



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Tē Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

The School of Māori and Pacific Development

He Puna Kōrero - Journal of Maori & Pacific Development



Call for Papers

He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development (JMPD) seeks manuscripts in all areas of Maori and Pacific Development, including manuscripts which report on research on the political, social, cultural, linguistic and educational development of Maori and Pacific peoples. In addition, we are interested in receiving short creative literary works, including songs and poems, as well as notification of conferences and meetings and book reviews. For more information, see *Information for Contributors* at the end of this issue.

Languages Accepted

Papers will be accepted in English, Maori or any Pacific language. We are, however, particularly keen to receive bilingual manuscripts (a Pacific language and English) because they have the additional value of being available to the majority of readers at the same time as promoting the use of Pacific languages for the purposes of scholarship.

Copyright Notice

In the case of creative literary works, copyright is retained by individual authors unless explicitly stated otherwise. In all other cases, copyright is vested in *Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao* (the School of Maori and Pacific Development), *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* (University of Waikato) in its role as publisher of *He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development*. Authors whose works are published in *He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development* and who, in accepting publication, cede copyright to the publishers of this journal must agree not to publish more than 20% of the material contained in the works published here in any other context without the express permission of the publishers of *He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development*. Where the intention is to publish the material contained here in the context of a major work in which that material constitutes no more than 10% of the total content of that work, permission will normally be granted.

Responsibility

The responsibility for the content of the works published, including responsibility for ensuring that all sources are appropriately acknowledged, rests with the authors.

Permission to Photocopy

Articles in *He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development* may be photocopied freely for educational (non-commercial) purposes under the following conditions:

- Use of the photocopies must be for educational purposes exclusively, not for commercial publication or for any other commercial purposes of any type.
- Citation of the source of the publication must be provided in full on the first page of each photocopy as follows: the author(s), article title, journal title and number and inclusive pages.
- In addition, the following statement should appear on the first page: Reprinted with the permission of the School of Maori and Pacific Development, The University of Waikato.

No creative works appearing in this Journal may be photocopied for any purpose without the express permission of the authors. All questions concerning copyright or photocopying should be directed to Dr. Winifred Crombie, *Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao* (the School of Maori and Pacific Development), *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* (University of Waikato) School of Maori and Pacific Development, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand [crombie@waikato.ac.nz].

He Puna Kōrero
Journal of Maori and Pacific Development
Volume 4, Number 1
February, 2003

ISSN 1175-3099

A publication of:

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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

Visit our Website:
<http://www.waikato.ac.nz/smpd/journal/>

**For more information on
He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development**

Guidelines for Submitting Articles and Short Creative Literary Works

Find out about our Journal (previous contents and abstracts)

The Editorial Board (who to contact)



The screenshot shows the website for the School of Māori and Pacific Development. On the left is a vertical navigation menu with the University of Waikato logo and links for 'Waikato Home', 'SMPD Home', 'Search', and 'Webmaster'. The main content area features the school's name and tagline, followed by the journal title 'He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development'. Below this is a list of links: 'About this Journal', 'Email Production Editor', 'Editorial Board', 'Guidelines for Submission', 'Rights and Permissions', and 'Order Form'. A small image of a book cover is visible on the right. The 'About this Journal' section is expanded, showing the title 'Te Puāwaitanga o te Puawānanga' and a paragraph in Māori: 'Ko te Puawānanga tēnei e whakaputa nei i te pia tangi whararua, 'ka ngahoro te tikotiko pierē... te putanga o te hinu!'. The flowering Clematis exudes its fragrance, announcing a time of plenty and the gathering in of abundance'. Below this is an English paragraph: 'I share with my colleagues and students the pleasure in introducing He Puna Kōrero: The Journal of Maori and Pacific Development. It indeed announces the maturing of the School of Maori and Pacific Development and its existence at Waikato University. As the opening pepeha states metaphorically, 'The Puawānanga is reaching its tendrils beyond the canopy of the Forest of Tāne to share its flowering with the wider world.' The aim of this journal is to provide a forum for writers expressing views on their perspectives on Māori and Pacific development (Pacific being the whole region including the land masses that form its basin). In representing matters of concern in the development of Māori and Indigenous development, the hope is that by the engagement of an extensive range of interests, both national and the international arena of indigenous people's developments, there will be a wide pool of informed scholarship to draw ideas from. We invite your participation.'

Rights and Procedures

Download and Print Order Forms for the Journal

He Puna Kōrero
Journal of Maori and Pacific Development

Vol. 4, No. 1, February 2003

ISSN 1175-3099

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	1
TRIBUTE	
<i>He Maimai Aroha: A tribute to Hirini Melbourne</i>	2
ARTICLES	
‘Reclaiming the Ancient Feminine in Māori Society.’ ‘Kei wareware i a tātou te Ūkaipō!’ Aroha Yates-Smith	10
Teaching Languages to Young Learners: Asian Rim Experiences Diane Johnson	20
Issues in Māori Language Planning and Revitalisation Ray Harlow	32
Searching for synergy: Maori/ indigenous and scientific conservatory values – the affinity proposition’ Katerina Heremoana Simon	44
In Search of Unity: Learning from Headstones Fintan Mullan	59
REVIEW	
Sovereignty and Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today by Stephen Cornell & Joseph P. Kalt Review by W. Crombie	67
INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS	Back cover

TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA EDITORIAL

Ko tēnei te reo o te puna roimata e haku ake nei, e tangi atu nei ki tō tātou whanaunga, hoa, karanga maha. E Hī, whakatangihia ō taonga pūoro i mua i te aroaro o te kāhui Pō, waiatahia ō waiata ki te poho o tō tātou kuia o Hinenuitepō, e putiki mai rā i te kāpunipuni o ngā wairua. E, ko rātou kua rangatira i tō piringa atu ki a rātou o te huinga kahurangi, heoi anō ko tā mātou he poipoi i ngā taonga kua tukuna e koe ki ngā reanga o te ao. Haere atu rā e te rangatira. Haere atu rā.

Ko tēnei te reo o te puna kōrero e mihi atu nei ki a koutou e whakakīkī nei i ā koutou kete kōrero. Tēnā koutou katoa.

It is with a mixture of pleasure and sadness that I introduce this issue of the *Journal of Maori and Pacific Development*. It is a great pleasure to introduce an issue of the Journal whose focus is on reconciliation and advance, an issue which includes articles by indigenous and non-indigenous scholars.

The article by Katie Simon explores the development of a synergistic process of reconciliation between Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values. She ends by observing that “[how] we respond to the need for local and global reconciliation will be a central part of determining the shape of the future”, noting that in this area “Māori and other indigenous peoples have a very important role to play”. Fintan Mullan’s article discusses division and reconciliation in Ireland and focuses on the role that tombstones can play in directing our attention to processes of reconciliation. His message is one that is relevant in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand. In her article on language learning, Diane Johnson draws parallels between the teaching of English in Asia and the teaching of Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, emphasising the fact that there are lessons that all of us can learn from one another. Ray Harlow, in considering the position of Maori language, draws attention to the importance of working together to plan for a stable place for the language in the linguistic landscape of Aotearoa/New Zealand. In my own article, I suggest that balancing gender relations in our society as a whole will come more easily when gender relations in the belief system of Maoridom are balanced. Finally, in her review of an article by Cornell and Kalt, Winifred Crombie argues that harmonious and productive nation building in indigenous communities is more likely to be achieved where the economic and social structures of countries as a whole are also harmonious and productive.

The Editor of the last issue of this Journal was Dr. Hirini Melbourne, a close friend and colleague. I take on the position of guest editor following his death earlier this year. It is this that accounts for my sadness in introducing this issue of the Journal, an issue that is dedicated to his memory. Those who knew Hirini will, I believe, agree that the emphasis on harmony and reconciliation in this issue is a fitting tribute to his memory. The late Dr. Hirini Melbourne was a man who represented for many of us a symbol of unity and advance.

Dr. Aroha Yates-Smith
Te Amokapua



Hirini Melbourne 1949-2003

***He Maimai Aroha: A tribute to Hirini Melbourne
(husband, father, grandfather, friend, musician, scholar, and honorary doctor)***

*Tēnei ngā whakakōrunga; tēnei ngā whakakērunga; tēnei ngā whakaihinga
Ka takoto i te hau o Marangai!
Marangai ki uta! Marangai ki tai! Marangai ki Tū,
Ko Tū-kā-riri ! Tū-ka-rūhā! Tū-kai-tauā !
Whakarewa ana ki ana waipū -
Kia ea ake ana ko tāu nei whakangaua ki te pae whakaeke o Rehua
Ka tauwehe te Pō ! Pō! Ka ao - ka awatea !
Hīrini, e te rangatira, moe mai i te rua kōiwi o ō tūpuna mātua o Ngāi Tūhoe
i raro i ngā parirau o tō Kaihanga - Haere! Haere! Haere - oti atu.*

With the passing of Dr. Hirini Melbourne, Dean of the School of Māori and Pacific Development, on the 6th of January 2003 at the age of 53, the Tari Maori, Development Studies, Te Timatanga Hou, Te Whakapiki Reo, the School of Maori and Pacific Development, and the University of Waikato mourn the loss of a favourite son whose support of the School will be sorely missed. We mourn with Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Kahungunu, and the Melbourne family, especially with his widow Jan, their children Māhina and Māia, and grandchildren, Amokura and Manukaimiro. We feel that we can do no better here than provide our readers with a copy of the citation for Hirini's honorary doctorate (bestowed 23 March 2002).



**Citation of
HIRINI MELBOURNE**

**for the Degree of Honorary Doctor
of the University of Waikato**

Chancellor, the highest award the University can make is its Honorary Doctorate. It may do so to persons who are distinguished in learning and scholarship, have shown strong interest in the well-being of the University, have been of outstanding service to the community and are of national or international repute. Today we honour Hirini Melbourne.

I whānau mai a Hirini i Whakatāne, ka pakeke mai i roto o Ruatoki atu ki te wā ka wehe atu ia kia haere ki te Kāreti o Te Aute. Ka mutu tana kura ka uru atu ia ki ngā mahi akoako hei kura māhita. Ka tukuna ki Whakatāne hei kaiako i te reo Māori me ngā kaupapa pāpori. Kāore i roa, ka riro ki Pōneke ki reira mahi mai ai i roto i te Wāhanga o te Manatū Tohu Mātauranga hei kaituhi pukapuka mā ngā tamariki ririki i roto i te reo Māori. Mai i konā, ka whakahaua e Hoani Rangihau kia haere mai a Hirini ki te Whare Wānanga o Waikato i runga i te whakaaro he pūmanawa o Hirini kia tukuna, kia tipu, kia pakari hoki. I te tau 1978, i tīmata ai te uri o te kaimanawa nei o Tūhoe Pōtiki i tana mahi hei kaiako i te reo, i ngā kaupapa ahurea me te hītori.

Ka whānau mai te tangata nei ka whakamoea e ōna atua ngā taonga ki roto ki a ia, ā tōna wā e puāwai ai. I a ia ka mahi i ana mahi akoako, ka korikori ngā taonga o te momo reo, ko tōna kotahi anake pea i whakawhiwhi ai. Ka waihangā mai te tangata nei i ana kupu, i ōna whakaaro, i ana rangi, kātahi ka whāngaihia ki ngā taringa, ki ngā hinengaro, ki ngā ngākau me ngā wairua o ngā tamariki i te tuatahi. Titi rawa ana aua waiata ki ngā tauwharewharenga o te ngākau tangata ahakoa i tuhia, i titoa mā te hunga tamariki. Koia tēnei ko ngā āheitanga i whakawhiwhi ai ki te maramara o te maunga o Maungapōhatu.

Ka waiho tēnei tohungatanga hei huarahi whakatō i te whakaaro Māori, i te ngākau Māori, i te reo Māori, i te kupu Māori ki roto i te iti me te rahi tae atu ki ngā akonga o ngā whare wānanga o te motu. Ka taka te wā, ka whakaohotia mai anō tētahi o ngā taonga i whakamoea rā i roto i a ia, arā, ko ngā taonga pūoro a te Māori i noho mō tētahi wā roa pērā me te huia kua reo kore. Nā āna takutaku me āna whāinga ka tīmata te reo o te toka, o te rākau, o te poroiwi, o te aha atu a te Māori ki te tangitangi mai anō.

Koinei te huarahi i kitea ai e te tangata nei, e Hirini, hei whakaohooho i roto i te Māori i tō rātou Māoritanga. Hōrapa ana tēnei āhuatanga ki ngā tōpito o te motu. Tēnei tātou e rongō nei e pāorooro ana i roto i ngā whare kōrero, i ngā wānanga, i ngā kāinga o tēnā whānau, o tēnā whānau.

Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ko te tohungatanga o tēnei tangata ki te whakawhiti i te whakaaro hou ki roto ki te hinengaro o te akonga kia rekareka ai te akonga ki aua whakaaro, ā, kia kitea ai e ia he ao hou tonu kei tua atu i ngā rāhui o tōna hinengaro. Hāunga ia ana mahi tito waiata, ana tuhituhi pukapuka i te reo Māori, engari, ko te tino taonga i whakawhiwhia ai ki tēnei tangata ko tōna āhei ki te whakawhānui i te titiro a tētahi kē ki te whakaaro ki te kaupapa, ki ētahi āhuatanga rānei.

Ko te tohu ka tukuna nei ki a ia, ko te tohu ikeike rawa o te Whare Wānanga i runga i te whakaaro kua rite i a ia ngā āhuatanga katoa e whakawhiwhia ai tētahi ki tēnei tohu kairangi. Nā reira, kua huihui katoa mai tātou ki te whakanui i te tangata kua roa nei ia e whakangahau ana, e whakamātau ana, e whakamōhio ana i a tātou ki ngā tohu o tō tātou ao e wareware ana i a tātou i ētahi wā.

E kī ana te kōrero mō tēnei tangata, ka tīoriwari te tute, ka haunene te tāwaka, ka tumu te rupe. Ki tā Hirini e koekoe te tūi, e ketekete te kākā, e kūkū te kererū. Koia tēnei ko Hirini te tangata a te katoa i tukua ai e Tūhoe kia topa, kia tiu ki ngā kokonga o te ao hei manu karere atu i te reo o ōna mātua, o ōna tīpuna.

Chancellor, I present to you for the Award of the Degree of Honorary Doctor of the University of Waikato, Hirini Melbourne.



Born 21 July 1949 at Whakatāne, of Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu descent, Associate Professor at the University of Waikato, Hirini has been involved in two main strands of his life as a musician and as a teacher of the Māori language, culture and history through te reo Māori. He is also known as a writer for young Māori, has a well established reputation as a Māori historian, has been an editor of Māori publications, a translator, and has a continued involvement in pressing claims with the Waitangi Tribunal for his Tūhoe people.

Raised in Ruatoki, a Tūhoe community about 20 kilometres out of Whakatāne, Hirini's life was certainly influenced by the environment provided by that district where Māori was the first language of 98% of the people. The geographic, historical and wildlife nature of that area will have served to provide Hirini with experiences and images that would characterise both his writings and his musical compositions. It was a community which necessarily reflected the Tūhoe psyche and in which the individual needed to be an extraordinary person in order to display outstanding talent. The community was, and is still, close knit and does not readily accept changes to well established conventions. It is in this context that Hirini was able to accomplish remarkable achievements, especially in the world of music, and make his mark as an outstanding teacher and a well respected academic.

He was educated at Ruatoki High School and Te Aute Māori Boys' College before training as a teacher and being posted to Whakatāne High School to teach Māori and Social Studies. During his term there it became apparent that teaching the Māori language was going to be difficult, because of the lack of resources, and that few Māori were writing in Māori. This provided the incentive for Hirini to take up a position with the Ministry of Education in the School Publications' Branch. His role there made a huge impact on publications for young children, especially those raised in the urban context. Being astute, Hirini saw where the deficiencies lay and

developed a style that has been used as a model for writers of Māori for children of subsequent years.

These were Hirini's years in which his genius for composing songs for young people and his eventual research into traditional Māori musical instruments began to take form. The renowned Tūhoe scholar and kaumātua, John Rangihau, persuaded him to shift to Waikato and take up a position with the Māori Department in 1978. Rangihau recognised skills that Hirini possessed as a writer and also saw his potential in composing songs that were to have an immediate and lasting effect, not only on Māori, but also amongst Pacific peoples and ethnic groups around the world.

These talents were put to good use by Hirini in developing courses taught in the Māori department and eventually led to the establishment of a course involving the creation of, and performance with, traditional Māori instruments. This course is recognised among Māori as the most prestigious of any course of this nature, because Hirini has maintained a reputation as an excellent teacher and someone who is well versed in the art.

Hirini is often identified and recognised by people for his musical talents. Indeed, these tend to overshadow the contribution he has made to the Māori language and culture over the last 27 years. It is fair to say that his scholarship and his creative mind have served to promote te reo Māori to many communities throughout Aotearoa. During his time with this University, Hirini has, through application and dedication, risen to the position of Associate Professor. He employs an innovative approach to teaching courses with an ability to form an immediate rapport with students and staff alike. Being an adaptable person, he learned to work with Māori communities, remaining sensitive to their needs. His principles ensured that the institution was properly served, that knowledge was enhanced and the Māori language and culture were provided within a conducive environment necessary for the survival of te reo me ngā tikanga to thrive.

This ability has allowed him to transcend tribal and cultural differences. Choosing the "right moment" is a special gift that Hirini has employed to allow people to feel included in teaching programmes, hui, and other activities of a formal and social nature. While strongly advocating the Māori language and culture, both traditional and contemporary, he is always seeking ways of developing bridges between different groups in order to realise the partnership principle of the Treaty of Waitangi. This has been reflected in course offerings and joint or inter-departmental and inter-school programmes that serve his view that the University is an institution that reflects an appropriate model of partnership.

His period of time with the University of Waikato and the communities of its catchment area and beyond, have all, in no small way, been left with a Melbourne template. Complementing this are the achievements that he has gained through his work as a composer and writer. As an example, he won the non-fiction section of the New Zealand Post Children's Book Award 2000, he attended the South Pacific Festival of Arts 2000 in Noumea, the New Zealand Festival of Arts 2000 in Wellington and was a finalist in the New Post Children's Books Award. He was commissioned to write the festival song for the New Zealand Youth Orchestra and National Māori Choir 1999; performed at WOMAD Auckland 1999; represented New

Zealand at the Polynesian Music Festival in Rarotonga 1996; published and produced the highly acclaimed Toiapiapi tape and book 1995; produced Te Kū, Te Whē featuring voices of Ngā Taonga Pūoro 1994; and won first prize in the Goodman Fielder Wattie Book Award 1991. He was a member of the New Zealand Film Commission; a member of the New Zealand Music Commission; and a Board member of Te Waka Toi. The list can go on which would include compositions for the Merchant of Venice in Māori 2002 and for many other groups and organizations of national significance.

The one great passion that Hirini has had from the time he started his research for his Masters degree was to write and produce material which will be used in the forthcoming Tūhoe claim before the Waitangi Tribunal over confiscation of land and other acts and omissions by the Crown. He has, in all his busy life, never faltered in his commitment to this task. Tūhoe knows the contribution that their son has made to them and will, in due course, share with him their pride in his achievements. There are many, many more things that could be said of Hirini, but the University now wishes to honour the achievements of Associate Professor Hirini Melbourne citing these reasons:

He has contributed, in process and in principle, to the establishment of a very strong and active Māori language and culture environment, not only in the University, but in many Māori communities beyond even its catchment area.

He has, through his musical genius, conveyed, in particular to Maoridom, the beauty of their language and culture. He has also enhanced the teaching of the Māori language through innovative courses and through his commitment to visit communities no matter how remote, to establish the process of taking the language to disadvantaged groups. He has done this with dedication and with the humility that is a hallmark of his everyday life.

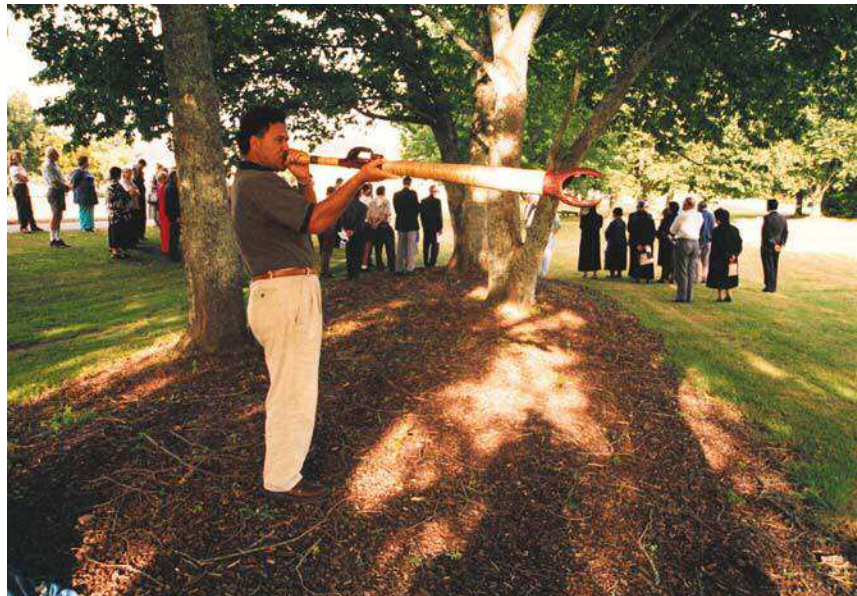
His publications of the Māori language are recognised as necessary resource materials and instruments concerned with the maintenance and survival of te reo Māori.

The Māori dimension of the University has been vested by Hirini with a mana and recognition that provides the incentive for Māori to choose to attend this institution. His relationships with these people will continue to serve both Māori and knowledge very well.

In conclusion, and to reflect the way in which he has touched many, many people with his demeanour and his ability through the word to reach out and be inclusive, Hirini personifies the expression that “Composers should compose songs that ordinary people can whistle or sing”. This exemplifies the genius of Hirini Melbourne.

Nā Te Wharehuia Milroy





E kore koe e wareware i a mātou.

‘Reclaiming the Ancient Feminine in Māori Society.’ ‘Kei wareware i a tātou te Ūkaipō!’¹

Aroha Yates-Smith

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

The School of Maori and Pacific Development

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[arohays@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

With our constant interface with the threat of globalisation, it is timely that we reflect on the words of an ancient god who advised his brother, Tāne, to return to their mother, Papatūānuku (Best, 1923, p. 111). His words, which translate loosely as ‘lest we forget the Mother who nurtured us at her breast,’ remind us of the importance of considering the feminine, respecting our Earth Mother, and not taking either for granted.

This paper addresses several issues pertaining to the Māori feminine. The discussion of these will begin with a brief reflection on the importance of balance between the male and female in Māori cosmogony and the marginalisation of the feminine as a result of two hundred years of colonisation. The principal focus of the article as a whole will be the last two decades and the efforts made to address some of the negative effects brought about by colonisation, which could be described as forming the first waves in the tide of globalisation.

The key for the ordering of Māori society lay within our cosmogonic beginnings.² Recent studies of Māori cosmology reveal that both male and female deities held prominent positions in the pantheon of gods (Yates-Smith, 1998). There was a strong presence of the feminine at the embryonic stage of Māori society.³

Introduction

Cultural encounter challenged traditional Māori spirituality as the pivotal point of Māori life. Christianity, the Victorian ethos and the European education system collectively impacted on the Māori society of the time.⁴ Western civilisation was seen to hold the answers for the future of the Māori.

The traditional Māori belief system changed dramatically, rendering the feminine invisible; women in Māori society became more invisible and powerless (Yates-Smith, 1998). A microcosm of the effect of colonisation on Māori society can be found in reviewing New Zealand literature over a two hundred year period. Evidence indicates that the references made to Māori goddesses in books written about Māori life and customs, and in particular, religion and mythology, were fragmented and skimpy. The roles of the female entities were generally downplayed, marginalised, or in many instances, completely omitted from historical records. Yet, by looking at the material available, one can ascertain that the feminine did indeed hold an important and powerful position throughout Māori history (Yates-Smith, 1998, p. 122). Such marginalisation, it is argued here and in other fora (Mikaere, 1995; Smith, 1992) also occurred in the wider Māori society.

To redress the imbalance brought about by such a shift in the belief system and Māori society as a whole, the feminine needed to be restored in the belief system, or at least be given more recognition. Discussion later in this paper will go some way to showing how this is occurring. I suggest here that balancing gender relations in our society will come more easily when gender relations in the belief system are balanced.

Let us now reflect on the feminine, which was a vital component within Māori cosmology and history. References to atua wāhine (goddesses) in kōrero (stories, history), karakia (incantations), whakapapa (genealogy) and waiata (songs) indicate that female power was built into Māori philosophy, religious ritual and cultural experiences of everyday life. Certain atua wāhine emerged very strongly in my doctoral study of Māori childbirth and death. Papatūānuku, the ultimate source of creativity, along with her female descendants, reflected the nurturing quality of the feminine and the complementary aspects of the creator/transformer figure as embodied in the whare tangata/whare aituā⁵ concept, connecting women with life and death. Other qualities the deities possessed were identified. The sexuality of the female element was prominent throughout the anecdotes, karakia and waiata.

The primary sources indicated that a significant aspect of Māori pre-European history has been overlooked or ignored, supporting the argument that the role of the feminine was never appropriately recognised in the early ethnographic works.⁶ Generally, the subsequent publications did little to reassert the position of the feminine in historical writings.

Relatively little knowledge has survived about Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwhārangī and other ancient figures⁷ owing to details about them being forgotten or misplaced.⁸ The devastating effect of European diseases on the Māori, e.g., the influenza epidemics (Pool, 1991), combined with the personal cost of military conflict and, more recently, the urban drift further contributed to a reduction in the pool of knowledgeable resource people.

Mana wahine in a modern context

Modern Māori women have inherited mana wahine from ancient times, retaining some roles of Hine in their everyday life: in the home, on the marae, as well as in places of employment and recreation. The fundamental role of woman remains as creator and mother thus fulfilling the generative function previously carried out by Papa, Hineteiwaiwa, Hinekōrako and the many other atua wāhine. Women are still regarded as te whare tangata. Though the role of ruahine⁹ may have altered (some of her tasks taken over by Christian ministers, or doctors and midwives) on the marae, kuia and some younger women are still placed in the role of ruahine and perform ritual functions including karanga and waiata. Women continue to compose waiata to commemorate certain events and to express their emotions.

The role of manaaki tāngata (hospitality) is maintained by women extending hospitality to visitors, some taking part in the formal kawa (ritual) process of welcoming the manuhiri, and others involving themselves in the preparation of food. The entertainment of visitors is an art at which women excel. In the meeting house the whāriki (finely woven mats) are laid out in accordance with age-old custom and the bedding is made ready for the people. If the occasion is a tangi then the tūpāpaku (deceased) is surrounded by women, and tended with great care; this particular

function links women with te whare aituā. The old craft of weaving whāriki and cloaks has survived with many women learning to weave, and so examples of these taonga (precious items) are still to be found in wharenuī (meeting houses) today.

Many of the modern women mentioned in this paper are fluent speakers of Māori and have a strong cultural and spiritual identity; others are attempting to learn their language and tikanga. The achievements of the native speakers show that success is attainable when one is comfortable in one's own world. Those desiring to develop a stronger understanding of reo and tikanga belong to a diverse range of people, from society 'dropouts' to successful professionals. The common bond is the need they feel to reacquaint themselves fully with their taha Māori and assert their identity as Māori, at the inner core of which is the spiritual dimension, te taha wairua. Many of the women with strong cultural backgrounds recognize the positive impact that knowledge of the atua wāhine would have on Māori women's self esteem. Through such knowledge women are empowered.

The revival of te reo, our indigenous language, has culminated in a Māori renaissance and new Māori initiatives in education, the church, and in government departments, thereby impacting on society in general. Māori have revived the craft of weaving, the art of tā moko (traditional markings which Europeans termed 'tattoo'), and the use of traditional musical instruments. Māori medical practices are commonly used as an alternative to western medicine. The ancient custom of returning the placenta to Papatūānuku on the birth of a child has been revived.¹⁰ The return of such traditions coincides with the call for further knowledge about the feminine.

The energy and success of Māori women is evident in every sector of society. Māori women are providing leadership in numerous ways, on marae, in voluntary community groups, as well as in high profile professions. They have been a driving force behind the Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori initiatives. The accomplishments of Te Rōpū Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora, the Māori Women's Welfare League and the efforts of Māori women in the Women's Health League continue to make huge inroads into improving aspects of Māori health. These groups have been responsible for assisting in the setting up of marae-based health centres and special programmes for Māori mothers and children, e.g., the Tipu Ora¹¹ programme in Rotorua. In the wider community some women are matakite (seers or psychics), having inherited these particular powers from their ancestors; some are healers¹² who use traditional techniques combining karakia, massage and rongoā (medicine) on their patients. Some of the matakite and tohunga practise in Māori health centres, as in Ngā Miro at Ngāruawāhia, and the Tunohopu Health Centre at Ōhinemutu, Rotorua. Politically, women have been active leaders in the campaign for the return of tribal land. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, a large number of women in the Māori community feel unsuccessful, lack self esteem and confidence, women who merely 'survive' the stresses of modern living.¹³ Knowledge about the feminine is particularly relevant for these women. Education is a key to self-empowerment.

Change is evident within the education system; the young are being taught about Rangī and Papa, although the emphasis is still placed largely on their male descendants. The kōhanga reo preschools and kura kaupapa primary schools have provided the forum. Reconstruction and revival of tradition is taking place, with the modern generation fitting elements of past traditions into a modern context.

In the performing arts the same vibrancy can be found. Such productions as 'Ahorangi Genesis', although mainly focussing on the male gods, paid tribute to the mana of Papa, Hineahuone, Hinetitama/Hinenuitepō, Mahuika, and Murirangawhenua. The play 'Wāhine Toa' (staged in 1992) presented Māori cosmology from a woman's perspective. Modern Māori compositions focussing on the feminine in cosmology and society have had their debut at Māori Performing Arts Festival events where kapa haka performers display their prowess through competition. The compositions are in the form of traditional waiata, haka, poi and waiata-ā-ringa, examples being Wakahuia's 'He mana tuku iho' which contains the words 'Ko Hineahuone tōku mana e', and Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato's 'Ko Papatūānuku'.

From waiata to written poetry, new compositions are appearing with references to the more well-known Māori female deities. The poems, a number of which are written by Māori women, are imbued with a strong sense of the feminine. There is also evidence of great pain, sorrow and anger, not only for the plight of the general Māori populace over the last century, but particularly for the marginalization of Māori women and knowledge about the feminine. Mahinarangi Tocker sings her message and frequently introduces female deities into her musical compositions, as with 'Papatūānuku (will survive)' (1993, p. 44). Keri Hulme is another writer who has articulated her feelings about Papatūānuku through poetry, e.g., 'Papatuanuku E Tu!' (1992, pp. 33-34). Hinewirangi Kohu has entitled her book of poetry *Screaming Moko* to describe her anguish. Her reaction towards early Pākehā researchers' opinions is expressed in her poem 'Historians' where she recalls how Māori were described as 'savage', 'devil worshippers' and how the 'white historian' became 'an expert' on her (1986, pp. 28-29).

Māori men, too, have produced poetry about the great mothers of time. Hirini Melbourne's songs about Nature include many compositions celebrating Māori female deities. Apart from the importance of these songs in Māori music, they also serve to remind people of some of the lesser-known female entities such as Hineraukatauri and Hinemoana (Melbourne, 1993). Other poets have alluded to Papatūānuku or Hinenuitepō, as with Haare Williams (1981), and Apirana Taylor (1981). Writer Witi Ihimaera has produced fiction revealing the strong influences of the feminine in his tribal area. *The Matriarch* (1986) and its sequel *The Dream Swimmer* (1997) have powerful statements on mana wahine; in the second book a local female taniwha, Hineteariki, has a prominent role in the story.

Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku's writings, both literary and academic, have a strong feminist thread running through them, *Mana Wahine* (1991) being one with particular relevance here. The work of Anna Rogers, Miria Simpson, Mira Szaszy, and Margaret Kāwharu in publishing *Te Tīmatanga Tātau Tātau* brings a fresh approach to oral and written literature regarding Māori women. In a similar way Amy Brown's *Mana Wahine: Women Who Show the Way* (1994) records some philosophies and experiences of Māori women. The Māori magazine *Mana* informs the country of Māori issues and success stories; women feature prominently in its articles. *Wāhine Toa* (1984), with artwork done by Robyn Kahukiwa and text by Patricia Grace, is a first in depicting so many goddesses in pictorial book form.



Papatūānuku.

Oil painting by Robyn Kahukiwa.

Women artists Robyn Kahukiwa, Jolene Douglas, and June Northcroft Grant incorporate the feminine into their creations. Each modern artist has made a significant impact in restoring the feminine to her rightful place in Māori culture. This reconstruction takes place at the various levels of Māori society, strongly influencing the psyche and attitudes of our people, and thus the structure of Māori culture itself.¹⁴ The present findings provide material to assist the artists' research in their respective areas; further subjects for future compositions may be found in the collated information. The ancient stories, karakia and waiata of the tūpuna hold a depth of knowledge which many Māori today have not yet tapped.



Hineteiwaiwa.

Pastel on archival paper. By Jolene Douglas.

In the male domain, Māori carvers are continuing to create images of the feminine. The brilliance of the feminine is reflected within the whareniui Te Ihurangi,¹⁵ the inspiration of master carver Kereti Rau Tangata. A strong presence of the atua wāhine can be found in the house's carvings and tukutuku. Smaller creations such as the nguru Hineteiwaiwa, crafted by Rangi Skipper, are indicators of the renewed awareness about atua wāhine. In fact atua wāhine have been portrayed in stone and wood for centuries. Although many of the taonga are still situated in their original locations, hundreds are to be found in museums throughout the country. Several atua, including Horoirangi and Pani,¹⁶ are stone effigies presently housed in Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa. Pani was found near Lake Taupō and was taken to the museum in 1971, while Horoirangi was returned to Rotorua in 1993.¹⁷ These stone atua provide physical evidence of the goddesses' influence on traditional Māori society.



Horoirangi.

Courtesy Te Papa Whakahiku - Auckland War Memorial Museum.

Instrumental in the success of women is the changing attitudes of many Māori males. Again this has come about through education, a stronger sense of equality and partnership in people's relationships and the economic need for the woman to have an income. Indeed it is increasingly common to find the male partner at home caring for the children while the woman is out working. Despite this social shift in thinking, tension remains, with change varying regionally (more so in urban areas as opposed to rural) and tribally. At a domestic level many Māori women are being abused by men; idealistic as it may seem, one of the aims of my research is to assist in providing information to victims and their families to aid their healing and rebuild their self-

esteem.

It is suggested here that the achievement of Māori women, once empowered with the knowledge of their 'Hine' heritage, would be greatly enhanced. Women, who are already considered successful, value the recognition given the atua wāhine and acknowledge the sense of security and increased self-esteem that comes with connecting with the feminine powers. Positive responses from such diverse groups provide a strong indication of the need for knowledge about the goddesses to be made readily available.

Some understanding of the feminine aspects which have been recovered would aid Māori men in reassessing their role in light of the changing Māori lifestyle. Only then might the balance between the feminine and masculine at a spiritual, cultural and social level be fully restored. Such a balance would re-establish Māori women as co-inheritors of the Māori spiritual tradition. In addition, conveying a holistic Māori view¹⁸ to the younger generation is critical to ensure a perpetuation of the traditional Māori spiritual beliefs. Spiritual knowledge provides a mechanism for coping with the difficulties of living in a modern society which places more stress on material wealth than on the metaphysical and physical wellbeing. Furthermore, revival of the spiritual dimension within Māori life is held by Māori to be fundamental to the survival of our language and culture. Hence the desire of Māori people, particularly the young, to reclaim the traditional element in Māori spirituality, te taha wairua.

Recognition of the inter-connectedness between the spiritual plane and the political plane could enhance the wider participation of Māori women in decision-making at all levels of society in Aotearoa (New Zealand). The consequences may have impact not only on the cultural, social and political scene but also on the environment, with people adopting a more caring and informed attitude towards Nature, thus affirming the importance of Papa and her offspring. Then perhaps will the inter-connectedness of humankind, te ira tangata, and the gods, te ira atua, indeed the entire Universe be recognised.

The power of the feminine is being re-asserted to establish the balance needed in these modern times. The positive effect of the shift in consciousness will filter out from the individual, to the whānau, the hapū, tribe, nation, extending to our natural surroundings, to Papatūānuku and Ranginui from whom we descend.

The goddesses' names collectively form the feminine principle, Hine, the ultimate source of creativity born of the primal parents. Together with the male gods and all of our tūpuna they guide us into the future. It is therefore with the renewed vigour of the ancients that we Māori move forward, intent on retaining that which is uniquely Māori in a modern world.

How then is this relevant to any discussion on globalisation? In reflecting on the impact of European colonisation on the Māori belief system and culture, one should consider the continuing influences of modern American capitalist policies on our society. Although claims are made that globalisation delivers economic growth for some, little heed is paid to its negative impact on indigenous peoples' cultural beliefs and ways. Joseph Stiglitz, author of *Globalization and its Discontents*, notes that managers of globalisation "all too often have shown an insufficient appreciation of

this adverse side, the threat to cultural identity and values” (2002, p. 247). Having moved painfully through two centuries of European colonialism, we are now faced with new threats, imposed by collective corporate powers. Globalisation poses a financial, economic threat to the Māori spiritual and social fabric, and unmanaged, directly threatens intellectual and cultural property of Māori.

In the footsteps of our ancestors, we need to maximise opportunities presented by this new phenomenon to assist in developing our cultural integrity. This, combined with the implementation of ancient knowledge to advance our people, will provide a paradigm or model for the future. We need to protect all that is inherent in our culture from the most recent tide of global capitalism, which assaults our shores.¹⁹

Endnotes

1. Paper presented for the 7th Joint Conference “Preservation of Ancient Cultures And The Globalization Scenario”, 22-24 November 2002, University Of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
2. Other studies confirm the important relationship, which exists between a culture’s spiritual belief system, and the social structure. For instance, research conducted by Fletcher and La Flesche described the influence of Omaha cosmogony on the organisation and ceremonies of the Omaha society (in Ridington, 1988, p. 136).
3. Information found in literature suggests that there was a strong presence of the feminine in Māori cosmology, that the atua wāhine held very powerful positions, and that they influenced the traditional Māori values and way of life. The numerous stories and waiata which hold references about them, and the karakia which invoke them, reinforce this conclusion (Yates-Smith, 1998, p. 96).
4. See Mikaere (1995) for a fuller discussion about the impact of colonisation on Māori society and in particular, on Māori women.
5. Definitions as used in the context of this paper: whare tangata – lit. human house (referring to women as bearers of humankind); whare aituā – lit. house of misfortune or death (referring to women as descendants of Hinenuitēpō, the guardian of the spirit world, and therefore their connection with the spiritual realm).
6. Bernard comments on the impact of male bias in disciplines such as sociology and history, stating for instance that “what history we have is almost exclusively a history of men” (1973, p. 780).
7. In contrast, places in Hawai’i where the goddesses Papa and Hina had resided are still known by the local people and can be visited to this day.
8. See Yates-Smith (1998).
9. The term ruahine applies to a woman of high rank, usually the eldest daughter (Best, 1976, p. 271), who possessed knowledge of karakia and ritual behaviour which enabled her to carry out her tasks among her people.
10. This practice was not lost in all tribal areas, but until recently, it was not a common occurrence in hospitals to return the whenua (placenta) to the child’s parents. For traditional practice, refer to Chapter Four of ‘Hine! E Hine! Rediscovering the Feminine in Māori Spirituality’ (Yates-Smith, 1998).
11. The Tipu Ora programme was founded by the President of the Women’s Health League, Inez Kingi, and Dr Jacqueline Allan. This Women’s Health League initiative has its base in the Mātaatua/Te Arawa (Bay of Plenty) region, with another centre in Christchurch.
12. Some healers also possess powers of matakite (seers or psychics).
13. See Mikaere (1995, p. 153), and Smith (1992).
14. Echoes of this phenomenon can be found in the statement of philosophy of *Woman of Power: A Magazine of Feminism, Spirituality and Politics*: ‘. . . we transform our outer world, by recreating our personal lives and relationships, our communities, and our world’ (1990, p. 1).
15. Te Ihorangi stands on Te Aratiatia Marae at Fairfield College, Hamilton.

16. Pani, carved from pumice stone, was found at Tutuhouhou pā site, Te Hope Bay, Lake Taupō. The atua was acquired by Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa (the Rotorua Museum of Art and History) in 1971. Pani measures 297mm x 132mm.
17. Horoirangi had been held in the Auckland Institute and Museum for approximately seventy-five years when she was returned to Te Arawa on long-term loan.
18. Te taha wairua, te taha tinana, te taha hinengaro i.e. the spiritual, physical and psychological/intellectual dimensions of personal and iwi health are encompassed in this holistic view.
19. I wish to end by acknowledging and thanking all of those ancestors and contemporaries whose creativity and intellectual endeavours have provided the basis for this discussion. In addition to those contributors mentioned directly in this paper there are numerous others whom I wished to acknowledge but were unable to name individually here. Tēnā koutou, te hunga pupuri i ngā taonga a kui mā, a koro mā. Tēnā koutou katoa.

References

- Bernard, J. (1973). My Four Revolutions: an Autobiographical History of the ASA. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 773-91.
- Best, E. (1923) Maori Personifications. Anthropogeny, Solar Myths and Phallic Symbolism as Exemplified in the Demiurgic Concepts of Tane and Tiki. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 32, 53-69, 103-20.
- Best, E. (1976). *Maori Religion and Mythology (Part 1)*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Brown, A. (ed.) (1994). *Mana Wahine: Women Who Show the Way*. Auckland: Reed.
- Hinewirangi (Kohu, Hinewirangi). (1986). *Screaming Moko*. Tauranga: Tauranga Moana Press.
- Hulme, K. (1992). *Strands*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Ihimaera, W. (1986). *The Matriarch*. Auckland: Heinemann.
- Ihimaera, W. (1997). *The Dream Swimmer*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Irwin, K. (1992). Towards Theories of Maori Feminisms. In Du Plessis, R., Bunkle, P., Middleton, S., Shameem, S., Wilson, M. A., & Jones, D. (eds) (1992). *Feminist voices: women's studies texts for Aotearoa/ New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Kahukiwa, R., & Grace, P. (1984). *Wahine Toa: Women of Maori Myth*. Auckland: Collins.
- Melbourne, H. (1993). *Toiapiapi he Huinga o nga Kura Puoro a te Maori*. Te Whanganui a Tara: Titi Tuhiwai.
- Mikaere, A. (1995). *The Balance Destroyed: Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori*. Unpublished M. Jur. thesis, University of Waikato.
- Pool, I. (1991). *Te Iwi Maori: a New Zealand Population, Past, Present and Projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Ridington, R. (1988). Images of Cosmic Union: Omaha Ceremonies of Renewal. *History of Religions* 28, (2), 135-50.
- Rogers, A., & Simpson, M. (1993). *Te Tīmatanga Tātau Tātau: Early Stories from Founding Members of the Māori Women's Welfare League/Te Rōpū Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora*. Wellington: Māori Women's Welfare League/Bridget Williams Books.
- Smith, L. T. (1992). Maori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine. In S. Middleton & A. Jones (eds). *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Stiglitz, J. (2002). *Globalization and its Discontents*. Camberwell, Victoria: Allen Lane,

- Penguin Books Australia Ltd.
- Taylor, A., Rabbitt, L. & Scott, L. E. (1981). *3 Shades*. Wellington: Voice Press.
- Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Readings on Maori Women's Art, Culture and Politics*. Auckland: New Women's Press.
- Tocker, M. (1993). Papatūānuku (will survive). In Ihimaera, E (ed.). *Te Ao Mārama: Contemporary Māori Writing (Vol. 3)*. Auckland: Reed.
- Williams, H. (1981). *Karanga*. Coromandel: Coromandel Press.
- Yates-Smith, G. R. A. (1998). *Hine! E Hine! Rediscovering the Feminine in Māori Spirituality*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Waikato.

Teaching Languages to Young Learners: Asian Rim Experiences

Diane Johnson

Te Kura Kete Aronui (Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences)

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato)

[dianej@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

A number of Asian countries have recently developed initiatives relating to the teaching of English to young learners in schools. Many of the issues that these countries are currently facing are very similar to the theoretical and practical issues that are being faced in New Zealand where an increasing number of schools are introducing students to international languages at a younger age, and where young learners are being introduced to Maori in a range of different educational settings. Some of the issues, both theoretical and practical, that are common to young learner language initiatives in both New Zealand and in a number of Asian countries are explored here.

Introduction

Over the past ten years, Ministries of Education in a number of Asian, Pacific-rim countries (notably Japan, Korea and Taiwan) have developed initiatives that will give all young learners opportunities to learn English language at school. These initiatives, and the processes involved in implementing them, have prompted a careful re-examination of research relating to young learners and the teaching and learning of second languages. They have also led to a number of new research projects. Not surprisingly, all of this has provoked a considerable amount of discussion and debate, particularly among parents, teachers and other educationalists. Both the initiatives themselves, and the debates surrounding these initiatives, have some relevance to the New Zealand context where the issue of when, and how, young learners should be introduced to second languages, including Maori, is also one of very real significance.

At first sight, it may appear that there are very few parallels between the learning of an international language such as English by young learners in Asia and the learning of a heritage language such as Maori by young learners in New Zealand. In fact, however, as is indicated in this paper, many of the issues relating to both theory and practice are very similar. It may be useful, therefore, for those involved in the Maori language education of young New Zealanders to reconsider some of the issues which are now occupying those involved in the English language education of young learners in Asia.

Young learners of second languages: the Asian context and the New Zealand context

A number of countries in Asia are now making opportunities available for all young learners (often from as young as age five or six) to be introduced to the English language at school. However, because this sometimes involves as little as one hour of tuition each week in the early stages of schooling, many parents are seeking additional opportunities for their children to learn English. The popularity of English-medium kindergartens, English-medium primary and secondary schools, after-school programmes which offer English-language tuition, and English-medium tertiary education is growing. All of this activity relates to the attempt to ensure that Asian

adults of the future will be adequately prepared to take their place as confident and effective citizens of a global village in which English is likely to continue to play a very important role. Citizens of the global village must also, however, be able to operate confidently and effectively in the language and culture (or languages and cultures) that characterize their place of origin and probable primary location in the future. It is therefore of fundamental importance to the vast majority of Asian parents that their children should not, in the process of acquiring English, suffer any linguistic, cultural or educational losses in other areas. The critical question for many parents, caregivers and family members of young Asian students is: *What is the best way to ensure that our children become as competent and confident as possible in English at the same time as ensuring that they also become as confident and competent as possible in their own language/s and in other areas of the curriculum?*

In New Zealand, tuition in both international and heritage languages is increasingly being provided in primary schools, something that is reflected in recent Ministry of Education curriculum documents and language resources. So far as Maori language and culture are concerned, opportunities for learning are now available in Maori language pre-schools (*Te Kōhanga Reo*), in mainstream schools (including bilingual units), in primary, secondary and area schools where Maori is the primary language of educational instruction (*Kura Kaupapa Maori*), and in tertiary institutions, an increasing number of which now offer tuition through the medium of Maori as well as courses in Maori language and culture. For parents, caregivers and family members of young New Zealanders who wish their children to learn Maori, the critical question is very similar to that faced in Asia: *What is the best way to ensure that our children become as competent and confident as possible in Maori at the same time as ensuring that they also become as confident and competent as possible in English and in other areas of the curriculum?*

My aim here is not to provide simple answers to these questions. There are, in fact, no straightforward answers. However, I do want to draw attention to some of the research literature that is currently occupying many educationalists in Asia and to suggest that that literature could be very helpful to those who are concerned that young New Zealanders should have the best possible opportunity to become confident and proficient in Maori, English and other languages, and should also have the best possible chance of developing to their fullest potential in other curriculum areas.

Setting realistic goals

What expectations we can realistically have in relation to language learning goals and educational achievement goals more generally will depend on many factors, one of which is the extent to which we can draw, in establishing and maintaining our programmes, upon agreed national policy and national strategic planning. Unfortunately, however, there is still no national languages policy in place in any of the countries, including New Zealand, which are the focus of attention here. Consequently, issues relating to resources cannot be approached adequately at a national level. Instead, issues such as the availability of a sufficient number of teachers who have a high level of target language proficiency and cultural awareness as well as adequate training in teaching and learning (including the teaching and learning of languages) have to be approached on what is essentially an ad hoc basis. Nevertheless, in selecting teachers, in deciding on the types of programme that are likely to be the most effective in different contexts, in assessing the value of existing

curriculum documents, and in setting short-term and longer-term achievement objectives for our students, we can be more confident if we take as much account as possible of existing research literature.

I shall begin here by providing an overview of some current research as it relates to a number of commonly held beliefs about young learners and second languages. I shall then look in more detail at some of the issues raised in that overview.

Young learners and second languages: an overview of research indicators

Is earlier necessarily better?

There is a widespread belief that the earlier a child begins to learn a language, the better they will be, ultimately, at speaking, reading, writing and understanding that language. This is absolutely true if what we are talking about is a situation in which a very young child is introduced into a context in which the target language is used by community members for all, or most, transactions on a daily basis. If this *is* the case, then we can expect the child to acquire the ability to use the language naturally (without any of the type of instruction that generally characterises second language learning contexts) so long as he or she is approximately three years old or younger at the point of introduction to the new community. Under such circumstances, a child can achieve, within a relatively short period of time, a level and type of proficiency that is the same, or similar, to that of children of the same age who were born and raised in that community. Furthermore, so long as the child remains within that community, he or she will continue to progress linguistically in a ways that are very similar indeed to those who were born and raised in the community. However, as a child gets older, the chances that he or she will achieve native-speaker-like competence simply as a result of this type of immersion diminish. Furthermore, this type of situation (early community immersion) is not readily available to most children. Nor is it possible to replicate it in the context of schooling: schools, including pre-schools, can accommodate children for only part of the day and cannot, however hard they try, provide the whole range of linguistic contexts and encounters that are naturally available within a community whose members use a particular language in all, or most, contexts.

In other situations, in particular, in situations where children are introduced to a language in a school setting, research suggests that it is not *necessarily* the case that an earlier introduction to the target language is always better. Nor is it necessarily the case that children will learn languages quickly and easily, or that they will be free from anxiety when they are confronted with a language-learning situation.

One clear advantage of starting to learn a language at an early age relates to pronunciation. There appears to be a clear correlation between an early start in language learning and good overall approximations of native-speaker-like pronunciation, stress and intonation. Students who begin to learn a second language at an early age, provided they are exposed to appropriate models of the language, are likely to more closely approximate the pronunciation of first language speakers than are those who begin their language learning at a later age. Furthermore, research has indicated that *greater length of exposure* to language learning may give learners a greater ability to develop a high level of communicative control. However, given that, in tutored language learning situations, teenagers may cope better than younger

children, we need to balance possible learning difficulties against length of exposure in deciding what is best in terms of the stage at which a new language is introduced. We also need to remember that there is a fundamental difference between achieving competence in day-to-day spoken interaction in a target language and achieving sufficient competence to operate effectively through the medium of a target language in an educational environment. Although many young learners appear to achieve a relatively high level of competence in using a target language in day-to-day spoken interaction relatively quickly, it is likely to take many years before they can operate effectively in the target language in educational contexts.

Should grammar be taught to young learners?

Most teachers agree that all language learners need to be introduced to vocabulary. With younger learners, most also prefer to emphasise speaking and listening rather than reading and writing. There is, however, less agreement about the introduction of grammar into programmes designed for young learners.

Some teachers are convinced that grammar should *not* be taught to young learners. They generally believe that teaching grammar turns language learning into an unpleasant experience, that it is unnecessary because young learners will acquire a new language naturally, and that it is pointless because learners do not necessarily learn what they are taught. All of these things may be true in situations where very young children can acquire a new language naturally in a community where the new language is the language spoken within that community. However, they are by no means necessarily true where young learners learn a language in a classroom context, especially when they do so for only a few hours each week. Quite simply, they do not have the exposure time or the communicative opportunities to make natural acquisition a realistic possibility. Furthermore, even where the target language is also the language of academic instruction for all, or most, of the time, and even where the children have had some exposure to the language in pre-school contexts, it would be unrealistic to assume that they will develop a native-speaker-like competence. They *are* likely to achieve ‘surface fluency’ relatively quickly. However, ‘surface fluency’ can be deceptive. The fact that children can understand, and make themselves understood with little difficulty in predictable, day-to-day contexts does not mean that their language is necessarily accurate or that it is adequate to support their academic goals. It would appear to follow from this that we need to provide language learners, including those in immersion or semi-immersion contexts, with some form of instruction in the forms/ grammatical structures of the target language.

Does teaching grammar turn language learning into an unpleasant experience? Certainly, this is likely to be the case where grammar is taught explicitly and where young learners are expected to learn grammatical rules. However, a good teacher of young learners will teach grammar implicitly and in such a way that the learners do not even realise that they are learning grammatical rules.

What about the argument that young learners will acquire language naturally so long as they understand what is being communicated? Of course, this is true in situations where young children live in communities where they are surrounded by the new language. Such children are likely to become fluent in day-to-day communication in the new language relatively quickly. However, as indicated above, research suggests that children, unless they are very young indeed when they are exposed to the new

language, are likely to have enduring problems relating to accuracy unless they are specifically helped to overcome them.

What about the argument that it is pointless to teach grammar because learners do not necessarily learn what they are taught? Certainly, this is true where teachers try to teach too much too quickly. It will also be true in situations where teachers attempt to teach something that is simple at the same time as allowing all sorts of complexities – complexities of which they may even be unaware – to obscure the teaching focus.

Imagine this scenario. A relatively inexperienced teacher of English is attempting to encourage a group of young learners whose first language is Mandarin to use the present progressive for ongoing activities relating to movement (*He's jumping/skipping/hopping etc.*). This is the first occasion on which these learners have been introduced to the present progressive in English and yet the teacher constantly alters the question form (*What is he doing?/ What's he doing? What are they doing? What is it doing? What are you doing? etc.*), expecting the children to move, at the stage of initial presentation, between full forms and contracted forms (*What's . . . ?/ What is . . . ?*), and between names (*John*) and pronouns. Even worse, the children are expected to change the auxiliary verb form to match the selected pronoun (*He is . . . ; We are . . . etc.*). To expect learners to be able to cope with all of these complexities at the initial stage of the presentation of a new structure makes no sense. Teaching of this kind is unlikely to be of any value at all. In fact, it is this type of grammar instruction that has given grammar a bad name.

Should we, then, teach grammar to young learners in our classes? The answer is certainly NO - if what we mean by teaching grammar is teaching grammatical rules explicitly and expecting learners to memorise them. However, if teaching grammar means teaching about language forms implicitly, then the answer must be YES. An important aspect of a good language teacher's repertoire is knowing how to get learners to focus on forms, knowing how to make them aware of language forms in ways that are interesting and effective. Even so, in the very early stages of language learning, it makes sense to focus on the presentation of formulaic language, that is, language that can be used meaningfully in a specific context without reference to how it might be adapted for use in another context.

Young learners and second languages: research indicators in more detail

Beginning to learn a second language: what age is best?

Many people appear to believe that the earlier a child begins to learn a language, the better they will be at speaking, writing and understanding that language (Krashen, Long & Scarcella, 1979). Much of the evidence for this belief appears to be anecdotal or based largely on observations of children who are in true language immersion situations, such as, for example, children who have moved with their parents to live in a country where the target language is spoken. While some early research in the area (Lennenberg, 1967; Penfield & Roberts, 1959) suggested that the success of children as early language learners was the result of the flexibility of their brain, more recent research (Genesee, 1981; Harley, 1989; Newport, 1990) has led to a questioning of this notion. Currently, most language research supports the view that:

[The] rate of second language acquisition may reflect psychological and social factors, rather than biological ones that favor child learners. For example, children may be more motivated than adults to learn the second language. There is probably more incentive for the child on the playground and in school to communicate in the second language than there is for the adult on the job (where they often can get by with routine phrases and expressions) or with friends (who may speak the individual's first language anyway). It frequently happens that children are placed in more situations where they are forced to speak the second language than are adults (McLaughlin, 1992, p. 2).

A number of research projects have compared the relative rates of progress in language learning of early beginners and those who began their studies at a later age. These studies indicate that older students are generally more efficient and effective language learners because they bring to the process more world experience and more highly-developed language strategies and cognitive skills (Gorosch and Axelsson, 1964; Florander & Jansen, 1968; Buehler, 1972; Stern, Burstall & Harley, 1975; Snow & Hoefnagel-Hoehle, 1978; Genesee, 1981, 1987). Even so, because greater *length of exposure* can lead to greater communicative control (Ekstrand, 1975; Hatch, 1983), an earlier start can offer advantages so long as the language learning continues over a longer period than would otherwise have been the case.

What about the widespread belief that children are fearless language learners who approach the task with equanimity and are never, like adults, constrained by fear and anxiety? McLaughlin (1992) points to a number of research projects (see, for example, Asher & Price, 1967; Snow & Hoefnagel-Hoehle, 1978) that clearly indicate that young children can find language learning both difficult and stressful.

In most areas, research does not indicate that there are any *necessary* advantages in introducing the learning of second languages in tutored language learning contexts in the pre-teen rather than teenage years. An exception, however, is in the area of pronunciation. Asher and Garcia (1969) and Oyama (1976) both found a clear correlation between an early start in language learning and overall approximations of native-speaker-like pronunciation, stress and intonation. It appears that students who begin to learn a language at an early age will ultimately more closely approximate the pronunciation of first language speakers than those who begin their language learning at a later age.

What is bilingualism and can language learners become bilingual?

The word 'bilingual' does *not necessarily* mean 'equally competent in all areas of use of more than one language'. There are different levels and types of bilingualism. *Absolute bilingualism* (having the same level of competence in all areas of use of more than one language) is extremely rare. Something very close to it is, however, achievable, particularly where we have what can be referred to as *simultaneous bilingual development*, that is, where there is exposure to, and development of, two languages at the same time in a context where there is approximately equal opportunity to interact in the two languages. This sort of bilingualism would generally be initiated before a child has reached 3 years of age. *Successive bilingual development* involves exposure to a second language after the first language has already been established, that is, after around the age of three (McLaughlin, 1995). In

the case of successive bilingualism, the learning of the second language may happen quickly (*rapid successive bilingual development*) if there are many opportunities to interact in both languages, or more slowly (*gradual successive bilingual development*) if there are more limited opportunities to use the second language. In the case, in particular, of *gradual successive bilingual development*, which characterizes almost all classroom-centred language learning, learners are unlikely to achieve anything approaching absolute bilingualism.

Learning a first language and a second language: is it the same thing?

A large number of research projects (see, for example, Nemser, 1971; Dulay & Burt, 1973; Corder, 1981; Cazden, 1972; George, 1972; Richards, 1974; Cook, 1973; Hatch, 1978; Ellis, 1984; Wong-Fillmore, 1985) have been undertaken in an attempt to investigate whether learning a first language and learning a second language occur in the same way. Indications are that the second language learning process, although drawing on first language learning strategies, is a unique process. What is also indicated in the research findings is that the second language learning process may be strongly affected by a number of critical factors, including the age of the learner and, most particularly, the environment in which the learning takes place. It follows, then, that if the cognitive process is different, the approach to teaching and learning should also be different. Teaching a second language in a school context is not something that can be approached successfully without skills and understanding that are specific to tutored language learning contexts.

Is it possible to learn a second language and learn other curriculum areas through the medium of that language simultaneously?

Multiple experiences in the USA of children who are learning a second language and simultaneously learning curriculum areas through the medium of that language (e.g., learning English and learning mathematics through the medium of English simultaneously) indicate that there are likely to be developmental problems, particularly in the early stages (see, for example, Collier, 1989; Cummins, 1981). Children in language immersion contexts are likely to take up to 7 years before they develop sufficient proficiency in the target language to cope adequately with the academic demands of other curriculum areas such as mathematics, science or social studies. This period of mastery is likely to take even longer in gradual, successive, bilingual settings. The fact that a child is able to cope adequately in oral contexts in day-to-day situations does not mean that he or she will be able to cope adequately in a context where he or she is expected to learn other curriculum areas through the medium of that language (see Cummins, 1980).

Aren't all approaches to language teaching 'communicative' by definition?

Currently, the most widely accepted approaches to language teaching are collectively referred to as 'communicative approaches'. Communicative approaches encourage learners to engage in meaningful communication in the target language, thus giving a purpose to the language learning that extends beyond the actual language learning itself. The primary purpose of this approach is to encourage learners to communicate real information for authentic reasons:

Communicative language teaching is teaching that encourages learners to engage in meaningful communication in the target language, communication that has a function over and above that of language learning itself. Any

approach that encourages learners to communicate real information for authentic reasons is, therefore, a communicative approach. This would include various types of information gap activities, that is, activities that require students to seek information that they genuinely require in order to complete some task. Classroom-based language tuition will inevitably be artificial in some respects. However, those who subscribe to the ideals of communicative language teaching aim to keep such artificiality to a minimum and avoid language exercises that are out of context and essentially meaning-free (Ministry of Education, 2002: Introduction).

Some researchers (see, for example, Krashen, 1981), have suggested that if the attitude and atmosphere are appropriate, language can be ‘acquired’ in classroom contexts so long as teachers use the target language meaningfully, making sure to challenge the students by using language that is a little in advance of their current level of competence. In fact, however, in order to use language in the classroom that is challenging without being too demanding, teachers will need to understand a great deal about what is involved in tutored language learning contexts. As McLaughlin (1985) and Gregg (1984) have observed, learning a second or foreign language in a classroom setting, especially if it is just for a few hours each week, is most certainly not the same thing as learning a first language. In such a context, teachers must have an understanding of the cognitive processes involved in second language learning and must have expertise in second language teaching. Simply using a second language and hoping that children will understand what is said and begin to use the language themselves is not what is meant by ‘communicative language teaching’. Nor is it accurate to refer to language teaching that does not attempt to involve the learners in realistic communication as ‘communicative language teaching’.

Are native speakers of a language likely to be better language teachers of the language than non-native speakers?

There are problems associated with the wide range of expertise of those who are expected to implement language initiatives both in Asia and New Zealand. While some primary school teachers have a high degree of proficiency in the target language and use it with confidence, others have more limited ability in the language and/or lack confidence in their language skills. Teachers who do not have a high level of proficiency in the target language, who lack an in-depth understanding of the target culture and who have little, if any, training in language teaching pedagogy will have serious difficulties in attempting to create an appropriate context for communicative language learning. However, the fact that someone has a very high level of proficiency in a language does not necessarily mean that he or she will be an effective teacher of that language. As Crombie (2002) observes:

[The] most severe problems are often associated with the lack of appropriate training in language teaching pedagogy. The fact that someone is a fluent speaker of a language most certainly does not mean that they have the type of understanding of how that language works that is useful in the second language classroom. Often, first language speakers without appropriate linguistic training are wholly unaware of the complexities of the language or of the difficulties that learners of the language face. They may, therefore, actually confuse learners by, for example, communicating the same type of information in an array of

different forms without even realizing what they are doing. Furthermore, since teaching a language in a classroom setting requires very specific skills and training, both native and non-native speakers of the target language who lack the necessary skills and training may do more harm than good. The problem is that some of the more extreme interpretations of the communicative language teaching movement appear to have been based on the assumption that learning a language in a classroom for a few hours a week is essentially the same thing as learning a first language from infancy. Some educationalists appear to have believed – perhaps some still believe – that all that is necessary is to go into a classroom and talk meaningfully about interesting things in ways that learners can understand. Even if this were the case, it is something that only a highly trained language professional could hope to achieve, something that would require very considerable training and experience.

Finding sufficient numbers of well trained teachers with a sufficiently high level of competence in English is a real problem in Asia (see, for example, Wang, 1999). Judging from the number of advertisements in the *New Zealand Educational Gazette*, the same is true in the case of teachers of Maori. Even when teachers can be found, there may be no relevant curriculum documents available to them (as in parts of Asia), or the curriculum documents that *are* available may be less than wholly useful. Even highly trained professional language educators will have difficulty in establishing benchmarks for their programmes if there are no clear guidelines about what can reasonably be expected of their students.

Second language-learning initiatives relating to young learners in both Asia and New Zealand appear to be driven by the very best of intentions and by a passionate belief by some policy makers, parents and teachers that young learners will gain future economic, social, cultural and educational advantages from having language-learning opportunities at a young age. However, there often appears to be an uncomfortable fit between the programmes themselves and what is currently known about best practice in second language teaching and learning. There are a number of inter-related aspects of programme design and delivery that need to be considered if such initiatives are to be given a better chance of success. These relate to the need for:

- national languages policies;
- national language institutes which take responsibility for commissioning research and disseminating research findings;
- coherent pre-service and in-service training programmes for language teachers (including language proficiency development as well as training in language teaching);
- curriculum and syllabus documents which include clearly specified achievement objectives and which can be directly related to language proficiency benchmarks;
- appropriate teaching resources;
- the articulation of mechanisms to deal with multiple entry points (e.g., students who begin their language learning later than others).

Children learn best when they have a genuine reason for learning – a reason that they can understand – and when learning is fun and they experience success. In fact, so far as children are concerned, the best possible reason for learning a language is that they have fun in the process and that they succeed. Making language-learning fun and ensuring success is something that requires the synthesis of great number different elements, both within and beyond the classroom.

If language-learning initiatives are to be successful, young learners need to be turned on to language learning. They need to be in classrooms with competent, well-trained teachers who challenge and stimulate their students, but who also understand the constraints and limitations of language learning programmes. Inevitably, a child who has had regular, enjoyable and success-filled periods of exposure to a target language from an early age *will* have an advantage if he or she has enjoyed the experience, experienced success and become a keen language learner.

References

- Asher, J. & Garcia, R. (1969). The optimal age to learn a foreign language. *Modern Language Journal*, 53, 334-341.
- Buehler, U. (1972). Empirische und lernpsychologische Beitrage zur Wahl des Zeitpunktes fur den Fremdsprachenunterrichtbeginn: Lernpsychologischinterpretierte Leistungsmessungen im Frage Franzoesischunterricht an Primaerschulen des Kantons Zuerich. Zurich: Orell Fuessli.
- Cazden, C. (1972). *Child language and education*. New York: Holt Reinhart and Winston.
- Collier, V. (1989). How long: a synthesis of research on academic achievement in second language. *TESOL Quarterly*, 23, 509-531.
- Cook, V. (1973). The comparison of language development in native children and foreign adults. *International Review of Applied Linguistics XI*, 13-28.
- Corder, S. (1981). *Error analysis and interlanguage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crombie, W. (2002). *Communicative Language Teaching: Where from, where to?* Keynote address at *Current Practice in Foreign Language Teaching Seminar*: Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages, Kaohsiung. *Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages Journal* (forthcoming).
- Cummins, J. (1980). The cross-lingual dimensions of language proficiency: implications for bilingual education and the optimal age issue. *TESOL Quarterly*, 14, 175-187.
- Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In *Schooling and language minority students: a theoretical framework*. Los Angeles: California State University, Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center.
- Dulay, H. and Burt, M. (1973). Should we teach children syntax? *Language Learning*, 23, 245-258.
- Ekstrand, L. (1975). Age and length of residence as variables related to the adjustment of migrant children with special reference to second language learning. In Krashen, S., Scarcella, R. and Long, M. (Eds.) (1982). *Child-adult differences in second language acquisition*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

- Ellis, R. (1984). *Classroom second language development*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Florander, J. & Jansen, M. (1968). *Skoleforsog i engelsk 1959-1965*. Copenhagen: Danish Institute of Education.
- George, H. (1972). *Common errors in language learning: insights from English*. Rowley, Mass. Newbury House.
- Genesee, F. (1981). A comparison of early and late second language learning. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 13, 115-127.
- Genesee, F. (1987). *Learning through two languages: studies of immersion and bilingual education*. New York, Newbury House.
- Gorosch, M. & Axelsson, C. (1964). *English without a book: a bilingual experience in primary schools by audio-visual means*. Berlin: Comelsen Verlag.
- Gregg, K. (1984). Krashen's monitor and Occam's razor. *Applied Linguistics*, 5, 79-100.
- Hatch, E. (1978). *Second language acquisition*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.
- Hatch, E. (1983). *Psycholinguistics: a second language perspective*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.
- Harley, B. (1989). *Age in second language acquisition*. San Diego: College Hill Press.
- Krashen, S., Long, M. & Scarcella, R. (1979). Age, rate, and eventual attainment in second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly*, 13, 573-582.
- Krashen, S. (1981). *Second language learning and second language acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Lenneberg, E. H. (1967). *The biological foundations of language*. New York: Wiley.
- McLaughlin, B. (1984). *Second-language acquisition in childhood. Volume 1: preschool children*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McLaughlin, B. (1985). *Second-language acquisition in childhood. Volume 2: preschool children*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McLaughlin, B. (1992). *Educational Practice Report: 5. Myths and Misconceptions about second language learning: what every teacher needs to unlearn*. USA: National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning.
- McLaughlin, B. (1995). *Educational Practice Report: 14. Fostering Second Language Development in Young Children: Principles and Practices*. USA: National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning.
- New Zealand Ministry of Education (2002). *French in the New Zealand Curriculum*. Wellington: Learning Media.
- Nemser, W. (1971). Approximative systems of foreign language learners. *International Review of Applied Linguistics IX*, 115-123.
- Newport, E. (1990). Maturation constraints on language learning. *Cognitive Science*, 14, 11-28.
- Oyama, S. (1976). A sensitive period for the acquisition of nonnative phonological system. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 5, 261-284.
- Penfield, W. & Roberts, L. (1959). *Speech and brain-mechanisms*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Richards, J. (1974). (Ed). *Error analysis*. London: Longman.
- Snow, C. & Hoefnagel-Hoehle, M. (1978). The critical period for language acquisition: evidence from second language learning. *Child Development*, 49, 1114-1118.
- Stem, H., Burstall, C. & Harley, B. (1975). *French from age eight or eleven?* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

- Wang, Wei-Pei. (1999). *The teaching of English in primary schools in Taiwan: a proposal for a teacher training programme*. University of Waikato. Certificate of Proficiency.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (1985). Second language learning in children: a proposed model. In R. Eshch & J. Provinzano (Eds.) (1985). *Issues in English language development*. Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Issues in Māori Language Planning and Revitalisation¹

Ray Harlow

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

University of Waikato

[rharlow@waikato.ac.nz]

Introduction

All languages which have undergone changes of status in the course of their histories have been the subject of language planning, be this consistent or piecemeal, officially driven or diffuse.² In some cases, the processes have been and are still relatively 'painless' or even subliminal, at least as far as much of the population speaking the language is concerned. English is an extreme case in this respect, so that Ayto (1983) is able to speak of the 'failure of language reform' as a striking characteristic of its history. Many of the issues which could potentially be associated with its position in both the world and in particular countries do not, to all intents and purposes, arise. They have been dealt with by history; the way English works as a *lingua franca*, as an official language, as an international language in a variety of domains and regions, its spelling systems, its vocabulary, just 'grewed', with only sporadic help from conscious planning.

For other languages however, especially for languages which have rather suddenly undergone a change in status of some kind or another, a whole set of issues arise. Here I want to mention some of the issues which come into play in New Zealand with respect to Māori, though much the same sort of matters are concerns in many other parts of the world as well.

The changes in status which have affected Māori in recent decades, and which have given rise to the issues I want to mention, are interrelated. These changes are the recognition that Māori's continued existence is precarious, and its being made an official language of New Zealand. Both of these developments have occasioned language-planning exercises which have tended to proceed very much on an *ad hoc* basis.

Until about 60 years ago, Māori was very much the first language of the Māori community, which was largely rural. There was some *de facto* official status accorded Māori in that there was an official system of accredited translators and interpreters administered by the Department of Māori Affairs; Māori could be used by Members of Parliament to address the House; at least one court, the Māori Land Court,³ dealt with documents and testimony in Māori.

However, the symbiosis with English which began in the late eighteenth century, and which was arguably a relatively stable diglossia until about the time of the Second World War, has led to massive language shift from Māori to English.⁴ On the basis of an extensive survey carried out in Māori communities between 1973 and 1978, it was estimated that at that time there were some 70,000 native speakers of the language and a total of perhaps 115,000 people who could understand the language easily (Benton, 1981, p. 15). While these figures looked healthy enough in absolute terms, they were in fact cause for great concern, since the survey showed that

knowledge of Māori was restricted to a minority of those who would class themselves as ethnically Māori, and that knowledge of Māori is concentrated in older age groups. The tendency already evident in this survey was confirmed by a second major survey conducted in 1995 by *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (usually referred to in English as The Māori Language Commission; here often ‘The Commission’) and published in 1998 by *Te Puni Kōkiri* (The Ministry of Māori Development). This study arrived at the result that there are now only some 10,000 people who enjoy ‘high’ or ‘very high’ fluency in Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998, p. 34).⁵

In part because of the perception of this trend, but also because of a growing interest in and concern for Māori issues of all kinds, a number of initiatives were begun in order to try to ensure the survival of Māori. Recognising that the natural transmission of Māori within the family was in very large part broken, The Department of Māori Affairs promoted the foundation of ‘The Language Nest’, *Te Kōhanga Reo*, a Māori language preschool, in which children are brought up in an environment which is Māori not only linguistically, but also culturally. The first such preschool was opened in 1982, and now there are over 700 throughout the country catering for some 13,000 children.⁶

Despite assurances from the Department of Education that the public education system would be able to accommodate children progressing from this monolingual Māori background, it was not long before some of the *kōhanga* felt the need to retain their children past preschool age in order to continue their education in a Māori environment. This led to the foundation in 1985 of the first *Kura Kaupapa Māori*, a primary school teaching the whole curriculum required by the Government but in a Māori context and through the medium of Māori. In the meantime, this sort of initiative has attracted Government approval and funding, and by the beginning of 1997, there were 54 such schools catering for some 3700 pupils. A few of the schools had extended as far as the final year of high school education,⁷ and students who have had their entire preschool, primary and secondary education through the medium of Māori have started to arrive at the country’s universities.

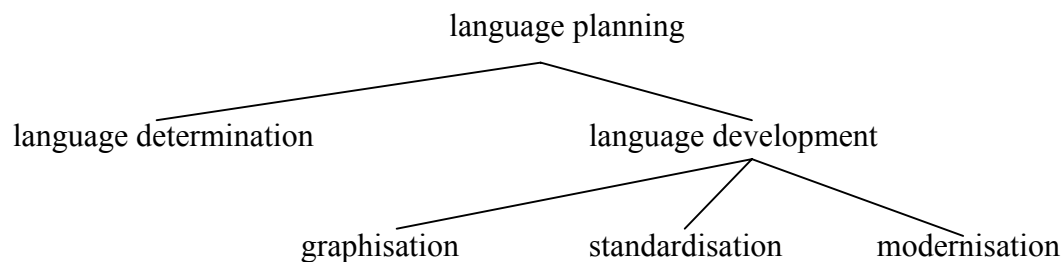
Māori has been a subject for Bachelor of Arts and other degrees in New Zealand Universities for some decades,⁸ however, a recent innovation (since 1991) at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, is *te Tohu Paetahi*, a degree programme in which Māori is not just a subject, but the language of tuition for the majority of courses and subjects in the degree. This has entailed the development of courses in a range of subjects⁹ through the medium of Māori. Waikato also has a policy allowing the submission of assignments and examinations in any subject to be written in Māori, and some magisterial and doctoral theses have been submitted in the language.

These developments have all taken place over the last two decades. They are part of the general ‘Māori Renaissance’, for which the Land March 1975¹⁰ is a convenient symbolic starting point. This movement embraces cultural, political, economic and justice issues, as well as the developments specifically directed at the language, which were triggered by a desire to preserve Māori and enhance its place in New Zealand in the face of threatened extinction.

As part of the same impetus, a claim was made by Huirangi Waikerepuru and the Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo (The Māori Language Board) to the Waitangi Tribunal,¹¹

making the case that the Māori Language is a *taonga*, a ‘treasured possession’, in the terms of the second paragraph of the Māori-language text of the Treaty¹² and that the Crown had been delinquent in guaranteeing the Māori people its continued possession. The Tribunal accepted this argument and made some recommendations to the Government. Its response was the passage of the Māori Language Act 1987. This Act made Māori ‘an official language of New Zealand’,¹³ allowed any party to most judicial and quasi-judicial proceedings to speak Māori in the proceedings, founded *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, part of whose statutory function is to promote Māori as a living means of communication, and set up a new method of certifying translators and interpreters.

All of these developments involve language planning, even if unintentionally and unknowingly. Indeed, arguably because these developments represent planning done on a very *ad hoc* basis and without the cohesive force of an explicit and overriding policy, the issues which arise were in large part unforeseen.¹⁴ In discussing them, I will refer to the subdivisions of the area of language planning summarised in Fasold (1984, pp. 247-8). He follows Jernudd (1973, pp. 16-7) in distinguishing ‘language determination’ and ‘language development’ and reports Ferguson’s (1968) further division of the latter into: ‘graphisation’, ‘standardisation’ and ‘modernisation’.



By ‘language determination’ is meant in the general case decisions about which language is to be used for what, and can be a real issue in multilingual countries trying to balance the claims of various indigenous languages with the need to accommodate a language of international communication. In the case of New Zealand, there is only the one indigenous language.¹⁵ However the identification of Māori as the language whose ‘status planning’ is being undertaken is the easy part; vacuous or at least vague pronouncements such as ‘Māori is an official language of New Zealand’ or ‘It is desirable to ensure the survival of the Māori language’ trip relatively lightly off the tongue. But they leave a lot of questions open about the precise status for which Māori is destined, as well as issues like which version of Māori,¹⁶ and who is to decide these and other questions. Some of these issues will be discussed below.

‘Language development’ corresponds to what is elsewhere called ‘corpus planning’, that is, activities which relate to the shape of the language itself. In all three of the subdivisions, ‘graphisation’, ‘standardisation’ and ‘modernisation’, related issues arise.

It will not be possible to discuss fully all the issues and factors which arise within this broad area of language planning and normalisation for Māori, so I shall take a couple of areas of planning and discuss them in some detail. It will be clear that the sort of factors that arise apply equally to other aspects of planning.

Ferguson's graphisation

This refers to the determination of a writing system for the language concerned. It is related to but not the same as the matter of standardisation. In a number of cases of languages where recent changes of status or at least perceived needs have given rise to this issue, the establishment of a written norm is not a trivial matter. For historical reasons, there were until recently five written standards for Rhaetoromansh in the Swiss canton of Graubünden, a state of affairs which led for instance to the absurd situation of the canton's having to prepare seven sets of school materials, one each for the German and Italian speaking communes, and five for the Romansh communes. In one case, there was only one commune using the particular form of Romansh. The existence of these five written forms of the language was also providing an excuse for the canton not to produce official material in Romansh unless it absolutely had to. Previous attempts to rectify this situation had failed, but in 1982, at the invitation of the Lia Rumantscha, Heinrich Schmid published guidelines for a single written language, Rumantsch Grischun, which represented such a clever compromise between the existing standards that 80% of any text would agree with any of the five existing standards. The federation immediately supported this, and all Rhaetoromansh translations of, say, federal legislation are now into Rumantsch Grischun.¹⁷

Māori is in the lucky position that with few exceptions regional variation is very largely lexical; dialects in general have at least the same segmental phonology and phonotactics. Thus in large part the establishment of a single spelling system, as opposed to standardisation of vocabulary, to which I will return, should be a very simple matter. In fact, most of the writing system has been standardised since the 1840s, the last feature to have been fixed being the writing of /f/ as <wh>. However, there are three points at which dialects differ sufficiently phonologically that the question arises as to how these should be spelt. The dialect historically spoken in much of the South Island¹⁸ had merged *N and *k prehistorically to /k/. Similarly, in parts of the Bay of Plenty there has been a merger in the speech of many people of earlier *N and *n as /n/. Finally, in some forms on Māori in the Taranaki/Wanganui area, the /h/ of other dialects is pronounced [ʔ], and the /f/ (spelt <wh>) as [ʔw]. How should these be spelt? Who should decide?

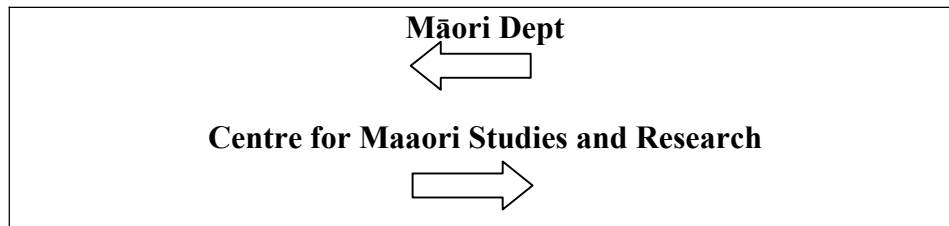
Again, the matter of the phonemically long vowels in Māori presents exactly the same questions.¹⁹ Should they be written differently at all from the short vowels in Māori orthography? The practice in older texts, and of much non-published writing in Māori is in fact not to mark them. Should the long vowels be marked with macrons as Learning Media,²⁰ the Commission and most Universities do? Or by double vowels as advocated by Auckland University?²¹ In a number of particles, the vowel length varies in predictable ways. How should these be spelt? Under present conventions some are always spelt with a macron, others never. Devising systems of spelling is in fact not hard; the hard bit is deciding whose to follow. Should there be only one system? How is it to be imposed? These are not questions to which I want to tender answers here, but this relatively simple case shows up two of the important matters in the whole area of planning: that of authority, and that of the extent of standardisation which is needed or possible. These occur again with respect to the 'modernisation' and 'standardisation' sides of planning.

Authority

The issue of authority in the areas of language planning is actually not distinct from the general issue of authority within Māoridom; there is no centrally agreed body which is able to 'legislate', define policy, plan, distribute resources, etc., in a way which would be accepted universally, even if grudgingly sometimes. Local and traditional authority structures are still very strong, even in something as apparently pan-Māori as say the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement.

This is of course another story,²² but with respect to language planning, there is no central body with the *mana*²³ which would be necessary to impose decisions, quite apart from the practicalities of implementing them. Again just in the case of spelling, even if a decision that there should be one spelling system were accepted widely, its implementation would entail considerable retraining for a lot of teachers, editors, proof-readers, etc.

But even a small thing like long vowels excites considerable intransigence. The signage at the University of Waikato is quite inconsistent, because the Department of Māori Studies loosely follows the Commission's conventions, but the Centre for Māori Studies and Research,²⁴ for historical reasons, followed Auckland University's. The result is different spellings depending on which particular unit provided the Māori text. An extreme example was a sign in the corridor of one building which incorporated both conventions.



Very similar remarks can be made in the matter of 'modernisation'. Māori has undergone a variety of types of adaptation as it has been confronted with new environments, new cultures and new domains of use. The arrival of the Eastern Polynesian dialects which would become Māori in temperate New Zealand from the tropical islands occasioned an adaptation reflected in shifts in vocabulary. The arrival of the Pākehā²⁵ prompted a radical expansion of vocabulary in Māori as new ideas and goods were introduced. Both of these events proceeded in a very *ad hoc* manner. The rapid change of profile and status that Māori has enjoyed recently has led for the first time in its history to concerted efforts to expand its resources, especially though by no means exclusively in technical areas.²⁶

Unfortunately, again there has been little coordination of this effort, with the result that there has been huge duplication of work. A glance at the database administered by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (<http://www.nzcer.org.nz/search/kimikupu.htm>) will show the degree to which a variety of bodies have independently proposed sets of terminology in a range of areas. What is worse is that sometimes the same wordform has been chosen by different bodies but assigned different though related meanings. For instance, the form *tūingoa* is proposed for 'noun' in Cleve Barlow's (1990) translation of Biggs' *Let's Learn*

Maori (1969), but is used in the Māori Language Curriculum Statement²⁷ to mean ‘pronoun’. In the same area, *rereingoa* is used by Barlow for ‘nominal sentence’, that is, a sentence with a noun as the predicate but lacking a copular verb. The same word though is what the Curriculum Statement uses for ‘noun’. Thus, at any rate, the glossary at the back of the statement; strikingly, the terms are used with Barlow’s meanings within the text.

	Barlow	Curriculum
‘pronoun’	<i>tūpou</i>	<i>tūingoa</i>
‘noun’	<i>tūingoa</i>	<i>rereingoa</i>
‘nominal sentence’	<i>rereingoa</i>	

The Commission did at one stage attempt to assume a coordinating role in this activity by asking those groups and individuals who were developing their own vocabulary to submit their work so that it could be circulated. However, the Commission’s practice in fact turned out to be a filter; submitted lists were not just publicised, they were edited and adapted according to the tastes of the Commission’s members. The matter of grammatical terminology which I have already mentioned provides a good example of the sort of thing which occurs in this whole area of vocabulary ‘modernisation’.

Some 20 years ago, Professor Hīrini Mead at Victoria University of Wellington developed a set of words in Māori for basic ideas of Māori word and sentence structure. This was followed about twelve years ago by Cleve Barlow’s translation of Bruce Biggs’ book *Let’s Learn Maori*. In order to effect this translation, Barlow developed Māori versions of the particular set of technical terms Biggs uses in his model of Māori grammar. This set of terminology has been used in classes at Auckland University and the University of Waikato for over a decade now. Confronted with these two lists, the Commission’s reaction was to develop a third, based largely on Barlow’s but with some differences. In the meantime, preparation of a curriculum statement for Māori in Māori has led to the existence of yet another list, not unlike Barlow’s or the Commission’s, but not identical either. Finally, recognising that there are now a number of courses at the University of Waikato in which the structure of Māori is discussed in Māori, some staff have rightly decided that we should be sure that students are confronted with just one set of terminology. The procedure adopted to ensure this however was not a decision to adopt say Barlow’s terms as published, but to begin to produce yet another list, albeit largely based on Barlow.

This is an extreme case, but not completely untypical. There is a lack of coordination in this effort and an unwillingness simply to commit to already existing systems. About the only thing on which everyone who is working to create new terminology agrees on is the puristic injunction, thou shalt not borrow from English.²⁸ However, even in that there is disagreement with some people even attempting to undo earlier borrowing.

At its inception, the Commission developed a policy for its own activities in this area which said that no new terminology would be generated by borrowing from English, but that existing loans would be recognised as part of the language. In fact, though, its practice has not been entirely consistent with this policy, the most notorious case being its attempt to promote the reintroduction of traditional month names in lieu of

the borrowed names which have been in use since at least the middle of the 19th century.

	<i>borrowed terms</i>	<i>traditional terms</i>
January	Hānuere	Kohi-tātea
February	Pēpuere	Hui-tanguru
March	Māehe	Poutū-te-rangi
April	Āperira	Paenga-whāwhā
May	Mei	Haratua
June	Hune	Pipiri
July	Hūrae	Hōngongoi
August	Ākuhata	Here-turi-kōkā
September	Hepetema	Mahuru
October	Oketopa	Whiringa-ā-nuku
November	Nōema	Whiringa-ā-rangi
December	Tīhema	Hakihea

The felony was compounded in my view by the invention of pseudo-traditional names for the days of the week.

	<i>borrowed terms</i>	<i>words based on numerals</i>	<i>newly created calques</i>
Sunday	Rātapu	Rātapu	Rātapu
Monday	Mane	Rātahi	Rāhina
Tuesday	Tūrei	Rārua	Rātū
Wednesday	Wenerei	Rātoru	Rāapa
Thursday	Tāite	Rāwhā	Rāpare
Friday	Paraire	Rārima	Rāmere
Saturday	Hātarei	Rāhoroi	Rāhoroi

Borrowed terms²⁹ for the days of the week have been in use for a very considerable time. The forms in the second column of this table have also been current for many decades and are (Monday to Friday anyway) compounds of *rā* ‘day’ and the numerals ‘1’ to ‘5’. *Rāhoroi* is a compound of *rā* and *horoi* ‘wash’, so ‘washing day’. The third column contains the system proposed by the Commission. As can be seen, *Rātapu* and *Rāhoroi* are retained. However, the other terms are all calques based at least in part on continental models such as French, using in part the names of planets.

-hina	‘moon’	= Fr. <i>lune</i>	<i>lundi</i>
-tū	Tūmataunga ‘god of war’	= Mars	<i>mardi</i>
-apa	Apārangi	= Mercury	<i>mercredi</i>
-pare	Pareārau	= Jupiter/Jove	<i>jeudi</i>
-mere	Meremere	= Venus	<i>vendredi</i>

Now, while the division of a year into twelve or thirteen months was a precontact practice in Māori culture, and there are indeed several sets of old month names

recorded,³⁰ the seven-day week is a Judæo-Christian introduction for which there was no equivalent and thus no terminology in traditional Māori.

Undue rigour in this and other areas has led to the situation, often complained of, that older people, for whom the borrowed terms are the usual words, cannot understand what is being referred to in the language being promoted in schools. The issue of inter-generational mutual intelligibility is not a trivial one for Māori language planners, yet the trend seems to be to sacrifice it at the altar of purity.

Returning to the matter of authority

It seems to me that the inability of any group, be it the Commission, the Ministry of Education, Te Puni Kōkiri (The Ministry of Māori Development), the University of Waikato, to achieve the status of recognised authority in this area is allied to a further issue which affects planning activities. This is dialect loyalty.³¹ As is often the case with languages which have been distributed over quite an area for some time, Māori has regional variation. This was mentioned above with respect to the issue of 'graphisation'. The differences between Māori dialects are not great and are largely lexical. In general, mutual intelligibility is not impaired, but people tend to be particularly sensitive to any initiative which smacks of 'standardisation'. This is taken to be the imposition of a single word for any idea, and the elimination of dialect variation. To quite an extent, dialect loyalty is motivated by the same attitudes as the wish to preserve Māori as a whole and the purism which informs the modernisation of the language. At least part of both of these phenomena is the attachment to Māori and one's own dialect as flags of identity. Any move which seems to threaten the distinctiveness of Māori (*vis-à-vis* English) or a dialect (*vis-à-vis* other forms of Māori) is resisted. Unfortunately, clashes arise between these often passionately held positions. Some of the motivation for the very considerable duplication of effort in vocabulary development comes from the need to maintain dialect distinctiveness. Universal adoption of the same set of new terms would lead to a lessening of that distinctiveness, though might enhance the language's chances as a whole. To the extent also that terms are promulgated by people or institutions associated with a different dialect area, they can be perceived as foreign 'not words of our dialect'.

As I say, mutual intelligibility between dialects is high. It is thus a legitimate question whether in fact any kind of standardisation is necessary. Certainly, there can be no question of trying deliberately to eliminate regional variants. However, there is probably some point in trying to achieve uniformity in two areas anyway. The first of these is schooling, where practical matters such as preparation of resources and mobility of pupils and teachers between institutions would argue for uniformity. The second is the use of Māori in official documents. As mentioned, the main area of difference between Māori dialects is lexical. Often this is just a matter of dialects using differing word forms for a particular meaning. However, there are also instances of the same wordform having different meanings in different dialects. For instance, *pakeke* means 'adult' in many parts of the country, but 'hard, not soft' in Northland. One can imagine that without a universally accepted assignment of meanings to wordforms, some formulations could be ambiguous, perhaps disastrously so. *Kirikiri* means 'gravel' in Western districts of the North Island, but 'sand' in the East. In order to have authoritative Māori versions of regulations on, say, the proper composition of concrete for bridges, one could not afford to leave the interpretation of this word up to local practice.

But perhaps the most important issue for Māori Language Planning is, ‘Will Māori ever be used in this way?’ ‘Will Māori ever be used in such a way that such potential ambiguities might lead to problems?’ Taking the words of the Māori Language Act to reflect the intention of Parliament, then it was Parliament’s intention that Māori should be so used. While the Māori Language Act itself gives little guidance as to the intended meaning of the expression ‘official language’, I believe an argument can be made from the clear meaning of this expression in other cases, that among other things, Māori formulations of regulations and statutes should exist and would be authoritative.

If the overall goal of whatever planning for Māori goes on is its continued survival, there needs to be some thought as to the linguistic shape of New Zealand society which provides the best guarantee of this survival. I believe too that there has to be some research as to what Māori people actually want with respect to their language. I say this because I suspect that despite overtly expressed opinions about wanting Māori to survive as a language, there is a widely held though covert position that what is really wanted is recognition of Māori not as a language for ordinary use but as a badge of identity.³² I hope that I am wrong in this. Often expressed goals and measures such as making Māori compulsory in schools, achieving ‘correct’ pronunciation of English words borrowed from Māori, the provision of poetic Māori names for institutions, seem to me often beside the point and not articulated in the context of a clear idea about where we’re going. As often pointed out in the literature, good research is a critical preliminary for good language planning.

The Māori Language strategy which the Commission was contracted to write seems to me to have been heading in the right direction by arguing for a type of diglossia. That is, we should aim to make Māori the preferred language in certain domains, in the hope of achieving the sort of stable allocation of roles to different languages seen in places like Switzerland, Paraguay and so on.³³ This project has however been taken over by Te Puni Kōkiri, whose strategy has certain objectives, such as ‘increasing the numbers of Māori speakers, increasing the opportunities of Māori to be spoken and/or heard, etc.’, without showing how these objectives contribute to the attainment of a stable place for Māori within New Zealand.³⁴

There are of course a great variety of other issues to do with language planning for Māori, such as dissemination of new vocabulary, training of teachers, editors, translators and so on for whatever the role of Māori will be in the future. However, it seems to me that these are to some extent secondary, and will follow on from decisions in the more fundamental issues I have mentioned here.

Endnotes

1. In large part, this essay is the response of someone who has been involved in a variety of ways in efforts to maintain Māori, and in language planning activities. Thus, it is a personal view and many of the specific phenomena reported are anecdotal. It began life as a Public Lecture in Applied Linguistics, Institute of Language Teaching and Learning, University of Auckland. Many thanks both to the audience on that occasion and to Terry Crowley and Russell Bishop, who have read the earlier version and provided invaluable comments. The flaws and prejudices which remain are however all my own work.

2. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 3) call language planning any activity “intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities”. Taken at its broadest, language planning can include, for example, something

as trivial as the introduction of a new brand name, right through to legislation on the official status of some language, spelling reform, centrally organised terminological work. See below for subtypes of planning.

3. A special court set up in the 19th century to determine title to land previously held communally by Māori tribes.
4. Very useful accounts of the factors and processes involved in this shift can be found in Benton (1981) and Te Puni Kōkiri (1998). Fishman (1991, pp. 230-250) contains a good, though now somewhat dated account of the situation and of efforts made to maintain Māori.
5. Out of a population self-identifying as Māori of 523,371 (15% of the total New Zealand population). Of these, 326,970 are aged 15 and over (1996 Census, see Statistics New Zealand, 1997). Interestingly, there is a considerable discrepancy between the results of this survey and the statistics reported in the most recent census. For the first time, the 1996 *Census of Population and Dwellings* (Statistics New Zealand, 1997) contained a language question, specifically: In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things? Just over 26% of the Māori population gave Māori as (part of) their answer. As could be expected, this proportion was higher for older age-groups, but strikingly, the lowest proportions (20% - 21%) were found in the age-groups 20-34; younger groups returned (slightly) higher proportions. This may be an indication of the effectiveness of the measures named below in at least halting the downwards slide that Māori has been on in terms of use and knowledge within the Māori population.
6. See <<http://www.kohanga.ac.nz>>
7. See <<http://www.minedu.govt.nz/curriculum/updates/update19/19origin.htm>>
8. From small beginnings in Auckland in the early 1950s. Otago was the last of the major New Zealand universities to introduce Māori as a subject, a single language-skills course being offered in 1981 and later expanded to a full offering. Now Māori Studies (language, culture, literature, etc.) is very widely available as a major subject for degrees right up to doctoral level.
9. These include Geography, Education, Linguistics, and even a stream in introductory Computer Science.
10. The Land March was a protest action against the alienation of Māori land. It took the form of a march from the very north of the North Island of New Zealand to Parliament in Wellington.
11. The Waitangi Tribunal was founded under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 to hear claims of alleged infringement of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) by the Crown and to recommend settlements to the Crown. The Act requires that claims must be brought by individuals. Usually, though, the claimant is accompanied by a tribe or interest group, as in this case. On The Treaty of Waitangi, see Orange (1987). On the Tribunal see <<http://io.knowledge-basket.co.nz/waitangi/>>
12. In the second paragraph, the Crown guarantees to the Māori tribes the continued and undisturbed possession of their *taonga*.
13. The formulation perhaps suggests the existence of other official languages, but in fact, Māori is the only language which has this status *de iure*. English is of course *de facto* an official language.
14. In the early 1990s, an attempt to develop a national languages policy was made. Jeffrey Waite was commissioned to prepare a discussion document (Waite, 1992). This enterprise has however languished through governmental inactivity, though a group called Language Policy 2000 associated with the Victoria University of Wellington continues to argue for the need for a policy. cf. e.g. Chrisp (1998).
15. The Polynesian language Mōriori, spoken by the indigenous population of the Chatham Islands to the east of the South Island of New Zealand, is extinct. For some indication of what is known about this language, see Clark (1994).
16. Māori shows regional variation. The issue of Māori dialects and language planning will be taken up below.
17. For a brief account of this situation, of the development of Rumantsch Grischun, and of its reception and use, see Lia Rumantscha (1996).

18. This dialect is to all intents a purposes extinct. However, there are rather better resources for its reconstruction than is the case for Mōriori (see above), and the majority tribe of the South Island has instituted a project of revitalisation, see <<http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/tereome.htm>> On the dialect of the South Island, see Harlow (1987).
19. As will be seen from the examples cited, Māori distinguishes five vowel qualities. The distinction between long and short is also phonemic in vowels, thus: *marama* ‘moon’, *mārama* ‘clear, bright’, and many other minimal pairs.
20. Previously, School Publications, the arm of the Ministry of Education responsible for the production of printed resources for schools. Learning Media has produced over the years a very wide and invaluable range of readers in Māori.
21. The argument for double vowel spelling (e.g. *maarama*, cf. fn.19) is based on the incontrovertible analysis of the long vowels as geminate short vowels, cf. Bauer (1993, p. 534).
22. Because far wider than just language issues. Māori are traditionally members of tribes (*iwi*) and subtribes (*hapū*) first, and Māori only secondarily. *Iwi* are very important units in politics, Māori authority structures, and the distribution of resources including the negotiation of settlements under the Treaty of Waitangi Act (see above).
23. *Mana* is more than just ‘authority’ in a legalistic sense; it is in fact more like *auctoritas* ‘status due to personal attributes’, which lends authority to a person’s or group’s directions or advice.
24. A separate unit, now disestablished, belonging to the same school within the University. Its role was research including the supervision of candidates for higher degrees.
25. The word *Pākehā* is a borrowing from Māori into New Zealand English and now designates European New Zealanders. In this context it refers of course to the early European settlers, missionaries, whalers and sealers, etc.
26. See Harlow in press.
27. Learning Media (1996). In recent years, a number of curriculum statements have been prepared for teaching through the medium of Māori. Apart from the language curriculum, documents have been issued for science, maths, technology and social studies.
28. See Harlow in press.
29. First column of the table. *Rātapu* ‘Sunday’, the one item which appears in all three sets, is not a borrowing but a compound of *rā* ‘day’ and *tapu* ‘holy’.
30. The main published source on the traditional Māori time system is Best (1973).
31. On the dialects of Māori, see Biggs (1989).
32. See Harlow n.d.
33. I take May’s (2000, p. 124) point that “the limitation of a language to particular domains can mean the social and political impoverishment of the language concerned”, and would certainly want to advocate the legitimisation and institutionalisation of the language which he regards as *sine qua non* for minority language survival. Nonetheless, the promotion of Māori as the preferred language for certain domains, including family life, schooling (at least primary), tribal activities, interaction with national and local government, within the Māori community, seems to me to be more promising with respect to the survival of Māori than vaguer and more ambitious goals such as Māori ‘as a language for all New Zealanders’.
34. For instance, cf. Te Puni Kōkiri (1999, p. 5).

References

- Ayto, J. (1983). English: Failures of Language Reforms. In I. Fodor & C. Hagège (Eds.), *Language Reform*. (Vol. 1) (pp. 85-100). Hamburg: Buske Verlag.
- Barlow, C. (1990). *Me ako taatou i te reo Maaori*, (Translation of Biggs 1969). Auckland: Billy King Holdings.
- Bauer, W. (1993). *Maori*. London: Routledge.
- Benton, R. (1981). *The Flight of the Amokura. Oceanic Languages and Formal*

- Education in the South Pacific*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Best, E. (1973). *The Maori Division of Time*. Dominion Museum Monograph No. 4. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Biggs, B. (1969). *Let's Learn Maori*. Wellington: Reed.
- Biggs, B. (1989). Towards a study of Maori dialects. In R. Harlow & R. Hooper (Eds.), *VICAL 1 Oceanic Languages Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics* (61-75). Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Chrisp, S. (1998). Government Services and the Revitalisation of the Maori Language: Policies and Practices. *Te Reo*, 41, 106-115.
- Clark, R. (1994). Moriori and Maori: The Linguistic Evidence. In D. G. Sutton (Ed.), *The Origins of the First New Zealanders* (pp. 123-35). Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Ferguson, C. (1968). Language Development. In J. A. Fishman, C. Ferguson, & J. Das Gupta (Eds.), *Language Problems of Developing Nations* (pp. 27-36). New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Harlow, R. (1987). *A Word-list of South Island Māori* (2nd rev. ed.). Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Harlow, R. (in press). Borrowing and its Alternatives in Māori. In J. Tent & P. Geraghty (Eds.), *Borrowing: A Pacific Perspective*. Pacific Linguistics. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Harlow, R. (n.d.). *Covert Attitudes to Māori*. Paper presented at the 12th NZ Linguistics Conference, Dunedin, November 1997.
- Jernudd, B. (1973). Language planning as a type of language treatment. In J. Rubin & R. Shuy (Eds.), *Language Planning: Current Issues and Research* (pp. 11-23). Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Kaplan, R. B. & Baldauf, R. B. (1997). *Language planning: from practice to theory*. Clevedon (UK): Multilingual Matters.
- Learning Media. (1996). *Te Reo Māori i roto i te Marautanga o Aotearoa*. Wellington: Learning Media for the Ministry of Education
- Lia Rumantscha. (1996). *Rhétomanche: Facts & Figures*. Chur: Lia Rumantscha.
- May, S. (2000). Accommodating and resisting minority language policy: the case of Wales. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3 (2), 101-128.
- Orange, C. (1987). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin.
- Statistics New Zealand. (1997). *Census of Population and Dwellings*. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.
- Te Puni Kōkiri. (1998). *The National Māori Language Survey*. Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri.
- Te Puni Kōkiri. (1999). *Mātātupu*. Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri.
- Waite, J. (1992). *Aotearoa: speaking for ourselves*. Wellington: Learning Media.

**Searching for synergy:
Maori/ indigenous and scientific conservatory values – the affinity proposition^{1,2}**

Katerina Heremoana Simon

Doctoral student

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

The School of Maori and Pacific Development

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[khs1@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

Reconciling similarity/ affinity and difference/ distinction is one of the most important development issues of our contemporary period. Yet much effort aimed at gaining support for the plight of Maori/ indigenous³ peoples remains locked into the assertion of difference and distinction alone, those points of cultural affinity that could play an important role in processes of reconciliation and movement forward being largely ignored. What is proposed here is what is referred to as the 'affinity proposition', that is, it is argued that Maori/ indigenous development requires, for its further advancement, a focus not only on difference and divergence, but also on similarity and affinity. At the very heart of Maori/ indigenous development are issues relating to social justice, economic equity, freedom, ecological sustainability and cultural diversity, concepts which are equally highly valued in many sectors of mainstream (non-indigenous) society. Certainly, there are important differences in the ways in which these values are perceived and articulated in the context of different cultures, and these differences have recently been the focus of considerable attention and debate. However, there are also similarities which have received less attention in spite of the fact that they may hold the key to achieving a sufficient level of mutual understanding to underpin effective Maori/ indigenous development.

This paper explores the development of a synergistic process of reconciliation between Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values. It reports on the preliminary findings of a research project whose focus is a cross-cultural study of environmental governance and management regimes under the *New Zealand Resource Management Act 1991*. The central questions addressed here are: *Can reconciliation be achieved through recognition of both affinity and difference? Could such reconciliation underpin effective Maori/ indigenous development?* It is argued here that a process of synergy is already under way, a process that can best be understood in terms of a theoretical framework that encompasses both the concept of modernity and the sustainable development paradigm.

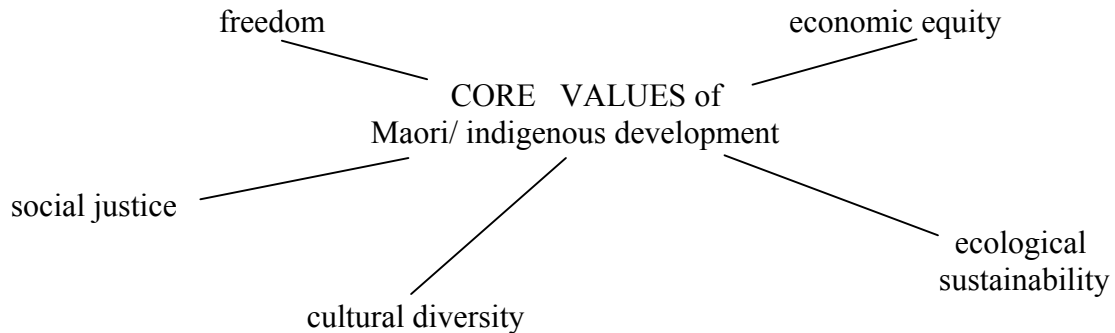
Introduction

Indigenous peoples, undoubtedly, are the ones most adversely affected by globalisation and by the WTO agreements. However, we believe that it is also us who offer viable alternatives to the dominant economic growth, export oriented development model. Our sustainable lifestyles and cultures, traditional knowledge, cosmologies, spirituality, values of collectivity, reciprocity, respect and reverence for Mother Earth, are crucial in the search for a transformed society where justice, equity and sustainability will prevail.

Indigenous Peoples' Seattle declaration: Third Ministerial Meeting of the WTO, 1999.

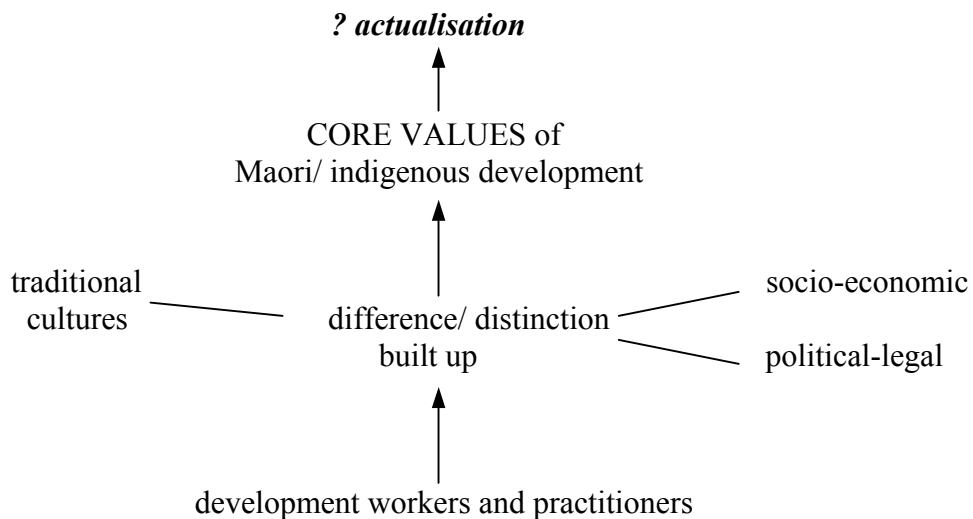
The diagram below (*Figure 1*), which is central to the discussion that follows, relates to the work of both Howitt (2001) and Sen (1998).

Figure 1: Core values of Maori/ indigenous development



It has frequently been observed that the position of Maori, and of indigenous people more generally, in relation to the effects of globalisation is essentially different from that of other disadvantaged groups, and that, just as the nature of that disadvantage is different, so too is the position adopted in relation to pleas for sustainability and conservatory ways of living (Black, 1996; Havemann, 2000; Henare, 1988; Patterson, 2000). However, it may be that engaging in a discourse that emphasises difference (in relation to culture) and disadvantage (in relation to socio-economic position and political-legal status) is not necessarily either the most appropriate or the most effective way of achieving the actualisation of Maori/ indigenous core values (as is suggested by the insertion of a question mark in *Figure 2* below):

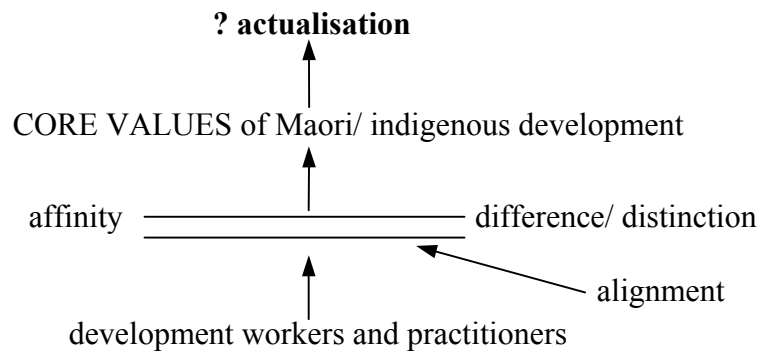
Figure 2: The difference/ distinction approach



Discussions that centre on the dual themes of globalisation and culture often emphasise what is generally referred to as ‘traditional culture’ (tangible and intangible),⁴ focusing on difference in a way that has now come to seem almost inevitable. In fact, however, it is equally possible, and arguably potentially more productive, to engage in a discourse whose concern is to seek reconciliation by

focusing not only on difference/ distinction, but also on similarity/ affinity (see *Figure 3* below):

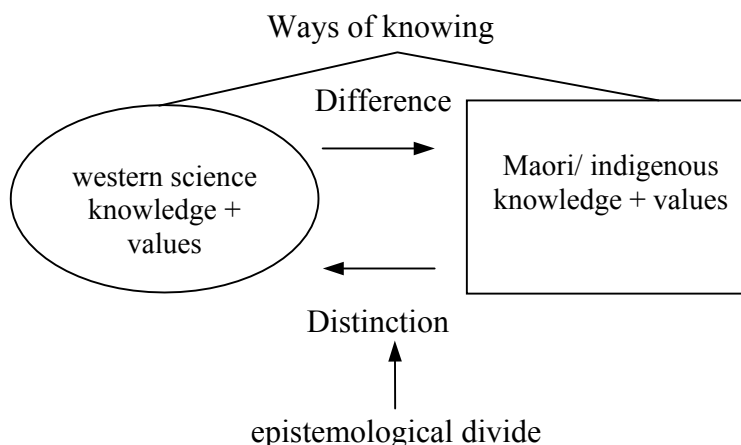
Figure 3: Reconciling difference and affinity



This realignment brings with it, I shall argue here, a greater potential for reconciliation than is present where the emphasis is solely on difference, a potential for reconciliation that is more able to yield good results (in terms of positive outcomes for Maori/ indigenous people) than is an emphasis on difference and dissonance. However, the difference/ distinction logic has become so firmly locked into place that it is sometimes now very difficult to see how we could possibly replace it by a perspective that, in emphasising both similarity and difference, would allow for the operationalisation of what I shall refer to as the ‘affinity proposition’, that is the proposition that any emphasis on difference needs to be balanced by an emphasis on similarity if positive and productive change is to ensue.

I argue here that unlocking the epistemological divide of difference/ distinction between western scientific ways of knowing and Maori/ indigenous⁵ ways of knowing (knowledge and value systems) is at the heart of achieving reconciliation and thus operationalising effective development programmes (see *Figure 4* below).

Figure 4: The epistemological divide



Realignment in terms not only of difference/ distinction, but also of similarity/ affinity would appear to be critical in relation to resolving the current epistemological divide. The central question here is: *How can this realignment be achieved?*

I shall suggest here what I perceive to be some key aspects of the *process of counteracting difference/ distinction thinking*. In doing so, I shall draw upon my ongoing doctoral research which involves a cross-cultural study of Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values in the area of environmental governance and management regimes under the New Zealand *Resource Management Act 1991*. The primary focus is conflict and convergence of Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory and use values, my aim being to develop a *synergistic process model* which reflects the capacity to counteract difference/ distinction discourse. The search is for synergy⁶ between difference/ distinction discourse and similarity/ affinity discourse.

The evolution of values, value change and the comparison of values are the key aspects in the development of the synergistic process that I shall now discuss in two main parts:

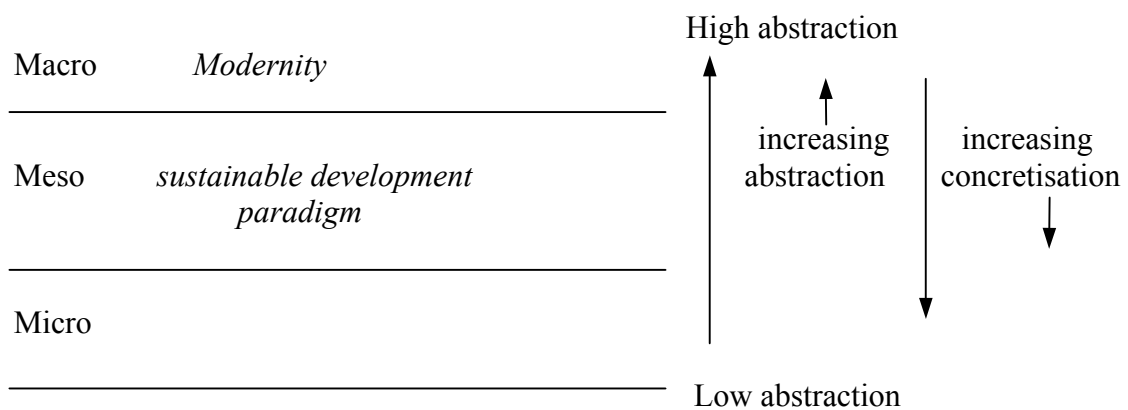
- evolution of values and value change at the broad level of thinking within the modernity paradigm;
- more specific comparison of values within the context of the sustainable development paradigm.

Introducing modernity

Within the social sciences, modernity is located and developed at the macro level. Within the context of this study, it provides for the most abstract level of thinking within the overall framework (see *Figure 5*).

Modernity is an over-arching benchmark (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1990; Havemann, 1997; Taylor, 1999) from which can be derived all lower level concepts within the research framework (including the sustainable development paradigm) (Escobar, 1995; Rist, 1997; Tisdell, 1999). In *Figure 5*, the three levels of abstraction are labelled ‘micro’ (low level of abstraction), ‘meso’ (medium level of abstraction), and ‘macro’ (high level of abstraction) and are associated with degree of concretisation (from low to high).

Figure 5: A framework for the research – levels of abstraction/ concretisation

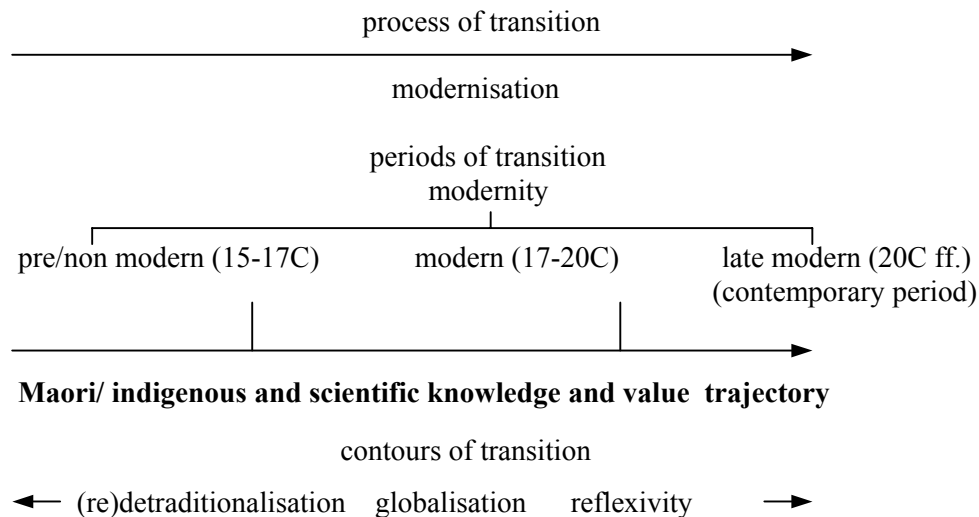


Evolution of values

The ‘narrow lens’ view of the evolution of Maori/ indigenous ways of knowing and scientific ways of knowing that is detectable in the work of many thinkers has contributed in no small measure to the perpetuation of the difference/ distinction view to which reference has been made (Beck, 1992, 2000; Giddens, 1990). These accounts, though largely confined to the evolution of the ‘euphoric period’ of western enlightenment (commonly referred to as modernisation or the ‘modern’ era⁷ (Escobar, 1995; Rist, 1997; & Schuurman, 1993)), appear to have significant popular appeal. Indeed, that appeal could even be said to be associated with some degree of indoctrination (Black, 1996; Geddes, 1995; & Peters, 1993). Conceived in this way, ‘recollections’ of modern history have tended to reinforce the common perception that there was, at the beginning of the modern era, an epistemological chasm between knowledge and value systems. It is important, therefore, to relocate the modern era conceptually, to place it firmly within the framework provided by modernity, (see *Figure 6*) and, in so doing, to attempt to redress the problems that are associated with those historical interpretations that are dominated by a type of thinking that emphasises difference and distinction at the expense of similarity and affinity. This is in line with the arguments forwarded by Beck (1992, 2000), Giddens (1990) and Havemann (1997). At the macro level of modernity, this involves broadening and reconceptualising thinking about Maori/ indigenous ways of knowing and scientific ways of knowing so as to take more account of ‘pre/non-’ and ‘post-’⁸ western development modernisation thinking. In other words, what is proposed is a realignment that involves taking into account perspectives other than the modern-oriented perspective based on difference/ distinction and, in this way, reducing that sense of epistemological divide that poses a threat to processes of reconciliation.

In *Figure 6*, Maori/ indigenous knowledge and values and scientific knowledge and values are seen in terms of a trajectory in which both are characterized by periods of transition and by a process of transition. Both are seen as having been affected by three primary characteristics of modernity, that is, detraditionalisation/ retraditionalisation, globalisation and reflexivity (identified as the contours of transition).

Figure 6: *Maori/ indigenous knowledge and values and scientific knowledge and values - periods of transition, process of transition and transitional characteristics*



Thus, *Figure 6* presents a trajectory of knowledge and values (Maori/ indigenous and scientific) as they evolve over time and space. Modernity is associated with transition (with a transition process, with periods of transition, and with characteristics (contours) of transition). In this context, my primary interest - the period that has been described as 'late modernity' – is seen as a stage in the process of transition that has characterized knowledge and value systems from the pre-modern (or non-modern period) through the modern period to the late modern period.

Value change

A major problem in relation to the perpetuation of difference/ distinction discourse is a persistent failure within modernity to account for, and accommodate, value change. If this is to be remedied, the reasons for it need to be understood and strategies for acknowledgment of change need to be put in place.

One reason for the perpetuation of difference/ distinction thinking is that Maori/ indigenous ways of knowing have persistently been located 'out' of the 'modern' and 'in' the 'pre-modern'. This relegation has had a critical effect on perceptions of value change. Indeed, Maori/ indigenous knowledge and values are often seen in terms of some sort of fixed, unchanging and distinct existence, as something that can be excavated and retrieved from the past and reinstated in the present, a perception that largely ignores that process of transition that has inevitably affected the entire spectrum of knowledge and values.

Another reason for the perpetuation of difference/ distinction discourse resides in the constant revamping of 'modern' explanations for change, explanations that are inadequate in that they are locked into 'modern domain thinking' and are based on concepts of certainty and fixity that are wholly unable to accommodate the realities of the change process.

Also problematic for the understanding of value change is a persistent emphasis on Maori/ indigenous people's resistance to change. Although this resistance focus highlights the differences and distinctions of Maori/ indigenous ways of knowing, it fails to acknowledge the adaptive strategies employed by Maori/ indigenous peoples over time, strategies that have been associated not only with resistance but also with reconciliation. In this sense, the type of emphasis we see in difference/ distinction discourse is a partial representation only of the response to change of Maori/ indigenous people.

The key starting point from which I build my account is the Maori/ indigenous standpoint on modernity (rather than the Maori/ indigenous standpoint on tradition). In seeking to prevent the Maori/ indigenous viewpoint from being locked into the bounds of tradition and dislocated from modernity, it is important to begin by situating the pre-/ non-modern world within a wider historical context, a context which encompasses the epochal framework of modernity. From such a perspective, the contemporary period (late modernity) can be seen as one stage in the ongoing process of change.

Locating myself as a researcher in the contemporary period of modernity (late modernity: the 'revolutionary period')⁹ is another essential ingredient of acknowledging value change. Recognising current Maori/ indigenous perspectives as being located within late modernity is crucial if we are to come to terms with all of the facets of far-reaching change that are impacting on indigenous peoples (including

The sustainable development concept

By adopting the concept of sustainable development, two old enemies growth and development are reconciled.

Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 1995, p. 7).

There has been an ongoing failure to reconcile and mobilise Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values in the SDP. Escobar (1995) and many others¹⁷ argue that the problem stems from the fact that the SDP is not really about conservation, preservation and sustainability. Rather, it is about the ongoing expansion of economic growth (Barber, 1996; Escobar, 1995; Howitt, 2001; Rist, 1997). As has so often been observed, finding ways of overcoming this primary focus on economic growth values is central to the potential actualisation of Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values in the SDP (Geddes, 1995; Peters, 1993; Schuurman, 1993; Tisdell, 1999).

Values contrast

Much effort to reverse the economic growth impetus of the SDP has been based on a difference/ distinction approach in which Maori/ indigenous values are *contrasted with* scientific ways of knowing. Thus, there has been a preoccupation with contrast, an ongoing emphasis on the differences between knowledge and value systems (Battiste, 2000; Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Gunn & McCallig, 1995; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi & Kirkwood, 1995; Solomon, 2000; Wright, Nugent & Parata, 1995). This is indicated in *Table 1*:

Table 1: *The emphasis on contrast within the SDP*

<i>Scientific ways of knowing:</i>	<i>Maori/ indigenous ways of knowing:</i>
- truth/ rationality	- myth/ irrational
- objective	- subjective
- linear	- cyclic
- eurocentrism	- ethnocentrism
- single/ present generation	- future generation
- materialism	- reciprocation
- narrow physical scope	- multi-dimensional
- individualism	- spiritual/ cultural focused
- economic growth focus	- collective
- mechanical/ segmented/ reductionist	- socio-cultural focus
- short term view	- holistic
- positivist	- long term view
	- experiential

The retrieval of past knowledge and values (knowledge and value excavation) and the politicising of values are the two most common approaches to a values contrast approach (Gillespie, 1998; Gragson, 1999; Howitt, 2001; Kawagley, 1995; Klein, 2000; McCan & McCan, 1990; Taiepa et al., 1997; Tropser, 1998; Roberts, 1996, 1999; Roberts & Wills, 1995). Although this approach has had some benefits, it has

had minimal impact on reconciliation and on the positive mobilisation of values (see *Table 2*).

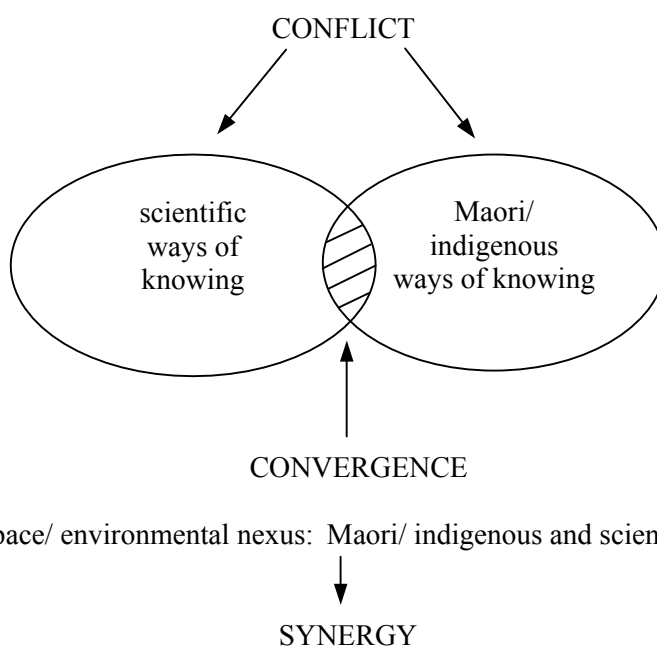
Table 2: *Evaluating the values contrast approach within the SDP*

<p><i>Positive:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• establishes the legitimacy of the ‘other’ in relation to the dominant order• highlights power imbalance• initial political value <p><i>Negative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• risk of caricaturing• ongoing rehearsal of difference• limited political viability• not progressive• preoccupation with difference and distinctions <p><i>Overall:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• fails to mobilise and reconcile

Comparison of values

Comparison of values counteracts difference/ distinction discourse. It involves the comparison of values in relation to both conflict and convergence. In my study, the comparison of conflicting and converging Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values is a critical aspect of the development of a synergistic process (see *Figure 9*). In allowing for the realignment of affinities and differences in the search for synergy, this approach has a great deal to offer in terms of its potential for reconciliation.

Figure 9: *Towards a values comparison approach*



The focal point of an approach based on comparison is the highlighting of values convergence, that is, the highlighting of that shared space or environmental nexus of Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values. It is here, in focusing on similarities, that discourses converge as a shared discourse emerges, a shared discourse that is characteristic of post-materialist green understandings of the humankind-environment relationship (Dobson, 1990, 1999; Dobson & Lucardie, 1995; Merchant, 1989, 1996; North, 1995; Pepper, 1993, 1996; Worster, 1993). Thus, it is possible to find the synergistic potential of Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values. Indeed, the rationale for the search for synergy in relation to Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values is its potential as a means of reconciliation and of mobilisation around the notion of sustainability (see *Table 3*).

Table 3: *Evaluating a comparative approach*

Positive/ negative:

- considers value conflict and convergence
- refer to conflict evaluation

Convergence positives:

- identifies convergence of shared conservatory values
- represents ecological insights from Maori/ indigenous and western science value systems
- evident synergistic potential
- greater political viability
- more pragmatic mode

Overall:

- mobilising and reconciliatory

Conclusion

Although largely unexplored, a model that highlights the potential for reconciliation appears to have real potential for the advancement of Maori/ indigenous development. My general focus here has been on the process of operationalising reconciliation. In particular, I have focused on the development of a synergistic process model for the reconciliation of Maori/ indigenous values and scientific conservatory values. Key aspects of this model are: the evolution of values, value change, and the comparison of values. I have argued that all of these (largely ignored in a difference/ distinction paradigm) have a potentially important role to play in reconciliation. I have also argued that reconciliation is an important aspect of development. However, it is evident that there is a need for further development of this model from the perspective, in particular, of a Maori/ indigenous perspective on reconciliation within the framework provided by discourse on modernity and late modernity.

*He rangi ta matawhaiti,
He rangi ta matawhanui.*

The person with a narrow vision sees a narrow vision,
The person with a wide vision sees a wide horizon.

The widespread effects of difference/ distinction discourse are now evident throughout the world and the need for reconciliation at a global level is pressing. However, reconciliation at a global level depends upon reconciliation at more local levels. How we respond to the need for local and global reconciliation will be a central part of determining the shape of the future. In this, Maori and other indigenous peoples have a very important role to play.

Endnotes

1. A version of this article was presented at the University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand at the 7th Joint Conference (22 – 24 November, 2002): *Preservation of Ancient Cultures and the Globalization Scenario*.
2. I wish to make sincere acknowledgement here of the work of all of those who have made this research possible. This includes indigenous and non indigenous researchers (past and present), and those development workers and policy/ decision makers who have dedicated themselves to building and fighting for the core values of freedom, social justice, economic equity, cultural diversity and ecological sustainability.
3. The use of ‘Maori/ indigenous’ here refers to Maori as both indigenous peoples of New Zealand and of the world (Burger, 1990; King, 1992; Maybury-Lewis, 1997; Perry, 1996).
4. I distinguish here between two realms of traditional culture: ‘tangible’, referring to observable signs or markers that demonstrate shared patterns of behaviour or conduct, and ‘intangible’, referring to the ideational basis of social life as framed in organised systems of beliefs, values and shared understanding of the world.
5. From my Maori/ indigenous viewpoint, I refer to Maori/ indigenous ways of knowing as the *te ao Maori* paradigm, to traditional ecological knowledge as *matauranga te ao turoa*, and to Maori/ indigenous conservatory and use values as *nga tikanga tupato*.
6. This refers to the interaction or cooperation of two or more values to produce an enhanced effect than their separate effects is what is referred to here.
7. This refers, in general, to the period from 1700 – 2000.
8. These two terms refer to the periods before and after what has been termed the ‘modern period’.
9. ‘Late modernity’ is a term used to describe the contemporary, revolutionary period of modernity, a period which is also often described in the following terms: second modernity; reflexive modernization; risk society; post-traditional society; network society; information age; and biotechnology age (Beck, 1992, 2000; Castells, 1997, 2000; Giddens, 1990, 1996; Held & McGrew, 2000; Rifkin, 1983, 1988; Taylor, 1999).
10. ‘Reflexivity’ (referring to a process that can be applied to itself) is arguably the main concept of late modernity at the epochal and self/ collective levels. A person, or a discourse or system, can analyse itself and can, therefore, confront and change itself (Luhmann, 1985).
11. The concept of ‘detraditionalisation’ involves “the liberation from some traditions and the ability to construct new ones” (Havermann, 1997, p. 23).
12. ‘Globalisation’, the all-embracing attribute of modernity, is “a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions”, involving – assessed in their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact-generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power” (Held & McGrew, 2000, p. 25).
13. ‘Simple reflexivity’, which characterizes peoples and societies in the pre-modern period, is grounded in locality, kinship and community.
14. ‘The construction of Maori/ indigenous identities’ is taken here as being grounded in traditional Maori society (the *te ao Maori* paradigm) from which the guardian of the environment (a very loose translation of *kaitiaki*) principle stems (Henare, 1988, p. 1; Roberts et al, 1995, p. 14). It is characterised by: a conservatory ethic, a unified approach to living, a holistic worldview in which all things are united/ related (*whanaungatanga*) (Henare, 1988; Mead, 1996; Roberts, 1966; Patterson, 2000).
15. This may be described as a viewpoint according to which “the past has a heavy influence or, more accurately put, is made to have a heavy influence, over the present” (Giddens, 1996, p. 62).
16. ‘The term ‘enhanced social reflexivity’ refers to a form of reflexivity in which self-identity is no longer grounded in tradition, a form of reflexivity that that characterizes late modernity.
17. See, in particular, Barber (1996), Black (1996), Dobson (1990), Dobson and Lucardie (1995), and Rist (1997).

References

- Barber, B. (1996). *Jihad vs McWorld: How Globalisation and Tribalism are Reshaping Our World*. New York: Ballantine.
- Battiste, M. & Henderson, J. (2000). *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge*. Canada: Purich.
- Battiste, M. (2000). *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Vancouver: UBC.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.
- Beck, U. (2000). *World Risk Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Beck, U., Giddens, A. & Lash, S. (1994). *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bishop, R. & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education*. New Zealand: Dunmore.
- Black, S. (1996). *Indigenous Economics*. Colorado: Winds of Change.
- Burger, J. (1990). *The Gaia Atlas of First Peoples: A Future for the Indigenous World*. London: Gaia.
- Castells, M. (1997). *The Power of Identity*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (Eds.) (2000). *The Rise of the Network Society*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Cohen, R. & Rai, S. (2000). *Global Social Movements*. London: Athlone.
- Dobson, A. & Lucardie, P. (1995). *The Politics of Nature: Exploration In Green Political Theory*. London: Routledge.
- Dobson, A. (1990). *Green Political Thought: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Dobson, A. (1999). *Fairness and Futurity: Essays on Environmental Sustainability and Social Justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Geddes, B. (1995). Economy, Environment, Ideology and Marginalisation. In Perry, J. & Hughes, J. (Eds), *Anthropology: Voices From the Margins*, (pp. 43 - 61). Australia: Deakin University.
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giddens, A. (1996). Living in a Post-Traditional Society. In Giddens, A. *In Defence of Sociology: Essays, Interpretations and Rejoinders*, (pp. 34 - 50). Cambridge: Polity.
- Gillespie, A. (1998). Environmental Politics in New Zealand/ Aotearoa: Clashes and Commonality Between Maoridom and Environmentalists. *New Zealand Geographer*, 54 (1), 19 – 26.
- Gragson, T. & Blount, B. (1999). *Ethnoecology: Knowledge, Resources, Rights*. London: University of Georgia.
- Gunn, A. & McCallig, C. (1995). Environmental Values and Environmental Law in New Zealand. *Ethics and the Environment*, 2 (2), 103 – 120.
- Havemann, P. & Whall, H. (2002). *The Miner's Canary: Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development in the Commonwealth*. Memorandum to World Summit on Sustainable Development, August 26 - September 4, South Africa. London: Commonwealth Policy Studies Unit.
- Havemann, P. (1997). Modernity, Commodification and Social Citizenship. In *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence*, 1, 17-57.
- Havemann, P. (2000). Enmeshed in the Web? Indigenous People's Rights in the Network Society. In Cohen, R. & Rai, S. (Eds), *Global Social Movements* (pp. 18 - 32). London: Athlone.
- Heelas, P., Lash, S. & Morris, P. (1996). *Detraditionalization*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Held, D. & McGrew, A. (2000). *The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction*

- to the Globalisation Debate*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Henare, M. (1988). Nga Tikanga me Nga Ritenga o Te Ao Maori: Standards and Foundations of Maori Society. *April Report, Future Directions*, 3 (1). New Zealand: Royal Commission on Social Policy.
- Howitt, R. (2001). *Rethinking Resource Management: Justice, Sustainability and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Routledge.
- Kawagley, A. (1995). *A Yupiaq World view: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit*. U.S.A.: Waveland.
- King, M. (1992). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga*. New Zealand: Reed.
- Klein, U. (2000). Belief-Views on Nature - Western Environmental Ethics and Maori World View. *New Zealand Journal of Environmental Law*, 4, 81-97.
- Law Commission (2001). *Maori Custom and Values in New Zealand*. Wellington, New Zealand: Law Commission.
- Luhmann, N. (1985). *A Sociological Theory of Law*. London: Routledge.
- Maybury-Lewis, D. (1997). *Indigenous Peoples, Ethnic Groups and the State*. U.S.A.: Allyn and Bacon.
- McCan, C. & McCan, D. (1990). *Water: Towards a Bicultural Perspective*. New Zealand: Lincoln University.
- Mead, A. (1996). Genealogy, Sacredness, and the Commodities Market. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 20 (2), 46 – 53.
- Merchant, C. (1989). *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender and Science in New England*. Chapel Hill: University of Carolina.
- Merchant, C. (1996). *Earthcare: Women and the Environment*. New York: Routledge.
- North, R. (1995). *Life on a Modern Planet: A Manifesto for Progress*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Patterson, J. (2000). *People of the Land: A Pacific Philosophy*. New Zealand: Dunmore.
- Pepper, D. (1993). *Eco-socialism: From Deep Ecology to Social Justice*. London: Routledge.
- Pepper, D. (1996). *Modern Environmentalism: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Perry, R. (1996). *From Time Immemorial: Indigenous Peoples and State Systems*. U.S.A.: University of Texas.
- Peters, M. (1993). *Postmodern Science in Aotearoa? Conservation, Cosmology and Critique*. New Zealand: University of Auckland Press.
- Rifkin, J. (1983). *Algeny: A New World-A New World*. U.S.A.: Penguin.
- Rifkin, J. (1998). *The Biotechnology Century: How Genetic Commerce Will Change The World*. New York: Penguin.
- Rist, G. (1997). *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. London: Zed.
- Roberts, M. (1996). *The Relationship Between Matauranga Maori and Mainstream Science*. New Zealand: Ministry of Research, Science and Technology.
- Roberts, M., Norman, W., Minhinnick, N., Wihongi, D. & Kirkwood, C. (1995). Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspectives on Conservation. *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 2, 14 –21.
- Roberts, R. & Wills, P. (1999). Understanding Maori Epistemology: A Scientific Perspective. In Wautischer, H. (Ed.) *Tribal Epistemologies: Essays in the Philosophy of Anthropology* (pp. 14 – 23). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Schuurman, F. (1993). *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*. London: Zed.

- Sen, A. (1998). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Solomon, M. (2000). *Strengthening Traditional Knowledge Systems and Customary Law*. UNCTAD Expert Meeting on Systems and National Experiences for Protecting Traditional Knowledge, Innovations and Practices (unpublished conference paper): Geneva.
- Taiepa, T., Lyver, P., Horsley, P., Davis, J., Bragg, M. & Moller, H. (1997). Co-management of New Zealand's Conservation Estate by Maori and Pakeha: A Review. *Environmental Conservation*, 24 (3), 236-250.
- Taylor, P. J. (1999). *Modernities: A Geohistorical Interpretation*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Tisdell, C. (1999). *Biodiversity, Conservation and Sustainable Development: Principles and Practices*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Tropser, R. (1998). *Bridging Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Ecosystem Science: Conference Proceedings*. Arizona: Arizona University.
- Worster, D. (1993). *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, S., Nugent, G. & Parata, H. (1995). Customary Management of Indigenous Species: A Maori Perspective. *New Zealand Journal of Ecology*, 19 (1), 83-86.

In Search of Unity: Learning from Headstones

Fintan Mullan

Ulster Historical Foundation

Balmoral Buildings

12 College Square East, Belfast BT1 6DD

[Fintan@uhf.org.uk]

Abstract

This paper explores a small anomaly of Irish history. Despite the large-scale re-organisation of the state at the beginning of the 18th century in Ireland, and the divided society created by the civil authorities, the old parish cemetery escaped this segregation and continued to be used by all members of the community, irrespective of Christian denomination. This came to be regarded as a right which, if not actually protected by law, was at least protected by custom. For this reason, researchers and local communities have a rich resource from which they can learn about the past and draw lessons for the future.¹

Introduction

Writing in 1829 to the Archbishop of Armagh (Primate of the Anglican or Episcopal church), an enraged minister, Revd. E Stoppard, complained that Roman Catholic priests were performing burial services according to the rites of the Catholic faith within certain graveyards in the archdiocese, and with blatant disregard for the Church of Ireland authorities:

They next determined to attack Head Quarters, and a Priest came to the Cathedral Churchyard in Armagh and performed service with his book in his hand and his stole on – the Protestants of the town were very anxious that the Priest should be prosecuted.²

He was not the first Anglican minister to complain about the lax approach to funerary arrangements or the scant regard paid to such matters by the populace generally. In 1755, the recently arrived rector, Revd. Bracegirdle, from the parish of Taplow in England, gave the following reason for the fact that only nine entries had been recorded in the burial register for his new parish of Donagheady in County Tyrone:

The reason so few burials are entered is an indecent custom of interring without sending to the minister to attend. That the papists should always and the Presbyterians generally omit is not to be wondered; but it is astonishing that those who are of the established church should choose to bury their deceased friends like dogs.³

By the end of the 19th century, both ministers would have been very much in a minority as the Church of Ireland then, and in subsequent rulings, made clear the views of the church authorities with regard to burial rights of other denominations.

Policy and Practice

A memorandum dating from April 1894,⁴ made the following statements of policy:⁵ “Every parishioner or person dying in a parish had a common law right of decent

burial in the church yard...”⁶ and “The minister of a religious body other than the church of Ireland has a right to use any form of Christian Burial Service ...”⁷

Although Anglican ministers like Reverend Stoppard and Reverend Bracegirdle would continue to complain, by a simple oversight of history, the common law practice of a local right of all parishioners to bury in the parish churchyard was maintained throughout the last 300 years.

The value of cemeteries to a study of conflict resolution scenarios is that many of these old graveyards survive today and they have taken on a new life as sacred ground. Their survival has enabled local communities in Northern Ireland to find a common identity and develop bonds of citizenship through education for mutual understanding. They have celebrated the local character of their hallowed ground and they have been empowered by the act of preserving and cherishing the old cemetery.

The 18th century began with the enactment of legislation designed to reform religion in Ireland. Laws were passed to establish an administration that was robust. Central to this was the role of the Church of Ireland. The bishops of the Established Church became the policy formers and the lawmakers in the country. Their clergy became the tax collectors, the census enumerators and the bean counters of the state.

Between 1692-1800⁸ the old Irish Parliament passed some 184 pieces of legislation relating to the practice or administration of religion in Ireland. Significantly 44 acts of parliament were passed in the early period 1692-1725, which demonstrates how active the parliament had been to establish a church that would espouse the philosophy of a landed ascendancy.

The Church of Ireland has never represented more than 10% of the total population of Ireland. It assumed a position which far outweighed its numerical strength – a situation that made it all-powerful in society and yet suspicious in government. This left the two other major Christian faiths disaffected in their own country. A Presbyterian church numerically stronger in Ulster than the Anglican community there, but emasculated in influence; and a Catholic community which constituted the majority of the population on the island of Ireland but which in the 18th century was powerless in the political sphere.

The outcome of the upheavals of the 17th century saw the Established Church as sole custodian of the unreconstructed pre-reformation diocese and parishes. The Presbyterian church which came to Ulster in the early 1600s maintained a congregational structure which was unrelated to the parish unit. The Catholic church, as a legal entity, disappeared in the Elizabethan era and it was not until the Emancipation Act of 1829 that it was able, in a proper sense, to assume visible structures of organisation, including a parish system that was altered markedly from the medieval network.

With this pre-reformation order of church administration came the old parish graveyards. In the six counties of Northern Ireland, there are at least 269 pre-reformation churchyards where interments continued into the late 19th or well into the 20th centuries. Of these, 81 are linked to a church which is still used for worship

today.⁹ The graveyards, and also the associated church where it survives, in all cases belong to the Church of Ireland.

Ardkeen and Ballyphilip

It is not difficult to understand why the people retained a strong attachment to the parish churchyard. The civil parish unit is made up of a small number of townlands. This land division, the townland, is unique to Ireland and in origin predates the Norman Conquest. In terms of size it measures from only 100 acres to, at the most, several thousand acres. There are some 64,000 townlands in Ireland, these go to make up some 2,500 civil parishes.

Within one small area - the Ards Peninsula - in County Down, in the Barony of Ards, we can take as example two parishes with pre-reformation churchyards: Ardkeen and Ballyphilip, both sit on picturesque locations on the shores of Strangford Lough.

According to *Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (1837), Ardkeen is a parish of some 4800 statute acres containing 2176 inhabitants: "The church is situated on a peninsula ... a small ancient edifice..."¹⁰

The Ordnance survey indicates that the parish of Ballyphilip comprised 2430 acres, and with the small post-town of Portaferry, contained 3090 inhabitants.¹¹ Clarke notes that the origins of the church and graveyard are unknown. The ruins are possibly as old as the sixteenth century but there was an older parish church which was destroyed about 1784.¹²

They are small and unremarkable country parishes and with quite typical gravestones; the inscriptions depicting simple lives. Yet within each can be found Irish, English and Scottish names, or more simply the headstones of Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians all buried within one churchyard.

Ardkeen, the smaller of the two cemeteries, contains names which can be accurately identified as of Irish (Catholic), Scottish (Presbyterian) and English (Anglican) origin. For example, names recorded, such as Branniff, Dorrian, McGrath, McGrattan, McNamara and Pray (O'Prey), are all known to be Irish; Boyd, Chalmers, Donaldson, Echlin and Prince are Scottish; and Carpenter, Hughes, Hutton, White and Wiley are of English extraction.

In Ballyphilip the range of names is much broader than in Ardkeen. Here they not only identify the different faiths but the inscriptions speak of the trade and commerce of a small rural and seafaring community.

Tombstones, names and historical interpretation

Seldom will the church burial records tell us the religion of the dead. Because the Anglican minister did not officiate at their burials, dissenters and papists are rarely recorded in the church burial records. Yet, even these records can also give up vital information confirming the multi-denominational and even multi-cultural nature of these burying grounds. In Ardkeen CI, there is an entry recording the burial of Caesar Augustus Willey Dobbs Savage, who died February 18th 1828 reputedly 90 years old, a black manservant of the late Major Henry Savage.¹³

It is the absence of Presbyterians and Catholics from the burial records which makes the gravestones so significant for the purposes of genealogy or local history, for it is in the names recorded on stone in the old churchyards that we really discover the religious diversity of the occupants. Evidence of this practice of different denominations being buried within a single cemetery is there to be found in Ballyphilip and Ardkeen. One of relevance to this study reads:

The body of the Revd. James Armstrong A.M., lies here...He died the 23rd of Oct. 1779 in the 70th year of his age. Renovated by Portaferry Presbyterian Congregation, 1909.¹⁴

Indeed important clues exist in the iconography of the stones, and the phraseology of the actual inscriptions. From these, the researcher, armed with local knowledge, can draw further insights. Knowledge of surname derivation and population migratory patterns from pre-Norman to post-Plantation times enables remarkably accurate identification of the religious breakdown of the deceased interred in a cemetery. The names on the headstones confirm for us what by tradition has taken place, a fact that is supported by evidence from other historical sources.

The Griffith Valuation of the mid-19th century confirms surname variety in the area: Murray, Smith, Dorrian, Gibson, McNamara, O'Pray, Donaldson, Miller, Jones, Echlin all appear.¹⁵ The availability of civil records of births, deaths and marriages for all denominations from 1864 would enable the religion of the individual families to be clearly identified. The fact that many of these names are still alive within the locality today demonstrates how, for the visitor, a strong sense of belonging can be triggered simply by entering the cemetery.

It is in understanding and celebrating the ethnic-religious diversity where the cemetery can act as a mechanism for conflict resolution, and from where the forging of a more harmonious community environment takes its strength.

The study and usage of the cemetery at the local level is the vehicle through which a shared understanding of the past can begin. Smyth points out that:

The formation of an understanding of cultural diversity is a valued goal, but it needs to be done carefully and should arise naturally from the sources... Conflict and community harmony are both present in the past.¹⁶

Tombstones, names, historical interpretation and reconciliation in action

In a study of the work of the Killeter and District Historical Society in Tyrone which included the restoration of the Magherakeel graveyard, Ray Cashman of Indiana University observed the process of reconciliation in action in this project. His study provides evidence of how the community sought to resolve conflict by redefining community consciousness in local terms rather than in province wide sectarian terms.¹⁷ The restoration of Magherakeel cemetery was central to this. As Cashman observed:

[This] was a self-conscious attempt to re-interpret the graveyard as a place emblematic of coexistence, a place where both traditions share common ground, sacred ground no less. The restoration turned the graveyard into a

signifier of a more complicated past.¹⁸

In overcoming mistrust, fear and a simplified pre-programmed sense of the past, the benefits accruing from the experiment were significant. He goes on:

Attention redirected to that which is local and shared, challenges the impulses to segregation and difference . . .¹⁹

Viewed from the wider perspective of genealogy, there is a danger that such studies can be used to satisfy self-perpetuating myths about racial purity and exclusivity. Just as genealogy can become life enhancing it can be wholly destructive. In the course of her studies, Catherine Nash has found that “family history can be used for problematic as well as positive purposes”.²⁰

And yet on the whole her experience has demonstrated that the outcome is generally positive:

Even if researchers start with fairly neat models of ethnicity and cultural difference, doing genealogy in Northern Ireland can lead to a greater sense of the interconnected and shared histories in Ulster.²¹

In assessing the success of local projects, Nash’s research confirms the valuable and lasting impact it can bring:

Yet forms of local and family history that engage with diversity and interconnection in the past can challenge narrow versions of community and ethnicity and encourage more open versions of belonging . . . [In] one sense, the content of local or family history is less important than its true value as a social practice that brings people together and creates social relationships that challenge division.²²

The programme for Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) in Northern Ireland has sought to develop learning aids to promote tolerance. An exemplary model is *Two Acres of Irish History: A study through time of Friar’s Bush Graveyard and Belfast 1570-1918*. This textbook used an ancient burial ground in Belfast, the only Catholic cemetery in the city through the Penal era, to develop a learning resource that challenges students to use rigorous research techniques to understand their history.

Such is the success of Friar’s Bush graveyard, Belfast City Council now manages it as a popular heritage attractions. Cemetery tours can also be taken in the Clifton Street burying ground and the City Cemetery.

In southwest Ulster, the Killesher Community Development Association were provided with financial assistance by Fermanagh Council and the Rural Development Council to restore the walls of Old Killesher graveyard and to improve visitor access.

In 2003, the Ulster Historical Foundation, with assistance from the New Opportunities Fund, will launch an educational website called *History from Headstones Online*. It will use inscriptions from 800 local cemeteries as a learning resource and it is hoped that this will promote a greater level of understanding of

cultural diversity among local users.

The value placed on cemeteries as a community learning resource is not peculiar to Ireland. In the USA, a New England schoolteacher, Dean Eastman, has developed a programme called *Tiptoeing through the Tombstones*. Initially devised to demonstrate a method of archaeological dating by studying the gravestones in a local colonial Puritan cemetery, it has taken on a life of its own, enthusing not only school children but the parents who often accompany the children on field trips.

The study of graveyards is not unique but using the cemetery as a means to resolve conflict is an interesting new approach. The application of rigorous research methodologies matched to locally supported community development programmes can be of help in bringing social cohesion and community harmony.

It is important that we champion the positive legacy given to us by the past, because examples exist to remind us of how divided that past has been:

One of the more absurd relates to how when the plans for a new City Cemetery in Belfast were being laid, the Catholic Church, insisted that the area set aside for their burial plots should be divided from the rest of the cemetery by a sunken wall. As Scott commented: "It seems that the intention was to keep Catholics and Protestants apart even after death."²³

After it opened, Belfast Council initially prohibited raising gravestones in the Jewish section of City Cemetery, and this despite the graveyard being renowned for its lavish and ornate monuments.²⁴

The Presbyterian church, opened a separate cemetery in Belfast, at a time when it was illegal for them to do so, as a result of obstructionist tactics of a local rector. This separate burial ground for those of the Presbyterian faith became Balmoral Cemetery.²⁵

The Rural Development Council 1997 Annual Report commented that "the actual creation of a sense of belonging is probably still the most demanding challenge for community groups."²⁶ That sense of belonging exists in local graveyards and the communities have realised their potential.

Conclusion

The value of Irish graveyards to a study of conflict resolution lies in the practical appeal they have to people of all ages and backgrounds. The very nature of a cemetery encourages calm reflection amongst visitors and consequently makes it an ideal location from which to develop a community based process of conflict resolution.

Endnotes

1. Paper presented at the *International Centre for Cultural Studies, 7th Joint Conference on Conflict Resolution and Globalisation Scenarios*, University of Waikato, Hamilton New Zealand, 22-24 November. 2002.
2. PRONI T/2772/1/11/31.
3. *Donaghedy parish: a history*.
4. The Glebes Committee of the Representative Body.

5. The right existed by custom and tradition if not by actual law.
6. *Burial Grounds: Memorandum*, point no.3
7. *Burial Grounds: Memorandum*, point no.12. The point in full reads:
The minister of a religious body other than the church of Ireland has a right to use any form of Christian Burial Service, provided (1) that twenty-four hours' notice be given to the Incumbent by such minister, and (2) that such service is not held during the celebration of divine Service, or any rite in connection with the Church, or the catechising or instruction of young persons, or whilst the Burial Service of the Church shall be proceeding elsewhere in the churchyard.
8. For the life of the old Irish Parliament 1692-1800, see *History of the Irish Parliament*.
9. Pre reformation graveyards in Northern Ireland:

County	Now Abandoned	Containing a functioning church
Antrim	51	15
Armagh	16	7
Down	38	27
Fermanagh	19	5
Londonderry	32	8
Tyrone	32	9
TOTAL	188	81
10. *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, Ardkeen parish, p.53.
11. *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, Ballyphilip parish, p.161.
12. *Gravestone Inscription*, Co. Down Vol.13, p.34.
13. PRONI T/1065/28.
14. *Gravestone Inscriptions*, Co Down Volume 13, p.35.
15. Primary Valuation of Tenements, Union of Downpatrick, Parish of Ardkeen, townland of Ardkeen.
16. Dr W J Smyth National University of Ireland at Maynooth, 12 January 2001.
17. *Towards Reconciliation: The Uses of Local History in a Northern Irish Border Community*, 2000.
18. *Towards Reconciliation: The Uses of Local History in a Northern Irish Border Community*, 2000:
The full excerpt reads: ‘...[this] was a self-conscious attempt to re-interpret the graveyard as a place emblematic of coexistence, a place where both traditions share common ground, sacred ground no less. The restoration turned the graveyard into a signifier of a more complicated past – one capable of complicating the present, in which oversimplifying the past in binary terms can lead to fear, distrust, even murder.
19. *Towards Reconciliation: The Uses of Local History in a Northern Irish Border Community*, 2000.
20. *Genealogy identities*.
21. *Genealogy identities*.
22. *Genealogy identities*.
23. *Breath of Fresh Air*, p. 43.
24. *Breath of Fresh Air*, p. 45.
25. *Gravestone Inscriptions*, Belfast Vol 3, *Balmoral Cemetery*, p.viii, The decision to establish a Presbyterian cemetery was taken due to “irritation following an incident in the 1850s, in which a Presbyterian funeral conducted by Dr Cooke and the Rev. Joseph Mackenzie was obstructed by the local rector”.
26. RDC Annual Report 1997, p.17.

References

- Beckett, J. C. (1981). *Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923*, (2nd edition). London: Faber and Faber.
- Bell, R. (1994). *Book of Ulster Surnames*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press.
- Black, G.F. (1993). *Surnames of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Bradshaw, W. H. (1878). *Enniskillen Long Ago: An Historical Sketch*. Dublin: G Herbert
- Cashman, R. (2000). *Towards Reconciliation: The uses of local history in a Northern Irish border community*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Clarke, R. S. J. (Ed.) (1974). *Gravestone Inscriptions Series, Vol. 12: Barony of Ards, Co Down*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.

- Clarke, R. S. J. (Ed.) (1974). *Gravestone Inscriptions Series, Vol.2: Friar's Bush Graveyard, Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Clarke, R. S. J. (Ed.) (1974). *Gravestone Inscriptions Series, Vol. 1: Shankill Graveyard, Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Clarke, R. S. J. (Ed.) (1975). *Gravestone Inscriptions Series, Vol. 13: Barony of Ards, Co Down*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Clarke, R. S. J. (Ed.) (1986) *Gravestone Inscriptions Series, Vol. 3: Balmoral Cemetery, Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Common Place: *The Common School – Tiptoeing through the Tombstones*. (12 November 2002). Available on-line at: <www.common-place.org>
- Crawford, W. H. and Foy, R. H. (Eds.) (1999). *Townlands in Ulster*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation and Federation for Ulster Local Studies
- Day, A. and McWilliams (Eds.) (1991). *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland, Vol 7*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies.
- Deetz, J. (1977/ 1996). *In Small Things Forgotten: Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Ellis, S.G. (1985). *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community and the Conflict of Cultures 1470-1603*. London: Longman.
- Gillespie, R. and Kennedy, B. P. (Eds.) (1994). *Ireland: Art into History*. Dublin: Town House and Country House.
- Grenham, J. (1999). *Tracing your Irish Ancestors* (2nd edition). Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.
- Hughes, A. J. and Hannan, R. J. (Eds.) (1992). *Place Names of Northern Ireland County Down II, Vol 2*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies.
- Johnston-Liik, E.M. (2002). *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800*, (six volumes). Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Lewis, S. (1887). *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*. London: S. Lewis & Co.
- MacLysaght, E. (1991). *Surnames of Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Maxwell, I. (1997). *Tracing your Ancestors in Northern Ireland*. Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.
- Milne, K. (1966). *Church of Ireland: A History*. Dublin: APCK.
- Nash, C. (2001) *Genealogical Identities*. London: Royal Holloway University of London.
- Phoenix, E. (2001). *Two Acres of Irish History: A Study through Time of Friar's Bush and Belfast 1570-1918* (2nd edition). Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Roulston, W. (2002). *Donaghedy parish: a history*. Ulster: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Scott, R. (2000). *Breath of Fresh Air: The Story of Belfast's Parks*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press.
- Todd, David and Sheila. (1991). *Register of Gravestone Inscriptions in Leckpatrick Old Burial Ground Artigarvan Strabane*. Strabane: Northern Ireland.

**Sovereignty and Nation-Building:
The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today**

by

Stephen Cornell & Joseph P. Kalt

American Indian Culture and Research Journal 22 (3), 1998.

Review by W. Crombie

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

The School of Maori and Pacific Development

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[crombie@waikato.ac.nz]

Introduction

In *Sovereignty and Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today*, Cornell and Kalt (1998) argue that economic success, and the reduction of unemployment and welfare dependency, is more likely in the case of American Indian tribes if governance is characterised by five principles. In a number of articles and talks on Maori nation building projects in Aotearoa/New Zealand, reference has recently been made to Cornell and Kalt and to one or more of these five principles. Thus, for example, Dodd, in an article published in the *Journal of Maori and Pacific Development* in 2000, argues that *Iwi governance structures should involve a separation of governance and management and should be consistent with indigenous ideas about the location and exercise of authority* (2000, p.7). She refers, in this context, to the work of Cornell and Kalt, and quotes Eade who observes that “it is doubtful that an organisation that itself maintains oppressive social structures can be a reliable vehicle for transforming these in a liberating way, whatever the rhetoric” (Eade 1997, p. 26). More recently in this Journal, Tiakiwai and Bishop (2002, p. 36), note that Cornell and Kalt (1998, p.2) found a “positive correlation between self-determination and successful development as defined by the tribe”, and observe that what they refer to as the ‘decade of Maori development’ provides concrete Maori examples of development theorizing in line with Eade (1997) and the assertions of Cornell and Kalt (1998). The article by Cornell and Kalt which appears to be most often quoted in the context of Maori nation building projects first appeared in 1998. The extent of its current influence in Aotearoa/New Zealand suggests that a careful re-examination of it at this point could prove useful.

Overview

Sovereignty and Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today reports on some of the findings of the *Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development*, a project that had been in existence for some time at the time the article appeared. The overall aim of the Harvard project is to identify those factors that contribute towards effective economic development among Indian tribes. The researchers identify two different approaches to economic development: **(a)** the 'jobs and income' approach (involving addressing unemployment directly by setting up businesses), and **(b)** the 'nation-building' approach (involving building a nation in which businesses and human beings can flourish). The *Harvard Project* findings are

that the former approach ('jobs and income') is typically associated with persistent problems of business failure, whereas the latter ('nation-building'), when associated with sovereignty, vastly improves the chances of effective, sustainable development that impacts positively on political, social and cultural, as well as economic prosperity.

Nation-building and the five principles of economically effective governance

Nation-building involves the establishment of effective governing capacity. Cornell and Kalt argue that economic success, and the reduction of unemployment and welfare dependency, is more likely in the case of American Indian tribes if governance is characterised by each of the following principles:

- stable institutions and policies;
- a competent bureaucracy;
- fair and effective dispute resolution;
- separation of politics from business management;
- cultural 'match'.

A critique of the five principles

The five principles: problems of definition and coherence

For those educated in typical western business practices, the first two of the principles (see above) which are represented as being characteristic of economically effective governance are likely to have an immediate appeal. They are, after all, ideals to which most western businesses would aspire. The third principle is also intuitively convincing. After all, societies and businesses need effective dispute resolution in order to survive. However, perceptions of what constitutes 'fair' dispute resolution may vary. They are not simply a matter of who adjudicates or of how independent these adjudicators are perceived to be. Thus, perceptions of fairness relate not only to the interpretation and implementation of legal processes, but also to the nature of the laws that underpin these processes, laws that may change as social attitudes change. Furthermore, tribal perceptions of what is fair may differ from prevailing attitudes in society more generally and, in particular, from the prevailing attitudes of non-tribal investors. Should this be the case in a particular instance, the question arises as to whether the concept of 'cultural match' (the fifth principle) should be applied. If so, the result may prove to be unacceptable to potential non-tribal investors and, furthermore, may be inconsistent with the other four principles.

The fourth principle - separation of politics from business management - is likely to appeal to business managers. It is, furthermore, likely to gain immediate support from those who believe that the primary aim of business is to maximise profit. This principle is, in fact, fundamental to the Capitalist agenda and is consistent with a free market philosophy and with the monetarist theories of the New Right in New Zealand.

The final principle is 'cultural match', a principle that could, in its application, undermine any, or all, of the other four principles. Given that this is the case, there is a clear need for the five principles to be ordered and prioritized in some way.

The authors identify four groups¹ whose economic performance, outside the area of gaming, has been impressive. Among these is the White Mountain Apache tribe, one of the most economically successful Indian tribes in the United States. However, as

Cornell and Kalt themselves indicate, in the case of the White Mountain Apaches "power is centralized in the tribal government, chief executive officers exercise extensive power, there is no independent judiciary, and there is executive oversight of business operations" (p. 202). Thus, it would appear that at least two of the five principles outlined earlier do not apply in the case of the White Mountain Apaches. This raises significant issues. Are readers to assume on the basis of the experience of the White Mountain Apaches that 'cultural match' is more important than, for example, the separation of politics from business management?

The outstanding success of the White Mountain Apaches must call into question a model based on the first four principles alone. However, the introduction of the fifth principle ('cultural match') destabilises the model in that it has the potential to be in conflict with any, or all, of the other four principles. This being the case, the only way of retaining the five principles intact is to find a non-*ad hoc* way of ordering them in terms of relative importance. In this article, the authors do not address this issue. Furthermore, the fact that at least two of the principles ('a competent bureaucracy' and 'fair and effective dispute resolution') are expressed in very general terms could create difficulties in terms of any attempt to order the principles in relation to their comparative importance.

The five principles: the issue of supporting evidence

I have already noted that I believe that there is potential for conflict between the first four principles and the fifth. It is important, therefore, to determine what evidence is produced by the authors in support of their contention that these five principles are characteristic of economically effective governance in the case of Indian tribes. It is also important to subject that evidence to critical examination.

In support of the principle of the efficacy of *stable institutions and policies*, the authors point to the economic success of Cochiti Pueblo in New Mexico who have reduced unemployment to single figures. Notwithstanding frequent personnel changes, the governing structures of the Cochiti Pueblo are described as having "enormous stability" (p. 197). No other specific instance of stable or unstable governance of Indian tribes is provided in this article. However, what readers are told elsewhere in the article is that both the White Mountain Apache tribe and the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Reservation operate under tribal governance terms written by the federal government and organized under the provisions of the *Indian Reorganization Act* of 1934 (pp. 201 - 202). Presumably, therefore, both tribes have the same or similar (imposed) institutional stability. In one case (White Mountain Apache), the tribe has been outstandingly successful in economic terms; in the other (Oglala Sioux), it is described as being statistically the poorest Indian reservation in the county. Thus, although there may be evidence from other sources that stable institutions and policies characterise successful economies and successful businesses, there is little direct evidence in this article that this is also the case in relation to the American Indian tribes studied.

The next principle relates to the existence of *a competent bureaucracy*. Here, it is important to determine what is meant by 'competence'. The authors do not provide a definition. Instead, they offer an example, an example that serves to highlight the possible circularity of their argument at this point. They note the success of the White Mountain Apache tribe in Arizona in negotiating the right to put in place its own

conservation plan for its forest and recreational resources and note that "one of the key elements in the success of these negotiations was the Apaches' resource management capabilities" (p. 201). In support of their contention that the Apaches have "a competent, sophisticated resource management bureaucracy", they then point to the success of Apache business operations (p. 201). In other words, it would appear that if you are successful in business, you have a competent bureaucracy; if you are not, you do not. Although this is, no doubt, largely true, it is not particularly helpful. What would be considerably more helpful would be an attempt to specify what constitutes a competent bureaucracy. In the absence of such specification, readers are likely to assume that there is a necessary correlation between qualifications and competence, something that is likely to be more true in some areas of business than in others.

What do the authors mean by "*fair and effective dispute resolution*" and do they provide adequate justification for its inclusion as one of the five principles of economically effective governance in the case of Indian tribes? It has already been noted that there may be difficulties in specifying what type of dispute resolution is 'fair' in a particular instance. Furthermore, in order to claim that dispute resolution is 'effective', it is necessary to specify effectiveness measures, something that is absent from this article. However, the authors do indicate that independence of the judicial system is considered to be fundamental (p. 197) and note that "if you control for the effect of other factors on employment . . . simply having an independent judicial system reduces unemployment, on average, by five percent" (p. 198). The problem here is that this conclusion was reached on the basis of a sample of a relatively small number of tribes and, in this context, it seems unlikely that the 5% advantage recorded is statistically significant. Furthermore, no indication is given of whether the figures for unemployment that were treated as being significant were official ones and, if so, how they were arrived at. In view of the narrow margin of advantage (5%) recorded, this is particularly likely to be relevant. Finally, there is no indication in the article of which variables were controlled for or, more significantly, which were not. This is a significant issue in view of the complex range of factors that can impinge on unemployment statistics. Thus, in support of their contention that fair and effective dispute resolution has a positive impact on economic development in the case of Indian tribes, the authors provide very little evidence. Indeed, they state that one of the most economically successful tribes studied (the White Mountain Apache tribe) does not have an independent judicial system.

In relation to the efficacy of *the separation of politics from business management* in the case of Indian tribal governance, Cornell and Kalt provide evidence based on a study of 125 tribally owned businesses on more than thirty-seven reservations. They claim that "the chances of being profitable rise 400 *per cent* where businesses are insulated from political interference in day-to-day operations" (p. 200). On the face of it, this is a compelling argument in favour of the separation of politics from business management. However, it is important to sound a note of caution here. First, these results seem to emerge from a *direct correlation* between sustained profitability and the insulation of businesses from political interference. It may be, however, that other factors are involved. It would be interesting, for example, to know precisely what the distribution of the 125 businesses studied is in relation to the 37 tribal areas. It could be, for example, that the most successful businesses are concentrated in a few tribal areas, or that they are all characterized by some other

factor or factors. There is nothing to signal conclusively that other factors are not at least as important as the separation of business management from politics.

'**Cultural match**' refers to "the match between governing institutions and the prevailing ideas in the community about how authority should be organized and exercised", these prevailing ideas being "part of the culture of a tribe or any cohesive society" (p. 201). In relation to cultural match, the authors contrast the situation of the White Mountain Apaches of the Fort Apache Reservation in Arizona with that of the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Both groups have tribal governments written by the federal government and organized under the provisions of the *Indian Reorganization Act* of 1934. In both cases, the governance structure is essentially the same. However, whereas the White Mountain Apaches are one of the most successful tribal groups, Pine Ridge is statistically the poorest Indian reservation in the country. It is argued that the difference relates to the fact that in the Apache case, there is a much closer match between traditional governance and current governance and that, therefore, current governance is perceived as having greater legitimacy. Although any argument in favour of cultural match is likely to have considerable appeal for indigenous peoples, the case for its relevance to successful economic performance rests here on very little evidence. Furthermore, as was argued earlier, the inclusion of 'cultural match' in the five-part equation has the potential to undermine the equation as a whole. Above all, the definition of 'cultural match' as "the match between governing institutions and the *prevailing ideas* in the community about how authority should be organised and exercised" (p. 201) (emphasis added), raises more questions than it answers. There is no reason to suppose that there will necessarily be agreement within a community about what is currently culturally appropriate, or, indeed, about what forms 'traditional governance' took. The central issue may, therefore, sometimes be whether some form of compromise can be found.

Self-determination and nation-building

There can be little doubt that the self-determination policy introduced in the United States in 1975, along with a raft of associated legislation, does provide Indian tribes with an opportunity of asserting sovereignty and engaging in nation-building exercises. There can, equally, be little doubt that doing so is likely to put tribes in a stronger position in relation to ongoing challenges to their right to self-determination. However, although Cornell and Kalt clearly associate nation-building with self-determination throughout this article, the White Mountain Apache tribe, identified by the authors as being one of the most economically successful Indian tribes in the United States, continues to operate under tribal governance terms written by the federal government and organized under the provisions of the *Indian Reorganization Act* of 1934 (pp. 201 - 202).

***De facto* control**

At the end of the article, the authors note that they "cannot find a single case of successful economic development and declining dependence where federal decision makers have exercised *de facto* control over the key development decisions" (see p. 209). However, the Harvard project did not begin until after the 1975 policy of self-determination was introduced. In the context of that policy, it is not immediately evident what is meant by the exercise of *de facto* control by federal governments. Thus, however appealing such an argument may be, it requires further examination.

A note of caution

Cornell and Kalt note that there have been attempts "to overcome the dismal economic situation of Indian reservations at least since 1928" and that, to date, "the self-determination policy . . . is the *only* policy orientation that works" (p. 209) and it is also a policy that "has benefits for non-Indians" (p. 210). This may well be the case. If, however, Maori tribes attempt to establish *de facto* sovereignty in line with the five principles outlined in this paper, they may encounter a problem in relation to the potential conflict between the last principle (cultural 'match') and the other four. If they decide in favour of the first four, they may find that they are effectively endorsing free market monetarism at the expense of cultural identity. After all, the Harvard project focuses specifically on economic success which is defined, in large part, in terms of a reduction in welfare dependency. Although a reduction in welfare dependency is likely to have considerable appeal, it is likely to be only one of several factors that will be relevant to tribal groups in assessing the effectiveness of governance structures. In fact, reduction in welfare dependency may sometimes be a longer-term goal rather than an immediate priority. Maori communities would, therefore, do well to examine the basis for the recommended formula carefully before attempting to implement it. They would also do well to bear in mind that devolution of authority in one area can very easily be accompanied by denial of responsibility in another. The future of Indian tribes in the United States of America depends at least as much on the capacity of the United States to build effective economic and social structures as it does on the capacity of Indian tribes to do so. Thus far, the United States of America has not excelled in the area of social policy. Nor, some would argue, has it done so in the area of economic policy. A country with 6% of the world's population that consumes 40% of world energy supplies does not necessarily represent a model worthy of imitation. Similar arguments could be applied in the case of Maori tribes in Aotearoa.

Conclusion

A number of concerns have been raised here about the arguments forwarded in this article by Cornell and Kalt. Those who are interested in following up these arguments, and in looking in more detail at the surrounding debate, should consult other works which have emerged out of the *Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development*.

Endnote

1. The four tribal groups listed in this context are the Mississippi Choctaws (one of largest employers in the state in manufacturing, service and public sector enterprises); the White Mountain Apaches (economic anchor of economy of east-central Arizona: skiing, recreation and other enterprises, with its timber operation being one of the most productive in the western United States) the Salish and Kootenai tribes of the Flatland Reservation in Montana (successful private sector economy based on tourism, agriculture and retail services and the tribal college now gets non-Indian applicants); Cochiti Pueblo in New Mexico (tribally-owned enterprises have reduced unemployment to single figures).

References

- Cornell, S. & Kalt, J. (1998). Sovereignty and Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 22 (3), 187-214.
- Dodd, M. (2000). Governance and Legitimacy: Indigenous Development in Aotearoa. *Journal of Maori and Pacific Development*, 1 (1), 4-9.
- Eade, D. (1997). *Capacity-Building. An Approach to People-Centred Development*.

Oxford: Oxfam.
Bishop, R. & Tiakiwai, S. (2002). Building capacity for sustainable Iwi development.
Journal of Maori and Pacific Development, 3 (2), 31-39.

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAIKATO

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao



THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO THE SCHOOL OF MAORI AND PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT

Dr. Aroha Yates-Smith
Acting Dean

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

Dean's Welcome

Nau mai haere mai

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao (The School of Maori 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.

Dr. 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 Tari Māori
- Development Studies
- Te Tīmatanga Hou
- Te Whakapiki i te Reo
- Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research
- Māori Student Academic Advisory Centre (MSAAC)

Te Tari Māori

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 Tari Māori and our School.

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 Timatanga Hou

Te Timatanga 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. There are currently three major areas of research which different research teams, from the School and University, are undertaking:

- 1) Māori Sustainable Development in Te Puku o Te Ika
- 2) He Rangahau Tikanga Māori - Traditional Fisheries Research Project
- 3) Māori Language Proficiency Tests for Year 5 and Year 8

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.

Māori Student Academic Advisory Centre (MSAAC)

To support Māori students studying at the University of Waikato, a centre was established to provide advice and a friendly environment for Māori students. MSAAC services provide academic advice and support Māori students to ensure there is a high retention rate of Māori students at the tertiary level. Students who approach MSAAC will find an environment that encourages academic learning with a particular focus on tikanga Māori, supporting both the cultural and academic development.

Guidelines for Final Submission of Article for JMPD

General

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

Title

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

Abstract

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

Headings

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

References within the text

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

Endnotes

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

Tables and Figures

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

References

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

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

Policy regarding use of the macron

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

Submission

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

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

Acknowledgments

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