate rituals.

All of these characteristics, whether or not they would be universally recognised by more recent travellers, have had some influence on contemporary Solomon Islands society. Indeed, recent ethnic conflict in the Solomon Islands between Guadalcanal and Malaitan ethnic militant groups reinforces some of these observations.

From the earliest period of European exploration, these islands were associated with King Solomon of the Old Testament whose wealth and wisdom were thought to have originated in some mysterious place, the Isles of Solomon. This association had an immediate and lasting effect. European travellers continued to explore the islands, seeking that mythological island paradise, that distant place that would eventually reveal its treasures, providing them with untold wealth and influence. When it failed to do so, the islands became the victim of a new and dangerous mythology. They came to be seen as the opposite of that mysterious place of wealth and wisdom sought so assiduously by European adventurers. They came to be associated with abject poverty and ignorance, and it is this mythology, as fanciful as the earlier one, that fed so readily into mainstream development discourse. In opposition to the wealth, the influence and the success of the European continent, the islands of Oceania, including Solomon Islands, came to be seen in almost wholly negative terms, the islanders themselves being cast not as victims of European expansionism, but as lazy incompetents with what is often referred to as a 'dependency mentality' who consistently failed to take advantage of the opportunities that European expansionism was held to accord to them.

### **Whalers and traders**

Contact between Europeans and Solomon Islanders was fleeting prior to 1870. However, following the early European explorers, traders (mainly *beche-de-mer* fishers, and sandalwood cutters and whalers who brought goods such as fishhooks,

calico, and axes) began to visit these islands. The lives of the Neolithic agriculturalists of the islands were dramatically transformed both by introduced diseases and by the iron implements brought by these visitors (Siikala, 1982). They were now able to clear the jungles, prepare gardens and wage war more efficiently than before. Furthermore, as Bennett (1987, p. xix) observes:

Almost from initial contact [with Europeans] a dependency was created because Solomon Islanders wanted and soon needed Western goods. In the trading period this dependency did not imply any real loss of autonomy. However, when the continuing search for Western goods meant that some Islanders became a significant component of the Pacific labour pool, their incorporation into some colonial framework was virtually inevitable.

The initial encounters between Europeans and islanders were fraught with cultural misunderstanding which frequently led to murder and reprisals. However, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, thousands of Solomon Islanders (principally from Malaita) were recruited to work as labourers on the sugarcane estates in Queensland and the coconut plantations in Fiji, a process that gradually led to acculturation (Corris 1973; Wawn 1973). In fact, the South Sea Evangelical Church (SSEC), one of the predominant Christian denominations in the Solomon Islands today, was initially established in the sugar estates in Queensland, Australia. In this area, the work of Moore (1993) provides an indispensable backdrop.

### **Missionary activities**

European interest in the islands was minimal until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when missionaries began to take an interest in the islands.<sup>3, 4</sup> After this initial interest, missionary activity remained dormant until later in the nineteenth century. The later missionary visits included Anglicans (1852), Roman Catholics (1898), Methodists (1902), the South Sea Evangelical Mission (now the South Sea Evangelical Church) (1904), and Seventh-Day Adventists (1914). These missionaries encouraged the movement of people from the bush to the coast, modified traditional cultures and customs, and further divided Solomon Islands society by adding a religious dimension, and also, importantly, provided all formal education and most of the health services prior to World War II (Boutilier, 1981, pp. 265-266).

The impact of missionary activity is evident in the fact that 95% of Solomon Islanders now profess to be Christian. In spite of their differences, the missionaries were generally imbued with the firm belief that their role was to change peoples' lives for the better. This paternalistic outlook informed both their institutions and their practices. Indeed, one could argue that missionary activity represented the beginning of a type of dependency that was perpetuated by the colonial government (Nabalarua, 1988). In the light of ongoing resistance to this dependency, it seems paradoxical that reference should so often be made to what is commonly described as a 'dependency mentality' among Pacific Islanders.

### **Colonial history and political independence**

#### ***Colonization: British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP)***

The declaration of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) was a colonial move by Britain to thwart the French who were already in the New Hebrides (now

Vanuatu) next door. This was merely part of the global process of empire building begun by the British in parts of Africa and Asia. From this perspective, the formation of a Solomon Islands society was the result of direct intervention by a foreign country in another society. The administrative intervention and initiative by Britain was greatly assisted by the work of missionaries, but the basic fact remains that Solomon Islands was 'born' out of foreign interests and foreign intervention.

One other critical activity that was to bring another important dimension to the lives of the islanders was labour recruitment or 'blackbirding'. In the 1870s, when missionary activity was just beginning to make inroads into Solomon Islands society, labour recruiters also arrived in the islands seeking labour for the plantations in Fiji, Queensland, and occasionally New Caledonia and Samoa. It has been estimated that some 19,000 Islanders altogether were taken to Queensland and more than 10,000 to Fiji (Douglas & Douglas, 1994, p. 605). Abuses committed by labour recruiters, also known as 'blackbirders', frequently led to the murder of innocent people, particularly in the early days. Two prominent Europeans lost their lives because of this practice. One was Bishop John Coleridge Patteson, second Bishop of Melanesia, clubbed to death at Nukapu Reef Islands in 1871; the other was Commodore Goodenough of HMS *Pearl* who died from a poison arrow wound sustained in Carlisle Bay, Santa Cruz, in 1875. It was partly the deaths of these prominent individuals (as well as the 'evils' of the labour trade more generally) that prompted Britain to declare a protectorate over the southern Solomon Islands (Guadalcanal, Savo, Malaita, San Cristobal and New Georgia) in 1893. Later additions were made over the years and by 1900 the rest of the islands had become what was then called the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (B.S.I.P).

When a British protectorate was established, there were no more than about fifty European traders resident in the islands. Twelve years later, in 1905, there was a move to open up the country commercially. The British Government invited private businesses to invest in the new territory and the managers and officials of *Livers Pacific Plantation Ltd.* visited. They liked what they saw and immediately acquired land on a large scale. Coconut plantations began almost immediately and by 1940 the company had more than 8000 hectares under cultivation. Two other companies acquired interest in the Solomons in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: *Burns Philp & Co. Ltd* of Sydney, and the *Malayta Company*. The latter sold out to *W.R. Carpenter & Co. Ltd* in the 1930s. On the whole, however, economic development progressed sluggishly before World War II. Overseas companies were initially engaged only in plantation development, largely involving coconuts for copra exports. This concentration on plantation agriculture led to an uneven distribution of development activity and employment opportunities (which were concentrated in certain areas, and on some islands, especially those with good natural harbours where ships could easily collect the copra). The corollary of plantation development was head tax which was imposed on locals by the colonial government. This forced people, especially young men, to move from their villages to other islands to find work to pay for the head tax. In this way, cheap labour for the plantation was assured. The beginnings of uneven and distorted development in Solomon Islands were, therefore, already in evidence. As Bennett (1987) has noted, what we see here is the beginning of the erosion of the autonomy and independence of indigenous Solomon Islanders.

One can only speculate on what might have happened in the islands, or the world generally for that matter, had the Second World War not happened. As it was, most of the planters and traders in the Solomons group were evacuated to Australia after the Japanese entered the war in 1942. Solomon Islands played a crucial role in World War II, the major turning point of the Pacific campaign being a fiercely fought battle between the allied forces and the Japanese Imperial navy off Savo Island, near Guadalcanal, in August 1942. Indeed, from May 1942, when the Battle of the Coral Sea was fought, until December 1943, the Solomons were almost constantly a scene of battle. Eventually, in February 1943, the Japanese army withdrew from Guadalcanal. By December 1943, the allied forces were in command of the northern Solomons.

When civil administration resumed, the British authorities found that Tulagi, the former capital, an islet off Ngella/Florida Islands, had been destroyed completely during the war. It was therefore decided to relocate the capital to Honiara on the north coast of Guadalcanal where it is today. This was the site of an important campaign against the Japanese during the war and an important US military base. Moreover, the site was only 16km west of Henderson Field (now Solomon Islands international airport), a major wartime air field, built by the Japanese but named by the Americans after one of their own fighter pilots who had died in the Guadalcanal campaign. Point Cruz, the major port area in Honiara today, is also said to be the place where Mendaña and his ships anchored during their first visit to the Solomons, and Holy Cross, where the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Honiara now sits at the top of a small hill, is where Mendaña and his men are said to have placed a cross in honour of the Spanish monarch and of their own achievement.

#### ***Anti colonial-rule protest and Maasina Ruru***

After the war, especially between 1946 and 1950, a good deal of official attention was devoted to a native movement known as *Maasina ruru* (Marching Rule) (see Keesing (1978; 1982; 1992); Laracy (1983)). Begun in Malaita, this movement spread to some of the nearby islands, including Ulawa Island. *Maasina ruru* was an entirely indigenous protest movement against colonial rule although it was imbued with a religious cargo-cult orientation (Worsley, 1968). Detecting its anti-British or anti-colonial ideals, the administration had many of the leaders gaoled in late 1948, crushing a sullen defiance of government authority and weakening considerably the movement itself. This protest movement was at the forefront of British administration thinking when the decision to grant independence to the Solomon Islands was taken. There were other indigenous protest movements, including one that centred on the followers of Silas Eto (Holy Mana) who broke away from the Methodist Church to form the Christian Fellowship Church in 1959-60. This breakaway movement was, it has been suggested, as much a symbolic rejection of colonial rule as was the *Maasina ruru* movement. On Guadalcanal, another notable protest movement was the *Moro movement* which centred on Makaruka, located on the southern part or weather coast of Guadalcanal (Davenport & Coker, 1967). Moro's followers were dissatisfied with colonial rule during the 1960s and wanted to return to the old ways of custom and self-sufficiency. Another Guadalcanal-based protest movement was the *Custom Company* referred to as also as 'The Society for the Development of native Races-western Guadalcanal' which was led by Matthew Belamatanga (Bennett, 1987).

What these protest movements demonstrated was a dislike for, and rejection of, British colonial rule. The war had taught the locals some important lessons. The American soldiers, in the experience of the islanders, did not discriminate in the way that the British colonial administrators did. Solomon Islanders who helped out in the war effort as coast-watchers or carriers observed that black soldiers fought alongside their fellow white Americans against the Japanese. Even long after the end of the war, Americans were viewed favourably amongst Solomon Islanders. The British colonial administrators, on the other hand, were perceived very poorly by the islanders, one significant aspect of this being the willingness with which they accepted evacuation to Australia during the war. During times of peace, the British administrators often adopted an aggressive stance towards the islanders; at the outset of war, however, they fled (Gina, 2003, especially *Chapter 8*, pp. 159-184).

In response to local protest, and having been weakened considerably by World War II, Britain began to make changes in the system of government, changes that were evident from the end of the war through to the early 1970s. After that, Britain moved rapidly towards granting political independence. Thus, for example, when civil administration resumed after the war, an advisory council, originally established in 1921, was re-established. In 1960, however, that advisory council was replaced by a legislative council and an executive council. In 1970, under a new constitution, a new single government council replaced both the legislative council and the executive council. The new single government council sat for the first time in July 1971. In April 1974, a new constitution was adopted. In mid-1975, the name Solomon Islands was officially adopted in place of British Solomon Islands Protectorate. On 2 January 1976, Solomon Islands became an internally self-governing state. Political independence followed on 7<sup>th</sup> July 1978. Initially, the transition from colonial rule to political independence was relatively peaceful, although the abrupt departure of the British, together with inadequate preparation for independence, helped to create the circumstances that led to the upheavals of 1998 and the ethnic conflict of 1998–2003.<sup>5</sup> These events are critical to an understanding of social and economic development in Solomon Islands after independence. Alasia (1997, pp. 3-4) sums up some of the apparent contradictions as follows:

From 1893 to 1945, the colonial administration did nothing to encourage Solomon Islanders to participate in the affairs of the country. Generally, Solomon islanders were relegated to being passive subjects of colonial rule. Their opinions were not sought and their wishes ignored. They were subject to a government not responsive to their wishes. In addition, the colonial government laid the basis for a centralised government and it did so at the cost of ignoring, and in some instances challenging, traditional leadership systems by appointing headmen from amongst those sympathetic to their . . . cause, rather than those held in high regard by the communities involved. . . . This gave rise to the emergence of a new group of leaders who were often not recognised in the traditional context and, in most cases, did not have the support of the entire community. . . . [Thus the] manner in which the colonial administration carried out its affairs led to the displacement of Solomon Islanders from the political process – they were not participants, but rather, passive subjects answering to the needs and demands of the colonial institution.

Alasia (1997, p. 4) insists that such deliberate disregard for, and mistreatment of, Solomon Islanders by the British colonial administration “caused many Solomon Islanders to resent the government and rebel against its authority”.

**Post-World War II: Towards decolonisation**

It is important, in attempting to understand exactly how and why Solomon Islands gained political independence, to take into account the effect of World War II. Following the war, Britain was involved in major reconstruction at home. Furthermore, the infrastructure of Solomon Islands (limited as it was) had been subjected to extensive damage during the war. In addition, the war had had a huge impact on the attitudes and perceptions of indigenous Solomon Islanders in relation to the British colonial administrators. Formal protest combined with anti-colonial movements of various kinds had become commonplace. All of this indicated to the British that they could no longer take their colonial rule over the islanders for granted. The process of decolonisation began, a process that was completed in 1978 when Solomon Islands became an independent nation.

**Solomon Islands, *kastom* and the question of nationhood and national identity**

By world standards, Solomon Islands is a relatively young nation which has not yet had time to put in place the institutions and practices that are required to establish and sustain stability. It is, furthermore, a nation which is the outcome of global and historical processes of European imperialism and colonialism. It is only when these two things are clearly understood that the nature of contemporary Solomon Islands society can be appreciated.

For any society, the past is both a point of reference and of departure; it is the source of a sense of origin and of identity and belonging; it is fundamental to positioning. In other words, the past defines the present and the present in turn defines the future. Memory and remembering play an important part in that sense of movement, action and continuity that characterises human societies. In Oceania, traditional cultures encode recollections of the past in song, dance, art and craft, naming and story-telling, all of which contribute to their histories as do, for example, historical documents, such as, in the case of the Solomon Islands, the Constitution.

The Solomon Islands Constitution represents a political definition of Solomon Islands rather than a social or cultural one. To understand Solomon Islands, it is necessary to understand its diversity, the variety of its peoples, its lands and its customs. This variety is not evident when the ‘nation’ is constitutionally (read politically) defined in terms of institutional structures, powers and procedures. Nor is *kastom*, the traditional practices that inform the lives of the people, evident in the apparently uniform legal system. Underlying the appearance of uniformity that accompanies nationhood is the diversity that is evidenced in the different languages, ethnicities and cultural practices of the peoples.

The point here is that Solomon Islands society, as defined constitutionally, is a recent development, the imposition of an externally defined unity. The indigenous people of the islands that now constitute a single political entity had no choice but to accede to the principles which underpin the Constitution and Constitutional Law. Thus, although political independence was generally peaceful in the initial stages, it was not without controversy. In Gizo, a protest led by Peter Salaka of the Short Islands and

other prominent individuals from the western Solomons during independence day called for the Western part of the Solomons nearest to Bougainville and PNG to secede from the rest of the country (Gina, 2003, especially *Chapter 9*, pp. 187-99). In fact, as Kabutaulaka (1999) has observed, the people of Guadalcanal also resisted, calling for a federal system of government at the time of independence.

Written constitutions, including that of Solomon Islands, are products of their own times and places and are underpinned by the values and principles of those to whose tradition they belong. They do not necessarily sit comfortably with the values and attitudes of traditional societies where *kastom* is a significant factor in the daily lives of the people. Issues relating to development and reform in the Solomons cannot be fully understood unless this is taken into account.

Tarcisus Kabutaulaka, an academic from Guadalcanal, has argued that the underlying causes of ethnic conflict in the Solomons relate, in large measure, to three major factors: land, disrespect and social issues/unemployment (Kabutaulaka, 1999). These are the types of issue that inevitably occupy every rural community in Solomon Islands today. What this suggests is that ethnic conflict in the Solomon Islands is really a '*kastom* row' played out in a modern setting and amplified by the media. In this context, Andrew Nori (2002), a lawyer from Malaita, has argued that changing the system of government from a provincial to a federal one would not necessarily address the development issues which are said to have contributed to ethnic conflict. He argues that much of what can be done, what needs to be done to ensure that development activities impact positively on rural communities, is already embodied within existing laws, in particular the *Provincial Government Act 1981* (amended, repealed and reinstated up to 1997). Even so, the previous government under the leadership of Sir Allan Kemakeza was keen to press on with plans to change to a federal system, believing that this is what the majority of Solomon Islanders want (John Tuhaika n.d.).

Overall, whilst the Government and other interested parties have tried to work within the framework of the Constitution, the militants (both Isatabu Freedom Movement and Malaita Eagle Force) have appeared to be operating within the framework of the differing *kastoms* of Guadalcanal and Malaita. In this sense, ethnic conflict can be seen as part of a 'crisis of legitimacy', one that is underpinned by the belief of the people of Guadalcanal and Malaita that their own particular *kastom*-based ideologies should be reflected in the Constitution. In that the legitimacy of existing state and national institutional structures is under scrutiny, so also is the present form of governance.

### **The outbreak of violence following the 2006 general election and the changing face of RAMSI**

Until comparatively recently, RAMSI appeared to have been largely effective in restoring law and order and in assisting in ensuring economic recovery in the Solomon Islands. Recent events have, however, cast some doubt both on its role and on its effectiveness.

At the invitation of the then Prime Minister of Solomon Islands, Hon Sir Allan Kemakeza, a Commonwealth Observer Group was set up "to observe relevant aspects of the organization and conduct of the elections . . . to consider the various factors

impinging on the credibility of the electoral process as a whole and to determine in its own judgment whether the conditions exist for a free expression of will by the electors and if the results of the elections reflect the will of the people” (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2006, p. 6). The report of that group, submitted to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, makes the following observation about cultural and linguistic diversity in Solomon Islands (pp. 9-10):

The cultural and linguistic diversity within the Solomon Islands is compounded by perceptions of differences between coastal dwellers and those that dwell in the highlands. This has led to the *wantok* (“one talk”) system where individuals only trust members of their own cultural group. The *wantok* system has become a form of social security and identity and translates into political loyalty limited to members of the same group.

The cultural diversity of the Solomon Islands is also reflected in the existence of around 80 indigenous languages in addition to Pijin and English, which are the official working languages of the government.

The report also notes (p. 11) that “[party] organization and discipline remains weak and highly flexible, exacerbated by the *wantok* and ‘Big Man’ traditions, which place emphasis on clan and family loyalties”. With specific reference to the 2006 general election, it is observed that there were “widespread allegations and controversy over money from local businesses and foreign interests financing some candidates’ campaigns” (p.17), that “thirteen political parties contested the elections, some political parties claiming the same candidates” (p. 19) and that “many . . . individuals and groups . . . claimed that . . . candidates engaged in vote-buying both through cash payments and the dispensing of material largesse” (p. 25). In view of subsequent events, the observation that the election of Prime Minister by secret ballot was associated with a “high level of suspicion and distrust” (p. 35) is particularly noteworthy.

On 18 April 2006, Synder Rini was elected Prime Minister. Mr Rini is a member of a group of members of parliament called the *Association of Independent Members of Parliament* (AIM). The president of that group is local naturalised Chinese business tycoon, Sir Thomas Chan. Mr Rini’s election as Prime Minister led to widespread anger not only because of his links with Chinese business interests, but also because of his association with the outgoing Prime Minister, Sir Allan Kemakeza (who narrowly retained his parliamentary seat while his People’s Alliance Party lost 11 of its 20 seats). This anger sparked riots in Honiara amidst allegations that money from Chinese businesses had supported the election of Mr Rini. Part of Honiara was razed and looted, Chinese-owned property being the main target. On 20 April, RAMSI forces were bolstered by 30 police officers and 78 troops from New Zealand and 200 troops from Australia. On 26 April, eight days after his election as Prime Minister and just before he was about to face a vote of no confidence, Mr Rini resigned. On 24 May, the Solomon Islands parliament elected Manasseh Sogavare, a former civil servant who had served as Prime Minister from June 2000 to December 2001, as Prime Minister by 28 votes to 22. Mr Sogavare had originally aligned himself with opposition members of parliament when it had become clear that government coalition numbers had been drastically reduced. However, when he was initially not chosen as Prime Minister, he deserted the opposition, attempting to build a following

among members of parliament from Guadalcanal. Failing to gain sufficient support, he again changed direction, supporting Mr Rini in the second round of voting and accepting as reward the commerce and trade portfolio. However, then realizing the extent of opposition to Mr Rini, he changed direction once more, offering to support the opposition in return for a guarantee that he would be their candidate should there be a vacancy in the position of prime minister. The opposition, two of whose members had been arrested on suspicion of involvement in the riots, provided the required guarantee. At that point, facing a vote of no confidence, Mr Rini resigned as Prime Minister.

Connections have been made between the 2006 riots in Honiara and the social unrest of 1998–2003 that led to the deployment of RAMSI. However, as Kabutaulaka (2006) has observed, “what happened in Honiara . . . cannot be explained in terms of . . . social unrest alone. In fact, it had little to do with . . . social unrest and more with what people perceived as the corruption of the democratic process”. Furthermore, it seems that RAMSI must itself bear some responsibility for the riots. When, following the election of Mr Rini as Prime Minister, an angry crowd converged on the parliament building, RAMSI officers overrode the authority of the Speaker, Sir Peter Kenilorea, opening fire on the crowd with tear gas and thus, it has been alleged, actually provoking the rioting (Socialist Equity Party (Australia), 2006). In this context, it is interesting to note that Bishop Terry Brown, who initially supported RAMSI, made the following observation in an article in the *Solomon Star* newspaper on 18 January 2006 (cited by Doug Lorimer, 2006, ¶10):

There is a major disparity between RAMSI’s rhetoric of staying for ten to 15 years in the Solomons, bringing peace and prosperity, and the reality of re-emerging violence, increasing poverty and unemployment, high school fees, a downward-spiralling economy, higher inflation and lower incomes, declining medical services, ongoing corruption in government ministries, lack of planning and implementation of how Solomon Islanders will competently run all parts of their own government, crumbling infrastructure, millions and millions of RAMSI funds spent on Australians with the money going back to Australia with minimum cash benefit for Solomon Islanders, continued centralizing of everything in Honiara, etc.

In spite of the fact that the decision by RAMSI officers to fire tear gas into the crowd of objectors may have actually played a part in the initiation of the riots in Honiara, and in spite of the type of reservation expressed by Bishop Terry Brown, it was noted in a press release by the Rt Hon Winston Peters (22 May 2006), New Zealand Minister of Foreign Affairs, that “he [Winston Peters] and his Australian counterpart, Alexander Downer, [had] held joint discussions in Honiara with the new Prime Minister, Hon Manasseh Sogavare, and members of his government”. It was also noted, without qualification, that “[recent] events following the general election have shown the continued need for RAMSI’s presence, which is widely supported by the Solomon Islands people”.

It is clear that the 1996 riots in Honiara were a reaction against what the people saw as government corruption and control by foreign powers. Even so, the report of the Commonwealth Observer Group on the 2006 general election, whilst critical of many aspects of the election process, does not, even in its background statements, make any

negative comments about the role of RAMSI. In view of this, it seems reasonable to infer that there is general, if unstated, acknowledgment that part of RAMSI's role is to maintain order by supporting whatever group succeeds in gaining power, irrespective of popular support (or lack of it). Unrest in Solomon Islands is as much, if not more, about corruption and foreign intervention and control as it is about internal strife among people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Even so, the issue of difference and diversity, an issue that can be summed up with reference to *kastom* (Naitoro, 2000), needs to be addressed if Solomon Islands society is to reach a position of equilibrium.

### ***Kastom* and constitutional law**

*Kastom* is based on values and principles that play an important part in the lives of ordinary people in the Solomons.<sup>6</sup> Thus, for example, whereas constitutional law, with its emphasis on corrective institutions and custodial practices, adopts a clinical approach based on rehabilitation, *kastom*, with its emphasis on compensation processes, embodies the concept of restitution, involving mending or restoring social and cultural/kin relationships. For Solomon Islanders, the issue of whether one form of justice (rehabilitation) is more legitimate than another (socially-based restitution) is a critical one, particularly as there are those whose personal interests are best served by exploiting the apparent lacunae between the two (see for example, J. Fraenkel 2004). If not attended to, this issue may have serious implications for the future of Solomon Islands society, post-RAMSI. The fact that the ideals of the Constitution may be foreign to traditional ways of thinking and behaving does not mean that Solomon Islanders will not adapt themselves to the values and principles that underlie it. However, they are much less likely to do so if the *kastoms* that are familiar to rural dwellers in particular are not taken into account. Thus, for example, although many of the alleged offenders have been apprehended by the police and have served time in prison (Constitutional Law), Guadalcanal Islanders maintain that the alleged murder of some of their kinsfolk by Malaitans in the recent past has not been compensated (*Kastom*). This is a classic example of the apparent contradiction between Constitutional Law and *kastom* in the Solomon Islands (Nori, 2001), one that needs to be addressed urgently by Solomon Islands legal practitioners and custodians.

### **Betel nut and *wantok*: Towards understanding the complexity of Solomon Islands society**

The betel nut metaphor provides a way of understanding Solomon Islands society. The betel nut husk (state/ Constitution) and inner core (*kastom*) have been introduced. What remains to introduce is the *lime* and *lif* (the role of the Church). Bishop Terry Brown (2003) has observed that:

The three institutions of Solomon Islands life are the traditional culture ('custom'), the church and the civil state, listing them in the order in which they reached the Solomons. Over the past century, the first two have been strong, the third weak. This is still the case.

In the context of what could be seen as a crisis of legitimacy, the role of the Church needs to be considered. In this context, it is important to note that the vast majority of Solomon Islanders profess to be Christian. The Church, therefore, can and does play a significant role in peoples' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, constitutional law

and *kastom* (traditional practices). It is the third critical component of the social and political brew.

### **Conclusion**

Different uses of the word '*wantok*' (see above) sum up differing perspectives on contemporary Solomon Islands society. Although it can be used to signal a type of collective identity or national consciousness, the word '*wantok*' is also used with reference to those clan-based family groupings which characterise traditional islands society. Most contemporary Solomon Islanders come from clan-based family groupings on the islands themselves but many do not. There are, for example, the i-Kiribati who came to Solomon Islands from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (now Kiribati and Tuvalu respectively) before independence; there are the descendants of Hong Kong Chinese who have made Solomon Islands their home; there are, residing mainly in urban areas (especially Honiara), peoples from other areas of the Pacific.

When the varying conceptions of *wantok* are added to the components of the betel nut (state apparatus, *kastom* and church), and when we further add the concept of 'reciprocity' which runs through islands society (in both a positive and negative sense), what emerges is a concoction with a very distinctive flavour. Unless Solomon Islands nationhood can be conceptualised in a way that fully accommodates all of the different ingredients, there will be continuing danger that the pot will boil over. These dangers will not be averted by attempts by outsiders to shore up a political system which is clearly not meeting the needs and aspirations of the people.

### **Endnotes**

1. The national anthem of the Solomon Islands was, in fact, composed by a Solomon Islands National, Panapasa Balekana, who had originally come from Fiji.
2. There is, of course, a certain irony involved in my use of the 'island' metaphor here in view of the way in which it has sometimes been used with reference to Britain.
3. Much of the later missionary activity in the Solomons was via Australia (there was a British settlement in Sydney from 1788). However, Leslie Fugui (1989, p. 84) notes that the "first clergymen to visit Solomon Islands were two Catholic priests of the Franciscan order who came with the Spanish explorer Mendaña". They celebrated mass at Santa Isabel on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1568. A second Spanish expedition (1595) also carried priests, although the missionaries had little impact on Solomon Islanders at that time.
4. The first real missionary attempt at Christianising the islanders involved a number of priests and lay brothers of the French Marist order who, under the direction of Bishop Jean-Baptiste Epalle, landed on the south coast of San Cristobal in December 1845. From Makira, they went on to Thousand Ships Bay in Santa Isabel. Although Bishop Epalle was killed within only a few days of arrival in Santa Isabel, the remaining Marist Fathers returned to Makira. There, following the murder of three other members of the order and the death from malaria of another, the effort was abandoned (Douglas & Douglas, 1994, p. 604). Dr Charles Fox (1924), who studied Makira from an anthropological perspective, claimed that cannibalism was practised on the island but there is nothing to show that any of the three murdered missionaries may have ended up in someone's (earth) oven.
5. It is also fundamental to an understanding of the outbreak of violence that followed the April 2006 general election.
6. I remember, in particular, being told about a woman from an Island in the Solomons who continually referred to her three young daughters as potential 'stoa' (literally, store or shop).

That is, she was anticipating the future when her daughters would fetch a handsome 'bride-price'. This sort of anecdotal evidence indicates the significance of *kastom*.

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**My journey with *te reo Māori*: From primary schooling in the mid 20th century to retirement from full-time academic service in the early years of the 21st century**

Ngaere Houia-Roberts

**Abstract**

This is not an academic article in the traditional sense. It is a personal account of my experiences, as a first language speaker of *te reo Māori*, of New Zealand's educational system from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, from the early days of my primary schooling, through my service as a teacher, teacher trainer and academic researcher until my retirement from full-time academic service in 2005. A great deal has been written about the ways in which attitudes and approaches to *te reo Māori* have changed over that period of time but very little has been written about how it felt to be part of these changes. Our society is based on facts and feelings. If our *mokopuna* are to understand the fabric of our society, they need to have access to feelings as well as to facts. In this paper, weft and warp, facts and feelings, are woven together. This personal account is dedicated to our *mokopuna*, to all of our *mokopuna*, whatever their origin and whatever their colour. The future of our society depends upon their understanding.

**Introduction**

The journey, the many paths that we, my *reo* and I, have travelled, the political and social obstacles that we have encountered along the way, are typical of those experienced by many of my generation.

I was indeed fortunate to have been raised in a strong Māori *whānau*, with a strong sense of *reo* and *tikanga*. For me, the acquisition of *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* occurred naturally, in the environment of home and family. This was the case for all the *whānau* in the Māori community in which I was raised in the 1940s and 1950s. In those early years, we were not aware that the assimilationist policies of successive governments represented a threat to all of those things that were most precious to us. We could not have anticipated the ways in which social, economic and educational policies would impact on, and reshape, our lives. We did not know then that the changes that were to take place would represent a threat to our very identity. The beginning of formal schooling, however, brought with it the beginning of uncertainty. To step into the playground was to step over the threshold between certainty and fear.

**The late 1940s: The beginning of my formal education**

Entry into the education system in the late 1940s meant total submersion in English. For most of us, this was our first direct experience of the effects of the assimilationist policies of the time. All teaching instruction, all requests for permission to leave the room, all requests for help must be in English. We had no choice. For those of us who spoke little or no English, this was a terrifying time. Our teachers were not trained to teach English as a second language. Nor had they any real understanding of the long-term psychological and social consequences of alienating children from their home language.

It was difficult to understand at the time why we were instructed to leave *te reo Māori* at the school gate or why the curriculum content was totally divorced from our world

of home and *whānau*. In retrospect, it is possible to understand that good, if wholly misguided intentions, often accompanied the implementation of assimilationist policies: teachers, both Māori and non-Māori, believed then that the future for Māori children lay in learning English. They believed that bilingualism represented a barrier to rapid acquisition of a second language. Māori parents, who naturally wanted the best for their children, were often swayed by these arguments. As Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1989, p. 38) observe, what was taking place was a type ‘symbolic violence’, a type of psychological control that presupposed the implicit consent or active complicity of the victims. In any event, Māori parents had little alternative but to comply: their children had to learn to survive in a monolingual school context. For this reason, many Māori parents began to encourage their children to speak English at home. When Sir Apirana Ngata, of Ngāti Porou, a notable Māori leader and scholar, opposed the teaching of Māori in Native schools (believing that the inclusion of Māori in the curriculum would mean that there was insufficient time for Māori children to come to terms with English), he could not have foreseen the dangers that lay ahead. When, in 1949, he wrote these words of encouragement to a young girl, he could not have known that access to the treasures of the ancestors was under threat:

*E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tō ao.  
Ko tō ringaringa ki ngā rākau a te Pakeha hei oranga mō tō tinana.  
Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga o ō tīpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga.  
Ko tō wairua ki tō Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa (Walker, 2001, p. 397).<sup>1</sup>*

Sir Apirana Ngata firmly believed then that *te reo Māori* would continue to be transmitted from one generation to the next. Our family was fortunate in this respect; others were less fortunate.

#### ***Schools as a powerful mechanism for assimilation***

According to Garcia and Baker (1995, p. 33), schools have always been the most powerful mechanism for assimilating minority children into mainstream cultures. It is clear now to many Māori of my generation that our schooling was just such a powerful force. In fact, our experiences were the result of a carefully planned programme of assimilation: teaching English to Māori children was to be at the expense of their own heritage language. *Te reo Māori* was, in fact, regarded as far back as 1862, not only as the main obstacle to the educational progress of Māori children, but also the main obstacle to the social progress of a people. Thus it was that a report written by Henry Taylor, an inspector of Native Schools stated:

The Native language itself is also an obstacle in the way of civilisation, so long as it exists there is a barrier to the free and unrestrained intercourse which ought to exist . . . it shuts out the less civilised portion of the population from the benefits . . . which intercourse with the more enlightened would confer. The schoolroom alone has power to break down this wall of partition. (Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, E-4, 1862, 35-38).

Over a century later, a publication by the Department of Education (1971) clearly indicates that beliefs about *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* had not changed in any major way. Such beliefs continued to underpin assimilationist social and educational policies. This critical quotation is cited in Benton (1981, pp. 8-9):

In general Māori homes preserve, in varying degrees, some of the elements of the traditional social structure, which was based on communal living, and this structure is not conducive to the development of language.

The English-only educational movement continued even after it became clear that linguistic and educational research provided little or no support for it. This 'intellectual dishonesty' (May, 2001, p. 215) was compounded by the argument that providing Māori with access to English was the key determinant in effecting the social and economic betterment of marginalised minority-language speakers. The linguistic rights of Māori did not include the right of access to *te reo Māori*.

The most immediately obvious effect of assimilationist policies was the rapid urbanisation of Māori, the mass movement away from traditional rural communities. A communal life-style was replaced by the alien and isolating environment of city life. This inevitably led to the undermining of the strong extended family and community networks that had characterised Māori society. *Whānau*, *hapu*<sup>2</sup> and *iwi*<sup>3</sup> support structures, the very thread that had held Māori society together, were being lost.

#### **From *whānau* and community to urbanisation and isolation**

Our family experienced the direct impact of these social and economic policies: we moved from our community, leaving behind our *pā*<sup>4</sup>, our *whānau*, indeed, our direct link to the land. The families who remained, or who shifted to other urban areas, often failed to remain in contact so that the sense of unity and support was increasingly lost. Although it was not clear at the time, we as a family were on the crest of a wave of assimilation. We were unable to control our own destinies – the victims of social and economic policies that would later be shown to be destructive, insensitive and racist. The patterns of our lives changed dramatically. Economic and social policies impacted directly on all aspects of our personal, social and cultural lives, including patterns of relationship and language use. As Gal, (1979, p. 3) observes, social changes affect not only social networks generally, but also relationships between individuals, and the patterns of language use in a community.

We, as a family, experienced the impact of urbanisation on the use of *te reo Māori* as the domains in which the language was used rapidly shrank. We experienced this at first hand as the need to seek employment in order to survive in this new environment drove us into a workforce where knowledge of the English language was essential. This merely reinforced our experiences in the school and the classroom. However, we were unaware at the time of the long-term implications of this: soon *te reo Māori* would no longer be the main language of communication in the homes of Māori *whānau*. As our language was being undervalued and replaced by English, we, as a people, were being further marginalised.

#### ***Language, culture and identity***

History clearly shows that language is the means by which the culture of a people is disseminated. The imposition of a majority language also means the imposition of a majority culture, and the ultimate marginalisation and undervaluing of the indigenous culture (Bisong, 1995, p.123). And so it was that the language and culture of our *whānau*, the very threads that bound us together, the threads that embodied our

uniqueness as Māori, were about to be broken. At risk was not only our language, but also the cultural values that it embedded. Monolingualism and monoculturalism were on the horizon.

The failure to continue the intergenerational transmission of the home language is the most critical factor in language decline. This factor has been exhaustively researched. Thus, in discussing the decline of the Gaelic language in Scotland, Dorian (1981, p. 105) notes:

The home is the last bastion of a subordinate language in competition with a dominant official language of wider currency . . . speakers have failed to transmit the language to their children so that no replacement generation is available when the parent generation dies away.

Research has also shown that unless the language is transmitted across generations, other revitalisation activities tend to have short-term success but long-term failure (Fishman, 1991, p. 94). Thus it was that in the 1960s and 1970s, prominent Māori leaders such as Dewes and Hau repeatedly called attention to the fact that the current system threatened the very survival of a people, urging Māori families to foster *te reo Māori* in their homes as well as in their schools (Benton, 1981, p. 54).

The fact that *te reo Māori* is now used in so few Māori homes continues to impact on the vitality of the language. Baker (2001, p. 64) reminds us that when minority language speakers become bilingual and begin to use the majority language in more and more domains, the minority language is at risk of loss. In increasingly speaking English in their homes – often of necessity – Māori families added to the pressures on the language and contributed, often unwittingly, to its decline. We, as a family, witnessed all these developments in our walk with assimilation.

The loss of a minority language may have social, emotional cognitive and educational consequences (Baker, 2001, p. 93). One such consequence is the loss of the means by which parents socialize their children. This, in turn, results in the breakdown in the transmission of values, beliefs, understandings and wisdom about how to cope with experiences (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 343). There is, furthermore, a negative impact on cognitive development as a result of the dialogic breakdown between parents and children and the resultant loss of the necessary cognitive scaffolding. Another consequence of the domination of the English language lies in the fact that there is not merely a substitution of one language by another, but the imposition of new ‘mental structures’ through English (Phillipson, 1992, p. 166). It is imperative that Māori thinking, Māori perceptions, Māori cognition be examined, interpreted and explicated through *te reo Māori*, and not through the cognitive patterns of another language. Thus, Sir Hemi Henare asserts: “*Ma te reo Māori tonu te hinengaro Māori e wero, ma te reo Pākeha te hinengaro Pākeha e wero*”<sup>5</sup> (Te Tāhūhū o te Mātauranga, 1999).

The role that language plays in identity is a crucial one. Language and identity are inseparable. Identity, according to Couloumbe (1993, p.141) translates into who we are and who we think we are. It ultimately relates to the community to which we belong. Sir Hemi Henare reinforces the importance of *te reo Māori* for Māori identity and cultural uniqueness in his claim: *Ko te reo te kaupupuri o te Māoritanga o te Māori. Ko tātou te iwi Māori, mehemea ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro te Māoritanga*<sup>6</sup> (Te

Tāhūhū o te Mātauranga, 1999). Language plays a critical role in defining individual identity, culture and community membership. Indeed, Sir Apirana Ngata (cited in Karetu, 1990, p. 15) went so far as to say: “*Ki te kore koe e mōhio ki te kōrero Māori ehara koe i te Māori*”<sup>7</sup>. Sir Apirana Ngata believed that “nothing was worse than for one to be with Māori features but without his own language” (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, pp. 206-207).

For those of us of *Ngāti Porou* descent, tribal *whakataukāki* reaffirm both our communal and individual identities and link us back to our people, to our land, to our mountains, to our rivers and to our marae. Thus, as a descendant of Ngāti Porou I would claim:

*Ko Hikurangi te maunga,  
ko Waiapu te awa,  
ko Ngāti Porou te iwi  
ko Reporua te marae.*<sup>8</sup>

**The late 1950s and early 1960s: My experience of higher education as assimilation, acculturation, accommodation - and alienation**

Identity crisis and conflict are characteristic of assimilation, acculturation and accommodation. All of these I experienced at first hand as I sought education and understanding. In pursuit of higher education, I moved from the security of *whānau* and community to a new, and even more alien, urban environment where my self-identity and cultural identity were increasingly at risk. The transition was at times, painful. Culture shock resulted in feelings of isolation, even anomie. Adapting to this new environment was made even more difficult by the fact that I could no longer seek support from my *whānau* in the way I was accustomed to doing. Wong Fillmore (1986, p. 680) alludes to this sense of alienation when she states:

What is lost in surrendering the native language may be the connectedness with primary group and community that gives the individual the personal stability for coping with adult responsibilities and opportunities.

The need to integrate into this new culture seemed evident. Always, however, there was an underlying sense of difference, even inferiority. *Te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* had no place in this new context: I had to learn the linguistic and social skills required to survive in the new environment in which I found myself. In such a situation, the temptation to abandon the language and culture of my people was very real. Few of us had the strength to insist on being valued for who we were. It was, therefore, not long before I began to conform, before the new language and culture began to compromise my own language and culture. Only in the company of other Māori students and in the safe environment of culture clubs could I use *te reo Māori*, and so I began to develop positive strategies for re-establishing a sense of identity and self-esteem. I began, in fact, to develop a type of schizophrenia, moving uneasily in and out of different identities in different contexts. The fact that higher education has its own culture increased the complexity of this process.

**The late 1960s: Beginning my career in teaching and beginning to recover my sense of identity**

Unlike so many others, I continued to have strong links with my mother and my *whānau*. The fact that I had been firmly rooted in *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* as a young child stood me in good stead. Behind the facade, my language and culture lurked, waiting upon the day that I would return to them. Most urbanised Māori are not so fortunate. For them, there is little or no access to *te reo Māori*. As a result, the battle to save the language from extinction is immense. This is the price that Māori have had to pay for so many ill-informed Government policies.

Having been fortunate enough to be rooted in *te reo Māori* is for me an important link to my being as Māori. It affirms my identity and provides me with a link to the past and the future. It empowers me in the control of the contexts in which I live and work. As the whakatauhāki states:

*Ko taku nui  
Taku wehi  
Taku whakatiketike  
Ko taku reo.*<sup>9</sup>

The loss of *te reo Māori* would represent for the Māori people not only the loss of a very valuable possession, but also a loss of identity and cultural uniqueness. This is clearly reflected in a claim made by Sir Hemi Henare (as quoted in a Department of Education document) that the loss of the Māori language represents a loss of the vital force, the very inner core of the Māori people:

Therefore, the taonga, the Māori language as far as our people are concerned is the very soul of the Māori people. What profit to the Māori if we lose our language and lose our soul even if we gain the world (Department of Education, 1989, p. 10).

Reviving and nourishing *te reo Māori* is thus something for which all of those fortunate enough to speak the language must take responsibility. My career in education represented, for me, an opportunity to play a role in the revival of *te reo Māori* and the reassertion of Māori as a people.

***Towards Taha Māori as an aspect of the school curriculum***

As early as the 1930s, Māori academics and scholars began to put pressure on government to have *te reo Māori* recognised as an important aspect of the formal education of Māori children. Prior to this, Māori language maintenance had attracted little interest. For many Māori, it seemed unnecessary. After all, a 1930 survey indicated that 96.6% of children attending Native Schools spoke only *te reo Māori* in their homes (May, 2001). Two decades later, in 1950, between 50% and 75% of Māori children attending Māori schools spoke and understood *te reo Māori* (Biggs, 1991, p. ix). During the 1950s and 1960s, there was a significant decline in the percentage of Māori who spoke *te reo Māori* at home. Rapid urbanisation had reduced the numbers to a mere 26%. By the end of the 1970s, Māori communities and their heritage language were under severe threat (Benton, 1979; 1983). The rapid decline in natural acquisition contexts led many Māori to conclude that *te reo Māori* should be taught in all secondary schools. Indeed, many Māori also advocated its

introduction into the primary curriculum. In this way, it was believed that Māori children would learn to appreciate the value and relevance of their heritage language. All children would, it was believed, respond positively to the language and culture if their inclusion in the curriculum signalled to them the positive attitudes of others. At this point, however, the status of *te reo Māori* was in decline. Indeed, extinction had become a very real possibility (Benton, 1988).

It was in this context that the government of the 1970s advocated a change to the long-standing education policies of active opposition and neglect. The 1960s policy of assimilation was replaced by a policy of integration. Thus, the Hunn Report (1961, pp. 14-16) advocated a combination of Māori and English elements in schooling, with Māori culture remaining 'distinct'. However, even with the policy in place, there were difficulties with implementation. Agreeing that a language should be taught is one thing; training teachers appropriately and developing syllabuses and materials is another.

### **The early 1970s: I begin to teach *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* in mainstream intermediate schools**

As the dissatisfaction of Māori became more evident, changes were formalised in the 1970s and 1980s with the replacement of the principle of 'integration' with a policy of multicultural education. This policy saw the introduction of *Taha Māori*,<sup>10</sup> an approach designed to facilitate the introduction into the school curriculum of *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*. As a teacher in a mainstream intermediate school in the 1970s, the responsibility for teaching *Taha Māori* was mine. The assumption then was that because one spoke *te reo Māori* and was familiar with *tikanga Māori*, one could teach them (with few resources and no curriculum) to students, many of whom had no real interest in them. It was therefore with a measure of relief that I left teaching temporarily to bring up my children. I hoped that things would have improved by the time I returned to teaching.

### **The mid 1980s: I return to teaching and become part of 'the milk run'**

Although interest in *te reo Māori* increased from the 1980s onward, problems, including the difficulty of finding and training sufficient numbers of teachers with a high level of competence in the language, were evident. Furthermore, teaching resources were still scarce and there was considerable passive resistance from schools. As Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1989, p. 47) observe, overt permission to teach a language does not protect it. Languages are, in fact, often oppressed not only by active opposition, but also by lack of resources.

There was a great shortage of Māori language teachers by the time I returned to teaching in the mid 1980s (following a 15 year break). *Taha Māori* had been introduced into the curriculum for all pupils and was being treated not only as a curriculum area, but also as a vehicle for parent-teacher relations, and race relations more generally. Māori were, however, far from satisfied with what was little more than token recognition of *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*. In addition, the burden on teachers who were competent in Māori rapidly became intolerable. A single teacher was often made responsible for all aspects of *Taha Māori* in a school and was often expected to move from class to class in what became known at the time as 'the milk run'. I was one of several teachers who, in addition to attempting to meet the needs of an entire school in relation to *Taha Māori*, were also required to assist in other

schools. Such were the demands on Māori who had teaching qualifications. In this context, it is worth reinforcing the point that teaching materials were scarce, there were no clearly defined teaching methodologies, and there was little support. The phenomenon of teacher burn out began to have a significant effect. Furthermore, there was growing recognition of the fact that there was a real difference between the language of the classroom and the natural language of every-day use. Meanwhile, the focus on *te reo Māori* as a vehicle for racial harmony, while commendable in itself, meant that less attention was paid to standards of teaching and learning than might otherwise have been the case. As a result, *te reo Māori* soon came to be seen as an easy option and, once again, Māori were marginalised (Benton, 1981, p. 41).

All of these things proved to have disastrous effects on *te reo Māori*. Although children were learning aspects of the language, they were failing to attain high standards of competence in its use. Furthermore, few of them had any real understanding of the ways in which the language was used in marae settings. Even today, it is often difficult to find speakers to represent groups or to function as designated *paepae*<sup>11</sup> orators. *Taha Māori* turned out to have little to offer to those who were genuinely committed to the revival and survival of *te reo Māori*.

#### ***Te reo Māori: Towards revitalisation***

Fishman (1991) suggests that minority language education should be the responsibility of governments as a first step in reversing language shift. In 1985 (reported in 1986), The Waitangi Tribunal ruled that the New Zealand education system had a duty to support the learning of Māori children and to protect *te reo Māori* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 51). Subsequent legislation, the Māori Language Act (1987), gave recognition to *te reo Māori* as an official language.<sup>12</sup> However, as our experience with *Taha Māori* indicates, there is a difference between genuine support and token support. Successive governments have assumed that the future of *te reo Māori* should rest with the majority. However, the majority has thus far done little to assure its future. New Zealand, in spite of the recommendations made by Waite (1992), still has no national language policy, let alone one that gives priority to *te reo Māori*. The consequences of the lack of a national language policy are reflected in the fact that neither road signs nor currency are bilingual. Therefore, although children may learn *te reo Māori*, the community at large ensures that there are very few domains in which these children can actually use it. Thus, it is the revitalisation initiatives that have come directly from Māori communities that are likely to be most effective, precisely because these communities have focused not only on the use of *te reo Māori* in schools, but also on the need to establish and maintain domains in which *te reo Māori* is the expected medium of communication.

Initiatives aimed at revitalising *te reo Māori* have in the last twenty years been increasingly driven by Māori communities and Māori *whānau* who believe that *Kaupapa Mātauranga Māori*<sup>13</sup> may hold the key to language revival and survival. Many parents now have the opportunity to choose to have their children educated, from pre-school onwards, through the medium of *te reo Māori* and in the context of Māori values and Māori culture. This is largely because Māori themselves, starting with the *Kōhanga Reo* movement (involving the establishment of Māori-medium pre-schools referred to as ‘language nests’), have insisted on their linguistic and cultural rights. However, in spite of the increase in the quality of training and resources available, Māori teachers continue to carry a very heavy burden. They will need as

much enlightened assistance as possible if they are to succeed. They currently carry much of the responsibility not only for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*, but also for improving the educational performance overall of Māori children. They undertake this responsibility in a context where Māori families continue to suffer the effects of decades of unequal development. They also do so in an atmosphere of considerable suspicion. Unless they are seen to succeed in this very difficult task, the danger is that future generations will seize the opportunity to attribute all of the problems that Māori experience to Māori themselves. Thus, community support is likely to prove to be crucial. As Benton (1996, p. 56) observes, education cannot by itself ensure the survival of a minority language. Furthermore, Hornberger (1989, p. 229) notes that schools cannot be agents for language maintenance if their communities, for whatever reason, do not want them to be. If the community is content to leave issues of schooling and language maintenance to others (May, 2001, p.149), then *Kaupapa Mātauranga Māori* schools may not succeed in their mission whatever the dedication of their teachers.

### **The early 1990s: I begin to train teachers to work in Māori-medium educational settings**

In the 1990s, I moved from a school to a university setting. My task was now to train teachers to teach in Maori-medium educational settings.

Starting in 1994, a number of curriculum documents, designed to support Māori-medium teaching, began to appear. There was also increased emphasis on the production of high quality Māori-medium teaching resources and assessment tools. These initiatives formed part of a larger initiative within the Ministry of Education's Māori Language Education Plan (Ministry of Education, 2001). Even so, the fact that trainee teachers who wished to teach in *Kaupapa Mātauranga Māori*<sup>14</sup> schools often continued to be educated in an environment in which there were very few domains in which they could actually use *te reo Māori*, meant that many of those involved in training teachers to teach through the medium of *te reo Māori* became disheartened, feeling that their efforts were constantly being undermined. Furthermore, there continues to be a serious shortage of teachers who can work effectively in Māori-medium contexts and the majority of those currently training to do so are second language learners of the language, many of whom do not have a high level of proficiency. These problems were noted by the Ministry of Education in the early 1990s (Ministry of Education, March 1994, p.21). Even so, comparatively little has been done about it to date. Thus, for example, in a 2001 issue of the *New Zealand Education Review* (16 March, 2001), Cathy Dewes, Chairperson of *Te Runanganui o Kura Kaupapa Māori*, felt it necessary to remind the Ministry of Education of its assurances (see, for example, Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 11) that the need for Māori-medium teachers and teachers of *te reo Māori* would be addressed.

In the course of my work in teacher education, I became increasingly aware of the fact that those trainee teachers who aimed to teach in Māori-medium contexts not only often lacked fluency in *te reo Māori*, but often also lacked any real understanding of what is involved in creating coherent written discourses in *te reo Māori* in academic contexts. At the same time, it became clear to me that there were many teachers and trainee teachers who were passionate about the survival of the language and who were more than willing to make the effort to learn what was required. If my students were willing to learn from me, I must also be willing to learn from others.

**The mid-1990s: I continue in teacher training and return to study**

Since I had completed my own higher education, a great deal had happened in the field of applied linguistics, especially in relation to the teaching and learning of second languages and teaching through the medium of second languages. I decided that it was time for me to return to study. I therefore enrolled in a postgraduate programme in second language teaching and learning, going on from there to complete another postgraduate programme in the same area.

This was a difficult time for me. It was frustrating to be in a position where I had to constantly question my current skills and understanding. It was difficult to come to terms, once again, with an educational context in which the dominant language was English, especially when my real interest was in *te reo Māori*. On those occasions when my existing skills were simply not acknowledged, I felt humiliated. Even so, years of struggle within the educational system had taught me to have patience and to value the skills, knowledge and understanding of others, particularly where they were different from my own. They had also taught me to suspend judgment and to accept genuine friendship and intellectual companionship when it was offered, as it often was. I knew that if I was to survive the experience of long hours of teaching and long hours of study, I needed to remain focused on my ultimate goal – to find a way of making a genuine contribution to Māori-medium education.

This was to be a long journey. After I completed the courses in which I was enrolled, I decided to go on to do research. In selecting my research area, I gave a great deal of thought to the type of contribution I might be able to make. I was a native speaker of *te reo Māori* with a background in teaching and teacher education who had qualifications in applied linguistics and second language teaching and learning. I had a particular interest in the needs of teachers and learners in Māori-medium educational settings. In particular, I felt that there was a need for materials that would support the development of academic writing in *te reo Māori*. First, however, it would be necessary to find out how highly educated native speakers of *te reo Māori* structured written texts of various kinds and whether these texts differed in any significant ways from texts written in English by highly educated native speakers of English. Only then would it be possible to provide teachers and learners of *te reo Māori* with materials designed to help them to develop a high level of competence in writing authentic texts in *te reo Māori* in a range of different genres for a range of different purposes.

In 2004, I completed my doctoral research (Houia-Roberts, 2003; 2004a & b). In 2005, I moved into an area of university activity that was dominated by Māori, one in which I would be surrounded by *te reo Māori* on a daily basis. I hoped that here I would have the time, space and encouragement to turn my academic research into something useful and practical – a teaching and learning resource for those operating in Māori-medium educational contexts. In the event, this did not happen. What I learned is that many of those involved in Māori education, at whatever level and in whatever context, are too busy, too driven by the immediate needs of their current students, to think beyond the immediate imperatives, to move from survival mode to planning mode. The advantages of research, its possibilities in terms of offering new ways of thinking and new, and improved outcomes, are too often forgotten. This is not only a question of time, it is also a question of belief – belief in ourselves and

belief in the right of our *mokopuna* to be given equal access to the past, the present and the future.

**2005: I retire from full-time involvement in academic life and begin a new venture.**

At the end of 2005, I retired from full-time employment in education and began a new phase and a new venture. Now, at last, I have time to appreciate the changing seasons, time to watch my *mokopuna* grow, time to talk to them in the language of their *tīpuna*, time to prepare, for them and for others, my small contribution, time to turn my research into something practical, time to contemplate the journey that I and my *reo* have taken together.

*Tēnā tātau katoa.*

**Endnotes**

1. Grow tender shoot for the days of your world/ Turn your hands to the tools of the Pakeha for the well-being of your body/ Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a crown for your head/ Give your soul to God, the author of all things.
2. Sub-group; section of a large tribal group.
3. Tribal group.
4. Tribal meeting place.
5. The Māori mind must be challenged through the Māori language; the English mind, through the English language.
6. Our language is what embodies our *Māoritanga*. For us, the Māori people, if our language is lost, our *Māoritanga* will be lost.
7. If you do not speak Māori, you are not Māori.
8. Hikurangi is the mountain/ Waiapu is the river/ Ngāti Porou the people/ The marae is Reporua.
9. My stature/ My inspiration/ My elevation/ Is my language.
10. A Māori dimension.
11. The threshold: the area directly in front of the meeting house where speakers are seated.
12. Even so, *te reo Māori* is still used only in oral contexts in courts of law.
13. Philosophy of Māori-immersion education: education by Māori, for Māori.
14. The representative body for Kaupapa Māori schools.

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**Replacing medical and social models of disability by a communities-based model  
of equal access for people of differing abilities: A Māori perspective**

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**Abstract**

I argue here that although the social model of disability which currently prevails in New Zealand is preferable in many ways to the earlier medical model, it is nevertheless based on a largely uni-dimensional concept of society and continues an established tradition of negativity, one that is evident in the ongoing use of the word ‘disabled’ itself by those who subscribe to the social model. I argue here that the social model of disability should be replaced by a communities-based model of equal access for people of differing abilities, one that is, in the New Zealand context, informed by a further developed Māori model of health and wellbeing proposed by Mason Durie, *Te Whare Tapa Whā*. This mode is designed in such a way as to accommodate difference and diversity. In the discussion of different models, I use the words ‘disabled’ and ‘disability’; in other contexts, I replace ‘disabled people’ by ‘people of differing abilities’.

**Introduction**

In the thousands of years of human existence before 1800, life for most exceptional people appears to have been a series of unmitigated hardships. The great majority of disabled persons had no occupation, no source of income, limited social interaction and little religious comfort. Conspicuously abnormal persons were subjected to superstition, myth and fatalism-especially fatalism. Their lives were seriously limited by widely held beliefs and superstitions that justified the pervasive prejudice and callous treatment.

M. A. Winzer (1997, p. 76). *Disability and society before the eighteenth century: Dread and despair*.

In terms both of policy and policy implementation, disabled Māori are often treated less favourably than disabled non-Māori in that they and their whānau are obliged to accept approaches to provision that are often inconsistent with their cultural beliefs and social practices. The issue of appropriateness, and, therefore, equity of provision clearly needs to be addressed. However, in the absence of an accepted Māori model of disability, there is no obvious way of doing this. One possibility, however, is to determine whether there is an existing Māori model of health and wellbeing, or a Māori model that can be applied to health and wellbeing, that could underpin policy and policy implementation as it relates to the provision of equal access to communities for people of differing abilities.

**The medical model of disability**

A number of different models of disability, each of which objectifies and stigmatises, have had a profound effect on the lives of disabled people. One of these is the

medical model, a model that views disability in medical rather than social terms, one that continues to have a profound influence on treatment and the allocation of resources in New Zealand in spite of the fact that it is no longer the preferred model.

The beginning of the medicalisation of disability can be traced to the effects of industrialization and urbanization on community structures and, in particular, to the dissolution of those cottage-based industries that provided a context in which disability could be accommodated. With the growth of urbanization and industrialization, disability increasingly came to be seen as a problem, one that needed to be labeled, categorized and controlled through segregation and institutionalization. Gooding (1994, p. 18) discusses the medicalisation of disability in terms of a shift of power:

The medicalisation of social 'problems' as a form of control has been powerfully analysed by writers such as Foucault and Illich. By 'medicalisation' I mean that the perception that disability is first and foremost a problem of individuals, with the corresponding power that gives to the medical profession over disabled people's lives. Whilst medical intervention can be entirely appropriate, for example in the treatment of a medical condition or the diagnosis of an impairment, it undoubtedly extends to a ridiculous degree. . . . The medical profession came to hold great power over disabled people's lives, both within institutions and outside them, through their function as gate-keepers of the welfare state.

The medicalisation of disability is reflected linguistically. In fact, evidence that this model is still alive and well in New Zealand can be found in the language that surrounds disability. Thus, for example, a disabled person may be deemed 'unfit' for work. Under such circumstances, they must succumb to the medical scrutiny of a government approved doctor in order to receive an 'invalid benefit'. Language of this type stereotypes and stigmatises disability at the same time as perpetuating a medical model that has also, appropriately, been referred to as a deficit model. People with disabilities are frequently forced to rely for their basic needs on charity and/or on a source of funds that is often conceptualized as a form of charity (not money derived from tax, but 'taxpayers' money'). Thus, Blaxter (1976, p. 2) notes the way in which people have been, and continue to be, valued in terms of whether or not they contribute directly to the economy:

Ever since the days of the Poor Law, these two principles of social policy have been to some extent separate: a division has existed between those 'outside' the economic system, to whom only charity is owed, and those who are economically active and potentially viable, whom society must help in its own interest and as a matter of social justice.

Although a New Zealand Disability Strategy (2001) which advocates a social model of disability has been in place since 2001, it remains the case that people with disabilities can qualify for a 'welfare benefit' only by subjecting themselves to a process of medical assessment. As Shakespeare and Watson (1997, p. 268) note, medical sociology continues to have difficulty with a non-medical model of disability:

Medical sociology is another discipline that appears to have problems accepting or working within the social model; emphasis is placed squarely on the experience of chronic illness and disability, individualising the experience.

Furthermore, there is evidence that society at large simply does not accept the consequences of the non-medicalisation of impairment, particularly of intellectual impairment. Wherever attempts are made to set up community-based facilities, there are likely to be objections of the NIMBY (not in my back yard) type.

### **The social model of disability**

Oliver (1983, p. 17) defines impairment as 'individual limitation' and disability as 'socially imposed restriction' and Finkelstein (1981) demonstrates that if the physical and social world were to be adapted for wheelchair-users, their disabilities would disappear and able-bodied people would become disabled. It is perspectives of this type that underlie the social model of disability. However, as Swain et al. (1993, p. 15) observe, that model does not necessarily result in the enfranchisement of people with disabilities:

Criticism of the medical model has led to changes, and there are increasing signs that services are moving away from medical control provided by the health service to social and welfare interventions provided in community services. The problem is, however, that this shift does not necessarily result in disabled people having greater control of their lives. On the contrary, community-based service providers generally have a wider perspective than their medical colleagues in identifying areas of disabled people's lives for their professional assessments and interventions. This may leave very little for disabled people to do without feeling that an expert is waiting in the background to intervene. In this respect experts are often encouraged to see the lives of disabled people in terms of problems to be solved and their role as providing solutions.

In the USA and the UK, the disability movement began to call for the de-medicalisation of disability in the 1970s. In the 1980's, Finkelstein (1981) began to question the medical/deficit model of disability as an appropriate theoretical framework, and in the early 1980s, Oliver (1983) developed the work of Finkelstein and others into a social model, one that has had a direct impact on the New Zealand Disability Strategy (2001).

A fundamental aspect of Oliver's social model of disability is the concept of separating impairment from the individual and placing responsibility for providing access with society with society itself. The definition of disability within the context of this model has three main elements: the presence of an impairment; the experience of externally imposed restrictions; and self-identification as a disabled person (Oliver, 1996, p. 5). It is interesting to note that Oliver uses the term 'disabled person' as opposed to the term 'person with a disability', arguing that language has an important role to play in determining one's place within society. However, whereas 'person with a disability' places personhood in initial position, 'disabled person' places disability in initial position. The central issue is, however, not the positioning of these two descriptors, but the very fact that one of them (disabled/ disability) is inherently negative (dis). One possible approach to resolving this dilemma is the approach that

has been taken by deaf people who, instead of accepting negative labels, have insisted on being treated as a group of people with a distinct cultural identity, one that has its own language(es), its own beliefs and its own values. In this way, they refuse to accept the imposition of what Charlton (2000, p. 25) sees as a negative sense of identity:

The modern world is composed of thousands of cultures, each with its own ways of thinking about other people, nature, family and community, social phenomena, and so on. Culture is sustained through customs, rituals, mythology, signs and symbols, and institutions such as religion and the mass media. Each of these informs the beliefs and attitudes that contribute to disability oppression. These attitudes are almost universally pejorative. They hold that people with disabilities are pitiful and that disability itself is abnormal. This is one of the social norms used to separate people with disabilities through classification systems that encompass education, housing, transportation, health care and family life.

### **Limitations of the social model of disability**

In 2001, the New Zealand Disability Strategy (NZDS) was created and the social model began to be incorporated into disability policy and disability service provision. There are, however, two critical issues that need to be addressed. First, does the acceptance of a social model have any real positive impact on people's lives? Does the social model accommodate cultural difference and diversity? The answer to the first of these questions must be a cautious affirmative. Although a number of practices in New Zealand continue, notwithstanding official endorsement of a social model, to be based on the medicalisation of disability, there have been changes, most notably in the area of community-based care. A social model can have a positive impact on people's lives to the extent that it shifts the onus of responsibility for providing access to society itself. The danger is, however, that society will itself be conceived of in uni-dimensional terms. Since societies are made up of people, and since people who identify with different community groups do not necessarily have the same values, it is important that any social model should aim to provide access not just to some nebulous concept of society at large, but to all of those social groupings that play a role in conferring a sense of identity on an individual. It is also important that the negative concept of *disability* should be replaced by a positive concept of equal access for all, whatever their differing abilities are. Thus, in the words of Swain et al. (1993, p. 86):

The experience of physical impairment is similarly constructed, as indeed is its incidence, which varies across societies and also within societies according to class, race, gender, occupation and geographical location. An individual's experience of a particular impairment must be placed within its social context. For instance, the actual course of a condition such as multiple sclerosis will be influenced by socio-economic factors, and the experience of associated impairments for example loss of mobility or sight, will depend on factors such as an individual's economic resources and available services, all of which interact with other social constructs (class, race and gender in particular).

I believe that the social model of disability should be replaced by a communities-based model of equal access for people of differing abilities. This would involve

taking account of people's differences, including those differences that relate to ethnic and cultural affiliation. My aim in the next section is to examine three Māori models of health and wellbeing to determine whether they have anything to offer in relation to the development of the type of model I propose here.

### **Exploring three Māori models of health and wellbeing: *Te Whare Tapa Whā*, *Te Wheke* and *Ngā Pou Mana***

#### ***Te Whare Tapa Whā***

*Te Whare Tapa Whā*, a model of health and wellbeing designed by Professor Mason Durie, is the most commonly cited in Māori health and development policies. This model was presented by Durie (1994, p. 70) at a health hui in Palmerston North in 1982 where he compared its four key dimensions, the dimensions that give it strength, solidity and symmetry and that ensure a balance of individual and community, to the four walls of a *whare* (house). The four dimensions are:

- *taha wairua* (the spiritual dimension),
- *taha hinengaro* (thoughts and feelings),
- *taha tinana* (the physical dimension); and
- *taha whānau* (family).

*Te taha wairua* is generally seen by Māori as being critical to good health. *Wairua* provides the spiritual link, through *whānau* and the environment, to health and wellbeing. A lack of spiritual awareness is held to leave the body and mind open to illness. Without *wairua*, a person cannot be whole. *Wairua* is a fundamental aspect of identity. It is not necessarily linked in any way to formal religious observance. In providing a link to *whānau*, *tīpuna* and the environment, *wairua* provides an understanding of the link between past, present and future, a link to others and to tribal lands and to that which is important for one's identity and sense of wellbeing (Durie, 1994, p. 70).

*Te taha hinengaro* focuses on the mind, encompassing expression and thought. Since thought and expression arise not only out of experience, but also out of response to experience, they will be in harmony to the extent that the mind is in tune with experience. Illness, disability and disease can, therefore, arise out of a lack of harmony in the environment or a lack of harmony between the environment and response to the environment. When the environment is sick, the body is therefore at risk.

*Te Taha tinana* (the physical dimension - bodily health) is something that is central to non-Maori models of health and wellbeing. There is, however, an important difference. For Māori, the concepts of *tapu* and *noa* are fundamental. Some body parts such as, in particular, the head are *tapu* (sacred); others *noa* (non-sacred). This raises issues associated with, for example, the type of treatment that is available in head injury units. Everyday functions such as eating, drinking, sleeping and defecating must be in tune with the environment, and rituals accompanying these functions provide an important reminder of the need to maintain this harmony in order to achieve, and maintain, wellbeing (Durie, 1994, p. 72). Feeding and washing require different spaces because of the different nature of the objects used. Thus, for example, towels used for washing the body are washed separately from towels which

are used for washing or drying dishes. Food can remove *tapu* and induce *noa* especially when it is associated with the *tinana* (body). This is important in that the body is *tapu* (the head being the most *tapu* aspect to the body). Placing food above the head breaks the *tapu* of the head over which it is placed. Placing a bedpan on a table beside food induces *noa*. There are, therefore, issues for Māori in relation to hospitalisation and institutional care, including the type of care that is provided in rehabilitation centres.

The fourth dimension is *te taha whānau* (family/ extended family). This is a very significant dimension for Māori and one that involves identity and sense of purpose. For Māori, inter-dependence is more important than independence, and community service is more significant than occupational status. Thus “personal identity derives as much if not more from family characteristics than from an occupation or place of residence” (Durie, 1994, p. 73). Māori are therefore particularly affected by a paradox that lies at the core of Western approaches to disability care, one that emphasises the value of independence at the same time as directing funding largely to institutions rather than *whānau*, thus ensuring that many disabled people have no option but to become dependent upon institutional care, something that can pose a threat not only to ongoing *whānau* connection, but also to the possibility of making a contribution to the community and, in this way, establishing a sense of purpose. Cut off from *whānau* and community, Māori can rapidly lose that sense of identity and purpose that are fundamental to wellbeing. For those who manage to avoid institutional care, or for whom no institutional care is available, inter-dependence is generally not an option. Instead, they are generally encouraged towards a type of ‘independence’ that frequently involves isolation and exclusion.

#### ***Te Wheke***

Another Māori model, one that relates primarily to wellbeing within an educational context, but one that can be extended to include health, is *Te Wheke* (the octopus). This model, discussed by Rose Pere (1985) at the Hui Whakaoranga in 1984, looks at Māori wellbeing largely from a *whānau* perspective. The body and head of the octopus symbolise the family unit; each of the eight tentacles symbolises a dimension of life; the connectedness of head, body and tentacles is fundamental to wellbeing, the eyes representing the *waiora* or wellbeing of the person as a whole. The eight dimensions symbolised by the eight tentacles are: *Wairuatanga*; *Tinana*; *Hinengaro*; *Whanaungatanga*; *Mana Atua ake*; *Mauri*; *Whatumanawa*; and *Hā a koro mā a kuia mā*.

*Wairuatanga* refers to spirituality. Pere describes *wairua* as involving both feelings and responses, feelings and responses that relate to forces that are beyond the physical realm. Maintaining good health involves sustaining and nourishing one’s spiritual dimension (Pere, 1985, pp. 7 – 8)

*Tinana* is the physical dimension. Taking care of the body is an important aspect of the maintenance of good health. Thus, in the words of Love (2004, p. 61), *tinana* is a dimension with many different aspects:

Aspects of this dimension include adequate nutrition, shelter, clothing, exercise, experience of physical contact, pleasure and pain. Māori society provides a number of avenues for physical expression of the spiritual,

emotional and cognitive aspects of people with situations. Haka and waiata provide for the physical expression of a range of emotions, thoughts and desires. Karanga and Whaikorero provide for the physical and verbal expression of wairua, acknowledgement of whakapapa connections, the pain of losses, and the kaupapa that brings people together. In performing karanga and whaikorero, men and women are physically connected to, and stand between papatuanuku and Ranginui. They stand on the earth that their ancestors stood on, breathe the air and view the skies their ancestors knew. Alternatively inside a whareniui, people are surrounded by physical representations of the ancestors and the history of the home people. The spirit of those who have gone on may be felt and acknowledged within the ancestral house. The house itself is often the embodiment of a tupuna, so people are symbolically contained within the body of the ancestor.

If disabled people are disconnected from *whānau*, they are also disconnected from those communal activities and locations that allow for physical expression of the spiritual.

*Hinengaro* is the emotions and feelings. As such, it is directly associated with the mind. In discussing Pere's reference to *hinengaro*, Love (2004, p. 67) makes reference to its literal meaning:

The literal meaning of *hinengaro* is the hidden lady or female element. The term is commonly understood as referring to the mind, intuition and source of thoughts, perceptions and some emotions. Pere (1988, 1991) associates this dimension with cognitive activities, higher level emotion and intuition.

Just as the female element is described as 'hidden', so feelings and emotions may be 'hidden'. If they are revealed at all, it may be that they are revealed indirectly, through stories and symbols. Western models of disability have a tendency to focus on physical realities rather than on mental representations of these realities. Where mental representations *are* investigated, there is a tendency to seek direct disclosure. For Māori, this can create particular difficulties since direct disclosure of feelings and emotions can be inconsistent with the hidden nature of *hinengaro*.

*Whanaungatanga* relates to *whānau* and involves that sense of obligation and reciprocity that arise out of connectedness. Pere (1985, p.12) discusses *whanaungatanga* in the following way:

[*Whanaungatanga*] is based on ancestral, historical, traditional and spiritual ties. It forms that strong bond that influences the way one lives and reacts to his/her kinship group, Māori people generally. It is the area where one's aroha (the concept of giving, caring, sharing) is tested to the fullest extent. It is an area that poses many challenges for an individual who has to live in and out of two worlds – one that is basically Polynesian and one that is basically Western. Whatever affects the kinship group, whether it be positive or negative, affects the individual, there are certain inbuilt obligations that the individual feels towards the group.

*Mana Atua ake* (commonly referred to simply as ‘mana’) involves a combination of respect and authority. It is something that is not accorded by virtue of ancestry alone. Nor is it something that is associated directly with any particular qualifications or occupation. It must be earned through service. Since *mana* is associated with *atua* (higher being), it necessarily has a spiritual dimension. Thus, service and spirituality are linked, and both are linked to wellbeing. Depriving someone of any opportunity to serve is also to deprive them of an important aspect of wellbeing.

*Mauri*, the life force inherent in all things, is fundamental to wellbeing. Pollution of the environment is therefore an attack on wellbeing, as is any attempt to undermine the link between self, others and the environment.

*Whatumanawa* is similar to *hinengaro* in that it is an expression of emotion. The difference between the two is that *whatumanawa* involves not only feelings, but their symbolic expression through community art forms such as *haka* and *waiata*. To be deprived of community is to be deprived of access to the communal expression of emotion and, hence, to be deprived of an important aspect of wellbeing.

*Hā a koro mā a kuia mā* is literally translated as ‘the breath of life from forebears’. Central to this is the concept of continuity, one that is expressed in many different ways, in, for example, weaving, in carving, in song, and in oratory. To be separated from *whānau* is to be denied access not only to our immediate links with community, but also to be denied access to communal ways of celebrating the continuity and connectedness of life.

#### ***Ngā Pou Mana***

In 1988, the Royal Commission on Social Policy, in *Ngā Pou Mana*, presented a model in which the foundations of social policy and social wellbeing were presented as four pillars or supports, four inter-related pre-requisites: *mana*, cultural integrity, a sound economic base, and a sense of confidence and continuity. In outlining four things considered to be fundamental to social wellbeing, it provides what could also be seen as a model of a health and wellbeing. These four things are:

- family (*whanaungatanga*);
- cultural heritage (*taonga tuku iho*);
- the physical presence (*te ao turoa*); and
- an indisputable land base (*tūrangawaewae*)

One of the things that might seem, initially at least, to make this model different from the two discussed earlier is the emphasis on the environment signalled in the inclusion of cultural heritage (*taonga tuku iho*). Its inclusion may have been influenced by Waitangi tribunal decisions relating to the claims associated with the pollution of tribal waterways, decisions which acknowledged the fact that a clean environment is important for wellbeing (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, Vol. 1). In fact, however, the inclusion of *taonga tuku iho* does not make this policy inconsistent with the other two. The first - *Te Whare Tapa Whā* – includes *taha whānau*; the second – *Te Wheke* - includes *whanaungatanga*. Any inclusion of reference to *whānau* presupposes the inclusion of *whakapapa*, and *whakapapa* includes the environment.

### **Comparing the three models**

Durie (1994, p. 77) provides a table in which the three Māori models that have been introduced are compared. A critical issue is whether these models are consistent with frameworks that have been proposed in other contexts, frameworks that relate specifically to disability such as, for example, the psycho-social, trans-cultural ethnic validity framework first proposed by Tyler (2001).

### **Looking at *Te Whare Tapa Whā*, *Te Wheke* and *Ngā Pou Mana* in the context of a psycho-social transcultural ethnic validity framework**

In introducing what he refers to as a psycho-social trans-cultural ethnic validity framework, Tyler (2001, p. 26) argues as follows:

Using scientifically based models and methods is a powerful way of figuring out the generality of psychological laws and of individual and cultural beliefs, and the significance of historical events. It can also identify the value bases and empirical strengths and limitations of alternative approaches to human endeavours. . . . In basic areas, phenomena have been studied apart from their history or context, or both, in controlled laboratory settings. This approach has been considered to provide unbiased value free, and therefore more legitimate, truths. In contrast, psychologists in applied areas have explicitly and directly been concerned with the value (however measured) of specific effects and, even more directly, with accepting responsibility for producing those effects. Until recently, both frameworks assumed that people's lives developed within a universal, homogenous context and an evolutionary perspective with regard to sociocultural and individual differences.

The psycho-social trans-cultural ethnic validity framework (often referred to simply as the 'ethnic validity framework') provides a way of taking account of ethnic identity in disability models. As Durie (1995, p. 1) notes, there are some common factors, such as socio-economic status and urbanisation, that have had a direct impact on Māori wellbeing. Nevertheless, Māori identity and Māori lifestyles are diverse (p. 15):

Far from being homogenous Māori individuals have a variety of cultural characteristics and live in a number of cultural and socio-economic realities. The relevance of so-called traditional values is not the same for all Māori, nor can it be assumed that all Māori will wish to define their ethnic identity according to classical constructs. They may or may not enjoy active links with hapū or iwi, or other Māori institutions yet they will describe themselves as Māori and will reject any notion they are 'less Māori' than their peers.

This raises an important issue so far as models for health and wellbeing or disability are concerned. Clearly, such models need to be conceptualised and expressed in ways that accommodate difference and diversity, ways that involve the creation of more, rather than fewer, options. Otherwise, there is a danger that those who are intended to benefit from them will, instead, be trapped within them. From this perspective, the inclusion of reference to, for example, *wairua* (included in both *Te Whare Tapa Whā* and *Te Wheke*) seems wholly appropriate since, although it is imbued with particular

significance for Māori, it does not specify a particular set of beliefs. The same could be said for *tinana*, *hinengaro* and *whānau* (also included in both *Te Whare Tapa Whā* and *Te Wheke*). However, it could be argued that *mana Atua ake*, *mauri* and *whatumanawa* (included in *Te Wheke*) are much more specific in terms of beliefs and that *ha a koro ma a kuia ma* (also included in *Te Wheke*) is, in fact, necessarily included in the concept of *whānau*. So far as *Ngā Pou Mana* is concerned, there are three components in addition to *whānau* (*whanaungatanga*). These are *taonga tuku iho*, *te ao turoa*, and *tūrangawaewae*. So far as allowing for difference and diversity is concerned, *hinengaro* would appear to be preferable to the more specific *te ao turoa*. Furthermore, it could be argued that although *taonga tuku iho* and *tūrangawaewae* are fundamental to the health and wellbeing of Māori in a general sense, they are not directly relevant to policy issues relating to disability: it would be difficult to determine what the implications of including them would be in relation to the establishment and implementation of a differing ability policy. This leaves us with the question of whether reference to the four remaining dimensions - *wairua*, *hinengaro*, *tinana* and *whānau* - is adequate to provide a framework or model for disability policy and disability policy implementation that can genuinely accommodate the needs and preferences of Māori. If a model or framework that is intended to guide policy-making and policy implementation is to be of any real value, it must include specific indicators in terms of which successful application can be judged. These effectiveness criteria should take personal preference into account. It is not my intention here to outline precisely what these effectiveness criteria should be. However, I provide below one example of a possible general effectiveness criterion (relating to all four strands of the model) and two examples of possible effectiveness criteria that could be associated with each of the four strands of the model.

**Possible general effectiveness criterion: *Taha Whānau, Taha Wairua, Taha Hinengaro***

- government grants should be available to all *whānau*-centred locations, such as marae, so that equal access is assured for people of differing abilities.

**Possible indicators: *Taha Whānau***

Where the person involved prefers to be located with *whānau*:

- the same level of funding as would be available in the case of institutional care is available to *whānau*;
- alterations to the home of any *whānau* member with whom the affected person chooses to reside should be such as to produce at least the same level of facilities as would be available in the case of institutional care.

**Possible indicators: *Taha Wairua***

- staff members of all care facilities should be trained to understand and respect practices that relate to spirituality;
- care facilities should provide ready access to places of religious observance and/or ensure that appropriate spaces are provided within the care facility for religious observance;

***Possible indicators: Taha Hinengaro***

- affected persons should be given as much information as possible about the choices available to them and should be given the time and advice necessary for them to make appropriate decisions about their own lives;
- those in institutional care should, wherever possible, have the right to make decisions about their environment and to contribute to the care and maintenance of that environment by, for example, contributing to the choice of plants, decorations and furniture.

***Possible indicators: Taha Tinana***

- staff members in care facilities should be trained to understand and respect cultural practices in relation to, for example, washing, eating and expelling waste;
- the preferences of affected persons in relation to personal dignity and personal privacy should be respected.

**Towards a communities-based model of equal access for people of differing abilities**

The Maori value system has the flexibility to accommodate variation . . . if we know the principle, we can make adjustments.

(Epu Huritai as cited in Metge, 1995)

The concepts of *wairua*, *hinengaro*, *taha tinana* and *whānau* could underpin the development of a New Zealand-centred communities-based model of equal access for people with differing abilities. They would be directly relevant to such a model precisely because they support the view that the individual with an impairment is a person first, their impairment being a secondary consideration in relation to their identity. By removing the deficit language and embracing the term ‘differing abilities’, we can also ensure that this model can be applied in a variety of different contexts.

Ensuring the well-being of people through attention to *wairua*, *hinengaro*, *taha tinana* and *whānau* involves respecting them as people and treating them as part of their community. It removes the emphasis on ‘impairment’, ‘illness’, and ‘disability’ that continue to imbue the medical model and that also continue to haunt the social model.

Although the social model shifts responsibility for ensuring that individuals of differing ability are provided with adequate and appropriate access to all aspects of society from the individual to society itself, it remains the case that people of differing abilities continue to be required to identify with some medically diagnosed condition and are seen as being provided with special ‘services’ or ‘support’ rather than, as is the case for all other individuals, having an expectation of being provided, by right, with whatever is necessary in order to live full and productive lives.

A New Zealand-centred communities-based model would be focused on the unique framework that exists within New Zealand. It would involve an holistic approach to the provision of culturally appropriate services for all New Zealanders and New

Zealand residents and would, necessarily, be adaptable to different social and cultural contexts, taking into account the needs not only of Māori, but also of people of other ethnicities and cultural affiliations, of the needs of women, men, children and rural-dwellers as well as urban-dwellers.

In summary, I believe the concepts of *wairua*, *hinengaro*, *taha tinana* and *whanau*, supplemented by effectiveness indicators, can provide the underlying concepts for the development of a New Zealand-based communities-centred model, a model that is capable of providing equitable (possibly even equal) access for people of differing abilities. Adopting such a model would be unlikely to change attitudes in the short term. Nevertheless, it has the potential to challenge existing myths about impairment and to remove at least some of the barriers that currently prevent people of differing abilities from participating fully in our communities.

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**The teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* in a higher education context:  
Intensive fast track immersion versus gradual progressive language exposure  
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**Abstract**

I report here on a comparison of the course grades of Bachelors degree students who are following two different pathways towards a major in *te reo Māori* – a traditional pathway in which language courses at different levels are spread over three or four years, and an intensive, fast-track, language immersion pathway in which courses in *te reo Māori* are concentrated into the first year of the degree programme. My findings are that, overall, in terms of course grades at level three, students following the intensive, fast-track, language-immersion pathway out-perform other students in *te reo Māori* course assessments. Thus, so far as course grades are concerned, many students appear to benefit from the fast track pathway. Whether course grades can be related to proficiency achievements and whether immediate gains are reflected in long-term gains is something that remains to be investigated.

**Te reo Māori in the New Zealand education system: General background**

*Te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* have been under constant attack since the beginning of European colonisation of New Zealand. In 1844, state involvement in the schooling of Māori began and, with it, the unashamed colonial policy of assimilation. Three years later, under the Education Ordinance Act initiated by Sir George Grey, Māori were obliged, in order to receive educational subsidies, to comply with certain conditions, including the condition that education should be conducted through the medium of English. Many Māori children had to leave their home villages in order to attend missionary boarding schools. Through the Native Schools Acts of 1858 and 1867, a monocultural system of education was enshrined in statute. From that point on, the New Zealand education system became proudly monolingual as well as monocultural. As McNaughton, Ka'ai, Chunn and Taogaga (1990, p. 67) observe, *te reo Māori* was relegated to the status of a rural folk language – one that was not welcome across the school threshold. In response, many Māori parents, in an attempt to help their children to cope, began to use English at home. Inter-generational transmission of the language was at risk. The disastrous effects of all of this are evident in a whole range of areas, the most significant of which was the near loss of *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* in the middle decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Alarmed at the prospect of losing their language, Māori leaders began, in the 1960s, to alert the people to the implications of the loss of their language. Their efforts bore little fruit. By the mid 1970s, *te reo Māori* was no longer used naturally as the everyday medium of communication in Māori communities, these communities themselves having been seriously undermined by an increasing trend for rural-dwelling Māori to move to the cities in search of employment. As Benton's sociolinguistic survey of Māori households confirmed, by the 1970s, the vast majority

of young Māori were growing up with little or no knowledge of *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* (Benton, 1997). Although *te reo Māori* continued to be an important indicator of Māoritanga, its continuing viability as a language of daily discourse was no longer assured (p. 12). Indeed, according to fluent speakers of *te reo Māori*, only two language domains remained relatively secure: the domain of the marae<sup>1</sup> and that of certain religious observances (p. 9). In many other areas, including that of the school curriculum, *te reo Māori* had no place or, at best, an insignificant place (p. 12). Not only was English the language of radio, television, newspapers, magazines, and the movies, it was also the language of schooling and, for the majority of Māori children, the language of their neighbourhood. As Benton (1997, p. 12) observed:

It was clear that Māori was, by the 1970s, playing only a very marginal role in the upbringing of Māori children, and that, if nature were left to take its course, Māori would be a language without native speakers with the passing of the present generation of Māori speaking parents.

Languages do not flourish in a social vacuum and must be used in a variety of social contexts. It became evident to Māori that something drastic had to be done. Māori initiatives to revitalise the language began in earnest and in the late seventies when Katarina Mataira and Ngoi Pēwhairangi introduced the ‘Te Ataarangi method,’ an adaptation of Caleb Gattegno’s ‘silent method’, which he describes as offering “a way in which everything and everyone serves one aim; to make everyone into the competent learner” (Gattegno, 1978, p. 89). As Mataira (1980, p. 15) asserts in her Masters thesis:

[The] primary tenet of the ‘Silent Way’ . . . is the subordination of teaching to learning. As a way through which the foreign language might be learned, the native tongue is suppressed and the target language used as the medium of instruction. Cuisenaire rods are used to illustrate meaning, and together with a series of wall charts are used to trigger utterances.

Classes were set up, often in polytechnics initially, and many Māori had their first opportunity to learn their language.

In 1985, the highly respected Taranaki elder, Huirangi Waikerepuru, in collaboration with *Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo (Inc)*, lodged a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal for official recognition of *te reo Māori* on the grounds that Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees protection of te reo Māori by the Crown.<sup>2</sup> It was argued that government had a duty, through affirmative action, to support and protect te reo Māori. As a direct result of this claim, *te reo Māori* was recognised in the Māori Language Act 1987 as an official language of New Zealand and *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo* (The Māori Language Commission) was established. For all its shortcomings, the Māori Language Act 1987 represented the beginning of official recognition and endorsement of the efforts Māori were making to revitalise their language. Attitudes have gradually shifted, interest in learning *te reo Māori* has grown, and the number of areas in which speakers of the language have a competitive advantage in relation to employment prospects has increased. Community-based efforts have led to the establishment of the *Kōhanga Reo* movement,<sup>3</sup> *Kura Kaupapa Māori*,<sup>4</sup> *Te Whare Kura*<sup>5</sup> and *Te Whare Wānanga*.<sup>6</sup> In addition, some mainstream schools have introduced bilingual units and many mainstream educational institutions – schools,

polytechnics and universities – now offer *te reo Māori* as a subject. *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* (The University of Waikato) was the first mainstream tertiary institution to establish an intensive, fast track, immersion route to majoring in *te reo Māori* in Bachelors degree programmes. It remains the only university to do so, although some other tertiary institutions, such as polytechnics, now offer this type of programme.

**Majoring in *te reo Māori*: *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* and the intensive, fast track, immersion route**

*Te Tohu Paetahi*<sup>7</sup> is a programme offered by the University of Waikato in which first year students majoring in *te reo Māori* (within the context of a Bachelor of Arts or a Bachelor of Māori and Pacific Development) are taught in a Māori-immersion context. Students in their first year of study take *te reo Māori* courses at level 1 and above and also, in the first few years of the operation of the programme, were required to take a *tikanga* course in their first year of study. In their second and third years, they take a range of other courses, the aim being that the majority of these courses should be taught through the medium of *te reo Māori*.<sup>8</sup>

*Te Tohu Paetahi*, introduced in 1991, was the brainchild of a group of academics at *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*.<sup>9</sup> Applicants for the programme are subjected to a rigorous interview process which focuses on their level of commitment and their capacity to cope with the demands of the programme. Since the establishment of a supportive *whānau*-based learning environment is an important aspect of the programme, the students in each group are mixed in terms of sex, age, background and skills. When tutors are added to the mix, each group is made up of people of varying ages with a range of skills and abilities and a range of existing levels of competence in *te reo Māori*.<sup>10</sup> In their first year, *Te Tohu Paetahi* students take six language courses and attend classes (which are taught through the medium of *te reo Māori*) from 9 – 3 (with breaks for morning tea and lunch) on Monday through Friday. They do this for six blocks of four weeks each, each block being associated with one of the six *te reo Māori* courses they are required to complete in their first year of study. Students are also involved in a range of evening and week-end group activities, including marae visits. A typical morning begins with a *karakia*<sup>11</sup> (to clear the pathway for successful learning) and a *kapa haka*<sup>12</sup> session (to awaken the spirit.)

**Establishing the research question**

It is widely believed that language immersion programmes are effective. One of the reasons often given for this belief is that they replicate, to some extent at least, the conditions under which very young children acquire language. It cannot simply be assumed, however, that language immersion contexts are necessarily more effective in producing highly proficient users of a language in the case of older children and adults, particularly if learners are aiming not only to achieve proficiency in using the language in everyday conversational contexts, but also in academic contexts, not only in listening and speaking, but also in reading and writing. After all, there are some fundamental differences between very young children and older children and adults in terms of cognitive development, approaches to interaction and existing linguistic competencies. There are also some fundamental differences between the development of listening and speaking skills and the development of reading and writing skills, and between everyday conversational language and academic language. *Te Tohu Paetahi* students are required, particularly in their second and third years, to take a range of

academic papers through the medium of *te reo Māori*. The skills required for this will include, but will not be restricted to, those required for everyday conversational interaction.

There are different ways in which the effectiveness of immersion programmes may be assessed. For example, a language immersion programme may be considered effective to the extent that it provides a safe and supportive learning environment, or to the extent that it operates in a culturally rich context, or because it is regarded by the target language community as being consistent with their beliefs about learning generally. For these reasons, it is important to specify clearly a set of effectiveness criteria for *Te Tohu Paetahi* and to develop effectiveness measures in relation to these criteria.

Immersion programmes aim to “provide the quantity and quality of involvement in the use of the target language that ensure the development of a high level of proficiency” (Johnson & Swain, 1997, p. xiii). This is one of the aims of *Te Tohu Paetahi*. It would therefore be interesting to know whether there is any significant difference, in terms of proficiency gains, between *Te Tohu Paetahi* students and those following the more traditional route, and, in addition, whether early proficiency gains are sustained. However, because students following these routes in the past have not been required to sit entry and exit proficiency tests, this is something that must remain for the future. In the mean time, there is one effectiveness criterion that can be investigated, that is, whether *Te Tohu Paetahi* students perform better than mainstream students in *te reo Māori* course assessments. The research question here is, therefore: *Do Te Tohu Paetahi intensive, fast track, immersion students perform better overall in terms of te reo Māori level 3 course grades than students following the more traditional route which provides for exposure to the language for fewer hours but over a longer time span?*

### **Critical review of some relevant research literature**

Writing in the early 1990s, Genesee (1994, p. 1) describes second language immersion programmes as being “[among] the most interesting innovations in second language education during the last two decades”. Many different communities have established immersion contexts for the teaching and learning of indigenous languages. One example is that of the establishment in New Zealand of *Kōhanga Reo* (language nests) in which preschool children are immersed in *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*. The *Kōhanga Reo* movement is based on an holistic philosophy, “[the] basic concept . . . [being] to put pre-school children in a room with a nana who would look after them and care for them using the Māori language and customs” (Sharples, 1994, p. 14). The *Kōhanga Reo* movement is, however, more than an educational programme, “[it] is a political movement for the educational emancipation of Māori from Pākehā control” (Walker, 1991, p.9). The same can be said of the establishment of *Kura Kaupapa Māori*, schools in which immersion in *te reo Māori* is only one aspect of an holistic, Māori-centred environment in which there is “commitment to *Te Aho Matua* (Māori principles for life) as a working philosophy for all aspects of school life” (Education Review Office, 1995, p. 3).

Just as Māori have come to the conclusion that language immersion has an important role to play in the revival of their language, so have other groups who have been involved in the struggle to save indigenous or heritage languages, such as the Hawaiian language. Slaughter (1997, p. 124) observes in her case study of *Kula*

*Kaiapuni Hawai'i*<sup>12</sup> that “[t]he story of Hawaiian Language Immersion shows that an ethnolinguistic minority group can reclaim its language and culture, at least partially, through the development of an immersion program”. The Catalan and Basque languages in Spain have suffered in the same way as have the Māori and Hawaiian languages and the people have made similar efforts to revive them. Artigal (1997, p. 131) argues that the Catalan immersion program “is not simply an opportunity for individuals to learn two languages [but] . . . part of the project of reinstating Catalonia’s heritage language as a language of normal use in its territory”. As Arzamendi and Genesee (1997, p. 151) observe, “[immersion] in the at-risk language is . . . often part of a more extensive plan for language revitalization”.

It has been claimed that immersion programmes are highly motivating for participants. Thus, for example, Jones (1991) notes that the most significant factor in participants’ choice of one of the Ulpan<sup>13</sup> intensive Welsh language courses in Lampeter is the fact that it involves language immersion. She also claims “frequent concise contact with the language over a short period, rather than weak contact with language over a long period is the best way for learners to master this new medium” (p. 184). This claim is based on the views of participants who felt that “[intensive] instruction in an immersion setting . . . [resulted] in superior language proficiency’ and [eased] integration into the Welsh community” (p. 183). Indeed, one participant noted that “[there] is no opportunity to lose interest when you are learning quickly”, adding: “I want to learn quickly because I wish to use the language and it would take me years to learn the language in a conventional night class” (p. 187).

Much of the research on language learning in general, and immersion language programmes in particular, relates to relatively young learners in the context of schooling. As such, it is not necessarily of direct relevance here. It is useful to note, however, that the widely held belief that young learners are necessarily better equipped to learn languages than adolescent or adult learners (see, for example, Krashen, Long, & Scarcella, 1979) does not have widespread support in the research literature.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, a number of studies have indicated that older children are more effective language learners than younger ones (see, for example, Genesee, 1981 & 1987; Stern, Burstall, & Harley, 1975). As McLaughlin (1992, p. 2) observes, second language learning research “has consistently demonstrated that adolescents and adults perform better than young children under controlled conditions”. Furthermore, although some researchers have concluded that bilingualism has associated cognitive, cultural and psychological advantages, Johnson and Swain (1997) note that “[under] less favourable conditions, doubts have arisen concerning the potential of immersion programs to achieve a full additive bilingualism” (p. 15). This would appear to be supported by Houia’s (2002) research on the types of error found in the writing of Year 5 students studying in Māori-immersion settings.

It is important when reviewing what has been written about the teaching and learning of languages in immersion settings to separate belief and assertion from evidence. Thus, with reference to children learning the Arapaho language,<sup>15</sup> Greymorning (1997, p. 25) asserts that they needed to be placed “in a setting that paralleled the way fluent speakers acquired Arapaho” in order to “accomplish the long range goal of producing children who can fluently speak Arapaho”. However, he also counters the commonly held belief that immersion is sufficient in and of itself, noting that the progress of some students was less than desirable until “it became clear that what was missing was an understanding, implementation, and effective use of methodology”.

Indeed, it could be argued that whereas some aspects of the environment in which very young children naturally acquire language can be replicated in language immersion educational contexts, many cannot, perhaps even, in the case of older children and adults, *should* not, given the fundamental differences in existing cognitive and linguistic development.

Greymorning (1997, p. 25), following observations he made during a language conference in 1993 that showcased the immersion efforts of the Hawaiians, estimated that for students to become fluent in a language they generally require a minimum of between 600 and 700 contact hours. Whatever is meant in this context by ‘fluency’, this estimate seems to be extremely low. Thus, for example, Brown (1998) has argued that for second language learners of English to move a half band on the IELTS proficiency test involves, on average, 10 weeks of face-to-face tuition at 20 hours per week, that is, 200 hours. This means that in order to move from band 2 (post-beginner) to band 6 (intermediate level), a student would, on average, require 1,000 hours of face-to-face tuition. Students achieving band 6 would still have a long way to go to achieve an advanced level of proficiency. Quite apart from considerations such as this, intensive fast track programmes are not necessarily equally appropriate for all students. Although there is a great deal of research on second language learning at the primary and secondary school level in general, there is very little on second language learning in university contexts, particularly as it relates to proficiency achievements. Notable exceptions to this are the C-test-based research of Coleman (1994; 1996) and Coleman et al. (1994) in Europe and that of Johnson (2000, pp. 477 - 517) in New Zealand.

The European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001), and, in particular, the establishment of Common Reference Levels, is beginning to have an effect. Interest in establishing proficiency benchmarks for language learning in school, college and university contexts is growing. Thus, for example, recent New Zealand Ministry of Education languages curricula include proficiency targets (Crombie, 2006) and there is a growing amount of research on the language proficiency achievements of students in Asian colleges and universities (see, for example, Chen & Johnson (2004) and Her (2006)). So far as *te reo Māori* is concerned, however, the development of proficiency test instruments is in its infancy and it is likely to be some time before there are tests whose validity and reliability can be assured.

### **Methodology and results**

I began by comparing the total number of class contact hours of first year *Te Tohu Paetahi* students (doing six courses in *te reo Māori*) with those involved in doing six *te reo Māori* courses in the mainstream.

*Te Tohu Paetahi* students attend classes in six four week blocks, each block being associated with one *te reo Māori* course. Each block involves attendance from 9 – 3, five days a week with generally a half hour tea break in the morning and a one hour break for lunch. Each day begins with *karakia* and *kapa haka*. Since *karakia* and *kapa haka* play a role in language acquisition, I have included them in the overall class contact hours. I have also included the morning tea break as students are expected to use this break to practice their language skills. However, although the majority of students also use the lunch break as an opportunity for language practice, tutors are not always available to monitor language use during the lunch break and so

I have not included this in the calculation of class time. So far as mainstream students are concerned, a typical *te reo Māori* course involves two ‘lecture’ sessions<sup>16</sup> of two hours each per week (over a period of 12 weeks) plus an optional weekly one hour tutorial and an optional weekly one hour language laboratory session (which may be replaced by an optional one hour additional tutorial). The vast majority of students avail themselves of the opportunity to attend tutorial and language laboratory sessions and so these are factored into the class contact hours. Taking all of these considerations into account, *Table 1* below provides an overview of the number of class contact hours involved in each *te reo Māori* course in the case of *Te Tohu Paetahi* and mainstream students.

**Table 1: Number of class contact hours involved in each *te reo Māori* course in the case of *Te Tohu Paetahi* and mainstream students**

	Class contact hours (6 courses)	Comments
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi</i>	600 hours	Each course involves 4 weeks, 5 hours per day (weekdays), including <i>karakia</i> , <i>kapa haka</i> and language practice during morning tea break
Mainstream	432 hours	Each course generally involves 12 weeks, 6 hours per week (including optional tutorial/ laboratory sessions)

For six *te reo Māori* courses, the difference in class contact hours is 168 (that is, 600 hours of class contact for *Te Tohu Paetahi* students; 432 hours for mainstream students). It should be borne in mind, however, that *Te Tohu Paetahi* students are also involved in group activities (including marae visits) on the evenings and weekends.

I began by accessing the course grades of all students doing courses in *te reo Māori* for an eight year period beginning in 1997, the year in which *Te Tohu Paetahi* began to divide students into two streams – a *Hukatai* stream for beginners and a *Rehutai* stream for more advanced learners. I then compared the final grades of mainstream and *Rehutai* stream *Te Tohu Paetahi* students on the two highest level (i.e., level 3) *te reo Māori* courses, that is *te reo Māori pre-advanced* and *te reo Māori advanced*.<sup>17, 18</sup> To facilitate the comparison, I converted course grades into percentage ranges, using the conversion scale provided by the university. In each case, I selected the mid point of the range indicated in the conversion chart. Thus, an A+ grade became 92.5%, the mid point of the A+ range (90% - 95%).<sup>19</sup> The next stage was to add together all of the final grades in each of the two courses for each of the students following each of the two routes (*Te Tohu Paetahi - Rehutai* and mainstream) in each of the eight years and then to divide by the total number of students following each route in each year to give an overall average for each of the two level 3 courses. The results are included in *Tables 2* and *3* below where the number of students in each group is indicated in brackets after the percentage figures. In *Table 4* below, the grades in the two courses are combined for each group of students. *Figures 1 – 3* below provide a representation of the comparisons in the form of graphs.

**Table 2: Comparison of the final grade averages for *te reo Maori* pre-advanced**

<i>Te Reo Māori Pre-Advanced</i>	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	60% (25) <sup>20</sup>	74% (19)	69% (12)	78% (24)	65% (14)	62% (19)	66% (25)	71% (26)
Mainstream	58% (67)	72% (49)	52% (52)	54% (78)	53% (48)	60% (74)	63% (113)	61% (126)
Variance	2%	2%	17%	24%	12%	2%	3%	10%

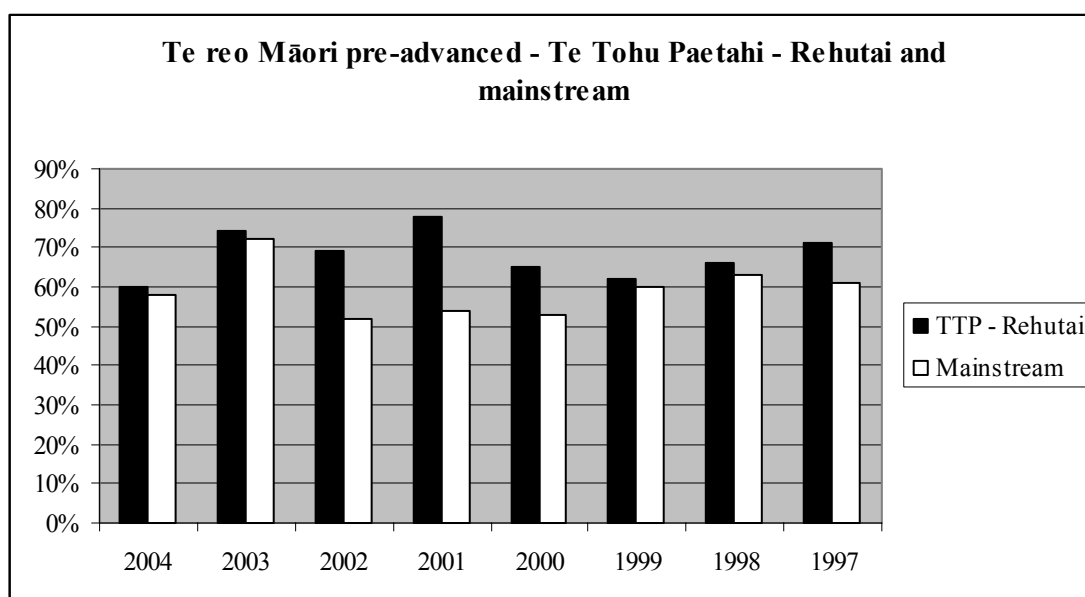
**Table 3: Comparison of the final grade averages for *te reo Māori* advanced**

<i>Te Reo Māori Advanced</i>	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	68% (25)	69% (18)	67% (10)	50% (24)	66% (14)	64% (17)	75% (25)	68% (26)
Mainstream	54% (58)	56% (54)	57% (53)	61% (69)	61% (49)	57% (67)	63% (97)	54.5% (126)
Variance	14%	13%	10%	-11%	5%	7%	12%	12.5%

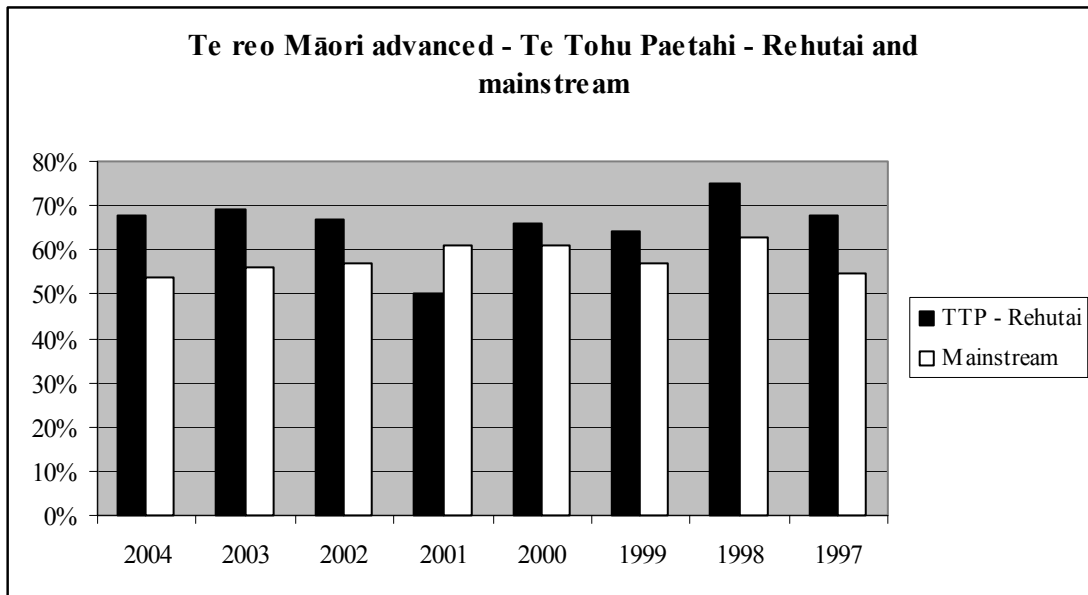
**Table 4: Comparison of the final grade averages for a combination of *te reo Māori* pre-advanced and *te reo Māori* advanced**

Combined results: <i>Te reo Māori Pre-Advanced and Te reo Māori Advanced</i>	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	64%	71.5%	68%	64%	65.5%	63%	70.5%	69.5%
Mainstream	56%	63%	54.5%	57.5%	57%	58.5%	63%	57.75%
Variance	8%	8.5%	13.5%	6.5%	8.5%	4.5%	7.5%	11.75%

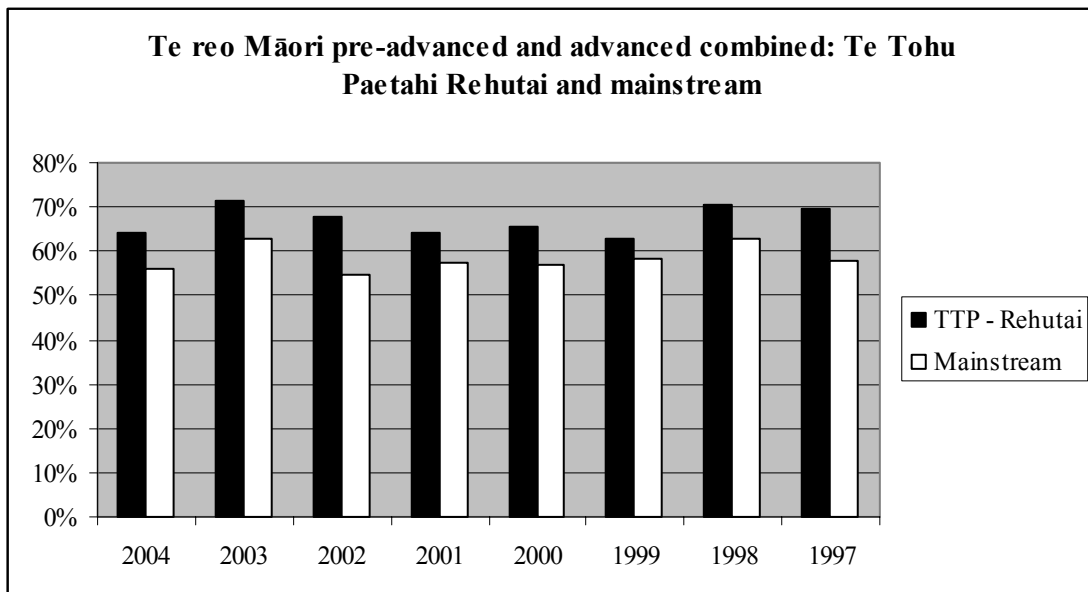
**Figure 1: *Te reo Māori* pre-advanced - *Te Tohu Paetahi - Rehutai* and mainstream**



**Figure 2: Te reo Māori advanced - Te Tohu Paetahi - Rehutai and mainstream**



**Figure 3: Te reo Māori pre-advanced and advanced combined: Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai and mainstream**



The next stage was to look at the percentage of ICs (incomplete courses), WDs (course withdrawals) and Fs (course failures). There were no course withdrawals. The figures for incomplete and failed courses are indicated in *Tables 5 – 10* below.

**Table 5: Incomplete courses - *Te reo Māori* pre-advanced**

Year	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	-	16% (3/19)	33% (4/12)	29% (7/24)	-	11% (2/19)	4% (1/25)	8% (2/26)
Mainstream	3% (2/67) <sup>21</sup>	8% (4/49)	2% (1/52)	4% (3/78)	8% (4/48)	5% (4/74)	7% (8/113)	21% (26/126)

**Table 6: Incomplete courses - *Te reo Māori* advanced**

Year	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	-	17% (3/18)	30% (3/10)	38% (9/24)	7% (1/14)	12% (2/17)	-	11.5% (3/26)
Mainstream	-	11% (5/54)	25% (13/53)	13% (9/69)	10% (5/49)	18% (12/67)	10% (10/97)	17.5% (22/126)

**Table 7: Incomplete courses - *Te reo Māori* pre advanced and *te reo Māori* advanced combined**

Year	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	-	16.5%	31.5%	33.5%	3.5%	11.5%	2%	9.75%
Mainstream	1.5%	9.5%	13.5%	8.5%	9%	11.5%	8.5%	19.25%

**Table 8: Course failures - *Te reo Māori* pre-advanced**

Year	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	16% (4/25)	5% (1/19)	-	8% (2/24)	-	5% (1/19)	4% (1/25)	-
Mainstream	24% (16/67)	2% (1/49)	27% (14/52)	22% (17/78)	19% (9/48)	14% (10/74)	9% (10/113)	9% (11/126)

**Table 9: Course failures - *Te reo Māori* advanced**

Year	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	12% (3/25)	-	10% (1/10)	13% (3/24)	7% (1/14)	-	-	-
Mainstream	31% (18/58)	20% (11/54)	9% (5/53)	10% (7/69)	10% (5/49)	16% (11/67)	5% (5/97)	15% (19/126)

**Table 10: Course Failures - *Te reo Māori* pre-advanced and *te reo Māori* advanced combined**

Year	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	14%	5%	10%	10.5%	-	5%	4%	-
Mainstream	27.5%	11%	18%	16%	12.5%	15%	7%	12%
Variance	13%	6%	8%	5.5%	12.5%	10%	3%	12%

Next, I looked at the percentage of students in each cohort who achieved in each of the following pass grade ranges: A+; A; A-; B+; B; B-; C+; C; C- (see *Table 11* below).

**Table 11: Percentage of students in each grade range: *te reo Māori* pre-advanced and *te reo Māori* advanced combined (combined averages for years 2004 - 1997)**

Grade	A+	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	IC	Fs
<i>Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai</i>	8.5%	10%	10%	10%	10.5%	11.5%	11.5%	8.5%	1.5%	13%	5%
Mainstream	3.5%	5%	5.5%	7%	11%	12%	14%	13%	1%	16%	12%
Variance	4.5%	5%	4.5%	3%	0.5	1.5%	2.5%	4.5%	0.5%	-3%	-7%

### Discussion

Comparison of the performance of the two groups (*Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* and mainstream) in two level 3 courses over an eight year period (1997 – 2004) in terms of final grades reveals that the *Te Tohu Paetahi* students out-performed the mainstream students in each of these years in one of the courses (*te reo Māori* pre-advanced). In the other course (*te reo Māori* advanced), the situation was similar except for one year (2001). Taking the two courses together, the percentage variance ranged from 2% in *te reo Māori* pre-advanced in 2003 and 2004 to 24% (in *te reo Māori* pre-advanced) in 2001. Taking the two courses together, the percentage difference overall varied from 4.5% in 1999 to 13.5% in 2002.

So far as incomplete courses, withdrawals and failures were concerned, the situation was more mixed. There were no withdrawals in either case. However, over the eight years with which this study is concerned, an average of 4.75% of *Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* stream students taking the pre-advanced course failed the course as compared with 15.75% of mainstream students. In the case of the advanced course, 5.25% of *Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* stream failed the course as compared with 14.5% of mainstream students. Overall, taking the two courses together, the percentage fail rate was 6% in the case of *Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* stream students and 14.8% in the case of mainstream students.

The figures for incomplete courses (courses in which students did not complete all of the assignments and internal tests), are also mixed. In the case of *Te Tohu Paetahi* students doing the *te reo Māori* pre-advanced course, the percentage of non-completions ranges from 0% (in 2000 and 2004) to 33% in 2002. In the case of mainstream students doing the same course, the percentage of non-completions ranges from 2% in 2002 to 21% in 1997. For the *te reo Māori* advanced course, the non-completions range, for *Te Tohu Paetahi* students, from 0% (in 1998 and 2004) to 38% in 2001; for mainstream students, the range is from 0% in 2004 to 25% in 2002. Overall, taking the two courses together, the percentage non-completion rate (for all years combined) is 13.5% for *Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* stream students and 10% for mainstream students.

Looking at grade ranges, the following picture emerges. Whereas 28.5% of *Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* stream students achieved a grade in the A range (A+, A, A-), only 14% of mainstream students did so. The percentage of students achieving in the B

range in both groups was very close (32% as compared with 30%). However, whereas 21.5% of *Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* stream students were in the C range, 28% of mainstream students were in this range.

### **Conclusion**

What these figures reveal is that, so far as the two level 3 courses examined are concerned, mainstream students were considerably more liable to course failure than were *Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* stream students (14.8% as compared to 6%). However, mainstream students had a slightly lower non-completion rate (10% as compared to 13.5%). So far as grade ranges are concerned, a similar percentage of mainstream and *Te Tohu Paetahi Rehutai* stream students achieved in the B range (30% as compared with 32%). However, mainstream students were considerably less likely to achieve in the A range (14% as compared with 28.5%) and also more likely to be placed in the C range (28% as compared with 21.5%).

At first sight, this would appear to indicate that the *Te Tohu Paetahi* programme is, in terms of student performance in course assessments, a preferable route. However, the figures presented here should be seen as indicative only. It is important to note that these figures relate to two level 3 courses only and do not include *Te Tohu Paetahi Hukatai* stream students, that is, those who are assessed as beginners when they enrol in the programme. Before any firm conclusions can be reached, it is important to examine the grades, the completion and fail rates and the withdrawals for all *te reo Māori* courses included in the programme and for all students. It would also be interesting to separate out the figures for those students who identify as Māori and those who do not. Even then, making valid comparisons will be difficult unless we have a clear indication of the existing proficiency achievements of all students at the point of entry. What is really needed is a valid and reliable proficiency test (covering reading, writing, listening and speaking) that can be administered to all students at the point of programme entry and programme exit and, wherever possible, one year and two years after they have exited the programme. We could then compare students following different routes in terms of short term and longer term proficiency gains as well as comparing them in terms of assessment and examination performance. Furthermore, we need to incorporate into the mix the fact that *Te Tohu Paetahi* students are more likely than other students to take courses in their second and third years of study that are taught through the medium of *te reo Māori*. How effective these courses are in terms of contributing to overall proficiency gains is another important question. All of these things are worthy of study and it is my intention to include all of them in future studies. For the moment, however, it is important to note that the advantages (or otherwise) of the *Te Tohu Paetahi* route cannot be assessed solely in terms of proficiency gains and course assessments. There are other factors that need to be considered such as students' perceptions of the effectiveness of the different routes in terms of, for example, growth in cultural knowledge and understanding and motivation in relation to undertaking further study. Considerations such as these will also need to be factored into any serious assessment of the comparative value of the different degree routes.

## Endnotes

1. The marae in Māori tradition is the open space in front of the ancestral meeting house. In more recent times, the word 'marae' is often used with reference to the entire meeting house complex.
2. The Waitangi Tribunal was established under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and its amendments and was set up to hear claims against the Crown by Māori and to report its findings and recommendations to the Minister of Māori Affairs.
3. These preschool 'language nests' were first established in 1982 in Wainuiomata, Wellington.
4. Māori-immersion primary schools were first established at the Hoani Waititi Marae in 1985.
5. Māori-immersion high schools were first established in 1993 at Hoani Waititi Marae.
6. This refers to the higher education sector – universities.
7. This can be translated literally as 'the first level degree'.
8. In the early years of *Te Tohu Paetahi*, students could complete their degrees by selecting from a wide range of courses (e.g., management, politics, education, computing, science, applied linguistics) taught totally or partially through the medium of *te reo Māori*. More recently, however, they have become more focused on courses offered by *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao* (School of Māori and Pacific Development) as the university has responded to increasing financial pressure by reducing the number and variety of courses offered through the medium of *te reo Māori* in order to increase its student/staff ratio.
9. They included Professor Wilf Malcom (Vice Chancellor at that time), Professor Te Wharehuia Milroy, Associate Professor Hirini Melbourne, John Moorfield and senior academic staff members of what was then the Māori department.
10. In response to increased demand, *Te Tohu Paetahi* students have been divided, since 1997, into two streams – a *Hukatai* stream for beginners and a *Rehutai* stream for the more advanced learners.
11. This form of prayer that generally takes place at the beginning of all activities.
12. This is a programme designed to assist in saving the indigenous language of Hawai'i.
13. The Ulpan method of learning, devised originally to teach Hebrew to immigrants to the State of Israel, is often referred to as the 'direct method'.
14. I am not referring here to natural language acquisition by very young children.
15. The Arapaho language is the native language of the Arapaho Indians from the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. Staff from the Arapaho Language Lodge have steadily worked to establish a new generation of Arapaho speaking children.
16. Although the university timetable records these sessions as lectures, they are considerably more interactive than this term suggests.
17. I did not include students in the *Hukatai* stream in this study as students in this stream do not take the two level 3 *te reo Māori* courses in their first year of study.
18. The two courses are recorded in the University calendar as Te Reo Māori Pre Advanced Māori Language 1 (MAOR313) and Te Reo Māori Advanced Māori Language 2 (MAOR314).
19. In regards to the years investigated, the University of Waikato recognised the grades of A++ (90%-100%) and A+ (85%-89%) from 1997 to 2000. In 2001 the A++ grade was abandoned and a new A+ (85%-100%) range was introduced. For the purpose of this study I have recorded an A+ as 92.5%, an A as 82%, an A- as 77.5%, a B+ as 72%, a B as 67.5%, a B- as 62%, a C+ as 57.5%, a C as 52%, a D as 44.5%, and an E as 19.5%.
20. The figures in brackets refer to the actual number of students involved in each case.
21. Below the percentage figures, I provide (in brackets), the actual number followed by the total number in the group

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**The *Diaolou* of Zili Village: An aspect of China's architectural heritage**

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**Abstract**

In this piece of photographic journalism, I explore an aspect of Pacific Rim architecture, that is, China's *Diaolou* – fortress-like buildings combining aspects of Chinese and Western architecture which were constructed for a combination of defense and housing on the instructions of Chinese migrants returning from overseas. These buildings provide us with important insights into the history of China and Chinese migration.

**Introduction**

Zili Village is a low-lying area in Kaiping County near the city of Jiangmen in the Guangdong Province of Southern China. To the southeast of Jiangmen is Zhuhai, a modern city in the Pearl River Delta that borders Macao. The easiest way to reach Kaiping is by fast ferry from Hong Kong or by bus from either Zhuhai or Guangzhou. Zili Village is renowned for its *diaolou*.

The *diaolou* are fortified watchtower homes that stand amongst paddy fields and lotus ponds. First built in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties (1698 – 1911), the *diaolou* reached their greatest splendor in the 1920s and 1930s as returning overseas Chinese built around 3000 of them in a combined European and Chinese architectural style that featured Greek, Roman, Gothic, Islamic, Baroque and Rococo elements as well as elements of traditional Chinese design. The *diaolou* of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were embellished with turrets, domes, loopholes, balconies, arches, balustrades, ornamental urns, and cupolas. Today, about 1800 *diaolou* remain, although most are uninhabited.

These fortified castle-like watchtowers, which stand up to nine stories high, provided defense against local bandits and protection against river flooding. The very early towers followed the brick design of Ch'ing Dynasty houses but with thicker walls, narrower doors and smaller windows. But as the 'Golden Mountain Uncles' returned from San Francisco and the Californian goldfields in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, *diaolou* were built using reinforced concrete with closing iron window covers and strong iron gates. The roofs were generally flat with ports for defense and observation. This provided the occupying families with greater protection from kidnappers and from the increasing lawlessness that accompanied the Chinese civil war. Later, it provided protection during the Japanese occupation.

Kaiping was established as a county in 1649 with the first two *diaolou*, named Fengfulou and Yinglonglou, appearing around 1650. From 1840, both Canada and the United States recruited Chinese labour for digging goldmines and building railroads. Many people from Kaiping went abroad to earn their fortune, returning to China to buy land, build a home and marry. In Kaiping, many built *diaolou*. But by the late 1930s, the escalating war with Japan meant that few overseas Chinese returned to build *diaolou*. After the establishment of the Communist Government in 1949, American Chinese, prohibited from visiting, no longer invested their savings in

China. Local people also stopped building *diaolou* as the new central government had successfully eradicated banditry. Thus, the *diaolou* fell into disrepair with many disappearing altogether.

Accompanying China's new policy in 1979 of 'Opening to the Outside World' was a greater appreciation of the historic value of *diaolou*. In 2001, they were protected by heritage regulations from Peking. Since then the *diaolou* have received recognition from the United Nations as buildings of cultural significance. Currently, *diaolou* are being restored under local government supervision as an important feature of Guangdong's heritage.

The *diaolou* of Zili Village are returning to life again. Today it is estimated that Zili Village has 63 households and 175 villagers. A further 248 former villagers live as far afield as the United States, the United Kingdom, the Philippines, Malaysia, Fiji, Hong Kong and Macao. With restoration now firmly underway, it is hoped that these unique architectural structures of Southern China will stir the imagination, foster curiosity and generate interest in the diversity of China's heritage.

**Plate 1: Village courtyard (A)**



**Plate 2: Village courtyard (B)**



**Plate 3: Village courtyard (C)**



*Plate 4: Diaolou with cupolas and turrets*



*Plate 5: Diaolou with iron window covers*



**Plate 6: Village buildings**



**Plate 7: *Diaolou* undergoing restoration (notice the bamboo scaffolding)**



**Plate 8: Stand-alone diaolou (A)**



**Plate 9: Village housing and diaolou**



*Plate 10: Zili village*



*Plate 11: Diaolou with passers-by*



**Plate 12: Contrasting styles: *Diaolou* and typical village building**



**Plate 13: Soft foundations in low-lying land**



**Plate 14: Stand-alone *diaolou* (B)**



**Plate 15: Lotus pond and *diaolou***



**Plate 16: Lotus pond and village building**



**Plate 17: Diaolou in typical unadorned setting**



**Endnotes**

1. Dr Howard Scott is a photographer who has visited China several times. He has completed a post-graduate diploma in Chinese Law at the University of Peking, a Winston Churchill Fellowship in Shanghai and an artists' residency at Xiamen University in Fujian. He is currently photographing in the south of China.

# TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAIKATO

## *Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao*



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### THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO THE SCHOOL OF MAORI AND PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT

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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
- Te Tīmatanga 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 number<sup>1</sup> 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.

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