Indigenous Language Education, Media and Literature

—Postcolonial Formations in Aotearoa New Zealand—

Sei Kosugi

1. Introduction

As in the cases of many postcolonial countries in the world, the indigenous language of Aotearoa, te reo Māori, was forbidden in schools for more than half a century under the colonial education in New Zealand, which continued even after the actual independence. The children were often physically punished if they speak Māori in a classroom or in a playground. In spite of this colonial education which try to assimilate the indigenous population into the white society by robbing them of their language and culture, te reo still survived up to 1930s in local areas where te reo Māori was spoken as a community language. The rapid urbanization of Māori population after the Second World War, however, crucially accelerated the language loss.[1] As we can see it in Māori proverbs such as "Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua" (Retain the language, the dignity, and the land) and "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori" (The language is the heart and soul of the mana of Māoridom),[2] the connection to the ancestral land and the retaining of language is a fort for Māori people to keep their own identity and mana. The restoration movements in 1970s aimed to regain their own language, "te reo rangatira," and their own land, which had been taken away through the "raupatu" (confiscation or land-grab).

In 1980s the efforts lead to the foundation of the preschool indigenous language education centre "Kōhanga Reo" (language nest) in 1982, the Māori language immersion primary school "Kura Kaupapa Māori" in 1985, and the immersion secondary school "Wharekura Māori." Te reo Māori is taught there in total immersion. It is not only the language but also the culture of their own iwi (tribe) that is focused in education in these Māori institutions. Children brought up in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are very confident in their ability to speak te reo and they are proud of their own cultural heritage from their ancestors, "ngā taonga tuku iho a ngā tīpuna."

Aotearoa is the country with a most successful, nation-wide indigenous language education

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[1] James Belich's overview in Simon & Smith, ed., *A Civilising Mission? : Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native Schools System* (Auckland UP, 2001) p.ix-xi.

[2] The English translation of the second proverb is from W. Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2 : Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out* (Reed Books, 1993) p.223.

system. Kōhanga Reo became a model for the Native Hawaiian immersion preschool, Punana Leo. Indigenous language education movements can be seen in other commonwealth nations like Canada, Australia and also in Native American communities.[3] However, because of the far smaller ratio of the indigenous population in these commonwealth countries compared to Aotearoa, it is rare that the indigenous language education develops into a nation-wide system like that in Aotearoa.

This paper takes an overview of several aspects of postcolonial formations in Aotearoa, focusing on the indigenous language education, the broadcast, and the literature.[4] This also includes a personal report of my own experience as a Japanese learner of Māori language and culture. To learn te reo Māori and to look into te ao Māori (the Māori world) gave me an opportunity to reflect on my own cultural heritage and my relationships to the world, towards both Western, Pacific and Asian culture.

2. Deconstructive effects of learning te reo Māori for a Japanese learner

For a Japanese who learned English as the second language, to learn another European language is fundamentally to follow the same pattern of the second language acquisition. To learn te reo Māori, however, is not so. Māori language has quite different syntax and grammatical concept from those of English. Because it is a Polynesian language with open syllables, the pronunciation is easy for a Japanese speaker. Some words are actually very similar in pronunciation.

"awa" (river)—"kawa" in Japanese. "ata" (morning)—"asa" in Japanese.
"kata" (to laugh)—There is a Japanese expression "kata kata warau" (laugh loudly).
"māharahara" (to worry)—There is a Japanese expression "harahara suru" (being nervous or tense with worry or fear).
"ika" (fish)—"ika" means "squid" in Japanese.
"puku" (stomach)—One of the Japanese pronunciations for the character "腹" is "puku". e.g. "seppuku" (hara-kiri) "manpuku" (full-stomach).

Dispite these coincidental similarities, the syntax itself is different from either Japanese or English. Here are some examples.

English Subject-Verb-Object I ate the eel.

[3] Jon Allan Reyhner, *Education and Language Restration: Contemporary Native American Issues* (Chelsea House, 2006). Reyhner discusses the bilingual education of Navajo and English in relation to Te Kōhanga Reo (pp.60-61) and to Hawaiian Punana Leo (pp. 61-63).

[4] A part of this paper is based on my short article "Gengo Kyouiku / Media / Senjyūmin Bungaku [Language Education / Media / Indigenous Literature]" in *Eigo-Seinen* [*The Rising Generation*] Vol.151

Māori	V-S-prep-O	**I** kai ahau i te tuna. (I kainga te tuna e au. --passive)
Japanese	S-O-V	Watashi wa sono unagi wo tabe mashita.

"I" at the head of the second sentence above is the past tense marker. In Māori the object is usually accompanied by a preposition "i" except for the cases of abbreviated expression. (e.g. Kei te mātakitaki pouaka whakaata ahau = I am watching TV.) The passive sentence is more natural than positive sentence in Māori while it is vice versa in English. The subject and the object can be omitted if it is obvious in the context. This flexibility of the syntax is more similar to Japanese than to English.

English	Subject-Verb-Adjective	You are beautiful.
Māori	Particle+Adjective-S	**He** ātaahua koe.

In Māori, the subject and the subjective complement are not connected by a verb as they are in English. "He" is also used as an indefinite article (both singular and plural).

He kurī tāku. (I have a dog.) **He** pukapuka āku. (I have books.)

There is no verb in these sentences either. "I have..." is expressed by the Object (He+noun) plus the Possessive ("tāku/āku" =my). The concept and behaviour of stative verbs are different from those of English. In Māori, stative verbs (e.g. mau—being caught, riro—being taken, mahue—being left) form a sentence equivalent to an English passive sentence, but it is not a passive sentence.

Kua mau te ika i a ia. (Has been caught+ the fish+by+him/her = S/he caught the fish.)

The process of learning te reo Māori was for me to open up a new channel in my brain, deconstructing the existing pattern of second language acquisition, which was internalized in a Japanese learner of English. The textbook, *Te Kākano*, does not open with the introduction of declarative sentences like "This is a pen." Instead it introduces interrogatives which are useful for starting conversation with people. (e.g. Nō hea koe? —Where are you from? Ko wai tō ingoa? —What is your name? Kei hea tō kāinga? —Where is your home?) Some Māori names, Hikihiki, Rereahu, Ngāneko and much longer ones, were at first difficult to catch in the listening comprehension exercises. (It was also hard to tell whether they are male or female names.) The words for whanaunga (relatives) and the personal pronouns are more varied than those in English.[5] The most difficult exercise for a foreign student, however, was to answer each name of iwi (tribe) who lives in each region in Aotearoa. It means that in order to get a right answer, I have to learn by heart both the social geographical map of iwi and the geographical map of Aotearoa, that is, Māori

No.11 (2006) p.49.

[5] 'We' can be māua, mātou, tāua, tātou.

place names for rōhe (region), towns, mountains and coasts. This kind of exercise is very reasonable, however, for we will be stuck at the very beginning of conversation if we lack these kinds of knowledge.

It became easier when I stopped trying to arrange each Māori sentence structure or expression according to the language acquisition pattern of English. After a few months of intensive efforts to learn te reo Māori, I started to feel strange when I read English. The subjective personal pronouns capitalized at the beginning of English sentences such as "He" and "I" were constantly mistaken by my eyes as less dominant words like "he" (plural, indefinite article) and "i" (past-tense marker) of Māori, which can also be capitalized at the beginning of sentences.

3. Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori—the holistic approach of education

In September 2005, I was fortunately given several opportunities to visit 3 Kōhanga Reo and 4 Kura Kaupapa Māori in Auckland (Otara), Hamilton, Ngāruwāhia and Gisborne. I wanted to be with the children for the purpose of practicing te reo and to observe the classes to learn about the teaching method of this total immersion. I was also given a chance to show the children a few things about Japan like *origami*, waiata (songs) and some Japanese expressions. These four towns in the North Island are different in cultural background. Otara is a suburb of the largest city, Auckland. Hamilton is a university town in Waikato region. Ngāruwāhia in Waikato, known for Tūrangawaewae Marae, is a resident town of Kuīni (Māori Queen), Te Atairangikaahu. Gisborne is a major town in the East Coast region. The number of teachers and pupils varies from school to school. At Te Kōhanga Reo o Ngā Kuaka in Hamilton, the children are divided into two groups: one for tuākana (elder group) and one for tēina (younger group). The other two Kōhanga Reo I visited had only one group. In Kura Kaupapa Māori, the pupils are usually grouped into three forms. A school with a small number of students and teachers has only two forms. This village school type of teaching is quite different from the standard primary school in urban area in Japan, where hundreds of students (from 7 to 12 years old) are grouped into six forms according to their age (and divided further into 2 or 3 classes) and the curriculum specifies the details of works for each form.

The peculiarity of the education in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori is to use te reo Māori as the medium of teaching. Local dialects are respected, so, for example, how to address a female teacher is also different in Waikato and in the East Coast. (e.g. 'Whāea' in Waikato, 'Kōka' in the East Coast.) Unlike a Japanese kindergarten, the children can be admitted to Kōhanga Reo from age 0, so Kōhanga Reo functions also as a community day nursery. Some of the children in the tēina group are still babies. Because the teachers constantly speak to them in Māori even though they are still too young to comprehend or speak any language, te reo Māori becomes their first language even if their parents are not fluent speakers of Māori.

These (pre)schools also nurture the children's cultural knowledge of their own iwi society.

One of the teachers interviewed in a Māori TV programme, *Manu Rere*, states that "the aim of Kōhanga Reo is not to bring up a Māori-speaking child but to bring up a Māori-thinking child." Children are expected to learn the marae protocols and the history of their iwi through various kinds of activities, games, and songs. Such a cultural education is especially important for the children who live in urban area out of their own iwi community. For example, teachers teach the Māori migration story by using a map of Aotearoa and the picture cards of waka (canoes) on which waka names are written. The children learn which waka arrived in which place by sticking the picture cards upon the map. They also practice how to introduce themselves by mentioning to the names of their waka, iwi, marae, maunga (mountain), moana (sea), awa (river) and their parents. Through a role-playing game of visiting a marae, the children learn such expressions as kaikaranga (caller) and whaikōrero (speech). Welcoming a manuhiri (visitor) to a school can also be a good occasion for learning and practice. I was given a pōhiri (welcome ceremony) at a Kōhanga Reo and at a Kura Kaupapa. At Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Uri a Māui in Gisborne, a male pupil gave a whaikōrero with a good command of te reo at the pōhiri.

The whānau (family) are expected to help their children to speak te reo at home. Some of Kōhanga Reo hold a wānanga (study group) for adult learners where the parents can learn te reo. The parents have a decision making rights over the education of their children at school. A hui (meeting) is held regularly and the administration of the school is discussed there among staffs and parents.

When I visited Tōku Māpihi Maurea Kura Kaupapa Māori in Hamilton, invited to a hākari (party) at the end of the term, I was astounded to find that the walls and ceiling of the classroom for Year 5/6 students were covered with *origami*, paper-made *koinobori*, the photographs of Japanese cuisine and the recipes, maps of Japan, the names of pupils written in Japanese letters, short Japanese phrases and greetings written on pieces of coloured paper. At the party the pupils helped a teacher to make *sushi*. This was because Japan was the theme of learning for that term. The students has just finished reading a textbook titled, *Hikurangi Ki Fujiyama*, a story about Japan told by a Māori-Japanese girl who lives in Japan with her Ngāti Porou mother and Japanese father. This is an example of how the classes are taught in Kura Kuapapa Māori. Subjects such as reading, writing, art, social studies and science, except for pāngarau (mathematics), are taught integrally while in Japanese primary school 10 or 11 subjects are taught separately. There is also a time for kapa haka (Māori dance and song) and for computer in Kura Kaupapa Māori. English is also taught as the second language for elder pupils.

Another example of integral method of learning I observed was a pūtaiao (science) class for the elder pupils at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Uri a Māui. The classroom was full of what was made by the pupils and the teacher: the house of kiwi, the photos and explanations written in Māori about various insects and noke (worms). At the end of the term, the pupils were painting the

pictures of different kinds of earthworm on the classroom wall. E ai ki ngā kōrero a te tumuaki, whakaako ai i tēnei karaehe, he rerekē te tae o te noke pākehā i tō te noke māori!

This holistic education makes it possible that the imaginative and creative talents of both the teacher and the students create a most enjoyable place for learning. I was moved to see the pupils full of curiosity and desire to learn something new.

4. Te Tohu Paetahi—a total immersion programme at the university

The children brought up in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have grown up now and some of them are working as kaiako (teacher) and kaiāwhina (assistant staff) at Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (School of Māori and Pacific Development) at the University of Waikato provides a Māori total immersion programme "Te Tohu Petahi." The programme aims to train the students' proficiency in te reo Māori in combination with tikanga Māori (Māori custom), haka (dance) and waiata (song).[6] If the students are graduates of Kōhanga Reo or Kura Kaupapa Māori and already fluent in speaking te reo at the admission, they are enrolled in the advanced stream Rehutai, where they can take six te reo papers in one year. There is a distinct difference between the students of this special programme and the students of mainstream te reo Māori papers in the proficiency of speaking te reo, especially in oratory, a specific way of making speech by starting it with whakapapa (genealogy) and blending a chant in it like a whaikōrero (formal speech) at marae.

5. Māori Television—the reconstruction of Māori and Pacific culture

The broadcast of Māori Television was launched on 28 March 2004 after three decades of "lobbying, protest, litigation and negotiation."[7] Before the establishment of Māori TV, several programmes such as *Te Karere* (Māori news) and *Waka Huia* (Māori documentary since 1987) were broadcasted in Māori on a mainstream channel, TV One. According to Derek Fox in *Te Ao Mārama 2* (1993), "[a]fter nearly 30 years of television in New Zealand, less than 1 percent of television time is in the Māori language. . . 80 percent of the programme are imported. More than half of all New Zealand television is from the United States and portrays the value of that foreign society" (257-258). This is often the case with some postcolonial countries. For example, Papua New Guinea has no national broadcast station for local PNG programmes. McGregor and Te Awa also refer to the under-representation of the indigenous issues in the mainstream newspapers: "[t]he Maori population make up 14 per cent of the New Zealand population but the Maori news . . . was

[6] "Te Aho Tatairangi" at Massey University and "Wananga Reo Rumaki" at the University of Canterbury are some examples of Māori total immersion programme at tertiary level.

[7] *Annual Report of Māori Television 2004*, p.4. The document can be downloaded from the website (http://www.maoritelevision.com/).

only two per cent."[8]

In this context, the launching of Māori TV is an epoch-making event in the history of broadcasting media in Aotearoa. Annual Report of Māori Television 2005 states as follows: "Māori Television is the leading broadcaster of local programming content, with New Zealand programming comprising more than 90 % of our schedule. . . . The launch of Māori Television heralded a new era of television in New Zealand. Never before has New Zealand had its own national indigenous television channel reflecting the uniqueness of its indigenous culture and the part that culture plays in the New Zealand identity and our unique place in the world" (5, 12).

The mission of Māori TV is to contribute to "the revitalization of te reo and tikanga Māori" (*Annual Report 2005*, 3). It aims at "the normalization of te reo Māori" (*AR2005*, 5) in Aotearoa. The programmes are broadcasted in both Māori (67-70%) and English. Some programmes are in Māori with English subtitles. It has been broadcasting a variety of educational and entertainment programmes such as *Kōrero Mai* (te reo programme), *Manu Rere* (documentary about Kōhanga Reo), *Te Kāea* (news from a Māori perspective), *He Raranga Kōrero* (documentary), *Kai Time on the Road* (food), *Mika Live*, *Māori Oke* (music) and other new programmes. *Manu Rere* is a report of the activities in Kōhanga Reo and a part of the programme is meant to help children to learn te reo. This made the education in Kōhanga Reo accessible for the children who are not enrolled in this immersion language centre. *Kōrero Mai*, which consists of a drama series "Ākina," waiata (song) and tikanga (custom) sections, provides a good entertainment as well as education for both Māori and non-Māori learner of te reo. At the same time, however, Māori TV also cast the eyes towards the Pacific countries and the indigenous issues outside Aotearoa.[9]

Australia has a radio broadcast of CAAMA (Central Australian Aboriginal Media) and an Aboriginal television station, Imparja Television, in Alice Spring. Imparja Television launched on 1988. The coverage area was enlarged and the number of the audience grew up to 125,000 in 1993.[10] Aotearoa has 21 iwi radio stations, which we can listen to also through internet (http://www.irirangi.net/). Each iwi radio has a website and some of them function as a community notice board on which the members of the iwi who live in distance can communicate one another. Māori TV had 327,800 audience in July 2004 and 426,300 in April 2005 (*AR 2005*, 10).

Media has always had a power of forming and changing the culture. Māori Television as well as the indigenous language education has a great potentiality to form a new culture among the young generation who are growing up with it. During the first 12 weeks on air, the percentage of non-Māori audience was 57% of the whole viewers while it grew up to 63% in the following ten

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[8] "Racism and the News Media" in Spoonley, Macpherson & Pearson, eds., *Nga Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/ New Zealand* (The Dunmore Press, 1996) p. 240.

[9] *Tangata Pasifika* deals with the Pacific issues and the world documentaries broadcast Aboriginal and other indigenous society and culture.

[10] http://www.imparja.com.au/

weeks.[11] This ratio shows that Māori TV has a great potentiality to change the mainstream culture itself.

6. Literature—Māori writings towards the future

Thanks to the efforts of the established writers and academics in South Pacific countries such as Witi Ihimaera, Albert Wendt and Stephen Winduo, a considerable amount of Pacific writings were anthologized and published. As a result of it, the literature in the South Pacific is no longer a creation by a few major talents but it became a whole entity of creative attempts made by hundreds of writers. In New Zealand and in Papua New Guinea, literary competitions for young writers are held by a publisher or by a governmental organization. The competitions are for the pieces written in indigenous languages as well as in English. Huia Publishers anthologizes those short stories (both in English and in Māori) selected in the competition. Some of the authors are the teachers of Kura Kaupapa Māori, graduates from creative writing or Māori studies course at universities. Huia also backs up the short story competition for secondary school students. The development of indigenous language education in Aotearoa is now expected to produce a new generation of Māori writers.

The fourth volume of the anthology edited by Witi Ihimaera, *Te Ao Mārama 4 : Contemporary Māori Writing for Children* (Reed Books, 1994) collected 120 stories and poems by 72 writers and 7 illustration by 4 artists. 41 pieces are written in Māori. Among them 12 pieces are printed with English versions. The other 79 pieces written in English also contain words, phrases, and conversations in Māori. Ihimaera grouped the stories into three sections: country life, city life and the marae. Reading through this anthology gives us an enjoyment of having going through ordinary moments of life caught by many different eyes. This anthology makes the act of writing accessible for many aspiring young writers. I noticed that some of the writings are very similar to sorts of short compositions the students are required to write in te reo Māori paper such as "ko tētahi haerenga ki tātahi" and a story which begins with "i a au e tamariki ana" and so on. So the language education paper at the tertiary level can also have an effect of stimulating the students' aspiration for creative writings.

Waiora, a play by Hone Kouka, first staged in 1996, shows an idea that the connection to the homeland and te reo Māori is an integral part of identity or well-being for Māori people. *Waiora* is a story of Māori family who immigrated from the East Coast of the North Island to somewhere near Christchurch in 1965. Hone, who works under a pākehā boss, tries to assimilate himself and his family into a white society by forbidding his son and daughters to speak Māori. Boyboy, the pōtiki (the youngest child), was expelled from the school just because he fell asleep in a class. Ameria, the

[11] I figured up these percentages from the statistics in *Annual Report 2004*, p.15.

elder daughter, who is rebellious and alcoholic, is going to run off with her pākehā boyfriend. Rongo, the younger daughter, a quiet girl with a beautiful voice like "tūī," mourns for her beloved kuia (grandmother). She has lost her sweet singing voice since she moved away from her homeland. Forbidden to speak te reo Māori, she looses her voice and looses her balance of mind as well, but no body notices her predicament. On her 18th birthday, while his father and her brother are arguing, Rongo walks out of the house towards the sea, following the voices of her tūpuna (ancestors), who lure her into the water. Rongo is found dead, but she is revived back to life by her father's and her brother's haka. The family decided to go back to Waiora, their home town. Waiora means "water (wai) of life (ora)" or "life-giving water." In this play te reo is given a very symbolic meaning. The play shows that to loose te reo is equal to death. Syd Jackson argues that "the history of brutal suppression of our language" is part of "the psychological annihilation of a people."[12] In other words, to suppress someone's language is to annihilate that person. Rongo comes back to life with the words of haka, for the ancestral words give her the life. Rongo and her family go back to Waiora, to the whenua and te reo, which are, for them, the source of life itself.

In September 2005, with the permission of the Human Right Ethic Committee of the University of Waikato, I asked the students of Te Pua Wananga ki te Ao to answer a questionnaire. The paper was distributed to the students by teachers in te reo Māori classes. The purpose of the questionnaire was to know the students' educational background (whether they were in Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, etc) and what kind of stories/ books/ films/ dramas/ cartoons from childhood they like most. 62 Māori students answered the questionnaire. 47 out of 62 answered Māori myth and legend or any other stories / books / films of Māori subject. *Māui and the Sun* was most popular (21 students listed it). The second was *Once Were Warriors* (5), the third was *He Kurī* (4), a textbook in Kura Kaupapa Māori, *Rona and the Moon* (4), and *Hinemoa and Tutanekai* (4). Not a few students mentioned to the childhood stories of their own grandparents. It was only 6 students who have chosen stories of foreign (Western) origin alone. This shows the young people's imagination is firmly based on Māori culture.

7. Conclusion

It was three months after the formation of the Māori Party and about seven months after the launching of Māori TV that I arrived in New Zealand for a research leave in October 2004. Watching the news *Te Kāea*, the documentaries, *Kōrero Mai* and *Manu Rere*, listening to kapa haka and music shows on Māori TV, I felt the strong presence of Māori culture in everyday life in New Zealand. I heard Kura Kaupapa kids screaming and playing on the school playground across the road from my flat and often to the voices of university students practicing kapa haka. On the

[12] Syd Jackson, "The First Language" in *Te Ao Mārama 2* Reed Books, 1993) p.215.

Waitangi Day, I felt an excitement walking among the crowd of people camping and marching towards the Treaty ground before the daybreak for the dawn ceremony. The Māori Party was there with the flags on and they were also campaigning on the university campus. The reason why I wrote about the indigenous language education in Aotearoa is that I was moved and impressed to see the energy of young generation, kids and students, growing up in Aotearoa with a considerable racial pride and respect for tribal heritage. The indigenous language education, the broadcast and the literature, which work hand in hand, are now forming a new postcolonial culture in Aotearoa. These factors have a potentiality to transform the mainstream culture of the nation itself.

The language situation in Aotearoa is different from that of Japan, where I was born and brought up as one of the majority. Except for the Ainu and some of the Korean Japanese, the majority of the Japanese have not experienced the loss or suppression of the mother tongue in spite of the occupation and control by USA during the post-war era. While the revitalization of te reo Māori is aimed at Kōhanga Reo, here in Japan some kindergartens started to teach English to the children. Through the process of learning te reo Māori, I noticed many similarities between the two Pacific cultures. When I write in Māori about Japanese customs, my family history, and my childhood experiences, I found myself looking into my own culture in the light of tikanga Māori. As the result, I rediscovered many aspects of Japanese culture I would like to cherish. This is a gift I got from my trans-cultural experience. This paper is both for Japanese readers and for Māori and Pacific readers in that it is meant to introduce some aspects of ongoing cultural formations in Aotearoa to Japanese readers and at the same time to report back to Aotearoa how I perceived the process from a Japanese perspective.

Nā reira, ngā mihi nui ki a koutou, ki ngā tāngata whenua o Aotearoa
i te mea iti nei kei tēnei moka raki o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa.
Kia nui te hua kei roto i ā koutou mahi
hei oranga mō ā koutou tamariki me te rangatahi.
Tenā koutou, tenā koutou, tenā koutou katoa.
Tihei mauri ora!

(Here is my greetings across the Pacific Ocean to the indigenous people of Aotearoa. I hope the result of your efforts for well-being for your children and young people will be a great one. Greetings to you all.)

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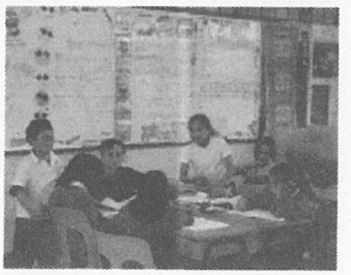
Māui in Gisborne, Tūrangawaewae Kōhanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Bernard Fergusson in Ngāruwāhia, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Piripono in Auckland for having given me the permission to visit and observe the classes. I also thank to the staffs and students of the University of Waikato for the cooperation and support for my research, especially to Nātana Takurua, ko tōku kaiako me te hoa, who gave me a precious chance to learn with Te Tohu Paetahi students.

Science class at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Uri a Māui

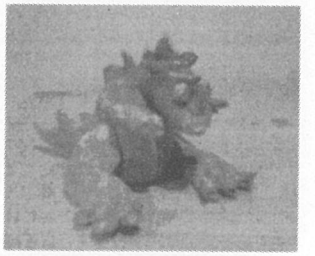
Taiaha practice

"He parirau ō Kiwi engari kāore a ia e rere."

(Kiwi has wings but cannot fly.)



Kura Kupapa Māori o Bernard Fergusson (middle)



Taniwha (water monster) made by a pupil (right)

Tūrangawaewae Kōhanga Reo

Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Piripono

E Tū Puritia Te Reo Kōhanga

Te Tohu Paetahi class at the University of Waikato