

Appendix Three

Background on the Māori language situation

This Appendix provides background information on the history of the Māori language, the Māori language policy context, and current statistics on the health of the Māori language, to assist readers less familiar with these aspects of the Māori language situation in New Zealand.

The early history of the Māori language in New Zealand

The ancestors of the Māori people migrated to New Zealand from Eastern Polynesia over a thousand years ago and European settlers began arriving from the late 18th century onwards. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Māori was the predominant language in New Zealand. Māori significantly outnumbered the new European settlers, with an estimated 2,000 Europeans compared to 70,000 Māori in 1839-40 (Belich 1996: 132, 178), and the vast majority of Māori lived in rural communities where Māori was used almost exclusively. Early settlers had to learn to speak some Māori if they wanted to trade with Māori, education was initially provided to Māori children by missionaries in Māori, and for much of the nineteenth century it was not unusual for government officials, missionaries and prominent non-Māori to speak Māori. The children of these early missionaries and officials, who grew up among Māori children, were among the most fluent European speakers and writers of Māori (Ministry of Culture and Heritage 2007).

Government policy and language shift to English

From the 1860s, however, changes began to take place that affected the health of the Māori language. These changes were multiple, including, among others, the extension of colonial government control by non-Māori after the signing of the

Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the land wars of the 1860s, and the increasingly significant outnumbering of Māori by non-Māori from the mid nineteenth century onwards. The developments most often cited as having a strong impact on the Māori language relate to education and urbanisation.

Education

The Native Schools Act 1867 marked the beginning of the policy of using English as the sole medium of instruction in schools for Māori. The Native Schools had a “persistent belief that English had perforce to become the first language of the Māori” (TPK 2002a: 3). By the early 1900s the use of Māori was completely excluded at many schools and children were in some cases physically punished for speaking Māori. As in other situations of colonisation, the educational policies of the time reflected strong assimilationist attitudes that linked proficiency in English to supposed best outcomes for Māori. The 1880 Native Schools Code allowed for the use of Māori in junior classes as a transition to English, but specified that “the aim of the teacher [...] should be to dispense with the use of Māori as soon as possible” (New Zealand General Assembly 1880).

Despite this restrictive official policy¹, the schools’ actual practices varied considerably, with some schools adopting a more permissive attitude towards the Māori language than others (Spolsky 2003: 558). Some Māori themselves strongly supported the use of English in schools at this time, believing it would enable Māori to interact effectively with the European settlers and gain access to non-Māori knowledge, as well as to defend their own way of life (May 2001: 294, 296, Chrisp 2005: 151-152; King 2003: 233). As a result, by the early twentieth

¹ The policy of overt assimilation in education continued throughout the twentieth century and was only officially ended in 1960, with the introduction of the Hunn report, which promoted a new policy of ‘integration’ that sought to combine Māori and non-Māori elements and to include some aspects of Māori culture into the formal education system. May (2001: 296) argues, however, that the principles underlying this model continued to reflect a ‘deficit’ view of Māori culture that “simply reinforced the previous assimilationist agenda and resulted in the continued perception of Māori as an educational ‘problem’”.

century, many Māori children had become bilingual, speaking Māori in the home and English at school. At this time, however, Māori was still widely spoken in Māori homes.

King (2003: 359-60) dates the beginning of the sharp decline in the number of speakers of Māori to the mid 1930s, claiming that at this time “Māori parents and grandparents were discouraging children from learning the Māori language” due to “the widespread belief [...] that proficiency in English would make upward social mobility for Māori more likely and better prepare youngsters for a world in which Māori culture was going to be a diminishing influence”. This view of the 1930s as a key period in the displacement of the Māori language is supported by Benton (1991: 17-18), and Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK 2004: 13) also refers to ambivalence among Māori towards the Māori language during this period, citing anecdotal evidence of “a widespread perception that the English language was the language of economic advancement and access to a higher standard of living” (see also Benton 1981: 15-16). Up to the Second World War, nevertheless, Māori remained the first language of the vast majority of Māori (Benton 1981: 15).

Urbanisation

Until the first decades of the twentieth century, most Māori lived in linguistically isolated rural communities where Māori was the principal language. From the 1940s onwards, however, the Māori population became rapidly urbanised, in response to increased demand in the cities for labour for industrial development (Chrisp 2005: 152). The proportion of Māori living in urban areas increased from one quarter in 1945 to three quarters in the 1970s (Spolsky 2003: 559), with this migration supported by the state in the early years. English was the language of work in the non-Māori dominated cities, schools continued to teach in English only, and the Government’s housing policy of ‘pepper-potting’ Māori migrants to the city within predominantly non-Māori neighbourhoods reduced opportunities

for the use of the Māori language in social settings (TPK 2002a: 3). It has been argued that it was around this time that the attitudes and behaviours of Māori towards the Māori language underwent a second substantial change. Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK 2004: 15) claims the earlier ambivalence of Māori now changed to outright negative attitudes and, within this environment, “Māori parents throughout the country seem to have made a collective decision (albeit unconsciously) to use English rather than Māori in bringing up their children” (Biggs, cited in Benton 1987: 66). Belich (2001: 204) claims that “urbanisation from 1945 did much more damage to the Māori language than did the Native Schools”, a view shared by King (2003: 474), who maintains earlier education policy had not nearly as much effect on the language as the breakdown of Māori family and tribal links in the post-war years.

Language shift

The long-term result of the developments above, among others, was the massive language shift of Māori from the Māori language to English. This took its most dizzying course in the cities, and later (as result of improved transport, access to electricity and the advent of television) spread to the remaining rural communities where the Māori language had initially remained stronger (Chrisp 2005: 153). Benton (1991: 14-15) traces the process of generational language shift of Māori speakers, proceeding from monolingualism in Māori, through an intermediate stage of bilingualism (including both active and passive bilinguals, and first language Māori and first language English bilinguals), to monolingualism in English.

It is sometimes claimed that language shift is a ‘natural’, even ‘inevitable’ phenomenon (see May 2005). The description above shows that the New Zealand government in fact actively promoted the dominance of the English language over Māori. During the crucial post-war period “there were no government initiatives [...] to arrest the decline in Māori language and the erosion

of Māori culture” (King 2003: 480). Instead, it was “taken for granted by most Pākehā, including the political leadership of the day, that ‘integration’ in fact mean ‘assimilation’ [and] assimilation required Māori to become Pākehā” (King 2003: 480-481).

In the late 1970s the results of the sociolinguistic survey of language use in Māori households undertaken by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) showed for the first time the extent of language shift that had occurred. On the basis of a survey of 6,915 adults in 6,470 Māori households in the North Island between 1973 and 1979, which involved collecting reported data on a total of 33,338 individuals, it was estimated that: 70,000 Māori in New Zealand could speak Māori conversationally (about 18% of the Māori population), another 115,000 could understand Māori, and most Māori speakers were over 45 years of age. Based on these figures, Benton (1979) predicted that Māori would soon be a language without native speakers.

Early Māori language regeneration planning

‘Flax-roots’ Māori language regeneration efforts started in earnest in the 1970s, as part of a more general Māori movement towards political, cultural and linguistic revival. In the early 1970s concerns for the Māori language were expressed by Māori urban groups such as Ngā Tamatoa and the Te Reo Māori Society, and a petition signed by 30,000 people was delivered to Parliament in 1972 calling for Māori language instruction to be provided in all schools. The NZCER results in the late 1970s gave further impetus to this movement. The early language regeneration activities were driven by Māori communities, with increasing government policy involvement over time. The main areas of early activity were in education, broadcasting and the legal status of the language. The early initiatives, and how these have developed over time, are summarised below.

Education

Early Māori educational initiatives included the Te Ataarangi movement (teaching Māori to adults) from 1979 and the development of kōhanga reo (Māori medium pre-schools) from 1982. This in turn prompted the introduction of kura kaupapa Māori (Māori medium primary schools) from 1985, initially outside the state education system. The Education Act 1989 required that all schools ensure that all reasonable steps were taken to provide instruction in tikanga Māori (Māori cultural practices) and Māori language where demand for this existed, and facilitated the establishment of schools that operated according to Māori principles and taught through the medium of the Māori language. Kura kaupapa Māori were incorporated into the Education Amendment Act 1990 as a recognised state-funded schooling alternative within the state education system. The first wharekura (Māori language high school) was created in 1993. Wānanga (Māori tertiary education institutions), established by Māori communities, also became eligible for state funding in the 1990s. Māori had been taught as a subject in some mainstream schools since the early twentieth century, and from the 1980s there was provision for more substantial bilingual education in mainstream schools, often in the form of Māori language immersion units. This coincided with the introduction of Taha Māori (literally, ‘the Māori side’) programmes in mainstream schools, which were intended to teach basic aspects of Māori language and culture to both Māori and non-Māori students (Spolsky 2003: 562). By 2006, there were 535 Māori language early childhood services, attended by 9,871 students, and 421 schools provided education through the Māori language to 29,341 students (of which 26,340 were Māori) (Ministry of Education, personal communication, 14 May 2008). In 2007, the first ever Māori language curriculum for English-medium schools (Ministry of Education 2007a) was released in draft form. A new New Zealand Curriculum was also released in 2007 (Ministry of Education 2007b), recognising Māori and New Zealand Sign Language as official languages alongside English, which may be studied as first or additional languages, or used as the medium of instruction.

The Curriculum also established learning languages as a separate learning area, so that school students will now be required to learn at least one language other than English. One of the core principles of the draft curriculum ('the Treaty of Waitangi') specifies that "all students will have the opportunity to acquire some knowledge of Māori language and culture".

Broadcasting

The first Māori medium radio station began broadcasting in 1983 and in the mid 1980s two pieces of broadcasting litigation brought by Māori resulted in judgements that spurred on government policy relating to the language. In the 'broadcasting assets case' the Privy Council concluded that the Crown had an obligation to protect and preserve Māori property, including the Māori language, as a taonga (treasure). It also stated that the Crown's responsibility of protection was increased "if the vulnerable state of a taonga can be attributed to past breaches by the Crown of its obligations and may extend to the situation where those breaches are due to legislative action". Similarly, in the 'airwaves case' it was declared that "the Treaty [of Waitangi] principles of partnership and protection of taonga, past neglect of them at times, and New Zealand's international obligations can be argued to combine to make it incumbent on the Crown to take reasonable steps to enable Māori language and culture to be promoted by broadcasting". This led directly to the funding of several new radio stations to promote Māori language and culture. The Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand set up the Aotearoa Māori Radio Board to broadcast in Māori nationally in 1986 and in 1993 the Crown entity Te Māngai Paho was established with the primary function of promoting Māori language and culture, by providing funding for radio and television broadcasting in Māori. The Broadcasting Act 1989 included promoting Māori language and culture within the functions of the Broadcasting Commission, and the organisation NZ On Air is provided with a budget to fund mainstream television programs and music videos that promote Māori language and culture. The Māori Television Service, which broadcasts

mainly in the Māori language, was established under the Māori Television Service Act 2003 and began screening in March 2004. In March 2008 the Māori Television Service launched a second digital channel broadcasting entirely in Māori, which is initially screening during prime time hours in the evening, with the intention for on-air hours to increase over time.

Legal status

In the mid 1980s a group of Māori (Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori) brought a claim before the Waitangi Tribunal that the Crown had failed to protect the Māori language and that this failure was a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Waitangi Tribunal found that, under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Māori language was a taonga (treasure) and that (Waitangi Tribunal 1986: 1):

The Crown did promise to recognise and protect the language and [...] that promise has not been kept. The 'guarantee' in the Treaty requires affirmative action to protect and sustain the language, not a passive obligation to tolerate its existence and certainly not the right to deny its use in any place.

The Tribunal recommended that Māori be used in the courts and all dealings with government; a body be established to foster the use of the Māori language; an inquiry be instituted to ascertain better ways of ensuring that Māori students could learn Māori at school; more be done in regard to broadcasting in Māori; and Māori-English bilingualism in the public service be fostered. The Māori Language Act 1987 declared Māori to be an official language of New Zealand, gave a range of participants the right to speak Māori in certain legal proceedings, and established the Māori Language Commission. The statutory functions of the Commission include, among others, to "initiate, develop, co-ordinate, review, advise upon, and assist in the implementation of policies, procedures, measures and practices designed to give effect to the declaration of the Māori language as an official language of New Zealand" and "generally to promote the Māori

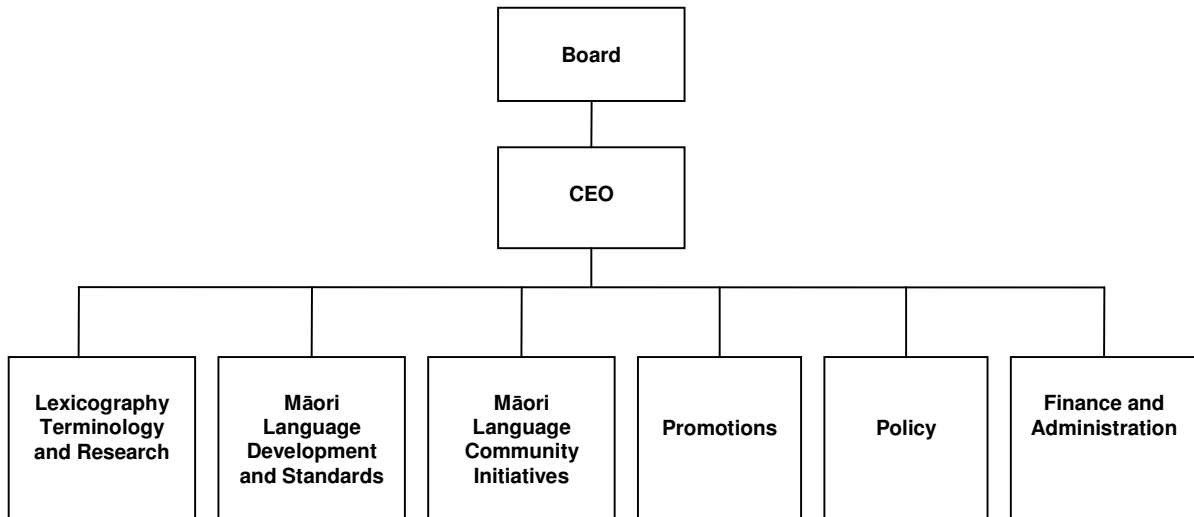
language, and, in particular, its use as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication”.

Contemporary language planning organisations in New Zealand

The two main Māori language planning organisations in New Zealand are the Māori Language Commission (henceforth MLC), described above, and Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development (henceforth TPK). TPK was established by the Ministry of Māori Development Act 1991, and incorporates a ‘Māori Language and Broadcasting’ team. TPK undertakes research, manages projects, and provides advice to the other government agencies that lead Māori language regeneration work in their respective sectors (Paula Collins, personal communication, 8 October 2006). Although other government organisations have responsibilities for implementing certain Māori language policy functions, these two organisations are the most actively involved in language planning in the broadest sense, in that they are charged, respectively, with developing and overseeing the Māori Language Strategy (discussed below) across government (TPK) and promoting the Māori language as an ordinary means of communication (MLC).

The organisational structure of the MLC is represented in Figure 1 on the following page:

Figure 1: Structure of the MLC



The Māori Language and Broadcasting team reports to the Director (Culture) of TPK, who reports to the Deputy Secretary (Policy), who in turn reports to the Chief Executive (TPK, personal communication, 8 May 2008). The MLC has a budget of approximately \$3.2 million annually (MLC, personal communication, 15 May 2008) and TPK's Māori Language and Broadcasting team is funded approximately \$1 million annually for its Māori language planning activities (TPK, personal communication, 8 May 2008).

Development of the Māori Language Strategy

Although the initiatives in education, broadcasting and the legal status of the Māori language described above, taken together, amount to a significant amount of policy activity relating to the Māori language, government language planning up until the mid 1990s was uncoordinated and largely reactive, developing in specific sectors in response to initiatives by Māori or the findings of the courts. Some commentators have been especially critical of the Government's strong

focus on the education sector, to the neglect of other areas (e.g. Murphy 1998: 104)².

At a Māori Language March (Te Hikoi Reo Māori) to Parliament in October 1994, marchers urged the Government to make good on its commitment to the Māori language and called for the adoption of a comprehensive strategic plan for the language (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1995: 2). On the spot³, the then Minister of Māori Affairs agreed to the development of a Māori language strategic plan, which would “[set] out policies and avenues by which revitalisation will continue today and into the future” (MLC 1997). The subsequent development of this strategy through the mid 1990s can be seen as a turning point for the Government’s involvement in Māori language regeneration, marking a change to a more coordinated and strategic focus across government.

The development of the Māori Language Strategy can be traced through a range of official documents produced between 1996 and 2003. These are described below.

Toitū te Reo (1996)

In August 1995, Cabinet noted that the MLC would be preparing, under contract to TPK, a ‘long term Māori language strategic plan’. At that meeting, Cabinet directed TPK to report to the Cabinet Strategy Committee in 1996 with a draft consultation document and consultation strategy for Ministers’ consideration (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1995: 5). *Toitū te Reo: A Consultation Document*

² In its most recent version of the Māori Language Strategy (TPK 2003b), TPK notes that education alone is not enough to regenerate the language, but comments that the education sector will continue to be a crucial area for language regeneration in the immediate and medium-term future, given that education initiatives support an increase in the number of people with Māori language proficiency, and in particular because the Māori population has a youthful structure at present with 55% of Māori aged under 25 years in 2003) and a high level of participation in formal education (TPK 2003b: 23).

³ Tipene Chrisp (personal communication, 19 December 2005)

about the Māori Language (MLC 1996) was produced by the MLC in 1996, under contract from TPK, and constituted the first official attempt by the Government towards developing a comprehensive Māori Language Strategy.

Toitū te Reo included a proposed vision statement and outcomes for the Māori language; a historical overview of the Māori language in New Zealand; a description of the health of the Māori language at that point in time; a description of the Government's current role in regenerating the Māori language; a section on language regeneration theory; supporting discussion backing up the proposed policy outcomes for the Māori language; eleven sections each commenting on a series of domains in which the Māori language was (or was not) used at the time; and a questionnaire for people to respond to the document.

Toitū te Reo presents a perceptive and thoughtful discussion of the situation at the time and was appropriately comprehensive in scope for a first attempt towards an all-encompassing strategy. It was light on proposing practical actions that the Government could take in promoting language regeneration, focusing more (as perhaps befits a consultation document) on eliciting comment from Māori on their views on the issues and possible actions and priorities. At 68 pages, it was also a weighty document that was perhaps not ideal for the purposes of consultation. What subsequently occurred, in any case, was not a consultation process, but rather that TPK took over development of the Māori Language Strategy from the MLC. TPK submitted a revised consultation document to Cabinet in 1996, similar in nature to *Toitū Te Reo* but shorter at 21 pages. Although approving the idea of a consultation process, Cabinet resisted the release of the revised consultation document, concerned that the objectives identified in it were not achievable. In particular, Cabinet noted that "the draft consultation document includes the vision statement that "by 2011 there will have been a sustained increase in the number of people who speak Māori, and in its level of use by them [...] and contains other references in the text to the year 2011" and recommended the discussion document be amended with a view, in

particular, to “ensure the document includes goals that are achievable within the constraints of available human and financial resources” (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1996: 2).

Amendments to the consultation document were signed off by the relevant Ministers two months later but were not referred back to Cabinet for approval, so that a consultation document was never formally approved (Cabinet Committee on Treaty of Waitangi Issues 1997: 2). Consultation did not therefore go ahead, but TPK officials nevertheless began writing a series of policy and Cabinet papers on the development of a Māori Language Strategy throughout 1996, with a view to establishing and delineating the role the Government might play in the regeneration of the Māori language.

Grin and Vaillancourt (1998)

Around this time, and almost certainly as a result of the Government’s concern with setting measurable and achievable outcomes for Māori language regeneration, the Treasury commissioned international language planners François Grin and François Vaillancourt to undertake an analysis of international language regeneration policies and consider their implications for the feasibility of Māori language regeneration in New Zealand. Grin and Vaillancourt’s findings were released progressively throughout 1997 in the form of a Treasury Working Paper. The paper involved a number of different strands of recommendations (e.g. in broadcasting, education, bilingual signage) as well as international comparisons of initiatives implemented effectively overseas (in Wales, the Basque Country and Ireland). Grin and Vaillancourt’s findings were referred to frequently in subsequent Māori Language Strategy policy development papers and are likely to have had a significant influence on the continuing development of the Strategy.

Māori Language Strategy (1997-1998)

The policy activity within TPK at this time resulted in the adoption by Cabinet in December 1997 of a series of five overarching Māori Language Policy Objectives, as follows (Cabinet 1997: 2):

1. To increase the number of people who know the Māori language by increasing their opportunities to learn Māori;
2. To improve proficiency levels of people speaking Māori, listening to Māori, reading Māori and writing Māori;
3. To increase the opportunities to use Māori by increasing the number of situations where Māori can be used;
4. To increase the rate at which the Māori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities; and
5. To foster among Māori and non-Māori positive attitudes towards, and accurate beliefs and positive values about, the Māori language so that Māori-English bilingualism becomes a valued part of New Zealand society.

To further these objectives, officials were directed to report to Cabinet by April 1998 on (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998a: 1):

1. a draft Māori language education plan (Ministry of Education);
2. developments in promoting Māori language through broadcasting (Ministry of Commerce);

3. mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the health of the Māori language and the effectiveness of the mix of policy interventions (TPK);
4. the development of the language to suit modern conditions (TPK); and
5. options for the provision of government services in the Māori language and the promotion of the use of the language in the public and private sectors (TPK).

Four Cabinet papers were subsequently written in May 1998 on Māori language education, public and private sector activities, language corpus development and options for monitoring and evaluation (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998a, b, c and d). These were followed by more detailed papers on the same topics in September 1998 (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998e, f, g and h).

These policy objectives and policy development areas, and the Cabinet papers that led to their development and adoption, make up the Government's Māori Language Strategy at that time. The Māori Language Strategy was first represented diagrammatically in a 1998 Cabinet paper (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998i), and this diagram was referred to as 'the Māori Language Strategy' in later Cabinet papers, where it often appeared as an appendix. However, the content of the Māori Language Strategy was not released to the public until 1999, in the form of the document *Te Tūāoma*.

Te Tūāoma (1999)

The stated purpose of *Te Tūāoma – The Māori Language: The Steps That Have Been Taken* (TPK 1999b) was not to present the Government's Māori Language Strategy but rather "to take stock of efforts made by Māori and Government to revitalise the Māori language." However, as the document notes (TPK 1999b: 4):

Taking stock of what has been achieved would be a pointless exercise if it were not accompanied by planning for even greater improvements. This stocktake document allows Māori and Government to identify the areas where language revitalisation efforts will require further work and increased effort in the future.

The policy objectives stated in *Te Tūāoma* were identical to those approved by Cabinet in 1997. *Te Tūāoma* went on to discuss the areas of activity underpinning the Māori Language Strategy and identified government agencies responsible for the various activities under the Māori Language Strategy, i.e. the Ministry of Education (education), Ministry of Commerce and Te Mangai Paho (broadcasting), Ministries, Departments and other Agencies (use of Māori in government agencies), the MLC (various corpus, information and testing functions) and TPK (monitoring and evaluation). There was, however, no mention of reporting requirements for each of these functions, nor a specific statement of required actions.

Te Tūāoma listed a set of proposed Māori language indicators that would be used to evaluate the success of the Māori Language Strategy over time, including: the number of people who know Māori; opportunities to learn Māori; proficiency in Māori; the visibility of the Māori language; the availability of the Māori language; the use of the Māori language; the production of Māori language material; behaviours towards the Māori language; and attitudes towards, and beliefs and values about, the Māori language. The document stated that evaluation criteria for these indicators were “yet to be developed”. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine how progress towards the Strategy’s objectives could be measured given that *Te Tūāoma* did not propose a desired final end goal or vision for the Māori language, nor intermediate goals to be met along the way. Rather than setting out specific outcomes and stages to progress through towards the identified objectives, *Te Tūāoma* tended towards simply describing work currently underway. The fact that evaluation criteria did not appear in *Te Tūāoma* does not mean the Government was not thinking about evaluation of the Māori Language Strategy, however. Discussion of the difficulties and

possibilities of undertaking evaluation activities was the subject of two Cabinet papers (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998c and 1998g) and in 1999 TPK received additional funding to undertake “intersectoral monitoring and evaluation of the Māori Language Strategy” as well as sociolinguistic survey research on the health of the Māori language (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1999: 2).

While the Māori Language Strategy as stated in *Te Tūāoma* was in one sense more practically oriented than *Toitū te Reo*, in that it was firmly focused on what the Government could do within the existing functions of government, in another sense it could be seen as a step backwards. Unlike subsequent policy development, its focus was very strongly on the government sector. The document explicitly recognised the distinct roles of Māori and government, and proposed the Government’s role as largely supportive, noting that “revitalisation will depend ultimately on the policies, plans and practices that Māori themselves develop and use at iwi, hapu, whānau and other organisational levels, and on the extent to which Māori learn and use Māori” (TPK 1999b: 18). This approach will no doubt have been a conscious decision on the part of officials, but it means this version of the Strategy had a much narrower focus than *Toitū te Reo*.

In any case, it is generally accepted that the Māori Language Strategy did not gain much traction within government at this time. This may also have been related to the change of government that occurred in 1999. Other useful developments did, however, result from this stage of development of the Strategy, e.g. the creation of TPK’s Māori Language Monitoring and Evaluation Unit, which began collecting statistical data on the Māori language for the first time since the 1970s, the monolingual Māori Dictionary project at the MLC, and the obligation on government departments to develop their own Māori language plans (Kath Boswell, personal communication, 30 November 2005).

Te Rautaki Reo Māori (2003)

The Government decided to revise the Māori Language Strategy in 1999, aiming for a more co-ordinated approach across government and a higher degree of partnership with Māori. A 2003 Cabinet paper elaborated on the perceived shortcomings of the previous version of the Strategy (Cabinet Policy Committee 2003a: 2):

The previous government developed a Māori Language Strategy in the mid 1990s to provide direction and coordination to government activities to support the revitalisation of the Māori language. However, this strategy lacked several key components (in particular, it lacked a clear vision statement, specific outcomes and implementation strategies) and was criticised by Māori because it was developed in isolation from Māori communities. As a result, the first MLS was not widely known or supported among government agencies or Māori.

According to the Cabinet paper, these fundamental issues led to the Minister of Māori Affairs directing TPK to prepare the groundwork for revising the Māori Language Strategy, with a particular emphasis on: developing a shared vision with Māori on the future of the Māori language; identifying Māori language outcomes; and recognising that both Māori and government had active roles in the maintenance and growth of the Māori language (Cabinet Policy Committee 2003a: 1).

It was around this time that an extensive programme of research was undertaken on the current health of the Māori language, through the 2001 *Survey of the Health of the Māori Language* (TPK 2002b) and the 2001 *Survey of Attitudes, Values and Beliefs about the Māori Language* (TPK 2002c). According to the Cabinet paper above, this research “provided a strong foundation for the revision of the MLS” (Cabinet Policy Committee 2003a: 2).

In 2001 and 2002 Māori language conferences were held to “gauge Māori thinking about the current status of the language and the way forward” (TPK

2003a: 5) and a Reference Group was convened to develop a draft vision, outcomes to achieve the vision, and fundamental principles to guide the development of the Māori Language Strategy, with participants drawn from government agencies and Māori stakeholder groups. A focus group of kaumātua and language experts met to review the text of a draft Strategy and a series of regional hui were conducted by TPK throughout New Zealand (TPK 2003a: 5).

In 2003, TPK released *Te Rautaki Reo Māori* (the Māori Language Strategy) (2003b). The stated purpose of the Māori Language Strategy is:

to move the Māori language to the next stage in revitalisation over the next twenty-five years, by focusing on greater Māori language use in communities.

This purpose reflects a change from earlier versions of the strategy to focus more firmly on Māori language use in whānau and community settings. This shifting focus is also evident in the TPK publication *Te Reo Māori i te Hāpori* (TPK 2004), which makes a strong case, based on the language planning literature, for focusing on Māori language development at the whānau and community levels. *Te Rautaki Reo Māori* acknowledges that “Māori have the lead role to play in revitalising the Māori language” and that the Government “cannot directly affect whānau use of the language”, but this emphasis on local level language use and community language planning is a change from *Te Tūāoma*, where the focus was almost solely on what the Government could do to support Māori language within its existing functions.

The vision statement for *Te Rautaki Reo Māori* is (TPK 2003b: 5):

He reo e kōrerotia ana, he reo ka ora – A spoken language is a living language.

By 2028, the Māori language will be widely spoken by Māori. In particular, the Māori language will be in common use within Māori whānau, homes and communities. All New Zealanders will appreciate the value of the Māori language to New Zealand society.

Te Rautaki Reo Māori proposes five goals to support the achievement of this vision. These involve strengthening: language skills, language use, education opportunities, community leadership, and recognition of the Māori language (TPK 2003b: 7). The outcome statements accompanying these goals are as follows (TPK 2003b):

1. The majority of Māori will be able to speak Māori to some extent by 2028. There will be increases in proficiency levels of people in speaking Māori, listening to Māori, reading Māori and writing in Māori;
2. By 2028 Māori language use will be increased at marae, within Māori households, and other targeted domains. In these domains the Māori language will be in common use;
3. By 2028 all Māori and other New Zealanders will have access to high-quality Māori language education;
4. By 2028 iwi, hapu and local communities will be the leading parties in ensuring local-level language revitalisation. Iwi dialects of the Māori language will be supported; and
5. By 2028 the Māori language will be valued by all New Zealanders and there will be a common awareness of the need to protect the language.

Te Rautaki Reo Māori identifies roles of Māori and roles of the Government in securing the future of the Māori language. As in *Te Tūāoma*, Māori are recognised as having a leading role, with the Government taking a supporting role. The roles of Māori identified include: whānau language transmission, Māori language use in Māori domains, leading local language regeneration at a community level, maintaining tribal dialects, and ‘supporting the Paepae’ (i.e. Māori language use on the marae) (TPK 2003a: 29). *Te Rautaki Reo Māori* also

identifies several 'functions of government' in implementing the Strategy and lists the agencies responsible for these functions. These include: Māori language education (Ministry of Education); Māori language broadcasting (TPK , Te Māngai Paho, the Māori Television Service); Māori language arts (Ministry for Culture and Heritage); Māori language services (MLC); Māori language archives (National Library of New Zealand); Māori language community planning (MLC); Māori language policy, coordination and monitoring (TPK); and public services provided in the Māori language (all government departments, TPK , MLC) (TPK 2003b: 31-35). Two further government functions were added to the Strategy in 2004, namely: support for whānau language development (MLC) and the Māori Language Information Programme (MLC). Through all these functions the Māori Language Strategy is intended to draw the various strands of government activity in relation to the Māori language together, to promote co-ordination and efficiency across government.

Te Rautaki Reo Māori also introduces a new reporting requirement, whereby government agencies are required to develop five year plans for the implementation of their Māori language functions, which will be monitored by TPK to ensure progress towards the goals of the Strategy (TPK 2003b: 5). TPK advises that *Te Rautaki Reo Māori* should be viewed as a step in an ongoing policy development rather than as the final word on the Government's Māori Language Strategy (Tipene Chrisp, personal communication, 19 December 2005). The Strategy is currently in its implementation phase and a formal review of it will be undertaken in 2008-2009 to "assess progress towards the medium and long-term outcomes, the appropriateness of the allocation of functions to government agencies, the effectiveness of the implementation plans developed by government agencies, and any other issues that may arise" (Cabinet Policy Committee 2003b: 6).

TPK claims that *Te Rautaki Reo Māori* is an improvement on the previous version of the Māori Language Strategy, *Te Tūāoma*, in that it: involved

consultation with Māori, refines goals and sets targets, has a 25 year vision broken up into five year plans, specific actions are associated with it, it will be subject to five yearly reviews, and it assigns specific roles to government agencies (Tipene Chrisp, personal communication, 19 December 2005). Whatever else can be said about *Te Rautaki Reo Māori*, it must surely be seen as an improvement on both previous iterations *Toitū Te Reo* and *Te Tūāoma*, in that it is more practically oriented than the first, and more broad-reaching than the second. Overall, the policy documents produced by TPK in relation to the Māori Language Strategy demonstrate an increasingly sensitive focus on the priority areas for Māori language regeneration as well as an increasingly more robust strategic direction.

Recent statistics on the health of the Māori language

At the time of writing, it has been just over 25 years since the first kōhanga reo, 25 years since the first Māori radio station, and just over 20 years since Māori became an official language of New Zealand. After over two decades of language regeneration efforts, what can be said about the current health of the Māori language? Statistics on the Māori language have been collected through the language question in New Zealand Census as well as through a number of sociolinguistic surveys undertaken by the New Zealand government since 1995. Although all these surveys entail the issue of the unreliability of self-reported data⁴, they provide some idea of the current health of the language. The results of the surveys are summarised below.

National Māori Language Survey (1995)

The National Māori Language Survey 1995 (TPK et al. 1998) was the first national survey of the Māori language since the NZCER survey in the 1970s.

⁴ Also see Bauer (fc) for a discussion of some potentially more serious issues relating to the reliability of the surveys.

The survey confirmed the dire findings of the NZCER survey, suggesting that: only 8% of Māori could speak Māori fluently, most of these people were 45 or older, and the Māori language was used in restricted domains (mainly on the marae, at school and for religious activities).

2001 and 2006 census data

The language question in the census asks in what language(s) respondents can have a conversation about lots of everyday things. The results for this question in 2001 and 2006 are shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Number of speakers of Māori in the 2001 and 2006 censuses

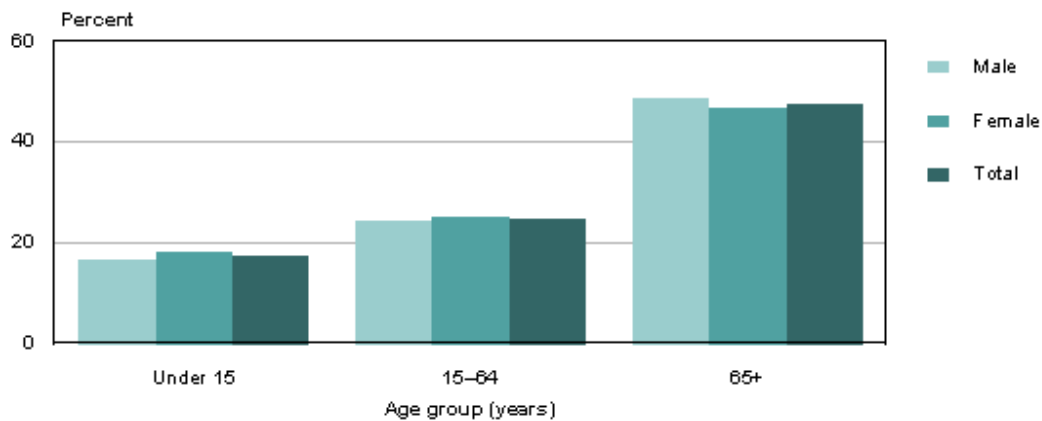
	2001 census	2006 census
Total speakers of Māori	160,537	157,110
Māori speakers of Māori	130,485	131,613
Māori speakers as % of Māori population	25.2%	23.7%

The results show that the number of speakers of Māori overall in New Zealand decreased slightly between 2001 and 2006. The number of Māori speakers of Māori rose between 2001 and 2006, but the percentage of these speakers as a proportion of the Māori population decreased. This is likely to reflect the rise in the Māori population of New Zealand over this period. There were 25,497 non-Māori speakers of Māori in 2006, compared to 30,052 such speakers in 2001, representing a decrease of 4,555 non-Māori speakers of Māori. The 2006 census identifies Māori as the second most widely-spoken language in New Zealand after English, with 4.1% of all New Zealanders able to speak Māori⁵.

Overall the census results report no great change in the number of speakers of the Māori language in New Zealand. This can still be viewed as a positive development, given that even achieving a stabilised number of speakers is significant, after the preceding steep decline in the number of speakers of the language. There are, however, a number of causes for caution here. In particular, there continue to be large differences between age groups, with speakers of Māori still overwhelmingly concentrated in the older age groups, as shown in the graph below.

Figure 2: Māori speakers of the Māori language by age as a proportion of the total Māori population

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2006)



2001 and 2006 surveys on the health of the Māori language

Although the census gives us information on the number of speakers of Māori, it cannot tell us how much the Māori language is actually used. Two large scale language use surveys undertaken by TPK in 2001 and 2006 (TPK 2002b and TPK 2007) provide us with further information on the proportion of speakers, levels of proficiency and domains of use of the Māori language. As the same

⁵ A number of Māori living overseas also speak the Māori language, particularly in Australia, where data from the 2006 Australian census indicated that Māori was spoken as the home language of 6,613 people in 2006, up from 5,504 people in 2001, which was itself an increase from 4,154 people in 1996 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, 2006).

questions were used for both surveys, the 2006 survey represents the first time series data available to date on the use of the Māori language.

The results of the 2001 survey, projected onto the Māori population as a whole, suggested that although 42% of Māori over 15 years of age could speak some Māori, only 9% could speak Māori 'well' or 'very well'. The results of the 2006 survey suggested that this percentage of fluent speakers had risen to 14%, amongst a larger group of 51% who could speak some Māori. The 2006 results also showed increases in the proportion of young people able to speak Māori, the number of people with a high level of proficiency in Māori having more than doubled between 2001 and 2006 in the 15-24 and 25-34 age groups. Some expansion in domains of use was also reported, with a particularly notable increase in the amount of Māori used for speaking to young children at home. In 2006 30% of Māori speakers claimed to speak Māori to pre-school children more than half of the time, compared to 18% in 2001, and increases were also found for the percentage of speakers using Māori when speaking to primary and secondary school students.

Despite these positive results, concerns remain in that the proportion of fluent speakers of Māori remains dangerously low for language maintenance, the survey results indicate a considerable number of people who have some proficiency in Māori but do not use it, and the main domains of Māori language use continue to be the marae, hui (meetings) and religious activities, rather than other domains of everyday life.

Summary

This Appendix has provided some background on the Māori language situation in New Zealand in terms of history, policy and the current health of the language. Although institutional support for the Māori language has increased over time, and recent statistics suggest some improvement in the health of the language, its

future prospects remain unclear. Recent surveys on the Māori language suggest that the decline of the language has only just been arrested, very few languages have been 'brought back' from such advanced language shift, and there are a great many factors at play, many of which cannot be controlled. To be viable as a living language, Māori arguably needs a critical mass of fluent speakers of all ages, who use the language on an everyday basis, and it needs to be passed on as the first language in the home of a large number of families. What is more, this thesis argues, it needs the support not just of its own speakers but also of majority language speakers in New Zealand. As Richard Benton commented in 1981 (Benton 1981: 83):

The Māori language cannot be imported from abroad. What happens to it in New Zealand now determines its fate absolutely. Ironically, that fate is dependent not only on the will of those who claim to value the language, but also ultimately on the will of those for whom it may be of no concern; it is New Zealand as a nation, not merely the Māori people, which will decide whether the language prospers or declines.

Spolsky (2003) argues that support for the Māori language among Māori communities and the New Zealand government has come closer together over recent years, in contrast to earlier government policies that were directly repressive of the Māori language. According to Spolsky (2003: 569), however, such support is not yet established "in non-Māori New Zealand ideology". With this in mind, a further aspect of the Māori language situation, the problem of tolerability, is the specific focus of this thesis.

References

Abbreviations used

MLC Māori Language Commission

TPK Te Puni Kōkiri

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001. Census of Population and Housing,
<http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/Home/census> (accessed
February 2007).

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006. Census of Population and Housing,
<http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/Home/census> (accessed
February 2007).

Bauer, W. (fc). Is the health of te reo Māori improving? *Te Reo* 51.

Belich, J. 1996. *Making peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: from
Polynesian Settlement to the end of the Nineteenth Century*. Auckland:
Allen Lane/Penguin.

Belich, J. 2001. *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the
1880s to the Year 2000*. Auckland: Allen Lane/Penguin.

Benton, R. 1979. *Who speaks Māori in New Zealand?* Wellington: New Zealand
Council for Educational Research.

Benton, R. 1981. *The flight of the Amokura: Oceanic languages and formal
education in the Pacific*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational
Research.

- Benton, R. 1991. *The Māori Language: Dying or Reviving?* Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Benton, R. 1987. From the Treaty of Waitangi to the Waitangi Tribunal. In W. Hirsch (ed.) *Living Languages – Bilingualism and Community Languages in New Zealand*. Wellington: Heinemann: 63-73.
- Cabinet 1997. Māori Language Policy: Options to improve the status and vitality of the language (CAB(97)M45/8C(4)). Wellington: Cabinet.
- Cabinet Committee on Treaty of Waitangi Issues 1997. Māori Language Policy: Options to improve the status and vitality of the language (TOW(97)31). Wellington: Cabinet.
- Cabinet Policy Committee 2003a. Revised Māori Language Strategy: Consultation document (POL(03)11). Wellington: Cabinet.
- Cabinet Policy Committee 2003b. Revised Māori Language Strategy (POL(03)200). Wellington: Cabinet.
- Cabinet Strategy Committee 1995. Long-term Māori language revival and maintenance: strategic plan development (CSC(95)148). Wellington: Cabinet.
- Cabinet Strategy Committee 1996. Māori Language Revitalisation: Release of discussion document (CSC(96)M23/1).
- Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998a. Māori Language Policy: Public and private sector activities and options (STR(98)87). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998b. Māori Language Policy: Māori language education planning (STR(98)88). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998c. Māori Language Policy: Monitoring and evaluation options (STR(98)89). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998d. Māori Language Policy: Māori language corpus development (STR(98)90). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998e. Māori Language Strategy: Guidelines for public service departments (STR(98)225). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998f. Māori Language Strategy: Māori language corpus development tasks (STR(98)226). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998g. Māori Language Strategy: Monitoring, evaluation and coordination options (STR(98)227). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998h. Māori Language Policy: Māori language education plan (STR(98)231). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998i. Māori Language Policy: Overview (STR(98)86). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1999. Māori Language Strategy: Institutional arrangements (STR(99)138). Wellington: Cabinet.

Chrisp 2005. Māori intergenerational language transmission. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 172: 149-181.

Grin, F. and F. Vaillancourt 1998. Language Revitalisation Policy: theoretical framework, policy experience and application to te reo Māori. Wellington: Treasury.

King, M. 2003. *Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin.

May, S. 2001. *Language and Minority Rights. Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language*. London: Longman.

May, S. 2005. Language rights: moving the debate forward. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9,3: 319-347.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2007. History of the Māori language - Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori, updated 10/7/07, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/Māori-language-week/history-of-the-Māori-language> (accessed February 2007).

Ministry of Education 2007a. Te Reo Māori in the New Zealand Curriculum (draft). Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education 2007b. *New Zealand Curriculum*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

MLC 1997. *He Taonga Te Reo* (leaflet). Wellington: MLC.

MLC 1996. *Toitū te Reo*. Wellington: MLC.

Murphy, H. 1998. Priorities for Action. *Te Reo* 41: 103-105.

New Zealand General Assembly 1880. Education: Native Schools. Wellington: Government Printer.

Spolsky, B. 2003. Reassessing Māori regeneration. *Language in Society* 32,4: 553-578.

Statistics New Zealand 2006. *Quick Stats about Māori census 2006*. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

TPK 1999b. *Te Tūāoma*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2002a. *The Health of the Māori Language in the Education Sector*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2002b. *Survey of the Health of the Māori Language in 2001*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2002c. *Survey of Attitudes, Values and Beliefs about the Māori Language*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2003a. *He Reo e Kōrerotia Ana, He Reo Ka Ora*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2003b. *Te Rautaki Reo Māori*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2004. *Te Reo Māori i te Hāpori*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2007. *Survey of the Health of the Māori Language in 2006*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK, MLC and Statistics New Zealand 1998. *The National Māori Language Survey*. Wellington: TPK, MLC and Statistics New Zealand.

Waitangi Tribunal 1986. *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori claim (Wai 11)*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal.