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## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the impact that recent educational reforms by the New Zealand government had on Maori individuals involved in community decision-making processes, focusing on one predominantly Maori rural community. Three strands of recent educational change in New Zealand are the move to self-managing institutions; ongoing debate over student and parental choice of school; and development of Maori initiatives, such as Maori language nests, Maori total-immersion schools, and tribal universities. A study of the rural community of Motatau and its school in the late 1980s shows how the community took responsibility for its school and established goals of a high-quality education and fluency in both English and Maori. Discussion focuses on the role and challenges of the school's new board of trustees, the creation of computer-based information networks linked to traditional family networks, school-community communication issues, issues of teacher workload and financial problems, and need for teacher education and professional development relevant to small rural schools. Ten years later, the hardships of rural schools had not abated. Governments devolved the responsibility of school governance and management but did not provide sufficient financial and human resources to pursue local interests. Nevertheless, Motatau has maintained an innovative learning environment with a balanced education unique to the community. (Contains a glossary of Maori terms and 11 references.) (SV)

**Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori:  
The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence**

Te Tuhi Robust

This paper discusses the impact that recent educational reforms by the New Zealand government have had on Maori as individuals involved in decision-making processes with specific reference to a predominantly Maori rural community (Motatau). The aim of these Maori individuals was to provide a secure learning environment for their children based on *te reo Maori*/Maori language unique to and for their *hapu*/sub-tribe. The effects of information communication technology on this Maori community are also discussed within the context of 'creating space' for Maori decision making to achieve their indigenous goals. The material for this paper is based on a study comprised of participant observations and interviews within the rural community, giving members' views on how government policies have affected them, in particular their local school. The community used the Treaty of Waitangi (1840)<sup>1</sup>, the original treaty between the Maori people and the British Crown, as the basis for the development of their school's policies and strategic plans, through the recognition of their rights under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The paper centres on the many 'tools' that are available to community leaders in making culturally relevant decisions in providing for people whom they are making for and to. These tools can be seen in positive and negative terms, as the creatures of external interests for their own goals or as resources available to the community. The term 'tools' can be considered in a number of ways. The definition of a tool offered by Vygotsky is elaborated in his exploration of the concept of human labour and tool use as the means by which man changes nature and, in so doing, transforms himself (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 7). The community advisory group, computer technology, boards of trustees, the Maori committee, *marae*/meeting house, trustees, and *Runanga*/Tribal Council can be seen as tools of action, consultation and communication to bring about change for society. This paper explores who it is that controls the tools and the actual and potential use of these tools to enhance the repositioning of Maori in pursuing their individual and *whanau*/family aspirations. It also considers how a community might react to the potential dilemmas that change brings to their situation.

The paper begins with some background for the analysis of the particular community's experience by discussing the concept of tools in a Maori context as well as providing information on the economic circumstances and educational reforms that required Maori responses. Next, the approach to a research project, which formed the basis for the data in the papers is described, followed by the findings in terms of the history of formal education in the community, community responses, the role of information technology, enabling and constraining outcomes, and reflections on the situation after ten years of developments.

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## *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*

### **Background**

#### **Tools and Indigenous Societies**

The use of information communication technologies brings together countries, groups, and individuals to share information of mutual interest. It decreases boundaries that, in the past, in isolated countries like New Zealand meant restricted access to trade and opportunities enjoyed by others. The idea of appropriating and exploring such tools is not foreign to Maori society (Belich, 1986). In Maori society it is expected that elders or peers will seek knowledge in creating the freedom to make appropriate choices for the group. Indigenous groups with access to tools of information and communication technology can use them to cross boundaries and also to enhance their learning capabilities, to gain knowledge, adapt, and control. However, for them to take this journey and use the tools to achieve their goals by modifying existing arrangements they need the space to explore the medium, to set goals, and evaluate their usefulness for their own situation.

But there is a potential dilemma, as shown by recent studies of literacy as a tool. Information and communication technologies, while opening some avenues of undertaking action in the world, may limit one's understanding and activity in other areas. Literacy can be used for colonization (Jenkins, 1991). However, Cummins (1995, p. 89) argues that literacy can be explicitly focused on issues of power as seen in the work of Paulo Freire, who highlights the potential of written language as a tool that encourages people to analyze the division of power and resources in their society and to work toward transforming discriminatory structures.

Within Maori society, respect for relationships rests in the base of the kin group, *whanau*/family, *hapu*/subtribe, and *iwi*/tribe. Throughout Maori society, whether it be the gathering of food, holding meetings on *marae*/meeting house or the planting of crops, Maori incorporate the spiritual and physical dimensions of learning handed down from generation to generation. For example, the preparation of the garden involved all members of the *whanau*/family who took on specific roles such as the preparation of the ground, planting, tending the crop, and harvesting it. In many cases these activities have been modified with the use of new technology. The planting of crops can be achieved on a commercial basis, planting and harvesting with machines, and marketing of produce. The quantity, quality, and cost effectiveness of the production of crops have been increased using these technologies. The claim that is made here is that the technologies employed, while opening some avenues for some people, have also closed other avenues, for example, employment patterns, at the same time, thus bringing into focus the struggle between control and possibility, coercion and collaboration. These tensions are very evident in the general area of schooling and preparation for work.

## *The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence*

### **Education and Change in the Maori Context**

In recent years combinations of changes, the overall effect of which has been to increase the incentive to be highly skilled, have impacted on New Zealand society. The result of this has been for society to increase the encouragement for people to develop skills. Education and training can play a key support role in maintaining economic growth and, therefore, employment growth. While education and training do not create jobs, they can give people the knowledge and skills to obtain them. In combination with employment and income support policies, education and training can provide a way of assisting those without the relevant skills and experience to take advantage of continued job growth (Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment, 1994, p. 81). Three strands of change can be identified in current education and training policies in *Aotearoa/New Zealand* to create more effective schooling (Lange, 1988). The first is the move to self-managing institutions, including the establishment of school boards of trustees. Secondly there is an ongoing debate on the role of student and parental choice, including the removal of school zoning restrictions. Finally there is the development of Maori education initiatives such as *kohanga reo*/Maori language nests, *Kura Kaupapa Maori*/Maori language total immersion schools and *Waananga*/Tribal Universities. Each of these strands creates the potential for space within which new tools (i.e., new ways, or new media for understanding and acting) can be developed. However, each of them contains dilemmas that impact on Maori as a result of the non-responsiveness of New Zealand society to Maori-specific cultural needs and identity in the past. National resources that have been put into place to cater for post-compulsory training focused on basic transferable skills and life-long learning are only part of the larger picture of society being responsive to education. What has been highlighted to this stage is the identification, creation, and maintenance of opportunities for people.

In advancing this development there is also a perceived need for the continued up-skilling of people to meet the new demands of society using new tools. It can be argued that the patterns of change have added significant pressure to develop more effective schooling opportunities for Maori. Cummins (1995, p. 6), discussing minority groups in relation to the structure of public education, says "not content just to reflect their societies and reinforce the existing structures of power, they are actively challenging the way in which power is negotiated and resources are distributed." In establishing the way in which power is challenged and used in the general context of the organisation of schools in New Zealand, new legislation supports creating the opportunity for people to choose the school they wish their children to attend. In New Zealand the influence of what type of school one attends or sends a child to and the long-term impact the school has will be an ongoing debate. For Maori, initiatives such as *Te Kohanga Reo*/Maori language nests, *Kura Kaupapa Maori*/Maori language total immersion schools, and *Waananga*/tribal university can be considered. These latter options target in particular Maori students graduating from *Te Kohanga Reo*/Maori language nests that the present mainstream schools cannot cater for. The New Zealand government has developed some policy, but the resourcing of the

### *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*

initiatives has not allowed for the development of appropriate curriculum resources and pedagogy at a level that is acceptable to people supporting the initiatives of *Te Kohanga Reo*/Maori Language Nests, *Kura Kaupapa Maori*/Maori language total immersions schools, and *Waananga*/tribal universities.

These developments have placed considerable pressure on government and other agencies to provide resource support that is appropriate to cater for the educational crises that have arisen for *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori philosophies and practices. Graham Smith suggests those *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori principles and philosophies initiated in the 1980s by Maori are “a means of understanding the potential of *Kaupapa Maori* approaches in intervening in Maori educational crises” (Smith, 1997). This initiative takes the form of ‘transformative praxis’, and the argument of Graham Smith provides a framework for exploring how the space can be created and for the effective use of technological advances in telecommunications and microelectronics. The use of tools such as information technology within an indigenous pedagogy is essential in supporting these new developments.

## **A Community Study**

### **Research Based on Indigenous Principles**

Justification of research undertaken by an indigenous researcher is probably the most difficult challenge that such a person has to encounter. Things taken for granted, for example, oral or inherited rights to *whakapapa*/genealogy and other, in some cases, *tapu*/sacred elements for the *whanau* family, take on a new shape or form. In the research context the researcher will have to seek the appropriate guidance in accessing these elements. The key to this type of research is to be sure that one has appropriate and effective links to the community or individuals involved. I was the principal investigator involved in what now can be seen as a type of collaborative research. At one level, it was a collaborative piece of action research undertaken by myself as a teaching principal of Motatau school and, at a second level, I am now reporting on the history of that enterprise ten years later using documents and records I have kept from that period of time.

The process of recording this information conforms to a collaborative model by checking all the information in this paper with specific reference to the Motatau community. The research process adopted for *whanau*/family principles focus on shared decision-making. It is not until one has to sit down and work alongside one’s own *whanau*/family that one understands the enormity of the task set by *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori philosophies and practices. The collecting and collating of research data are not the easiest things to set up. Working collaboratively with key people from the group is difficult, allows opportunities, but does not necessarily guarantee open and full decision-making. For example, the process of implementing policy had been discussed at meetings on the *marae*/meeting house. Interviews, meetings, and reviews of documentation relating to the school and the community from the first arrival of *Pakeha*/non-Maori in the valley

### *The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence*

were part of the methodology used for the research. The process set in place was inclusive and agreed to by the marae trustees and the Maori committee members of whanau/ family represented, therefore confirming their stake in the process. The presentation of the research initiative at the first meeting centered on *whakapapa*/genealogy between all parties. It was noted that *whanau*/family members were representative of *iwi*/tribes from throughout the country with one *whanau*/family from Holland. The main focus was on the immediate *whanau*/family group with other *iwi*/tribes serving to add to the wonderful tapestry of the present makeup of the community.

The bringing together of resources by all parties for the benefit of the community is the unspoken message and is an integral part of the reporting to be completed for the community. *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori philosophy and practices are discussed within the context of critical theory, taking into account the notions of critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation. It is “a theory and an analysis of the context of research which involves Maori and of the approaches to research with, by and/or for Maori” (Smith, 1997). What Maori need to do is to “seek and find ways to tell their stories in their own way” (Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, May 1999). This statement is more than a reference to the way in which Maori should approach research. Maori need to tell their own stories without the fear of being marginalized, dissected, and criticised in an academic arena that does not include shared forms of academic knowledge.

### **Research Findings**

#### **Motatau: The Community and its School**

Motatau is a small rural community located 35 kilometers from the township of Kawakawa in the Bay of Islands. The area supports a farming industry base of dairy, sheep and beef, and, more recently, forestry. The school, established in 1914, now has a roll that fluctuates around some 53 students and caters for new entrants to Form 2 children. A *kohanga reo*/Maori language nest is located at the local *marae*—Manukoroki. The *iwi*/tribe is *Ngapuhi Nui Tonu*, the *hapu*/sub-tribe is *Ngati Hine*, and the *whanau*/family is *Ngati Te Tarawa*. The *maunga*/mountain is *Motatau* and the *awa*/river is *Te Ramarama*. In the past the people from the community have preserved their stories in *korero*/oral tradition, which have been told many times by their *tupuna*/ancestors and theirs before them. Oral history of the *hapu*/extended families has been the main form of communicating these histories. However, the community has now moved to also record their histories in the form of *pakiwaitara*/stories by using computers, audio and video methods of recording. The focus of the community of Motatau is the *marae*/meeting house where the major decisions of the people of Motatau have taken place over the years. It is from here that this story of using ‘new tools’ for old needs takes the lead.

In 1986 *te reo Maori*/Maori language was the first language spoken in 85% of the households in the Motatau community. This has since been reinforced with the establishment of the *kohanga reo*/language nest, which was located at



### *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*

the school prior to moving to its present location on the *Motatau marae*/meeting place. Families have also taken it upon themselves to ensure that *te reo Maori* is maintained in the home.

The Task Force to Review Educational Administration (1988) in schools signalled to the community that they would have to take on increased responsibility for their school in providing for their children through to the 21st Century. This brought about a fair amount of scepticism voiced at numerous *hui*/meetings held within the *Ngati Hine*/sub-tribe community. People remembered that in 1974 the late Sir James Henare, chairman of the school committee, led the community in a fight against a government decision to close the district high school. The school committee unsuccessfully petitioned parliament on this issue. The children of that time are now parents of the children attending the school and are still trying to get their voices heard. The school has, however, been fortunate in that it has hosted a number of groups and individuals from political and social circles who have given their support to the school and community. In 1987 the community agreed that the government was divesting itself of its social responsibility to people, in particular Maori, by devolving education administration to the community. This view was represented to government officials on a number of occasions nationally, regionally and locally. The history of the school confirms considerable change that the community had undergone since the opening of the school in 1914. There appears to have been little benefit to the community in these changes to the school's functioning; the community had gone round full circle in making changes as required to meet the demands of new government policies to which they had had minimal input as a community.

The following examples illustrate the changes in status for the school:

- 1914 to 1951 Motatau Native School  
(Maori School – N/E to Form VI, Year one to year ten)
- 1951 to 1974 Motatau District High School  
(Primary and Secondary School – N/E to Form VI, Year one to year twelve)
- 1974 to 1988 Motatau Primary School  
(Full Primary School – N/E to Form II, Year one to Year eight)
- 1989 to now Motatau Bilingual School  
(*Te Kura Reo Rua O Motatau*)

A meeting held at *Motatau marae* in 1987 to address educational issues confirmed a request from the community to change the status of Motatau Primary school to *Te Kura Reo Rua O Motatau*/Motatau Bilingual school. Reasons for this change included the desire of the people to have *te reo Maori* and English given equal status as an integral part of curriculum delivery. The school committee had the responsibility for reviewing the organisation and management of the school in bringing this request to fruition. An understanding between the staff and parents was reached on the pedagogical approach to be used in the delivery

### *The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence*

of curriculum. The staff at the school was encouraged to teach in either *te reo Maori* or English as long as the standard of teaching was of the highest quality. The children, when enrolled at school, would be taught in their first language whether it was Maori or English.

It was agreed that the teachers at the school would share the responsibility to teach in both mediums of *te reo Maori*/Maori language and *te reo Pakeha*/English language with members of the community. The aim of the school was to have children leaving the school fluent in both *te reo Maori* and *te reo Pakeha*. This meant that the *whanau*/family had to own and retain the process from start to finish. The focus of all activity reported here and continuing now has been on the school and *marae* working closely with one another.

In 1988 the Task Force to Review Education Administration found that the administration of New Zealand's school system was over centralized, overly complex, and in need of extensive reform. It was perceived that all decision-making came from the top and that very few decisions were being made from the local level, where the immediate impact of rules and procedures was felt. "Effective management practices are lacking and the information needed by people in all parts of the system to make informed choices is seldom available. The result is that almost everyone feels powerless to change things they see need change. To make progress change is now required" (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988). Administrative changes for schools set out in the document *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange, 1988) were designed to give more resources to schools and to provide more parent and community involvement, more responsibility to teachers and greater accountability. The decisions from the Taskforce report were incorporated in major revisions of the Education Act in 1989 and the Education Amendment Act 1990. The outcome was a new focus on self-control and management, balanced with an emphasis on national curriculum and national standards. The Task Force, therefore, recommended that any new administration for education should be based upon choice— giving a wide range of options to consumers and individual learning institutions, the needs of the parents and the community, cultural sensitivity, equity, and good management practices. This would allow those working in the system to have detailed and clear objectives, control over resources, no overlapping lines of responsibility, and understanding of the need to be accountable for the decisions they make.

The implementation of this policy direction was co-ordinated by the Department of Education. A number of initiatives included the briefing of school committees and principals of schools. It was expected that this type of consultation and professional development would motivate schools to be more aware and be better positioned to handle the changes being forecast for the administration of schools. As a result of these courses and workshops a strategic plan and an implementation plan was developed for Motatau Primary School that would cater for the change of status for the school to *Te Kura Reo Rua O Motatau*/Motatau Bilingual School and then position the school for the new administrative changes to be implemented. The plan included a timeframe with phases of



### ***Indigenous Languages Across the Community***

development such as the appointment of an interim board of trustees and finally the election of a board of trustees for the school. The phases and steps incorporated a flat level of management with specific roles defined for each person—staff, board trustee, parent, and student.

At the time of the educational administration changes, further change was taking place in other government policies which had an impact on the situation of the rural sector. The initial downturn in the mid 1970s in the wool schedule, followed by the drop in the beef schedule in the 1980s, and then the halving of the pay-out/income for the dairy industry in the mid 1980s meant that economic policies developed for the rural sector were not working for the benefit of the people. This was also evident in the stress emerging with the introduction of policies for the health, education, and social services sectors. Since the reforms, they had a flow-on effect to society and people in general terms and in particular in schools and institutions.

The story of Motatau reflects the strong cultural practices of the community in using a number of tools to provide resources to support a creative learning environment for the children. A central element of action for the community has been the use of the Treaty of Waitangi as the base document for all development whether it involves the school or the *marae*/meeting house. In the case of the school, the main thing that the community wanted and demanded was a sound educational base for their children. A large number of people from the community served in local, national, and international situations as leaders or supporters for government, *iwi*/tribal, *hapu*/extended families, and associated agencies. They have been also been party more recently to many initiatives impacting on Maori for the retention of *te reo Maori*/Maori language, education, conservation, and the health sector. The case study illustrates that there were insufficient financial resources being made available to the community at large to implement and achieve the goals of government. It addresses barriers that exist within institutions to the changing needs of students and provides evidence of the issues that arise through the discussion of these impacts on a community and indigenous person.

### **How the School Used Tools to Meet and Reinvent Goals**

The Role and Challenges of a Board of Trustees. The school installed an interim board of trustees for the school. This step proved to be the key factor in positioning the school to take advantage of the new reforms. The people were given the opportunity for the first time in the history of the school to have hands-on experience in the decision-making for their school, which crossed the boundaries of teaching and planning in all curriculum to be delivered. This led then to the election of a board of trustees who were accountable for meeting the objectives set out in their charter (an agreement between the school and the Minister of Education) and for expenditures made from bulk grants received from government to run institutions. The board is required to report to the Education Review Office that reviews how well they are meeting the objectives of their charter. The Education Review Office reports directly to the Minister of Education.

### *The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence*

The Ministry ensures the delivery of education advisory services, special education services, curriculum, and early childhood development through contractual arrangements with other agencies and providers. These support services are now at a cost to schools. The Ministry of Education decides the scope of the curriculum. It has responsibility for setting national curriculum objectives within the national guidelines. Schools and teachers make the decisions as to what will be learned and taught in order to meet the curriculum objectives. In 1987, when the strategic plan was in place, the people believed that it would lead the school toward the Twenty-first Century. Its adoption opened the opportunity for the children attending the Motatau school to the possibility of having educational experiences (i.e., school visits to Auckland and other regions) and the board of trustees made it a priority to encourage more exposure to other experiences outside of their immediate locality.

The initial workload for the staff was determined in the main by the calendar presented by the Education Board of the time. With the emergence of the board of trustees, a period of uncertainty was experienced and staff were placed under undue pressure from all circles to maintain the integrity of the education system which aimed to deliver high quality education but also to maintain social and professional contact within the respective circles of their community networks such as Maori trustees, *marae* committee, *kohanga reo*, ladies committee, *Runanga*/Tribal Council, and *iwi* organizations. The approach taken by the Motatau community between 1987 to 1989 has been seen to be the right one for that point in time.

Present legislation on the operation of boards further stress the liability of trustees on the board—an unattractive proposition to those who were interested. Within the Motatau community, there are not large numbers of eligible personnel from whom to canvass for board membership. The majority of people choose to support the school on Calf Club days or fundraising activities rather than serve on the board.

The Role of Information Technology. As the first Maori principal to be appointed to Motatau Primary School, I had the opportunity to provide leadership that led to the implementation of initiatives such as the introduction of computer technology to enhance the organisation and management of the school. The aim was to achieve all of the objectives as required by the Department of Education which would in time and enable the community to adjust to the next phase of the implementation of government policy under the *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange, 1988) initiative. This phase included the election of the new board of trustees and the further development of the administrative base for the school.

The community of Motatau and the school *whanau*/family in particular utilised the networks and technology available at the time to develop new resources for the children and provide further avenues of resource development such as the collection of oral histories for the community. The community social network can be understood as a tool, used to channel contributions from former students and teachers of the school. One of these people was a former teacher, Dr. Richard Benton. He arrived in the Motatau valley in 1961 to begin his teaching

### ***Indigenous Languages Across the Community***

career in the secondary department of the then Motatau District High School. Dr. Benton, an acknowledged scholar in the area of Maori language research, has had his story told by the people of Motatau on the *marae* since that date. It is this rapport and the high esteem that the people held him in that led him to consider giving back something to the people of Motatau.

In 1986, Richard Benton and I undertook to create an opportunity for an *iwi*/sub-tribe initiative to link new technology (computer and telecommunication) with *whanau*/family networks. This initiative involved the exchange of information and ideas between a number of parties nationally and internationally. At that time the cost in purchasing a computer and a modem was very expensive. The school committee raised funds for the purchase of a computer and software for the school. It was also fortunate that I had purchased the same software and hardware to assist me in the administration of the school. The freedom, space, and opportunity the computers brought to the school within a short period of time were evident from the beginning. The board of trustees were able to access information and have clear concise reports generated. Having well presented reports that in the past would have meant a wait for days and in some cases weeks before being able to give informed response to government agencies and others was the first step toward efficiency in the administration of the school. One of the points taken into consideration for the purchase of the computer was the organisation and management of the 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee for the school. The drafting of the booklet, advertising, and other such information was a cost-saving enterprise in the long run. A key part of the information gathering that took place was the employment of a person from within the community who had skills and experience in data entry using the software purchased.

To enable a large amount of the information to be accessed and collated, a number of parties became involved. A telephone modem was borrowed from one of the local farmers in the next valley. The idea was to create a communication link via the modem and computer to the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) and its bilingual network, *Te Wahapu*, where Richard Benton worked. The main purpose of this activity was to bring to the board of trustees and the community an example of the ways in which their children could benefit from access to other forms of knowledge using information communication technology. As a result of this initiative Motatau Primary School became the first primary school to communicate with the first 'bilingual' computer network for *te reo Maori* in New Zealand. Students' stories gathered by Benton in 1961 and included in the 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee booklet of the school could be downloaded from a remote location to Motatau. The community and children were given a surprise as present members of the board of trustees wrote a number of the stories downloaded from 1961.

### **Outcomes in Terms of Educational Structure**

The ongoing development of new initiatives that resulted from the new status of the school was the signing in 1988 of the Matawaia Declaration (Benton, 1988) adopted at *Te Hui Reo Rua o Aotearoa ki Matawaia*. The full text was

### *The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence*

signed at a *hui*/meeting and presented to the Minister of Maori Affairs, the Maori Language Commission, and other bodies for their support. Motatau was represented at these *hui* and played an integral part in bringing the declaration to its present form as a landmark in the history of Maori education. The declaration focuses on the administration of Maori education and calls for the establishment of an independent Maori education authority as a fully autonomous statutory body, to establish Maori control and autonomy of *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori philosophy and practices in education from pre-school to adult. This was seen as a priority in addressing the people's dissatisfaction with the current lack of commitment and planning by the then Department of Education. In bringing *Tomorrow's Schools* and the Matawaia Declaration together Benton (1988) saw a number of recommendations emerging from the people as a way for them to take a stand to reconfirm their control of the education forum for their children.

#### **Constraints and Conditions**

**Communication Issues.** The initiatives described above were influenced by various conditions. One such condition was that of communication to the teachers, students, parents, and communities. Meetings were required which had to be held in several locations other than on *marae* within affected communities. An integral part of circulating the information to the community was to present it in a format and style those participants would be able to understand. A lot of the information was drafted by government in legislative language and was not user friendly. This led to the information being misinterpreted and at times ignored. The quantity of information was at saturation point for the school and the community, and newsletters that were circulated were couched in jargon that was not easily understood or interpreted by the readers.

Meetings were held in 'clusters' around the region. Some involved the need for participants to travel long distances to attend, or being held on days when people were working or during the evenings or weekends which conflicted with other meetings or *hui* being held for other reasons. Many people from the Motatau area were involved at the national level in a number of other *hui* which revolved around the instigation of the concept of *Runanga*/Tribal Council, the devolution of the Department of Maori Affairs, fisheries debates and Treaty of Waitangi claims. Such problems of co-ordination of school meetings and other demands were not taken into account by the implementers of the new policy in education.

**Workload and Cost Issues.** The government devolved responsibility but not power to the board of trustees and in general the people. The devolution made it very difficult for schools to make their way in a climate of economic decline. The workloads of teachers and the boards of trustees increased to such an extent that teaching is now a profession which is no longer attractive. As a result, government agencies have had to recruit overseas teachers.

Also, the government published curriculum statements for Maori (e.g., *Putaiao*/Science, *Te Reo Pakeha*/English and other curriculum documents) that require large amounts of resourcing to implement but without sufficient funding to assist small schools such as Motatau. The publication of these documents

### *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*

meant that they are only guidelines for schools to employ. The fact that they are not policy documents means that the government does not have to provide appropriate resources to ensure the implementation of the guidelines. The irony of this is that the Education Review Office is required to hold the board of trustees accountable to meet the National Education Guidelines (NEG's) and National Administrative Guidelines (NAG's). As the Ministry of Education in this case has published the guidelines officially, they are then deemed to be a requirement for all schools in their curriculum delivery.

The provision of staffing support continues to be a large financial burden on the school. Professional development courses are run on a regular basis at a cost to the board. This expense is compounded by the fact that there are no relievers for the teachers undertaking this professional development. Advisory services are now a cost related item for the board to facilitate and, again owing to insufficient funding support and long distances to travel, can only be undertaken when all other support services to the school are in place.

Time and money spent on attending and hosting *hui* for the community is a large burden on the community, financially and time-wise. Funding resources for this initiative were not available to the school, therefore proving to be an inhibiting factor for the community to participate in informed debate on the issue of educational change. They were totally reliant on feedback or reports from the principal, staff, and other members of the community who were able to attend meetings. Thus, the overall professional development of the staff and board members was yet another heavy commitment for the community.

Teacher Education/Professional Development. Grace Davis (2000), a former principal of the school, is of the view that, as a result of what has happened since the implementation of *Tomorrow's Schools*, the training of good quality teachers needs to be addressed. Boards of trustees are continuing to find that teachers with work experience in the classroom and at administrative levels are not available to staff rural schools such as Motatau. The high levels of stress experienced within rural schools have made teaching an unattractive profession. Te Oneroa Stewart (2000), also a school teacher, makes the point that not only is prospective teachers' absence of work experience a major factor for rural schools and communities seeking teachers, but the issue of *mana tangata*/personal wellbeing is the key to the success of the *Tomorrow's Schools* policies. The system has failed the people by not taking this concept into account. He is of the view that quality teacher training is the key to the success of rural schools. Teacher training needs to take into account the need to nurture teachers in training as whole persons so that they will be able to handle the everyday teaching situations that arise in small rural schools. Teacher trainees do not have work experience in the rural context; therefore when they are faced with it they are not able to handle it.

Teachers do not have available to them access to support mechanisms that they once enjoyed under the former education system. It is argued that funding has been provided within the operational funding distributed to schools. However in the rural sector the funding formulas do not cater adequately for this to happen.

### *The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence*

It is totally unrealistic to expect funding allocated to schools based on national guidelines and formulas to work for the small rural school. To make up the shortfall, fundraising is a necessity. Support from the community is highly limited in Motatau due to the small numbers of contributors. The urban school, however, has access to more potential funding support, leaving the rural sector schools severely disadvantaged.

### **The Situation Ten Years Later**

In revisiting this community ten years after the original research in the later 1980s, I see a number of other changes that have taken place. Ten years on, the hardship for rural schools has not abated. Interviews held with members of the community coincided with the review of the strategic plan, which has been drafted for the school and is being circulated within the community for comment. The issues are still the same and not likely to change.

There has been a total of three principals and upwards of eight teachers who have left the area for a number of reasons including retirement, promotion, and natural attrition. The issue here is not of retention but of replacement. The roles of the principal and the board of trustees, although clarified over the last five years, have not been as effective as originally supposed by the Ministry of Education. Insufficient funding and changes in policies (e.g., buses or advisory services) serve to lessen the viability of smaller schools in the rural sector. Critically, while the school has been a crucial focal point of the community, should it become an uneconomical body then the government has policy in place to close it and amalgamate it with other schools in the area. The logistics of this would serve greatly to dis-empower people despite the original intentions of *Tomorrow's Schools*.

When I was appointed as principal, I relied on the advice and support of the school committee and other *kaumatua* and *kuia*/elders to develop initiatives that would allow for the ongoing development and implementation of policies created for the school with the specific aim of providing education unique to and for the people of Motatau. It was evident from the outset that the policy direction of the government did not provide sufficient financial and human resources to pursue local interests such as allowing a small rural school to purchase technology required for the school and students. Governments have changed legislation (e.g., the Education Act, 1989) to devolve the responsibility of governance and management of the schools, relying on the good will of the community to take over what they, the government, had been doing for many years, without compensatory financial resources.

Nevertheless, an innovative learning environment with a well-rounded type of education unique to and for the children of Motatau has been maintained, but not without a struggle. This approach allowed for the child to recognise and maintain their *mana tangata*/personal wellbeing and to know where they were from and whom they represented. Administration issues should be placed in their appropriate context, which is achievement, a goal for the community. The



### *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*

school is charged with providing the appropriate learning environment for children to succeed. Richard Benton points out that the Picot Report comment (Department of Education, 1987, 7.2.1-6. pp 65-67) on the "aspirations of Maori people" brings forward cause for concern among some parents, teachers and community members who have been working to revitalise *te reo* through bilingual and Maori medium *kaupapa*/immersion education. "It is clear that the revival of the Maori language and culture is seen not as an end in itself, but as the key of lifting the educational performance of Maori children" (Department of Education, 1987, 7.2.1).

Motatau, in following its own strategic plan, has been found correct in maintaining the community dream by implementing the process of changing the status of the school. Initially this application was seen by some to be the first of a series of thrusts that the community would put in place to try out the parameters suggested by *Tomorrow's Schools*. The process was found to be suspect in that there appeared to be no transparent protocol from a national perspective to implement a change of status for Motatau School. In 1988, David Lange, Prime Minister, confirmed the change in status. The protocol has since been changed and boards of trustees can make application to the Ministry of Education, using an agreed upon set of negotiated guidelines appropriate to their individual situation.

Strategies must be developed that will give boards of trustees and principals access to information, training, and networks that will help to develop educational management skills and improve their schools' efficiency and educational processes. This can only be done with further funding support for resources, material and human. New technology will assist to a certain extent but deficiencies in the financial outlay for the school mean that priorities for the school need to be revisited. In rural communities such as Motatau the financial restraints are especially marked. Government must be held accountable for the discrepancies.

#### Note

<sup>1</sup>In *Aotearoa*/New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) has come to form the base from which *iwi* tribe and *hapu*/sub-tribe have sought protection from the constitutional erosion of their rights. However, it has had a somewhat chequered history in terms of its official recognition. In the period since 1975, there has been a re-emergence of the Treaty in the official discourse of the Crown, particularly through the development of 'principles' by the Waitangi Tribunal and the Court of Appeal. The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi have also come to form part of the policy development and implementation processes of the state. Reviews of a general nature with regard to official Treaty discourse since 1975 (Kawharu, 1989) and the concurrent development of education policies and practices, perceived Treaty obligations and responsibilities suggest that educational organizations are no more accountable than they were prior to the Picot Report (Department of Education, 1987); and the Taskforce to Review Education Administration (1988). The finding of the Waitangi Tribunal with regard to the *Te Reo*/Maori Language claim in 1983, in which the existing education system was found to be operating 'in breach of the Treaty', is of particular note.

## *The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence*

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### Glossary

- Aotearoa = New Zealand  
Awa = river  
Hapu = sub-tribe  
Hui = meetings/ gatherings  
Iwi = Tribe  
Kaupapa Maori = Maori philosophies and practices  
Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori = The language is the life essence of Maori existence

***Indigenous Languages Across the Community***

Kura Kaupapa Maori = Maori language total immersion schools  
Maori = Indigenous People of New Zealand  
Marae = Ancestral meeting house  
Maunga = Mountain  
Ngati Hine = A sub tribe community  
Pakeha = Non-Maori  
Putaiiao = Science  
Runanga = Tribal Council  
Tapu = Sacred element(s)  
Te Hui Reo Rua o Aotearoa ki Matawaia = The New Zealand Bilingual  
Conference held at Matawaia  
Te Kohanga Reo = Maori language nests (0-5year olds)  
Te Kura Reo Rua O Motatau = Motatau Bilingual School  
Te Reo Maori = Maori language  
Te Reo Pakeha = English language  
Tupuna = Ancestors  
Waananga = Tribal University(s)  
Whakapapa = Genealogy  
Whanau = Family

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