

Indigenous language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand & Alba Scotland

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List of Abbreviations

ACG	An Comunn Gàidhealach
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain
ATN	Aotearoa Television Network
BBC	British Broadcasting Commission
BnaG	Bòrd na Gàidhlig
CLI	Comunn an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh
CnaG	Commun na Gàidhlig
CnanES	Comhairle nan Eilean Siar
CnanL	Comhairle nan Leabraichean
CNSA	Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich
CNZ/TWT	Creative New Zealand/Te Waka Toi
CS/AC	Creative Scotland/Alba Churthachail
CTG	Comataidh Telebhisein Gàidhlig
ECE	early childhood education
ECRML	European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages
FnanG	Fèisean nan Gàidheal
GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
GLPS	Gaelic Language in Primary Schools
GLE	Gaelic Learners' Education
GM	Gàidhlig-medium, through the medium of Gaelic
GME	Gaelic-medium education; education undertaken through the medium of Gàidhlig
HIDB	Highlands and Islands Development Board

HIE	Highlands and Islands Enterprise
ITC	Independent Television Commission
ITV	Independent Television
KKM	Kura Kaupapa Māori
KM	Kaupapa Māori
KMK	Kotahi Mano Kaika (Kotahi Mano Moemoeā)
LM/TPTK	Learning Media/Te Pou Taki Kōrero
MCH	New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage
MM	Māori-medium; undertaken through the medium of te reo Māori
MME	Māori-medium education; education undertaken through the medium of the Māori language
MOE	New Zealand Ministry of Education
MOH	New Zealand Ministry of Health
MSD	New Zealand Ministry of Social Development
MTS	Māori Television Services
NKRM	Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PnanE	Proiseact nan Ealan
RnanG	Radio nan Gàidheal
RWC1999	Rugby World Cup 1999
RWC2011	Rugby World Cup 2011
SAC	Scottish Arts Council
SCT	social cultural theory
SED	Scottish Education Department
SMO	Sabhal Mòr Ostaig

SnamMG	Seirbhis nam Meadhanan Gàidhlig
SNnaG	Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig
SOE(s)	State-owned enterprise(s)
SSPCK	Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge
STV	Scottish Television
TKR	(Te) Kōhanga Reo
TKRNT	Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust
TMP	Te Māngai Pāho
TPK	Te Puni Kōkiri
TRIMTUTI	Te Reo Irirangi o Te Ūpoki o Te Ika
TRONT	Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu
TTWRM	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori
TVNZ	Television New Zealand
TWOR	Te-Wānanga-o-Raukawa
UHI	University of the Highlands and Islands
UHP	Upper Hutt Posse, a rap band from Wellington, led by Dean Hapeta (also known as D'Word or Te Kupu)
WAI 11	The Māori Language Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal
WAI 26	The first Allocation of Radio Frequencies Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal
WAI 150	The second Allocation of Radio Frequencies Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, later combined with WAI 26
WAI 262	The Flora and Fauna Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal
WAI 718	The Wānanga Capital Establishment Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal

Glossary of Māori terms

ako	to learn, study, instruct, teach, advise – the concept of ako means both to teach and to learn. It is grounded in the principle of reciprocity as it acknowledges the way that new knowledge and understanding grows out of the shared learning experiences of learners and teachers.
aroha	affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy
atua	Ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being – although often translated as ‘god’ and used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning. Many Māori trace their ancestry from atua in their whakapapa and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over particular domains. These atua also were a way of rationalising and perceiving the world.
‘E Ihowa Atua’	the Māori-language version of the Aotearoa New Zealand national anthem, ‘God Defend New Zealand’
haka	performance of the haka, posture dance – vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances.
haka taparahi	ceremonial haka – posture dance performed without weapons. At some stage during this type of haka the men descend to the ground.
hapū	kinship group, clan, sub-tribe – section of a larger kinship group
hui	gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference
Hui Kaumātua	elders’ conference
iwi	extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people

Ka Mate	haka composed by Ngāti Toa Rangatira chief, Te Rauparaha and performed by the All Blacks
ka mate, ka mate, ka ora, ka ora	words of the haka 'Ka Mate'; literally meaning 'live, live, die, die' and refers to the triumph of life over death.
kaiako	teacher(s)
Kāinga Kōrerorero	a programme designed to support the use of Māori in the home
kaitiaki	trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, keeperkapa haka concert party, haka group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group
karakia	incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation – chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures.
karanga	Formal call, ceremonial call – a ceremonial call of welcome to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue, at the start of a pōwhiri. The term is also used for the responses from the visiting group to the tangata whenua ceremonial call. Karanga follow a format which includes addressing and greeting each other and the people they are representing and paying tribute to the dead, especially those who have died recently. The purpose of the occasion is also addressed. Skilled kaikaranga (caller – the woman who has the role of making the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae at the start of a pōwhiri) are able to use eloquent language and metaphor and to encapsulate important information about the group and the purpose of the visit.
kaumatua (plural, kaumātua)	adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man
kaupapa	topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme

Kaupapa Māori (KM)	Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society
kawa	marae protocols
kia ora	hello! cheers! good luck! best wishes!
Kōhanga Reo, Te (TKR)	Māori language preschools
kōrero	talk
kōrero neherā	history
kōrero pūrākau	story-telling
korimako	Bellbird, <i>Anthornis melanura</i> – an olive-green songbird with a short curved bill and dark bluish-black wings known for its loud, clear, liquid sounds. Female has a lighter colour and a white stripe below the eye.
Kotahi Mano Kaika (Kotahi Mano Moemoeā) (KMK)	Ngāi Tahu language revitalisation programme
Kīngitanga, Te	The Māori King Movement
kuia (plural, kuīa)	elderly woman, grandmother, female elder
kura kaupapa (Māori) (KKM)	primary schools operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction
mana	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma – mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by tapu and mana. Mana is the enduring, indestructible power of the atua and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the mana. The authority of mana and tapu is inherited and delegated through the senior line from the atua as their human agent to act on revealed will. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the atua,

man remains the agent, never the source of mana. This divine choice is confirmed by the elders, initiated by the tohunga under traditional consecratory rites (tohi). Mana gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person or tribe's mana can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success. The tribe give mana to their chief and empower him/her and in turn the mana of an ariki or rangatira spreads to his/her people and their land. Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of mana and tapu. Animate and inanimate objects can also have mana as they also derive from the atua and because of their own association with people imbued with mana or because they are used in significant events.

manaaki

support, hospitality

Māoritanga

Māori culture, practices and beliefs

marae courtyard – the open area in front of the wharenuī (ancestral meeting house), where formal greetings and discussions take place; often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.

mihimihi

speech of greeting, tribute

mokopuna

grandchild, grandchildren – child or grandchild of a son, daughter, nephew, neice, etc.

mōteatea

lament, traditional chant, sung poetry – a general term for songs sung in traditional mode.

Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori (NKRM)

Wellington Board of Māori Language

Ngā Manu Kōrero

orator; Māori-language speech competitions for high school students

niupepa Māori

Māori-language newspapers published in the nineteenth century

Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pepeha	tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, figure of speech, motto, slogan
poi	(1) poi – a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment. (2) poi dance – songs performed, usually by women, in which the poi is swung in various movements to accompany the singing.
pono	authenticity
pouako	teacher(s)
pōwhiri	invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae, welcome.
purari paka	bloody bugger! blast! damn! you bugger, that bugger, you so-and-so – a curse indicating annoyance, dislike or mild anger towards someone.
pūrerehua	Bullroarer – a musical instrument made of wood, stone or bone attached to a long string.
rākau	Cuisenaire rods
rangatira	chief (male or female), chieftain, chieftainess – the qualities of a leader are concerned with the integrity and prosperity of a people (e.g. oratory and song poetry), and an aggressive and sustained response to outside forces that may threaten these.
rāranga	weaving
reo-ā-iwi	regional dialects
rūnanga-ā-iwi	tribal council(s)
rūnanga-ā-reo	language council(s)
tangata whenua	local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land – people born of the land.

taonga	property, goods, effects, treasure, something prized
taonga pūoro	Māori musical instruments
tauparapara	An incantation to begin a speech – the actual tauparapara used are a way that tangata whenua are able to identify a visiting group, as each tribe has tauparapara peculiar to them. Tauparapara are a type of karakia.
Te Aho Matua	The philosophical base for Kura Kaupapa Māori education for the teaching and learning of children. Te Aho Matua is presented in six parts, each part having a special focus on what, from a Māori point of view, is crucial in the education of children.
te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori 2003	The Māori Television Services (MTS) Act 2003
Te Ataarangi	Māori immersion learning programme for adults
Te Kapa o Pango	haka composed for the All Blacks by Derek Lardelli; first performed in South Africa in 2005
Te Kōmiti o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tamaki-makau-rau	The Committee for the Kura Kaupapa Māori of Auckland
Te Māngai Pāho (TMP)	Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency
Te Matatini	national Māori performing arts festival
Te Paepae Motuhake	special advisory board
Te Pou Taki Kōrero (LM/TPTK)	Learning Media
Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK)	Ministry of Māori Development
Te Reo o Aotearoa	Māori and Pacific section of Radio New Zealand
Te Rūnanga Nui o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa (TRNKKMA)	

	the governing body of the kura kaupapa Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand
Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (TRONT)	Ngāi Tahu tribal council
Te Reo Irirangi Māori o Te Ūpoko o Te Ika (TRIMTUTI)	Radio Wellington, a Māori-language radio station
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Reo o Pōneke	the original name for Radio Wellington
te reo Māori me ōna tikanga	Māori language and culture
te taha wairua	the spiritual dimension
Te Tauihu o ngā Wānanga (Association)	the agency representing the three wānanga
Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Te Taura Whiri (TTWRM)	Māori Language Commission
Te Tiriti	The Treaty (of Waitangi)
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Te Wai Pounamu	South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand
Te Wiki o Te Reo	Māori Language Week
Te Waka Toi (CNZ/TWT)	Creative New Zealand
Te Wānanga o Aotearoa	Tertiary Institution of Aotearoa
Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa (TWOR_	Tertiary Institution for the confederation of Te Atiawa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira
Te Whakaruruhau o ngā Reo Irirangi Māori	Association of Māori radio stations
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi	Tertiary Institution of Awanuiārangi
Te Whare Wānanga o Otago	The University of Otago
tī tōrea	a song sung whilst playing tī rākau (stick games)
tika	correctness

tikanga	correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention
tikanga Māori	the procedures, customs and practices associated with Māori
tino rangatiratanga	tribal authority, sovereignty, self-determination
titiro	look
Tū Tāngata Wānanga Whakatauirā	Māori leaders' conference run by the Department of Māori Affairs
tuakana – teina	the relationship between an older person and a younger person and is specific to learning and teaching in the Māori context
tupuna (plural, tūpuna)	ancestor, grandparent
waiata	song, chant, psalm
waiata-ā-ringa	action song – a popular modern song type with set actions and European-type tunes.
wairua	spirit, soul, quintessence – spirit of a person which exists beyond death.
waka	allied kinship groups descended from the crew of a canoe which migrated to New Zealand
wānanga	a tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs – established under the Education Act 1990.
whaikōrero	oratory, oration, formal speech-making – formal speeches usually made by men during a pōwhiri and other gatherings. Formal eloquent language using imagery, metaphor, whakataukī, pepeha, kupu whakaari, relevant whakapapa and references to tribal history is admired. Near the end of the speech a traditional waiata is usually sung.
whakahua	pronunciation, enunciation
whakairo	carving

Whakapakari Whānau	accredited training programme for Kōhanga Reo kaiako
whakapapa	genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent
whakarongo	listen
whakatauāki	proverb, saying, amorphism – particularly those urging a certain type of behaviour
whakatauki	proverb, saying, cryptic saying, aphorism
whānau	extended family, family group, a familiar term to address a number of people – in the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kinship group. It also extends to other to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.
whare wānanga	university, place of higher learning – traditionally places where tohunga taught the sons of rangatira their people's knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices.
wiriwiri	To tremble, shake; movement of the hands employed in kapa haka to evoke a mirage.

Glossary of Gàidhlig terms

Alba Churthachail (CS/AC)	Creative Scotland
Am Mòd Nàiseanta Rìoghail	The Royal National Mòd
An Cùrsa Comais	beginner learners' course
An Cùrsa Inntigridh	Access to Gaelic course
An Comunn Gàidhealach (ACG)	The Highland Association
An Gàidheal Ùr	an annual periodical published in Gaelic that ceased publication in 2009
An Seotal	an online terminology database particularly for GM subject teaching in secondary schools
Bòrd na Gàidhlig (BnaG)	Gaelic Language Board
cèilidh (plural, cèilidhean)	an informal gathering where Gaelic folk music is played, with dancing and story telling
Colbh Aon	Column One, a weekly Gaelic opinion column published in <i>The Press & Journal</i>
Comataidh Telebhisein Gàidhlig (CTG)	Gaelic Television Committee
Comhairle nan Eilean (Siar) (CnanES)	Western Isles Council
Comhairle nan Leabraichean (CnanL)	Gaelic Books Council
Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich (CNSA)	Council of Nursery Schools; more recently known as TAIC
Comunn na Gàidhlig (CnaG)	Gaelic Development Agency
Comunn an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (CLI)	an organisation that supports the needs of adult Gaelic learners
cròileagan (plural, cròileagain)	Gaelic playgroup
fèis (plural, fèisean)	Gaelic arts tuition festival
Fèis Bharraigh	the Gaelic arts tuition festival of Barra
Fèisean nan Gàidheal (FnanG)	organising body for the Fèis movement

foghlam	education
Gàidhealtachd	Gaelic-speaking region
Gàidhlig	the Scottish Gaelic language
Gàidhlig is Conaltradh	intermediate learners' course
Na h-Eileanan Siar	Western Isles of Alba Scotland
Proiseact nan Ealan (PnanE)	The Gaelic Arts Agency
Radio nan Eilean	Western Isles Radio
Radio nan Gàidheal (RnanG)	Radio Gael
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (SMO)	Gaelic College of Scotland (literally 'the red barn of East Bay')
Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu (SGG)	Glasgow Gaelic School
Stòrlann (Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig) (SNanG)	National Resource Centre for Gaelic
Ùlpan	language learning system based on that used in Israel

Mihimihi

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā hau e whā – tēnā koutou katoa.

Tēnei te mihi ki a koutou katoa, ngā kaipānui o tēnei tuhituhinga roa e pā ana ki te whakahauora o ngā reo taketake o Aotearoa nei me Kootirangi hoki.

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Seek that which is precious, and do not be deterred by anything less than a lofty mountain.

Anything you want to achieve, anything you believe in – it's yours, you just have to work hard and never give up!

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Nāku noa,

Nā Kate

Abstract

Language revitalisation aims to ‘reverse language shift’ (see Fishman, 1991; 2001), that is, to reverse the process of language decline. Language usage in the home and intergenerational transmission are fundamental to the achievement of language revitalisation. Language decline and revitalisation have become ‘glocal’ issues in that Indigenous communities are making global connections in order to promote local expressions of language revitalisation. This is truly a worldwide phenomenon given that it has been estimated that up to half of the world’s approximately 6000 languages will be extinct by the end of the twenty-first century (Krauss, 1992).

Responses to Indigenous language decline in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland were initially spearheaded by communities, with government support developing later due to public pressure and activism. Government efforts for language revitalisation in these two countries focus on three key areas: language policy and planning; education; and the media. Aspects of popular culture, such as print culture, performing arts and music may also attract some funding, but the focus is usually on these as an expression of national culture and identity. Community responses to language decline are varied and include language policy and planning, education, the media and popular culture as tools to promote language revitalisation.

This thesis aims to undertake a sustained cross-national comparative analysis of language revitalisation practices in relation to two Indigenous languages: te reo Māori¹ in Aotearoa New Zealand and Gàidhlig² in Alba Scotland. It examines the language revitalisation strategies employed in these two countries including government and community responses to language decline. The thesis focuses on the contributions of language policy and planning, education, the media and popular culture to language revitalisation. In particular the role of popular culture will be explored, with reference to print culture, performing arts and popular music. Although these elements are often recognised in planning for language revitalisation, they can be overshadowed by the emphasis placed on education and the media. As a result, the supporting role of music, print and performing arts has not been fully explored or exploited. In particular, these activities have the potential to be alternate sites for language acquisition and use outside of formal and informal learning environments, and to provide a corpus of language resources that can be used to promote language acquisition and usage.

¹ The Māori language.

² The Scottish Gaelic language.

Introduction: Why revive endangered languages?

What is wrong with the world's linguistic diversity diminishing? Why should people care if Indigenous people stop using their languages and adopt a dominant language as their means of communication? Is it not better for peoples of a nation to speak one language? These questions are often posed in response to Indigenous pressure for language protection. A number of authors have ably addressed these very questions (Crawford, 1996; Fishman, 1996b; Hinton, 2001c; Kawagley, 2003; Littlebear, 1999; McCarty, 2003; Reyhner, 1996; Reyhner & Tennant, 1995). Their arguments are briefly summarised here.

The first argument posited in relation to the importance of language maintenance relates to the idea that language loss is associated with cultural contraction. The notion that language and culture are both important to language maintenance is a common theme in a number of academic publications (Fishman, 1996b; Hinton, 2001c; Reyhner, 1996; Reyhner & Tennant, 1995). Fishman (1996b) argues that language loss is essentially an issue related to the relationship between language and culture. Hinton (2001c) builds on this argument, contending that language loss and cultural decline often go hand-in-hand. So, just as language loss and cultural contraction often accompany one another, often too the response is a movement that seeks cultural revitalisation with an emphasis on language revitalisation at its core. Therefore, to lose a language often means to lose a culture which ultimately contributes a decline in the sum of human knowledge. This idea is specifically discussed by Hinton (2001c) who argues "... the loss of language is part of the loss of whole cultures and knowledge systems, including philosophical systems, oral literacy and musical traditions, environmental knowledge systems, medical knowledge, and important cultural practices and artistic skills" (p. 5). Reyhner (1996) also linked concerns about the decline in language diversity to an associated decline in human knowledge: "our languages contain a significant part of the world's knowledge and wisdom. When a language is lost, much of the knowledge that language represents is also gone" (p. 4). Furthermore,

... the loss of linguistic diversity represents a loss of intellectual diversity... Thus to lose such a tool is to 'forget' a way of constructing reality, to blot out a perspective evolved over many generations. The less variety in language, the less variety in ideas (Crawford, 1996, p. 3).

Thus, it is suggested that as the global decline in languages continues, more and more human knowledge is being lost.

A second argument for the importance of language revitalisation involves the importance of the relationship between the language and the spiritual, cultural and social aspects of culture. There is a further link between this relationship and the notion of identity associated with the language and culture at risk. Fishman (1996b) describes the mythical and spiritual nature of language, and depicts language as "the spirit [and] the mind of the

people” (p. 73). Littlebear (1999) builds on this by relating spirituality to the relevance of language and links this to American Indian identity. However, it is important to note that in recent years, this connection has been called into question on the basis of the rise of English as a global language (Ricento, 2006). Nevertheless, in the context of many Indigenous languages, and in particular that of Māori and Gàidhlig, a clear link between language and identity can be argued.

Fishman (1996b) also focused on the relationship between language and kinship, stating that when people talk about language they say, “All the ones who loved them spoke the language to them when they were children” (p. 73). This is mirrored by Reyhner & Tennant’s (1995) discussion about language as a transmitter of family values, which they then link to well-being. Without language, the result is the separation of language and culture whereby “children are trying ‘to walk in two worlds’ with only one language” (p. 5). The loss of language as a transmitter of cultural and family values leads to the loss of aspects of the culture. Clearly then, language carries implicit and explicit messages about the values, beliefs and practices of a culture; language manifests culture. Thus, the loss of language has an impact on the transmission of cultural values, which in turn erodes the culture. These processes have also been linked to a number of social ills, including poor health (see Durie, 1998).

A third argument regarding the importance of language revitalisation has been put forward by Hinton (2001c), who argues that language loss is a human rights issue: “the loss of language is part of the oppression and disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples, who are losing their land and traditional livelihood involuntarily as the forces of the national or world economy and politics impinge on them” (p. 5). Crawford (1996) supports this, arguing that “we should care about preventing the extinction of languages because of the human cost to those directly involved” (p. 34). McCarty (2003) too claims that “language loss and revitalisation are human rights issues [and thus] efforts to revitalise Indigenous languages cannot be divorced from larger struggles for democracy, social justice and self-determination” (p. 148). For this reason, language revitalisation movements are generally part of greater efforts towards political independence as well as broader movements towards cultural revitalisation.

So, it can be argued that the revitalisation of languages is an important undertaking. Languages carry important cultural knowledge that would be lost if a language were to die out. Furthermore, language contributes to identity formation through cultural, social and spiritual cues that, in turn, contribute to cultural identity. Finally, languages at risk should be protected as they are a fundamental aspect of human rights. Having built a case for language revitalisation, in the next section I discuss the meaning of the term ‘language revitalisation’ and related phrases such as the definitions of ‘Indigenous’, ‘endangered’, ‘safe’ and ‘dead’ languages.

Defining Indigenous language revitalisation

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as people, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system (United Nations, 2004, p. 2).

This idea is supported by the International Labour Organisation's (1989) Convention 169 describing Indigenous peoples as

a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sectors of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partly by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;

b) peoples of independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who irrespective of their legal status, retain some of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (article 1.1).

Thus, Indigenous peoples can be identified by three key characteristics: (1) historical association with a particular place; (2) a contemporary minority status in that place; and (3) a unique identity that differs from a colonial identity and that the Indigenous populace wishes to maintain.

Another element of Indigenous identity noted by a number of commentators is self-identification (Corntassel, 2003; International Labour Organisation, 1989; May & Aikman, 2003), in that "[t]he question of 'who is indigenous?' is best answered by indigenous communities themselves" (Corntassel, 2003, p. 75).

Māori people are readily accepted as Indigenous people, including in government documents, notably the United Nation's Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples with regard to Māori signed in 2010 (Sharples, 2010b).

The position of the Gaels as Indigenous people of Alba Scotland³ is not clear-cut, in that the term appears to be totally absent from state policy documents. Instead, policy refers to Gaelic as “a unique part of Scotland’s national heritage” (BnaG, 2007a, p. 8), and “an original language of the Scots and... the determining factor in shaping Scotland’s identity” (BnaG, 2011, p. 9). According to McLeod (2001a), the problem is that

Gaelic has been a minority language in Scotland for several centuries, and it has not been widely spoken in the economically and politically dominant regions of the country for even longer... [As a result, t]he significance of Gaelic in Scottish national life and... identity... is somewhat tenuous, and its proper role is much contested (p. 5).

Nevertheless, Gaelic has been described as Indigenous by a number of commentators (Macdonald, 1999; Peyer, 2004).

Gaelic indigeneity is a complex issue for a number of reasons. First of all, it is well established that the Gaelic-speaking peoples originally migrated to Alba Scotland from Ireland in about 500AD, making Gaelic indigenous to Ireland. Having said that, the Māori people also immigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand from the Pacific Islands between 800 and 1200 years ago, a considerably more recent migration than that of the Gaels; nevertheless, Māori indigeneity is not in question.

Another complexity that Gaelic faces is the position and status of Scots as a second ‘Indigenous’ language of Scotland that developed as the result of language contact between the Angles and Gaelic speakers of the Lowlands. Scots position as the national Indigenous language of Alba Scotland is strengthened by the number of speakers, estimated at 1.5 million in 1996, and 2.7 million in 1995 (Mercator-Education, 2002). Statistics on the number of Scots speakers are currently available only as estimates as the language was not made part of the national census until 2011 (Mercator-Education, 2002; Scots Language Centre, n.d.).

Another issue is the passage of time since colonisation took place. This point is explored by Sanders (1996) in relation to Norway’s recognition of the Sami as Indigenous people when he said, “This represented the first time that a government recognised a minority as ‘Indigenous’ when the majority population was also Indigenous or very old” (p. 21, cited in Brookfield, 1999, p. 78). This is extended by Brookfield (1999) who claims that the passage of time acts as a form of legitimation for dominant groups and the maintenance of their position of power. This is because “most of the conquests or assimilation of the original

³ I have adopted the use of bilingual naming for the two case study countries, Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland. This is a personal and political choice based on my belief that the Indigenous names are the most appropriate titles for these places, whilst also recognising their official names. However, it is important to note that although the bilingual title ‘Aotearoa New Zealand’ is in common usage, the same cannot be said of the bilingual title, ‘Alba Scotland’.

inhabitants [in Europe] occurred hundreds rather than scores of years ago” (Hannum, 1990, p. 75).

Nevertheless, MacKinnon (1991) provides a definitive answer to the question of Gaelic as an Indigenous language that is hard to counter: “the language is at the root of the very entity of what came to be called Scotland – indeed the very reason why it is recognised as such and called Scotland today: the land of the Scots, the Gaelic-speaking people...” (pp. 7-8). Moreover, he goes on to say,

[an] essentially Gaelic character underlies much of what is distinctive in Scottish national life. The national costume originated in Gaelic dress. The national drink is Gaelic in name. Both the Scots Language and Scottish English show influences of Gaelic as the original language of the Scots. Gaelic is woven into the fabric of Scottish history and society as the red and green ground underlying the setts of the many individual tartans... Remove it and its influence and Scotland is merely North Britain (pp. 8-9).

As a result, and despite a lack of official recognition, I accept that Gaelic is an Indigenous language due to the fundamental influence that Gaelic culture has on Scottish culture and identity, and the language’s position as the country’s oldest surviving language.

According to Krauss (1992), language endangerment is a more pressing problem than species endangerment in the modern era, but one that receives much less public attention. He argues that the twenty-first century will see “the death or doom of 90% of mankind’s languages” (p. 7) as opposed to 10% of mammals and 5% of birds that were considered endangered at the same time. Crawford (1996) extends this idea, drawing comparisons between the extinction of languages and the extinction of plants and animals. He contends that “the pace of extinction is clearly accelerating both for languages and biological species... We appear to have entered a period of mass extinctions” (pp. 21-22). He goes so far as to suggest that these phenomena are not only alike but related, claiming that “the phenomenon of language death is strikingly similar – and causally linked – to the death of biological species” (p. 22).

Language revitalisation has been described as “the development of programs that result in re-establishing a language which has ceased being the language of communication in the speech community and bringing it back into full use in all works of life” (Hinton, 2001c, p. 5). Clearly then, Hinton’s impression of language revitalisation relates to the *process* of revitalising a language rather than the act of reaching the point where the language is safe. Hinton’s view is supported by a number of other authors on the subject (Littlebear, 1999; Redish, 2001; Reyhner, 1999) and is described by Fishman (1991), the seminal author on language revitalisation, as ‘reversing language shift’. According to Kendall A. King (2001), language revitalisation is “the attempt to add new linguistic forms or social functions to an

embattled minority language with the aim of increasing its uses or users” (p. 23). Definitions of language revival, on the other hand, can imply that the language must be ‘dead’, thus having no remaining native speakers (Dorian, 1994), although at times, the two terms (language revitalisation and language revival) are used interchangeably or to imply that a language is only threatened (King, K.A., 2001).

As well as defining language revitalisation, a number of commentators have considered the levels of language endangerment. This includes labels such as ‘endangered’, ‘moribund’ and ‘safe’ languages. Kraus (1992) describes ‘endangered languages’ as those that will stop being learnt by children in the next hundred years. Hinton (2001c) goes further by claiming that ‘endangered languages’ are those that are no longer used as the main language of a community. She then goes on to describe ‘deeply endangered languages’ as those that have no children or young people speaking them. Kraus (1992), however, describes languages that are no longer being learnt by children as ‘moribund’, which can be understood to mean “not effectively being passed on to the next generation” (Ostler, 1998, p. 121, cited in Edwards, 2001, p. 231). Kraus also defines ‘safe languages’, stating that these share two characteristics: state support; and a very high number of speakers. Fettes (1997) goes further in describing what he calls ‘healthy Indigenous languages’.

A healthy language can be visualized as a tightly woven braid of many primary and secondary discourses. In living and working together (primary discourse), people refer to the stories they share as a common source of knowledge, and in telling and retelling those stories (secondary discourse), people draw on their years of shared experience, of doing things together with and without the language. Woven together, these two forms of discourse enabled indigenous languages to evolve and made them of unrivalled value to their speakers (para. 17).

When a community fails to rebuild the ‘language braid’, the result is a ‘dead language’, one that has lost all of its speakers so that the only remnants are those that have been recorded or archived.

So then, we can now see the spectrum of language health from safe languages through to dead languages. What then is an Indigenous language? Indigenous has been defined as “born of or... produced naturally in a region; belonging naturally” and language as a “system of vocal or visible communication using arbitrary symbols in agreed ways” (Turner, 1987, pp. 544, 601). Therefore, an Indigenous language can be described as a naturally occurring system of communication. This is more eloquently put by Hinton (2001c) who describes an Indigenous language as one “that can trace a long existence in the locale in which they are used today” (p. 3). Indigenous languages are related to local or minority languages with one major distinguishing feature setting them apart. Whereas a local or minority language may not have originated in the place that it is spoken, an Indigenous language is defined by the fact that its development occurred in the place where it is used. So then, an example of a

minority language that it is not an Indigenous language could be Sāmoan in Aotearoa New Zealand, in that Sāmoan was brought to Aotearoa New Zealand with Pacific immigrants mainly in the twentieth century. However, even when a language has been originally introduced from another region in the past, the language can still be described as Indigenous. This is because once a language has been used and transmitted for hundreds of years, it adapts and changes to reflect the new environment. As a result, these languages can undergo major changes in terms of structure, pronunciation and lexicon. This usually denotes the development of another branch in the language family tree that is distinct to the new locale. Therefore, although the language has originally come from somewhere else, it can still be described as indigenous due to the fact that it has become the language of the people in that new place.

From this cluster of definitions I have chosen to adopt the following classifications of language in this thesis. Rather than restricting my definition of language revitalisation to meaning the point when a language is actually safe, I adopt the position that language revitalisation, as well as referring to the point at which the reversal of language shift has been achieved, it also includes the process of attempting to revitalise a language and thus can occur concurrently with language decline. Also, it is important to note that language revitalisation relates to situations in which “the language survives, but precariously” (Dorian, 1994, p. 481). This is in contrast to language revival, a process that relates to the re-establishment of languages that no longer have native speakers (Dorian, 1994). In the case of both Gàidhlig in Alba Scotland and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, I am referring to language revitalisation as opposed to language revival. I also adopt Hinton’s (2001a) definition of Indigenous languages; one that can trace a long history of use in the place where it is spoken today, thus accommodating both Māori and Gàidhlig as Indigenous languages. Endangered languages are split into two categories: ‘moribund languages’, that is, those in which all speakers are beyond child-bearing age; and ‘languages at risk’, that is, those that still have a healthy number of speakers but whose numbers are declining. Under this definition, the two case study languages are characterised as ‘at risk’. This is similar to Whaley’s (2003) separation of endangered languages into the categories of ‘at risk’ and ‘disappearing’. What the previous discussions have termed ‘safe’ or ‘healthy languages’ are referred to as dominant languages. This is due to their position of power in relation to the language that is in decline. In most if not all cases, language decline is but one symptom of a wider experience of cultural contraction as a result of the homogenising forces of colonisation, assimilation, integration and now globalisation. Littlebear (1999) also supports this idea: “We are... confronted by a voracious language, English, that gobbles up everything in its way. We have to devise strategies now to face the problems that our languages have never encountered before” (p. 1). With this in mind, I now describe the two case study languages of Māori and Gàidhlig.

Case Study 1: Te reo Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand

Te reo Māori is the Indigenous language of the Māori people who lived in Aotearoa New Zealand before the arrival and settlement of the Pākehā⁴. Organised settlement was initiated by the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (see discussion below). Colonisation ensued leading to land alienation, social disruption and urbanisation, and ultimately decimating the culture and language. The result today is an Indigenous group who suffers from one of the worst statistical profiles in the country that is their only known home.⁵ Furthermore, one of the country's most rare and significant native species, te reo Māori, although protected, does not enjoy the efforts taken to save native birds like the iconic kiwi. The following provides an overview of the language, its origins, and its recent history in terms of language decline and revitalisation. This includes an overview of the social system of whānau⁶, hapū⁷, iwi⁸ and waka⁹, and an outline of the Treaty of Waitangi, which enabled the annexation of Aotearoa New Zealand to Britain in 1840.

Te reo Māori has links to the Proto-Austronesian language that academics believe originated in what is now called Taiwan about 5000 years ago. The Austronesian language family then spread across the Pacific and South East Asia, from Madagascar in the east, to Rapanui¹⁰ in the west, and from the Melanesian island chain in the north, to Aotearoa New Zealand in the south. Following a series of linguistic splits in the Proto-Austronesian language family, Proto-Oceanic developed, of which Proto-Polynesian is a dialect, and of which the Māori language is a part (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004).

Oral history tells us that the Māori people came to Aotearoa New Zealand from the legendary land of Hawaiki, perhaps as early as 1200 years ago. The exact origin of the Māori is unknown but has been subject to fierce academic debate, with it being now commonly accepted that Polynesia was populated from east to west (Williams, 2004). Subsequently, a number of Māori dialects have developed that Biggs (1961, 1968) groups as the South Island, Eastern and Western dialects. The broader groupings were later supported by Harlow (1979) who also noted significant differences within each stratum. The language developed to reflect life in the new land, and as such, it was “perfectly suited to the world of its speakers” (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004, p. 39). Māori developed a culture built strongly around oral transmission that was used as a means of transmitting the society's culture,

⁴ Europeans.

⁵ Māori suffer from a poor statistical profile compared with other ethnic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand. This includes evidence of higher rates of imprisonment (Quince, 2007), lower levels of health (MOH [New Zealand Ministry of Health], 2013), life-expectancy (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.d), education (Education Counts, 2013; Statistics New Zealand, n.d.e) and employment (Statistics New Zealand, 2012), and a higher incidence of mental illness (MOH, 2010) and suicide (Ferguson, Blakely, Allan & Collins, 2005; MOH, 2012).

⁶ Extended family, family group, a familiar term to address a number of people – in the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.

⁷ Kinship group, clan, sub-tribe – section of a larger kinship group,

⁸ Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people.

⁹ Allied kinship groups descended from the crew of a canoe which migrated to New Zealand.

¹⁰ Easter Island.

values and beliefs and that enabled Māori to “communicate effectively over distance and time without the need for a phonology-based writing system” (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004, p. 41). The transmission of culture was relayed through oral sources, including whakataukī¹¹, whakatauāki¹², and pepeha¹³ (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004).

Māori social structure is usually envisaged as a four-tiered system composing of whānau, hapū, iwi and waka. These can be described as “groups of kin linked primarily by their direct descent from a common ancestor” (Ballara, 1998, p. 17). The word whānau literally means ‘to be born’, and refers to the micro level of kinship. The usual definition for the pre-colonial whānau is the extended family. However, different forms of whānau have been evident in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the siblings of the same parents, the descendants of a fairly recent ancestor, or the extended family, which includes outside spouses and adopted children. Some scholars also refer to whānau as a ‘household unit’ (Reilly, 2004).

The next level of society beyond the immediate whānau is the hapū, commonly translated as the ‘sub-tribe’ or, more accurately, ‘clan’ (Ballara, 1998). The hapū was generally comprised of “a number of whānau who all traced themselves back to the hapū’s eponymous ancestor” (Reilly, 2004, p. 63). Hapū could consist of between two and three hundred people (Walker, 2004). Large whānau could become a hapū; this required not only numbers, but also effective leadership, adequate resources, and the physical capacity to defend their independence (Metge, 1995). Hapū would come together for military defense and major building projects (Reilly, 2004), but operated independently and in accordance with their own needs above those of others (Ballara, 1998).

The third level of the social hierarchy is the iwi and refers to ‘the bones’ of one’s ancestors. The word ‘iwi’ is commonly translated as ‘tribe’; however, according to Ballara (1998), ‘peoples’, that is, “persons comprising a community, tribe, race or nation” (p. 17), is a more suitable definition. Although iwi have been described as “the largest effective political grouping... [and] was comprised of related hapū from a common ancestor” (Walker, 2004, p. 65), in actuality, they were loose confederations, in that member hapū were largely autonomous and could be fiercely competitive. Nevertheless, when the need arose, as in times of war, the iwi would come together under the leadership of the ariki¹⁴. Kinship ties were maintained between hapū groups through political marriages between members of high ranking families (Reilly, 2004).

The final layer to the social structure is the waka, referring to the canoe that had brought one’s ancestors from the Pacific. However, this grouping has been described as “loose”

¹¹ Proverbs, sayings, cryptic sayings, aphorisms.

¹² Proverb, saying, amorphism – particularly those urging a certain type of behaviour.

¹³ Tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, figure of speech, motto, slogan.

¹⁴ High chief.

(Walker, 2004, p. 65) and as “not [having] any reality as a social grouping” (Reilly, 2004, p. 64).

This social structure is still relevant today for some sectors of Māori society. In pre-colonial society, knowledge of whakapapa¹⁵ was an important marker of identity, for example, through processes like mihimihi¹⁶. These practices have been retained today, particularly on marae¹⁷ and other sites that operate under Māori protocols.

Language contact has been described as “the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time” (Thomason, n.d., p. 1). Language contact occurred in Aotearoa New Zealand when the first Europeans arrived from the seventeenth century, bringing Māori into contact with languages like English and French. As a result, Māori influenced and was influenced by the two European languages. During the first voyage of Captain James Cook on behalf of the British Empire in 1769, the word ‘māori’ meaning ordinary was identified as the racial term describing the Indigenous New Zealanders. Other Māori terms, like mana¹⁸, whānau, and kia ora¹⁹, were assimilated into English. However, often the true depth of the word is lost in the new use of it in English, for example, English-speakers commonly use ‘Kia ora’ to say hello, not recognising its use in other contexts, such as in saying thank you, good bye, and as an expression of agreement. The phrase has even been co-opted as a brand name for orange juice in the UK (see “Kia-Ora”, 2011).

During the initial contact period that followed Cook’s visit in 1769, the Māori language was impacted on by English in three main areas: (1) the development of Māori loanwords based on European words and phrases; (2) the development and growth of Māori-language print culture; and (3) the growth of Māori literacy. A loan word is a word that has been adopted from another language. Māori loanwords were created as a means of integrating new ideas into their vocabulary. The adoption of loan words went hand-in-hand with the acceptance

¹⁵ Genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent.

¹⁶ Speech of greeting, tribute.

¹⁷ Courtyard – the open area in front of the whareniui (ancestral meeting house), where formal greetings and discussions take place; often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.

¹⁸ Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma – mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by tapu and mana. Mana is the enduring, indestructible power of the atua and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the mana. The authority of mana and tapu is inherited and delegated through the senior line from the atua as their human agent to act on revealed will. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the atua, man remains the agent, never the source of mana. This divine choice is confirmed by the elders, initiated by the tohunga under traditional consecratory rites (tohi). Mana gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person or tribe's mana can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success. The tribe give mana to their chief and empower him/her and in turn the mana of an ariki or rangatira spreads to his/her people and their land. Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of mana and tapu. Animate and inanimate objects can also have mana as they also derive from the atua and because of their own association with people imbued with mana or because they are used in significant events.

¹⁹ Hello! Cheers! Good luck! Best wishes!

and use of the new technology and culture that Pākehā brought (Ka`ai & Moorfield, 2009). English words like ‘table’ and ‘chair’ were borrowed into Māori and became ‘tepu’ and ‘turu’, and concepts like ‘monarchy’ and ‘government’ were rendered ‘kīngitanga’ and ‘kāwanatanga’. Even swear words were adopted, for example, *purari paka*²⁰. At the same time, Māori print orthography was developing under missionary influences, and in 1818, Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University produced the first attempt at a Māori language orthography, after meeting two Māori chiefs in 1814 who had travelled to England, Hongi Hika and Waikato (Ballara, 2010). Subsequently, the use of Māori print media became more common, as did literacy in the Māori language amongst the Indigenous population (Biggs, 1968).

By the 1830s, pressure was mounting for Britain to become formally involved in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although Māori and Pākehā had been engaged in “mutually beneficial” (Hayward, 2004, p. 152) relationships for about 70 years, Māori and the missionaries were both calling for Britain to intervene as French interests became more prominent. The major issue was law and order for both sides, with Māori wanting their authority to be protected, and Britain wanting to formalise their position. In 1832, James Busby was appointed as the British Resident, and he is credited with the adoption of the country’s first official ensign, as well as the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1835 by a confederation of 34 chiefs from the northern tribes in response to French moves to claim sovereignty of part of the country (Orange, 1987; Hayward, 2004). Under the declaration, Aotearoa New Zealand was acknowledged as an independent state with sovereignty and governance vested in the chiefs, and provision for a separate government that could be established with the chiefs’ permission and in accordance with their requirements. An annual gathering to discuss trade, law and order was prescribed, and other tribes were invited to join. Finally, the document declared that a copy of the declaration would be sent to the King of England, asking him to be ‘parent and protector’ of their ‘infant state’ (Archives New Zealand, n.d.). An official relationship with Britain had been mooted, particularly in terms of the chiefs of the Far North who had signed the declaration.

By the late 1830s, British colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand was being approached with an air of “inevitability” (Hayward, 2004, p. 152), and in 1839, Captain William Hobson was named as Consul. He was then instructed by the Colonial Office to gain sovereignty over any parts of the country Māori were willing to cede and to make provisions for Māori welfare (Hayward, 2004). In preparing the Treaty of Waitangi, Hobson and Busby relied on a set of instructions from Colonial Secretary, Lord Normanby, which were complicated by “difficulty in reconciling conflicting principles and accommodating the interests of opposing pressure groups” (Orange, 1987, p. 30).

²⁰ Bloody bugger! Blast! Damn! You bugger, that bugger, you so-and-so – a curse indicating annoyance, dislike or mild anger towards someone.

Within a week of Hobson's arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand, he, Busby and Henry Williams, missionary and Treaty translator presented a document consisting of a preamble, three articles, and a post-script, in both an English and a Māori version to a gathering of chiefs at Waitangi. Key conceptual differences between the two versions created a situation where both sides believed that the document had guaranteed them sovereignty, the British through their understanding of article 1 in terms of the cession of sovereignty, and Māori through the guarantee in article 2 that they would retain their tino rangatiratanga²¹. Nevertheless, the precedence of the English text of the Treaty was enacted through the process of colonisation, much to the chagrin of the chiefs. By the 1850s, Māori were outnumbered by the new settler population and communication between the races began to shift to English.

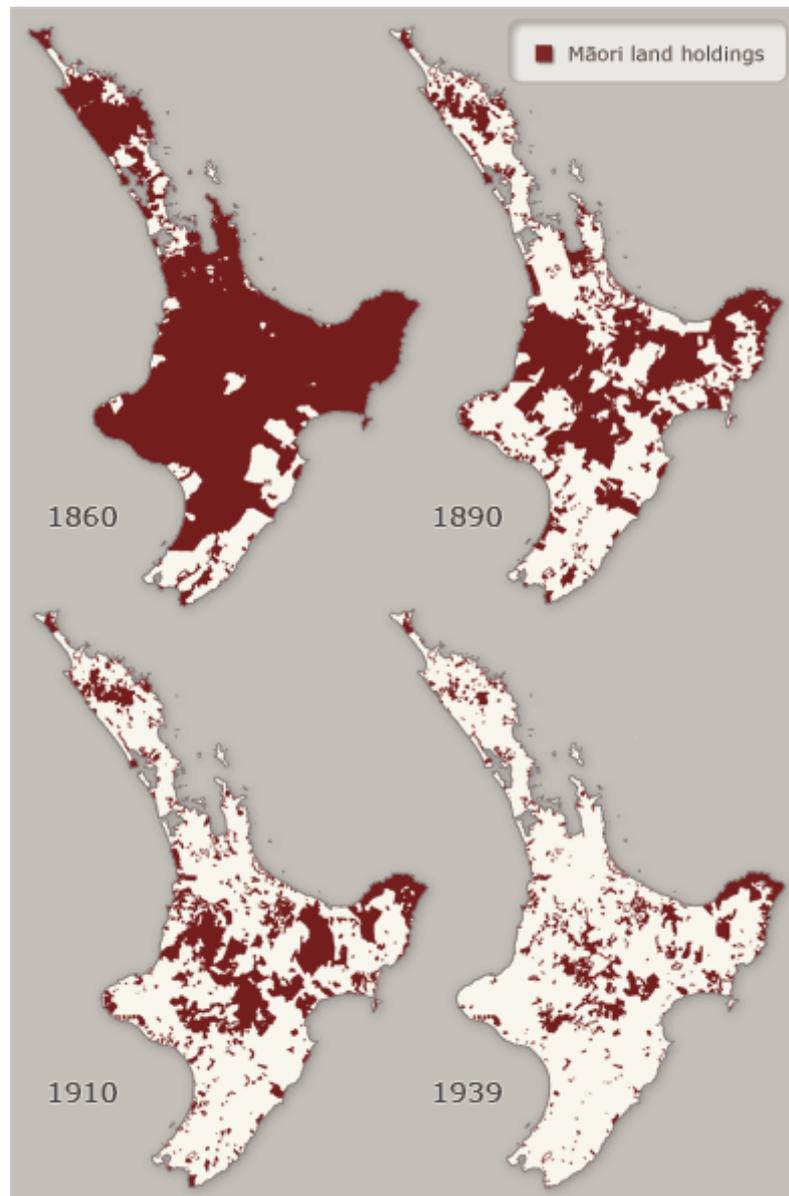
Colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand hinges around two key principles, land alienation and assimilation, which each had their own impacts on te reo Māori. Acts of Parliament were passed that affected the process of intergenerational transmission, and slowly, over time, the language began to be lost. Between 1860 and 1939, Māori went from guardianship over most of the country to being largely landless (see Figure 1.1 below), leading to the breakdown of social structures and hence the decline in cultural transmission.

In terms of linguistic assimilation, education was the primary tool and although Māori educational policy was framed around humanitarian duty, much of the parliamentary debate of the time focused on racial assimilation (Hokowhitu, 2004). As early as 1847, an Education Ordinance required the mission schools to teach in English, in order to attract funding, but the 1867 Native Schools Act went further by establishing schools within villages, which "created a 'modern' English-speaking space and also played a major part in the eventual process of language loss" (Spolsky, 2005, p. 71). In 1913, it was recorded that 90% of Māori children could speak te reo Māori, but by 1953, this had dropped to just 26% (Anaru, 2011), the ultimate result of Māori losing control in the education of their children (Benton, 1989). Although no official policy banning the language in schools ever existed, according to one kaumātua recounting his experiences of schooling in the early twentieth century, there was "an extremely effective gentlemen's agreement", and pupils were told "'English is the bread-and-butter language, and if you want to earn your bread and butter you must speak English'. Then he... sent [us] into the bush to cut down a piece of supplejack with which he was punished for breaking the rule that te reo Maori must 'be left at the school gates'" (Sir James Henare, 1985, cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, subsection 3.2.6). When William Bird took over as Senior Inspector of Native Schools in 1913, he introduced the 'natural' or 'direct' method of teaching English, based on the premise that "Māori would learn English more rapidly if Māori was not spoken at all" (Naylor, 2006, pp. 20-21). Bird believed that "it was unnecessary for the native schools to teach Maori to children for whom it was the language of everyday life" (Renwick, 2010, para. 5). By officially removing

²¹ Tribal authority, sovereignty, self-determination.

te reo from classroom pedagogy, Bird may have unintentionally initiated one of the great travesties of the colonisation of the Māori people. Many accounts from the early to mid-twentieth century recount the corporal punishment that was meted out to children for speaking Māori in the school grounds (see Naylor, 2006; Selby, 1999; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

Figure 1 Māori land alienation, 1860-1939



(MCH²², 2011a).

After World War II, Māori became involved in a rapid process of urbanisation as they shifted to the cities primarily from tribal areas (Pohatu, Stokes & Austin, 2006), particularly in response to an increased demand for industrial labour (Chrisp, 2005). As a result, the

²² New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

proportion of Māori living in urban areas increased from 25% in 1945 to around 75% in the 1970s (Spolsky, 2003). This shift in itself had an impact on the language, as people moved away from social systems that promoted language transmission, but this was further exacerbated by official policy that scattered Māori families across state housing estates (Walker, 2004). The cumulative results of these events were ultimately seen in the findings of the first Māori language survey that was undertaken between 1973 and 1976, making the conclusion that the language was dying (Benton, 1979, 1991). This was supported by the 1976 census figures that suggested "12 percent of the Māori population of 405,000 were native speakers of Māori, which equated to approximately 48,600 people" (Pohatu et al, 2006, p. 5).

However, the urban milieu also prompted the Māori renaissance of the 1970s, heavily influenced by global discourses of resistance.²³ As awareness of the threat of language death arose, Māori communities began to engage in language revitalisation, particularly in terms of kaupapa Māori²⁴ schooling (see Chapter 2) and Māori broadcast and non-broadcast media (see Chapter 3). At the same time, Māori activism regarding the Treaty, Māori land and the language became more vehement and increasing pressure was put on the Crown to (1) honour the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, (2) consider Māori grievances over the process of colonisation, and (3) actively protect fundamental aspects of Māori culture like the language. The turning point for government support for te reo Māori was the Waitangi Tribunal's (1986) publication of their Report on the Māori Language Claim and the ensuing 1987 Māori Language Act, giving the language official recognition for the first time. Today, the government and Māori communities and organisation are engaged in a process of Māori language revitalisation, which is examined in the following chapters alongside that of Scottish Gaelic.

Case Study 2: Gàidhlig in Alba Scotland

Gàidhlig is the Indigenous language of Alba Scotland as it is the oldest known language still spoken in the country. Having spread from Ireland to Argyll in 500AD, by the tenth or eleventh century, Gàidhlig was the dominant language of Alba Scotland (Peyer, 2004; Withers, 1988). This section outlines the history of the rise and fall of Gaelic as a backdrop to contemporary attempts to revitalise the language.

Gàidhlig is part of the Goidelic branch of the Celtic language family, along with Irish and Manx, and was introduced to Alba Scotland by the people from Ireland in about 500AD (Withers, 1988). According to MacAulay (1992), "the most important settlement in Scotland was that of the Dál Ríata in Argyll... [that] established what appears to have been a cross-

²³ See appendix 3 for statistical information on the percentage of language speakers from 1974 to 2006.

²⁴ Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society.

channel ‘kingdom’” (p. 137). These people were the “Scotti from Scotia – Ireland... [who] came to give their name and their language to Northern Britain” (MacKinnon, 1991a, p. 18).

Gàidhlig spread across what is now Alba Scotland with the help of the Church, brought there by Calum Cille²⁵ in 563 AD, from his base in Iona. At the time, Northern Britain was made up of four main groups: (1) the Gaelic-speaking Scots; (2) the Picts whose speech resembled the Britons; (3) the Britons, who spoke an early form of Welsh; and (4) the Angles from the English kingdom of Northumbria. However, by the beginning of the tenth century, the Gaels had gained control of the region and beyond, into Cumbria and Northumberland (MacKinnon, 1991a).

The start of Gaelic’s “long linguistic retreat” (Withers, 1988, p. 138) has been linked to the marriage of Malcolm III of Scotland to Margaret, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside from the English royal house of Wessex in 1069 (Smith, 2000). Consequently, Gaelic lost its position as the language of the Court to French and a number of reforms led to greater levels of language contact between Gaelic and Scots²⁶. The eleventh century also saw the relocation of a number of Anglo-Norman noble families and monasteries from north-east England, bringing Scots and Norman French speakers. By the thirteenth century, Alba Scotland was effectively trilingual, with the aristocracy speaking French, the merchant class using Scots, and common people relying on Gaelic.

According to Glaser (2007), “[d]uring the Wars of Independence 1292-1322) Gaelic came under increased pressure from Scots/English” (p. 64). The result was “the emergence of the Highlands as a distinct cultural identity... [and] as a distinct language area” (Withers, 1988, p. 139), one that was in opposition to what had become the English-speaking Lowlands. In 1380, John of Fordun described the Gàidhlig-speakers of the Highlands and Islands as

a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, ease-loving, clever and quick to learn, comely in person, but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language, and, owing to the diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel (Grant, 1991, cited by Innes, 1993, para. 5).

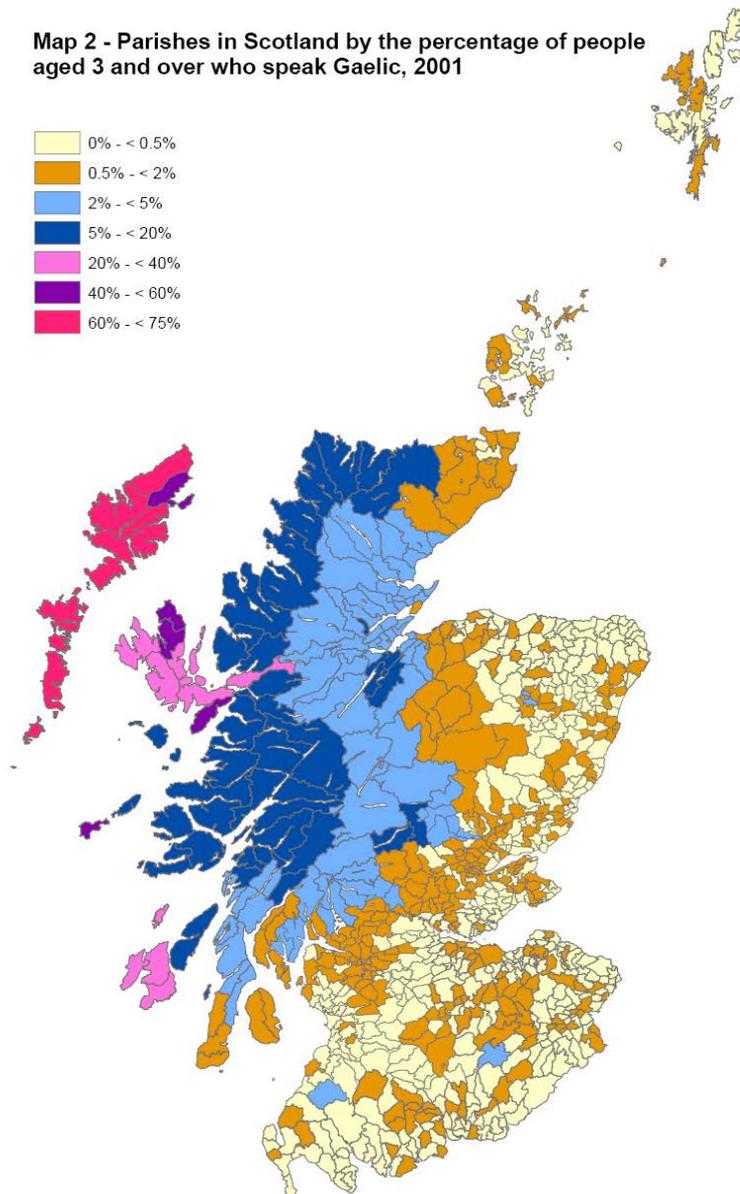
Starting in the late fourteenth century, there was increasing hostility from Scots-speaking Lowlanders towards the Highlanders, who they considered “backward, violent, even barbarous” (McLeod, 2006a, p. 1). By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, increasingly suppressive actions were initiated, in particular the Statutes of Iona (1609), which forced the Highland chiefs to educate their heirs in the Lowlands (Withers, 1984), and the Scottish Privy Council’s decree (1616) that strengthened the use of English and abolished Gaelic (Peyer, 2004). As a result, Scottish heirs who were schooled in the Lowlands were

²⁵ Columba.

²⁶ Scots is the language of the Lowlands of Alba Scotland, which became separate from Northern English in the fifteenth century (Hardie, 1996).

... encouraged deliberately to unlearn their 'uncouth' ways, [and] to mix as equals with the Lowland lairds and their children. In this way, an important proportion of the chiefs and chieftains of the Highlands came themselves to imbibe the Lowland view of clan society as being barbarian (Smout, 1969, p. 344).

Figure 2 Parishes in Scotland by the percentage of people aged 3 and over who speak Gaelic, 2001



(McLeod, 2006a, p. 4).

In 1698, the first comprehensive survey of Gàidhlig found that 30% of the country's population spoke the language, and although this included many people who lived outside

the Gàidhealtachd²⁷ and those bilingual in English, most people who lived in the Highlands at this period spoke only Gaelic (Withers, 1988).

By the time of the 1707 Act of Union, Gàidhlig was confined to the Highlands, Western Isles and Galloway, whereas Scots English had become the lingua franca of Edinburgh and amongst the ordinary Lowlanders. Following the Battle of Culloden (1746), Gàidhlig culture came under attack, and this, along with depopulation of the Gàidhealtachd had huge impacts on the status of Gàidhlig. According to McLeod (2006a), “a destructive combination of military repression, dramatic economic change, heavy, sometimes forced emigration, persistent material deprivation, and diverse cultural pressures have brought about ongoing language shift from Gaelic to English in the Gàidhealtachd” (p. 2). As a result, the language has withdrawn to the northwest of Alba Scotland, particularly the Western Isles (see Figure 2 above).

Two key events in the 1700s hugely impacted on Gàidhlig: (1) the establishment and spread of the SSPCK²⁸, who established schools in the Gàidhealtachd and promoted the use of English; and (2) the rise and fall of the Jacobite rebellions followed by government repression (MacKinnon, 1991a). The SSPCK was established in 1701, teaching a curriculum based on “the English language, the Presbyterian religion, church music and arithmetic” (MacKinnon, 1991a, p. 54). However, the Society was only able to make headway after political Jacobitism collapsed in 1746 (MacKinnon, 1991a). The Jacobites arose in response to the 1707 Act of Union that allowed for parliamentary union between Alba Scotland and England. They were supporters of the exiled royal house of Stuart, personified by Charles Edward Stuart, known as Bonnie Prince Charlie, who came to Alba Scotland in 1745. Once there, he was proclaimed King James III and gained a large following among the clans, but was ultimately cornered and defeated (Szechi, 2006) at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. Subsequently, as described by Smout (1969),

Legislation... consolidated the work of the army throughout the Highlands. No-one anywhere in the Highlands was allowed to carry firearms..., or to wear Highland dress or to play the pipes which were associated by the Government with barbarous habits and martial deeds. The hereditary judicial powers of landowners sitting in their courts [were] largely taken from them in the wider subsequent reform of Scottish law... A committee of Edinburgh lawyers was constituted to administer the estates forfeited from rebel leaders in all parts of the Highlands. Though not in any way vindictive, they worked on the assumption the Highland peasants were ignorant, idle and culturally savage, and they therefore strove to do all they could to eliminate the mores of the clan (p. 343).

²⁷ Gaelic-speaking regions.

²⁸ Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge.

Thus, “Westminster determined Scotland’s economic and social policies with an eye for what would benefit Britain as a whole, not Scotland” (Davis, 1998, p. 6). As a result, the Highland Clearances led to “the removal of its heartland... reducing the Gaelic areas to the very fringes of the northern and western coastal areas and to the Hebrides” (MacKinnon, 1991a, p. 62).

By 1755 the estimated Gaelic-speaking population was about 289,798 or slightly below 23% of the country’s population. At the time,

Gaelic was the language of the heart and the hearth, and... much preferred to English as the language of worship [whereas] English was used only by a few for religious purposes, although it was becoming widespread as a result of schooling and through contact with the south (Withers, 1988, p. 143).

However, to the Lowlanders it was “the language of a wild, even savage people” (Dorian, 1981, p. 16). As English infiltrated the Highlands, the Gàidhealtachd started to retract whilst Gaelic speakers drifted to the urban centres of the Lowlands. As a result, by the late 1800s, Glasgow hosted nearly 18,000 Gaelic speakers, with nearly 5,000 in Edinburgh and over 3,000 in Greenock (Withers, 1988, p. 144). The Highland Clearances further contributed to this period of mass emigration, when crofters²⁹ were expelled from their lease holdings due to financial pressure on landowners, for example,

... between 1807 and 1821, the factors of the Countess of Sutherland and her husband Lord Stafford who owned more than two-thirds of the land in the county expelled from their homes somewhere between five and ten thousand people to make room for sheep (Smout, 1969, p. 353).

Subsequently, in the 1870s, a lessening of intensity of Gaelic usage was evident throughout the Gàidhealtachd, which was still continuing to shrink. The story of language decline can be seen through national censuses undertaken once per decade.³⁰

Despite numerous pressures putting significant strain on Gaelic, signs of revitalisation started to appear at this time, including the establishment of the Gaelic Society of London in 1777, the reintroduction of Gaelic as “the language of a popular church” (MacKinnon, 1991a, p. 67) in the mid-1800s, and the growth in Gaelic publishing in this period (MacKinnon, 1991a). Nevertheless, the end of the 1800s saw the rise of the language’s “most crucial challenge” (MacKinnon, 1991a, p. 74), the passing of the 1872 Education Act.

Under the new regime, the use of Gaelic was actively discouraged in the schools [and] the appointment of English-speaking or English teachers was common – as was

²⁹ A crofter is a person who occupies and works a small landholding known as a croft, of which they are usually a leaseholder (Scottish Crofting Confederation, n.d.).

³⁰ See appendix 4.

the punishment of children for speaking Gaelic in schools. The device of the maide-crochaidh, a stick on a cord, was commonly used to stigmatise and physically punish children speaking Gaelic in the schools. Its use is reported as late as the 1930s in Lewis (MacKinnon, 1991a, p. 75).

Thus, the Scottish education system engaged in a process of assimilation until at least 1918, actively promoting the replacement of Gàidhlig with English, whilst completely ignoring Gaelic and Highland culture and history within the curriculum. As a result, education alienated Gaelic-speaking children from their culture and their mother tongue, leading to Gaelic becoming the language of the working class crofters.

Changes in attitude towards Gàidhlig became apparent in 1958 when the first schools started to teach through the language, followed by similar developments in the media and administration. This included the growth of Gaelic radio and television programming in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, and the establishment of key organisation, HIDB³¹, which supported Gaelic publishing and social events through the provision of grants (MacKinnon, 1991a).

Often these changes from the government were responding to public pressure and activism promoting the protection of Gaelic. For example, in the 1970s, a furor developed over official signage and the anglicisation of Gaelic place-names with pressure being brought to bear by the Gaelic Society of London through lobbying and spurred on by similar events in Wales (MacKinnon, 1991a; Puzey, 2007). Things came to a head on the Isle of Skye, as described by Puzey (2007).

In the early 1970s, Inverness-shire County Council asked the prominent pro-Gaelic landowner and businessman Iain Noble to sell the Council a small section of roadside land south of Portree for planned improvements to the road. He offered the land for free, on the condition that three bilingual signs would be installed there... with the Gaelic name Port Rìgh in larger text than the English name. Although two councillors from Barra and North Uist agreed with Noble's proposal, the Roads Committee chairman, Lord Burton of Dochfour, was against the suggestion, and he was supported by the county surveyor Keith MacFarlane. Noble organised a petition in April 1973 in favour of bilingual signs... the petition made an impact on the Council, and it was decided in May 1973 that 'Portree' would be accompanied by 'Port Rìgh'... (pp. 50-51).

Subsequently, in 1974, with the establishment of the new Comhairle nan Eilean³², a bilingual signage policy was adopted, but nothing further happened until the establishment of Gaelic activist group Ceartas³³ in 1981. Founding members of the group sprayed graffiti

³¹ Highlands and Islands Development Board; replaced by Highlands and Islands Enterprise in 1991.

³² Western Isles Council.

³³ Justice.

on road signs, which finally led to a police raid of SMO³⁴ on the Sleat peninsula, where a number of Ceartas members were based. According to Puzey (2007),

The action intensified during a weekend conference at [the Gaelic college] in May 1981, and was noted by the police. In fact, [Iain] Taylor [then SMO director and Ceartas member] has said that he and others had been 'giving hints to the police', including painting a red arrow outside Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, hoping for a trial that would confirm the validity of Gaelic (p. 52).

The police raid of the college found “25 pots of paint, six used paintbrushes, 796 Ceartas badges, a wooden stick, a postcard, and a piece of cardboard” (*West Highland Free Press*, 1981, cited in Puzey, 2007, p. 52), and Iain Taylor was arrested and charged for painting ‘Port Adhair’ over a sign at the Ashaig airport. During the resulting court case *Taylor v. Haughney* 1982, Taylor spoke in Gàidhlig, to which the judge ordered that the trial must continue in English. Subsequently, the case was appealed to the Court of Judiciary in Edinburgh. However, the court denied the appeal on the Alexander McRae case (1841) in which a request to present evidence had been turned down on the grounds that the appellant was proficient in English (MacKinnon, 1991a; Puzey, 2007).

Today, the geographic position of Gaelic is substantially different to what was seen prior to the Reformation.³⁵ Significantly, almost half of the country’s Gaelic-speaking population now lives outside of the Gàidhealtachd region (Oliver, 2005).

The opening of the devolved Scottish Parliament in 1999 heralded significant changes in official consideration of Gaelic. As described by McLeod (2001a),

Perhaps the most striking indication of the changed mood is the contrast between the February 1981 debate in the Westminster Parliament on an unsuccessful Private Member’s Bill to give Gaelic limited status, in which MPs ponder hypothetical problems of incomprehensible “drunken Highlanders” (McLeod 1997:101-102), and the debate on Gaelic policy in the Scottish Parliament in March 2000, when representatives of all the major parties made consistently positive and constructive remarks explaining their support for the language (p. 13).

Subsequently, the first decade has seen significant progress in government support of Gaelic language revitalisation, including the UK’s recognition of Gaelic under the Council of Europe Charter on Regional or Minority Languages in terms of Gaelic, the passing of the Gaelic

³⁴ Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the Gaelic College of Scotland.

³⁵ The phrase ‘Scottish Reformation’ refers to Alba Scotland’s official break away from the Vatican and adoption of Protestantism as the national religion. Despite this, most Highlanders remained Catholic, and as a result, Gaelic language, life-style and religion were considered ‘other’ to the ‘normal’ Lowlanders. Gaelic became known as ‘Erse’ (Irish) and the terms ‘Scottish’ and ‘Scots’ were applied to Lowland language and culture (MacKinnon, 1991a).

Language (Scotland) Act 2005 and the development of language plans developed by BnaG³⁶. This sits within the wider context of the Gaels as the indigenous people and Gàidhlig as the Indigenous language of Alba Scotland.

Conclusion

This thesis explores contemporary Indigenous language revitalisation in relation to te reo Māori and Gàidhlig. The following four chapters focus on the topic headings of (1) language policy and planning, (2) education, (3) the media, and (4) popular culture. Policy, education and the media (including radio, television and the internet) are often key tools used by governments in the struggle to reverse language shift, as is true in terms of the experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland. However, another area that has become more prominent in recent years is that of popular culture, an area that may have heretofore been overlooked by language planning for language revitalisation. Thus, this thesis aims to explore language revitalisation as initiated and undertaken by governments, local bodies and community groups in these two geographic and social contexts.

Chapter 1 considers the role of language policy and planning in relation language revitalisation, followed by an overview of such activities in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland. Language planning is often explained in terms of the five language-planning principles of acquisition, usage, corpus, status and discourse. Language usage is the most important area for the achievement of language revitalisation, particularly intergenerational transmission and language usage in the home. In terms of Māori, the development of the Māori Language Act 2005 is outlined, in the context of WAI 11. The Māori Language Strategy (TPK³⁷ & TTWRM³⁸, 2003) is considered, followed by an outline of iwi language planning and the contribution of these to language revitalisation in general and intergenerational transmission specifically. With regards to Gaelic, the UK's ratification of the ECRML is outlined, as will the ensuing legislation, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. This is followed by an overview of the National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a), as well as the public authority language plans that are currently being developed. Finally, a critical evaluation of the two case studies in terms of the theoretical overview is provided. In particular, the need to emphasise language usage in language planning is noted, as well as the potential of popular culture (see Chapter 4) to support corpus planning.

Chapter 2 considers the questions, can schools (and other educational institutions) save languages, and if so, how should education for language revitalisation be undertaken? This is followed by an overview of MME³⁹ in Aotearoa New Zealand, including legislation and policy, TKR⁴⁰, KKM⁴¹, Wānanga⁴², Te Ataarangi⁴³, and te reo Māori in mainstream education.

³⁶ Bòrd na Gàidhlig, the Gaelic Language Board.

³⁷ Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development.

³⁸ Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission.

³⁹ Māori-medium education, education undertaken through the medium of the Māori language.

⁴⁰ (Te) Kōhanga Reo, Māori language preschools.

Subsequently, provision for Gàidhlig in Alba Scotland is examined, including legislation and policy, CNSA⁴⁴/TAIC, GME⁴⁵, CLI⁴⁶, and Gaelic in mainstream education (including GLPS and GLE⁴⁷). To conclude, a critical comparison of the two case studies followed by an analysis based on the findings related to theory of education for language revitalisation is provided. The main findings in this chapter relate to the over-emphasis on education seen in both case studies, and the need to support this robust provision with adequate resourcing, perhaps through the development of Indigenous-language popular culture (see Chapter 4) into teaching resources.

Chapter 3: the Media explores the role of television, radio and the internet in terms of language revitalisation. In relation to Māori, the roles of iwi radio and MTS⁴⁸ are considered, as well as examples of the Māori language on the internet. With regards to Gàidhlig, the work of RnanG and BBC Alba are examined, as well as internet resources relating to the language that the two services provide to support their language programming. The media is extremely important to language revitalisation efforts due to its ability to reach people in their homes, but it is important that these services are developed in such a way as to promote language acquisition and usage, critical areas to language revitalisation.

Chapter 4 focuses on the role of popular culture in terms of language revitalisation.⁴⁹ Firstly, a definition for popular culture is provided, followed by an overview of coverage in the two case study countries with reference print culture, performing arts, and popular music. In the Māori case study, this includes an overview of publishing companies, Huia Publishers and

⁴¹ Kura Kaupapa Māori, primary schools operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction.

⁴² A tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs – established under the Education Act 1990.

⁴³ Māori immersion learning programme for adults.

⁴⁴ Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich, the Council of Gaelic Nursery Schools.

⁴⁵ Gaelic-medium education.

⁴⁶ Comunn an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh, an organisation that supports the needs of adult Gaelic learners.

⁴⁷ Gaelic Learners' Education.

⁴⁸ Māori Televisions Services.

⁴⁹ Due to a general lack of academic research and publication about popular culture and language revitalisation, some use of less robust resources has been resorted to in the following chapter, particularly in terms of Wikipedia citations. Although Wikipedia is not generally considered a reliable source, people are increasingly using Wikipedia for academic purposes because it is an easily accessible tertiary source of information. Notably, an article published in *Nature* (Giles, 2005) found that "the accuracy of science in Wikipedia is surprisingly good [in that] the number of errors in a typical Wikipedia science article is not substantially more than in Encyclopaedia Britannica, often considered the gold-standard entry-level reference work" ("Wiki's wild world", 2005). Moreover, Wikipedia provides a range of tools for testing the reliability of articles, including notes regarding a lack of citations at the top of Wikipedia entries. In selecting Wikipedia articles, I have tried to be discerning and have opted for more academic sources when available. I have also endeavoured to clearly reference all such citations as being from Wikipedia, so that readers can use their discretion when accessing this information. Furthermore, it needs to be noted that, seeing as Wikipedia is made up of editable content, these sources are liable to change at any time, potentially affecting the veracity of any quotes cited. Notwithstanding these issues, the general lack of information in other more academic domains means that it has been necessary to cite Wikipedia and similar as they are the only sources for some of topics discussed.

LM/TPTK⁵⁰, kapa haka⁵¹ and Ngā Manu Kōrero as aspects of the performing arts, and Māori language popular music including artists Dean Hapeta and Upper Hutt Posse, Whirimako Black, and a range of reggae musicians such as Ruia and Ranea Aperehama. In terms of Gàidhlig, publishing houses Acair and SNnaG⁵² are examined, as well as performing arts activities such as cèilidhean⁵³, fèisean⁵⁴ and the Royal National Mòd, and Gaelic music in the genres of folk and punk music. This is concluded with a critical examination of the ways that popular culture can support language revitalisation. In particular, the ability of popular culture to support corpus planning through the production of works in the language, and language acquisition as potential education resources is noted. The ability to support language usage for the performers and audience of popular culture is also considered.

Rather than adhering to the traditional thesis structure, each chapter of this work includes a literature review integrated with primary research findings. As comparative analysis is the main aspect of primary research undertaken in the context of this thesis, such an approach was deemed to be appropriate as a means of clearly expressing both the primary and secondary research findings by the author. Moreover, the thesis aims to provide a broad overview of these two examples of language-revitalisation programmes, although at varying degrees of depth. This reflects the embryonic nature of many of this topic of research, particularly in terms of the intersections between language revitalisation and popular culture. This broad focus has been adopted by the researcher in order to create a sustained cross-national comparative analysis that takes as wide a range of revitalisation activities as possible. This is because, rather than focusing on the individual elements of this process, the aim was to identify interconnections between the broad range of strategies that are currently in place to reverse language shift in these two countries.

The method that has been employed in this thesis is based on a mixed methodology that includes (1) analysis of primary documents (such as legislation and policy documents), (2) unstructured interviews with language revitalisation experts in Alba Scotland, and (3) comparative analysis of data identified through the previous two processes and research undertaken through a review of literature.

Primary documents were identified through a review of secondary literature, and subsequently, each chapter case study includes an initial section about legislation and policy relevant to the chapter topic. As policy analysis was such an integral aspect of the thesis, in the early stages of the project, I took two senior papers in Political Studies at the University of Otago to support this area. These were Treaty Politics (300-level) and Comparative

⁵⁰ Learning Media/Te Pou Taki Kōrero.

⁵¹ Concert party, haka group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group.

⁵² Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig, the National Resource Centre for Gaelic.

⁵³ Informal gathering where folk music is played, with dancing and storytelling.

⁵⁴ Gaelic arts tuition festivals.

Indigenous Politics (400-level). These provided me with a foundation in policy and comparative analysis required to undertake these aspects of the thesis.

In relation to the interview component, ethical approval was applied for through the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee⁵⁵ and the Kaitakawaenga Rangahau Māori.⁵⁶ Consequently, in 2005, approval was granted with provision to conduct up to 40 interviews with professionals engaged in language revitalisation activities and academic experts on topics relevant to language revitalisation. The aim was to gain sufficient knowledge of the current situation in order to provide a study of the contemporary nature of language revitalisation in these two locations.

The initial topic focus was also quite different to the thesis you see before you today. The first version of the thesis was intended to include case studies from Hawai`i and Canada alongside Māori. I undertook research on the Cree and Inuktitut languages, and made contacts in Hawai`i, Alberta and Nunavut. However, in 2003, I was introduced to Scottish politics through a 400-level Political Studies paper, Comparative Indigenous Politics (see above). At this time, I became aware of Gaelic language revitalisation and, due to my strong genealogical connections to Alba Scotland, changed my topic, with the inclusion of Ireland as a third case study. The advent of legislative devolution in 1999 and the ensuing development of moves towards official recognition of Gaelic made the language a suitable counterpart to te reo Māori, which, after an initial period of explosive growth in language revitalisation strategies during the period of the so-called Māori renaissance, following the passing of the Māori Language Act 1987, has recently seen a contraction in demand and provision in education, and a lack of proactive and coordinated language planning. Moreover, it was an area of comparison in relation to language revitalisation that hitherto fore had attained little attention or consideration. It also posed an interesting prospect to explore the issue of Indigeneity in relation to Gàidhlig, particularly in terms of the lack of recognition of such status in the context of the Celtic languages of the UK.

In 2005, the popular culture aspect of the thesis started to emerge, particularly due to developments in Māori popular music that I was seeing first hand at them time. Subsequently, I moved my supervision from the School of Māori Studies to the English department and set up an advisory committee including membership from the departments of Linguistics, Theatre Studies, and Film and Media Studies. However, shortly after, in 2007, having gained full-time employment as a lecturer at Otago Polytechnic, I engaged in a two-year period of deferral whilst I completed a teaching degree, as required by my employment contract.

In 2009, I re-enrolled in the doctorate programme with a new supervision team at Māori Studies, which felt like a more natural fit for the thesis topic. At this point, the decision was

⁵⁵ See appendix 1.

⁵⁶ Facilitator Research Māori; see appendix 2.

made to scale this down to two case studies, with Māori and Gàidhlig being selected on the basis of my ancestral and geographic links to these two places. Given that, at this stage, I was approaching the ten-year anniversary since embarking on the doctorate, I felt that it was important for me to choose the case studies that I was the most emotionally invested in. I also felt that comparison between the two countries was an exciting prospect, given similarities and differences between the two case studies. On one hand, the two cases shared a history of colonisation and suppression, and of community-based resistance as a spearhead for Indigenous-language development in the twentieth century. However, on the other hand, more recent history showed a much slower development for Gàidhlig, particular in terms of official recognition, possibly due to the delay in legislative devolution in Alba Scotland as compared to Aotearoa New Zealand. Moreover, Māori are officially recognised as an Indigenous group with associated rights; the same rights have not been afforded the Gaels. This made the comparison intriguing, not least due to the unnatural juxtaposition between a Polynesian language and a Celtic one.

Another change in focus at this time involved a shift of emphasis away from interviews as the main aspect of primary research, and towards comparative analysis (see below). This change was made due to the desire to complete the thesis in good time, given the long periods of enrolment and deferral that had preceded this. Moreover, as opposed to when ethical approval had been sought, in 2009, significant changes in the thesis' scope particularly in terms of the number and location of case studies meant that the need to undertake the thirty interviews specified was no longer present. Nevertheless, an interview was undertaken in Alba Scotland when I travelled there in 2009, with DJ MacIntyre, Director of Clì Gàidhlig. The interviewee was selected due to a lack of information about this educational movement in secondary literature. Interviews were unstructured and utilised an open-ended questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions was not determined in advance, but followed the natural direction of the interview.

Comparative analysis of cross-national data is utilised as the central research method in this thesis. This research can be described as a cross-national comparison, in that, the issues that are discussed relate to two countries "with the express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings" (Hantrais, 1995, para. 10). The aim of cross-national research may be to understand similarities and differences, to make generalisations based on the findings, or achieve a greater understanding about aspects of the social situation in different national contexts (Hantrais, 1995). In the context of this thesis, the aim is to use this analysis as a means of identifying good practice in terms of Indigenous language revitalisation.

Problems relating to cross-national comparative analysis include management and funding of the project, accessing comparable data, and restrictions relating to concepts and research parameters (Hantrais, 1995). In terms of this research project, key issues related to funding of the research, finding suitable data that focuses specifically on the research topic of

language revitalisation, particularly when exploring areas where little research has been undertaken, for example, popular culture (see footnote relating to Chapter 4, Popular Culture above), and finding comparable data, particularly given the differences between the two country's approaches to collection of statistical data.

One aspect of the trip to Alba Scotland that I learnt a lot from was the barriers that my given name was able to help overcome. I was given the name 'Catriona' by my maternal grandmother who immigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand from Glasgow after World War One; it is the Gaelic-form of 'Catherine'. Although I am clearly an 'outsider' as I am not a Gaelic speaker or indeed, Scottish, having a Gaelic name did seem to help people open up to me as they could see me as part of the Scottish diaspora.

In terms of finding comparable research data from the two countries, this was quite difficult at times. This was particularly the case with statistical data due to differences in the way that data is collected and collated, and differences in the timing of national Censuses.

The questions asked in the two Censuses are quite different and as a result, provide a different statistical profile in the two locations. In Alba Scotland, four questions are asked in relation to Gaelic – whether they can (1) understand spoken Gaelic; (2) speak Gaelic; (3) read Gaelic; and (4) write Gaelic (General Register Office for Scotland, 2005). The 2006 Census for Aotearoa New Zealand asks one question about language ability: "In what language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?" (New Zealand Government, n.d., para. 6). Thus, the Census data in Aotearoa New Zealand only collects data relating to the ability to speak a language like Māori. However, this data is supplemented by surveys undertaken by TPK including the Health of the Māori Language Surveys (see TPK, 2008a) and the Surveys of Attitudes, Values and Beliefs about the Language (see TPK, 2010), that provide information that correlates to that provided in the Scottish Census. However, as these surveys go into a lot more depth regarding the language than the Scottish Census, again leading to a mismatch in the statistical data available between the two case studies.

Another key difference between the two case studies collection of data relates to the frequency and timing of surveying and release of results. For example, a Census is undertaken every 10 years in Alba Scotland (for example, Censuses were undertaken in 1971, 1981 and 1991), whereas in Aotearoa New Zealand, this takes place 5-yearly. Results often take a significant period to be released, for example, for the 2001 Censuses in both countries, the Gaelic Report (General Register Office for Scotland, 2005), and the Census Snapshot: Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2002, April) took at least one year to be released. Subsequently, the timing of Census data release has been an issue for this thesis for two different reasons. In Alba Scotland, although the Census was conducted in 2011, data regarding Gaelic has not yet been released. However, in Aotearoa New Zealand, where the Census was also planned for 2011, this was postponed due to the devastating earthquakes

in Christchurch (see Kay, 2011). As a result, in the final stages of the thesis' completion, immediate data regarding the contemporary situation is not yet available. This is not necessarily a difficulty for comparative research, but it certainly is for that which focuses on the contemporary.

Finally, there are also quite significant structural differences between the two countries, for example, in terms of the organisation of government, whereby there may not be cross-national equivalents available for comparison, for example, administration of the education system, which in Aotearoa New Zealand is managed centrally by the MOE⁵⁷, whereas in Alba Scotland, provision is overseen at the local governance level.

⁵⁷ New Zealand Ministry of Education.

1. Language Policy and Planning

[Language planning is] a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities... language planning involves deliberate, although not always overt, future oriented change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 3).

Language planning can be undertaken in a variety of ways ranging from the linguistic norms and preferences practised by families and communities, through to national policy documents, Acts of Parliament and multinational charters. These different levels or spheres of language planning have been referred to as macro-, meso- and micro-level planning (Lewis, 2007). Language planning is often initiated as “a response to language decline” (Lewis, 2007, p. 7) and as such, aims to overcome this process. According to Hinton (2001b), “[l]anguage planning is essential for a good [language] revitalization program” (p. 51). However, there are some commentators who question the worth of language planning and doubt its perceived value as the panacea for language loss.

This chapter considers the role that language planning plays in language revitalisation, including examples from government and community language policy. Firstly, a review of literature concerning language policy and planning is provided that aims to provide a definition, and identify examples of good practice in language planning for language revitalisation. In particular, the five language-planning principles of acquisition, usage, corpus, status and discourse will be considered as an appropriate model for language planning aiming to reverse language shift. Second, the Māori-language case study will be considered, including an overview of WAI 11⁵⁸, the Māori Language Act 1987, and the 2003-2007 Māori Language Strategy (TPK & TTWRM, 2003). An outline of iwi language planning will then be provided, and a discussion of the Ngāi Tahu Language Strategy (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, n.d.). Third, the Gàidhlig case study will be presented with reference to the ECRML⁵⁹, the 2005 Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act and the National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a). I will then consider language plans for public bodies with reference to that of CnanES⁶⁰ (2007). Finally, a comparative analysis of the two case studies will be undertaken with reference to the literature review of language policy and planning praxis, which is now explored.

⁵⁸ The Māori language claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

⁵⁹ European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages.

⁶⁰ Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, the Western Isles Council, previously Comhairle nan Eilean, the Islands Council.

What is language planning and language policy?

Language planning and language policy are both terms that are used to describe the norms that individuals adopt and maintain in relation to language. There is little consensus across literature regarding their relative definitions and indeed, some commentators refer to one at the expense of the other, for example, Bernard Spolsky's (2004) volume entitled *Language Policy*. Others, on the other hand, draw distinctions between language planning and language policy (for example, see Dunbar, 2010). Theories of language planning and policy are now discussed.

According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), language planning in its simplest form can be understood as "an attempt by someone to modify the linguistic behavior of some community for some reason" (p. 3). This is supported by Dunbar (2010), who defines language planning as "efforts by an actor or actors to influence the language behaviour of some group of people" (p. 147). Whereas other commentators define language planning only in terms of "deliberate efforts" (Cooper, 1989, p. 45), in reality anyone can engage in language planning (Hinton, 2001b), from parents to community leaders to bank managers to politicians.

Whereas language planning only developed as an academic discipline in the 1950s (Dunbar, 2010), it has a long history as an informal language perhaps "as old as language itself" (Wright, 2004, p. 1) but at the very least, dating to earliest recorded times (Dunbar, 2010). It played an important role during the late eighteenth century in formation of nation states and often manifested as the governmental standardisation of language "as a means of fostering a common citizenship and identity" (Dunbar, 2010, p. 146). This approach often leads to negative consequences for other languages, as was the case for both Māori and Gàidhlig (Dunbar, 2010).

Language policy, on the other hand, can be described as the goals that language planners want to achieve when attempting to change a group's language behaviour. Thus, these language policy goals can be seen on a continuum, ranging from "the promotion of linguistic uniformity" at one extreme to "the promotion of maximum linguistic diversity" (Dunbar, 2010, p. 147) at the other, with varying degrees, forms and models of linguistic integration in the layers between (Dunbar, 2010).

Thus, in the context of this thesis, I will adopt Dunbar's (2010) distinction between language planning (actions that aim to affect language behaviour) and language policy (the desired outcomes of these efforts).

Language planning and policy can adopt an affirmative or an oppressive stance in relation to a language. So, it can be said that although it has often been "a tool for the oppression of minority languages... it can also serve as a tool for their survival and public enhancement"

(Hinton, 2001b, p. 59). It is for this reason that language planning is considered a useful addition to the language revitalisationist's toolkit.

Lewis (2007) describes three interacting levels where language planning and policy takes place. The first of these is macro-level planning undertaken at the governmental or national level. Second, he identifies meso- or mid-level planning and policy which "involves organisations that represent a large number of people within a certain region" and may include tribal bodies or regional offices of national bodies such as government departments. Finally, there is micro-level planning and policy undertaken by "smaller local groups such as small businesses, educational institutions or even individuals" (pp. 9-10).

Within language plans stemming from these societal levels referred to above, five language-planning principles can be identified: (1) usage planning; (2) acquisition planning; (3) corpus planning; (4) status planning; and (5) discourse planning (Dunbar, 2010; Hinton, 2001b; Hornberger, 1997; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Lewis, 2007).

Usage planning is "a form of social planning that aims to increase the number of functions for which an endangered language can be used" (Lewis, 2007, p. 6). According to Dunbar (2010), focuses on encouraging "the practical use of the language in a greater number of [language] domains" (p. 149) by enhancing its "perceived utility" (p. 148). Whereas some commentators refer to usage or use planning as an aspect of status planning (see Dunbar, 2010), I have chosen to identify usage as a separate element of language planning on the basis that language usage is fundamental to its survival as a living language, that is, one that is transmitted intergenerationally in the home and community.

Acquisition planning focuses on the ways that people learn the language (Hornberger, 1997). It is an important area due to the need to increase the number of people speaking the language to achieve the aims of language revitalization movements, and so that they can staff language revitalisation activities. The focal point here is "planning for learning mastery of spoken and written forms of language" (Lewis, 2007, p. 6). This includes fluency in the active language modes of speaking and writing, and the passive modes of listening and reading. Central to this approach is educational provision of a wide range of educational opportunities including schools and other educational institutions. Despite the importance of education to acquisition planning, one must not forget that the home and community are the primary sites where acquisition should be taking place. Moreover, the potential for other institutions (like the media) and activities (including engagement in popular culture) to promote language acquisition should also not be overlooked (Dunbar, 2010).

Corpus planning relates to planning "about the language itself" (Hinton, 2001b, p. 52), including the development of vocabulary and appropriate means of communication. According to Fishman (2006), "corpus planning is crucially important for 'developing languages' that are also attempting to interact (i.e., to encourage interaction of the part of

their speakers and writers) with the modern world, whether for commercial, touristic, political, and/or educational purposes” (p. 3). He also notes that it is a process that most languages are engaged in as new technologies and ideas develop. Corpus planning can be described as “internal planning” (Lewis, 2007, p. 6) that aims to increase a language’s inner capacity through lexical development and the identification of language standards. Corpus planning activities includes a range of activities including orthographic development, changes in language structure, expansion of vocabulary, simplification of registers, and the development of dictionaries, grammars and even written literature (Dunbar, 2010; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Status planning aims to promote the value and uniqueness of the language amongst the general population (Hornberger, 1997), in order to achieve “higher status roles and functions in society” (Lewis, 2007, p. 5). According to Dunbar (2010), status planning for minority languages involves reclaiming language domains from the dominant language, hence the relationship with usage planning (see above). However, not only is language status important as a means of attracting language learners; it also recognises the support that non-speakers can provide through holding positive values, attitudes and beliefs toward a language. One of the challenges of status planning can include language standardisation in order to make it more accessible to learners or more compatible with the orthography of print culture and the media (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Finally, discourse planning involves promoting critical awareness about the language, the role it plays in society, and the challenges that it faces. This includes promotion, rhetoric, advertising and propaganda (Lewis, 2007).⁶¹

So, language planning can occur at different levels and includes a set of principles that provides a framework for the development of language policies. I now evaluate the usefulness of language planning in terms of language revitalisation.

Why use language policy and planning in indigenous language revitalisation?

Language planning has been hailed as both a cure and a curse for language revitalisation in academic theory. Although some authors emphasise its importance, others consider language planning to be at odds with the imperatives of language revitalisation (Fishman, 1991, 1996b, 2001). Despite this, it seems clear that language-planning exemplars such as official status can significantly influence a language particularly in the area of language status (Wright, 2004). In this section the key question in terms of language planning and language revitalisation is considered: can language planning play a compelling role in the process of language revitalisation? I believe that language planning is vital to language

⁶¹ Thus, this thesis can be described as an example of discourse planning as it engages in research into language revitalisation and aims to identify the elements of an effective language revitalisation framework.

revitalisation strategies because, when properly implemented, it has the ability to enhance the coordination of language revitalisation activities.

Hinton (2001b) identifies five reasons why language planning is important to language revitalisation. Firstly, she claims that language planning can help establish realistic goals and can also assist in finding ways to achieve these goals. Therefore, language planning can provide a framework for the achievement of language revitalisation. Second, she claims that language planning can serve as a reminder to focus people's attention on the issue. In terms of community language planning, Hinton maintains that a language plan puts the power and control with the community, rather than it resting with government, schools or other bodies. Although other agencies may be important contributors to language revitalisation and even language planning, the language community should be "the ones to determine the future of the language" (p. 51). Fourthly, Hinton argues that language planning can be a unifying force by enabling coordination between "disparate and conflicting efforts by different people and groups" (p.51). Building on this, her final reason that language planning is important to language revitalisation relates to the reduction of factionalism and rivalry that may reduce the effectiveness of language revitalisation efforts.

Despite Hinton's pro-language-planning stance, there are a range of attitudes evident amongst academic literature regarding the value of language planning in terms of language revitalisation. Although a number of scholars have argued that official support for a language should be a key element of language revitalisation (Bourhis, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), others warn against overstating its role as a panacea for language decline, in that "top-down policies cannot compensate for lack of bottom-up support" (Wright, 2004, p. 232). Nettle and Romaine (2000) support this position and argue that language planning must be supported by other measures that focus on intergenerational transmission and language usage in the home. Romaine (2002) has also commented regarding language planning, arguing that searching for

... declarations of official status to assist endangered languages is much like looking for one's lost keys under the lamp post because that is where the most light appears to shine, rather than because that is where they have been lost. Just as it is easier to see under the lamp post it is far easier to... declare a language official than to get families to speak a threatened language to their children. Yet only the latter will guarantee transmission (p. 4).

Whereas language revitalisation seeks to reinstate a mother tongue as a sustainable, living language that is being passed down organically in families and communities, language planning seeks to replicate this process through a range of strategies that aim to artificially resuscitate a language. This perspective is highlighted by Halliday (2001), who discusses the implicit conflict within language planning in terms of evolution and design: "If we start from the broad distinction between designed systems and evolved systems, then language

planning means introducing design processes and design features into a system (namely language) which is naturally evolving” (p. 177; cited in Wright, 2004, p. 1).

Despite this tension between the perceived top-down approach of language planning and the bottom-up imperative of intergenerational transmission, it seems clear that language planning does have a role to play, particularly in terms of enhancing language status. Grillo (1989) has discussed the impact of popular attitudes as an “ideology of contempt”, that is, when the majority view a minority language negatively, there is often a transfer of this attitude to minority language speakers who, in turn, may shift away from the minority language in order to acquire the more prestigious majority language. As a result, language planning is valuable in that “conferring power and thus prestige on a minority language group is one of the surest ways of reversing language decline” (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, cited in Wright, 2004, p. 233).

I contend that language planning is a fundamental aspect of language revitalisation for governments and community groups. Language planning facilitates a greater level of coordination of efforts, and enables one to focus on supporting aspects of language revitalisation through the language-planning principles. Language planning also promotes engagement in language monitoring and research; however, it is important that the necessary emphasis is placed on the vital area of language usage, particularly usage in the home and intergenerational transmission.

How can language policy and planning be best employed to support language revitalisation?

There are a range of differing perspectives regarding the best implementation of language planning for language revitalisation. In this section, I consider the view of Hinton (2001b) of language planning as “an open-ended process” (p. 52) and contrast this with the planning directives gleaned from Fishman’s (1991) GIDS⁶².

In terms of the specific process through which language planning takes place, Hinton (2001b) presents a nine-stage plan for language revitalisation, which is cyclic in nature and describes a process based on planning, implementation, reflection and re-planning. The planning process described advocates broad consultation and engagement with the community, goal-setting or “futuring”, research, a needs assessment, and policy formation. This provides important information about the language, including current provision and community needs as well as data regarding language health. In contrast to Hinton, however, Fishman (1991) bases his approach to language planning on the level of intergenerational disruption that there is being experienced in language communities.

⁶² Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale.

In his 1991 book *Reversing language shift*, Fishman outlined his now famous “graded typology of threatened statuses”, the GIDS (see Chapter 1). I now outline the language principles described by Fishman at each stage of his typology.

At stage eight of the GIDS, the planning imperatives revolve around the areas of corpus and acquisition. Corpus planning is evident in the emphasis on recording of the language from the mouths of elderly speakers. This corpus is then used to form the basis of adult educational provision, thus contributing to acquisition planning.

At stage seven, the focus is on acquisition planning through the emphasis on teaching the language to young people. To support this, status and discourse planning are advocated to maintain focus on the importance of the language and to encourage people to take part.

Stage six emphasises usage planning by encouraging families to actually use the language as a means of communication in the home. This is supported by other language-planning areas, including acquisition planning (teaching parents and children the language), status planning (encouraging the language as a means of everyday communication), discourse planning (promoting the need for revitalisation) and corpus planning (providing the terminology to support the use of language in the home and community).

Language planning at stage five emphasises acquisition planning (teaching literacy skills), usage planning (encouraging usage of the language both orally and in written form), and status planning (encouraging the value of the language as a form of written communication).

Stage four shifts the focus to a range of planning approaches including acquisition planning (developing pedagogies and curricula), usage planning (encouraging the use of the language in schools), and corpus planning (development of teaching resources and the language of the school).

At the next stage of the GIDS, three, planning is required in terms of language corpus (developing workplace language and resources to support this), acquisition (developing learning pathways for adult learners), and usage (encouraging the use of the language in the workplace).

Stage two of the GIDS focuses on status planning (promoting the language through broadcast and non-broadcast media), acquisition planning (using language media to take language learning into the home), corpus planning (creation of new terminologies for the media sector, and dissemination of new terms, phrases and dialects through broadcasting), and usage planning (including language usage on the part of those creating broadcast media, and encouraging usage by modeling through broadcasting).

Finally, stage one emphasises language usage in that the language is widely used in a range of public and private spheres, and the other elements of language planning are well supported.

Thus, Fishman, whilst warning against an over-reliance on language planning, sees this approach as an integral part of an effective language revitalisation programme which meets the needs of the language at its current level of disruption. In contrast, Hinton espouses a fixed planning model based on the dialectical tenets of planning, implementation and evaluation. Thus, whereas Fishman's model is specific to the language's situation, Hinton's theory is processual, highlighting the differing definitions of language revitalisation itself. Whereas Fishman sees language revitalisation focusing on the end point of achieving intergenerational transmission, Hinton emphasises language revitalisation as a progression that can be achieved by taking steps along a path. The end point is the same as Fishman's, intergenerational transmission, but with numerous steps along the way that can contribute to this end-point by focusing on the five elements of language planning.

According to Grenoble and Whaley (2005), "[l]anguage policies shape patterns of language use in a variety of social spheres... Thus they have a direct impact on the vitality of local languages and their chances – or lack thereof – for revitalization and maintenance" (p. 26). Language policy and planning at its best can facilitate communication, while encouraging debate and promoting critical awareness of language issues. Language planning can also promote an environment where decisions can be made about the future of the language collectively, resulting in a plan to enact this vision. People's responsibilities are spelt out and there is a clear idea of the programme's aims, of the planned steps in order to achieve these aims, and of the people who are going to undertake the different aspects of the plan.

Fundamental aspects of successful language planning include consistency between policies and levels of language planning, and ensuring that implementation and evaluation receive the same emphasis as the planning stage. Moreover, it must include tangible outcomes that will actually enact language revitalisation: "[t]he policy must be enforced, and it must have provisions in it that allow the policy to move beyond a purely symbolic role" (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 28).

Māori language policy and planning

Since European contact and settlement, the Māori language has experienced a history of decline and revitalisation. Events in the colonial period directly influenced the language, causing a marked decline in the number of speakers. By the 1970s, research showed that te reo Māori was on the verge of language death (Benton, 1981). Spurred on by Māori activism, the government started to engage in language planning for Māori language revitalisation. This section provides an overview of contemporary Māori language policy and planning in Aotearoa New Zealand, with reference to the landmark Māori Language Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, the 1987 Māori Language Act, and the Māori Language Strategy (TPK

& TTWRM, 2003). This is followed by an overview of iwi language planning and particularly, the Ngāi Tahu Language Strategy (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, n.d.).

The Māori Language Act 1987

The genesis of the Māori Language Act 1987 was situated in the social milieu of the so-called Māori renaissance. Out of this setting, WAI 11⁶³ was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 by Huirangi Waikerepuru on behalf of NKRM.⁶⁴ At the crux of the claim was the desire to secure official status for the Māori language. It was alleged that the government had not protected the language as promised in the Treaty of Waitangi. In the Māori version of the Treaty, article two states that the Queen confirms and guarantees to the chiefs' full chiefly authority (te tino rangatiratanga) over their lands, villages and taonga.⁶⁵ This is further supported by article three of the Māori version under which the Māori people are granted the Queen's protection and conferred equal rights with settlers. The WAI 11 claim argued that the Māori language is a taonga, and that as such the government has a duty to actively protect it. The claimants used whakataukī such as "Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro taua, pērā i te ngaro o te Moa. If the language be lost, we will be lost, as dead as the moa" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010b, n.p.) to support their argument. Their claim focused on the fact that government policy, particularly in education and broadcasting, had not only adversely affected the status and use of the language, but, properly employed, also had great potential to contribute to the language's revitalisation. The claim asked for Māori to be made an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand, and for it to be used in all situations relating to law and administration, including the translation of all official documents and all court proceedings into Māori. It also suggested that certain government appointments should have Māori language fluency, and that within 10 years, all heads of government departments should be bilingual. There was also a demand for bilingual health-workers and broadcasting services, as well as a call for the establishment of institutions to cultivate the language (Oliver, 1991).

The claim was heard by Edward Taihakurei Durie, Chief Justice of the Māori Land Court, Sir Graham Latimer and Paul Temm, QC, with hearings held in June, October and November 1985. The Tribunal's report upheld the claim and was released on 29 April 1986. The Tribunal agreed with the proverb 'He taonga te reo' (the language is a treasure) and that, as a result, there was an obligation on the government to actively protect the language under article two of the Treaty. The Tribunal confirmed that "the Māori culture is a part of the heritage of New Zealand and that the Māori language is the heart of that culture. If the language dies the culture will die, and something quite unique will have been lost to the

⁶³ The Māori Language Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

⁶⁴ Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori, the Wellington Board of Māori Language.

⁶⁵ Property, goods, effects, treasure, something prized.

world” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010b, p. 5). The Tribunal also noted that “te reo Maori is in a critical state and that urgent action must be taken to protect it” (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998, p. 189).

Having accepted the claim, the Tribunal then made five recommendations to the government, which were addressed to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Māori Affairs, plus four other Ministers of the Crown, the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Broadcasting and the Minister in Charge of State Services.

The first recommendation was that legislation should be passed that allowed “any person who wishes to do so to use the Māori language in all Courts of law and in any dealings with Government Departments, local authorities and other bodies”. Second, the establishment of a supervisory body that would oversee and promote the use of the Māori language was suggested. Third, an inquest into the education of Māori children was proposed, and fourth, it was suggested that broadcasting policy should be formulated with consideration of the government’s duty “to recognise and protect the Maori language”. Finally, it was recommended that the State Services Act 1962 and the State Services Conditions of Employment Act 1977 should be amended “to make provision for bilingualism in Māori and in English to be a prerequisite for appointment to such positions as a State Services Commission deems necessary or desirable” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 76).

The recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal in relation to the Māori language claim were largely provided for by the passing on the Māori Language Act in 1987.⁶⁶ The Act contains three key provisions. First, the Māori language is designated an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand (section 3) and the use of Māori in all law courts is now permitted regardless of one’s ability to speak English (section 4). However, the Act did not include the right to use or demand the use of Māori in the public domain, such as, when dealing with public bodies (Benton, 1988). Second, TTWRM was established (section 6) to actively promote Māori as a living language and a normal means of communication (section 7b), and to assist the government in the implementation of Māori as an official language (section 7a). Third, the Act set out the policy for certificates of competency in Māori language interpretation and translation that would be granted by the language commission (section 15) or someone delegated by the commission to do so (section 17). Translators and interpreters would then be used for court cases where a person had expressed the desire to speak in Māori (section 18).

TTWRM is the statutory body that is charged with promoting Māori as an official language and a normal means of communication. The Commission offers a range of services and support systems regarding te reo Māori, particularly those supporting the Māori Language Strategy, that is, language services, whānau language transmission, language planning, and

⁶⁶ See appendix 7 for a comparison of the claimants’ demands, the Tribunal’s recommendations and the Act’s provisions.

language information services (TPK & TTWRM, 2003). The Commission contributes to language revitalisation through a range of language initiatives that cover the five language-planning principles.

The 1987 Māori Language Act has played a significant role in the history of Māori language planning in Aotearoa New Zealand. Before the 1970s, the use of the language had been punished in schools, it had been marginalised, discouraged and ignored for many decades and finally, there was official recognition of the Māori language as the country's Indigenous language, a taonga of the Māori people and all New Zealanders. As a result of the impetus gained from this and other significant events, such as the establishment of TKR and iwi radio stations, the language has gained ground in terms of its inclusion in significant icons of Kiwi identity. This includes the All Black⁶⁷ haka,⁶⁸ the bilingual singing of the national anthem and the annual celebrations of Te Wiki o te Reo.⁶⁹ Since 2009, Te Wiki o te Reo celebrations have seen the use of Māori place names on the national weather maps and Māori language signage and resources being provided by a major supermarket chain, Countdown ("Countdown shoppers to learn te reo while they shop", 2011). Although these are small steps towards normalisation of the language, they make contributions to promoting language status, discourse and corpus, which may have links to acquisition and usage.

There may be some evidence that the process is working through the statistics from the three telephone surveys commissioned by the Government in 2000, 2003 and 2006. The surveys sought information on the attitudes that people held towards the Māori language, in other words, they attempted to measure the language's status, with respondents indicating if they were Māori or non-Māori. The overall finding was that good progress was being made towards the goal of the language being valued by all New Zealanders (TPK, 2006). Nevertheless, the links between these statistics to the main aim of intergenerational transmission are tenuous.

Nevertheless, it is unclear whether the progress that has been made in Māori language status is directly attributable to the Māori Language Act. As stated by Romaine (2002),

Evaluation of the efficacy of policies is made difficult, if not impossible, by the existence of almost as many variables as there are polities and policies... A plethora of interlocking factors make it difficult to discern any direct relationship [between language policy and the state of the language itself] (p. 4).

Regardless of these assertions, statistics regarding Māori language status are at least showing positive trends, supported by the work of TTWRM.

The Māori Language Act 1987 has been described as "something of a 'half-loaf'" because, although it gives some recognition to the language, it is not as complete as it could have

⁶⁷ New Zealand's national rugby team.

⁶⁸ Performance of the haka, posture dance – vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances.

⁶⁹ Māori Language Week.

been (Temm, 1990, p. 59). On the negative side, the issues relating to Māori education and broadcasting that were identified by the Tribunal were not addressed at the time. In terms of broadcasting, the decision was made to await the completion of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting that was occurring at the same time (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, section 7.2.3). However, ultimately, this had little impact. Nevertheless, the positive aspects of the Act were the recognition of the language as an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand, and the establishment of TTWRM. Although some authors doubt the effectiveness of language planning for language revitalisation, it is clear to me that one provision of the Māori Language Act, the establishment of TTWRM, has borne fruit; the Commission is actively involved in successful ventures to promote the status, acquisition and usage of the language as well as providing information about corpus to support these initiatives. The one drawback that I can identify in relation to the work of TTWRM is the lack of control they have over the next piece of language policy, the Māori Language Strategy (TPK & TTWRM, 2003).

Te Rautaki Reo Māori - the Māori Language Strategy

The 2003 Māori Language Strategy attempts to identify means for the acquisition and growth of the Māori language over the next 25 years, and identifies the government's role in terms of language revitalisation (TTWRM, 2004a). In this section, I explore the development and implementation of the Māori Language Strategy. This starts with a description of TPK, the Ministry of Māori Development, followed by an overview of the Māori Language Strategy Consultation Document (TPK, 2003) and the Strategy itself (TPK & TTWRM, 2003) in terms of their contributions to language revitalisation. Next, the findings and recommendations of the Office of the Attorney General (2007) regarding the implementation of the Māori Language Strategy will be evaluated. Finally, I will consider the 2010 review of the Māori Language Strategy (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011).

According to their website, TPK (n.d.a) is

... the Crown's principal advisor on Crown/Māori relationships. We also guide Māori public policy by advising Government on policy affecting Māori wellbeing and development. Te Puni Kōkiri means a group moving forward together. As the name implies, we seek to harness the collective talents of Māori to produce a stronger New Zealand (para. 1).

From the 1840s, Māori or 'Native' Affairs sat under the Protectorate Department, established by William Hobson, Aotearoa New Zealand's first governor, to oversee and protect the interests of 'the Aborigines' as well as their social advancement. This became the Native Department in 1861, on the eve of the New Zealand Wars with the role of providing Māori with health, education and justice services, and aiming to achieve integration. Subsequently, this evolved into the Department of Māori Affairs in 1906, and then the Ministry of Māori Development in 1992. TPK was set up under the Ministry of

Māori Development Act 1991 with functions relation to promoting Māori achievement rates in a range of sectors, and to monitor other government departments and bodies in terms of their provision for Māori people (TPK, n.d.b). Recently, there have been a number of questions asked in terms of the future of TPK (see Luxton, 2008; Tahana, 2011). At present, though, TPK has the responsibility of overseeing the 2003 Māori Language Strategy that aimed to provide a 25-year vision for Māori language revitalisation.

The statement “he reo e kōrerotia ana, he reo ka ora” (a spoken language is a living language) is at the core of the Māori Language Strategy (TPK & TTWRM, 2003). Strategy development began in March 2003 when TPK released a consultation document: “[i]t is also an opportunity to activate language planning by Māori for Māori and to provide a springboard for discussing the Government’s roles” (TPK & TTWRM, 2003, p. 2), and 14 consultation hui⁷⁰ (meetings) were held nationwide in 2003 (TPK, 2003). The idea was that “[g]rassroots opinion will ensure the government’s Māori Language Strategy will help ensure a more coordinated approach to the many Māori language initiatives that are funded by government” (TPK, 2003, p. 3).

The consultation document itself outlines the work of the Māori Language Reference Group which included membership from Māori broadcasting, education, iwi and pan-tribal organisations, alongside government representatives. The group identified a number of principles underpinning Māori language revitalisation, including recognition of the link between culture and language, classifying te reo as a taonga, and acknowledging the different roles that Māori and the government would play in the achievement of language revitalisation. This was followed by a history of the language from the early 1900s, an outline of goals to be achieved through language revitalisation, and a discussion of the importance of language revitalisation to cultural regeneration. Finally, the document outlined the Reference Group’s vision for Māori language revitalisation based on the proverb, ‘He reo e kōrerotia ana, he reo ka ora’ and supported by the following goal:

By 2028, the Māori language will be widely spoken among Māori throughout New Zealand. In particular, the Māori language will be in common usage with Māori homes and communities. By 2028, non-Māori New Zealanders will have opportunities to learn the language if they choose to. New Zealanders will recognise and appreciate the value of the Māori language within New Zealand society (TPK, 2003, p. 6).

Seven outcomes are then identified that developed out of the Reference Group consultation process (TPK, 2003): (1) language use; (2) language skills; (3) intergenerational transmission; (4) language acquisition; (5) community language planning; (6) language status; and (7) critical awareness. The consultation document’s conclusion emphasises the role of intergenerational transmission as “the key to preserving a language” (TPK, 2003, p. 12).

⁷⁰ Gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference.

Finally, the document concludes that the Māori participation and non-Māori support are both crucial for achieving Māori language safety.

The finalised Māori Language Strategy was published later on in 2003, following consultation. The title became *Te rautaki reo Māori*, with the whakataukī, 'He reo e kōrerotia ana, he reo ka ora' used as the document's vision statement. The first thing that is obviously different about this document is that it is bilingual, with each page alternating between Māori and English. This is appropriate in that the theme of the strategy is Māori language revitalisation, and the bilingual publication signals the partnership that it represents. The Strategy also includes a section regarding the roles of the government and the Māori community in terms of language revitalisation, further indicating the process is a partnership.

The second difference that is clearly identifiable in the finalised strategy is changes in the document's structure and terminology. The seven 'outcomes' of the consultation document have metamorphosed into five 'goals' encompassing a range of areas which can be described as (1) language skills, (2) language use, (3) educational initiatives, (4) community leadership, and (5) language status. The change from seven key outcomes to five goals includes the conjoining of the language skills and language in the home outcomes to become the goal of strengthening language use. Furthermore, the language status and critical awareness outcomes have been incorporated to become the goal of strengthening recognition of the Māori language. The goals are then fleshed out in terms of elements that support achievement of each goal, and the current situation regarding each goal.

Each of the areas in which government can support Māori language revitalisation was linked to a lead agency, who was then expected to draft a five-year plan for their area, aiming to guarantee coordination and progress. TPK was charged with the role of coordinating the implementation of the strategy; this was to be achieved through monitoring progress towards the twenty-five-year goals at five-yearly intervals (Office of the Attorney General, 2007).

Subsequently, an audit was undertaken of the Strategy, and a report was then released (Office of the Attorney General, 2007). The audit aimed to find out whether lead agencies were carrying out their roles effectively, and to provide information to parliament regarding the coordination of and achievement of targets for language revitalisation. The report made 11 recommendations regarding the Strategy's implementation⁷¹, but found that, overall, it was poorly coordinated and implemented. Key aspects were never completed, notably the drafting of implementation plans for each language revitalisation area. Two agencies involved in the strategy, the MCH and the National Library of New Zealand, had lagged behind in terms of progress towards meeting their obligations due to a range of problems, including a lack of clarity regarding their role, TPK's inability to compel agencies to complete

⁷¹ See appendix 8.

implementation plans, and a lack of targets and timelines for the achievement of outcomes (Office of the Attorney General, 2007). As a result, the contribution of the Strategy to Māori language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand is not being used to its full potential as a tool for language revitalisation.

According to the research of good practice in language revitalisation, successful language plans should be consistent, have clear outcomes attached, and clearly identify roles of key stakeholders (see Hinton, 2001b). Moreover, implementation and monitoring are fundamental. In terms of the Māori Language Strategy, it was noted by the Office of the Auditor General (2007) that coordination and support provided to lead agencies by TPK was at times ineffective or not being effectively undertaken.

More recently, the release of the Waitangi Tribunal's findings on WAI 262⁷² in July 2011 has contributed to renewed thinking about Māori language planning. The claim examines "the ownership and use of flora and fauna and Maori intellectual property" (Field & Vance, 2010, para. 6), including a reiteration of the Tribunal's previous consideration of the Māori language as a taonga guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi. In relation to the language, the Tribunal found that it was continuing to decline, despite government funding of \$225 million per annum (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011, pp. 4-5). Subsequently in July 2010, Minister of Māori Affairs, Pita Sharples announced a review of the Māori Language Strategy and sector, stating that "we need a more coordinated approach... [and] a strategy that will empower Iwi/Maori to take control of the Maori language" (Sharples, 2010a, para. 4). An independent panel, Te Paepae Motuhake⁷³ was appointed to undertake the review and included seven panel members, aiming "to identify and support opportunities for enhanced Māori language outcomes, better coordination and structuring of our whole of government focus so that government can provide the best services and programme as effectively and efficiently as possible" (TPK, 2011a, para. 3). Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) released their report in April 2011 which stated that the previous "25 to 30 years of Government spend on revitalisation strategies should only be termed 'patchy'" (p. 5). As a result, they made five principal recommendations: (1) the establishment of a Minister for the Māori language with powers to determine all matters pertaining to the Māori language; (2) the establishment of a Māori language board, Te Mātāwai made up of language experts representing the seven dialectal regions and the two language urban centres (Auckland and Wellington) to work with the Minister; (3) the establishment of a Rūnanga-ā-reo⁷⁴ in these nine regions to plan programmes, expenditure and evaluation of the language; (4) the focus of language revitalisation strategies should be on re-establishing the language in the home, with the role of the public sector being to support this focus; and (5) further implementation of a language revitalisation strategy should be held by iwi (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011). These

⁷² The Flora and Fauna Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

⁷³ A special advisory board,

⁷⁴ Language council.

recommendations address the lack of coordination noted in the Auditor General's (2007) audit of the language strategy, as well as advocating for grass roots support for the language that encompasses dialectal, regional and urban Māori perspectives. This is the kind of system that has the potential to provide the kind of overall coordination and community involvement that language planning needs to be successful. What remains to be seen is how the government responds to these imperatives.

Iwi language planning

In pre-colonial Māori society, tūpuna⁷⁵ were revered and knowledge of whakapapa was considered a prodigious skill. Today, many Māori still identify with the traditional kinship structures of whānau, hapū and iwi. The settlements process through the Waitangi Tribunal and the Office of Treaty Settlements enables Māori individuals and groups to have their grievances heard and considered in the context of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.⁷⁶ In this section I consider an example of iwi language planning, the Ngāi Tahu Language Strategy (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, n.d.).

Ngāi Tahu, the predominant iwi of Te Wai Pounamu,⁷⁷ has used their substantial settlement package to create a platform for rebuilding the economic, social and cultural base for their people. Part of this is providing support for the revitalisation of the Kai Tahu dialect through the iwi's language strategy and KMK⁷⁸. Literally meaning 'a thousand homes, a thousand aspirations', the basis of their activities are encapsulated in the whakataukī "Mā rau waha ora ai te reo – Many mouths make a language live".

In 2001, on the back of their settlement and the establishment of TRONT⁷⁹, the iwi released their 25-year strategic plan, *Ngāi Tahu 2025* (TRONT, 2001), based on the mission, "Puritia tāwhia kia ita, te mana tīpuna, te mana whenua, the mana tangata – Hold fast and firm, to my inherited authority, to my rights to this land, to my freedom and right to self-determination" (TRONT, 2001, p. 2). The strategy refers to the language under the heading "Tō tātou Ngāi Tahutanga" (our Ngāi Tahu identity). The key elements relating to the language are whakapapa, history and traditions, relationship to landscape, and 'te taha wairua'.⁸⁰ With specific relevance to language, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu identified that "[t]he Ngāi Tahu dialect is intrinsic to our Ngāi Tahutanga" (TRONT, 2001, p. 16). Significantly, though, and in contrast to this assertion, the title Ngāi Tahu is not rendered in the southern dialect with which the iwi is commonly associated. The most prominent and consistent characteristic is the use of the 'k' in place of the 'ng' digraph, thus a word like tangata (person) becomes takata. Moreover, the title of the project 'Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi

⁷⁵ Ancestors, grandparents.

⁷⁶ The Treaty of Waitangi.

⁷⁷ The South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.

⁷⁸ Kotahi Mano Kaika, Kotahi Mano Moemoeā, the Ngāi Tahu language revitalisation programme.

⁷⁹ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, the Ngāi Tahu tribal council.

⁸⁰ The spiritual dimension.

Mano Moemoeā' is also rendered in the southern dialect. This reflects the fact that the iwi includes users of both dialects, and the exact status of the southern dialect is still under debate (see Panoho, 2007).

Subsequent to the release of *Ngāi Tahu 2025*, the Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation (n.d.) published the tribe's bilingual language strategy, *Te reo*, a 25-year strategy based on the vision of "Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Moemoeā – a thousand homes, a thousand aspirations". This conveys the vision that, by 2025, at least 1000 homes will be speaking Ngāi Tahu reo. Eight key issues are identified in the document that will influence the ability to achieve this goal covering the five language-planning principles. The strategic relationships to be developed so as to achieve the strategy are then outlined, including internal and external relationships. Finally, the strategy identifies key milestones in the implementation of the plan.

KMK is an initiative that aims to achieve the vision and directions identified in the 2025 Strategy in terms of the language. Their website provides information about the programme and acts as an access portal for Māori language resources and support with the aim of "getting as many people as possible speaking te reo Māori." It then goes on to say, "Learning isn't enough anymore. To survive, te reo needs to be used, to be spoken, to be heard. It sounds simple enough, speak te reo and it will survive" (TRONT, 2007). Thus, there is support for discourse planning by providing information about the importance of language in the home to language revitalisation, and status planning through tips to encourage children to speak Māori.

The Ngāi Tahu language strategy provides a platform for the revitalisation of the Māori language in general and the southern dialect in particular in Te Wai Pounamu. KMK supports language revitalisation through a range of activities including information services online, funding for Māori language events and initiatives in Te Wai Pounamu, and language learning resources for parents of Ngāi Tahu children who are on the KMK register. These activities support language acquisition and usage by providing opportunities for people to learn and use te reo and by providing resources for families to use in their homes, thus also supporting language corpus.

However, there appear to be some drawbacks in the content and monitoring of the Strategy that may need to be addressed in order to move the plan forward. Particularly, information relating to the monitoring and evaluation of the plan is not identified, or at least not that has been published. Although there are now over 1000 homes and more than 3000 people signed up to the KMK database, there are only 15 to 20 families who are raising their children through the medium of Māori (O'Regan, 2010). Despite this, the strategy has not been reviewed or republished since its initial development.

Conclusion

Māori language policy and planning in Aotearoa New Zealand is evident across a range of sectors and levels in contemporary society. Language revitalisation is stipulated under government legislature and policy, as well as in the community through the development of iwi language plans. So, provision of Māori language policy and planning is comprehensive in terms of coverage; however, there are a number of problems with planning implementation. In particular, there seems to be a lack of adequate monitoring, evaluation and coordination.

Language planning has huge potential to support language revitalisation. However, in Aotearoa New Zealand, language planning has been piecemeal and lacking in coordination. Part of the problem is that the imperatives of language revitalisation sit within a complex system of government and community organisations that are often disparate, dislocated and difficult to monitor cohesively. Moreover, as things stand at the moment, there is no one key agency which oversees or has the power to manage Māori language planning. The recommendations of Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) may go a long way towards changing this, if enacted, as these provide a framework for overall control of the process at an appropriate level through the establishment of a Minister for the Māori language, as well as mechanisms for community participation through the development of Māori language board with representation from dialectal, iwi and urban groups, and *rūnanga-ā-iwi*⁸¹ to coordinate Māori language planning activities at the local and community level. Moreover, by focusing on the end point of reviving intergenerational transmission, whilst also engaging in the process of language revitalisation through language planning, there is potential for gains to be made in terms of reversing Māori language shift.

Gaelic language policy and planning in Alba Scotland

Gaelic language planning is being used as a means of focusing the efforts for Gaelic language revitalisation. In the last few years, the position of Scottish Gaelic in language planning has come into its own with the UK's ratification of the ECRML in 2001 and the passing of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. Subsequently, BnaG released the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012 (BnaG, 2007a) and as a result, a range of local authorities and other public bodies have developed Gaelic language plans under order from BnaG. This section considers a range of Scottish Gaelic language policies including the ECRML, the 2005 Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, the National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a), and *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig* (BnaG, 2010). Language plans created by public bodies and local authorities will then be considered with reference to those of *Comhairle nan Eilean Siar* (2007) and the Glasgow City Council (2007).

⁸¹ Tribal councils.

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

The idea of an ECRML was first mooted in 1979, when two motions for resolution relating to ethnic minorities (the Arfé resolution) and regional languages and cultures (the Hume resolution) were tabled in the European Parliament. These resolutions contributed to the establishment of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages in 1982 (and closed in 2010). Two further resolutions relating to lesser-used languages were tabled in the European Parliament in the 1980s, a reiteration of the Arfé resolution (1983) and the Kuijpers resolution (1987). The coup de grace, however, came with the Killilea Resolution of 1994, which saw the promotion of the ECRML to the status of a European Convention which would aim to be “an effective yet flexible instrument for the protection and promotion of lesser-used languages” (Ó Riagáin, 2001). In this section, I consider the role of the ECRML in terms of the revitalisation of Gaelic in Alba Scotland. I outline of the Charter’s provisions, and the UK’s ratification of the Charter in relation to Gaelic. I then evaluate the contribution that the Charter makes to Gaelic language revitalisation.

The ECRML was opened for signature by the Council of Europe in 1992 and came into force on 1 March 1998, aiming to “promote and protect [minority languages in Europe], as they are seen as part of European cultural heritage” (Wawra, 2006, p. 221). Language is considered a key element of Europe’s cultural diversity, and thus the Charter “guarantees various forms of institutional support for certain linguistic minorities” (McLeod, 1997, n.p.). According to one commentator, the Charter aims to preserve the traditional languages of Europe (Smith, 2000) through the stipulation of “rights of access to education, judicial/administrative authorities and public services, media, economic and social life, and cultural activities and facilities for speakers of such [regional or minority] languages” (Caviedes, 2003, p. 258). The Charter is presented in five parts and comprises a total of 23 articles.

Part I outlines the general provisions of the Charter. In article 1, key terms are defined, including a definition of regional or minority languages: “traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population; and different from the official language(s) of that State” with the restriction that this “does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants”.

Article 2 outlines the requirements that ECRML signatories must adhere to on ratification, including that member states apply at least 35 paragraphs or sub-paragraphs of Part III including no less than three in relation to education, and cultural activities and facilities, and at least one concerning judicial authorities, administrative authorities and public services, media, and economic and social life.

Article 3 identifies the actions to be undertaken on the ratification of the Charter by European states. Significantly, under article 3(1), the contracting state must specify the

pertinent languages, an element of the Charter that Smith (2000) has criticised because “a State must only comply with general policy requirements in respect of all languages within its jurisdiction, [but] the real rights are only afforded to those [languages] specifically identified by the State itself” (p. 178). Article 4 and 5 of Part I reaffirm the validity of policy, including the rights guaranteed in the European Convention on Human Rights, any favourable provisions already in force in signatory states and existing obligations under international law as well as the “sovereignty and territorial integrity of States” (p. 4).

Part II of the Charter distinguishes the specific measures to be adopted to “promote the use of regional or minority languages in public life” (Council of Europe, 1992, p. 5), including a list of objectives and ideals identified by each signatory state (article 7) and a number of elements as described by Smith (2000),

States undertake to have regard to the regional or minority languages when drafting legislation or policies. No obstacles should be placed in the way of the continued development of such languages, there should be no discrimination or distinction on language, the language should be resolutely promoted (Article 7(1) (c)), and transnational cultural exchanges should be encouraged (p. 178).

Measures to be adopted by signatory states are outlined “in a ‘pick and choose’ formula” (Smith, 2000, p. 178) across eight articles. Each of the articles relates to a state domain with regard to the language: education; judicial authorities; administrative authorities and public services; media; cultural activities and facilities; and transfrontier exchanges. A range of levels of provision is outlined in each article that allows different states to pitch their measures. For example, under pre-school education, signatory states can choose between (i) provision of education in regional or minority languages, (ii) provision of a substantial part of education in regional or minority languages, (iii) provision of education in whole or in part at least for those pupils whose families request and whose number is considered sufficient, or (iv) if public authorities have no direct competence in this field, favouring or encouraging the application of the measures referred to above (article 8). This range of options is consistent across the different articles thus enabling signatory states to adopt measures that reflect their own situation on a sliding scale. One commentator has remarked “[i]t is difficult to imagine many States requiring significant financial outlay in order to satisfy a minimum approach to the Charter” (Smith, 2000, p. 179). That is, often states need make little or no change to their current stance in order to meet their requirements as a signatory (see discussion of the UK’s ratification of the Charter below). Due to the inherent flexibility of the Charter, the effectiveness of it has been described as “limited to the good graces of the member states in its application” (Caviedes, 2003, p. 258).

Part IV includes provisions for monitoring and reporting on implementation. Signatory states are required to submit the first report within one year of entry in force of the Charter, outlining the measures to be adopted in relation to each regional or minority language

identified. Further reports are subsequently produced three-yearly (Council of Europe, 1992), and are then subjected to an examination by a committee of experts in consultation with other associated bodies. Committee members include one representative from each regional or minority language appointed by the Committee of Ministers and chosen from “a list of individuals with the highest integrity and recognised competence in the matters dealt with in the Charter” (p. 14). The committee of experts then issues a report to the Committee of Ministers outlining specific proposals that are then used to prepare a set of recommendations to the signatory state. The Secretary General of the Council of Europe is also expected to produce a two-yearly report on the application of the Charter. Finally, Part V covers final provisions, outlining the processes of ratification, entry in force and denouncement.

In the same period of time as the Charter’s endorsement, Alba Scotland was experiencing significant changes in terms of the legislative devolution from Westminster to Edinburgh. Subsequently, the UK signed the Charter on 2 March 2000 and it was ratified on 27 March 2001, coming into force on 1 July of that year (Dunbar, 2003). Under Part I of the Charter, the UK identified seven minority languages. Scots, Scottish Gaelic, Irish, Ulster-Scots, and Welsh were ratified in 2001, and Cornish and Manx Gaelic were recognized in 2003, despite the Isle of Man being outside the UK’s borders (Dunbar, 2006; Public Foundation for European Comparative Minority Research, n.d.; Wawra, 2006). Thirty-nine paragraphs and sub-paragraphs were identified in relation to Gaelic, four more than was required. Prior to this, in 2000, the Scottish Executive disclosed that existing provisions could already account for 37 paragraphs. Reflecting the impetus of the Gaelic language revitalisation movement to date, the UK’s commitment to Gaelic under the charter clustered around article 8, education (10 paragraphs and subparagraphs), article 10, administrative authorities and public services (eight paragraphs and subparagraphs), article 11, media (eight paragraphs and subparagraphs), and article 12, cultural activities and facilities (eight paragraphs and subparagraphs) (Dunbar, 2003).

According to Dunbar (2003, 2006), however, the impact of the ECRML has not led to dramatic change.

Rather than viewing the ratification by the UK government as an opportunity to review its policy with respect to regional or minority languages and as a springboard for significant improvements, the UK Government has simply accepted those paragraphs and sub-paragraphs of Part III where, it feels, statutory provision already exists (Dunbar, 2003, p. 34).

Most of the provisions stipulated were already satisfied through pre-existing measures with the exception of the article relating to the legal system, in which the UK was required to identify one paragraph or sub-paragraph. Previously, the use of Gaelic had been excluded from courts of law under the decision made in *Taylor v. Haughney* (1982 *Scottish Criminal*

Case Reports 360; see discussion in the introduction). The result was an Act of Court (a technical change in court rules) made by the Sheriff Principal of Grampian, Highland and Islands in June 2001 stating that a complainant or other party in civil proceedings may give oral evidence in Gaelic in the sheriff courts in Portree, Lochmaddy and Stornoway, and in appeals from these courts to higher courts. This change is extremely minor in that it only applies to complainants in three sheriff courts in three districts and, to all intents and purposes, the majority of Gaelic speakers who live outside these areas are not able to enjoy the same rights. Furthermore, the right to use Gaelic in the courts is limited to civil actions and so criminal litigants are also denied these rights. Moreover, the ability to use this right is subject to conditions being met, in that the claimant must apply in writing for the right to use Gaelic at least 14 days before the date set down for their court appearance. According to Dunbar (2006),

Such a long notice period will almost certainly act as a disincentive to use Gaelic, as many participants in the litigation process may be wholly unaware of this condition, or if aware, may not have decided so far in advance (p. 11).

Even if the application is lodged in good time, the court still has the right to refuse such a request. It is important to note, however, that the Crofters' Commission and the Scottish Land Court are both legally required to have one Gaelic-speaking member which may imply the right to use the language in both of these tribunals (Evans, 1982, cited by Dunbar, 2006). Nevertheless, the provisions put in place to meet the requirements under Article 9 (judicial authorities) of the language charter are not only weak but highly ineffectual, as they only provide the right to use Gàidhlig to speakers in a limited locale and in a limited manner.

Another major criticism of the UK's ratification of the languages charter concerns the lack of consultation with stakeholders in the identification of the UK's commitments under Part III (Council of Europe, 2004a), and in the process of drafting of the initial periodical report submitted on 1 July, 2002. Dunbar (2003) notes that Comunn na Gàidhlig⁸², at the time the leading Gaelic development agency in Alba Scotland, was "simply informed" of the UK's obligations towards Gaelic under Part III of the Charter, obligations that would lead to what were in reality "very small changes in domestic practice" (p. 33). As a result, the UK's ratification of the Charter can be argued to be lacking in the necessary micro-level planning perspectives. Since the passing of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 (see below), of the Charter in Alba Scotland sits with the statutory Gaelic development body, BnaG.

Despite these shortcomings, the Charter has still had positive impacts, particularly in relation to monitoring of the Charter's implementation (see description above). In reaction to the UK's initial periodic report (Council of Europe, 2002), the Committee of Ministers criticised a number of elements of the Charter's execution. Firstly, it was recommended that the UK authorities should prioritise making primary and secondary education in Gaelic

⁸² Gaelic development agency.

available in areas where the language is used. Another recommendation suggested that the UK authorities should support the establishment of a television channel or equivalent television service in Gaelic and to overcome the shortcomings in Gaelic radio broadcasting. This then needed to be addressed in the next reporting round, enabling a continual process of development in terms of UKs commitment to Gaelic via the ECRML.

The UK's ratification of the ECRML in relation to Gaelic has not been without its weaknesses. However, in light of the stringent requirements around reporting and responding to recommendations, the Charter has made some headway in terms of Gaelic language development. Whether this will significantly contribute to Gaelic language revitalisation is yet to be fully established but it would seem that the potential is there. In particular, one clear outcome is the passing of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, which came into law on 21 April 2005.

The 2005 Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act

The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 has been described as “the single-most important piece of legislation in respect of the [Gaelic] language” (Dunbar, 2006, p. 17), having passed following many years of demand. The Act's development and ability to positively contribute to language revitalisation are considered in this section.

The passing of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 was the culmination of a campaign that began in the mid-1990s when Comunn na Gàidhlig, a Gaelic development body established in 1984, began to lobby the government for secure status of the language through a Gaelic Language Act (Comunn na Gàidhlig, 1996, 1999). This was supported in 2000, when the Taskforce on the Public Funding of Gaelic released the MacPherson report which proposed that “a Gaelic Development Agency should, *inter alia*, facilitate the process of secure status for Gaelic” (Williams, 2008, p. 191). Subsequently, the Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic (MAGOG) was established and the ensuing Meek report (2002) advocated a range of approaches in respect to Gaelic including a clear case for a Gaelic Language Act (MAGOG, 2002). Nevertheless, the Scottish Executive maintained the status quo and such legislation was not forthcoming until May 2003, when the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish Liberal Party leadership finally made a commitment to the passing of a Gaelic Language Act in their ruling coalition agreement, promising the following:

We will develop a new focus for Scotland's languages recognising both our heritage and diversity.

We will legislate to provide secure status for Gaelic through a Gaelic Language Bill. We will introduce a national strategy to guide the development and support of Scotland's languages, including British sign language and ethnic community languages. We will give local bodies and other public authorities the responsibility to

draw up a languages plan which reflects the communities they serve (Scottish Executive, 2003, p. 43).

The coalition agreement also confirmed the government's continued investment in GME. Subsequently, on 27 September 2004, a draft Gaelic Bill was presented for public consultation. It was met by a substantial response in the form of over 3000 submissions, the largest volume seen in any legislative consultation since devolution (McLeod, 2006b). Significantly, around the same time, Prince Charles declared his support for Gaelic language revitalisation on a visit to SMO, the Gaelic campus of the UHI⁸³ on the Isle of Skye (see Chapter 2), stating that "If Gaelic dies in Scotland, it dies in the world... The miracle is that Gaelic survived at all" (*Gaelic Language Bill introduced*, 2005, p. 3). The submissions received in response to the draft Bill were "overwhelmingly negative" in tone (McLeod, 2006b, p. 21) and a strengthened Bill was advocated (Dunbar, 2005). As a result, a significantly improved version of the Bill was presented to the Scottish Parliament in September 2004 and passed on 21 April 2005 (Dunbar 2005; Wilson, 2006b). With the royal assent conferred on 1 June 2005, the Act came into effect on 13 February 2006 (Williams, 2008), bearing a strong resemblance to Ireland's Official Languages Act 2003 and the Welsh Language Act 1993, although with considerably less power (Walsh & McLeod, 2008). It contains four main provisions. Firstly, the Act legislatively recognises BnaG and assigns to them the role of "promoting, and facilitating the promotion of the use and understanding of the Gaelic language, and Gaelic education and Gaelic culture" (subsection 1[1]). BnaG advises the Scottish Ministers, public bodies and other persons exercising functions of a public nature on matters relating to Gaelic language, education and culture, either on request or as BnaG sees fit. BnaG will also advise other persons on request regarding these matters, and monitors and reports on the implementation of the ECRML in terms of Scottish Gaelic (subsection 1[2]). Their overall aim is defined as "securing the status of the Gaelic language as an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect to the English language". Evidence of BnaG's achievement of this goal will be measured through increasing the number of persons who can use and understand Gaelic, encouraging the use and understanding of Gaelic, and facilitating access to Gaelic language and culture in Scotland and elsewhere (subsection 1[3]). The Scottish Ministers are able to give BnaG general or specific directions and guidance in the exercise of BnaG's functions (subsection 1[4] and can "vary or revoke" any such directions or guidance (subsection 1[5]).

A number of commentators question the inclusion of the term 'equal respect' in relation to the status of Gaelic vis-à-vis English. Dunbar (2005) claims that the pressure applied during consultation to give Gaelic equal status was met by the fears of the Scottish Parliament that such an inclusion "might potentially allow for a claim to an absolute entitlement to use Gaelic in all contexts" (p. 473). The term 'equal respect' in itself has no clearly recognised meaning in legal terms. Moreover, according to McLeod (2006b), the term was "chosen

⁸³ The University of the Highlands and Islands.

precisely to avoid any suggestion that Gaelic would have equal validity or parity of esteem with English, or that the Act might be construed as imposing a general duty to institutionalise Gaelic-English bilingualism” (p. 23). Although the Act states that the Gaelic language is to be promoted by BnaG “as an official language of Scotland” (subsection 1(3)), the Act does not in fact confer any such status. The view of the Scottish Parliament was that the status had already been conferred due to previous events.

The Scottish Executive felt Gaelic already had official status based on the fact that a response to a parliamentary questions at Westminster explicitly states that Gaelic has such a status in Scotland and the UK, that the Executive incurs spending on it, that there is a minister with responsibility for it, that there are various acts of Parliament which refer to it, that it is used in Scottish parliamentary debates, and so forth (Dunbar, 2005, p. 474).

This is despite the fact that the status of Gaelic is neither confirmed under the Act itself, nor in any “important, quasi-constitutional legislation in the UK” (Dunbar, 2006, p. 17).

The second key provision of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 is the requirement for BnaG to prepare and submit a National Plan for Gaelic to the Scottish Ministers within one year of the Act’s commencement and five-yearly thereafter or at the Scottish Ministers’ request. The plan must include “proposals as to the exercises of its function under this Act” (subsection 2[1]), which must provide a strategic direction for the promotion and facilitation of promotion of the use and understanding of Gaelic language, education and culture (subsection 2[2]). The planning process includes four steps: consultation with parliament; publication of a draft plan; public consultation on the draft for a period of not less than three months; and consideration of the consultation process (subsection 2[3]). Any person is allowed to make a representation to BnaG within the designated timeframe (subsection 2[4]). Within six months of receiving the plan, the Scottish Ministers must either approve it, or make comments on the plan and require BnaG to prepare and submit to them a further plan with regard to their comments, within a specified timeframe (subsection 2[5]). In the case that a further plan is submitted, within three months the Scottish Ministers must approve the plan, or order BnaG to publish the plan in such terms as the Scottish Ministers think fit (subsection 2[6]). Once the Scottish Ministers have approved the plan, BnaG must publish it and lay a copy before parliament (subsection 2[7]).

One criticism regarding section 2 of the Act is the requirement that the Scottish Parliament must approve BnaG’s national language plan. This leaves the control of Gaelic language planning ultimately in the hands of the Scottish Ministers. Another more pressing concern is the lack of clarity around the status, effect and terms of the national language plan, some expressed trepidation in terms of the legal enforceability of BnaG’s language plan. Moreover, according to McLeod (2006), the Executive had denied a request from BnaG to make the national plan legally binding. As a result, there are real fears that “the Plan will

end up gathering dust somewhere on a shelf unless it is imbued with sufficient authority” (McLeod, 2006b, p. 23). Dunbar (2005) concurs, stating that clear timeframes are necessary so as to avoid a situation where the plan, once submitted does not “languish for an indefinite period” (p. 474).

The third key element of the Act is the requirement for Gaelic language plans, under which BnaG can direct any relevant public authority to prepare a Gaelic language plan (subsection 3[1]). The main criticism of this section of the Act is that BnaG cannot require Westminster departments or public bodies under Westminster jurisdiction to prepare a plan. Nevertheless, many such bodies, for example, the Inland Revenue, have a daily influence on the lives of Gaelic-speaking people and Gaelic-speaking communities (Dunbar, 2006).

The ‘sliding-scale’ approach has also been criticised by some commentators who argue that “different levels of provision would be appropriate in different parts of Scotland, but that some threshold level of provision should be made throughout the country” (Walsh & McLeod, 2008, p. 36).

Another criticism concerns the right afforded public authorities to submit an appeal against preparing a plan “on the basis that BnaG’s decision to give notice was unreasonable” (Dunbar, 2006, p. 18), which is then delivered to the Scottish Ministers. One commentator has noted that this right came out of the consultation process to prevent BnaG from inappropriately requiring a language plan (Dunbar, 2006). Walsh and McLeod (2008) argue that this is a drawback because

The government (the Scottish Executive) retains the power to overrule the Bòrd at all stages: it may nullify a notice from the Bòrd requiring a public body to prepare a language plan, grant the body more time to do so, or even impose a plan that the Bòrd feels is inadequate (sections 4-5) (p. 37).

Moreover, the power of BnaG to enforce acquiescence with language plans is limited, particularly when compared with the powers bestowed upon the Language Commissioner in Ireland (Walsh & McLeod, 2008). Once again, the Act ensures that ultimate control over language planning rests with parliament, thus diluting the power of BnaG.

The fourth and final key provision of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 relates to Gaelic education, defined broadly as including Gaelic as a subject as well as GME. This gives BnaG the option of providing written guidance on Gàidhlig to the Scottish Ministers, one which was taken up by BnaG in conjunction with the preparation of the National Plan for Gaelic. Previously, the passing of the 2000 Standards in Scotland’s Schools etc. Act imposed upon local authorities the duty to provide an annual account regarding how they will provide GME and how “they will seek to develop such provision” (Dunbar, 2006, p. 19). BnaG is yet to release such guidance on Gaelic education in Scotland.

In conclusion, the provisions afforded BnaG under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 do not meet the precedent set in either Ireland’s 2003 Official Languages Act or the 1993

Welsh Language Act. Moreover, a number of provisions ensure that the ultimate control over language planning rests with the Scottish Parliament. Furthermore, the status afforded Gàidhlig as ‘equal respect’ is a vague term with no legal precedent. The Act is still in its early years of implementation. Following on from the Act’s passing, a National Plan for Gaelic including a National Gaelic Education Strategy was released in 2007. However, as stated by Dunbar (2006), “Whether these changes will be sufficient to respond to the various difficulties and challenges... is unclear, and the effectiveness of this package will be scrutinized closely by the Gaelic community over the next several years” (p. 20).

Plana Cànan Nàiseanta Gàidhlig - the National Plan for Gàidhlig

The National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a) aims to achieve secure status for Gaelic in Alba Scotland (BnaG, 2006c). According to the Gaelic Language Act, BnaG must prepare and submit to the Scottish Ministers a national Gaelic language plan within one year of the passing of the Act. Furthermore, it states that the plan must include a strategy for promoting the use and acquisition of Gaelic language, and an outline of the proposed method of consultation with parliament and the general public. Consequently, the National Plan for Gaelic was published in 2007 (BnaG, 2007a), and is significant because it is the first time that Gaelic language revitalisation in Alba Scotland has been supported by an articulated, government-led strategy. This section will consider the contents of the Gaelic language plan and its implications for revitalisation. The provisions of a further document, Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig (BnaG, 2010) are also considered.

According to BnaG (2006c), the aim of the National Plan for Gaelic is to provide a framework for the “co-ordination of effort and direction of resources towards those actions which will best support the language”. The vision for Gaelic in the future revolves around the idea of “a sustainable future for Gaelic in Scotland” (BnaG, 2007a, p. 12), the success of which will be evidenced by the increased numbers of speakers, including children, and supported by a dynamic culture in a diverse language community.

The overall aims of the Plan are to increase the number of both first- and second-language speakers, and to promote Gaelic cultural development alongside movements towards language revitalisation. The visions and aims are supported by values relating to the recognition of Gaelic as a national asset and responsibility of Scotland whilst maintaining the status of, or support for, other languages in Scotland, and using Gaelic to increase awareness and appreciation of Scotland’s diverse linguistic heritage and society.

Four key areas for Gaelic language development are identified as the focus of the Plan’s implementation: language acquisition; language usage; language status; and language corpus, which correlate with four of the five language-planning principles. Within each of these areas, priorities, projects and actions have been identified. This aspect of the plan is comprehensive in that it covers most aspects of the language-planning principles.

One area of concern in terms of the National Plan is BnaG's capacity to meet all of its commitments, due to the volume of work the Plan creates for them. Of the 42 projects and actions identified under the priority areas, only two did not involve BnaG. Eight actions referred to BnaG expecting bodies to adhere to the plan, whilst a further nine actions relate to BnaG encouraging bodies to follow the plan. Nevertheless, 26 of the 42 projects and actions identified in the National Plan are to be led by BnaG. This includes seven key projects which will be undertaken by BnaG alone, as well as another 16 key projects which BnaG will lead with input from key partners who are usually unnamed. The question is whether BnaG has the capacity and resources required to meet the huge obligations that have been afforded them under the Plan.

More recently, a Gaelic Language Action Plan, *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig*, was developed by BnaG following a request from Minister for Gaelic, Michael Russell MSP. Russell spent the summer of 2009 visiting a range of events and organisations throughout the Highlands and Islands. The message he was given emphasised "the need to take radical steps to motivate more people to learn Gaelic and to address, as a priority, the issue of creating a new generation of Gaelic speakers" (BnaG, 2010, p. 5). Subsequently, Russell met with BnaG on 20 August 2009 and asked BnaG to draft the Action Plan for Gaelic, emphasising a focus on "rapid and realistic initiatives ensuring the wise and more effective use of existing resources and structures" (ibid). Russell's request highlighted the need to identify practical ways to promote language acquisition within existing budgets.

Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig was approved by BnaG and submitted to Fiona Hyslop MSP, Minister of Culture and External Affairs and Michael Russell MSP, Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning in December 2009 (BnaG, 2010). The Action Plan aims to support the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012 and the provisions of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 by focusing resources and actions on promoting language acquisition. It will also provide "a bridge between the current National Plan and the next one" (n.p.). The Action Plan identified five priority areas that they aim to deliver as their core business from April 2010 to March 2012, when a new national language plan will be released. These are: support for parents; promotion of Gaelic acquisition; adult learning; 0-5 year's education; and 5-18 years education (BnaG, 2010, n.p.). Actions, outcomes, key performance indicators and progress dates are all identified within the plan. The inclusion of measurable outcomes and dates for completion of these provides a robust framework for the coordination of language-planning efforts. It also indicates a desire on the part of BnaG focused on the contemporary needs by publishing an interim plan that is not legislatively specified.

The National Plan for Gaelic is a significant milestone for Gaelic language planning in Scotland; for the first time in history, Gaelic language revitalisation has an articulated plan to guide it (Dunbar, 2006). However, there are concerns regarding BnaG's power to move the plan forward and their capacity to meet the huge amount of obligations that the Plan puts on them. Nevertheless, BnaG's desire to keep the process of language planning alive is

clear in light of their production of a Gaelic Language Action Plan, *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig* (BnaG, 2010) which provides a range of aims, outcomes, performance indicators and dates for completion focused on increasing Gaelic acquisition. If such an approach is continued, this bodes well for the future of Gaelic language planning in Alba Scotland, if not the language itself.

Gàidhlig language plans for public authorities

Section 3 of the Gaelic Language Act provides for the development of Gaelic language plans for public authorities. BnaG is granted the ability to issue “a notice in writing to any relevant public authority requiring the authority to prepare a Gaelic language plan”. This section considers the development of the Gaelic language plans as provided for under section 3 of the Act and evaluates their contribution to Gàidhlig revitalisation. This includes an overview of the mechanisms in place to support the development of language plans by Scottish public bodies. I then consider a Gaelic language plan that was developed at the request of BnaG, that of CnanES (2007). Firstly, however, I consider the systems surrounding these Gaelic language plans.

According to BnaG (2006c), the key to the implementation of both the Act and the National Plan is the development and delivery of Gaelic language plans for public bodies, local authorities and other Scottish organisations. This position is echoed by Dunbar (2007), who describes the development of Gaelic language plans for Scottish public bodies as “the single most important [component of the Gaelic Act] in terms of the further institutionalization of the Gaelic language in Scotland” (p. 58). Under the Act, BnaG can order any “relevant public authority... to prepare a Gaelic language plan”. In deciding which bodies are eligible for the issue of an order to prepare a language plan, BnaG must consider the needs of language speakers who access the authority, and possible connections between the authority’s operations and Gaelic language use.

BnaG provides a range of supports to bodies developing language plans, including a guidance document about the development of language plans and a language plan template. There is also a Gaelic Language Act Implementation Fund that provides funding to public and private sector organisations that developing or implementing a Gaelic language plan (BnaG, n.d.b).

Initially, six public authorities were requested to present Gaelic language plans to BnaG. According to BnaG (n.d.b), these plans reflect the goals of the National Plan for Gaelic and means that Gaelic speakers are able to access some public services in the language of their choice. Public authorities that prepare plans are expected to encourage people to use Gaelic in dealing with them, and to develop the organisation’s Gaelic language services and resources.

One such language plan is that of CnanES (2007), the local government council for Na h-Eilean Siar⁸⁴ that was established in 1975/6. The Council was called the Western Isles Council until 1998, when the English title was retracted and replaced with the Gaelic title making it the only Scottish council with a Gaelic-only name. This change was truly reflective of the place of Gaelic in the community of Na h-Eileanan Siar; in the 2001 census it was found that 70.4% of the population in the Western Isles had some Gaelic ability. Subsequently, the Western Isles has greater percentages of the total population who speak Gaelic than any other local authority area in Alba Scotland (Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, 2007). The Comhairle describes itself as a champion in the promotion and development of Scottish Gaelic (BnaG, 2006d).

Prior to being directed to submit a Gaelic language plan under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, the Comhairle previously had in place the 2006 Western Isles Language Plan, developed out of the Comhairle's Bilingual Policy that was originally adopted in 1978 and later revised (see CnanES, 2012, p. 7). However, this strategy was "limited in scope... [as] there was no real strategic plan to institutionalise bilingualism or make Gaelic-medium services systematically available to the public" (McLeod, 2001b, p. 7). This was evident in that less than 5% of the vacant positions advertised by the authority in 2000/2001 identified Gaelic as 'essential' or desirable' (McLeod, 2001b). Despite this, the Council's current level of language planning was well advanced beyond other similar Scottish authorities.⁸⁵

A significant aspect of the Comhairle's language plan is the references that have been made regarding the council's previous examples of language planning. The Comhairle (2007) states that

From its inception in 1975/6 therefore, because of the traditional strength of Gaelic as a community language in the Western Isles, the Comhairle has attempted to create a strong Gaelic ethos within the organisation. A bilingual policy has been in operation from the outset (p. 4).

It is hard not to imagine the possible frustration that may have been felt by the Comhairle on being required to submit to a centralised language plan.

Gaelic language plans are considered by state agencies and commentators alike to be the jewel in the crown of Gaelic language planning in Scotland. Only time will tell whether these plans achieve the success expected of them. Yet, it is clear that, despite the overview provided by BnaG under the Gaelic Language Act, public bodies such as these are able to provide relatively small concessions for Gaelic and still have their language plans approved. Moreover, there is also the fact that BnaG is not able to request a Gaelic language plan from Westminster bodies or other bodies run from the Westminster governed regions. However,

⁸⁴ The Western Isles of Alba Scotland.

⁸⁵ See comparison with the Glasgow City Council (2007) in appendix 10.

the idea of spreading the language planning to the local governance level may yet be successful in promoting language revitalisation, by taking the initiatives one step closer to the community.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Gaelic language planning in Alba Scotland has recently undertaken a radical makeover with the development of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012, and Gaelic language plans for Scottish public authorities. The other example of language planning, the ECRML was only ratified in 2001. Prior to this, there was some provision for Gaelic in legislation was recognised but protection was negligible. Much has changed in the first decade of the Twenty-First Century and the impacts of these changes are unclear. In terms of the structure and development of the plans that are in place, these are well drafted, although there are some concerns. For example, the Gaelic Language Act has been criticised for the fact that ultimate control over the process sits with the Scottish Executive in terms of language plan production and contents. Also, the ECRML has been accused of being developed without adequate consultation with Gaelic interest groups and the Gaelic-speaking community. However, there are elements of the Gaelic language-planning landscape that give cause for optimism. For example, the monitoring and evaluation approach incorporated into the provisions of the Languages Charter has the potential to create the groundswell required to get Gaelic revitalisation moving. Furthermore, there are some excellent strategies in place to encourage intergenerational transmission, particularly in terms of language status, language usage and language acquisition. A coordinated strategy would appear to have huge potential. Key is how well strategies are implemented. There are some relatively weak key areas of provision, particularly in terms of Gaelic in the courts, the level of control that parliament ultimately has over BnaG and Gaelic language planning if it chooses to use it, and the restrictions around BnaG's role in terms of the development of language plans by local bodies and public authorities. Rectification of these issues would be the most appropriate move forward, in that language planning needs to be a requirement rather than something merely to be encouraged.

Discussion

Language planning in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland bear many resemblances in general terms; both have in place a language Act and a language strategy, as well as evidence of language planning in the wider community. However, there are also a number of key differences regarding the specific provisions of language-planning initiatives. In terms of the macro-level of language planning, the UK has become a signatory to the ECRML and has accepted an obligation in relation to a range of languages including Scottish Gaelic. Aotearoa New Zealand does not have the same obligation in relation to Māori, although the government recently became a signatory to the United Nations' (2007) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Although the declaration does not pertain to language

specifically, it does include a passage regarding language that states, “Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons” (Article 13). The declaration also provides for rights to education and media in Indigenous languages, but as yet the ramifications of this in terms of the government’s obligations have not been tested.

At the legislative level, both Gàidhlig and Māori are recognised under Acts of Parliament that share similarities such as the establishment of a body to promote the language, being TTWRM and BnaG. The two languages are also afforded a similar level in terms of recognition in that, whilst the Māori language is afforded official status, Gaelic is similarly recognised as “an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect with English”. However, there are clear differences in the final provisions the respective Language Acts, in that, the Māori Act charges TTWRM with the responsibility of accrediting translators and interpreters, whereas the Gaelic Act refers to BnaG’s power to instruct Scottish public authorities to present a Gaelic language plan. This provision of the Gaelic Act is probably the most important as it goes one step further than the government of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The decision to compel public bodies such as local and area authorities to become key players in Gaelic language revitalisation is significant. Nevertheless, the decision to omit these terms may be due to the important position that iwi still hold as a key stakeholder in language planning in Aotearoa New Zealand. Alongside this is the ability of the Treaty settlements process that provides iwi with the means to engage in social, cultural and economic redevelopment through the provision of money and assets as compensation for the actions and inactions of the state in the colonial and post-colonial eras. This inclusion in the landscape of Māori language planning in Aotearoa New Zealand is indicative of one level of language planning that appears to be lacking in Alba Scotland, that of the community. Although iwi language plans such as that of Ngāi Tahu may face problems in terms of turning registrations into intergenerational results, they are still indicative of the potential for community buy-in and support. The community is one step away from the family, recognised as the most important site for the achievement of language revitalisation.

Gaelic language plans by public bodies and local authorities can be requested by BnaG and are an attempt to provide for meso-level language planning, but the predominant lack of vested interest in Gaelic from these institutions (except for in those such as Comhairle nan h’Eileanan Siar) means that language planning may be a minor aspect of a large political machine. Nevertheless, I think that involvement at this level should still be maintained in order to promote Gaelic language revitalisation at all levels of governance in Alba Scotland. Moreover, this correlates with the idea that good practice in language planning includes consistency between language plans and a coordinated approach, something that the language-planning framework in Alba Scotland appears to be doing well.

However, these activities should be supplemented by community language planning, such as is provided by iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand, thus, driving language revitalisation in the community, utilising state support mechanisms and with the aim of promoting language usage in the home. Ideally, this bottom-up approach undertaken by iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand should be complemented by coordinated top-down language planning such as is seen in Alba Scotland. Thus, both Gàidhlig and Māori language-planning approaches provide a number of examples of good practice in terms of language policy and planning, although in both cases, both can benefit from the following key characteristics of effective language planning approaches:

1. Authority and control over language policy and planning should be coordinated by a body with sufficient power to drive the movement forward;
2. Language planning should take place at a range of levels including national government (macro-level planning), local government, ministerial and public body (meso-level) and community (micro-level), with government support and funding to facilitate this;
3. Recognition of the vitally important role that communities play in language revitalisation, and adequate funding and support provision allocated to facilitate community language development and the organisation of activities that promote the language planning principles, in particular, language usage in the home and community;
4. Language planning requires a reflective framework based on planning, implementation, monitoring and re-planning in order to ensure the continued relevance and currency of language policies and plans; and
5. Language planning should focus on catering for the five language planning principles, and particularly language usage in the home and intergenerational transmission.

This last element is extremely important in terms of the chapters which follow in that, this will be the framework for my examination of the actions being undertaken in order to achieve language revitalisation. Not only will I consider the contribution that education, the media and popular culture make to the language-planning principles, I will also maintain an overall focus on the intended outcome of the re-development and entrenchment of intergenerational transmission in the home.

In terms of the inclusion of these principles in language planning for language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland, the main focus of language planning is status and acquisition planning. Status planning is supported by through the increased demand for people with Gaelic-language skills to staff language planning and related activities; the availability of educational programmes about and through the language; and the development and availability of Gaelic-language resources including radio and television programmes, web-based sources, and popular cultural activities and events. Language acquisition is supported by the wide range of Indigenous-language learning programmes available in both countries ranging from ECE to tertiary, adult and continuing education, and

including mainstream and informal learning opportunities. Language discourse is also encouraged to some extent through provisions relating to monitoring of the language and conducting research on topics relating to language revitalisation, such as research regarding effective learning pedagogies for Indigenous-language education. Corpus planning is also included through the focus on the development of material in the languages, for example, strategies promoting the creation of Indigenous-language popular culture, and the development of teaching resources of Indigenous-language education. The area that achieves the least support through language planning in both cases is also the most important in terms of achieving language revitalisation; usage planning. This may be because this is often considered the most difficult area to influence in terms of language revitalisation, particularly the areas of language usage in the home and intergenerational transmission. Nevertheless, without language usage, language revitalisation can never be achieved, thus consideration of this crucial aspect is vital.

2. Education

Education is often the largest aspect of any language revitalisation programme due to the need to grow a new generation of speakers fluent in the language (Hinton, 2001d). Educational provision tends to focus on the needs of two main groups: young children who are at an age that they can easily learn the language; and adult learners who will provide human resourcing for language revitalisation and potentially engage in intergenerational transmission. This chapter considers the role of education in the revitalisation of the two case study languages. First, the questions will be asked, can schools and other educational institutions save languages, and if so, how should education for language revitalisation be undertaken? I then outline the structure of Māori- and GME in the two case study countries. This will include an overview of legislation and policy relevant to each language and a snapshot of provision in early childhood, primary and secondary school, and tertiary and adult education, as well as mainstream education. Finally, the key elements of these two educational systems are compared, contrasted and critiqued in terms of their contribution to the language-planning principles.

Can schools (and other educational institutions) save languages?

Education is probably the most commonly employed language revitalisation tactic in the world, but can schools (and other educational institutions) save Indigenous languages? This question, posed by Hornberger (2008a) is integral to understanding the value of education to language revitalisation. Given that education is such a central aspect of many language revitalisation movements, including those for Māori and Gàidhlig, it is crucial to examine the effectiveness of education for language revitalisation based on research and publication in the field (Fishman, 1991; Hinton, 2001d; Hornberger, 2008b; Huss, 2008; McCarty, 2008; Spolsky, 2008).

Fishman's (1991) GIDS is one of the most enduring frameworks for the analysis of Indigenous languages in terms of language revitalisation or 'reversing language shift' (see the Introduction and Chapter 1). The GIDS can be used to diagnose the level of endangerment facing a language; or it can indicate the appropriate restorative methods to undertake at the specific levels of decline (Ferguson, 2006). Education figures prominently in Fishman's GIDS at stages 1, 4, 5 and 7.⁸⁶

Despite Fishman's inclusion of education into the restorative methods advocated in his GIDS, he remains skeptical about the teaching of minority languages, particularly at stage 4 of the scale. According to Ferguson (2006), "Fishman's point is that while teaching the threatened minority language makes a valuable contribution... it does not always, or even often, feed into the intergenerational transmission process, and is therefore insufficient for

⁸⁶ See appendix 11.

the language's revival" (n.p.). Just as with Fishman's discussion of official recognition of a language by a national or regional government (see Chapter 2), he is unconvinced of the effectiveness of education as a stand-alone means of reversing language shift.

Similarly, in Hornberger's (2008a) volume, a number of commentators including Hornberger herself agree that educational initiatives alone are not a panacea for language decline.

[S]chools alone are not enough to do the job. Indigenous language revitalization always occurs within an ecology of languages, in the context of other local and global languages with their relative statuses and uses in domains and social fields such as employment, religion, government, cultural life, media, and others. Indigenous language revitalization is subject to the vagaries of policy, politics and power; and it is subject to the economics of the linguistic marketplace (Hornberger, 2008b, p. 1).

This idea is also supported by Liddicoat (2007), who states,

Indigenous language education does no more than introduce the language into the school system: it cannot per se create an ecological niche for the language within the nation state. Education does not in itself mean that languages will come to be used, or even usable, in valued contexts within a society, other than admitting the language to the school context itself. In fact, by developing language capabilities that have little or no opportunity for use outside the classroom, they may further undermine the perceived prestige and value of the language (p. 12).

Despite the shortcomings of education as a universal cure for language decline, the literature emphasizes the importance of education for language revitalisation alongside other tactics seeking to reverse language shift. As stated by McCarty (2008),

No, schools alone cannot do the job, but they are potential sites of resistance and opportunity. No, schools in themselves are insufficient, but they can become strategic platforms for more broad-based language planning, from orthographic standardization, to preparing Indigenous teachers, to elevating the status of oppressed and marginalized languages. No, schools are secondary to the primary language implanting and expanding institutions of family and community, but there are few instances of successful language revitalization in which schools have not played a crucial role (p. 161).

The idea of schools as "potential sites of resistance and opportunity" (McCarty, 2008, p. 161) is further supported by Māori scholar, Graham Hinengaro Smith (2009), who sees KM⁸⁷ education in the context of transformation and as "a critical site of struggle for the redevelopment of [Indigenous peoples] in the face of widespread high and disproportionate

⁸⁷ Kaupapa Māori, Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society.

levels of socio-economic disadvantage” (p. 46). For Smith, education for language revitalisation is a site of conflict with the dominant and hegemonic forces of the state. These ideas are related to Frierean philosophies of education, in that “the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice [means they will fight] to recover their lost humanity” (Friere, 1972, p. 20, cited by Morehu, Lolesio, Piper & Pomare, 2009, p. 1). Within this framework, education is a pathway to transformative praxis which involves “learning and thinking about one’s oppression and planning to bring about change” (Morehu et al, 2009, p. 4). Spolsky (2008) concurs, stating

Language education policy can be a valuable focus for mobilization of an ethnic movement: there is useful rhetoric to support it, a ready-made ideology, an easy appeal to human rights, a clear set of program steps, including the provision of local employment for those who are closest to their heritage (p. 158).

Nevertheless, although Indigenous-language education can be described as a site of resistance in that it implicitly challenges the English-language policy of the state and provides a platform for lobbying, their main focus tends to be language revitalization through the provision of educational services in the Indigenous language, with resistance activity being subordinate to this aim.

Other benefits of education for language revitalisation include preservation of knowledge carried by language, the development of a sense of identity and connectedness, and building a corpus of knowledge to act as “a reservoir tappable” for future language learning and teaching (Spolsky, 2008, p. 158).

In summary, therefore, it is clear that education alone cannot revive a language. Education can provide a further domain for language use, a conduit for social change and a source of knowledge, identity and corpus, but it cannot replace the family and community as the true sites of intergenerational transmission. Nevertheless, education can supplement and support the development of the language in the home and community, by providing critical discourse about the language, by encouraging the development of corpus, and by assisting in the education of a new generation of speakers; thus, education is a key element of any language revitalization programme. However, providing an education system in isolation will do little to revitalise a declining language, even when supported by supportive language policy and planning. These are merely planks in the waka of language revitalisation. For language revitalization to be achieved, other strategies must be put in place to support and strengthen the measures being undertaken in relation to policy and planning, and education.

Education in the context of this chapter refers to activities that are based around the process of learning and teaching, for example, schooling, including early childhood, primary

and tertiary settings, and adult education and training. Self-directed learning environments like the broadcast and non-broadcast media are discussed in chapter 3.

How should education for language revitalisation be undertaken?

Having found that education has a clear role to play in language revitalisation, it is important to assess effective programme implementation. How can schools assist in the achievement of language revitalisation given the current global situation? As stated by Hornberger (2008b), “of 6800 languages currently spoken in the world, not only are more than half at risk of extinction by the end of the century... but approximately 90% are spoken by less than 5% of the world’s population... Meanwhile, more than half of the world’s states are monolingual and less than 500 languages are used and taught in schools” (p. 1). How can schools help to combat this situation? What strategies, pedagogies and approaches can schools use to encourage language revitalisation as expressed by the language-planning principles, whilst also promoting intergenerational transmission? And what are the characteristics of language learners that contribute to the achievement of language proficiency? These questions are assessed with reference to a range of academic commentators (Hornberger, 2008b; Huss, 2008; McCarty, 2008; Morehu et al, 2009; Ratima & May, 2011; Spolsky, 2008).

One of the initial reasons for the establishment of educational institutions that seek to achieve language revitalisation is to resist the status quo. Education-for-language- revitalisation in colonised countries is often closely associated with larger political movements that seek to change social hierarchies as well as gain recognition and revitalisation of group rights, language, culture and identity. Spolsky (2008) claims that

What unites them [language activists]... is that they are consciously swimming against the tide, trying to maintain or re-establish their heritage languages at a time when most of the world is busy giving in to the pursuit of economic and educational success by accepting a major language (or even a world language) as an acceptable replacement or trying to build a form of bilingualism that lets its two or more languages operate side by side in a functionally divided relationship (p. 155).

Friere (1972) described this resistance as the process of transformative praxis which is a response to the experience of oppression. In many ways, Indigenous rights have grown out of a period in history that is characterised by the parallel development of processes relating to the global and local. Just as global trends such as the internet are creating shared spaces and norms, there is also an equal shift towards increasing awareness and experience of local communities in modern societies around the world. Transformative praxis in education for language revitalization is often initiated because of clear disparities between demographic groups in society. This is the process of “learning and thinking about one’s oppression and planning to bring about change” (Morehu, Lolesio, Piper & Pomare, 2009, p. 4). According to Smith (2009), transformative praxis is cyclical and part of a dialectic process of resistance via

conscientisation. Conscientisation can be best understood as a process of developing a critical consciousness through a cycle of action and reflection, or praxis.

Thus, at the heart of education for language revitalisation is the idea of resistance and change. But what are the key attributes that enable learners to achieve language proficiency; how should education within such a setting be undertaken to achieve this; and what pedagogies, strategies and approaches should be employed?

In terms of achieving language proficiency through education, the opinions vary. Particularly in adult education, there seem to be a lot of factors that positively and negatively influence the achievement of fluency in a second language. In both Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland, I have heard people talk about the naïveté with which initial education-for-language-revitalisation movements were met. One language activist in Scotland said to me, “We never imagined that our children in Gaelic medium education would grow up and want to be lawyers. We never imagined that they would choose not to use it with their children” (Finlay McLeod, personal communication, June 28, 2009).

Moreover, there may be certain characteristics that distinguish successful language learners that could perhaps be used to promote readiness for language learning. Ratima and May (2011) identify ten critical factors that assist in the development of adult second-language fluency.⁸⁸ These factors for the development of second language proficiency are separated into three categories: individual factors; social cultural factors; and wider societal factors. This includes an identification of the elements that indicate individual aptitude to learn a language, including factors such as phonetic coding (the ability to recognise, identify and recall sounds and associated written symbols), grammatical sensitivity (a sensitivity to the function of words in different contexts), rote learning (the ability to learn complex chunks of language and recall them over an extended timeframe), and inductive language learning (the ability to infer forms, rules and patterns from new linguistic material with minimal supervision or guidance). Such information can be used as the basis for language learning programmes and resource development so as to enhance the effectiveness of language acquisition and corpus.

May and Hill (2008) highlight two indicators of good practice in relation to education for Māori language revitalisation. Firstly, they recommend that partial immersion be considered as a way forward in light of international research. Second, they suggest a range of strategies including a programme of teacher professional development in Māori academic language and MM⁸⁹ pedagogy, and the allocation of adequate time and exposure to academic language proficiency and conversational competence in the language (Hornberger, 2008b). Huss (2008) also advocates an additive approach in relation to education for Sami language revitalisation. This approach combines “Indigenous education

⁸⁸ See appendix 12.

⁸⁹ Māori-medium; undertaken through the medium of te reo Māori.

based on Indigenous language and Indigenous knowledge with bilingualism and equal opportunity in wider society” (Hornberger, 2008b, p. 7). Thus, although previous language learning models have predominantly focused on immersion as the preferred method, there has been a recent warming to the use of bilingual pedagogies in education for language revitalisation, supported by significant professional development for teachers in the use of appropriate educational pedagogies and the development of conversational language skills.

Another approach advocated by Hinton (2001e), is the Master-Apprentice language-learning programme, which was developed in 1992 by the Native California Network (NCN). This method provides an immersion-learning environment by bringing native speakers and young adults “to work together intensively so that the young members may develop conversational proficiency in the language” (p. 217). The master in this method is the native speaker and the apprentice, the young language learner. The method is based on the following principles: no English is allowed; learning is undertaken as a partnership in terms of curriculum and engagement in conversation; the focus is on oral rather than written language competency; learning takes place in real-life settings such as cooking, housework, engaging in ceremonies, and gardening; and the activity and non-verbal cues are used to promote language acquisition and use (Hinton, 2001e).

The master-apprentice approach is similar to tuakana-teina⁹⁰, an intrinsic, pre-colonial approach to learning pedagogy. In this system, “an older or more expert tuakana (brother, sister or cousin) helps and guides a younger or less expert teina (originally a younger sibling or cousin of the same gender)” (Te Kete Ipurangi, n.d., para. 2). This approach is commonly used in formal and informal settings, schools and communities around the world and provides a further opportunity and setting for language use to take place, as well as promoting language corpus and acquisition.

Schools can have “a powerful role to play in Indigenous language revitalization and the empowerment of Indigenous communities” (Hornberger, 2008b, p. 11). Moreover, much research has been undertaken in terms of identifying prerequisites and appropriate pedagogical models for language learning. However, more research needs to be undertaken to identify the ways that the characteristics of good language learners can be utilised to enhance the effectiveness of education-for-language-revitalisation programmes.

In terms of the language-planning principles, education has the strongest affinity with the area of acquisition planning. Nevertheless, for education to promote language revitalisation, links to all five language-planning principles should be developed, particularly the important areas of language usage and intergenerational transmission.

⁹⁰ The relationship between an older person and a younger person that is specific to learning and teaching in a Māori context.

Māori language education

Māori language education is a core element of language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand. This section will consider education programmes that aim to or support Māori language revitalization. This will start with an overview of the legislative and policy framework followed by an overview of programmes including KM education initiatives such as TKR, KKM, Wānanga and Te Ataarangi. This is followed by consideration of the role of mainstream education with reference to the ‘Māori in mainstream’ curriculum document and Māori Studies departments in tertiary institutions. Finally, the statistical profile of Māori language learners is presented and the contribution of Māori-language education to the language-planning principles is critiqued.

Legislation and policy

Māori education legislation and policy has a long history in the political environment of Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori education policy in the 1800s aimed to assimilate Māori children into the Pākehā language and culture, to undermine the influence of Māori families and communities, and to prepare Māori for working class employment (Walker, 2004). More recently, Māori education legislation and policy has sought to address the government’s obligation under Te Tiriti o Waitangi to actively protect the Māori language. This section provides an overview of the current legislative and policy framework that underpins education for Māori language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand. This will include an outline of the provisions of the 1989 Education Act regarding KM education, and an exploration of the Māori Education Strategy (MOE, 2009a) and the Māori Tertiary Education Framework (MOE, 2003).

It is important to note that bilingual education in Aotearoa New Zealand is funded under a model that recognises four levels of immersion: Level 1 (81-100% of the educational content is delivered in the target language); Level 2 (51-80%); Level 3(31-50%); and Level 4 (12-30%). The problem with this model is that the lower levels of bilingualism (levels 3 and 4) do not meet the minimum criterion of 50% instruction in the target language advocated by research into effective bilingual education (May & Hill, 2005a). Regardless, this is the model used by the MOE in the allocation of funding.

The Education Act 1989 contains specific provisions relating to Māori language schooling, the first of which came about as a result of the Picot Report released in 1989 that recommended Māori communities should be able to set up and manage their own schools (“Kura Kaupapa Māori”, 2011). As a result, the 1989 Education Act was amended to include section 155, which allows the Minister of Education to designate a school as a KKM as long as s/he is satisfied that there is sufficient demand for a school to be established. The Māori language must be the principal language of instruction, and any special characteristics must be set out in the school’s charter (subsections 155 a [i & iii]). The rider stated, “the students

enrolled at the school will get an education of a kind not available at any other State school that children of the parents concerned can conveniently attend” (subsection 155b).

A second amendment to the Education Act in 1993 added section 162, making provision for wānanga. The Act defines wānanga as being “characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence, and assists the application of knowledge regarding āhuetanga Māori (Māori tradition) according to tikanga Māori (Māori custom)” (subsection 162[4][b][iv]). Wānanga had previously been operating without government funding since the first were established in the 1980s. The inclusion of section 162 was the result of a Waitangi Tribunal claim which was lodged and registered as WAI 718⁹¹ in May 1998. The claim was brought forward by Rongo Herehere Wetere on behalf of the Te Tauihu o ngā Wānanga Association which represented the three wānanga, TWOR⁹² (established 1983), Te Wānanga o Aotearoa⁹³ (established 1983) and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi⁹⁴ (established 1992). In April 1999, the Tribunal recommended that the Crown should make a one-off payment to each of the wānanga. This would provide compensation for the previous lack of finance and funds to bring facilities up to standard, and cover costs associated with the claim. These recommendations were justified by the Tribunal’s assertion that the establishment of wānanga constituted the exercise of rangatiratanga (tribal authority), and that the Crown is obliged to actively protect Māori interests and taonga (treasures). The Tribunal succinctly states “it is clear that te reo and mātauranga Māori are taonga” imparting an obligation on the part of the Crown to enable rangatiratanga over these taonga under article two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011).

In July 1999, another amendment was made that again focused on section 155. Tau Henare, the then Minister of Māori Affairs and Education, brought the bill forward after a request from Te Rūnanga Nui o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori⁹⁵ (“Kura Kaupapa Māori”, 2011). As a result, schools that wanted to be designated as a KKM would now have to operate under Te Aho Matua⁹⁶ (subsection 155 a[ii]), which can be defined as “a philosophical base for the teaching and learning of children and... policy guidelines for parents, teachers and boards of trustees in their respective roles and responsibilities” (Tākao, Grennell, McKegg & Wehipeihana, 2010, p. 156). The amendment recognises Te Rūnanga Nui as the kaitiaki⁹⁷ of Te Aho Matua; they are charged with determining the content of Te Aho Matua and

⁹¹ The Wānanga Capital Establishment Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

⁹² Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Tertiary Institution for the confederation of Te Atiawa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira.

⁹³ Tertiary Institution of Aotearoa.

⁹⁴ Tertiary Institution of Awanuiārangi.

⁹⁵ The governing body of the KKM of Aotearoa New Zealand.

⁹⁶ The philosophical base for KKM education for the teaching and learning of children. Te Aho Matua is presented in six parts, each part having a special focus on what, from a Māori point of view, is crucial in the education of children.

⁹⁷ Trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, keeper.

ensuring that it is not changed to the detriment of Māori. Further discussion of Te Aho Matua will be undertaken below.⁹⁸

As well as this legislation, the Crown's obligation to actively protect the language and Māori education has also been included in policies that emphasise the needs of Māori in the education sector. Although these policies cover a range of teaching mediums including mainstream education, they also contain elements that relate specifically to KM education and te reo Māori. Two of these documents are the Māori Education Strategy (MOE, 2009a) and the Māori Tertiary Education Framework (MOE, 2003).

Aotearoa New Zealand's Māori Education Strategy is entitled *Ka Hikitia* (MOE, 2009a), meaning 'to lengthen one's stride, to step up or to lift up', signifying that the strategy signals "stepping up the performance of the education system to ensure Māori are enjoying education success as Māori" (p. 1). The document focuses on three levels of education: ECE⁹⁹; compulsory education; and tertiary education. Māori-language education is identified as one of the four focus areas in the strategy, indicating that the MOE recognises the importance of Māori language education in the context of a strategy for improving Māori educational status (Goren, 2009).

The focus of Māori-language education includes a range of approaches from immersion to Māori in mainstream settings. One of the elements here is "effective learning and teaching of, and through, te reo Māori" (MOE, 2009a, p. 24), supporting the MOE's obligations to the language under Te Tiriti¹⁰⁰, particularly in terms of "the vital role of the tertiary education sector in the revitalisation of tikanga¹⁰¹, mātauranga and te reo Māori through teaching and research, as well as through professional training and the development of teachers" (MOE, 2009a, p. 26). However, there are other reasons for the emphasis on MME within the strategy. In particular, the benefits of immersion and bilingual schooling for Māori are noted in terms of lower rates of stand-downs and truancy, as well as indications that students in these types of schools may be achieving the National Certificate in Educational Attainment (NCEA)¹⁰² at a higher rate than their Māori peers in English-medium schools. Thus, a focus on Māori-language education is presented as a win-win option both for language revitalisation and addressing the statistically low educational attainment of Māori.

Four key levers are identified in order to achieve the stated aim, "to activate the potential of everyone involved in the education system to improve system performance for Māori students", including one that relates to "setting and resourcing priorities in Māori language

⁹⁸ See also appendix 16.

⁹⁹ Early childhood education.

¹⁰⁰ The Treaty (of Waitangi).

¹⁰¹ Correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention.

¹⁰² The National Certificates in Educational Attainment (Levels 1-3) are the national qualifications for senior secondary school students in Aotearoa New Zealand (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, n.d.).

in education” (MOE, 2009a, p. 27) and is aimed at ensuring that students have a range of quality Māori-language education options accessible to them. To achieve this, fluent and effective teachers are required, as well as the provision of quality information about the benefits of Māori language learning to parents and whānau, in order to increase the uptake and retention of Māori children in Māori language education. This is based on the idea that “an early start... and sustained participation” are important factors in attaining bilingualism (MOE, 2009a, p. 28).

Finally, a range of actions and goals are also identified in relation to each of the key areas including Māori-language education. Key themes include professional development, implementation of Māori-language versions of the curriculum, research on second-language learning, and the use of ICT to promote language acquisition. The Māori Education Strategy provides a strategic direction for Māori education with a focus on Māori language education including immersion and bilingual educational options.

Similarly, the Māori Tertiary Education Framework (MOE, 2003) reflects “Māori aspirations and priorities for tertiary education” (p. 8). The vision underpinning the framework is gleaned from Māori psychiatrist and academic, Professor Mason Durie’s work relating to Māori educational attainment which advocates that Māori should be able to live as Māori, actively participate as world citizens, and enjoy good health and a good standard of living. This vision for Māori in tertiary education has implications for Māori language education. Living as Māori may include access to resources so as to use and learn the language as part of their educational experience. Moreover, health is related to a good sense of self, which can be supported by one’s ability to speak your own mother tongue.

The strategy then focuses on five guiding principles and finally, seven priority areas. One of these areas relates to KM provision, where it is expected that “the tertiary system will deliver a range of quality Māori programmes that will contribute to the needs and aspirations of communities” (MOE, 2003, p. 20). The overall goal of this priority is that Māori are able to access KM education at all levels and areas of the tertiary education sector. In terms of education-for-Māori-language-revitalisation programmes, there is an emphasis on language acquisition through KM provision, as well as improving status through the establishment of both mainstream and KM providers.

In conclusion, Māori language education legislation and policy are utilised in Aotearoa New Zealand in order for the Crown to meet its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. This includes the Crown’s promise to protect rangatiratanga over taonga, such as the language, culture and Māori knowledge, all of which are relevant to education in general and Māori-language education more specifically. Secondly, there are the Crown’s obligations to work towards improving Māori educational status. This requirement is indicated in article three of Te Tiriti, which states that Māori will have the same rights and privileges as other citizens. Specific provisions within two key Māori education strategies focus on strengthening KM

provision through increased resourcing, research and investment in governance and management structures. This provides the legal framework for KM education that is now discussed, starting with TKR.

Early childhood education

The historical context surrounding the genesis of TKR (literally meaning ‘language nest’) coincided with a time when people started to become aware of the threat of Māori language extinction. On 14 September 1972, the Māori Language Petition was delivered to the Beehive with 30,000 signatures by member of two Māori activist groups, Te Reo Māori Society and Ngā Tamatoa. Subsequently, in the late 1970s, Pākehā researcher and seminal author on Māori language decline, Richard Benton (1979) published material maintaining that the language was on the verge of death based research undertaken for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in the early 1970s mainly in rural parts of the North Island. With reference to fieldwork undertaken in 1974, Benton (1979) stated that

Approximately half of the Māori population is under the age of 15 years, but in our sample, at least, only 15% were able to speak Maori. On the other hand, those aged 45 and over, only 12% of the total Māori population, accounted for 38% of all the Maori language speakers (pp. 23-24).

These revelations heralded the development of a range of strategies and events that aimed to encourage Māori language revitalisation (Te Rito, 2008). This included the response from the community which saw groups like the Māori Women’s Welfare League lobbying government to fund Māori language revitalisation and to establish ‘language nests’ (Henry, 1999).

In 1979, the Department of Māori Affairs organised the first of a series of annual hui that aimed to bring Māori leaders together to discuss and find solutions for a wide range of issues affecting Māori people. These early hui put forward the position that “any attempt to legitimate and validate Māori society, *without* its own distinctive language and culture, was not merely inconceivable, but was also insufferable” (Jenkins, 1994, p. 163). The importance of the Māori language to the situation has also been highlighted through the use of the following proverbs: “Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori – The language is the life principle of Māori prestige” (Hohepa, 1990, p. 7), and “Ka ngaro reoreo tangata, ko tatarakihi anake e kiki mai – If the voices of people are lost, then only the cicadas will be left to speak for us” (Jenkins, 1994, p. 164). These proverbs emphasised what was at risk if the language was lost. The second proverb also made a play on words in relation to the voice of the cicada, an allegory for the sound of English language speakers. The following year at the Hui Kaumātua¹⁰³, a resolution was passed requesting that the Department of Māori Affairs make the language a top priority for 1981 (Government Review Team, 1988). This was

¹⁰³ Elder’s conference.

followed by the Māori Affairs conference, Tū Tāngata Wānanga Whakatauirā¹⁰⁴ in 1983 at which a resolution advocating the promotion of bilingual pre-schools was passed (Hohepa, 1990). Tū Tāngata meaning ‘stand tall’ was a policy that focused on Māori cultural and economic advancement, and the Wānanga Whakatauirā was their leaders’ conference (Fleras, 1985). A number of commentators claim that it was at this meeting that the name and concept of TKR was developed (Ka`ai, 1990; King, J., 2001; Spolsky, 1990). The development was based on

the knowledge that most competent speakers were over 40 years old and that language proficiency is most easily acquired by young children generated the idea of forming language nests where the Māori language could be transmitted from the older generation to children and grandchildren (King, J., 2001, p. 121).

Thus, an approach that brought fluent elders together with pre-school children was advocated as a way forward. A further proverb was cited that underlined the logic of this: “Whānau ana te tamaiti, me rarau atu, whakamau ki te ū, kei reira ka tīmata i te kōrero Māori – When a child is born, put it to the breast and begin speaking Māori at that point” (Government Review Team, 1988, p. 18). As a result of this, the Department of Māori Affairs began to negotiate for the establishment of Māori immersion pre-school education programmes.

The first TKR centre was opened on 13 April 1982 at the Pukeatua Kōkiri Centre in Wainuiomata following a pilot programme that had taken place at the same venue in 1981 (Government Review Team, 1988; Hohepa, 1990). This was quickly followed by the establishment of three further centres in Wellington and one in Auckland. Initial government funding of \$45,000 was provided for four pilot centres but within a year, a further 107 centres had opened. Subsequently, funding of \$535,000 was provided by the Department of Māori Affairs and the Māori Education Foundation (Government Review Team, 1988).

The establishment of TKR was followed by a period of huge growth in the movement as more and more centres were founded across the country. In the first half of the 1980s, the movement provided two-thirds of the growth in the country’s ECE numbers (Hohepa, 1990), and facilitated a significant increase in the participation of Māori children in ECE. Whereas in 1982 only 30% of Māori children aged 2-4 years were engaged in ECE, by 1991 this number had risen to 53% and nearly half of these were attending TKR (Bishop & Glynn, 1998). More recently, the movement has suffered from a decline in numbers.¹⁰⁵

The main aim of TKR is to create a new generation of Māori language speakers in an immersion environment. This idea translates into the first key principle of TKR: Māori

¹⁰⁴ Māori leaders’ conference run by the Department of Māori Affairs.

¹⁰⁵ See appendix 14.

language immersion. The immersion method is based on the idea that young people are the most appropriate target for language learning and as a result, immersion pre-school centres are the most likely to initiate an arrest in the decline of te reo Māori. This idea is encapsulated in the whakataukī, 'Te tīmatanga o te reo, kei ngā ū o te whaea' (The very beginning of the language is at the breast of the mother) (Ka`ai, 2004). In terms of the application of this principle, the expectation is that Māori is the only language to be spoken in the Kōhanga setting, and parents are expected to continue to provide a Māori-speaking environment in the home (King, J., 2001). Thus, the focus is on "speaking Māori i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa (all the time and everywhere)" (King, J., 2001, p. 125).

A second principle of TKR was that they were meant to be grounded in tikanga Māori¹⁰⁶, through the use of cultural practices within the Kōhanga environment (for example, keeping cleaning items from the kitchen and bathroom separate, and not sitting on tables), and through the emphasis on customary frameworks such as whakapapa, whanaungatanga¹⁰⁷ and tuakana-teina (King, J., 2001), as well as values such as aroha,¹⁰⁸ manaaki¹⁰⁹ and wairua.¹¹⁰ The wairua aspect signifies the two branches or 'waters' of the family tree merging together; the concept of whakapapa is implicit to this concept. In practice this means that Kōhanga centres are serviced by and accessible to whānau members, and are a place where whānau values are highly valued.

There is also a recognition of the role of the hapū in terms of supporting the whānau in their role as carers and nurturers for the child (Ka`ai, 2004). Whereas whānau is one's "intimate circle", the hapū was the primary political body and provided the community or local context (Reilly, 2004, p. 63). Finally, the role of the iwi is recognised as that of advocates, negotiators and the providers of resources and support for whānau. Whereas pre-colonial iwi have been described as "conceptual" (Reilly, 2004, p. 64), iwi today are often corporate bodies that can attract and disperse financial and other resources.

Thus, Kōhanga are based on the principle of whānau. Although, the word whānau originally referred to the extended family or kin group, in modern times, the word has evolved to include new forms of whānau that maintain the traditional values of the group (Metge, 1995). This new definition includes TKR whānau made up of a variety of people who may or may not be related but who share connections to a specific TKE centre. The principle of whānau is demonstrated in the TKR environment through the expectation that family members actively participate in decision-making by attending regular TKR whānau meetings

¹⁰⁶ The procedures, customs and practices associated with Māori.

¹⁰⁷ Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kinship group. It also extends to other to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.

¹⁰⁸ Affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy.

¹⁰⁹ Support, hospitality.

¹¹⁰ Spirit, soul, quintessence – spirit of a person which exists beyond death.

(King, J., 2001). Moreover, whānau are expected to learn te reo Māori alongside their children, if they don't already know it, and to speak the language in the home. These principles form the basis for the operations of TKR and “weave the korowai of the movement which cloaks the dreams and aspirations of the Māori people for its mokopuna¹¹¹ and future generations” (Pohatu, Stokes & Austin, 2006, p. 7). These also promote the language-planning principles of acquisition and usage.

A number of barriers to TKR provision have arisen in the years since the movement began. One of these has been a lack of appropriate educational and developmental resources which has forced many teachers to spend significant periods of time developing and finding Māori language activities, resources and visual aids. Other barriers include training of kaiako,¹¹² funding, and the development of infrastructure (King, J., 2001).

As a response to these issues, TKRNT¹¹³ was established in 1982 and was incorporated as a charitable trust in 1983. The Trust quickly established 45 training centres to prepare kaiako through the Blue Book training syllabus, completion of which was required for all TKR kaiako. In 1991, this was replaced by an accredited training programme called Whakapakari Whānau¹¹⁴ (meaning ‘strengthening families’) which takes three years to complete and covers all aspects of childcare, language and culture. People wanting to engage in Whakapakari Whānau training required a good level of Māori language proficiency, which could be gained through other courses offered by the Trust. Participants also had to be working in TKR and needed the support of TKR whānau, who were actively involved in the participant’s training. This can cause problems for TKR that lack people with expertise to draw on (King, J., 2001).

TKR National Trust aims to manage the kaupapa¹¹⁵ of the TKR movement and to facilitate an educational partnership between the Māori people and government. Initially, the Trust was under the responsibility of the Department of Māori Affairs, but in 1990, this was transferred to the newly established MOE. As a result, there was a greater emphasis placed on regulatory control, affecting the operation of centres.

Kōhanga Reo had to come to terms with the regulatory environment and compliance of the early childhood sector and a mainstream department, whilst maintaining the unique Kaupapa of the Kōhanga Reo movement... Despite this the Kōhanga Reo movement continued to grow in answer to the desperate cry from out kaumātua (elders) parents and rangatahi (young) to save the Māori language from disappearing (TKRNT, 2010, para. 5).

¹¹¹ Grandchildren – children or grandchildren of a son, daughter, nephew, neice, etc.

¹¹² Teacher(s).

¹¹³ Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust.

¹¹⁴ An accredited training programme for TKR kaiako.

¹¹⁵ Topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme.

Regulatory control of the movement is at the centre of recent protests related to the funding of TKR, mainly due to the lack of funding for kaumātua who are usually not registered or qualified teachers (“Hundreds protest ‘bias’ against Kōhanga”, 2011). As a result, it has been said that “the Education Ministry is choking the life out of the movement by blocking kaumātua¹¹⁶ and kuia¹¹⁷ from contributing to their mokopuna’s education” (“Kōhanga legacy under threat”, 2011).

The fact that a large amount of people are engaged in TKR often without payment is also borne out in statistical data. A 2001 Survey on the Health of the Māori Language found that 38,400 people or 12% of all Māori adults had contributed to TKR in some way, and that 83% of these TKR workers had reported that they had not been paid for these services (Statistics New Zealand, 2004). Moreover, kaumātua play a crucial role in TKR, often providing the highest level of language competence in centres. As a result, they are pivotal in providing a Māori language environment for TKR children as well as supporting whānau and other teachers to gain language skills.

In response to this situation, the Trust has taken a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, arguing that if the Crown continues to ignore the vital role of TKR in Māori language and cultural revitalisation, the movement’s survival will be in danger. The Trust claims that funding of TKR contributes to the government’s responsibilities to protect the Māori language under the Treaty of Waitangi. Subsequently, 400 people took part in a hīkoi (protest march) to the Waitangi Tribunal offices in Wellington, in support of the claim. Marchers included two Māori Labour Party MPs, as well as the leader of the Mana Party, Hone Harawira (“Hundreds protest ‘bias’ against Kōhanga”, 2010). As yet, this situation has not been resolved but follows concerns raised by the Ministerial Taskforce on ECE regarding the impact of a lack of government funding on the movement (“Warning on state of Kōhanga Reo”, 2011).

When considered alongside the competency rates for Māori language speakers by age, it is clear that TKR has had an influence on the number of speakers of te reo Māori. Also, Māori is a very youthful population. Although only 18% of Māori aged 0-14 years have Māori language competencies, this equates to more than 35,000 people. At the other end of the scale, 41% of Māori over the age of 55 have Māori language competencies; this equates to just over 22,000 people. Due to the significant proportion of Māori being under the age of 25, despite the percentage of speakers dropping over time, the total number of people who speak the language tends to grow across generations. One age bracket that does not follow this pattern is the group aged 15-34 years whose numbers are greater than those aged 0-14. This may be due to the contraction of TKR and other KM educational initiatives in recent years.¹¹⁸ Just like the enrolments in TKR, the number of speakers in the 0-14 year’s age

¹¹⁶ Adults, elders, elderly men, elderly women.

¹¹⁷ Elderly women, grandmothers, female elders.

¹¹⁸ See appendix 14.

range dropped slightly between 2001 and 2006 (TPK, 2008a). The decline in student numbers may be due to a range of factors such as the contraction of MME, or the fact that Māori language policy and planning has not been proactively undertaken over the past decades. This second point is supported by the Waitangi Tribunal who claim that this contraction is due to a lack of partnership with Māori, failure to adequately implement the Tribunal's recommendations on the Māori language claims, and repeated failures in policy development and resourcing (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010b). In conclusion, TKR movement has made a significant contribution to Māori language revitalisation since its establishment in the 1980s, particularly in terms of language acquisition and usage. However, despite the swiftness of the movement's growth, since 1994 the organisation's development has contracted (Tahana, 2012). Significant growth in the Māori-speaking population can also be noted in the 15-34-year-old age cohort. Unfortunately, this has been accompanied by a lower number of speakers in the 0-14 age cohort, the group that is currently engaged in compulsory education (TPK, 2008a). There may be a link between these statistics and the availability of Māori medium education to children in this age range.

Primary and secondary schooling

The development of KKM as a Māori-immersion primary education programme was "a natural progression from Kōhanga Reo" (Durie, 1998, p. 304). After the early success of TKR, problems began to arise for schools as the first TKR graduates started to enrol in the mid to late 1980s. The State school system's response to them was "fragmented, unco-ordinated and luke-warm" (Smith & Smith, 1990, p. 147). Some schools established bilingual units and included Māori-language education with community support but none followed the example set by TKR. Subsequently, as a result of the frustration felt by parents, "Kura Kaupapa Māori developed as 'resistance' initiatives [and] as a response to the need for language and culture revitalisation" (Smith, G.H., 1997, p. 227). The term 'KKM' was coined at the Auckland TKR whānau meeting held at Awhireinga Kōhanga, Mt Eden in 1987 when the idea of establishing a KM schooling system for TKR graduates was mooted. As a result, Te Kōmiti o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tamaki-makau-rau¹¹⁹ was formed. Their first task was to launch a political campaign to encourage state establishment of KKM. In parallel, the committee sought to start such a school for the children who had been held back at TKR. In 1988, 294 children required KKM schooling in Auckland (not including South Auckland). In the third term of that year, the first Kura was opened in temporary accommodation with a volunteer teacher. The following year, Te KKM o Waipareira was opened in a vacant school with the State as the landlord, yet the State provided no funding. The early days were tough for Waipareira with problems including high rent, dilapidated accommodation, a long waiting list, high fees, voluntary teachers and pressured parents (Rata, 1989). However, in 1988, Auckland Education Board started to provide help with equipment, operating costs and transport, as well as providing practical and moral support for the Kura. Subsequently,

¹¹⁹ The Committee for the KKM of Auckland.

1989 became a boom year for Kura establishments with two Kura operating in Auckland already (Waipareira, and Hoani Waititi in West Auckland) and two further Auckland Kura that opened in July, in Central Auckland and at Rāhuitanga Kōkiri in Ōtara.

The main characteristic of KKM governance is Te Aho Matua, which became a requirement of the Education Act in 1990. Te Aho Matua is “the foundation document and driving force for Kura Kaupapa Māori” (Tākao, Grennell, McKegg & Wehipeihana, 2010, p. 8), and is made up of six parts which each have a focus on key aspects of a child’s education.¹²⁰ The document sets out the philosophy and principles of the movement and provides guidelines for parents, teachers and boards of trustees in their various roles. It is included in all Kura charters and forms the basis for curriculum planning and design. It is written in what is described as “a typical elliptical Māori style which implies meaning and requires interpretation rather than translation” (Tākao, 2010, p. 154).

Trends in MM schooling at the primary and secondary levels are similar to those described in terms of ECE. Data from the 2001 and 2006 censuses showed that the number of schools providing MM options dropped minimally (from 428 schools to 421) (TPK, 2008a; 2008b). However, these drops relate mainly to the number of schools with bilingual classes (TPK, 2008a). The number of immersion schools (including KKM) and schools with immersion classes actually increased in the same period (TPK, 2008b). As a result, in 2008, there were around 26,340 Māori students (16%) enrolled in Māori medium settings (TPK, 2008a). The number of KKM in particular has remained fairly stable after a period of initial growth; however, there has been a slight contraction in the number of Kura in recent years.¹²¹ On the positive side, achievement data suggests that Māori students involved in Māori immersion education have a higher rate of attaining NCEA than Māori enrolled in English-speaking schools (TPK, 2008b). the reason for these declining numbers is unclear but this may be due to the lack of coordination and monitoring in Māori language planning that has been in evidence over the last decade or so.

It can be inferred from statistical data that Kura are contributing to the process of language revitalisation, in that, between 2001 and 2006, people aged 25-29 and 30-34 showed a slight rise in the percentage of language speakers, whereas in all of the other ranges, the proportion dropped (MSD¹²², n.d.). Moreover, it is important to note that today only 3% of Māori children attend KM schools (*Waka Huia*, July 10, 2011; see discussion of mainstream education below).

KKM have been in existence since the late 1980s and developed out of the success of TKR. They operate as sites of resistance that seek to create a transformative praxis through education and to overcome the clear ethnic disparities that are evident in educational

¹²⁰ See appendix 16.

¹²¹ See appendix 17.

¹²² New Zealand Ministry of Social Development.

achievement in Aotearoa New Zealand. Kura Kaupapa initially experienced a period of growth; however, more recently the number of Kura has dropped slightly. Nevertheless, the number of students enrolled in Kura has remained fairly stable since 2007, with the number increasing slightly between 2009 and 2010. Kura are identifiable by their adherence to Te Aho Matua as a philosophical base that focuses on Māori cultural values whilst also meeting the legislative requirements of the New Zealand education system and the national curriculum. Despite some data suggesting that Kura may have contributed to language revitalisation, it is difficult to make concrete links between kura and the health of the language, particularly in terms of language acquisition. Nevertheless, the provision of Māori language education at this level contributes to language revitalisation by supporting language acquisition and usage in the kura setting. Furthermore, through the provision of jobs for Māori-speaking teachers, this movement also supports language status and provides a platform for educators to engage in language discourse. The next section considers the development of KM education in the tertiary sector, particularly in terms of wānanga.

Tertiary education

The third layer in the KM education movement is that of wānanga first established in the early 1980s. Wānanga developed as contemporary expressions of Māori agency and are based on the pre-colonial concept of wānanga as a higher educational institution. The term comes from the name for Māori houses of higher learning known as *whare wānanga*¹²³ (see Best, 1923). The development and characteristics of contemporary wānanga are discussed below in terms of their contribution to Māori language revitalisation. It is also important to note that the universities who have adopted Māori names also refer to themselves as wānanga or *whare wānanga*, for example, Te Whare Wānanga o Otago¹²⁴.

The essential role of wānanga in pre-colonial society was to ensure the continuation of the culture's accumulated knowledge and practices through oral tradition (Benseman, 1992). According to Best (1923), *whare wānanga* had a number of common features. Students were carefully chosen and were of high rank within Māori society. Furthermore, they were tested on their ability to recite *kōrero pūrākau* (tribal stories) before entry, and only those with excellent retention skills were admitted. Numbers were strictly limited with wānanga rarely giving access to more than eight students at one time. There was an excellent student to teacher ratio, with plenty of *tohunga* (cultural experts) available to act as instructors. Māori traditions and customs were practised, and teaching aids were used to promote learning (Benseman, 1992).

¹²³ University, place of higher learning – traditionally places where *tohunga* taught the sons of *rangatira* (chiefs, male or female) their people's knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices.

¹²⁴ The University of Otago.

Contemporary wānanga are higher educational institutions developed by iwi and pan-tribal groups that have arisen as an expression of Māori agency; this is the power of the people to negotiate and/or resist, either passively or actively, as opposed to accepting or conforming to the dominant forces of the state (McCarthy, 1994). Contemporary wānanga were established in response to traditionally poor Māori achievement rates in higher education, and aim to provide an ideological base which is either distinctly Māori or more specifically iwi-based. Furthermore, they often sit within a wider iwi or pan-tribal plan and are an integral mechanism in the attainment of tino rangatiratanga (McCarthy, 1994).

From the early 1970s, repeated proposals for state support of wānanga were addressed to the Crown but the response was unenthusiastic. It was not until the amendment of the Education Act in 1993 (see discussion about legislation and policy above) that wānanga were recognised by the Crown (TWOR, n.d.a). This occurred following a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal made in May 1988 by Rongo Herehere Wetere on behalf of Te Tauihu o ngā Wānanga Association, the group that represents the three wānanga. The claim known as WAI 718 stated that the Crown had failed to fund wānanga equitably in comparison with other tertiary institutions and urgent measures were required as two of the wānanga were on the verge of “financial collapse” due to the lack of capital funding (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, para. 5). After the claim’s request for urgency was upheld, Tribunal members, Judge Richard Kearney, Josephine Anderson and Keita Walker heard the claim between October and December 1988 with the final report released in April 1989. The Tribunal found that the Crown’s tertiary education policies had disadvantaged the wānanga and had placed their operations at risk. The recommendation was that the government should provide a one-off payment to each wānanga to cover compensation for money invested in land, buildings, plant and equipment, the real cost of bringing their buildings, plant and equipment up to a standard comparable to other tertiary education institutions, and the costs incurred in the preparation and presentation of the claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999). In late 1993, wānanga were recognised under section 162 of the Education Act, recognising wānanga as “unique organisations who offer quality education based on Māori principles and values” (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010, para. 1); Integral to this is the teaching of te reo Māori.

The three wānanga of Aotearoa New Zealand operate under distinct principles that are derived from tikanga Māori (Māori cultural law and lore). For example, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa identifies four values which are “embedded in, and woven through” their operations: Te Aroha – recognition of relationships and responsibilities; Te Whakapono – the principles of tika¹²⁵ and pono¹²⁶; Ngā Ture – ethical behaviour; and Kotahitanga – unity and connectedness (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2010b, p. iii). Similarly, TWOR also identifies a set of values that stem from Māori culture and which guide their operations: Manaakitanga – hospitality, generosity; Rangatiratanga – leadership; Whanaungatanga – relationships;

¹²⁵ Correctness.

¹²⁶ Authenticity.

Kotahitanga – unity of purpose; Wairuatanga – spirituality; Ūkaipōtanga – recognition of wider tribal links; Pukengatanga – scholarship; Kaitiakitanga – sustainability; Whakapapa – kinship; and Te Reo – language revitalisation (TWOR, 2005, pp. 6-11).

The three wānanga demonstrate somewhat different approaches to the teaching of the language across their programmes. TWOR is more specific about their focus on language revitalisation within their values and this is also clearly identifiable in their programmes, in that all of their courses (except for certificate) include a specialisation and core components relating to te reo Māori (as well as iwi and hapū studies, and rorohiko [computer] studies; TWOR, n.d.b). Subsequently, language learning is an integral aspect of the programmes at Raukawa. This approach has the potential to support language acquisition by teaching people the language, language status by making the language a core component of their degree programmes, and language corpus and discourse through research on language decline and revitalisation.

At Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, the Māori language is also a core element of their Bachelors' programmes (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, n.d). However, of the two degree programmes offered by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, only one, the Bachelor of Teaching (Primary) (Levels 5-7), includes Māori language as a core aspect of the curriculum. The other degree programme, the Bachelor of Māori Visual Arts (Levels 5-7), does not include an explicit Māori language component, although incidental language learning may occur (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, n.d.). This may be because TWOA has actively targeted non-Māori enrolments, for example, through their Kiwi Ora programme aimed at migrants that had its funding cut in 2006 (Stokes, 2006). Nevertheless, by other measures Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is actively engaged in language revitalisation, in that in 2005, 85% of the 9,000 students engaged in dedicated Māori language programmes were enrolled in wānanga, and particularly Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TPK, 2008a).

The language is a key element of the operation of modern wānanga. What is more, the statistics for wānanga show that they are making a great contribution to Māori education in general as well as providing opportunities for Māori language acquisition. For example, in 2005, wānanga were the leading tertiary provider for Māori adults. Furthermore, of the 4,000 other tertiary students studying te reo Māori as part of another programme, 55% were enrolled in wānanga. On the down side, only about half of those studying Māori at tertiary level learn the language for one year, and most of these at a senior high school level. Furthermore, there is a lower participation rate amongst men whereas women are highly represented, particularly in the 25-44 years age bracket (TPK, 2008a). Yet, despite these trends in wānanga enrolments, the statistics for Māori language speakers by age tell a different story. While the proportion of men and women who are competent in te reo is fairly similar across all age ranges, it is clear that the proportion of adults who are competent in te reo is slowly declining over time, despite the hard work being undertaken in wānanga (MSD, n.d.).

Rather than their contribution to language revitalisation in particular, it is the overwhelming contribution that wānanga have made in general that has directly influenced increases in the number of Māori accessing tertiary education. This has included forays into flexible, blended and online educational pedagogies. Although the language is not at the centre at all of the wānanga courses, opportunities for implicit language learning are evident, as well as a focus on te reo Māori in many of the graduate programmes on offer. KM tertiary education initiatives have great potential to contribute to the process of language revitalisation particularly in terms of status and acquisition. They provide another pathway for learning the language based on pedagogies that may cater for a different cohort of learners, and their emphasis on te reo as part of their study options and operations highlights the language's equal status alongside English. Moreover, there may be flow-on impacts in terms of wānanga contributing to the intergenerational transmission, in that, adult learners of the language are often also involved in parenting roles. This is also supported by adult education programmes that teach the language, such as Te Ataarangi.

Adult education

Until recently government funded adult education also included Adult and Community Education (ACE), usually offered as night classes at local high schools and community centres and sometimes including courses in te reo Māori. However, in the 2009 Budget, approximately 80% of ACE funding was cut, leading to the reduction and loss of these opportunities for adult learners (Dickey, 2009). The provision of Māori language learning opportunities for adults is mainly orchestrated by mainstream providers such as universities, polytechnics and institutes of technology, and KM providers such as wānanga, particularly Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, who has outreach campuses around the country. However, one community based movement operating for over thirty years that focuses on teaching te reo to adult learners is Te Ataarangi. Te Ataarangi provides an approach to Māori language learning that is unique in that it is home and community-based and focuses on the important language modes of speaking and listening. Moreover, Te Ataarangi has been in operation for over 30 years, making it worthy of exploration. This section outlines the history, methods and provision of Te Ataarangi in terms of its contribution to language revitalisation.

Benton (2007) describes Te Ataarangi as a “non-formal [and] family-based” (p. 171) movement that brings learners together with native speakers of the language. Two key identities were responsible for this “flax-roots” (Ratima, 2008, p. 2) development: Māori author and academic, Katerina Te Heikoko Mataira; and Ngati Porou kuia, Ngoingoi Pewhairangi. Mataira undertook research that applied and adapted the teaching methodologies of Caleb Gattegno to te reo Māori in schools in Hamilton (Ka`ai, 2008), having been introduced to the method in 1989 as a means of teaching Fijian (Paipa, 2010). On the advice of Sir John Bennett, Mataira then recruited the support of Pewhairangi who was working at the National Council for Education at the time (Ka`ai, 2008). The two women

had distinct roles in the movement: whereas Mataira played an academic and research role, Pewhairangi was able to carry their message around the country that language revitalisation was a Māori imperative (Higgins, 1997, cited by Ka`ai, 2008).

The educational model on which Te Ataarangi is based, Gattegno's Silent Way approach, is a learner-centred pedagogy that emphasises discovery and awareness, and is underpinned by the idea that each learner has the capacity to learn a foreign language (Paipa, 2010). Key teaching resources used in this method are rākau,¹²⁷ used as visual reminders for language structures and constructs (Pint, 2003), are "small coloured pieces of wood" (Paipa, 2010, p. 2) "of various lengths and colours" (Pint, 2003, n.p.). In Te Ataarangi, pouako¹²⁸ were trained to facilitate language acquisition from beginner to advanced levels, with training focusing on language acquisition theory, principles and practice. Integral to the training was an emphasis on the creative manipulation of rākau, which are used to demonstrate a concept to learners who repeat the concept to show their understanding (Paipa, 2010). As explained by Millican (2005),

Rods are used to represent words, to draw attention to prefixes and suffixes, to build stories and to convert stories into texts. Once a rod has been named by a group it carries that meaning for the duration of the class. Groups will stare at a series of rods arranged on a table and generate language from them, building words into sentences and sentences into texts (p. 65, cited by Ka`ai, 2008).

Other adult educational providers such as wānanga have also adopted Gattegno pedagogies for language learning (Spolsky, 2005).

As well as providing a place for the teaching of Māori knowledge, initiatives such as Te Ataarangi allow for continuity of "cultural distinctiveness and identities that were uniquely Māori" (Ritchie, 1992, cited by Moeke-Pickering, 1996). At the centre of this is an emphasis on the continuity of te reo Māori as a living language and a crucial aspect of Māori culture and identity. Te Ataarangi was set up in 1980 shortly before the genesis of the TKR movement. It grew as a means of teaching the language to parents of children engaged in KM education (Tangaere, 1992). Haig (1997) describes her experiences as an Ataarangi tutor and the philosophies that underpinned the movement:

Not only did mothers come along, but we also had quite a few old people attend. As Ngoi was part of the National Council of Adult Education she looked at it this way: if we teach the parents first and then they can teach their children. Of course Kōhanga Reo wasn't thought of at that time. The way we viewed things was that a Māori child is born Māori and needs her own language. She wasn't born a Pakeha. She was born a Māori. I just feel that they are Māori children and when you teach them their

¹²⁷ Cuisenaire rods.

¹²⁸ Teachers.

language you give them their wairua back. Their wairua is the language. If they can speak Māori, it means they are Māori. If they can't speak Māori, then what are they? (pp. 43-44).

Thus, Te Ataarangi was seen as a vehicle for this through the education of parents.

One of the first roles that Mataira and Pewhairangi undertook was the recruitment and training of pouako (tutors) in the Silent Way teaching method. Rather than focusing on attracting qualified teachers for this, the pair sought out native speakers including all of the Māori speakers from the Gear Meat Works in Petone (Ka'ai, 2008). Mehira Solomon talks about her experiences of attending an Ataarangi training course in the early days of the movement:

When I was invited to go I agreed, and it was one of the best weeks I had. My reo came back. What really surprised me was how quickly I was able to converse in te reo again. The total immersion was what really did it (cited by Selby, 1999, p. 45).

Pouako were encouraged to create a positive, trusting environment in which learners gained confidence and skills in the language. Pouako gauge this by listening and looking for signs that learners were developing confidence and trust in the learning environment. Signs included posture, delivery of kōrero, the timbre and rhythm of their voice, use of new material and the ability of the learner to self-correct as they spoke. These behaviours signal that the learner was “becoming accustomed to hearing themselves speak in the target language” (Paipa, 2010, p. 4). Self-correction is a key element of the Silent Way approach and includes a range of techniques such as finger gestures used by tutors to help students correct their own mistakes rather than relying on the tutor to correct them (Pint, 2003). Other examples of the requirement of pouako and students in Te Ataarangi are provided in appendix 18.

Te Ataarangi pedagogies focused on three key kupu Māori (Māori words) as integral to the learner experience – whakarongo¹²⁹, titiro¹³⁰ and kōrero.¹³¹ The aim was to promote the balanced growth of the learners’ physical, psychological and spiritual development similar to that provided in Rudolf Steiner schools (Paipa, 2010). These words are the basis of the particular form of immersion offered by Te Ataarangi.

Today, Te Ataarangi provides a range of language learning programmes to enable individuals, whānau, communities and neighbourhoods to gain competence in te reo Māori, including community-based classes, Te Ataarangi in the workplace classes, Kāinga Kōrerorero¹³², regional immersion hui, national community hui, and developing speaker

¹²⁹ Listen.

¹³⁰ Look.

¹³¹ Talk.

¹³² A programme designed to support the use of Māori in the home.

communities (Te Ataarangi, 2008-2011). Since the establishment of Te Ataarangi, there have been 30,000 graduates from the programme (*Dame Katerina Te Heikoko Mataira*, 2011) and 50,000 have accessed the programme (Te Ataarangi, 2008-2011). Moreover, it is estimated that 45% of those learning te reo are doing so through community education programmes, of which Te Ataarangi is a well-known example (TPK, 2008a). As stated by the Minister of Māori Affairs, Pita Sharples in 2011, “Te Ataarangi is recognised as one of the significant programmes to address the revitalization of te reo Māori amongst non-speaking Māori adults, a flagship for te reo Māori” (cited by Akuhata, 2011). It has also been described as one of “the most successful ‘flax-root’ driven language movements [which] continue[s] to transform whānau from passive to active language learners (Rewi & Higgins, 2011, para. 5). Despite these attestations, there is little research evidence to indicate the level of contribution that Te Ataarangi has made to Māori language revitalisation. However, two current research projects are exploring success factors for and the impact of government support on successful Māori language revitalisation movements, namely Te Ataarangi and TKR (Rewi & Higgins, 2011a; 2011b). The main way that Te Ataarangi promotes the process of language revitalisation is through its support of language acquisition, through its focus on teaching the language to adults. This has the potential to contribute to language usage and intergenerational transmission, because there is the potential for adults who have acquired the language to use it as a means of communication in their homes. However, such a link has not yet been established and more research is required in this area.

Mainstream education

At the same time that developments occurred in KM educational provision, similar growth has taken place in mainstream education, including Māori Studies departments in universities and other tertiary institutions, and Māori in the mainstream schooling curriculum. The following provides an overview of the role of mainstream educational institutions in the promotion of Māori language revitalisation.

Māori Studies can be described as “an academic subject in which scholars research and teach the language, values, knowledges, and practices belonging to the indigenous people of New Zealand” (Reilly, 2011, p. 340). The term was initially conceived by advocates at the University of Auckland in response to collegial opposition to such curriculum development (Webster, 1998). Initially, Māori Studies aimed to simply teach the language but subsequently the discipline has expanded to include elements of Māori culture such as kawa¹³³, whaikorero and waiata.¹³⁴ As the field has continued to develop, other cultural elements have begun to be offered such as kōrero neherā¹³⁵ and the Māori arts of rāranga¹³⁶ and whakairo¹³⁷ (Walker, 1999). Today, Māori Studies departments offer a

¹³³ Marae protocols.

¹³⁴ Song, chant, psalm.

¹³⁵ History.

¹³⁶ Weaving.

¹³⁷ Carving.

diverse range of courses covering a range of topics including the Treaty of Waitangi, policy development and analysis, Māori pedagogies, and research methods and ethics. Often these departments have further expanded to include other elements of cultural studies such as Pacific Islands Studies and Indigenous Studies, for example, Te Tumu at the University of Otago.

The first Māori Studies department was established in 1952 at the University of Auckland (Webster, 1998). Other similar developments followed, often from within another academic department, probably due to the fact that, at first, Māori Studies was “not seen to be separable from anthropology nor worthy of a place in its own right” (Mead, 1983, p. 335). Over time, however, Māori Studies has become a separate entity and today Māori Studies or a similar discipline is part of every university in the country (see Timms, 2006 for more information about Māori Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand).

Pedagogies are based on KM but, rather than being based in the community, Māori Studies is located within the academy and therefore within a mainstream, colonised domain. Some would argue that this calls into question the ability of Māori Studies to maintain its authenticity, given the need to engage with the mainstream through its positioning within the academy. However, others contend that this in fact is a key strength of this approach, given that the positioning of Māori Studies within the universities creates a site for the development of a critical consciousness at the heart of mainstream culture (Ka`ai, 1999).

In 2006 around 4000 students were learning te reo Māori through university studies; this equated to 15% of the total number of language learners in tertiary education (MOE, 2008b). Although this number is significant, it has also been conceded that

tertiary education courses are not sufficient on their own to build conversational proficiency in the Māori language. Students also need access to a range of environments outside of formal education setting (i.e. in the community) where the language is used and supported (MOE, 2008b, p. 6).

Nevertheless, Māori Studies has some potential for promoting language revitalisation, particularly in terms of language acquisition, status, discourse and corpus. Acquisition is supported by the provision of learning opportunities at a range of levels; however, it appears that most engaging in the language in this setting only study to a secondary-school level. The presence of Māori Studies within the university demonstrates the language’s status alongside other academic disciplines. Research can contribute to discourse and corpus, by engaging in critical analysis of language decline and revitalisation, and producing books and articles through or involving the language. However, more needs to be done in terms of the discipline’s contribution to the vital areas of language usage and intergenerational transmission. Programmes that have been initiated to support university language study include attendance at wānanga ā-reo (immersion retreats) and Café Reo

(language coffee groups), and may be useful as a means of normalising language usage in informal settings.

The second example of Māori in mainstream education relates to the curriculum for Māori language in English-medium, or mainstream, primary schools. Despite the development and growth of Māori medium education since the 1980s, over 90% of Māori children are attending mainstream schools (*Waka Huia*, July 10, 2011). Due to the overwhelming number of Māori children accessing mainstream education and the clear disparities evident between Māori and non-Māori rates of educational participation and success, the need to provide specific support for Māori students in mainstream education has been identified. As a result, a range of research projects have been undertaken in recent years focusing on this area. These have included Te Kauhua Māori mainstream pilot project (Tuuta, Bradnam, Hynds, Higgins & Broughton, 2004), and Te Kotahitanga research project (Meyer, Penetito, Hynds, Savage, Hindle & Sleeter, 2010), which both evaluated the success of professional development programmes aimed at supporting Māori educational success in the mainstream environment. The role of te reo was noted in both reports including teacher's use of te reo as a natural aspect of school and classroom activities, correct pronunciation of Māori words and names, and use of mihimihi when interacting with Māori learners and their whānau. Both reports indicated that the use of Māori language by mainstream teachers was met with a positive response from Māori students and that some Māori learners said that they enjoyed helping teachers with pronunciation and learning the language. This research underscored the importance of te reo as a key aspect of effective education for Māori in mainstream education. This also correlates with the theoretical view of education for language revitalisation, in that intensive professional development for teachers in Māori pedagogies and conversational language was considered a supporting factor for language acquisition (Ratima & May, 2011).

In the context of clear and continuing disparities between Māori and non-Māori levels of educational attainment, the Curriculum Guidelines for Te Reo Māori in English-medium schools for years 1 to 13 or ages 5-18 years were published (MOE, 2009b), aiming to provide a framework for teaching the language in mainstream education, and including a set of guidelines developed as a response to the provisions of the Māori Education Strategy (MOE, 2009a).

The curriculum document refers to the following whakataukī:

<i>Toi te kupu,</i>	The language is permanent,
<i>Toi te mana,</i>	Prestige is permanent,
<i>Toi te whenua;</i>	The land is permanent;
<i>Ko te reo rangatira e kōiri atu nei.</i>	The resonating sound of the prestigious Māori language.

(MOE, 2009b, p. 5).

This emphasises the idea that the language is a taonga, and recognises that the language is inextricably linked to culture and identity. The structure of the guidelines for Māori language in mainstream provides proficiency statements for all the eight levels of the New Zealand curriculum (MOE, 2009b), and is supplemented by four resources “...intended to support and inspire teachers of Te Reo Māori as they design school and class curriculums to meet the particular needs, interests, and talents of their students” (MOE, 2009b, p. 7). The first of these is a CD-ROM entitled *He reo kōmanawa: images to inspire teaching and learning te reo Māori* that presents a set of digital resources sourced from the Digistore collection (MOE, 2010a), and that sets out a framework for designing sequenced activities to support learners. The second is Te Whakaipurangi Rauemi, a set of online teaching resources available through the Te Kete Ipurangi website (MOE, 2010b), which is designed to supplement teachers’ professional development as the needs of teachers change. An extensive collection of te reo Māori lesson plans is also available on the web to support teaching and learning at each of the eight curriculum levels (MOE, 2010c). Lesson plans include learning objectives, learning outcomes, links to reference material, suggested activities, and copy masters. Finally, *Ka mau te wehi* (colloquially meaning ‘awesome’; MOE, 2007) is a multimedia package designed for teachers of Years 7 and 8 who are not Māori speakers who would like to learn alongside their students, and includes teacher’s notes, unit plans and student worksheets, as well as two DVDs with waiata, scenarios and explanations about tikanga Māori. This is also available on the internet (MOE, 2010d).

The curriculum guidelines for the Māori language in mainstream education also provides an overview of the language’s history, information about the benefits of learning the language, and makes links to aspects of the New Zealand curriculum including shared values and key competencies. There is also information provided about Māori language learners and effective language teaching, the latter being primarily based on the inquiry-based teaching model. Further information is given about effective language learning, based on theories of intercultural communicative language learning and teaching (Newton, Yates, Shearn & Nowitzki, 2009, cited by MOE, 2009b). Thus, rather than concentrating on acquisition planning, as is common in language education, there is more focus on promoting language discourse and status. This is supported by the following statement: “This approach to teaching languages builds students awareness and knowledge of languages and cultures [discourse planning], fosters their development of positive attitudes about themselves and other people, and celebrates the unique nature of every language, every culture, and every person [status planning]” (MOE, 2009b, p. 22). This begs the question, then, does this new aspect of the New Zealand curriculum contribute to Māori language revitalisation? Given that these guidelines clearly support discourse and status planning, it implies the enhancement of people’s understanding regarding the challenges that languages and cultures are facing in the contemporary context and as a result of historical events, and

through the promotion of positive attitudes, values and beliefs relating to languages in general and te reo Māori in particular. Furthermore, in that they promote the two language-planning principles of status and discourse, as well as implicit links to language acquisition in that the basic language is taught, Māori in mainstream schooling can contribute to the process of language revitalisation, but is unlikely to directly promote intergenerational transmission.

Te reo Māori has been a long-standing feature of the mainstream educational landscape. The genesis of Māori Studies as an academic discipline began in the 1950s, and the subject is now a typical component of tertiary education in Aotearoa New Zealand. Students are able to engage in Māori Studies as a major, a minor, or an elective, with some programmes such as Teaching and Social Work also requiring students to take courses in Māori language and culture as a core aspect of their studies; however, this is only to a basic level, and conversational or professional language skills are not generally acquired.

Mead (1997) questioned the ability of universities to promote language revitalisation, claiming that the challenge was “to discover new and more effective ways of teaching Māori” (p. 29). Developments in educational technology such as e-learning and m-learning, may be able to achieve this, as the new challenge is “to construct a pedagogy that combines Māori values, customs and world view in the delivery of Māori language, incorporating digital and online learning strategies” (Duder, 2010, p. 27).

As statistical disparities between Māori and non-Māori educational attainment have persisted over time, the imperative to include Māori language and culture in mainstream education in an attempt to try and reduce the fissure has grown. Mainstream education’s contribution to language revitalisation stems from their ability to promote language status and discourse. Yet, the key areas of language usage and acquisition have less potential within these settings. Furthermore, mainstream education is less like to directly contribute to the process of intergenerational transmission, unless student learning is supplemented by a range of language domains in which they can gain experience and fluency in the language.

Conclusion

Māori language education is a key element of efforts for language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Provision has been developing since the 1950s in mainstream education, and the 1970s in terms of KM programmes. Characteristics of Māori-language education include various levels of immersion, a range of pedagogies especially those based on Māori culture and worldviews, and a range of mainstream and Māori-controlled environments. Māori-language education is the result of a range of influences including Māori language decline, but also due to factors such as low levels of Māori educational participation, retention and success compared to other ethnic groups, particularly Pākehā. Moreover, the genesis of language education programmes, and particularly KM programmes has been a key aspect of

political and activist movements based on the promises of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Despite the depth of provision, including an expectation that te reo be taught in New Zealand primary schools, the number of Māori-language speakers continues to decline and shortages of money, resources and teachers still plague the sector. Recently, TKRNT lodged a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal due to their concerns of being able to continue to operate under the current funding framework (see discussion above). Furthermore, in 2010, the Waitangi Tribunal released a media statement which included the following comments:

Te reo Māori is approaching a crisis point. Diminishing proportions of young speakers mean that the older native speakers passing away are simply not being replaced. Since 1993, the proportion of Māori children in early childhood education attending kōhanga reo has dropped from just under half to under a quarter. At school, the proportion of Māori children participation in Māori-medium education has dropped from a high point of 18.6 per cent in 1999 to 15.2 per cent in 2009. The total number of schoolchildren in Māori-medium learning has dropped each successive year since 2004. If the peak proportions of the 1990s had been maintained there would today be 9,600 more Māori children attending kōhanga reo and an extra 5,700 Māori schoolchildren learning via the medium of te reo (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010b).

The Tribunal found that failures on the part of the Crown have led to this situation including a lack of partnership with Māori, failure to adequately implement the Tribunal's recommendations on the Māori language claims, and repeated failures in policy development and resourcing (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010b). On the basis of this, the Tribunal has made four key recommendations, the main theme of which is to boost the role of TTWRM to the leading agency for Māori-language sector. Such centralised control would endow the Language Commission with increased powers to compel public bodies to contribute to language revitalisation, including closer monitoring of strategies, aims and targets for Māori language revitalisation, and would require schools and other educational institutions to develop language plans, requiring consultation with iwi and communities (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Despite huge advances in Māori language education provision, to date, these approaches have failed to yield language revitalisation. This supports the claim that "school alone are not enough to do the job" (Hornberger, 2008b, p. 1).

Gàidhlig language education in Alba Scotland

The tool for the establishment of Alba Scotland's state education system was the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 in which no provision was made for Gaelic education. After a lengthy campaign by ACG¹³⁸, a Gaelic language organisation established in 1891, a clause was included in the 1918 amendment of the Education Act obliging local authorities to provide Gaelic education in Gaelic-speaking areas (Robertson, 2001). Despite the ambiguity of this statement and the lack of support actually provided at the time, this gave the leverage

¹³⁸ An Comunn Gàidhealach, the Highland Association.

needed for the development of Gaelic education in Scotland, with influences from both the bottom-up and the top-down. This section provides an overview language education policy, for example the National Gaelic Education Plan (BnaG, 2007a), and considers the development of GME in Alba Scotland and its contribution to Gaelic language revitalisation. Subsequently, the four levels of language learning are considered in terms of developments in ECE, primary and secondary schools, and tertiary and adult education. This is followed by an overview of Gaelic language in mainstream, including Gaelic in education, that is, the teaching of Gaelic as a subject for senior school students in English-medium schools, and of Celtic Studies in the universities of Alba Scotland.

Legislation and policy

In recent years, activism has encouraged the development of Gaelic educational provision and government has been forced to create policy and legislation to accommodate this (Dunbar, 2006). This section considers the contribution that policy and legislation relating to Gaelic-language education has made to Gaelic language revitalisation.

An amendment made to the Act in 1918 included a provision for the teaching of Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas, a provision which has been carried forward in later education legislation, including section 1 of the Education (Scotland) Act 1980 (Dunbar, 2006). However, “the implications of this obligation have never been clear” (Dunbar, 2007, p. 50), and “this provision [following the 1980 amendment] has been of limited practical value” (Dunbar, 2006, p. 4). In reality, this clause did not result in the development of GME, which ultimately rose out of grass-roots developments in ECE that in turn filtered through to Gaelic medium provision at the primary schooling level (Dunbar, 2006).

Although some local bodies were proactive in developing GME provision in their area, others were not, and so to encourage engagement, the Grants for Gaelic Language Education (Scotland) Regulations were established in 1986, under which the Westminster government created a grants scheme that aimed to support local authorities with seeding money for GME initiatives. These Gaelic-specific grants contributed £3 to every £1 allocated by an education authority for GME, with a specific focus on supported Gaelic-related initiatives. As opposed to earlier government legislation, the Regulations played a significant role in the subsequent development of GME as a medium of instruction and administration, and in 2004/05, the scheme was worth £3.034 million (Dunbar, 2006).

Despite the growth in GME at this time, the movement was faced with a number of structural issues that affected the sectors growth, organisation and development. This included a lack of Gaelic teaching resources, a lack of continuity of provision, a persistent shortage of teachers, and a lack of support from some local authorities in the development of GME provision (Dunbar, 2006), culminating to a point where, “although there was expansion in provision, there was no *system* of GME in the true sense of the word” (Dunbar, 2006, p. 5). GME operated in a political environment in which the language had no official

status or role. As a result, a further initiative was established in 2000 with the passing of the Scotland's Schools etc. Act that aimed to encourage GME leadership and coordination. Significantly, local authorities were required to submit an annual report that outlined the circumstance in which they provide GME, and in the case that they already provided GME, the ways they intended to develop provision (subsection 5[2][c]).

The 2000 Act also initiated a system of national priorities and performance measures for education subsection 4(1), defined by the Scottish Ministers, and local bodies were required to publish an annual statement of educational improvement objectives relating to these. One of the national priorities for education was "to promote equality, and help every pupil benefit from education, with particular regard paid to Gaelic and other less used languages" (Dunbar, 2006, p. 6); however, although these provisions of the Act place some emphasis on Gaelic, they do not ensure that Gaelic be taught in schools and they do not necessarily guarantee the coordinated development of a system for GME (Dunbar, 2006). As a result, over several years, numbers in GME have been static (Dunbar, 2007).

A second policy event in 2000 has had more far-reaching implications for Gaelic language education was the UK's ratification of the ECRML in relation to six languages including Scottish Gaelic. Under Part III, article 8, the instrument of ratification identified subparagraphs 1 a (i), b (i) and c(i) which constituted the strongest measures with regards to early childhood, primary and secondary education. These obligations require that GME is available as part of normal education provision in Alba Scotland. According to Dunbar (2003), this expectation did not match the actual provision at the time, which was somewhat lesser than this (Council of Europe, 1992). Subsequently, in 2005, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act was passed, requiring that BnaG is able to "prepare and submit to the Scottish Ministers guidance in relation to the provision of Gaelic education and the development of such provision" (subsection 9[1]). Further to this, an amendment was made to the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act, stating that education authorities must have regard to any Gaelic language plan published by the authority, as well as any guidance provided by BnaG relating to Gaelic education (subsection 9[3]; Dunbar, 2003). Subsequently, a number of policies have emerged that have implications for Gaelic education (BnaG, 2007a; 2010).

The National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a) places educational provision at the heart of the strategy through a strong focus on the planning principle of language acquisition. Two of the three priority areas under this principle relate to acquisition through education, with the third referring to acquisition in the home, in which education, particularly at the early childhood level, also plays a significant role. The second priority area, acquisition through education, focuses on GME for native and second-language learners. Projects under this priority include the establishment of a National Gaelic Education Steering Group, implementation of a GME promotional campaign to raise the profile of GME among parents (thus, also promoting language status), encouragement of parental groups and local

authorities to develop GME provision, and an increase in the number of educational and associated health professionals able to support the GME sector (thus, supporting corpus; BnaG, 2007a).

In terms of the third priority area for language acquisition, acquisition in adult learning, the focus is on increasing the number of fluent and literate Gaelic speakers to support acquisition by children in homes and through GME. Projects to support this area include undertaking of a stock take of adult Gaelic learning opportunities, implementation of a grants scheme for those seeking to improve their Gaelic language skills, and encouragement of relevant bodies to develop regional Gaelic learning and cultural establishments (BnaG, 2007a).

This provides a cohesive approach to the promotion of Gaelic language acquisition with a focus on building capability for intergenerational transmission in homes and communities, using education to support this development. The approach is proactive in that it not only addresses the long-term barriers to the growth of Gaelic education; it is also future-focused and aims to build educational capability as a pathway to the reinvigoration of language acquisition in the home and community.

Alongside the national plan sits a second document, the National Gaelic Education Strategy published as an annex to the National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a), which is BnaG's guidance document on GME provision and development as specified under the Gaelic Language Act. The Education Strategy identifies five action areas for GME development: entitlement and language acquisition; language usage; GME; teacher recruitment, education and supply; and resources. Themes that are evident in the key tasks identified under each action area include: promotion, publicity and communication; expansion of teacher training, educational provision and support systems; accurate data collection; resource production; development of frameworks for the achievement of fluency; curriculum development; audits of current provision and needs assessments; and funding. Again, the focus is on proactive development of educational provision as well as reactive strategies addressing issues in the availability of teachers and the production of teaching resources. Moreover, this caters for four of the language-planning principles in that acquisition is supported by educational provision, status is encouraged through promotion, publicity and communication, corpus is supported by curriculum and resource development, and discourse is catered for through audits of current provision and needs assessments. Gaelic-language usage is not directly targeted, and research and monitoring would be required to evaluate the impact of educational policy in this regard.

The most recent policy relevant to Gaelic education is *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig* that identifies "practical and urgent steps to increase the number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland" (BnaG, 2010, p. 2) in terms of five priority action areas to be BnaG's main foci until March 2012. These action areas are (1) support for parents, (2) promotion of Gaelic acquisition, (3)

adult learning, (4) 0-5 year's education, and (5) 5-18 year's education. The plan emphasises education as a key element of Gaelic language planning, and identifies support systems and promotion of Gaelic education as key pathways towards improving the uptake of Gaelic education by families. Furthermore, specific educational levels are also identified, namely early childhood, school and adult education. Language acquisition is supported through the focus on a range of education levels for language learning, as well language status through promotion of Gaelic acquisition. Moreover, the crucial area of language usage may be affected if families are encouraged to engage in GME.

Legislation and policy relating to Gàidhlig language education has developed dramatically since the adoption of the ECRML in regards to Gaelic. Subsequently, the Gaelic language Act, the National Plan for Gaelic and Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig have all contributed to the increased cohesion and clear direction evident in this area today. To date, BnaG have been able to make gains in this area by providing clear leadership and management of education for Gaelic language revitalisation in Alba Scotland. This includes recent changes in policy related to Gaelic ECE, particularly with regards to CNSA, also known as TAIC.

Early childhood education

The development of Gaelic education at the ECE level has its links with other movements seeking support for things Gaelic, including campaigns for Gaelic-language road signs and broadcasting. As stated by Stephen, McPake, McLeod, Pollock & Carroll (2010), "from the early 1980s onwards Gaelic early years and childcare provisions has played a crucial role in the Gaelic education system and Gaelic development initiatives more generally" (section 1.1). This included the development of Gaelic playgroups and CNSA. Today, Gaelic language policies like the National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007), and Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig (BnaG, 2010) include important provisions relating to ECE, underpinned by the idea that language acquisition in infancy is critical to the Gaelic language's future survival (BnaG, 2007a).

The history of Gaelic ECE in Alba Scotland dates back to the opening of the first Gaelic playgroup in Oban in 1980 (Smith, 2000). Following this, in 1982, leading personality, Fionnlaigh MacLeod (Finlay McLeod) established CNSA as a "one-man band" (MacKinnon, 1991a, p. 146), and four cròileagain¹³⁹ were subsequently set up in urban locations and the Gàidhealtachd. In 1984, Highland and Islands Development Board provided funds that enabled the establishment of a headquarters for CNSA with permanent staff in Inverness. By 1990, there were 76 croileagain catering for 1,200 children; parent and toddler groups had also been established, growing from seven in 1984 to 20 in 1990 (MacKinnon, 1991a). In 1986, there were 32 Gaelic playgroups operating, and a decade later, there were 50 (Macdonald, 1999). At the beginning of the 2006/2007 school year, there were 701 three to five-year-old children registered with Gaelic nursery units (BnaG, 2007a). CNSA, more recently known as TAIC, also provided 'Gaelic in the Home' courses which taught spoken,

¹³⁹ Gaelic playgroups.

conversational Gaelic to parents and other adults in the home environment (BnaG, n.d.c). GM¹⁴⁰ provision is offered in most parts of Alba Scotland, but with concentrations in the Highlands and Islands and in central urban areas, but there are significant gaps in geographic coverage beyond these areas (Scottish Government, 2010).

According to the CNSA/TAIC website, they provide a "range of play-based learning and social development activities" including songs, games, stories and creative pursuits in a "Gaelic environment" (TAIC, 2009, para. 4). Overall, in the 2011-2012 school year, there are 56 Gaelic pre-school voluntary groups and 61 Gaelic nurseries catering for 1,460 pupils (BnaG, 2012). CNSA/TAIC chief executive, Finlay McLeod advised me that he personally undertook home visits in areas trying to raise people's awareness of Gaelic (personal communication, June 28, 2009). However, rather than being the thriving national organisation that the internet suggests, CNSA/TAIC had its funding from BnaG cut in October 2010, even though the organisation was referred to by Joshua Fishman as "one of the few successful language revitalisation efforts in the entire world" (cited in "Gaelic centre to be silenced", 2011, para. 6). One blog refers to BnaG's actions as "intimidation and bullying" (*News bulletin: Taic/CNSA threatened with Destruction*, 2010); however, a comment on a second blog suggests that BnaG had questioned the clarity of TAIC's goals and the multiplicity of their activities (*Taic/CNSA threatened with destruction*, 2010).

Details of the change in funding were released by BnaG in December 2010 and were framed in terms of a new approach for early years' Gaelic development:

...the current arrangement which the Bòrd has in place with the organisation TAIC (formerly CNSA) will be superseded by a new comprehensive service which will support the delivery of early years provision for Gaelic. The new set-up will be delivered in partnership with other bodies, including the parental support group Comann nam Pàrant, HMIE and local authorities ("Bòrd na Gàidhlig confirms arrangements for early years Gaelic development", 2010).

Regarding the cutting of TAIC's funding, BnaG's chief executive, John Angus MacKay said, "a more systematic and coordinated approach [was required] and TAIC had not demonstrated that it was able to go forward in this way" (Paterson, 2010).

Events surrounding CNSA/TAIC's funding cuts are possibly due to the climate of change that is evident in terms of GME in Scotland at the moment. The National Plan for Gaelic provides a range of targets for Gaelic development for 2021, 2031 and 2041, in line with Scotland's census which takes place in each of these years. One of the targets for 2021 is to have 4000 students enrolled in the first year of primary education in that year, compared with just over 3000 students in 2006. Stephen et al (2010) argue that for this target to be achieved the GM early childhood and primary sectors both need to "undergo dramatic growth in the coming

¹⁴⁰ Gàidhlig-medium; through the medium of the Gaelic language.

years" (p. 2). The National Gaelic Education Strategy also lists the expansion of Gaelic childcare facilities and GM ECE among its progress goals (Stephen et al, 2010).

Since the publication of the National Plan for Gaelic, research has been undertaken into GM ECE provision, including a review of Gaelic early education and childcare (Stephen, McPake, McLeod, Pollock & Connell, 2010). The main finding was that GM early years' and childcare provision should be "well structured, well co-ordinated, well publicised and high quality... [as well as being] based on careful research and analysis" (p. 1) Of the four key areas identified in the National Plan for Gaelic, language acquisition relates most closely to GME and three of the four goals relating to language acquisition can be aligned with early years' provision. Language usage in the home is another strong aspect of these goals. Stephen et al's (2010) report identified a range of key issues relating to five areas including language learning and teaching, high quality experiences for children, supply of GM resources, varying parental perspectives and expectations, and managing demand for and promoting provision of GME. In response to these issues, the report made a number of recommendations in relation to early childhood provision and childcare, including improving professional development and training for GM provision, improved supply of resources and increased opportunities for children learning Gaelic in childcare and homes, development of a national promotion strategy focusing on the benefits of GME supported by a database and map of provision available, research into contributions of GME to language revitalisation, and a nationwide survey of parents regarding their choices in terms of GME (Stephen et al, 2010, p. 3). These recommendations promote a range of language-planning principles, including language corpus through supply of resources, language corpus via improvements in GME professional development and training, language status in relation to the national promotion strategy, and discourse through research into the contribution of GME to language revitalisation and the survey of parents.

GM ECE is undergoing vast changes, a fact that is further illustrated by the City of Edinburgh Council's (2011) consultation on GME in Edinburgh that led to the establishment of a dedicated Gaelic primary school in the city.¹⁴¹ Moreover, the release of the Gaelic Language Action Plan, *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig* (BnaG, 2010) underlines the climate of change taking place in terms of GM ECE. Under Action Area 4: 0-5 Years Education, BnaG refers to the development of "a new, comprehensive Bòrd na Gàidhlig early years initiative to coordinate, support and develop all aspects of Gaelic learning for 0-5 years" (p. 12). Time will only tell how successful this new initiative will be.

Contemporary GM ECE in Alba Scotland has a history that spans more than three decades. However, despite early advances, the uptake of ECE has been negatively affected by a lack

¹⁴¹ The City of Edinburgh Council opened a round of community consultation on Gaelic education in the city on 31 January 2011, including a survey and public meetings to assess ways to continue teaching in Gaelic (MacLeod, 2011). Consequently, in late October 2011, it was announced that a Gaelic primary school would be built in Bonnington as a result of the consultation process ("Go ahead for Edinburgh Gaelic school", 2011).

of resources and a lack of publicity. Today, under the new regime of Gaelic-language planning is carving new ground for GM ECE and is initiating a new system for GME at this level. It now may be a matter of waiting to see whether these tactics produce the result envisaged in language policies. Although current strategies in this area cater for four of the five language planning principles, support for language usage is less direct, and more needs to be done to understand how ECE can support the crucial areas of language usage in the home and intergenerational transmission.

Primary and secondary schooling

The development of GME in Alba Scotland ultimately arose out the social and cultural milieu of the 1970s, a decade in which many western nations saw the rise of rights movements, which ultimately led to the development of GME primary and secondary schools throughout the country following pressure from Gaelic language activists that led to the creation of GME, biligual road-signage and the establishment of Gaelic-language television (see Rothach, 2012). The following section discusses the genesis and development of GME, particularly in the primary and secondary sectors. It explores some of the problems that GME has faced and is facing today, and finally, it evaluates the contribution of primary and secondary GME to Gaelic language revitalisation.

The development of GME at the primary level can be traced back the re-organisation of regional government of Alba Scotland in 1975. Subsequently, the newly established Council for the Islands, Comhairle nan Eilean, launched stage one of a pioneering bilingual project at the primary schooling level in 1976, involving 20 of the Western Isles' 59 primary schools (Oliver, 2002; MacKinnon, 1991a; Robertson, 2001). Stage one ended in 1978, with the second stage taking place from 1976 to 1981, when methods and materials were applied in a further 14 schools. Finally, the policy developed out of the pilot programme was applied to all of the authority's primary schools (MacKinnon, 1991), and as a result, the project laid the foundations for GM schooling (Oliver, 2002; MacKinnon, 1991; Robertson, 2001). According to Oliver (2002), the project also led to the Scottish Office being increasingly involved in Gaelic issues.

A second event that contributed to GME's genesis was the success of CNSA in that the first two Gaelic medium units, established at Central Primary in Inverness and Sir John Maxwell Primary School in Glasgow in 1985, had connections with CNSA (BnaG, 2007a; Oliver, 2002). In effect, the provision of ECE by CNSA led to a sustained demand for GME at the primary school level (Dunbar, 2006). As a result, this led to a parent-led movement that sought to find a space for Gaelic in the curriculum of Scottish schools by engaging in lobbying and resistance. Thus, just as the provision of GM ECE encouraged the opening of the first GM units in schools, in the same way the establishment of GME in these schools led to a huge parental demand for such provision across the country (BnaG, 2007a). This led to the "mushrooming" (Robertson, 2001, p. 3) of GME provision in Scotland and subsequently, the

Grants for Gaelic Language Education (Scotland) Regulations 1986 was established, providing funding that encouraged the growth of GME by giving local authorities the financial support required to meet parental demand.

Consequently, GME flourished; in 1985, the first GME units catering for 28 students were opened in Glasgow and Inverness, quickly followed by a further two schools in Portree (Skye) and Breasclete (Lewis). MacKinnon (1991a) describes this as "a historic watershed in Gaelic education" (p. 146), and by the end of the decade, there were 16 such units operating and nationwide 1,159 students were being taught in immersion settings. (MacKinnon, 1991a).

Following the early boom in GME development, the early 2000s saw a decline in the rate of progress, and despite GME being "a development of historic proportions... the scale remains dangerously small" (McLeod, 2001, p. 3). There has also been a recent decline in the rate of progress in GME, with the annual rate of growth slowing to 2.4% between 1997/1998 and 2000/2001. Previously between 1993/1994 and 1997/1998, the annual rate of growth had been 15.2% (McLeod, 2001a). In 2006, 2,008 students were engaged in GME to some degree in 60 units, as well as one school in Glasgow at which Gaelic is the sole means of instruction and administration (Dunbar, 2006). Most schools with GM provision are in the Highlands and Islands, but there are also several in non-Gàidhealtachd areas such as Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Perth. The percentage of primary school students in GME in the Western Isles is highest at 25% and some Island schools have a low level of English-medium educational provision. As a result, CnanES has identified five of its primary schools as designated Gaelic schools. The movement has also been supplemented by the opening in September 1999 of the first dedicated GM school in Scotland, Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu¹⁴², located in Glasgow (Robertson, 2001) and opened in August 2006 (BnaG, 2007a). More recently, there were 2,418 students enrolled in 60 GME in primary in the 2011-2012 school year (BnaG, 2012).

Following the establishment and development of GME at the primary level, similar, though less vigorous, developments have occurred in secondary education (Dunbar, 2006). The Western Isles Council was again pivotal in spearheading this. In 1983, a pilot project was launched which was used to develop Gaelic as a teaching medium in two secondary schools in Lewis (MacKinnon, 1991a; Robertson, 2001). The pilot involved teaching social subjects through the medium of Gaelic. The project was considered a success and the two schools continued to teach History and Geography through the medium of Gaelic (Robertson, 2001). From this, in 1988, a GM cohort from Sir John Maxwell Primary School in Glasgow was the first to enroll in a GM stream at Hill Park Secondary (MacKinnon, 1991a). In 2000/2001, there were 14 GM secondary school units with 326 students, and by 2004/2005, there were 307 secondary students at 18 schools studying part of their curriculum through the medium

¹⁴² The Gaelic School of Glasgow.

of Gaelic (Dunbar, 2006; Oliver, 2002). More recently, in the 2009/2010-2011 school year, there were 1,104 students enrolled in GME at the secondary school level, with 61 students having sat Geography, History and Mathematics exams through the medium of Gaelic in 2010. Furthermore, 1,083 fluent speakers were taking Gaelic as a subject at secondary school, with a further 2,643 non-fluent learners also taking Gaelic as a subject that year (BnaG, 2012). History is widely available through the medium of Gaelic, but a number of other subjects including Geography, Personal and Social Education, Mathematics, Science, Home Economics, Technical Education and Art are also taught via Gaelic in one or more secondary schools. Students are also able to sit Gaelic versions of their national Standard Grade Examinations in History, Geography and Mathematics (Robertson, 2001).

In the wake of the 1990s boom in GME, criticisms of the system became common, particularly regarding the amount of emphasis being placed on GME as the solution to Gaelic language decline in Scotland. As stated by MacCaluim (2007):

it cannot be assumed that Gaelic-medium pupils from non-Gaelic speaking homes will become fully fluent and confident in a wide range of domains and registers and will use the language outside school and continue to use the language as adults and parents (p. 15).

Despite this, education has been the most consistently used tactic for Gaelic language revitalisation in Alba Scotland. This has been based on the assumption that "every child taught Gaelic in primary school thereby becomes a 'Gaelic speaker', and that the language will be 'secured' if the number of children beginning GM primary education each year exceeds the number of Gaelic speakers who die" (McLeod, 2001a, p. 15). Despite research to the contrary, the maxim of 'foghlam, foghlam, foghlam'¹⁴³ remains a dominant aspect of Gaelic language planning. This is possibly due to the level of control that the State has over education as a government-funded and controlled activity, as opposed to the home and community, areas that are harder to directly influence.

Further criticisms have also surfaced relating to the resourcing and funding of GME and other Gaelic educational initiatives. The dearth of educational resources and teachers are of considerable concern and continue to hinder the further development and efficacy of GME (Dunbar, 2006; McLeod, 2001a; Smith, 2000), whilst negatively affecting language corpus. Concerns have also been raised relating to the government grants scheme in that, "while the system of specific grants has been helpful in assisting... local authorities which want to develop GME to do so, not all local authorities have been responsive to parental demand" (Dunbar, 2006, p. 5). Furthermore, given that, according to Dunbar (2006) at least, there was "no system of GME" (p. 5), GME was akin to a rudderless ship with no cohesive leadership in place to guide its development.

¹⁴³ Education, education, education.

Some changes occurred to counter these criticisms in the period following the devolution of legislative authority to Scotland in 1999. In relation to the lack of educational resources, the Scottish Executive set out to address this by establishing SNnaG, the national resource centre for Gaelic (Dunbar, 2006; see discussion on Gàidhlig print culture in Chapter 4), who distribute approximately £750,000 worth of resources to nurseries, primary schools, secondary schools and lifelong learning groups annually (SNnaG, n.d.). Nevertheless, "much still needs to be done to ensure that Gaelic-medium educational materials are as plentiful and are of the same quality as those in English" (Dunbar, 2006, p. 5). On their website, BnaG acknowledge that there is a lack of teachers and teaching material and that this may restrict the growth of Gaelic education. They also state that they have plans in place to overcome these issues in the future, through Gaelic teacher recruitment and the work of Storlann in terms of educational resource production (BnaG, n.d.d), thus supporting language corpus.

In terms of the provisions of the National Plan for Gaelic, the key area of language acquisition is particularly relevant to GME at the primary and secondary levels. In particular, the National Plan aims for "an increase in the uptake and availability of Gaelic-medium education" (BnaG, 2007a, p. 12). This is supported in the Plan's immediate targets, aiming for "an increase in the number of children... progressing through the Gaelic-medium primary and secondary continuum" (p. 14). Targets for 2021 relating to primary and secondary GME include having 4000 entrants enrolled in year one GM primary education whereas in the 2006/2007 school year, there were only 313. The last two sets of targets aim for the number of children enrolled in year one GM primary education to grow to 15,000 in 2041 (BnaG, 2007a). This promotes language acquisition but identification of concrete links to language usage would require further investigation.

The majority of the GME-associated actions identified in the National Gaelic Education Strategy (BnaG, 2007a) relate to the support for families engaged in GME and promotion of the positive benefits of GME. Thus, the emphasis in this document is on the status of GME and enhancing discourse relating to GME in terms of the social and educational benefits of participation.

Recent research commissioned by BnaG in relation to GME includes a report about choice and attainment at the primary and early secondary school stages (O'Hanlon, McLeod & Paterson, 2010) that focused on the relationship between educational success and GME. The report found that "by Primary 7, [children in GME] may have higher attainment in English reading than English-medium pupils" (p. 90), and that students chose to enroll in GME because of a sense of heritage, and the perceived benefits of bilingualism. These elements may indeed form the basis of promotional initiatives seeking to promulgate the uptake of GME via language status.

At this point in the development of GME the emphasis appears to be on building on the

gains achieved over previous years. Strategic documents place emphasis on supporting families involved in GME and promoting the advantages of GME as means of raising the number of children engaged in GME to 15,000 by 2041 (BnaG, 2007a). Subsequent research has explored students' attainment in GME and produced some positive findings that may be used to promote language status and acquisition by promoting language learning, which in turn may promote access to GME. Research has also been undertaken to understand the reasons why (and why not) people enroll their children in GME, information that will be useful when developing promotional material to market GME as a positive choice for children (O'Hanlon et al, 2010).

Tertiary education

According to BnaG (2007a), "the development of Further and Higher education courses through the medium of Gaelic is fundamental to providing a learning continuum for Gaelic speaking students" (p. 53). Education in and about Gaelic at the tertiary level is offered at a number of Scotland's universities including Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen through their Celtic and Gaelic degrees. Alongside these mainstream examples of Gaelic tertiary education are three institutions in the Western Isles which offer a range of degree and short courses entirely through the medium of Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a). SMO is part of the UHI, a federation of 13 colleges and research institutes in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland that deliver higher education (UHI, 2011). In many ways, the provision for Gaelic at the tertiary level is more developed than the GME schooling system. This is particularly true of SMO, the Gaelic college on the Isle of Skye (McLeod, 2006).

In the most unlikely of places in a rural corner of the Isle of Skye sits the jewel in the crown of Gaelic tertiary education in Alba Scotland: "Twenty miles down a rutted road, bordered on one side by the sea and on the other side by brush and grazing sheep, lies Sabhal Mor Ostaig, Scotland's only Gaelic language college" (Tugend, 1997). SMO, which translates to mean 'the great barn of Ostaig or East Bay' (Gossen, 2002; Tugend, 1997), was the first GM tertiary education institution in the country. The college aims to provide an avenue for the revitalisation of Gàidhlig language and culture as well as seeking the economic redevelopment of the local region. The area has suffered badly from both cultural and economic decline in recent times, a situation which the college's establishment seeks to rectify.

In 1973, Iain Noble, "an eccentric Edinburgh financier [and] a Celtophile", acquired an estate on the Sleat peninsula of the Isle of Skye. The estate included a ramshackle stone barn which Noble soon announced was to become "the nucleus of the first Gaelic college in Scotland" (Tugend, 1997, n.p.). Noble's theory was that before the island could engage in economic revival, cultural revitalisation was required.

The first courses offered by SMO were part-time and non-credit (Tugend, 1997). However, in 1984, SMO started to offer its first full-time courses with seven students enrolled (McLeod, 2004). In 1997, the college offered “study in the ancient Gaelic language” to a roll of around 55 students (Tugend, 1997, n.p.). In 2002-2003, the college had over 100 students enrolled, this being “the first time the ‘three figure’ barrier ha[d] been cracked” (McLeod, 2004, p. 4). As a result,

26 years [after its establishment], that lonely barn had grown into a college, Sabhal Mor Ostaig... with accommodation for over 150 full-time students, a series of summer courses which attract annually over 1000 students from all over the world, and the only two B.A. degree programmes in the world taught entirely through the medium of Gaelic (Gossen, 2002, p. 3).

SMO has gained support from prominent Gaelic activists, for example, Member of Scottish Parliament (MSP), John Farquhar Munro is a trustee for the college (Gossen, 2002).

Since 1999, the college has been offering two Bachelor’s degrees that are also offered at other UHI institutions such as Lews Castle College in Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis. In 2002, another degree programme was added, along with the option of undertaking a fourth year (Honours) in the two existing degree programmes. More recently, a third Bachelors programme has been added. All of these are GM programmes, supported by an intensive Gaelic learner’s course, An Cùrsa Comais¹⁴⁴ or Gàidhlig is Conaltradh¹⁴⁵, in the first year for non-Gaelic speakers. The four degree programmes cover majors in Gaelic language and culture, Gaelic with North Atlantic Studies, Gaelic and Media Studies, and Gaelic and Traditional Music (SMO, n.d.c).

An important decision in the process of programme development was to offer GM courses that were not confined to the study of the language itself. According to McLeod (2004),

The choice of these courses reflects academic need, practical utility, and the strategic priorities of Gaelic development with regard to the economic development of the Highlands and Islands and the increasingly professionalised Gaelic media/cultural infrastructure (p. 44).

Numbers completing the degree programmes at SMO continue to be small with 10-20 students graduating each year. The college is using information and communication technology (ICT) as a means of increasing course accessibility. Courses place a strong emphasis on helping students to gain a wide range of digital literacy skills alongside language-based studies. The result is a diverse student body ranging from native speakers of

¹⁴⁴ Beginner learners.

¹⁴⁵ Intermediate learners.

Gàidhlig from the surrounding area, to second language learners from other parts of the country and abroad (McLeod, 2004).

Today, SMO offers a range of programmes, as well as distance and short courses. Along with the offerings it provides for UHI (see below), SMO offers a Diploma in Gàidhlig Media and three distance courses: the Streep programme which provides professional development courses for teachers; Sgilean Sgriobhaidh, a course that supports Gaelic speakers to improve their writing skills; and An Cùrsa Adhartais, which is an accelerated version of the award winning access to Gaelic course, An Cùrsa Inntigidh¹⁴⁶ (SMO, n.d.a). SMO also offers a range of short courses over summer and Easter. This includes a variety of different topics, dominated by courses in Gaelic language and Gaelic music and song. Short courses attract over 700 people from around Scotland and the world annually (SMO, n.d.b).

During the initial period of the college's development, SMO became a crucial component of the UHI project, described as "an increasingly integrated network of colleges which has now been formally designated as a higher education institution" (McLeod, 2004, p. 44). The idea behind UHI stems back to the 1830s when the Inverness Town Council proposed the establishment of a university in the region. At the time the emphasis was on the teaching of Gaelic. The idea came back into prominence in the 1920s with the focus on economic development of the area and again in the 1969s, with the planned establishment of a University of Inverness, but these plans never came to fruition. When the idea was again promoted in the 1990s, both of these were key justifications for such a development. In 1991, when the Highland Regional Council decided to reconsider the arguments for a new university, representatives for further education colleges in the HIE¹⁴⁷ and the Scottish Council of Development and Industry were brought together to form the UHI Advisory Steering Group. Key proponents of the endeavour were Councilor Val McIvor, Chair of the Highland Regional Council's Education Committee, and the late Sir Robert Cowan, Chair of HIE. Despite the work of the Steering Group over the next five years, it was not until February 1996 that UHI gained the support of the Scottish Office, when Michael Forsyth, the newly appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, announced his support at a meeting in Inverness. This was followed by a number of funding packages and an exemption for the UHI network from the current cap on student numbers (Newlands & Parker, 1997).

A second event to support the development of a UHI was an award of 33 million pounds from the Millennium Commission in September 1996 to help fund the university's establishment. Following this, a new chief executive, Professor Brian Duffield was appointed on a four-year contract, at the end of which he planned to have achieved full university

¹⁴⁶ Access to Gaelic course.

¹⁴⁷ Highlands and Islands Enterprise, the Scottish Government's economic and community development agency for the north and west of Alba Scotland; replaced the Highlands and Islands Development Board in 1991 (see HIE, n.d.).

status. At the time, the network was offering eight degree programmes in business administration, applied computing, forestry and conservation, engineering, electronics and electrical engineering, rural development, environment and heritage studies, and human resources, offered through Inverness, Moray, Thurso, Lews Castle and Perth Colleges and through the UHI network. Degrees were validated at the time by Stirling, Aberdeen and Robert Gordon Universities (Newlands & Parker, 1997).

The vision behind UHI was to reflect the heritage and culture of the Highlands and Islands region, and to raise the profile of Gaelic "as a specialist subject of study and as a medium of learning and assessment" (Robertson, 2001, p. 13). Reflecting the size of the region, it was proposed that UHI adopt modern educational structures and technologies.

The model of the university will be that of a hub and spokes. The hub will be the administrative centre responsible for the conduct of the university as a corporate entity... The hub would speak for the university itself. It is nevertheless intended that it be small and determined to use its resources largely to further the aims and objectives of the separate colleges (Hills, 1992, cited in Newlands & Parker, 1997).

The idea was that the hub would connect pre-existing higher education colleges and research institutes using a computer and telecommunications network to build "an electronic campus". The institutions involved are Inverness College, SMO (Skye), Moray College (Elgin), Argyll College linked to the Dunstaffnage Marine Laboratory (Oban), the Ardtoe fish research centre (Lochaber), Perth College, Thurso College, Orkney College, Shetland College, the North Atlantic Fisheries College (Shetland) and Lews Castle College (Stornoway) (Newlands & Parker, 1997).

The educational philosophy espoused by UHI was based on learner centred pedagogies and sought to include flexible educational practices. In 1997, it was envisaged that teaching and learning would mainly be undertaken via directed learning using a range of media including print, audio and video (Newlands & Parker, 1997). Over time, this would have naturally led to similar approaches via the internet, DVDs and multimedia, as educational technologies advanced and took hold in the tertiary education sector. The idea of a having a university made up of several existing institutions spread across an area of 14,000 square miles promised to provide opportunities to the many people of the area, bring economic and cultural benefits to the entire region, and to potentially arrest the urban emigration with which the region was afflicted (Tugend, 1997).

Although Newlands and Parker (1997) engage in deep discussion on the economic and cultural benefits of UHI for the Highlands and Islands region, consideration of language revitalisation, however, is included as an aside. For example, in relation to the economic benefits of UHI, the authors noted that the creation of the university would create a

demand for speakers of the language, thus increasing language status. However, there is also mention of the disadvantages of a university as a means of protecting a language, in that "almost invariably the systems of higher education exert rather a function of national homogenisation than one of local or regional differentiation" (OECD¹⁴⁸, 1982, cited in Newlands & Parker, 1997, n.p.).

Twenty years after the establishment of the UHI Advisory Steering Group formed in 1991, UHI was finally awarded university status after consent was granted by the Privy Council in February 2011. The university believes it will attract the Scottish diaspora. As a result, Principal James Fraser is cited as saying that he hoped to see the university's international student numbers rise from 250 to 800, to make up 10% of a total student body of 8,000. The other benefit of UHI's university status is argued to be the arrest of the drift of Highlanders and Islanders away from the region as it will give them the option of completing their studies in situ. UHI has been used as template for similar rural universities, such as the University of Cumbria. The delay in achieving full university status is attributed to the time it has taken for UHI to engage in research, something which can take years to establish ("Scotland's newest university 'will help reverse brain drain'", 2011).

Today, UHI offers a range of GM undergraduate and graduate programmes, including a Masters of Arts programme in Material Culture and the Environment. In addition, five Bachelor's degrees are also offered in Gaelic Medium Studies – Gaelic and Development, Gaelic and Traditional Music, Gaelic Language and Culture, and Gaelic with Education, all of which are offered through the medium of English or Gaelic. Moreover, three certificate programmes are also available, as a foundation for study in Gàidhlig (UHI, n.d.b).

In terms of the National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a), tertiary education such as is offered by SMO and UHI is recognised under the key area of language acquisition with the vision that there be "an increase in the uptake and availability of Gaelic-medium education" and "an increase in Gaelic adult learners progressing to fluency" (p. 12). This is translated into targets relating to the number of adult learners progressing to fluency with medium and long-term aims to reach 65,000 recorded speakers in Scotland by 2021, and 100,000 such speakers by 2041. In 2001, there were 58,652 Gaelic speakers aged over three years of age. Medium and long term targets relating to the number of recorded speakers who can read and write Gaelic were also included, with an aim to have 40,000 such speakers by 2021, and 100,000 by 2041. In 2001, there were 31,218 recorded Gaelic speakers who could read and write in Gaelic over the age of three (BnaG, 2007a). Statistics for the number of adult speakers with these skills are not immediately available.

¹⁴⁸ The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, an international organisation helping government to tackle the economic, social and governance challenges of a globalised economy (see OECD, n.d.).

Gaelic tertiary education in Alba Scotland will play a significant role in Gaelic development if the Gaelic national plan's targets are to be achieved. SMO and UHI both have the potential to support these endeavours through their provision of GM courses and programmes in the Highlands and Islands, to locals as well as a growing number of international students. The general expectation that learners will also engage in the acquisition of Gàidhlig in their studies bodes well for the future of the language, but it is unclear what the actual contribution tertiary education is making to achieving language revitalisation in terms of intergenerational transmission. Alongside these GM initiatives and those in mainstream universities, there are a range of other adult education courses operating in Scotland, including those offered by Gaelic adult education provider and lobby group, CLI.

Adult education

Adult learners are a very important element of Gaelic language revitalisation efforts in Alba Scotland. This is supported by Comunn na Gàidhlig (1992) who state that "adult learners form an increasingly important sector of the Gaelic diaspora. Properly catered for, their role in the development of the language cannot be underestimated" (p. 68, cited by MacCaluim, 2007, p. 1). This view was also strongly advocated by the Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic (MAGOG) (2002), who asserted that "Gaelic is going to depend heavily on new adult speakers over the next thirty years at least" (p. 51). The following section focuses on Gaelic educational provision for adults, with a particular focus on the work of CLI, the organisation who represents adult learners of Gàidhlig. How did CLI develop? What is the organisation's role in terms of Gaelic education? And how do they contribute to Gaelic language revitalisation?

CLI¹⁴⁹ was established in 1983 as with funding from the HIDB. It was established as a membership organisation aiming to provide Gàidhlig learning opportunities, to maintain teacher training, to provide information to the public, and to represent learners to the education and broadcasting authorities (MacCaluim, 2007).

In the early days, the organisation produced two publications a year: *Cainnt*, a Gaelic-only magazine; and *Cuairt Litir Ionnsachaidh*, a bilingual information sheet. During the 1980s, CLI was active in the provision of adult learning opportunities including summer schools, weekend courses, and intensive four-week courses at reasonable prices, as well as the delivery of tutor training days (MacCaluim, 2007).

In 1986, CLI came under financial pressure when its seeding funding from HIDB came to an end. As a result the organisation was unable to maintain the momentum it had previously built up and they lost their director due to lack of funds. Over the next three or four years, CLI operated with no paid staff and focused on a joint project to develop the Siuthad course

¹⁴⁹ Comunn an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh, also known as Cli Gàidhlig, an organisation that supports the needs of adult Gaelic learners.

for learners (MacCaluim, 2007).

In 1989, CLI managed to employ an administrator, initially on a part-time basis, and later full-time. Further support came via the formation of the position of Adult Learners Development Officer within CnaG¹⁵⁰. The officer's duties included liaising with CLI, administering Lion (the national network for Gaelic learners' services), and encouraging the setting up of Gaelic clubs. As a result, CLI was able to initiate a range of improvements including expansion and upgrading of the CLI newsletter, improvement of mechanisms to alert learners to upcoming classes and courses, annual production of a glossy magazine, and development of a series of cassettes for learners (MacCaluim, 2007).

In 1995, CLI developed into its modern incarnation with the establishment of a full-time directorship with funding from CnaG. Subsequently, CLI moved into their own premises for the first time. The aims of the newly revamped CLI were to act as the voice of Gaelic learners, to disseminate information about Gaelic affairs to learners, to promote improved facilities for Gaelic learners, and to promote the participation of learners in Gaelic affairs (MacCaluim, 2007). CLI membership subsequently grew substantially from its initial inception. Whereas in 1989, there were 200 members, this grew to over 1000 by the late 1990s. More recently, in 2006, CLI boasted 890 members, with around 60 to 70% of these residing in Alba Scotland, and with members in England making up the second largest group (MacCaluim, 2007).

CLI has been known as Clì Gàidhlig since 2003 and undertakes a range of activities that aim to support Gaelic learners. This includes the quarterly publication of a bilingual magazine, *Cothrom* ('opportunity'), which contains a range of Gaelic language and interest pieces, as well as articles about other Indigenous languages and language revitalisation initiatives. They also include sections with language corpus relating to a relevant domain or activity, for example, curling, dog commands, and bagpipes. They have regular segment on Gaelic signage and CLI encourages readers to send in photographs with mistakes on signs from around Scotland. This raises the profile of the language and promotes critical knowledge and discourse about the language (DJ MacIntyre, personal communication, June 22, 2009).

CLI also provide information about Gaelic classes and courses, including a website detailing Gaelic learning opportunities (www.learninggaelic.net). As well as a director and administrator, the organisation has operated a community course project since 1999, which led to the employment of a part-time and later a full-time officer to provide Gaelic language short courses across the country. This was originally undertaken with funding from the

¹⁵⁰ Commun na Gàidhlig, the Gaelic Language Society, was established in 1984 as a coordinating Gaelic development agency operating at the local, regional and national levels. CnaG has a Board of Directors that includes representation from CnanES, Highland Council and the ACG, as well as the community, the arts and youth (CnaG, n.d.a). CnaG has three funding schemes based around bilingual signs and marketing, community regeneration in the Highlands and Islands, and a Gaelic Innovation Scheme to support new Gaelic related projects with seeding money (CnaG, n.d.b).

National Lottery, later from the Scottish Executive and currently from BnaG. The work of CLI is continuing to grow, particularly in relation to the development and growth of the Ùlpan¹⁵¹ method of teaching (see discussion below).

In the nearly 30 years that have passed since the establishment of CLI, the organisation has undertaken a broad range of initiatives relating to language revitalisation including discourse, corpus and acquisition planning methods through their publications and language courses. However, CLI has faced a number of challenges that have impacted on the organisation's ability to achieve its stated aims. The main challenges have been in relation to funding and staff shortages, restricting the work of CLI to production of the magazine, website and database. As stated by MacCaluim (2007),

this has meant that the group was unable to become more involved to any degree in encouraging more people to learn Gaelic, to plan strategically for the learning of Gaelic or to become more involved in areas directly relating to education, such as the production of materials or the teaching of tutors. Clì has also had to abandon a range of potential development projects due to lack of funding (p. 65).

However, since the early to mid-2000s, sound leadership under Peadar Morgan and Siùsaidh Hardy has led to range of positive developments, including the appointment of a part-time editor for *Cothrom* in 2004 with funding from BnaG, which has allowed the director to spend more time on strategic development. As a result, under Hardy's directorship, CLI has placed increasing emphasis on direct provision of learning opportunities alongside their strategic roles in terms of Gaelic learners. This has led to a programme of weekend Gaelic courses as well as publication of the *Leabhar nan Litrichean* ('book of letters') book and DVD set and the revision of *Cothrom* content so that it can be used as a learning resource. Furthermore, they have developed a three-day intensive grammar course for fluent speakers, piloted Gaelic taster courses for the Highland Council, Scottish National Heritage, and HIE, and developed a Gaelic awareness training course. They are also involved in the publication of reading books aimed at adult learners and have organised gatherings for Gaelic learners (MacCaluim, 2007).

Probably the most exciting project that CLI has undertaken in recent years is the introduction of the Ùlpan method of immersion teaching. According to DJ MacIntyre, CLI Director, Ùlpan is a language learning system that "originated in Israel where it was used to teach Modern Hebrew" (Clì Gàidhlig, 2008, para. 1). The system was then picked up in Wales in the 1980s, where it was called Wlpan and it has helped thousands achieve fluency in Welsh (personal communication, June 22, 2009). According to the CLI website, "Ùlpan is the new way of teaching Gaelic to Scotland" (Clì Gàidhlig, 2008, para. 1). The learning system is built around 214 lessons that each take about 90 minutes to complete, with lessons split up into three stages. Lessons have a standard structure and are delivered to

¹⁵¹ Language learning system based on that used in Israel.

participants by email. Ùlpan concentrates on teaching oral language skills, mainly because many participants already possess skills in reading and writing but not oral speech (DJ MacIntyre, personal communication, June 22, 2009). Funding has been provided by BnaG and HIE for CLI to deliver stage one of the Ùlpan programme across Alba Scotland (Cli Gàidhlig, 2008).

One criticism that has been leveled at CLI relates to the lack of funding afforded the organisation. As a result, it has been claimed that “its potential strategically to influence the Gaelic for adults sector is limited by the ad hoc and uncoordinated nature of current provision and the large number of providers currently involved” (MaCaluim, 2007, p. 66). As a result, a national strategy and national coordination of Gaelic learners was advocated and has now been initiated through the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act and the National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a). Subsequently, CLI is now recognised as a key stakeholder in Gaelic adult education and has attracted more funding to support its initiatives particularly the Ùlpan programme of teaching Gaelic.

A key piece of research that has been undertaken for BnaG since the release of the National Plan for Gaelic is the research report on adult Gaelic learning in Scotland (McLeod, Pollock & MacCaluim, 2010). The report includes an overview of the importance of adult Gaelic learners, an outline of current Gaelic for Adults (GfA) provision, and an in-depth discussion of the motivations and experiences of Gaelic learners. This last element is followed by an exploration of the key issues related to increasing demand for GfA, and improving the structure and delivery of GfA. McLeod et al (2010) made a range of recommendations in relation to their findings in the adult Gaelic learners report. Emphasis of the role of adult Gaelic learners in Gaelic development was noted, as was the need to set targets for the number of learners attaining fluency. There were also recommendations relating to increasing the public profile of Gaelic and developing a network of GfA centres across Scotland. A wider range of immersion courses and the development of a 'one-stop-shop' for information about Gaelic learning opportunities and different methods of learning have also been undertaken. The report also integrated a number of systemic recommendations including the establishment of a national tutor-training and certification scheme, agreement on levels of proficiency and related testing and qualifications in Gaelic, a requirement for publicly funded courses to be integrated into qualifications, establishment of a funding system, development of Gaelic awareness courses, expansion of GLE and the provision of special language training for graduates or existing teachers who do not speak Gaelic but who want to become a GME or GLE teacher. Finally it was advocated that there should be opportunities for Gaelic learners to use the language in a social context through social organisation such as Bothan in Edinburgh, Ceol is Craic in Glasgow and An t-Oisean in Evanton (McLeod et al, 2010). These recommendations may indeed influence future endeavours relating to GfA provision, such as is offered by CLI.

Mainstream education

In parallel to GME developments, the teaching of Gàidhlig within mainstream educational institutions has a long history in Alba Scotland. An early example was the teaching of Gaelic as an aspect of Celtic Studies in universities. More recently, Gaelic language provision as a school subject has developed, referred to as GLE in secondary schools, and GLPS in primary schools. These developments are considered below in terms of their contributions to language revitalisation.

According to Robertson (2001), the provision of Gaelic at the primary level has been “sporadic and less systematic” (p. 94) than that at the secondary level. It has also been limited by a lack of adequately trained teachers and an emphasis on teaching the subject through English. More recently, schools have been employing a new pedagogical approach “based on a Modern Language model in which classroom teachers receive training in the target language to enable them to provide tuition on a regular basis” (p. 94). This GLPS programme was launched as a pilot by the Argyll and Bute Council and the Highland Council in 1999/2000, and is based on the Modern Language for Primary Schools programme. The latter was a national scheme that provided teachers with a series of release days so they could learn a modern language to teach in the upper primary level. Following the success of this pilot, provision has expanded with the development of a consortium including the Argyll and Bute, Stirling, East Ayrshire, Perth and Kinross, North Lanarkshire, Edinburgh, East Dunbartonshire, Glasgow City, North Ayrshire, Inverclyde and West Dunbartonshire Councils. This is further supplemented by the teaching of Gaelic in all of the English-medium primary schools in the CnanES region, and the provision of a peripatetic teacher in selected Highland Perthshire primary schools (MacCaluim, 2007).

The statistical profile for GLPS shows promise but there is insufficient information available to discern the growth or effectiveness of the programme. MacCaluim (2007) provides statistical data for 2005-2006, indicating that approximately 6,500 learners were engaged in GLPS, mainly in schools offering GM provision and in the central, western and Highland regions of the country. However, I have been unable to locate any further statistical information regarding the development of GLPS. More research needs to be undertaken in terms of the effectiveness of GLPS, however, it certainly has the potential to promote language status amongst non-Gàidhlig speakers and, perhaps, the promotion of other language-planning principles. Yet, it is unlikely to significantly promote intergenerational transmission in that it is not facilitating the achievement of sufficient levels of fluency to enable this.

A second example of Gaelic language in mainstream education is the teaching of Gaelic as an optional secondary school subject, a topic on which there has been little research or publication. According to BnaG (n.d.e), Gaelic in secondary education comprises three subsets: (1) subjects taught through the medium of Gaelic; (2) Gaelic as a subject for fluent speakers; and (3) Gaelic as a subject for learners. Gaelic as a subject for fluent speakers and

learners is available at a range of levels from Standard Grade (Year 11) to Higher and Advanced Higher (Year 13 and 14), which all culminate in final examinations. A number of subjects are also taught through the medium of Gaelic up to Standard Grade level, with further expansion envisaged. Students are currently able to sit their Standard Grade examinations for Geography, History, Maths and Modern Studies in Gaelic (BnaG, n.d.e).

Earlier statistics for Gaelic in secondary education demonstrate that the number of learners is relatively low and fairly stable, with this form of Gaelic language education not showing the rate of growth characteristic of Gaelic educational provision.¹⁵² MacCaluim (2007) cites a range of reasons for this slow rate of growth, particularly the inconsistency in provision across the country and, particularly, the Lowlands.

Gaelic cannot be studied at all in Dundee or Aberdeen at present, provision in Edinburgh is very limited and provision in Glasgow is virtually non-existent. In 2005-6, for example, only 13 learners were studying Gaelic in Edinburgh and 4 in Glasgow (MacCaluim, 2007, p. 33).

Even in the Highlands, provision is not universally available. Whereas all of the secondary schools in the area of CnanES offer Gaelic in secondary education, the numbers were much lower in the Highland Council (13 of 29 schools) and Argyll and Bute regions (four of ten). Moreover, the number of students accessing these secondary school options has been low, with some commentators citing competition with modern languages in secondary schools as a contributing factor (MacCaluim, 2007).

However, more recently, these trends have begun to change. The recent growth in provision could be linked to the development of the national Gaelic education strategy (BnaG, 2007a), which highlights GLE in both primary and secondary schools, describing the approach as “an important aspect of Gaelic education development” (p. 53). The strategy aims to expand the provision of GLE in primary and secondary schools, and identifies a range of actions including accurate GLE data collection, extending GLE to secondary schools, provision of online resources, and promotion of Gaelic teaching as a career option (BnaG, 2007a). Subsequently, the number of learners engaging in GLE has increased, supplemented by those learning about Gaelic history, culture and heritage. A number of tactics have been identified that are expected to increase the number of children accessing Gaelic education in mainstream primary and secondary schooling. MacCaluim (2007) suggests that GLPS and GLE in secondary schools should be developed side-by-side to create pathways for learners to follow. He also posits that the inclusion of GLPS in teacher education could also enhance development in these areas. These two approaches in Gaelic education that focus on language acquisition in a mainstream setting, also contribute to discourse and status planning by exposing a wider range of learners to Gaelic language, culture and perspectives.

¹⁵² See appendix 19.

However, as with GLPS, there is little chance that this makes a significant contribution to the revitalisation of intergenerational transmission as learners are not achieving fluency.

Another example of Gaelic language education that sits within a mainstream setting is the teaching of Gaelic in universities. The teaching of Gaelic in Scottish universities developed as part of Celtic, which was initially established at the University of Edinburgh in 1882. The Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen followed suit and started to offer Celtic Studies and Gaelic in the early 1900s and 1916 respectively (MacCaluim, 2007). From its inception, Celtic Studies had a multidisciplinary focus including elements such as history, pre-history and literature as well as the language. Initially, the teaching of Gaelic was designed to cater for the needs of fluent speakers. As described by MacKinnon (1972),

The orientations of the Celtic departments... have been towards the study of Gaelic essentially as a literary language. Emphasis has been placed upon ancient literature and its comparison with the literature of other Celtic languages... Gaelic has not been taught on a par with other modern languages, but has been relegated to a subsidiary stage. Gaelic has been regarded as a study whose affiliations are literary, archaeological, philological and historical. Thus, Gaelic is not taught as a modern language (p. 135, cited by MacCaluim, 2007, pp. 29-30).

As a result, the teaching of Gaelic in Scottish universities was initially designed to meet the needs of fluent speakers in that it was not taught as a living language, but as a study of antiquity. However, recently this has started to change with universities now offering courses for Gaelic learners of varying competence as well as native and fluent speakers. As a result, the teaching of Gàidhlig in Scottish universities has become more flexible by providing numerous pathways for learning the language. This includes pathways for students from SMO to enter the second year of a Celtic degree at the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen and Glasgow have been offering three levels of Gaelic classes since the 1990s, which cater for Gaelic learners, for those who have a learner's examination qualification, and for more fluent speakers. This allows for a learner-centred approach where people are being taught at an appropriate level for their language competence. Universities now cater for a range of Gaelic learners and speakers including semi-speakers, non-speakers and fluent speakers (MacCaluim, 2007). Furthermore, contemporary pedagogies focus on Gaelic as an oral language, over other language modes including writing. Teaching is often undertaken through the medium of Gaelic, which is perhaps due to a number of programmes that Gaelic language skills feed into including teacher training for Gaelic medium education and Gaelic-related postgraduate options (MacCaluim, 2007).

Despite the progress that Gaelic in Scottish universities have made, a number of criticisms have been leveled at this approach to language revitalisation. For one, the fact that Gàidhlig learners in universities have to concurrently engage in English-language classes as part of their path of study. This "significantly reduces the amount of time which can be spent on

learning modern spoken/written Gaelic” (MacCaluim, 2007, p. 30). Furthermore, Celtic Studies department often suffer from a lack of adequate staffing, and as a result, many Gaelic and Celtic graduates leave university without having achieved fluency (MacCaluim, 2007). One academic goes so far as to suggest that universities are not *able* to bring Gaelic learners to fluency, stating that

While it is reasonable to expect the traditional universities to provide a good grounding in speaking, reading and writing Gaelic and in specialised skills unavailable elsewhere, such as knowledge of dialects, of writing Gaelic in a variety of registers or of translation, it is perhaps overambitious to expect them to bring beginners to complete fluency singlehandedly given the amount of practice necessary to achieve this end (MacCaluim, 2007, pp. 30-31).

The idea that universities are not solely able to achieve learner fluency is supported by the number of hours of language instruction provided in university language courses. Students studying Gaelic at the Edinburgh University would receive roughly 450 hours of direct instruction in Gaelic over four years, with approximately 100 hours of instruction provided in the first year. However, in order to attain a high level of fluency, learners would also need to engage in significant self-directed learning to supplement formal classes. It has been estimated that it would take someone approximately 1125 hours to reach the minimum professional levels in listening, speaking, reading and writing Gaelic, and approximately 2000 hours to achieve the full professional level in Gaelic (MacCaluim, 2007).

A number of possible supports for this approach have been noted, such as Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL), which provides interactive computer Gaelic learning courses, and allows people to learn Gaelic at their own pace and thus spend as much time on language acquisition as required, whilst complementing traditional pedagogies (MacCaluim, 2007). Thus, in order to promote the acquisition of fluency, tertiary language course need to be supported by a range of complementary language learning environments such as community groups, and computer and internet-based activities.

A second support for the university approach is increasing provision of Gaelic as a secondary school subject, which would be likely to increase the number of Gaelic speakers accessing Celtic Studies and Gaelic in universities (MacCaluim, 2007). However, it is unclear whether this approach promotes intergenerational transmission.

The third and most ambitious suggestion advocates the introduction of a year-long immersion programme as a core aspect of an honours degree in Celtic or Gaelic. An example of this from Wales is the three-month Wlpan immersion programme in Lampeter which students must complete either before commencing or during their studies for a Celtic degree. The drawback for this approach is that, according to Hunter (1995), students studying this course would not be eligible for Scottish Executive student awards funding

(cited in MacCaluim, 2007). As a result the option of a year-long immersion programme is considered desirable as it brings the teaching of Gaelic on a par with the teaching of modern languages where “students studying for [an honours] degree must undertake a year in a country where the language they are studying is spoken” (MacCaluim, 2007, p. 31). This idea has potential but relies too heavily on the ‘magic of immersion’ creating fluent speakers. However, as highlighted in the research literature, much needs to be done to ensure that supporting strategies are in place, such as the provision of alternate language learning environments outside of formal classes, that the role of elements such as anxiety, agency and wairua have been considered within the programme, and that other strategies related to language status in the wider university environment have also been addressed (Ratima & May, 2011).

Gaelic language in mainstream education is continuing to develop in the context of the new Scotland and spurred on by the requirements placed on educational authorities by the Gaelic Language Act and the National Gaelic Education Strategy. Whilst mainstream education has the potential to contribute to language acquisition, its real power is the potential to positively influence language status and encourage the development of language discourse. By demonstrating the ability to operate and succeed in a mainstream environment, particularly an academic one, a language can demonstrate that it is valid and legitimate alongside dominant languages of mainstream education, thus increasing language status.

Conclusion

Gaelic language education has a long history in Alba Scotland and is a quintessential aspect of efforts to promote Gaelic language revitalisation. Gaelic medium provision has been developing since the 1970s and 1980s and ranges from early childhood to tertiary levels. This is supplemented by similar developments in mainstream educational settings including primary and secondary schools, and universities. Moreover, Gaelic educational provision is supported by a legislative and policy framework that has become more robust in the wake of the enactment of the Gaelic Language Act in 2005. Subsequent language planning undertaken by BnaG and the national education providers has led to a more coordinated approach to Gaelic education, with a focus on some of the key issues including funding, availability of appropriate teaching resources, and the lack of suitable teachers.

There is a strong emphasis on the development of language status across the Gàidhlig educational provision available throughout Alba Scotland, particularly in terms of mainstream provision such as Gaelic Learning in Primary Schools and Gaelic in education. GME has more promise to develop fluent language speakers, which has strong potential in terms of promoting language usage and possibly intergenerational transmission. However, much external support also needs to be provided, particularly in terms of addressing the

need to provide alternate language learning environments outside of the formal classroom (Ratima & May, 2011).

Despite the prevalence of Gaelic language education, the Gaelic language continues to decline across all age ranges. However, education continues to be the jewel in the Crown of Gaelic language revitalisation efforts, playing key roles in all of the language planning areas of acquisition, usage, status, corpus and discourse planning. Once again, the lack of progress towards Gaelic language revitalisation despite the depth of Gaelic educational provision further underscores the assertion that “schools alone cannot do the job” (McCarty, 2008, p. 161).

Discussion

The deployment of education for language revitalisation has taken a similar trajectory in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland, particularly in terms of development, impetus, structural design and issues facing the sector. Nevertheless, key disparities can also be identified in terms of pedagogy, policy, inclusion in mainstream, and funding. These similarities and differences are discussed below in the context of the theoretical overview of education for language revitalisation described above. Finally, a critical analysis of Indigenous–language education in these two contexts is undertaken particularly focusing on their ability in their current form to effectively contribute to the five language-planning principles. Future steps to implementing these principles are also identified.

Probably the most striking similarity between the case studies is the predominance of educational initiatives as a key element of the countries’ processes and strategies for language revitalisation. In both cases, education for language revitalisation is well-developed and has government support.

The development of education for language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland has been relatively similar in terms of the history of their growth, the link that the movements have to activism and resistance, and their inception within the historical context of the 1960s and 1970s. In both cases, government support has grown over time, following an initial period of community-based development and activism; families and other interested parties invested time and expertise to create places where the languages could be taught and concurrently they engaged in activism and resistance in an attempt to draw support from government and the public. The growth of TKR and Wānanga in Aotearoa New Zealand and Gaelic nurseries and SMO in Alba Scotland was explosive in populations with a shared demographic and culture, while patchy in other areas. This initial boom was followed by provision at the primary and secondary levels. More recently, provision in both countries faced a number of structural challenges that led to the rate of growth slowing in recent years, notably perennial issues like a lack of funding, a lack of resources and a lack of suitably qualified and skilled teachers. In both cases, strategies have focused on overcoming these barriers, with the development of teacher training

programmes with the language at their heart and the establishment of resource production houses to supply schools. These are SNanG in Alba Scotland, and LM/TPTK in Aotearoa New Zealand, discussed in chapter 4.

There are three main reasons that education for language revitalisation was established in both Aotearoa and Alba. Firstly, the impetus for developing provision was driven by desires for language revitalisation. In Aotearoa and Alba, it was becoming increasingly understood that the languages were in danger, and that schooling was an effective means of passing the language on to a cohort of young children expediently. Language revitalisation demands were driven by the knowledge that the languages were contracting due to an arrest in the process of intergenerational transmission. Education was seen as an effective means of artificial resuscitation. However, education is still a one-strand rope which on its own is not enough to support language revitalisation.

A second reason for the establishment of education for language revitalization was to encourage economic development. Wānanga often had a parallel economic imperative behind their establishment, particularly TWOR, having developed out of an iwi confederation's strategic plan. Similarly, SMO's establishment sought to boost the economy of the region surrounding the campus, through employment and a focus on the local language, culture and heritage.

Finally, political aspiration was another reason for the establishment of education-for-language-revitalisation provision, in that, in both countries language loss and cultural contraction was symptomatic of a socio-political environment that marginalised minority and Indigenous populations. In Aotearoa, these aspirations were based on desires for the realisation of tino rangatiratanga as promised under article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and in both countries, this process was driven by activism.

Initial development was seen in university study with the introduction of Gaelic in Celtic Studies and Māori Studies in the 1950s. Similar developments in GM and KM educational initiatives then occurred with the establishment of SMO in the 1970s and TWOR in the 1980s. This was quickly followed by the establishment of early childhood, primary and secondary schooling, and adult education options in the two languages. Similarly, there has also been a parallel growth of provision in mainstream education.

Strategy and policy supporting education for language revitalisation has developed in both cases, often as a reaction to activism and protest, as well as developments amongst families and communities. This has included the introduction of a language Act, a language commission and various language strategies and plans which all include a strong emphasis on education as a valuable approach for achieving language revitalisation.

Nevertheless, there are also a range of distinct differences between the two examples of education for language revitalisation, particularly in relation to recent strategic planning

developments, and inclusion in mainstream education. First, there is a clear difference discernible in the amount of inclusion in mainstream education. In Aotearoa New Zealand, basic Māori is taught to all teacher trainees in preparation for teaching. In Alba Scotland, Gaelic provision in mainstream education is voluntary with provision aimed at a range of cohorts including learners, advanced learners and native speakers. Mainstream provision of Māori is generally designed for a non-Māori speaking school population, although 85% of Māori children are still accessing mainstream educational options. However, most children in the schools of Aotearoa New Zealand learn some simple Māori words and phrases such as mihimihi, colours and numbers. Also, it is common for children to sing the national anthem in Māori and English, to learn other Māori songs, and to have the option to take part in kapa haka. In Alba Scotland, the same cannot be expected except perhaps in communities where Gaelic is prominent.

The second and most striking difference between these two examples is the recent changes that are being noted in terms of language planning and its influence on education for language revitalisation. In Alba Scotland, Gaelic education has recently blossomed under the influence of the Gaelic Language Act and the work of BnaG, who have been afforded some power over Gaelic education planning and the ability to request educational bodies to develop a Gaelic education plan. Subsequently, a range of Gaelic strategies have been developed providing clarity, direction and leadership to education-for-Gaelic-language-revitalisation efforts. However, in Aotearoa New Zealand, the past two decades have been characterised by a tacit disregard for the language and the languishing of strategic approaches to language revitalisation. This situation has recently culminated in the release of the Waitangi Tribunal's Flora and Fauna Report and TKRNT's lodging of a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal. Language planning in Aotearoa continues to be reactive to community demands for language revitalisation, whereas activities in Alba Scotland suggest that language planning is being employed in a proactive way, a situation facilitated by putting BnaG in charge of strategy. A similar approach has now been mooted in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, we can only wait and see whether Māori language planning and education manage to catch up with the bold advances being undertaken in relation to Gaelic.

In terms of the way that the two educational examples contribute to the language-planning principles, the focus that both countries have placed on language acquisition through formal education is obvious. Whilst language acquisition is crucial to language revitalisation, the problem arises when language acquisition is assumed to lead to language usage. To be effective in terms of achieving language revitalisation, educational provision must maintain a specific focus on promoting usage (as well as the other four language-planning principles). Resourcing of these educational initiatives should ensure that such an approach is adopted to achieve the main aim of language revitalisation. In both Aotearoa and Alba Scotland, education for language revitalisation is almost exclusively focused on acquisition planning,

except in situations where something else is affecting language acquisition, for example, a lack of teaching resources (corpus planning). It is imperative that all five principles are considered in terms of any language revitalisation activity including education, particularly the crucial areas of usage planning and intergenerational transmission.

In terms of corpus planning, this is an area for concern, particularly in terms of the availability of adequate teaching resources in the languages. Although publishing houses with a strong emphasis on educational print culture are now operating in both countries – SNnaG in Alba Scotland and LM/TPTK in Aotearoa New Zealand (see chapter 4) – alongside independent publishers, at best it will take some time for them to develop a similar level of resourcing as is seen in mainstream schools. Moreover, given the developments in design and technology that are always occurring, the ability to achieve such parity is severely hampered.

Corpus planning also provides us with a link to status planning in that the availability and standard of language corpora sends an implicit message about the value, the status of the language. Although the fact that the language is being taught at all is a source of status, there must be a continual process of development taking place to ensure that the standards, resourcing and staff of these schools are of a level commensurate with their mainstream peers. Given the current difficulties in terms of funding and staffing, this is very difficult to achieve. Popular culture and the media are areas that have huge potential to support corpus planning for language acquisition (see discussions in chapters 3 and 4 below).

Discourse planning is a valuable means of supporting the other four language-planning principles as this is the area where critical thinking and research about the language takes place. In relation to education, examples include effective pedagogies for language learning, or research into the benefits of bilingual or immersion education. This is an area where much is being done particularly in the field of research as evidenced by the range of reports that have come out in both countries in recent years (for example, Matamua, 2012; McLeod et al, 2010; Stephen et al, 2010; Tākao et al, 2010), but much of this is undertaken in the state and tertiary sectors. Discourse planning is imperative for the continued growth and development of the sector at all levels as it is through research and evaluation that educators can develop the skills and knowledge to improve programmes to ensure that they are effectively contributing to language revitalisation. Thus, it is important that educators are furnished with the time, skills and resources to engage in research about and evaluation of education programmes and services to ensure that the five language-planning principles are being addressed.

Therefore, in summary, a number of commentators have clearly identified that education alone cannot save languages (Hornberger, 2008b; McCarty, 2008; Spolsky, 2008). Despite this finding, education has been the single most emphasised approach in both Alba Scotland

and Aotearoa New Zealand. In both countries, there has been a predilection for the establishment of educational facilities as a panacea for language decline. Despite these initiatives being employed, Gaelic and Māori have both continued to decline in both settings, possibly due to a lack of coordination and monitoring related to language planning.

The approaches being employed in Alba Scotland cater for the needs of a range of learners, by offering a clear hierarchy of language provision meeting the needs of fluent speakers and language learners through tailored models. KM education focuses on providing a teaching approach along the same lines as the Master Apprentice teaching method. This is in line with Māori cultural norms relating to concepts such as ako¹⁵³ and tuakana-teina. Both examples of education for language revitalisation focus on some cultural aspects as key elements of the curriculum. This includes a shared focus on music as a pedagogical tool and a culturally appropriate past-time. This is further expressed through the favouring of Māori values such as whānau, tuakana-teina and whakapapa in Māori medium schools.

Education has a long history as a key aspect of language revitalisation movements in both countries. Consequently, there is provision available for all age ranges, in many areas, in formal and informal settings, and at various levels of immersion. Provision is supported by legislation and policy, and the services are government funded. In both countries, more emphasis must be put on ensuring that educational provision supports all five language-planning principles rather than overemphasising language acquisition. Structural issues like funding, resourcing and staffing are all barriers to this occurring that need to be overcome to ensure the continued growth and success of the sector, and the best chance of achieving language revitalisation.

¹⁵³ To learn, study, instruct, teach, advise – the concept of ako means both to teach and to learn. It is grounded in the principle of reciprocity as it acknowledges the way that new knowledge and understanding grows out of the shared learning experiences of learners and teachers.

3: The Media

Like education, the media has “an important role to play in indigenous language revitalisation” (Matamua, 2006, p. 140), and has commonly been used worldwide as a means of protecting or supporting minority or Indigenous languages for many years. The first such initiatives developed in the UK, Lapland and Iraq. In the 1960s, similar developments sprang up in Australia and Canada, and in the 1970s in the United States (Rahoi-Gilchrist, 2010). As a result, the inclusion of minority language media in official language strategies has increased (Bell, 2010) as part of the slow but steady rise in official recognition and institutionalisation of minority languages internationally (Cormack, 2007a), as is the case with the two present contexts. Nevertheless, despite these trends, some commentators claim that the link between language revitalisation and minority language media has not been adequately explored or proven (Cormack, 2007b). Other commentators claim that it is practically impossible to prove this link in that “the nature of mass communications makes it almost impossible to isolate one element such as broadcasting from other social factors such as schooling, migration or socioeconomic status which may affect language maintenance” (Bell, 2010, p. 9). Further, Cormack (2007a) argues “new ways of researching this [relationship] are needed, ways that can penetrate and make sense of the audience’s interaction and use of media” (p. 66). In order to achieve this, he advocates an ecological approach that focuses on interactions between people and the contexts for these interactions, rather than focusing solely on “the media-audience nexus” (p. 66). Nevertheless, the media, particularly television and radio, is often a key element of government strategies for language revitalisation. The question of how the media can support language revitalisation is now considered. For the purpose of this chapter, the media will refer to broadcast media (television and radio), and non-broadcast media (the internet).

How can the media best be utilised to support language revitalisation?

Cormack (2007b) contends that there are number of issues to be considered when exploring the contribution of minority language media to language maintenance. It is important to recognise the media’s role in the representations of minority groups, in terms of accuracy. Moreover, misrepresentation and the promotion of language revitalisation can occur concurrently. One of the appeals of Indigenous language media is its ability to create a community of and in the language (Cormack, 2007b). The media’s ability to support the process of language revitalisation through the other four language-planning principles is significant. Moreover, by reaching people in the home, the media has the potential to encourage language use and intergenerational transmission.

Indigenous-language media may be able to support language revitalisation in terms of language acquisition and status (Bell, 2010). In terms of language acquisition, the media can transmit and teach the language to new generations, “including direct and indirect language teaching” (Bell, 2010, p. 10), and thus, could be used to supplement formal language

learning programmes, such as television programmes that actively focus on teaching a language (see below). Moreover, whilst it would be difficult to produce reliable research that links the media and language learning, Bell (2010) contends that broadcast media is “commonly used for educational purposes” (p. 10), as evidenced by numerous examples of media for language teaching globally, some of which have histories that date back for several decades. Furthermore, given the dearth of appropriate education resources for language teaching reported in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland (see Chapter 3), the use of the media as language teaching resources has huge potential to support the areas of language acquisition and corpus.

In terms of language status, Bell (2010) notes the influence that broadcast media has on the language’s mana or status. Inclusion of minority language and culture in the public domain is often linked to strategic goals relating to national culture and identity including the media in that it contains “powerful symbolic messages that normalise language in a modern context” (Hollings, 2005, p. 116). The existence of Indigenous-language media in itself signals that a language is modernised and thus capable of contemporary activity and participation (Hollings, 2005; Cormack, 2007). Cormack reminds us that minority language media also promotes language prestige or status through employment linked to production.

Minority language media can also be linked to language revitalisation in terms of its contribution to language corpus through the creation and dissemination of neologisms (Bell, 2010; Cormack, 2007b). Moreover, minority language media can provide an archive of language corpus including recordings of the language in relation to different topics and use of different dialects, for example, the archival television series *Waka Huia*, produced by Television New Zealand (see discussion below).

The media can also be linked to language discourse, particularly in situations where a specific focus on a language’s position and the challenges that face it are shown, thus providing viewers with information about the factors influencing the language’s survival. The media can also be used to disseminate research findings and significant events and challenges relating to a language, thus promoting language discourse.

Nevertheless, the exact nature of the relationship between minority language media and language usage, and its influence on the critical area of intergenerational transmission is yet to be determined (Cormack, 2007b), particularly due to the difficulty there is in identifying the exact contribution of the media to language usage, as opposed to other social factors like education (Bell, 2010). Indeed, Cormack (2007b) warns that “the role that media can play in the more direct forms of language maintenance – that is, actually encouraging people to use a language – should not be over-estimated” (p. 66).

Māori-language media

Māori media has a long history in Aotearoa New Zealand, dating back to the 1930s in radio (Middleton, 2010), the 1960s in television (Fox, 2002), and the 1990s in terms of the internet (“Internet in New Zealand”, 2011). This section explores the history of Māori media, its links to language revitalisation, and some of the contemporary examples of Māori media practice that support language revitalisation. The work of iwi radio and MTS are considered in terms of their support for the language-planning principles, as is media available via the internet. First, however, the legislative and policy provisions for Māori-language media are explored.

Legislation and policy

The recent history of Māori-language media dates back to the 1980s and 1990s, when two claims relating to broadcasting were made to the Waitangi Tribunal, eventually leading to the establishment of TMP¹⁵⁴. The first of these, WAI 26¹⁵⁵, was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in June 1986 following the deregulation of public broadcasting services under the SOEs¹⁵⁶ Act 1985. Under the Act, the newly created SOEs, including Television New Zealand and Radio New Zealand, remained as state-owned entities but were to run as commercially viable businesses. The claimant, Huirangi Waikerepuru acting on behalf of NKRM argued that the Māori Language Claim (see Chapter 1) should be reopened on the grounds that “the broadcasting issues dealt with in the [claim] report were interim only, and that the tribunal did not make a final finding on these matters” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1990, section 4.1). Subsequently, the claimants were invited to submit a new claim based on new evidence given that “the members of the tribunal which enquired into the original claim were no longer available” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1990, section 4.1). Thus, in June 1990, a second claim, WAI 150¹⁵⁷, was lodged by Huirangi Waikerepuru in conjunction with Graham Latimer of the New Zealand Māori Council. In the early stages of the inquiry into WAI150, it was decided that the two claims (WAI 26 and WAI 150) be combined and heard as one (Waitangi Tribunal, 1990).

The bilingual WAI 150 claim was lodged in response to the government’s proposed sale of radio spectrum frequencies by tender of rights under the Radio-communications Act 1989. The Act provided “a radically different way of using the radio spectrum” (Oliver, 1991, p. 70) by creating radio frequency rights which could be bought for 20-year periods. The claim was made on the basis that the language is a taonga that requires protection under article two of the Treaty, and that the radio spectrum and the media were means of protecting and promoting that taonga. An urgent enquiry was held and findings were based around the perilous position of the Māori language, and concerns regarding the speed at which

¹⁵⁴ Te Māngai Pāho, the Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency.

¹⁵⁵ The first Allocation of Radio Frequencies Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

¹⁵⁶ State-owned enterprises.

¹⁵⁷ The second Allocation of Radio Frequencies Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal later combined with WAI 26.

consultations and the proposed sale process had ensued. The Tribunal found that broadcast media is a vehicle for the protection of the Māori language and as such Māori should have access to airwave spectrums (Durie, 1998). The Tribunal also argued that many recent government initiatives in broadcasting were worthy of congratulation, but the Tribunal did not support the government's attempts to press forward with the tender of radio frequencies despite Māori grievances, and the willingness of the government only to allocate AM frequencies to Māori interest groups. The report stated that the language was "the primary vehicle for the expression and transmission of Māori culture" and was "pivotal to the development of New Zealand culture" (Oliver, 1991, pp. 71-72). Thus, it needed to be more widely used in public and private occasions, on air, in AM and FM frequencies "so that the young would build it into their own contemporary culture" (Oliver, 1991, pp. 71-72). Although the radio spectrum was not known in 1840¹⁵⁸, like the resources of deep-sea fisheries, its use was to be negotiated by Māori and the Crown. The Tribunal recommended that the government tender of radio frequencies be suspended, that government technical advisors help iwi prepare their tender applications, that some FM frequencies be allocated to Māori broadcasters, and that there be an award of costs to the claimants (Oliver, 1991; Waitangi Tribunal, 1990).

However, the government was still eager to continue with the tendering process. Further they did not believe that the tenders would adversely affect Māori language broadcast media, despite none of the FM frequencies reserved for Māori being in Auckland or Wellington (Durie, 1998). There followed a protracted legal battle between the New Zealand Māori Council and the Crown that went through the High Court in 1990 and 1991, the Court of Appeal in 1992, and on to the Privy Council in 1993 (TMP, 2003). The Privy Council found that once the Crown had produced protective mechanisms regarding Māori language in broadcasting, the tendering process could go ahead. Importantly, these measures included the establishment of TMP under the Broadcasting Amendment Act (no. 2) 1993 to act as a funding agency and purchaser of programmes in te reo Māori (Durie, 1998).

The statutory role of TMP is "to promote Māori language and Māori culture by making funds available... for broadcasting and the production of programmes to be broadcast", and to "have regard for the needs and preferences of children participating in te reo Māori immersion education and all persons learning te reo Māori" (TMP, 2003, para. 1). The Agency describes their vision and mission in terms of two whakataukī:

*Ahakoā kei whea,
Ahakoā āwheā,
Ahakoā pēwheā,*

¹⁵⁸ Under the Treaty principles, Māori could only claim on taonga that were known to them at the signing of the Treaty in 1840. The Crown's lawyers argued that the spectrum was not known to Māori then, but the Tribunal (except for the presiding judge) accepted the evidence of Professor Whatarangi Winiata and decided that "radio waves existed in nature – as light and sound – and could be captured to a certain extent by humans through their eyes and ears" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p. 42)

Kōrero Māori!
Māori language – everywhere, every day, in every way!

*Tuhia te hā o Te Reo Māori ki te rangi,
E kaha ai te mapu o te Manawa ora,
E rekareka ai te tāringa whakarongo,
E waiwai ai, te karu mātakitaki.*
Bringing the joy of Māori language to all listeners and viewers (TMP, 2010, p. 2).

Figure 3 **TMP logo**



(TMP, 2010, p. 1).

These whakataukī embody the aspirations and vision of agency in terms of their goals to enable the production and presentation of programming in the Māori language and relating to Māori culture, as well as aiming to facilitate a positive attitude to Māori language and culture amongst all New Zealanders. The logo for TMP (see Figure 3 above) further reinforces the Agency’s role as a facilitator of the survival of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga.¹⁵⁹ According to their 2009/2010 Annual Report (TMP, 2010),

The design embodies our mission ‘Tuhia te hā o te reo Māori ki te rangi’’. The design represents the nurturing of te reo Māori. The three uprights are called Piki ki te rangi. The design represents the connections between heaven and earth. The crescent shape at the base is Te Māngai Pāho – the mouthpiece which protects and nurtures. Within the crescent is Te Purapura – te kākano i ruia mai i Rangīātea – the seed in the form of te reo me ōna tikanga Māori. It is in this act of nurturing and promotion that is important in order for the Māori language and culture to thrive (p. 1).

TMP funds are also available for transmission on demand¹⁶⁰, producing content for transmission on demand, and archiving content (TMP, 2011).

¹⁵⁹ Māori language and culture.

¹⁶⁰ This involves making programmes available online for viewers to access outside viewing times.

In 2005/2006, TMP funded 21 iwi radio stations to provide eight hours per day of Māori language content as part of their daily schedule. In total this equates to 55,000 hours of Māori language broadcasting annually. Alongside this, another five stations broadcast over frequencies reserved to promote and protect te reo, but that do not draw any funds from TMP (TPK, 2008). In the year ending March 31, 2010, the service provided \$12,322,586 in funding for radio and \$14,456,645 for television broadcasting. Funding for radio also included \$450,000 for music production costs (TMP, 2010). TMP supports the process of language revitalisation by directly influencing the language-planning principles of language status, discourse, corpus and acquisition. It also has the potential to support language usage and intergenerational transmission as part of a wider linguistic structure that combines a range of formal and informal language domains. However, the provision of such an environment requires a highly coordinated approach driven by a partnership between communities and government.

The next major development in Māori-language broadcasting was the genesis of the MTS Act 2003. The Act's development dates back to 1998 when government funding for a stand-alone Māori channel was announced. Subsequently in 2000, TPK created a set of objectives to guide Māori broadcasting with notable emphasis on the idea that Māori stories were a unique aspect of the country's national culture and identity. What followed was three years spent dealing with "complex issues... roadblocks such as the media and political ill-will... [and] controversies" (Middleton, 2010, p. 161). Nevertheless, Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori¹⁶¹ was eventually passed in May 2003, establishing the channel as a statutory corporation. According to the Act, the role of the channel is to

Promote te reo Māori me ōna tikanga Māori [Māori language and culture] through the provision of a high quality, cost-effective, Māori television service, in both Māori and English, that informs, educates, and entertains a broad viewing audience, and, in doing so, enriches New Zealand's society, culture, and heritage (s. 8 [1]).

Furthermore, MTS is also required to

... ensure that during prime time it broadcasts mainly in te reo Māori; and ensure that at other times it broadcasts a substantial proportion of its programmes in te reo Māori; and ensure that, in its programming, the Service has regard to the needs and preferences of children participating in te reo Māori immersion education; and all persons learning te reo Māori; and provide broadcast services that are technically available throughout New Zealand and practically accessible to as many people as is reasonably possible (s. 8 (2)).

Thus, the key focus of the MTS Act is to support the Māori language through the establishment of a Māori television channel, contributing to all five of the language-planning

¹⁶¹ The MTS Act 2003.

principles. Moreover, the channel has the potential to contribute to the process of intergenerational transmission by providing opportunities to learn and use the language in the home.

Radio

Radio was first legislated for in Aotearoa New Zealand under the Telecommunications Act 1903, but it was not until 1922 that the first radio station was established. The first radio broadcasts in te reo Māori were made in about 1927 with the playing of Māori songs like *Pōkarekare*, and the broadcast of “Māori pageants” (Mill, 2005, p. 196). Subsequently in 1928 and '29, Radio New Zealand appointed a number of Māori broadcasters and aired the first Māori-language programmes in the early 1940s. In 1978, the government established a Māori and Pacific section within Radio New Zealand called Te Reo o Aotearoa (literally, ‘the voice of Aotearoa New Zealand’). However, it was not until the 1980s that the first independent Māori radio station was established; Wellington’s TRIMTUTI¹⁶² began broadcasting in 1983 but was not licensed until 1988, followed by Radio Aotearoa in Auckland later that year. The number of Māori radio stations continued to grow rapidly over the ensuing years from six stations in 1990, to 20 by 1992. Today, there are 21 Māori radio stations associated with Māori radio broadcasting group, Te Whakaruruhau o ngā Reo Irirangi Māori¹⁶³ (Matamua, 2006).

The first Māori radio station was established by NKRM in 1983 (TRIMTUTI, n.d.) when the antecedent of TRIMTUTI was set up under the name Te Reo o Pōneke (literally ‘the voice of Wellington’). Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau had been established under a Department of Māori Affairs’ scheme that sought to set up Māori language boards throughout the country, with the aim that they would coordinate regional Māori language activities (Mill, 2005). Headed by Huirangi Waikerepuru, the aim of Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau was the continued survival and use of the Māori language, and alongside the New Zealand Māori Council, the organisation was a driving force behind the movement for Māori-controlled broadcasting (Smith, 1994).

Te Reo o Pōneke was a pilot for Māori language radio and utilised the studio equipment and transmission facilities of Radio Active, Victoria University’s student radio station (Mill, 2005). Winitana (2011) describes the impact of Te Reo o Pōneke’s first broadcast on the nation.

It’s August 1983. Wellington.

The first broadcast of the forerunner to Te Ūpoko o Te Ika radio station is about to begin. The silence is deafening. Māori eyes watch radios expectantly. Māori ears beg to be tickled. Language nests tune in. Workers on construction sites tune in. Business suits and ties are braced. Others around the country wonder if it’s going to work.

¹⁶² Te Reo Irirangi Māori o Te Ūpoko o te Ika; Radio Wellington; a Māori-language radio station.

¹⁶³ Association of Māori radio stations.

Māori radio. Māori language. Māori views. Māori jokes. Māori news. Māori laughter. Māori tears.

The broadcast starts, out of the borrowed studio and using the borrowed gear of student station Radio Active. There's necessary acceptance of that fact. It's a case of necessity. Māori are used to pioneering things on borrowed time, with borrowed labour, borrowed equipment, and borrowed money. It's character building.

Māori cheeks wrinkle with laughter, like the fantail in the Maui story, as the Māori brand of radio breaks over the airwaves. Brows buckle up when the news comes on. Like hungry fledglings waiting for the tell-tale swish of mother bird's wings, Māori tune in.

Within a few days it's all over.

The silence is back. Like a clinging plastic shroud.

But the point is proven by Māori to Māori. This is what Māori radio sounds like. It can be done, on the smell of an oily rag. With plasters, bubble gum and number eight wire¹⁶⁴ (p. 154).

Between 1983 and 1986, the station was only on air for one week per year – Te Wiki o Te Reo¹⁶⁵ (Smith, 1994), but finally, in 1988, the station was issued with its first license under the name TRIMTUTI and they were now able to broadcast continuously.

Today, TRIMTUTI broadcasts to the Wellington region and areas north of Wellington, including the Horowhenua, Manawatu, Whanganui and southern Taranaki. According to their website, “on good days our signal gets across the Ruahine and Tararua ranges into the lower Wairarapa” (TRIMTUTI, n.d., para. 2). The station has a huge legacy as it has been described as “the catalyst for the development of the iwi radio network” (Mill, 2005, p. 199). Fundamental to the station's operation is a desire to promote the language as an integral aspect of Māori and New Zealand culture, with English-Māori bilingualism as the preferred ideal for all New Zealanders (TRIMTUTI, n.d.).

An impact survey commissioned by TPK in 2010 suggests that there is a link between the provision of iwi radio and Māori language revitalisation. Data was collected from 1,503 Māori respondents aged over 15 years through telephone interviews. The findings identified a link between iwi radio listenership, and Māori language usage and acquisition. For example, language learning was the most common reason identified for listening to iwi

¹⁶⁴ The phrase ‘number eight wire’ symbolises the resourcefulness of New Zealanders (Bardsley, 2009a), as expressed through a rural icon “often used inventively and practically for purposes other than fencing” (Bardsley, 2009b, para. 16).

¹⁶⁵ Māori Language Week.

radio. Furthermore, over half of the respondents reported that they wanted to gain skills in te reo Māori due to the availability of this broadcasting service (TPK, 2011c).

TPK (2011b) concluded that iwi radio contributes to language revitalisation, “by motivating and prompting people to use their Māori language skills, whilst at the same time providing opportunities for individuals to enhance their existing skills” (n.p). This is because “the portability and accessibility of iwi radio makes the Māori language accessible to both learners of Māori and fluent speakers” (TPK, 2008d, p.3). However, according to TPK (2008a), there was a decrease in the frequency and duration of people listening to iwi radio between 2001 and 2006, possibly due to the launch of Māori TV in 2004.

At higher levels of fluency, and in terms of its contribution to language corpus, status and discourse, Māori language radio has an important contribution to make. Furthermore, the ability of Māori radio to be a part of people’s home and family life makes radio and other forms of media unique as an example of a language revitalisation strategy. Because of this, there may be potential for Māori language broadcasting to contribute to the important areas of language usage and intergenerational transmission. Recent research published by TPK confirms that Māori language radio listenership can be positively linked to increased language usage and acquisition (TPK, 2011). However, research also suggests that the iwi radio audience may be declining, perhaps as a result of Māori Television’s growth since 2004. Nevertheless, much needs to be done to encourage participation in the opportunities that iwi radio can provide in relation to Māori language revitalisation, much the same as it is for Māori television.

Television

By the time Aotearoa New Zealand experienced its first television broadcast on 1 June 1960, te reo Māori was already in a serious state of decline. Early television broadcasting further entrenched this position in that, historically at least, “the medium unremittingly whispers, shouts and displays its message – Get with it, only English really counts” (Benton, cited by Middleton, 2010, p. 148). Historically, the language was “brought to the brink of extinction more than anything else by the influence of monolingual broadcasting” (Fox, 2002, p. 266). Although programming with Māori content began to appear in the 1960s, the focus was usually on “presenting a Pākehā world for Pākehā” (Middleton, 2010, p. 148); however, from the 1970s, contemporary forms of Māori activism started to take shape, including urban groups like Ngā Tamatoa in Auckland, and Te Reo Māori Society in Wellington who had a specific interest in media representation of Māori (Middleton, 2010). Subsequently, petitions were delivered to parliament making a range of demands regarding the language, including for a Māori language presence on television (Hollings, 2005). One petition signed by 25,000 people and brought forward by Te Reo Māori Society in 1978, demanded a tangible Māori presence on television, specifically recommending that the national broadcaster appoint a Māori team who would create Māori programmes, deliver a prime-

time Māori-language news bulletin, advise broadcasters on Māoritanga,¹⁶⁶ and add a Māori dimension to regular viewing (Middleton, 2010).

Regardless of this, early efforts to promote the language on television were “sporadic” (Middleton, 2010, p. 149) and were often only employed during Māori Language Week, but not at other times of the year. As a result, up until the 1980s, television programmes providing a Māori perspective were rare. According to Stephens (2002), “Māori people were rarely seen on television... the Māori language was almost never heard on the airwaves, and the whole spectrum of social and political issues important to Māori were largely ignored both by radio and TV” (p. 261). Furthermore, very few Māori were involved in television production (Middleton, 2010).

Things started to change in the 1970s and 1980s with Māori broadcasting developments in TVNZ¹⁶⁷. In 1974, a million people watched 6-part series, *Tangata Whenua – the People of the Land*, introducing Pākehā viewers to Māori worldviews for the first time. Next, *Koha* aired from 1980 to 1985 in a 30-minute slot on a Sunday afternoon. Although this was an English-language programme, rather than focusing on a Pākehā worldview, the emphasis had shifted to “a window into te ao Māori¹⁶⁸ for Pākehā, and a link to urban Māori estranged from their culture” (Middleton, 2010, p. 150). The magazine-style show focused on a range of topics including social problems, food preparation, tribal histories, natural history, weaponry, Māori art and te reo (Hollings, 2005; Middleton, 2010). There are a range of views on the work of *Koha*, having been referred to as both “a soft, cute window on Māori society through which Pākehā people could peer” (Fox, 2002, p. 262), and “an authentic voice [which] sought to grab the Māori audience in an academic headlock if necessary to ensure Māori stories were listened to and appreciated” (Reweti, 2006, p. 180). Nevertheless, *Koha* was a fundamental precursor to the development of Māori-language programming in mainstream television media.

In 1982, Derek Tini Fox was asked to front a two-minute Māori news segment immediately before the main 6pm news show to mark Māori Language Week. This was the beginning of the long-running Māori language news programme, *Te Karere* (meaning ‘the messenger’). However, rather than providing a Māori translation of the mainstream news, Fox presented a Māori-focused news segment in te reo Māori (Fox, 1993). This was “the country’s first regular Māori-language news programme, *Te Karere*, which went to air in February 1983 presented by [Derek] Fox and Whai Ngata” (Middleton, 2010, p. 152). According to Fox (2002), they “begged, borrowed and purloined facilities to gather, edit and transmit film stories of Māori news” (p. 103). *Te Karere* staff are also reported to have faced “a hostile environment” (Middleton, 2010, p. 152) and at times, encountered racist attitudes amongst colleagues. Nevertheless, the two-minute segment was later extended to ten minutes, and

¹⁶⁶ Māori culture, practices and beliefs.

¹⁶⁷ Television New Zealand.

¹⁶⁸ The Māori world.

today is a 35-minute news programme that is screened twice daily from Monday to Friday; the initial screening is at 4pm, with this repeated at 5.35am with English subtitles (Television New Zealand, 2011c).

TVNZ started to take steps towards including a Māori perspective in 1986 when they appointed Ripeka Evans as an advisor to the chief executive on Māori programming and staffing. Subsequently, the organisation set two undemanding goals: to achieve 10% Māori-language programming across the local content on the two channels; and to increase Māori staffing, leading to the establishment of TVNZ's Māori department at the end of 1986 (Middleton, 2010). Soon after, *Koha* was replaced by two other programmes aired on a Sunday morning: *Waka Huia* was totally in Māori and presented archival material, often of kaumātua recounting Māori knowledge and history; and *Marae*, a magazine-style programme that was mainly in English (Hollings, 2005). Production of *Waka Huia* began in 1987 and was undertaken by a team of eight with the support of the Department of Māori Affairs, the MOE and TVNZ (Middleton, 2010). The programme aimed to “preserve the reo and matauranga Māori of our tribal elders” (Stephens, 2005, p. 109). *Waka Huia*, which is still aired today on a Sunday morning, has “created a vital and important audio-visual archive of iwi and hapū life and history” (Stephens, 2005, p. 108). *Marae* was first broadcast on Sunday mornings in 1990 with English as the main language of delivery and covering topics including Māori culture and society, sport and politics (Middleton, 2010). Both programmes are still running as part of TV One's Sunday morning programming, with *Marae* recently repackaged as *Marae investigates* with a bilingual format and English language subtitles, and *Waka Huia* maintaining a focus on archival filming in Māori across various topics. According to their website (Television New Zealand, 2011a),

Waka Huia is an archival series. It records and preserves the language and concerns of fluent speakers of the Māori language. This archival aspect is reflected in the particular history spoken of, or, in the 'snap-shot' that is taken of a certain moment in time of the Māori world" (para. 13).

In contrast *Marae investigates* is described as a “current affairs show that takes a look at topical issues from... a Maori perspective” (Television New Zealand, 2011b, para. 3).

These examples of Māori-language media on mainstream television support the language-planning principles of corpus, status, discourse and acquisition. Corpus is supported by creating an archive of material in Māori representing a range of iwi and hapū perspectives. Status is promoted through the language being included in broadcasting, signalling that Māori is modernised and capable of contemporary participation and activity (Cormack, 2007b). Language discourse is encouraged where programmes specifically focus on the situation confronting the language and the impact of this on the language's survival. Finally, language acquisition is supported through formal and informal language learning opportunities that television broadcasting provides. There may even be a link with language

usage, due to television's ability to engage people in their homes. However, despite these developments in mainstream television media, only a small percentage of the programmes aired on mainstream television can be described as 'Māori programmes', and as a result, there was more and more demand for the establishment of a national Māori television station (Fox, 2002; Stephen, 2005; Middleton, 2010).

Even after a period of intense legal activity that culminated in the establishment of TMP in 1995, a national Māori television station was still not forthcoming, perhaps due to bureaucratic barriers and a lack of general public support for the idea (Walker, 2004). Moreover, Smith and Abel (2008) assert that the prevalence of negative media coverage of Māori business practices encouraged these attitudes. These perceptions were significantly bolstered by the "interesting experiment" (Reweti, 2006, p. 184) of ATN¹⁶⁹. Established as a result of political activism, the government set up ATN in mid-1996 as a pilot scheme for a national Māori television service, providing funding for 13 weeks of airtime in the Auckland region (Hollings, 2005; Reweti, 2006). Burns (1997) claims that the network was "set up to fail" (p. 7), citing bureaucratic barriers to the organisation's development, a position supported by Walker (2004) who notes superficial political support, an unrealistic timeframe for delivery, and limitations to funding and transmission as examples of the government's lack-lustre support for the initiative. Unfortunately though, controversy is the enduring legacy of ATN. Its chief executive, Tukuroirangi Morgan, was elected to Parliament as a member of the New Zealand First Party and was attacked by the Labour Party, aided by a vociferous media over "excessive" clothing expenditure when he was at the helm of ATN, including an infamous pair of underwear costing \$89, although allegations of wrong-doing were never proved (Burns, 1997; Middleton, 2010; "Tuku Morgan," n.d.). As stated by Burns (1997), "Aotearoa Television did not fail the Māori people... the Government, and even more so, the [Opposition] Labour party, killed Aotearoa Television, and the television and print media put the nails in the coffin and buried it" (p. 7). However, the venture provided an important lesson for politicians, policy-makers and Māori broadcasters: that for a Māori television service to succeed, appropriate and sustainable funding was required (Dunleavy, 2008; Middleton, 2010).

Slowly in the years that followed, the vision that many had of a Māori television service began to emerge. Government funding for the venture was announced in 1998, and by 2000, TMP had developed a set of principles for Māori television policy which included a focus on "ensuring all New Zealanders have reasonable and regular access to... broadcasting representing the uniqueness and diversity of New Zealand life, recognising that the histories and stories of whānau, hapū and iwi are integral to any description of that life" (MCH, 2003, p. 13, cited by Middleton, 2010, p. 161). This was followed by a government announcement regarding the establishment of a Crown-owned MTS. The channel was initially dogged by controversies including disputes over the transmission platform, the removal and

¹⁶⁹ Aotearoa Television Network.

incarceration of the service's first chief executive, John Davy, after six weeks in the job due to the discovery that he had falsified his resume, and the departure of the second chief executive, Derek Fox under a cloud in 2003 (Middleton, 2010).

Nevertheless, on 28 March 2004, MTS was launched, broadcasting for between six and eight hours per day (Mane-Wheeki, 2005), and providing full coverage throughout the country via digital satellite coverage, with 83% also receiving coverage via UHF (Rahoi-Gilchrist, 2010). The launch was attended by many including Māori language activist, Huirangi Waikerepuru, who described the landmark event as "yet another milestone for us and our language" (Kiriona, 2004, para. 9). MTS operates from a purpose-built facility in Newmarket, Auckland that has been described as "a unique interactive open studio environment" (Paul, 2005, p. 43). The channel quickly grabbed a foothold; by 2006 had gained a market share of 20% and was accessed by more than 580,000 individual viewers in October of that year (Rahoi-Gilchrist, 2010).

MTS is unique as it has its own legislation, the MTS Act 2003, which gives the service "a clear legal mandate" (Rahoi-Gilchrist, 2010, p. 163). Furthermore, it is governed by a board that is selected in partnership between government ministers and the MTS Electoral College, which represents a range of national Māori organisations including TKRNT, NKRM, the Māori programme-makers' body, Ngā Aho Whakaari, and the National Māori Council (Middleton, 2010).

The mission of MTS highlights the focus on Māori language revitalisation in the service's operations, starting with their principal aim,

Ki te whakapau kaha ki te whakaora i te reo Māori me ngā tikanga, mā te tū motuhake, toitū momoho o Whakaata Māori hei pourewa pāpāho whakaaturanga - To make a significant contribution to the revitalisation of te reo and tikanga Māori by being an independent, secure and successful Māori television broadcaster (MTS, 2010, p. 13; 2011f, p. 15).

This is underscored by one of the service's long-term objective¹⁷⁰ to "significantly contribute to Māori language and culture being increasingly valued, embraced and spoken", and their strategic priority focusing on Māori language revitalisation. This strategic direction is reinforced by the idea that MTS has the ability to "deliver Māori language programming into virtually every New Zealand household" (MTS, 2010, p. 13). The means of achieving this is outlined in the service's Māori Language Plan, which aims to align with the government's Māori Language Strategy, and identifies targets and indicators for Māori-language content. The plan also aims to create a culture within MTS that promotes language status and usage (MTS, 2010).

¹⁷⁰ The second long-term objective relates to the desire for continuing financial sustainability (MTS, 2010).

MTS used the marketing phrase “Mā rātou, mā mātou, mā koutou, mā tātou – for those who have gone before, for Māori, for whoever you are/wherever you come from, for everyone” (Rahoi-Gilchrist, 2010, p. 163), situating the service as meeting the needs of all New Zealanders. Therefore, despite the service’s mission statement focusing on the channel’s contribution to language revitalisation (MTS, 2010, 2011a), the slogan markets the station as being for everyone. This conflict between a mandate for language revitalisation, and a need to meet the needs of all citizens including monoglot English speakers became a central criticism of MTS, and is eloquently described by Paul (2005) who stated that “there is only one Māori Television channel and it had the difficult job as seeing itself as ‘all things to all people’” (p. 45). However, the marketing of MTS being ‘for everyone’ is important because it appeals to a wider audience than just Māori people.

In order to overcome these criticisms, plans were unveiled for the launch of a second channel, Te Reo TV, to screen for three hours per night solely in te reo Māori with no advertising. The launch took place on 28 March 2008, broadcasting live from the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference in Auckland. The new station aimed to provide more iwi-specific programming, and sought to cater for an older audience of more fluent speakers and others wanting full-immersion broadcasting (Rahoi-Gilchrist, 2010).

Subsequently, the success of MTS has continued to grow. In 2009, over one million individuals were accessing the channels each month. Research also found that 84% of the public supported “permanent broadcaster status” (Rahoi-Gilchrist, 2010, p. 163) for MTS, and more than half of the population appreciated the positive views the station gives of Māori. Moreover, 73% of Māori and 46% of the general public agreed that MTS positively contributed to the country’s sense of nationhood, and by 2010, MTS was reaching an average of 1.7 million viewers per month, 39% of the population of Aotearoa New Zealand. Furthermore, MTS claims to have more than 6,000 Facebook fans and nearly 14,000 people visiting their Facebook page daily (MTS, 2010).

One of the key challenges that MTS still faces is its ability to cover the cost more expensive genres such as animation, dramas or soap operas that Hollings (2005) describes as “programmes which are likely to have the greatest impact on Māori language revitalisation” (p. 126). Television production is expensive at an estimated \$30,000 per hour, or \$22 million for two hours per day of new programming, excluding transmission and operational costs that have been estimated at \$6 million. One of MTS’s responses to this issue is versioning English language programmes into Māori as a low-cost way alternative to new production. However, this method is only effective when the equivalent English language version is not screening concurrently on another channel (Hollings, 2005).

MTS have also been working on accessing new audiences and promoting revenue through creation of high-impact programming on important national events. This includes the recent

coup achieved by MTS when they gained sole rights to screen all 48 RWC2011¹⁷¹ games free-to-air (MTS, 2011g), whereas the two main free-to-air channels only gained nine games each. This brought in huge viewer numbers for MTS, including a record-breaking 501,000 watching the quarterfinal between the All Blacks and Argentina on Māori TV (Romanos, 2011) outstripping the previous high score of 310,410 for a boxing match in March 2010 (“Rugby World Cup nets Māori Television record audience”, 2011).

Another event televised by MTS in recent years that has attracted a large audience is their ANZAC Day coverage. In 2011, the channel dedicated its entire day’s screening to the event for the sixth consecutive year, with highlights including live coverage of the Auckland War Memorial’s dawn service, screening of an ANZAC-themed documentary and drama, and the ANZAC Address (MTS, 2011b). Their 2009 coverage of the event led to the highest ever cumulative read for any one day in its five-years of operation, with more than half a million people tuning in over the 18-hour broadcast on Saturday, 25 August (“Anzac Day ratings success for Māori TV”, 2009). However, although this may improve the channel’s prospects for financial sustainability into the future, this does not necessarily contribute to language revitalisation. Te Reo TV also broadcast sixteen live matches from the RWC2011 that have 100% Māori-language commentary (MTS, 2011g). Despite the high numbers for the English-language version, there is no mention of the equivalent in te reo, which would lead one to suspect that these were not notable. So, although Māori TV may be bringing in these large numbers of viewers, are they still tuning in when te reo Māori comes on?

Hollings (2005) argues that “if the language is to develop, then the programming... needs not only to entertain but also to challenge viewers linguistically while maintaining comprehensibility to the extent that at least their receptive competence grows” (p. 128). As a result, MTS is required to tread a fine line between three disparate roles: financial sustainability; meeting the needs of all New Zealanders; and supporting language revitalisation. Te Reo TV has provided an opportunity for the service to target their programming to specific viewer cohorts rather than having to cater ‘for everyone’ with only one channel. MTS has identified three key audience groupings. The first cohort is Māori who are fluent speakers and their whanau. By targeting this group, MTS hopes to promote intergenerational transmission by positioning the language as a normal part of everyday life and by providing opportunities for language delivery and acquisition. The second cohort is language learners who can use MTS as a means of attaining higher levels of fluency, and the final cohort is non-fluent New Zealanders who are interested in te ao Māori. This approach allows MTS to support language status and discourse through programming that draws attention to the plight of the language and the importance of it in terms of national culture and identity (MTS, 2011e). Thus, MTS supports the process of language revitalisation by promoting all five language-planning principles.

¹⁷¹ Rugby World Cup 2011.

In terms of the focus of achieving language revitalisation through the promotion of intergenerational transmission, the emphasis is on “providing support for young people that will encourage them to use Māori language outside the classroom setting” (Hollings, 2005, p. 128). This is because the demographic profile of Māori language speakers is split between young school-aged children and people over 50. Moreover, as children grow older and there are fewer opportunities for them to use te reo, numbers tend to drop off. As a result, three high priority types of programmes have been identified. This includes children’s and young people’s programming across a wide range of genres such as entertainment, quizzes, game shows, magazine, language education and music. This type of programming is given a high priority because it is able to complement educational programmes that form much of the basis of language revitalisation strategies in Aotearoa New Zealand. The second high-priority genre is news and current affairs because they support language corpus by introducing new vocabulary and topics of conversation related to contemporary life. Finally, soap operas are classified as high-priority programming because of their ability to attract and maintain an audience (Hollings, 2005). Examples of all three of these genres are now broadcast on Māori Television either partly or completely in te reo Māori. These include *Mīharo*, a children’s show for Māori language speakers aged five to eight, *Te Kaea*, a nightly Māori language news show, and *Tōku Reo*, an education entertainment show that combines a soap opera with a language learning programme. *Mīharo* and *Tōku Reo* utilise an education entertainment genre to engage viewers in the language. *Mīharo* is aimed at children aged five to eight years who are engaged in MM schooling, and is unique in that its content is aligned with the MOE’s school curriculum and has been produced in consultation with experienced primary school teachers. *Tōku Reo* is designed as a Māori language learning course for beginners and was designed by Professor John Moorfield (MTS, 2011i). It is based on *Te Whanake*, a well-known Māori language learning course created by Moorfield. The show uses a range of strategies to support language learning including clear grammar and vocabulary sections, role plays, kaumātua segments about dialectal differences, homework for viewers to complete, and a revision show every three or four episodes. The programme is also supported by a website which reinforces the lessons provided on the television shows and contains interactive activities, podcasts and a forum (Kura Productions, 2008-2011).

Te Kaea has been described as “news from a Māori perspective” (MTS, 2011g, para. 1) and “Māori Television’s flagship nightly news programme” (MTS, 2011h, para. 4). It is broadcast daily on Māori TV at 5.30pm and then repeated at 7.30 and 11pm with subtitles. The show is presented by Amomai Pihama and Piripi Taylor, and features “local, national and international stories from a Māori perspective” (MTS, 2011f, para. 4). Up until recently, *Te Kaea* screened each evening at 7.30pm until MTS decided to move the news programme to the earlier time of 5.30pm, directly before the mainstream news on TV One at 6pm. Te Anga Nathan, general manager of news and current affairs cited three reasons for the move: (1) to be among the first news bulletins to be broadcast each day; (2) to reach a wider

audience; and (3) to allow the 7.30 bulletin to be subtitled for non-Māori language speakers (“New time-slot for daily news programme on Māori Television”, 2011).

The programmes screened on Māori Television are aimed at two key demographics: (1) Māori language learners, particularly at the beginner and early intermediate levels; and (2) monoglot English speakers. Māori language children’s shows like *Mīharo* provide an alternative to English language animations and kids’ shows offered by the mainstream broadcasters at the same time for children who speak the language, particularly those in Māori immersion schooling. Shows like *Te Kaea* and *Tōku Reo* cater for a range of language learners particularly at lower levels of proficiency, whilst still being accessible by people who are not Māori language speakers.

Te Reo TV caters for a different audience than that targeted by Māori TV. For example, although *Te Kaea* is also broadcast on Te Reo at 10.30pm each night, it is screened in Māori without subtitles. Te Reo TV is an immersion channel. Despite this, Māori TV also screens a significant amount of Māori language programming, approximately 60% overall and 51% at prime time (MTS, 2011f). However, the programming screened on Te Reo TV focuses on an older demographic and those with high levels of language proficiency. Shows such as *Ngā Pari Kārangaranga* focus on the iwi perspective. Meaning ‘the echoing voices from the mountains’, this is a half hour programme “by iwi, for iwi and about iwi” (MTS, 2011g, para. 1) that covers a range of topics including tribal histories, stories, mythology and legends. Other shows focus on the perspective of one iwi, such as *Maumahara* (Ngāti Kahungūnu) and *Kowhai Rau* (Ngā Puhī). Another weekly show, *E tū kahikatea* provides a half-hour snapshot into the lives of a range of kaumatua, who confess everything “from fears and regrets to falling in love” (MTS, 2011c, para. 1). There is also a range of sports shows screened including *Te Pō Mekemeke* (boxing), *Riiki ARL 2011* (rugby league), and *Te Whutupaoro-ā-rohe* (club rugby), which are commentated in te reo Māori. Other shows focus on themes such as careers, healthy food, kapa haka, speechmaking, film archives, debates, natural history and rural Māori. This schedule is supplemented by the prime-time language learning show *Ako* which is aimed at intermediate language speakers, each show presenting a stand-alone learning experience which focuses on a specific language skill – listening, reading, talking or writing. The show’s activities are complemented by a range of worksheets available at the Te Reo TV website (MTS, 2011a).

Education entertainment programmes like *Ako* are still used to attract language learners, but this is at an intermediate level, as opposed to the beginner level provided by *Tōku Reo*. Furthermore, the screening of *Te Kaea* is somewhat different between the two channels. This would indicate that the two channels are working together to provide viewers with the choice of watching the news in Māori with or without English subtitles at a similar time. The fact that the two channels have their own clearly defined audiences and approaches to Indigenous broadcasting emphasises the way that they are able to work in concert to support language revitalisation.

An impact survey of Māori over the age of 15, commissioned by TPK, MTS, TMP and TTWRM to measure the contribution of services like Māori TV to language revitalisation, found that there were links evident between viewership of MTS and increases in language usage and language acquisition. For example, 66% of respondents indicated that the service's availability made them want to improve their language skills (TPK, 2011a). Therefore, not only does MTS have the potential to contribute to intergenerational transmission through its ability to engage with people in their homes, it can also contribute to the process of language revitalisation by promoting language usage and language acquisition. Furthermore, MTS is able to support language status by virtue of its very existence. Cormack (2007b) supports this idea, stating that "media can function as a signifier that a language is fully modernized, capable of taking part in contemporary life" (p. 54). The message that a language is a valid and legitimate aspect of contemporary life has positive implications for language status. Language discourse can also be promoted through the broadcasting of programmes in which information regarding the challenges facing te reo Māori in terms of language revitalisation is a central theme.

The problem then remains to be ensuring that viewers continue to access MTS. The findings from the impact survey indicate that viewership is significantly higher amongst more proficient Māori speakers as opposed to those who indicated a low level of language proficiency (TPK, 2011a). MTS needs to ensure that they keep providing incentives for non-language speakers to engage in the channel. Recent events such as the channel's successful tender for the RWC2011 and the annual ANZAC Day coverage are ways of encouraging others who are not immediately drawn to the channel to access the service. What remains to be seen is whether the numbers drawn to the channel to watch these broadcasts keep coming back for more, or whether they turn off when Māori-language programmes come on.

The Internet

As well as radio and television broadcasting, the internet also provides a site for the promotion of Māori language revitalisation. This includes websites that operate in tandem with language learning programmes screened on Māori and Te Reo TV, such as *Tōku Reo* (MTS, 2011i) and *Ako* (MTS, 2011a). Another significant Māori-language website is *Kōrero Māori* (<http://www.korerero.maori.nz>), developed by TTWRM. *Kōrero Māori* was established in 2005, and is an interactive site that aims to promote language status by raising awareness of the language and support language acquisition by increasing opportunities for people to learn and use te reo Māori (TPK, 2011a). It provides information for Māori language learners and speakers, and businesses, about the language and ways that TTWRM can support these groups. There is also information about a Māori language club, language learning resources, and news and events (*Kōrero Māori*, n.d.). Another language learning site for te reo is maorilanguage.net, which is supported by the Māori language commission through the Mā te Reo fund. This website includes a range of language resources including a pronunciation

guide, phrase drills, songs and other resources (maorilanguage.net, 2006). A third Māori language learning site, Te Whanake, offers online resources that supplement the series of widely-used language learning resources of the same name that are available as books and CDs (Moorfield, 2003-2011b). There are also some very good Māori language dictionaries available online, including the Ngata dictionary (LM/TPTK, 2010a) and Te Aka (Moorfield, 2003-2011a), which is now available as a smartphone application. Google is also available in Māori (Google Aotearoa, n.d.).

In 2010, an impact survey was undertaken which measured the contribution selected websites including Kōrero Māori towards language revitalisation. The impact survey identified positive relationships between viewing Māori language websites and increases in language acquisition and usage (TPK, 2011a). Moreover, through the availability of the Māori language on the internet, this contributes to language status as this an expression of the language's ability to express modern concepts, and language corpus, by providing a record of the language itself.

Conclusion

Māori language broadcast media in Aotearoa New Zealand including radio, television and the internet play a major role in efforts supporting language revitalisation. Both iwi radio and MTS have developed as a result of continued Māori activism that has often framed the need for such services in terms of the government's responsibilities to actively protect the Māori language under the Treaty of Waitangi. Consequently, Māori radio and television have attracted government funding and support, and so there has been strong growth in provision including the development of Māori language internet resources. However, some researchers contend that the links between broadcasting and language revitalisation are not clear-cut, in that "we simply do not know enough about how the media might encourage minority language use in a bilingual setting" (Cormack, 2007, p. 66). Nevertheless, recent research that has been undertaken regarding the impact of these broadcasting initiatives on Māori language revitalisation show that there are strong links between Māori language broadcasting and websites, and language usage and acquisition. This is because these initiatives motivate and prompt listeners/viewers to use their skills as well as providing opportunities for them to further develop their skills (TPK, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). This is supported by other research undertaken nationally and internationally, which claims that

... broadcasting contains powerful symbolic messages that normalise a language in a modern context. It also plays an important role in language development by disseminating and popularising new words. Finally, because it is a leisure activity for large numbers of the population, particularly the young, it can have a strong influence to encourage language use (Hollings, 2005, p. 116).

Furthermore, given that broadcast media have the ability to engage with people in their homes, there may be potential here for broadcasting to encourage intergenerational transmission.

Currently, the media in Aotearoa is being used to support all five language-planning principles. Acquisition and usage are supported by providing opportunities for people to engage with the language in their own homes. Moreover, recent research shows that viewers/listeners are using the media to support language acquisition and usage (TPK, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). The media has a strong link to corpus planning due to its ability to record and retain the language for future generations. Shows like *Waka Huia* have been capturing the language for decades and providing a valuable record of te reo Māori for future generations to access and learn from. Language status is also promoted through the media by virtue of its very existence. Broadcasting is a strong tool for normalising the language as people are able to see other people's experiences and relationships with it. Finally, discourse planning can be supported by programming that focuses on critical knowledge about the language including dissemination of research findings, and information challenges and successes that the language is experiencing.

Gàidhlig media

Gaelic language broadcast media in Alba Scotland dates back to the 1920s in radio, the 1950s in television (MacKinnon, 1991a) and the 1990s in terms of the internet. More recently, developments in Gaelic language policy and legislation has led to the establishment of BBC Alba, the country's first dedicated Gaelic language broadcasting service that provides access to Gaelic language programming through television, radio and the internet (Milligan et al, 2010). The following discussion provides an overview of the development of Gaelic language media in Alba Scotland. Next, the development and provision of BBC Alba is explored, including case studies of some of the Gaelic language programming that the service provides.

Legislation and policy

Early legislative and policy developments regarding Gaelic media focused on broadcasting, particularly television. Under the Thatcher government, the option of establishing a separate Gaelic channel was circumvented in favour of encouraging Gaelic language programming on mainstream channels (Dunbar, 2007). The Broadcasting Act 1990 provided for an investment of £9.5 million per annum with the aim of increasing the number of Gaelic language programming hours from 100 to approximately 300. The Act also established the Gaelic Television Fund which administered funds that came to it through Treasury and the ITC¹⁷². Subsequently, ITC established a further body to manage this process, CTG¹⁷³,

¹⁷² The Independent Television Commission.

¹⁷³ Comataidh Telebhisein Gàidhlig, the Gaelic Television Committee.

whose role is was to finance Gaelic programming and training of staff, and to undertake research into the broadcasting needs of the Gaelic-speaking community (Cormack, 1994).

Funding was used to support Gaelic-language broadcasting on two television channels – the BBC¹⁷⁴ and STV¹⁷⁵ (Milligan et al, 2010). Subsequently, the Blair government ratified the Broadcasting Act 1996, thus expanding the CTG’s responsibilities to include funding of Gaelic language radio programmes (McLeod, 2006). However, this approach to broadcasting funding was ultimately abandoned in 2003 with the passing of the Communications Act, which recast CTG as SnamMG¹⁷⁶ and gave them “the potential to develop into a Gaelic-medium broadcaster” (Dunbar, 2007, p. 48). This led to SnamMG entering into negotiations with BBC Scotland with the view to a joint venture to establish a Gaelic-language digital service, which the Scottish Executive supported through provision of a further £3 million in funds for the purpose (Dunbar, 2007). As a result, BBC Alba was established in September 2008 and is run by MG Alba¹⁷⁷ in partnership with the BBC. MG Alba is

the organisation responsible for ensuring that a diverse range of high quality programmes in Gaelic are available to people in Scotland by funding, commissioning or producing television, radio, online and new media and by engaging in training, development and audience research (BBC, 2011, para. 17).

Much of this recent development can be attributed to the UK’s ratification of the ECRML in 2001 (Dunbar, 2007). Under Article 11, sub-paragraph 1(a)(ii), a commitment was made to establish a GM television channel. Moreover, the charter also required that the government “encourage and/or facilitate” regular GM radio and television broadcasting (sub-paragraph 1 c [ii]). However, these provisions fell “well short of the Gaelic community’s aspirations” (Dunbar, 2003, p. 51). Moreover, the UK’s ratification of the Charter regarding Gaelic language broadcasting is significantly weaker than the educational provisions for the language (Dunbar, 2003). Other provisions under Article 11 include (1) the encouragement and/or facilitation of the regular publication of newspaper articles in Gaelic, and (2) funding for audio-visual production in Scottish Gaelic (“The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages applied to Scottish-Gaelic in the United Kingdom”, n.d.).

The media (including new media such as the internet and social media) in Gàidhlig are identified as part of *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig* (BnaG, 2010), particularly in relation to their support for language status and acquisition. Under action area 2, promotion of Gaelic acquisition, a campaign promoting “the recognised benefits of bilingualism” and “avenues to fluency” is identified using the media including social media. This action area also states that mygaelic.com will be developed as a “single portal for Gaelic information and

¹⁷⁴ British Broadcasting Commission.

¹⁷⁵ Scottish Television.

¹⁷⁶ Seirbhis nam Meadhanan Gàidhlig, the Gaelic Media Service.

¹⁷⁷ Meadhanan Gàidhlig Alba.

networking” (BnaG, 2010, p. 10) as well as signaling the use of other technologies, including Twitter, Facebook, and iPhone and other mobile apps, as a means to promoting Gaelic language acquisition. particularly in relation to their support for language status and acquisition. Under action area 2, promotion of Gaelic acquisition, a campaign promoting “the recognised benefits of bilingualism” and “avenues to fluency” is identified using social media, as well as the media). This action area also states that mygaelic.com will be developed as a “single portal for Gaelic information and networking” (BnaG, 2010, p. 10) as well as signaling the use of other technologies, including Twitter, Facebook, and iPhone and other mobile apps, as a means to promoting Gaelic language acquisition.

Radio

Gaelic radio broadcasting has a substantial history in Alba Scotland, dating back to radio’s early days in the country, when the first Gaelic programme, a 15-minute religious address, was transmitted on 2 December 1923 from Aberdeen (BBC, 2013; MacKinnon, 1991a). Nevertheless, until the end of the Second World War, “output was small and sporadic” (MacKinnon, 1991a, p. 129). By the mid-1950s, 90 minutes per week of Gaelic radio was broadcast each week. In the late 1960s, this had increased to three and a half hours, and to between three and five hours by the early 1970s. These early Gaelic programmes were only available on Home Service Radio, but in 1974, practically all Gaelic radio broadcasting was transferred to VHF, making radio inaccessible to the most of the Western Highlands and Islands. However, this improved with the establishment of Radio Highland in Inverness in 1976 and Radio nan Eilean¹⁷⁸ from Stornoway in 1979.

At the same time, developments regarding Gaelic radio were taking place with the release of two reports into broadcasting; the Crawford Report, released in 1974, and the Annan Report, released in 1977. Subsequently, there were slow but steady changes in attitudes towards the language and “the idea of a Gaelic broadcasting service catering for all aspects of life through the medium of Gaelic came... to be appreciated” (MacKinnon, 1991a, pp. 131). In 1985 RnanG¹⁷⁹ was established, providing nationwide coverage, and by the late 1980s, Gaelic programming of around 28 hours per week was being aired. This increase in airtime led to the development of more diverse programming and soon virtually every genre of radio broadcasting was being produced, including Gaelic language commentary for some sports (MacKinnon, 1991a). RnanG was significantly expanded in the 1990s and recently was attributed with broadcasting about 66 hours of Gaelic language programming weekly (Dunbar, 2006). Coverage is available throughout most of the country, although there are still some black spots, supplemented by the service’s availability over the internet.

Gaelic radio broadcasting plays an important role in the Gaelic community as it is widely accessed and thus provides an effective forum for publicising and discussing Gaelic issues.

¹⁷⁸ Radio nan Gàidheal, Western Isles Radio.

¹⁷⁹ Radio Gael.

Radio has also supported the needs of Gaelic learners over the years through the broadcast of Gaelic lessons including the first short radio series in 1934, *Learning Gaelic* (1949), and *Fìream Faram* (1988) (BBC, 2013). Supplementing the Gaelic-language radio media of RnanG, there are several private radio stations in Alba Scotland that air a few hours of Gaelic programming each week, including Two Lochs Radio and Cuillin FM (Scottish Community Broadcasting Network, n.d.; Cuillin FM, n.d.), and one station (Moray Firth Radio) that commissions a bilingual Scottish pop chart show (“Moray Firth Radio takes Gaelic chart show”, 2011). There is also a Gaelic language podcast service available from the United States (McLeod, 2006a).

Television

Subsequent development in Gaelic language television broadcasting started in the 1950s. MacKinnon (1991a) describes early productions as “stagey, outside broadcasts of platform concerts from the National Mòd” (p. 134). However, the first real Gaelic show was not produced until the 1970s, when a monochrome television play called *Ceann Croraig*¹⁸⁰ by Finlay MacLeod was broadcast. At the time, the BBC broadcast two weekly Gaelic programmes: *Bonn Còmhradh*¹⁸¹, a current affairs programme; and *‘Se Ùr Beatha*¹⁸², a light entertainment and music show. Both programmes ran for approximately 30 minutes for 9-week seasons each autumn and winter. As a result, up until the 1970s, the average amount of Gaelic language broadcasting on radio and television was less than 10 hours per week, and in 1978, there was none, following the resignation of BBC’s Gaelic television producer, the third such resignation in the previous decade.

Meanwhile, ITV¹⁸³ was starting to catch up on BBC in terms of Gaelic language programming. In 1976, a new transmitter was opened on Lewis, followed by the production of a series of Gaelic language children’s programmes by Grampian Television. After the release of the 1977 Annan Report, Grampian produced a range of Gaelic programmes including a number of music shows, an expanded weekly news magazine programme which screened throughout the year, and a range of Gaelic special features about the arts, as well as its established children’s television programming. Subsequently, in 1985, BBC made children’s programming the focus of its Gaelic television provision and as a result, 10-minute children’s shows ran daily, and by 1989, BBC was broadcasting about 40 hours of children’s programming and 20 hours for adults each year (MacKinnon, 1991a). With the passing of the Broadcasting Act in 1990, the amount of Gaelic programming rose to 350 hours across BBC and a number of private channels owned by the Scottish Media Group (McLeod, 2006a). A number of programmes produced in the 1990s included *Telefios*, a half-hour drama broadcast weekly at primetime, *Eorpa*, a weekly BBC news show, and language

¹⁸⁰ Crappit Heid.

¹⁸¹ Talking Point.

¹⁸² You’re Welcome.

¹⁸³ Independent Television.

learners' series, *Speaking our language*. This structure was strong in comparison to previous examples of Gaelic programming, however, Gaelic shows were scattered across a range of channels and times (Cormack, 2004).

Major changes in Gaelic broadcasting took place following the UK's 2001 ratification of the ECRML in relation to Scottish Gaelic. In 2003, the Communications Act was passed, allowing for the development of a dedicated Gaelic language channel to take place (Dunbar, 2006). In 2005, the BBC and MG Alba finalised a partnership agreement for the running of a Gaelic television channel, subsequently resulting in a collaboration agreement in 2007. Finally, BBC Alba was launched in September 2008 (Milligan et al, 2010).

BBC Alba is Alba Scotland's first television channel totally devoted to GM broadcasting. BBC owns the channel's license but it is operated in partnership with MG Alba, which is the operating name of SnamMG. The service uses the three media of television, radio and the internet to deliver Gaelic language content with a budget of £1.4 million per annum. The service's target audience is 250,000 viewers per week, a number which is significantly greater than the total number of Gaelic language speakers, which the 2001 census recorded as 78,402 people over the age of three. The difference between these two figures shows how much pressure the service is under to produce results in terms of language planning and revitalisation. However, although there is some suggestion that such provision supports language status, usage, acquisition and corpus planning, the implications for intergenerational transmission are harder to ascertain. Nevertheless, "there is widespread expectation that BBC ALBA will be a strong support to Gaelic users of all ages as well as to Gaelic language learners of all ages" (Milligan et al, 2010, p. 350). The channel's establishment immediately increased access to Gaelic for viewers who could tune-in to the channel, due to a schedule that ensured the availability of Gaelic programming every evening and in primetime (Milligan et al, 2010).

Gaelic language programmes such as *Rocaid* and *Dè-A-Nis?* focus specifically on language learning and cater for different levels of learners. *Rocaid* is a Gaelic language show for Gaelic learners aged 4-7 years. It is also supported by a website with flash animations, songs and games, and information for parents and teachers. The parents' site describes *Rocaid* as "a flexible resource, suitable for Gaelic language learners by providing contexts and activities for challenge and consolidation of Gaelic language and structures" ("*Rocaid* – information for parents and teachers", 2011).

Dè-A-Nis? (meaning 'what now?') is another programme that targets young Gaelic speakers. The programme developed as a result of a drop in the number of young Gaelic speakers in the 2001 census, and a study that found young Gaelic speakers prefer Gaelic language programming that reflects their lives as youthful bilinguals (Nic Neill, 2001, cited by McDermott, 2007). *Dè-A-Nis?*, a magazine style programme, is "the flagship for young people in Gaelic" (McDermott, 2007, p. 122) and features young presenters visiting Gaelic-

speaking locations and reporting on events and activities relevant to Gaelic speakers (“De-Anis?”, 2011).

BBC Alba also broadcasts Gaelic programming on many other topics including music, sports, religion and culture. This enables viewers to grow their Gaelic language vocabulary, and supports Gaelic language learning and the development of fluency with programmes catering for a range of language levels. Moreover, an integrated approach utilising television and radio broadcasting, supported by internet resources, has the potential to support language acquisition as a source of examples of correct language usage in a range of domains. Moreover, this approach is an effective way of producing resources that can easily be utilised by teachers and parents to encourage Gàidhlig language acquisition and usage. These links between Gaelic language broadcasting (such as is provided by BBC Alba) and language revitalisation are considered next.

Milligan et al (2010) have written extensively on the contribution that BBC Alba has made to four of the language-planning principles –acquisition, status, usage, and corpus. They write that although

policies seem to assume that BBC ALBA is an important player in helping Gaelic to be passed to new generations of speakers, to better attitudes, and to increase usage, it is crucial that we periodically evaluate the extent to which these contributions are becoming manifest, and ... that we question how likely it is that these benefits will come to fruition (p. 352).

In terms of acquisition planning, this refers to planned activities that aim to promote language learning (Milligan et al, 2010). The two Gaelic language-planning documents, the National Plan for Gaelic (BnaG, 2007a) and the Gaelic Language Action Plan (BnaG, 2010), both refer to broadcasting’s contribution to Gaelic language acquisition. There are two main groups that BBC Alba aims to capture in relation to this: young children; and adult learners. Both of these groups are considered extremely important to achieving language revitalisation, and broadcasting is seen as a means to exposing these viewers to a variety of topics and accents. Yet, Milligan et al (2010) argue that “it does seem likely that the coupling of television programming with support materials facilitates learning, which BBC ALBA [sic] does aim to provide through its online interface” (p. 353). The BBC Alba website has a section called ‘Foghlam – Education’ which provides information about programming for children (preschool, primary school and secondary school sections), links to language learning resources for a range of language levels, and resources for parents and teachers. The children’s section of the website is highly developed, but the section for adult learners (Learn Gaelic) provides much less information (“Foghlam – Learning”, 2011), even though adults are recognised as being crucial to the achievement of language revitalisation (Milligan et al, 2010).

The promotion of Gaelic language status is a language normalisation process and refers to planning related to the attitudes and beliefs about the language. This applies to two groups of viewers – Gaelic language speakers, and the general public. The aim is to provide Gaelic speakers with a sense of belonging and a willingness to speak Gaelic, whilst encouraging the general public to view Gaelic positively. This is also a process of destigmatisation and encouraging people to view Gaelic as English’s linguistic equal and a normal part of daily life. BBC Alba is seen as integral to the achievement of these goals (Milligan et al, 2010).

A longitudinal research study carried out over 10 years found that Gaelic television had a greater positive impact on attitudes towards the language than other arts provisions. Television seemed to improve people’s responses in terms of (1) the desirability of Gaelic being used in other areas of public life, for example, business and schools; (2) the relevance of Gaelic to local economic development including employments and careers of young people; (3) the respondents’ willingness to enroll their children in GME; and (4) the respondents’ desire to live and work in their local community (Sproull & Chalmers, 2006). Therefore, it can be surmised that Gaelic television has the potential to create positive attitudes amongst the Gaelic community. Whether the same can be said of its impact on the public at large is not clear. However, the screening of BBC Alba on Freeview, despite the controversies¹⁸⁴, has taken the language to a wider audience than ever before (see “BBC Alba Freeview”, 2011) and the expectation is that this will increase the language’s status throughout the country due to wide distribution and accessibility. Moreover, BBC Alba aims to screen sports and cultural programmes not available elsewhere in order to attract viewers, who may, as a result of this exposure to Gaelic television, develop more positive attitudes and a greater awareness of the language (Milligan et al, 2010).

The contribution of BBC Alba to usage planning refers to the service’s ability to develop and support opportunities for the target language to be the sole means of communication (Milligan et al, 2010). BBC Alba’s contribution to usage planning can be separated into two parts – the contribution to usage in the production process, and its contribution to usage amongst their audience. The role of Gàidhlig programming production can be considered in the context of the Gaelic economy. In a recent study of employment advertisements for ‘Gaelic essential’ roles, it was found that of the 595 full-time equivalent positions (FTEs) advertised, 110 were in the media (Chalmers & Danson, 2010, cited by Milligan et al, 2010). Furthermore, according to 2001 census data, 447 people were employed in culture, media and sport. Further research also indicates that over 8000 jobs in Alba Scotland are part of Gaelic industry including radio and television. In Glasgow, where the creative and cultural

¹⁸⁴ Controversy arose when BBC unveiled their original plan to remove all thirteen BBC radio stations from Freeview during the times that BBC was to be shown on Freeview (from 5pm and midnight). However, on 19 May 2011, BBC announced a back-down on these plans allowing 3 of the original thirteen radio stations to continue broadcasting on a 24-hour basis. These 3 stations were chosen because they had the highest evening audience ratings on digital television of the seven BBC radio stations available on FM radio (Pryde, 2011).

industry is strongest, it is estimated that there are between 120 and 140 FTEs in the media (Chalmers & Danson, 2010, cited by Milligan et al, 2010). BBC Alba is one of the main employers in this industry due to its roles as a commissioning agent and a broadcaster of media products. Moreover, other independent broadcasters also provide Gaelic employment. On this basis of this, Milligan et al (2010) conclude that evidence supports the idea that BBC Alba is supporting language usage through the production of Gaelic programming, but the nature and scale of this contribution is not clear.

In terms of language usage, Milligan et al (2010) maintain that

... any time that BBC ALBA is accessed through television, radio, or the internet, the targeted benefit in the area of usage is being achieved. This is because BBC ALBA [sic] specialises in the broadcasting of Gaelic-medium products, and engagement with these products necessarily requires the audience to engage with Gaelic (p. 356).

The problem with this definition is that this does not tell us whether such engagement contributes to Gaelic usage in other areas of the audience's lives. Milligan et al (2010) claim that SCT¹⁸⁵ can be used to evaluate the impact of Gaelic programming on Gaelic language usage in other domains. According to SCT, programming can induce desirable behaviours from viewers by (1) modeling good and bad behaviours, (2) contrasting good and bad behaviours and showing corresponding consequences, (3) encouraging viewers to become emotionally involved in characters, and (4) providing supporting resources such as a website (Dittman, 2004). BBC Alba uses some of these approaches including modeling behaviour related to the use of Gaelic, directing viewers to their radio and internet resources, and encouraging emotional investment in characters to increase repeat viewing (Milligan et al, 2010).

Although BBC Alba may have an impact on Gaelic language usage in practice, according to Milligan et al (2010), "it is doing so by abstraction and not by directly targeting increased usage by its viewers through programming" (p. 357) because this is not BBC Alba's role (Milligan et al, 2010). However, given the importance of language usage and particularly that of intergenerational transmission, this would appear to be a huge oversight on the part of BBC Alba, given its intended role in supporting language revitalisation. Whereas Milligan et al (2010) contend that attitudes towards the language are a more important focus for BBC Alba than encouraging fluency, it can be argued that, given the relative importance of language usage to the achievement of language revitalisation, and given the special ability that broadcasting has to engage with people in their homes, this emphasis on language status, whilst important, does not fully utilise or take advantage of the potential here for encouraging intergenerational transmission. Moreover, according to BnaG's (2007) National Plan for Gàidhlig, the priority area relating to the promotion of Gaelic in the media falls under the heading of language usage, justified by the statement, "Media such as television,

¹⁸⁵ Social cultural theory.

radio and the internet affect the linguistic environment in the home which... is a crucial environment for both language acquisition and usage” (p. 25). I would argue that the minimisation of BBC Alba’s role in the promotion of language usage says more about the lack of research evidence available on the topic, and less about a lack of connections between broadcasting and language usage.

Finally, regarding the contribution of Gaelic broadcasting to corpus planning, this refers to “codification, graphisation, grammatication, lexication, elaboration, terminological modernisation, and stylistic development” (Haugen, 1987, cited by Milligan et al, 2010, p. 357). In short, this refers to “any collection of linguistic data (written, spoken, or a mixture of the two)” (“Language Corpora”, 2004). BBC Alba actively contributes to corpus development and dissemination through its television, radio and internet services. Also, the broadcaster has representation on BnaG’s Resources, Terminology and Translation Committee, and efforts are made to consult relevant resources when selecting terminology. However, this is undertaken without a specialist terminological group. Gaelic language planning has previously been criticised for “the general lack of consistency in approaches to corpus planning” (McLeod, 2004, 2006, cited by Milligan et al, 2010, p. 357), and BBC Alba’s terminological development has been referred to as “de facto... [despite being] involved in terminology creation on a daily basis” (Bauer, O Maolalaigh & Wherrett, 2009, p. 46, cited by Milligan et al, 2010, p. 357). BBC Alba needs to take a coordinated, methodical approach in their contribution to Gaelic language corpus development, because this is likely to be the area that the service has the greatest role to play due to “its ability to bring an evolving Gaelic corpus to users throughout Scotland and to provide them with access points to the language on television and through radio and the internet” (Milligan et al, 2010, p. 358).

The Internet

As well as what is available on Gaelic radio and television, a range of Gàidhlig resources that support language revitalisation are also available via the internet, particularly in terms of resources related to the programming provided by BBC Alba. For example, *Bitesize* is an online Gaelic-language revision portal, available through the BBC Alba website. It provides revision material for students in both GME and Gaelic education studies. The website caters for children from primary school right through to those preparing for higher examinations in Gaelic (“Bitesize”, 2011). Other Gàidhlig language programmes on BBC Alba also have supporting websites that provide access to supplementary resources.

Another significant Gaelic-language website is mygaelic.com, which includes information about the language, language learning, GME, Gaelic careers, Gaelic organisations and Gaelic entertainment (BnaG, 2008-2011). The site has three language options including English, Gaelic and simple Gaelic, which is “seamless, well thought-out and even when non-gaelic [sic] speakers stray into Gaelic content, easy to untangle” (“MyGaelic.com – why did they spend quarter of a million?”, 2009, para. 3). One criticism of the site is that it doesn’t have a

social networking platform built into the website (“MyGaelic.com – why did they spend quarter of a million?”, 2009), however the website does have its own group page on YouTube (“MygaelicTube’s channel”, n.d.) and Twitter (“mygaelic.com on Twitter”, n.d.).

There are also a number of Gaelic language dictionaries available online including Am Faclair Beag (“Am Faclair Beag”, n.d.), and the Lexilogos Scottish Gaelic dictionary (Lexilogos, 2002-2011) that have links to a range of Gaelic-language resources and internet sites, as well as a Gàidhlig language version of Google (Google, n.d.b). Although no research has been undertaken on the role of the internet in terms of Gaelic language revitalisation, it is assumed that benefits would be similar to those seen from websites in Aotearoa New Zealand that support the Māori language in terms of language acquisition, usage, status and corpus.

Gaelic language broadcast media in Alba Scotland has undertaken rapid growth in recent years, particularly since the UK’s ratification of the ECRML in 2001 with the launch of BBC Alba in September 2008, and their subsequent growth as a Gaelic broadcaster providing television, radio and web platforms supporting language revitalisation. Through shows such as *Rocaid* and *Beag air Beag*, BBC Alba seeks to support language learning amongst young children and adult learners, two of the crucial demographics for language revitalisation efforts. Other shows focusing on sports and Gaelic arts seek to draw new audiences to the channel, thus exposing more people to Gaelic broadcasting and language. Research suggests that BBC Alba has potential to support the language-planning principles of language acquisition, usage, status and corpus. There is also information available on the internet on Gàidhlig which has the potential to support the process of language revitalisation thus contributing to discourse planning. The feature in terms of Gaelic language broadcast media is BBC Alba’s use of television, radio and the internet in concert, to produce a range of freely available resources across a range of platforms that work together to promote language revitalisation. Anecdotally, it seems as if such an approach has great potential but until solid research has been undertaken, the true nature of the contribution to language revitalisation is unclear.

Conclusion

Broadcasting in Alba Scotland has undergone significant developments in recent years, particularly in terms of television and the internet, building on the successes of Ràdio nan Gàidheal and as a deliberate attempt to reverse language shift. The integrated approach being utilised by MG Alba includes radio, television and the internet being used in concert to promote all five language-planning principles. Language status is heightened through the availability of Gàidhlig broadcasting in that provisions signals that the language is appropriate for modern forms of communication (Cormack, 2007b). Language discourse can be promoted through programming that actively explores the critical status of the language, and the challenges and successes that the language faces. Broadcasting in itself is a form of

language corpus, in that it provides an archive of media in and about the language. Through archiving and on-demand provision, corpus can be maintained for future reference and use. Language acquisition is promoted through a range of programmes that aim to educate viewers on language use, supported by websites with supporting language activities, movies and games. Finally, usage planning may also be supported, due to the ability of broadcasting to reach people in their homes and by providing a model and motivator for language use.

Discussion

There are two notable differences between the approaches to Indigenous language media undertaken in the two present contexts. In particular, the integrated approach that has been taken in terms of BBC Alba is in stark contrast to the Māori examples that tend to be separate and distinct from each other. The strength of BBC's Alba's use of the three media in concert is that they provide a cohesive and connected range of programmes and activities that can work in an amalgamated way to encourage language acquisition. This is evident in the websites for shows such as *Rocaid* which provide a range of resources, including songs, stories and games, to supplement and enhance the learning gained through watching the television show. Moreover, this provides a source of language corpus that can be accessed by parents and teachers, and used as a tool for both formal and informal language learning. Similarly, in Aotearoa New Zealand, iwi radio share resources in order to provide a range of programming across the country and this is supported by web access to stations, removing the restrictions around accessibility. However, this integration does not attain the same level of incorporation achieved by BBC Alba. It may be that the coordinated approach used in Alba Scotland is stronger because, by combining a range of media in such a coordinated way, BBC Alba may be more able to control and direct their efforts towards specific demographic groups using a range of resources and catering for a range of learning styles.

A second key difference between the media approaches taken in the two case studies is the existence of two television channels in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whereas in Alba Scotland, BBC Alba is the only GM television channel and therefore must cater for a wide range of audience needs and preferences, MTS broadcasts two channels, Māori TV and Te Reo TV, that target quite different audiences. Whereas Māori TV focuses on the needs of language learners and members of the general public, Te Reo TV concentrates on meeting the needs of intermediate to fluent level speakers. While Māori-language programming is also broadcast on Māori TV, this is often subtitled so that it is accessible. This means that new watchers may be less likely to move away from the channel because they do not understand what is being said. The one-channel approach used by BBC Alba, which was previously utilised by MTS as well, has a broad remit, meaning that it is at one time juggling and prioritising the needs of a range of viewers, including non-speakers, learners and fluent speakers. However, one way that BBC Alba is able to overcome this issue is through their provision of integrated resources through radio and the internet. The dualistic approached

adopted by MTS may allow them to more effectively contribute to acquisition planning in that, by delivering two distinct channels, they can better meet the needs of their audience.

The two media case studies also highlight a number of similarities. In both examples, a range of genres is being presented, including children's, language learning, current affairs, traditional and contemporary music, culture, history, soaps and dramas. Both examples also aim to meet the needs of a range of different language levels from beginner to fluent, and for a number of different demographic groups, such as children, youth, adults, and those who do or do not speak the target language. This is indicative of the demands on the two broadcasters in terms of the broad audience that they are expected to cater for ranging from non-speakers through to fluent and native speakers.

Another key similarity between the media approaches utilised by MTS and BBC Alba is their securing of rights to screen sports and cultural events that are not available on other channels as a means of attracting new viewers. MTS has undertaken this with huge success, having been the only public broadcaster to be awarded the tender to screen the RWC2011 on free-to-air television. BBC Alba has also adopted such an approach by broadcasting sports such as football and rugby union ("Programmes – categorised as sport", 2011). This approach has proved successful in Aotearoa New Zealand, with record audiences attracted to sporting events on Māori TV, such as boxing and rugby, potentially contributing to languages status. However, how this translates into people actually continuing to watch these channels beyond these broadcasts is unclear.

In terms of the contribution of these two examples to language revitalisation through the language-planning principles, it is clear that television, radio and the internet have the ability to contribute to all five of these. Nevertheless, status planning is generally a main focus of Indigenous-language media, linked to the need to cater for the needs of non-speakers and often associated with wider imperatives around the contribution of Indigenous language and culture to notions of national culture and identity. The presence of Indigenous-language media is in itself a means of raising a language's status through celebrating and highlighting successes, giving a forum for a range of perspectives to be heard, and acting as a means of language normalisation so that the fact that it is part of the fabric of society and becomes an accepted and normal part of life. Whilst language status is important, as is the support of the non-Indigenous-speaking public, the problem is that this focus on status may be at the expense of supporting the other language-planning principles.

Nevertheless, as well as supporting status planning, in these two cases, efforts are clearly being made to increase the contribution of the media to acquisition planning, as evidenced by the range of educational resources and programmes that are now on offer. Moreover, in some cases, a coordinated approach has been adopted, with a range of media being used to support each other, such as television programmes or radio stations supported by websites.

In Aibe Scotland, this has been taken a step further by integrating all three media in some cases.

The media is also playing an important role in supporting discourse and corpus. Programmes that focus on the critical issues that a language is facing or that disseminate knowledge about the language itself are means of promoting language discourse. However, much further research needs to be engaged to elucidate the nature of the connection between the media and language revitalisation, and this should be at the core of Indigenous-language media developments. Corpus planning is also supported through the production process and the availability of language corpora through television, the radio and the internet, but more needs to be done to link these up with the lack of resourcing that is noted in the education system.

Finally, in relation to the crucial area of usage planning and intergenerational transmission, it is clear that the media has the ability to support this area. This is achieved by role-modeling language usage and providing opportunities for informal language learning in the home. Nevertheless, it is vital that Indigenous-language media operates in such a way as to maximise their contribution to this crucial aspect of language revitalisation.

4. Popular Culture

Popular culture can be defined from a range of social and political perspectives and, as a result, as “virtually useless [as a concept], a melting pot of confused and contradictory meanings, capable of misdirecting inquiry up any number of theoretical blind alleys” (Bennett, 1980, p. 18, cited in Storey, 2009, p. 1), or as “a non-evaluative, purely descriptive definition” (Storey, 2005, p. 262). Given the complexity of popular culture and the lack of space available in the context of this thesis, analysis of this topic is not included, except to note that the topic of popular culture is possessed of an expansive body of literature (for example, see Berlatski, 2011; Danesi, 2008; Fiske, 2011; Shuker, 2005; Storey, 2005, 2009; Weaver, 2005, 2009). In terms of the contribution to language revitalisation, however, little research is available at present. For the purpose of this thesis, popular culture refers to forms of culture that have the potential to influence Indigenous language revitalisation by reaching or making accessible mediated forms of Indigenous language and culture.

This chapter focuses on the contribution of popular culture to language revitalisation. Four areas relating to popular culture are explored: (1) language planning; (2) print culture; (3) performing arts; and (4) popular music. Each section will include a brief theoretical overview in relation to language revitalisation, followed by discussions of examples based on the two case studies, and finally, a critical comparison of them in relation to one another, as well as the theory of how popular culture should support language revitalisation in terms of the five principles of language planning.

Legislation and policy

Popular culture has enormous potential to support language acquisition as learning resources, and can also support language usage, by providing a range of accessible resources such as newspapers and books, and popular music that can be used in the home. It also provides a further domain for language acquisition and usage through performing arts activities, such as kapa haka and fèisean. Moreover, the development and archiving of Indigenous-language popular culture creates a body of language corpus that survives as a reference into the future, including historical examples of a language, for example niupepa Māori¹⁸⁶. Yet, the production of such popular culture is often dependent on legislation and policy and, thus, the funding environment.

Popular culture is often provided with government funding that captures Indigenous examples and often the provision of such funding has developed as an adjunct or parallel to a mainstream arts funding body. This is similar to government support for Indigenous language musical production which often sits within a wider strategy related to the development of a national culture and identity that, in turn, may or may not reflect Indigenous perspectives and aesthetics. Expressions of national culture and identity that are supposed to represent Indigenous culture are often problematic and, indeed,

¹⁸⁶ Māori-language newspapers published in the nineteenth century (see Paterson, n.d, 2004a, 2004b, 2006).

misrepresentative, for example, the All Blacks' use of haka.¹⁸⁷ There are many examples of countries that employ Indigenous arts and symbols to front national marketing and promotion campaigns. The important point in this chapter, as in the chapter on the media, although perhaps to a great extent, legislation and policy that support Indigenous popular (and national) culture is often not explicitly linked to language revitalisation. Nevertheless, Indigenous-language popular culture contributes to language status and has the potential to support the other language-planning principles. Legislation and policy also needs to promote the production of these resources in order to support all five language-planning principles and to promote the crucial area of intergenerational transmission.

Legislation and policy for Māori popular culture

This section starts with an overview of CNZ/TWT, the arts funding agency of Aotearoa New Zealand, who provide to Māori artists and performers through Te Waka Toi. Next, the work of TMP in relation to the funding of Māori-language music recording and CD production, followed by an overview of the inclusion of popular culture (or 'the Māori arts') in the Māori Language Strategy. Finally, the contribution of legislation and policy for popular culture to language revitalisation is examined with reference to the five language-planning principles.

The main body that promotes Māori-language popular culture is the Arts Council of New Zealand/Toi Aotearoa, established under its own Act of Parliament in 1994 and operating under the trading name CNZ/TWT. This national agency's main purpose is to "encourage, promote and support the arts in New Zealand for the benefit of all New Zealanders" (CNZ/TWT, 2011, p. 11). There are three key ways that they use to achieve this aim: (1) funding; (2) capability building; and (3) arts advocacy (CNZ/TWT, 2011). As such, the council plays a key role in funding Māori arts including music, theatre, kapa haka competitions including Te Matatini,¹⁸⁸ film, publishing, and visual arts. Some of the activities supported by CNZ/TWT are undertaken either fully or partly in the Māori language and support language revitalisation. In particular their activities contribute to status and corpus planning through putting te reo Māori into the public arena and creating archives of the language that can be retained as examples for future reference. Discourse may also be supported through supporting activities that specifically highlight critical thought regarding te reo. Nevertheless, a focus on the important areas of language acquisition and usage is difficult identity and does not seem to be a specific focus of the council.

Popular culture, or 'the Māori arts' are recognised in terms of language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand under the Māori Language Strategy (TPK & TTWRM, 2003). The particular aspect of Māori-language popular culture that is emphasised is kapa haka. The strategy also recognises the role that the government can play in supporting Māori arts,

¹⁸⁷ Rugby is generally considered an basic component of Kiwi culture and the performance of the haka is a crucial aspect of this image. For example, in 1904, the *Evening Post* described public attendance at rugby games as "a pilgrimage to the altar of the deity of rugby" (cited by Phillips, 2012).

¹⁸⁸ National Māori performing arts festival.

particularly kapa haka, contemporary Māori music, speech competitions, new writing in Māori and other cultural activities that incorporate the Māori language and culture in some way (TPK & TTWRM, 2003; TPK, 2008c). Kapa haka is specifically mentioned in relation to Goal 2 – Strengthening Māori language usage with the message also being given that “Māori are responsible for Māori language usage in Māori domains (for example, marae and kapa haka)” (p. 29). Thus, it is clear that the government has introduced a range of strategies that reflect the role popular culture can play in terms of Māori language revitalisation. Moreover, this has seemingly contributed to great gains in Māori language status in that attitudes toward the language have become more positive in general since 2000. In particular, the percentage of non-Māori are passive supporters of the language has increased to 71%, and support of the language being spoken in public has increased amongst both Māori and non-Māori (TPK, 2010a).

In terms of the language-planning principles, legislation and policy recognises the ability of the Māori arts to contribute to language revitalisation. The Māori-language arts are used to promote language status by fostering “a receptive socio-linguistic environment in which the language can grow by making the language accessible and normal in different parts of society” (p. 3). Indeed, the important areas of language acquisition and language usage are identified with the Māori Language Strategy, with government funding provided to encourage these activities. However, language usage in this context is understood in terms of the arts providing another language domain in which they can “engage with, learn or practice Māori language skills” (TPK, 2008c, p. 3), rather than providing opportunities for language usage in the home or intergenerational transmission, but these activities may be used by individuals and groups to support such activities. This aspect of the Māori Language Strategy is overseen by the MCH.

In conclusion, popular culture’s role in terms of Māori language revitalisation is clearly recognised through a variety of legislative and policy frameworks as a contributor to Aotearoa New Zealand’s national culture and identity. Much more needs to be done to specifically target popular culture as an area for language development, and as a potential source of language corpus and educational resources. This is also a site that has the ability to promote the role of the community in language revitalisation, thus creating a potential site for partnership between government strategy and grass-roots activities. Such an approach would recognise popular culture as a key element of language revitalisation developments in places like Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland.

Legislation and policy for Gàidhlig popular culture

In Alba Scotland, legislative and policy support for Gaelic-language popular culture has developed markedly in recent years. In the early years, Gàidhlig popular culture for language revitalisation was spearheaded by the work of ACG and FnanG. In the 1960s there was a push for official support for the Gaelic arts, and then the 1970s saw the rise of Gaelic

language activism that focused “not only on challenging official institutions but on creating new ones” (Galloway, 2012, p. 110). More recently, particularly since the UK’s ratification of the ECRML in 2001 and the passing of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, there has been further policy development for Gaelic-language popular culture for language revitalisation. This includes funding that is disseminated to the Gaelic arts through CS/AC¹⁸⁹, and the inclusion of Gaelic-language popular culture in Gaelic-language planning. The aim of these initiatives is to increase the number of Gaelic speakers, indicating clear links to acquisition and usage planning; however, in reality, much of the policy focuses on Gaelic-language popular culture as a means of promoting language status, with some recognition of popular culture as examples of language corpora. To illustrate these findings, first, the development and role of CS/AC in terms of Gaelic language revitalisation is explored, followed by an examination of the inclusion of popular culture in Gaelic language policy and planning in Alba Scotland.

The genesis of CS/AC dates back to the establishment of the Scottish Committee in 1967, reformed in 1994 as the SAC, by “arm’s-length funding body” (Galloway, 2012, p. 98) the ACGB¹⁹⁰. The council’s role allowed a potentially-important direct channel to central government support for the Gaelic language, augmenting the work of the SED. The situation was enhanced by the fact that, although the SAC was a committee of the ACGB, in practice it largely operated “unhindered by its parent body” (Galloway, 2012, p. 98). In 2003, along with the PnanE¹⁹¹, the SAC developed their first Gaelic Arts Strategy, embracing Gaelic arts as an element of Alba Scotland’s national and cultural identity and emphasised their “contemporary relevance” (Galloway, 2012, p. 99) in mainstream of arts and cultural activity. SAC was replaced by CS/AC on 1 July 2010 (Scottish Arts Council, n.d.). CS/AC operates with five key roles: (1) to invest in talent; (2) to invest in quality artistic production; (3) to invest in audiences, access and participation; (4) to invest in the cultural economy; and (5) to invest in places and their contribution to a creative Scotland (CS/AC, 2012, 2013). These objectives are underpinned by three cross-cutting themes: (1) education and a commitment to a generational change in cultural opportunity; (2) international partnership to reflect Scotland’s global outlook; and (3) equalities in all areas of their work (CS/AC, 2013).

Following direction by BnaG to create a Gaelic language plan, CS/AC’s (2012) Gaelic Language Plan/Plana Gàidhlig was released. It was based on the summary statement, “Tha Alba Chruthacail a’toirt fa-near gu bheil a’Ghàidhlig na pàirt riatanach de dhualchas dearbh-aithne agus beatha chultarach na h-Alba – Creative Scotland recognises that Gaelic is an integral part of Scotland’s heritage, national identity and cultural life” (p. 6). Hence the main focus of the Gaelic Language Plan is status planning, particularly within the organisation.

¹⁸⁹ Creative Scotland/Alba Chruthachail, formerly the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) (see Galloway, 2012).

¹⁹⁰ The Arts Council of Great Britain.

¹⁹¹ Proiseact nan Ealan, the National Gaelic Arts Agency (see Proiseact nan Ealan, n.d.). Established in 1987 by the SAC, PnanE was at the forefront of many innovative projects including: the establishment of FnanG; national Gaelic youth theatre; Gaelic children’s comics; and theatre-in-education (Macleod, 2010).

Provisions relating to language status include: the use of a bilingual logo; creation of bilingual corporate publications, forms and website; recruitment of a Gaelic Media Officer; Gaelic awareness training for reception staff; promoting acceptance of Gaelic communications; and promoting Gaelic learning among staff (CS/AC, 2012). There are also some links to language corpus through production of forms, publications and online material in Gaelic. The other three principles of language planning do not appear to be addressed at all in the language plan, an incredible oversight given the strong role that CS/AC plays in terms of funding Gaelic-language popular culture events.

Another area of legislation and policy that supports Gaelic-language popular culture is the recognition of the Gaelic arts in the UK's ratification of the ECRML and the provisions of the National Plan for Gaelic (Bòrd na Gàighlig, 2007a). The ECRML was ratified in the UK in 2001 and includes five elements associated with popular culture under Article 2, cultural activities and facilities. This includes: (1) fostering different means of access to works produced in Scottish Gaelic; (2) incorporating the knowledge and use of Gàidhlig language and culture into cultural activities; (3) ensuring that relevant bodies employ staff who have full command of the language; (4) encouraging users of Scottish Gaelic to take part in providing facilities and planning cultural activities; and (5) encouraging and/or facilitating the creation of a body responsible for collecting, keeping a copy of and presenting or publishing works produced in Scottish Gaelic. These elements contribute to all five language principles, although the emphasis is weighted on status and corpus planning. It appears that the potential for popular culture to support language acquisition as language corpora has as yet been overlooked.

In addition, a further sub-paragraph (h) of the ECRML was accepted, relating to the creation and/or promotion and financing of corpus production. In contrast, the UK has not accepted the subparagraphs concerning (1) fostering access to Gaelic works in other languages through translation, dubbing, post-synchronisation and subtitling, or (2) fostering access to other-language works in Gaelic through the activities above ("The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages applied to Scottish-Gaelic in the United Kingdom", n.d.).

The Scottish Executive supports Gaelic-language popular culture by funding a range of activities related to Gaelic-language popular culture. This includes the following examples: PnanE, an arts development agency promoting Gaelic music, theatre and visual arts; Gaelic language newspaper production undertaken by ACG and CLI ; FnanG¹⁹² who organise Gaelic arts tuition festivals for young people; funding of ACG who organise the Royal National Mòd, a competitive festival of Gaelic music and song; CnanL¹⁹³ who support the production and dissemination of Gaelic print culture (see below); and a number of cultural activities and

¹⁹² Organising body for the Fèis movement.

¹⁹³ Comhairle nan Leabraichean, the Gaelic Books Council.

facilities including Gaelic choirs, community associations and clubs (“The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages applied to Scottish-Gaelic in the United Kingdom”, n.d.).

In terms of the inclusion of popular culture in the National Plan for Gaelic, the main focus in terms of popular culture is again on the promotion of Gaelic language status and corpus. The role of song, poetry, proverbs, riddles and games is highlighted, and two projects are identified. The first aims to develop and implement a Gaelic arts strategy, and the second seeks to increase the publication of Gaelic reading and print materials (BnaG, 2007a). Mention is also made of recreation in Gaelic and the development of Gaelic language corpus, both of which may have implications for popular culture, however, specific details were difficult to identify.

Legislation and policy has been in place to support Gaelic-language popular culture for many years through organisations like PnanE and CS/AC, with more growth in evidence in recent language planning. Developments include inclusion of popular culture (particularly the areas of music, theatre, visual arts, performing arts and print culture) in national language planning and organisational language planning in the popular culture industry. Nevertheless, the main focus of legislation and policy for Gàidhlig popular culture in terms of language revitalisation at present is status and corpus planning with little explicit support for the other three principles of language planning in evidence. This is concerning given the important roles that Gaelic-language popular cultural events and activities can play in contributing to discourse, acquisition and usage planning, and as a means of supporting activities associated with intergenerational transmission.

Summary

The governments of Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland both portray a number of similarities in the development and provision of legislation and policy relating to Māori- and Gaelic-language popular culture. However, the main focus has remained on broadcasting alongside education as the main drivers of language revitalisation. Although support is provided for print culture, music and performing arts, often this is through the provision of government funding to separate bodies that then disseminate funds to applicants. In Aotearoa New Zealand, this is undertaken by CNZ/TWT and in Alba Scotland, by CS/AC. In both cases, their remit is the promotion of wider national culture through arts funding. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori-language music production is funded by TMP, the Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency that also provides funding for Māori-language television and radio production. Other arts funding is specifically tied to language-planning policies, such as the funding of Te Matatini in Aotearoa New Zealand and the Royal National Mòd in Alba Scotland (see discussion below). Nevertheless, in terms of legislation and policy, the main focus in terms of popular culture is their contribution to wider notions of national culture and cultural identity. As a result, their contribution to language revitalisation is generally restricted to the areas of status and corpus planning, with little attention given to the ability

of popular culture to reinforce acquisition, usage and discourse planning and to support activities associated with intergenerational transmission. Popular culture is a key driver of national culture and identity, and is recognised as such in legislation and policy in both countries. In Aotearoa New Zealand, this is supported by research evidence from a decade of surveying undertaken on attitudes, values and beliefs held toward the language. This shows that 71% of non-Māori are passive supporters of the language, and attitudes towards the language have become increasingly more positive in general since 2000 (TPK, 2010).

Māori- and Gaelic-language arts have huge potential to be the driving force behind the development of language status through the public face of popular culture, such as music, performing arts and print culture. Corpus planning is also supported through the creation of a record of the language through publication and performance. However, the contribution of popular culture to other three language-planning principles in legislation and policy tends to be absent or underdeveloped. Acquisition and usage planning are mentioned in relation to Māori-language popular culture vis-à-vis the ability of ‘the Māori arts’ to act as domains for language learning and use (TPK, 2008c), and links to discourse planning can also be identified in both cases. However, the contribution of popular culture to language usage in the home and intergenerational transmission appears to need far more attention in legislation and policy.

Three specific areas of popular culture are now discussed as examples of the way that popular culture are being used to support language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland. These areas are: (1) print culture; (2) performing arts; and (3) popular music. Potential areas for further development in terms of language revitalisation and the language-planning principles are also identified.

Print culture

Print culture can be defined as “all forms of printed text and other printed forms of visual communication” (“Print culture”, 2011, para. 1), and includes a range of printed materials including books, magazines and newspapers. The internet is a modern form of print culture; however, I have chosen to discuss the internet in the section on the media above. Virtually nothing has been written about the specific contribution of print culture to language revitalisation except for pockets of information to be found in academic writing.

Just like the media, much of the importance related to literature written by Indigenous peoples here is located around ideas of representation, thus linking to status planning. However, it is also important to recognise the role of Indigenous language print culture as an educational resource (acquisition planning), a means of communication on Indigenous issues (usage planning), and as a true expression of an Indigenous culture (status and discourse planning). It is also, in itself, all about the creation of language corpora. This combined approach is crucial in that a mix of media is required to encourage language revitalisation (Cooper, 2004).

Māori print culture

In this section, I start with a brief overview of the history of Māori literature in Aotearoa New Zealand. I will then focus on the contemporary work of two publishing houses that are responsible for much of the contemporary publication of Māori language literature and texts. These are LM/TPTK, a Crown-owned company that produces educational publications for the MOE, and Huia Publishers, an independent publisher that produces books in English and Māori with a New Zealand/Pacific focus. Both of these publishers produce books that are often destined for direct release to schools, with many never making it to bookshops. Other sources of Māori-language print culture are then considered including that produced by iwi and the TTWRM. I also provide an overview of current data relating to Māori language literacy. Finally, I consider the contribution of print culture to the language-planning principles and to the achievement of language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Pre-colonial Māori society was based on an oral culture with no formalised written language. Māori oral culture has been described as “one of the two finest oral historical traditions in the world” (McRae, 2000, p. 2). With the arrival of Pākehā, particularly the missionaries, came the book, the written word and the printing press, all of which had a profound impact on Māori society. Missionaries used the written word as a tool for Christianisation, and undertook important roles in terms of Māori literacy: assisting in the codification of te reo; and establishing schools to teach reading and writing using primers based on biblical texts. According to McRae (2004), the development of Māori language print culture mirrors some of the key political themes seen in Aotearoa New Zealand over the history of Māori-Pākehā relations. Paterson (n.d.) describes this in detail, describing the initial use of print by government and the church as a means of assimilation, both politically and linguistically. This was followed by Māori use of print as a form of resistance against colonisation. Later, during the so-called Māori renaissance, revitalisation movements such as the development of TKR and KKM led to “a revival in Māori-language publishing, largely driven by educational texts” (p. 3).¹⁹⁴ This was because “there have always been individuals who have needed or wanted to learn te reo Māori, and others who endeavoured to meet the need with published materials” (Paterson, n.d., p. 35). Often this was driven by the desire of non-Māori to learn the language so that they could employ this as a tool for advancement of colonisation. An example of this was the publication of *First steps to Māori conversation: Intended for colonists* by Henry Tacy Kemp in 1848, a book that included dialogues for themes like trade. Subsequently, a veritable stream of language primers was released as well as the seminal Māori dictionary, the Williams’ (first published in 1844). From the 1960s on, this process accelerated, with the publication of a range of textbooks including *Te Rangatahi* (Waititi, 1962), *Let’s learn Māori* (Biggs, 1969), *Te Reo Rangatira* (Kāretu, 1974), *Te Kākano* (Moorfield, 1988) and the other books in the *Te Whanake* series,

¹⁹⁴ This information is sourced from an unpublished draft by Lachlan Paterson, comprising a part of a project to publish “a history of the book in Aotearoa New Zealand” (Centre for Research on National Identity, n.d).

Te Matapuna (Cormack & Cormack, 1995), the *Reed reference grammar of Māori* (Bauer, 1997), the *Māori reference grammar* (Harlow, 2001) and *Te Reo Taketake: Ko te Pū* (Wiri, 2008). Another two dictionaries were also released in this period by Ryan (1971) and Ngata (1993).

Māori-language print culture was launched into controversy and into the public gaze in 1985 when the *Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse* (Wedde & McQueen, 1985) for the first time included a number of Māori poems translated into English. Of them, novelist Keri Hulme (1985) wrote, “Māori is a word-of-mouth language; it has only recently been turned to print and a great deal of its *mana* and strength lie outside the blackened word. If you speak Maori, understand Maori, even what you read is fraught with sound – and not sound alone” (p. 303). The controversy arose when prominent Pākehā novelist, poet and former English professor, C. K. Stead (1985) launched an attack in notable quarterly, *Landfall*, stating that

... the poems in English were chosen because they were good of their kind while the poems in Maori were chosen because they were poems in Maori... Between the English language poems in this anthology a continual dialogue has gone on, involving influence, reaction, interaction, rejection. No such dialogue has occurred between the poems in Māori and those in English. To represent Maori poetry as part of a lively New Zealand literary scene is simply dishonest (p. 299).

Stead went on to support his argument by stating that “English has become ‘the language of the land’, and that British and European culture was also ‘a part of the inheritance of most who are of Maori blood’” (Mitchell, 1998, p. 33). Wedde’s (1985) response, though memorable, is almost definitely less remembered.

For the buried arguments of the newly mantled territory, whether the mantle is of concrete..., or of language (and ideology), it’s a no-win situation. Unable to be comprehended in the terms of the new model, these alternative arguments are excluded – there is no place for them in the colonising languages. They cannot present a ‘side’ in the debate. But their silence inevitably justifies the models (p. 344).

Contraversies aside, since 1985, Māori-language publishing has continued to grow, particularly since the establishment of TTWRM in 1987 (see chapter 2). As part of its role “to promote the use of Māori as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication” (TTWRM, n.d.a, para. 10), the commission actively produces Māori language print materials, including a Māori-language newsletter *He Muka* which has been released quarterly since 1988. TTWRM is also well-known for their publication of dictionaries and wordlists, including lexical development. When creating new terminology, the commission tries to use Māori and Polynesian words rather than resorting to borrowed terms; for example, *rorohiko* (‘electric brain’) for computer. Nevertheless, the majority of lexical development has been undertaken for the education system, due to the demands of MME. TTWRM also specialises

in producing publications that promote Māori language usage in a range of domains including the home and the workplace (for example, see TTWRM, 1997a, 1997b). A range of other Māori language resources are available on their website, including back issues of discontinued newsletter *Ko Te Whānau* which contains information about using the language in the home (TTWRM, n.d.b). Apart from *He Muka*, there are two other Māori language periodicals available: *Toi te Kupu* is produced by LM/TPTK for the MOE and has been in print since 1993; and *Pū Kaea* has been circulating since 1995 as a supplement to the *Whakatane Beacon*, and is produced by Mataatua Waka in Whakatane. There are also a number of publications that have printed Māori language columns from time to time, including Ngāi Tahu magazine, *Te Karaka*, although this has not been evident in recent editions. Also a glossy magazine, *Mana* publishes Māori interest stories, including stories about te reo Māori, but in English. These examples make strong contributions to corpus and status planning. However, there are also links to language usage and acquisition due to the focus on texts that support language learning and use within targeted domains like the home. Discourse is also highlighted through articles and stories that focus on the critical issues that the language is facing.

Another area of development in Māori-language print culture since the 1980s is the MOE that funds the publication of Māori language print materials for educational purposes. Most of these are produced by LM/TPTK, a Crown-owned company that was established in 1991 and is commissioned by the MOE to produce a wide range of educational resources, including those in te reo. Today the service is a SOE that produces educational and literary materials and services for use in the Aotearoa New Zealand schools, as well as developing and marketing similar materials for the international market (LM/TPTK, 2010a). LM/TPTK has links back to 1907, when the *School Journal* was first published.

A second publishing house with a strong focus on Māori-language print materials is Huia Publishers, a private company that was established by Robyn and Brian Bargh in 1991. Although the initial aim of Huia was “to increase the Māori voice in English” (Paterson, n.d., p. 41), the company was soon producing Māori-language publications due to a growing demand for such material. One of their first forays in this area was the publication of *Te Mātāwai*, a periodical containing children’s stories that ran for five issues. Once Huia had entered the market, they undertook an audit of LM/TPTK’s Māori-language outputs and identified that approximately 80% of this was about animals. Subsequently, Huia decided to produce modern publications about families and children, placing a strong emphasis on diversity in their illustrations, including lesbian parents (Paterson, n.d.). As well as producing a range of educational resources for the MOE, Huia also publishes a range of print materials “with a uniquely New Zealand or Pacific perspective” (Huia Publishers, 2011, para. 1).

Another source of Māori language print culture that has been produced in recent years is that published by iwi, such as Ngāi Tahu through their language initiative, KMK (see Chapter 2). Any parent of a child registered as an iwi member is able to access KMK through their

website (<http://www.kmk.maori.nz>) and receive a resource pack including a range of print resources, such as the set of four *Te Hū o Moho* books with an audio pack. The learning package aims to provide “everyday language around the home” (TRONT, 2009, para. 11). Other resources include posters, activities, word labels, a calendar, puzzles and word lists. Recently, KMK has also produced a series of language resources related to the RWC2011 that are available through their website (TRONT, 2009).

The archiving of Māori-language materials has also become an integral aspect of efforts to promote Māori language revitalisation relating to print culture. This includes collections of Māori-language print culture held in museums, libraries and archives. Recently, a range of digital archiving initiatives have been set up, including iwi archiving projects undertaken in partnership with Archives New Zealand. These activities strongly contribute to corpus planning.

Increases in the production of Māori-language print culture has been accompanied by a concurrent rise in the number of people who are able to read Māori to some extent (9% increase) and write Māori to some extent (11% increase) between 2001 and 2006. These increases were particularly strong in the 15-24 and 25-34 year age groups (TPK, 2008b). However, there are still some notable omissions amongst Māori-language print culture offerings. This includes the lack of regular Māori-language newspapers or periodicals, although occasionally some academic journals publish Māori language articles.

Print culture has the potential to significantly support the process of language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand. The availability of Māori-language print media contributes to corpus by providing an archive of the language, and to status, particularly when a range of genres and types are available. Māori-language print culture can also support language usage in that it can be a model of the use of written Māori, and also in terms of those who are engaged in using Māori to create print media. Moreover, Māori-language print culture has huge potential to contribute to language acquisition, when used as a resource for language learning, particularly in light of the lack of appropriate educational resources noted in the education sector (see Chapter 2). This is already happening through the work of LM/TPTK and Huia Books, but with the continual advances that are occurring in design and technology, and the sheer volume of English-language material out there, it is difficult to see how these agencies will ever manage to achieve anywhere near equity between Māori- and English-language offerings. What is more, the production of Māori-language material is only one aspect of their operations in both cases and as they operate under business models of operation, their focus is on the language materials in terms of their contribution to the bottom line, not language revitalisation.

Gàidhlig print culture

This section begins with a brief overview of the history of Gaelic-language print culture in Alba Scotland dating back to the tenth century. This followed by the exploration of the work

of a range of organisations including: CnanL, the Gaelic Books Council; the modern Gaelic fiction project, Ùr-sgeul; independent publishing house, Acair Books; and recently established SNnaG, the organisation charged with managing the production and distribution of Gaelic-language educational materials throughout Alba Scotland. This is followed by an overview of Gaelic-language use in newspapers and periodicals and an overview of the most recent statistics relating to the ability to read and write Gaelic. Finally, an analysis of the contribution of Gaelic-language print culture to language revitalisation is undertaken with reference to the language-planning principles.

Writing in Gaelic was developed by adapting the Latin script introduced by the Gaelic church, an evolution that continued over many centuries. In the period before 900AD, the Seann Ghàidhlig or Old Gaelic period, the main body of written material in Gaelic can be found in interpretations of Latin manuscript texts found on the European continent. Gaelic writing was also apparent in the twelfth century as evidenced by the *Book of Deer*, a copy of part of the Gospels in Latin with portions in Gaelic that was written in the Gaelic monastery of Deer, Aberdeenshire between c1138 and c1150. The subsequent Middle Gaelic period, possibly influenced by the arrival of the Vikings in 795 AD, was an era that saw expansion, change and innovation in Gaelic literature (Ó Baoill, 2010). Over time, however, the position of Gaelic eroded and by the thirteenth century, French had overtaken it as a literary language of Alba Scotland. Nevertheless, although Gaelic has faced neglect since the early 1700s, “the language... has maintained a status in the literary and bibliographical context by continuing to be published” (Cheape, 2000, para. 2). In 1984, the National Library of Scotland published a list of books printed in Gaelic between 1567 and 1973, consisting of 3,038 titles and including 265 editions of the Bible. Despite this wealth of literature, it was common for Gaelic-speaking homes to possess only one printed book in Scottish Gaelic, that being a Gaelic Bible. More recently, however, the twentieth century has seen a flood of Gaelic books being produced, particularly in the last 20 years, because of developments in a number of areas (McLeod, 2006a).

CnanL was established in 1968 as part of the Glasgow University Celtic Department (MacKinnon, 1991). Inspired by the Welsh Books Council, it was originally funded by the SED¹⁹⁵, with most funding now coming from CS/AC along with smaller amounts on an irregular basis from some local bodies (Thomson, 1984). Their aim is to “encourage and promote the study, teaching, knowledge and appreciation of Gaelic writing and public performance of creative works in Gaelic” (CnanL, n.d., para. 1). This was undertaken through the provision of publication and commission grants, and writing awards, hereby supporting their vision to secure “a sustainable future for Gaelic literature and publishing in Scotland [as evidenced by] an increase in the number of Gaelic books in a variety of genres and [an] increase in the number of Gaelic learners and users achieving fluency” (CnanL, n.d., para. 2).

¹⁹⁵ The Scottish Education Department.

The council currently offers a wide range of funding opportunities for authors and publishers of Gaelic books. Their focus for funding is Gaelic-only and bilingual publications including books, magazines and periodicals (CnanL, 2013).¹⁹⁶ As well as providing funding CnanL also sell a wide range of Gaelic language books through their website, catering for many age ranges and levels of fluency, and across a variety of genres including fiction and non-fiction. According to Thomson (1985), “in the first fifteen years [1968-1983] of its operation the Council has made some 220 offers of publication grant, has distributed approximately £90,000 in these, and offered numerous prizes and commissions” (pp. 264-265).

In 2003, CnanL established publishing project, Ùr-sgeul in response to a lack of Gaelic-language fiction publishing and to provide Gaelic-language authors with more opportunities for promotion and publication. Moreover, a new approach in terms of production, design and marketing was needed at the time and “the status of Gaelic fiction needed to be drastically improved” (Storey, 2011, p. 23). The main focus of Ùr-sgeul is the production of fiction books for teenagers and adults and since establishment, there have been 32 titles published including 24 novels and novellas, and eight short-story collections with 30 different Gaelic writers having been published by the imprint. In 2003, Màrtainn Mac an t’Saoir won the Saltire First Book of the Year Award for *Aith-Aithne*, the first book published by Ùr-sgeul. Mac an t’Saoir was also shortlisted for the main Saltire literary prize for his second novel *An Latha as Fhaide* in 2003, followed by Fionnlagh MacLeòid (2010) and Aonghas Pàdraig Caimbeul (2004). The project has also encouraged the production of talking books (CD, DVD and download) and has spearheaded collaborations of spoken-word fiction and music, for example, *Ruigidh Sinn Mars* (2008) and *Claigeann Damien Hirst* (2009) (Storey, 2011). Thus, according to McLeod (2010), the work of CnanL and Ùr-sgeul has given “a great boost to fiction writing” (p. 35).

Storey (2011) describes a range of challenges and opportunities facing CnanL in the future. In terms of challenges, he notes that “there is still some way to go before we can invite the reader to survey the fully-formed, abundant Gaelic literary vista” (p. 28). However, he also states that Ùr-sgeul’s main contribution to Gaelic print culture is that they have started to make “in-roads into the psyche of the Scottish literati” and as a result of their efforts, “there is a greater willingness to include Gaelic fiction authors at mainstream book events, including the Edinburgh International Book Festival” (p. 26). These activities promote Gaelic language status and corpus, with potential to indirectly promote usage and acquisition through the use of print culture as the basis as a teaching activity for language learners. There is also the potential for these activities to encourage language discourse, should these events become a forum for the discussion of critical factors affecting the language.

¹⁹⁶ CnanL funding of Gaelic-only books will cover up to 70% of the costs (up to £5,000) per title; for bilingual books they will cover up to 50% (to a maximum of £4,000) per title. In terms of funding for magazines and periodicals, for Gaelic-only publications, CnanL will cover up to 70% of the costs to a maximum of £2,000 per title, and for bilingual publications they will pay up to 50% of the costs to a maximum of £1,000 per title.

According to Storey (2011), the main issue for the sector is under-investment both in terms of Gaelic development and the arts sector. Funding for Gaelic publishing initiatives (including CnanL, independent publishing companies and Ùr-sgeul) equates to about 5% of BnaG's budget, totaling £5.49 in 2010-11 (Storey, 2011). As a result, funding from CS/AC is imperative for the operation of CnanL. However, statistics show that the level of funding provided by CS/AC (5.4% of their budget or £2.9 million in 2010-11) is disproportionate. "Some 64% of adults read for pleasure, compared with the second-favourite art-form – dance – where the rate of participation is 22%. Opera is enjoyed by only 5% of the population, yet Scottish Opera's direct governmental grant for 2009-10 was £8.63" (Storey, 2011, p. 32). This calls into question the true level of language status that is being attained through these avenues for print culture and whether this is equitable across funding for the arts.

Independent publishing houses have also become a major force in Gaelic print culture in recent years. Acair Books was established in 1977 in Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis (MacKinnon, 1991a), and has become a major publisher of Gaelic and bilingual Gaelic/English books. The company focuses on the publication of Gaelic children's books, Gaelic and bilingual books for adult readers on topics ranging from poetry to local history, and English books about Gaelic and Highland matters (Acair Books, 2008). Despite the good work of independent publishing houses like Acair, according to Storey (2011), "[t]here is a shortage of active Gaelic publishers [and w]e cannot rely indefinitely on a handful of companies... to carry the burden" (pp. 32-33). This situation is exacerbated by the difficulties faced by Gaelic-language authors in that "[i]t is impossible for an author to make a living from Gaelic writing" (Storey, 2011, p. 33). This leads to a dependence on alternate sources of income, often meaning writing for television that can lead to delays in the delivery of fiction-writing. As a result, Storey (2011) advocates enhanced lobbying by funding bodies to encourage better pay for Gaelic writers, and an increase in collaboration between publishing and television. This would enhance the status associated with Gaelic-language authorship, and enable further contributions to all five language-planning principles. In particular, items of print culture have a unique ability to support language acquisition and usage as they are often accessed and used in the home and community.

More recently in 1999, the Scottish Executive established SNnaG located in Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis (SNnaG, n.d.), a production and distribution company for Gaelic curriculum resources. SNnaG runs a publication programme where approximately £750,000 worth of annual resources is distributed to nurseries, primary and secondary schools, and adult learning groups. They also provide resources for sale to the general public, and access to "free interactive resources for families" on their website (SNnaG, n.d., para. 3). In 2011-12, SNnaG produced a range of print resources for pre-schools, primary and secondary schools, and GLPS. They also produced resources for An Seotal, an online terminology database particularly designed for GM subject teaching at secondary level but with provision for and

accessible to all other users (SNnaG, 2007-2013, 2012). Although the potential is there, as yet, SNnaG has not become involved in the production of resources for adult language learners, rather focusing on producing materials for GME (MacCaluim, 2007). Moreover, despite SNnaG's undoubted positive contribution to GM publishing in Alba Scotland, criticism has been leveled at the company for editing out dialectal language due to their "adherence to formal education policies" (Storey, 2011, p. 29).

SNnaG has huge potential to contribute to language status and corpus through the production of Gaelic-language print culture for children. Moreover, unlike the example of LM/TPTK in Aotearoa New Zealand, which also produces English-language material, their focus is solely on Gàidhlig. This better positions them to include all five language-planning principles within their remit. At present, discourse planning is highlighting through the establishment of SNnaG in the wider context of public debate about the value of Gàidhlig in 'the new Scotland'. Acquisition and usage planning are supported through the use that the resources are put to in a wide range of education settings. Moreover, by providing free content on their website, SNnaG are showing a clear intention to promote language acquisition and usage in the home and community.

Newspapers are another type of Gaelic print culture popular in Alba Scotland. One of the early examples of modern Gaelic-language print culture was monthly *An Gàidheal Ùr* ('literally 'The New Gael') originally produced by the ACG. Between 1998 and 2002, it was distributed as a supplement of the *West Highland Free Press*, and later published independently from Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis (Cormack, 2004), with funding from Western Isles Enterprise (Fraser, 1998). However, in March 2009, the newspaper closed due to a lack of funding from BnaG ("Bòrd blamed for the demise of An Gàidheal Ùr", 2009).

A number of Scottish newspapers publish a Gaelic column usually on a weekly basis. *The Scotsman*, a national daily paper, established in Edinburgh in 1817 (Morris, 2011), had an average circulation of over 49,000 in 2008 ("UK: Circulation figures for July 2008", 2008). It has printed regular Gaelic articles since the 1970s, and now includes a weekly column originally printed in a Saturday supplement entitled 'Leisure' next to chess and bridge articles. In 1998, the column was moved to the Friday edition, alongside the 'Scottish Gazette' page which includes obituaries and public notices (Cormack, 1994). Stories cover a range of topics including those "with no Scottish or Gaelic connection whatsoever (or only a very tenuous one)" (Cormack, 1995, p. 272).

A second daily newspaper that publishes a regular Gaelic feature is *The Press & Journal*, out of Aberdeen with an average circulation of over 72,000 in 2011 (Aberdeen Journal, 2011). This daily has included a weekly Gaelic opinion column called *Colbh Aon*¹⁹⁷ since the mid-1980s (Cormack, 1995). In contrast to *The Scotsman's* Gaelic column, *Colbh Aon* is dedicated to current events and "frequently deals with political issues" (Cormack, 1994, p. 272).

¹⁹⁷ Column One.

However, it is only published in the Highlands' edition of the paper; in other editions, there is an article in Scots in its place.

The Inverness Courier, issued twice weekly, contains a Gaelic current events column in the 'Weekend Extra' leisure supplement of the Friday edition. This edition had an average readership of 15,400 from South Argyll to Inverness in 2010 (De Santis, 2010). The column is totally in Gaelic, perhaps as a reflection of the number of Gaelic speakers who now live in the Inverness area (Cormack, 1994).

Finally, weekly paper *The Oban Times* delivers to mainland Argyll and the southern islands and had a readership of 16,051 (De Santis, 2010). This paper contains an average of five articles about Gaelic events such as entertainment, broadcasting or education in each edition. In contrast to the previous examples, this is clear evidence that the paper is really committed to the language (Cormack, 1994). The inclusion of Gaelic-language columns in other dailies reflects a desire to promote Gaelic culture as a symbol of Scottish identity, as opposed to promoting language revitalisation. However, this should not undermine the importance that these columns can have for Gaelic speakers, particularly those who are living away from Gaelic areas and for language learners. Moreover, it is important to note that in the case of *The Scotsman*, their main rival, *Glasgow's Herald*, has not included Gaelic columns (Cormack, 1994).

In terms of their contribution to language revitalisation, newspaper articles such as these are particularly helpful for speakers at a higher level of fluency, because they are "high register and confined to serious topics" (MacCaluim, 2007, p. 46). As a result, these are less useful as a resource for language learners at the beginner or intermediate levels (MacCaluim, 2007), but have the potential to support language acquisition, particularly at the advanced levels. They also promote language status through inclusion of the language showing its contemporary relevance, and corpus planning by acting as a record of the language for future reference.

Alongside these examples exists the Gaelic periodical, *Gath* which replaced the long-running quarterly magazine *Gairm* in 2002 (McLeod, 2006a). *Gairm* (meaning 'the call') was established in 1951 and played "a major role in Gaelic publishing" (Cormack, 2004, n.p.) until its 200th and final edition was released in October 2002. *Gairm's* content had included current events, articles on general topics, more than 500 short stories, poems, reviews, songs, pictures and cartoons. *Gairm's* replacement, *Gath* (meaning both 'a ray of light' and 'a sting') was released in July 2003 with an updated though similar format as its predecessor (Cormack, 2004). Unfortunately, *Gath's* publication has been less regular than that of *Gairm* (McLeod, 2006a).

The increase in Gaelic language publishing in recent years has been accompanied by a similar increase in the numbers of people reporting that they can read and write in the

language. According to data from the 2001 census, between 1991 and 2001 the number of people who could read Gaelic rose by 7.5% and the number who could write Gaelic increased by 10%. At the same time, there was an 11% decline in the number of people able to speak Gaelic (General Register Office for Scotland, 2005).

Gaelic-language print culture is supported by the provision of funding through CS/AC and the availability of many options for publication including state-run and independent publishing companies and projects, newspapers and one periodical (although its distribution is sporadic). Print culture includes books and other published materials, CDs and DVDs, ebooks and audio books, with some supported by a range of web-based and broadcast media. Nevertheless, according to Storey (2011), there are disparities evident between the funding of publishing compared to other arts such as opera. Another area where provision is lacking is the inclusion of Gaelic in magazines and periodicals. Recently, these provisions have contracted with the closure of *An Gàidheal Ùr* and the change from *Gairm* to *Gath*.

It seems that BnaG have concentrated their efforts in publishing on meeting the needs of Gàdhlig learners thus focusing on acquisition. However, it is also important to consider the important role that publishing can play in terms of encouraging language status and usage amongst Gaelic speakers who are not engaged in formal language acquisition programmes. Normalisation of the language through the resolute inclusion of Gaelic columns throughout such publications promotes language status, and may also encourage acquisition and usage through reader engagement. Furthermore, the inclusion of Gaelic print in a range of publications creates a setting for language usage to occur for the people who are writing, editing and producing the finished products. Whether this process can contribute to the use of language in the home is probably dependent on whether print culture actually reaches the home. Initiatives such as the CnanL's mobile bookshop for communities with poor access to booksellers can contribute to this but more could perhaps be done in terms of resource provision for home use. Finally, as stated by MacKinnon (1991a), "in publishing there is a need for a regular all-Gaelic newspaper" (p. 139). Some sort of regular Gaelic publication that covers topics of relevance to Gaelic communities reaches people in their homes, their workplaces and their communities, in order to promote language revitalisation and the process of language revitalisation.

Overall, Gaelic print culture has a strong emphasis on the language-planning principles of corpus, status and acquisition. Links to discourse planning can be identified in terms of print culture that grapples with critical factors relating to the language. Moreover, usage planning can also be supported through the ability of Gaelic-language print culture to contribute to language planning in the home and intergenerational transmission but more could be done to enhance this.

Summary

Both Māori and Gàidhlig print culture show a number of similarities in terms of their contribution to language revitalisation. In both cases, literature has been part of the history of the language and religion and has had a significant influence particularly in the early days of publishing. Today both languages boast representation in a range of genres including fiction and non-fiction, books relating to language acquisition and corpus, and books and other print media for a range of ages and levels of fluency. Print culture for educational purposes is well developed in both countries, with various publishers contributing to this, including LM/TPTK and Huia Publishers in Aotearoa New Zealand, and SNnaG and Ùr-sgeul in Alba Scotland. In particular there is a lack of a regular publication solely devoted to either language, whether this is a newspaper, journal or periodical.

In terms of how these examples relate to language revitalisation, in both countries, it is understood that production of print culture in Māori and Gàidhlig is needed for revitalisation to occur, and subsequently, funding has been allocated to this, particularly in terms of educational resources. Nevertheless, a lack of adequate teaching materials for educational purposes is noted in both cases, particularly in terms of resources for adult learners. Aotearoa New Zealand shows a more developed system for terminological and corpus development mainly due to the work of TTWRM, whereas Alba Scotland is in the process of creating such a system. These activities all contribute to corpus planning, and also raising the status of the language. In relation to publication in newspapers, Gàidhlig is much further advanced as there are greater incidences of Gaelic-language usage in English-language papers. In terms of similarities, these are particularly seen in policy and legislation. Although Māori and Gàidhlig print culture is recognised in legislation and policy, this is usually as an annex to educational provision through the production of teaching resources (acquisition planning), or as a means of promoting ideas of national culture and identity (status planning). However, this is only catering for a small proportion of language-speakers, and is not doing enough to support the needs of adult language learners. More needs to be done to ensure that print culture in the language is available for a range of language learners and across the full range of print genres, particularly for people to access in the home. Print culture, like the media, is able to breach the home and community and thus has the potential to support and encourage intergenerational transmission.

Performing arts

Despite the fact that performing arts are commonly used in efforts to reverse language shift worldwide, there is barely any academic material produced on the relationship (see King, K.A., 2001, p. 52; Moorfield, 2006, p. 108). However, given that the performing arts are often an integral aspect of Indigenous cultures, it would appear on the surface that performing arts could have a role to play in language revitalisation. This is being demonstrated in the schooling system in Aotearoa New Zealand where kapa haka contributes to a culturally responsive learning environment. “The educational importance of

kapa haka is that Māori students have a valid learning approach to experiencing their language and culture through the art of moving and performing” (Whitinui, 2008, p. 6). Indigenous-language performing arts can contribute to language revitalisation by acting as a domain for language usage, enhancing the status of the language, and provide a platform for or support language acquisition through participation. The performance pieces themselves and their performances are also examples of language corpora. Finally, discourse planning can be promoted through performances that raise critical issues relating to the language.

In both Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland, there are examples of performing arts activities that have been developed and are funded specifically because of their contribution to language revitalisation; that is, kapa haka, Te Matatini and Ngā Manu Kōrero in Aotearoa New Zealand; and cèidlihean, fèisean and the Royal National Mòd in Alba Scotland. What follows seeks to provide an overview of the performing arts in these two countries in terms of their contributions to language revitalisation.

Māori performing arts

This section begins with an overview of the history of the performing arts in Māori society, including pre-colonial activities associated with song, dance and oratory. This is followed by an overview of the development and characteristics of waiata, haka and waiata-ā-ringa, and that of Te Matatini, the national Māori performing arts festival. Next, the history and features of Ngā Manu Kōrero are outlined. Finally, research on the contribution of the performing arts to language revitalisation will be put forward, followed by a critical analysis of the contribution of these activities to the five principles of language planning.

The performing arts have an unbroken history as a means of expressing Māori culture and identity, in that “In songs and laments are enshrined both the history and literature of the Māori people” (McLean, 1961, p. 59). This is reiterated by Grant (1992) who states that “[there was] no aspect of Māoritanga... where song was not an integral part” (p. 34). Furthermore in the words of Siers (1967),

If you want to know the story of the Māori, listen to his music... If ever man sang and made music to fulfill himself, it was the Māori, and the man or woman who could do both well, was assured of respect, not only from his tribe, but also from his gods (n.p.).

Allegorically, Māori performing arts and more specifically the haka are often associated with Tane-rore, the son of Rā and Hine-raumati. The wiriwiri¹⁹⁸ that is employed by Māori performers evokes the wiriwiri of the sun on the land on hot summer days; what in English is called a heat shimmer. This is said to represent Tane-rore performing for his mother, the summer sun. Other stories refer to the power of haka to shock or distract an enemy, as is

¹⁹⁸ To tremble, shake; movement of the hands employed in kapa haka to evoke the mirage.

seen today in the use of haka by sporting teams of Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly the All Blacks (Gardiner, 2007). Contrary to public knowledge, haka conveyed a number of messages in the Māori language, challenge being but one of them.

In pre-colonial times, Māori performing arts covered a multiplicity of themes and indeed it seems that songs would be written about anything. In fact, it was thought that “to sing without an object was... an ill-omen” (McLean & Orbell, 1975, p. 15). Lyrics were often saturated in metaphorical connotations and imagery, and would always seek to convey a message to the audience. The meaning was the key to any performance. “If the message does not reach the audience, the whole performance is meaningless” (Armstrong, 2005, p. 123). Presently and since the advent of kapa haka, different actions with hands, body, faces, weaponry or poi would elucidate and enhance the meaning of the words. However, in the time before contact with the Pākehā, haka did not employ movements with intrinsic meanings related to the lyrics (Armstrong, 2005). Thus, the whakahua¹⁹⁹ of words had to be “clear and resonant, coming from the stomach and chest and not just the mouth” (Armstrong, 2005, p. 123). Today, clarity of the words is still considered the most important aspect of any performance (Kāretu, T., June 28, 2005, personal communication).

A second example of pre-colonial performing arts is whaikōrero²⁰⁰, formal speeches usually made by men during the pōwhiri²⁰¹ or at social gathering. In some iwi areas, women also whaikōrero. Good speakers interweave their whaikōrero with imagery, metaphor, whakataukī, pepeha, and references to relevant whakapapa and tribal histories (Moorfield, 2003-2013). The whaikōrero is usually followed by a waiata. This is an opportunity for the group the speaker is representing to support what has been said by singing a song that is generally appropriate to the occasion and relating to the kaupapa of the hui.

Performing arts are frequently a source of knowledge and archival information. In the words, of Mitcalfe (1974), waiata as oral history amount to “the accumulation and transmission of experience” and are “charged particles conveying the deeds, dreams, desires of a people” (p. 1). The lyrics of traditional performance pieces utilise poetic and metaphorical language, thus providing a connection back to the high language of pre-contact Māori society, and “Images were drawn from the natural world, from human attributes, activities and possessions, and from the mythology and folklore” (McLean & Orbell, 1975, p. 28). Through the medium of te reo, Māori performing arts capture the ideas, current events, arguments, attitudes, practices and stories of the time. Just as poets and composers of western tradition such as Shakespeare and Wagner inspired, informed and enlightened, so too did those of the Māori world. However, with the arrival of

¹⁹⁹ Pronunciation, enunciation.

²⁰⁰ Oratory, oration, formal speech-making – formal speeches usually made by men during a pōwhiri and other gatherings. Formal eloquent language using imagery, metaphor, whakataukī, pepeha, kupu whakaari, relevant whakapapa and references to tribal history is admired. Near the end of the speech a traditional waiata is usually sung.

²⁰¹ Invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae, welcome.

Europeans came new ideas and practices that were often quickly adopted and assimilated into Māori life. Subsequently, throughout the contact and colonial periods, as Māori practices were subject to alteration, attack and abandonment, much of the traditional performance repertoire was lost. What has been strongly retained is the practice of performance, which has kept its position as a key element of Māori life, not only in the realm of ceremony, but also as a strong indicator of Māori identity in contemporary times.

As explained by Papesch (2006), “‘Kapa’ means rank or a number of ranks that make up one group, so that the initial concept of a kapa haka festival is one of groups performing haka” (p. 33). This physical description is extended by Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) who state, “Kapa Haka exemplifies... the coming and merging of the ‘many nations’, represented by the ‘black, red and white threads’, into the ‘eye of the needle’, Aotearoa” (p. 140).²⁰² The phrase kapa haka has also been described as “a generic term used today to describe a ‘Māori associated’ musical tradition that is based around the performance of haka (dance), mōteatea (traditional chant), the modern poi (the poi dance), and waiata-ā-ringa (action song)” (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004, p. 142-3). A literal translation can be found in the definitions of two separate terms, kapa meaning ‘rows’ or ‘ranks’, and haka meaning ‘a dance’; thus, the phrase kapa haka refers to the troupe members who tend to perform lined up in rows. The phrase itself does not appear in the major Māori dictionaries and as such, it can be assumed that the term is of relatively recent origin (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004). In the wake of the decline of Māori performing arts and amidst the growing realisation that many aspects of Māori life and culture were being lost, the early twentieth century heralded a “deliberate campaign to revive Māori music and culture” (“Māori music”, 2011, para. 5). The movement built on the remnants of practices that were retained in certain regions as a result of resistance or geographical isolation. Resistance was spearheaded by the Young Māori Party who “embarked on a policy of cultural revival” in 1905 (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004, p. 147) when they undertook a wide of activities including the revitalisation of haka, waiata and poi (McLean, 1996). The result is a contemporary representation of traditional Māori performance which has evolved out of the melding of Māori and western elements into “a musical genre that was to become popular among local and global audiences” (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004, p. 140).

The seed of kapa haka was sown in the development of the waiata-ā-ringa,²⁰³ which emerged out of traditional haka under the influence of western paradigms. Waiata-ā-ringa are a hybrid of Māori and western musical performance as evidenced by Matthews and Paringātai (2004) who contend that “*waiata-ā-ringa* are distinctly European in their sound,

²⁰² This quote makes reference to a whakataukī attributed to Te Wherowhero, the first monarch of the Kīngitanga (Māori King movement) at his coronation in 1858: Kotahi te kahao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā, te mira pango, te mira whero (There is but a single eye of the needle through which white, black and red threads must pass). The proverb symbolised a philosophy based on unity between Māori and Pākehā (Higgins, 2004).

²⁰³ Action songs – a popular modern song type with set actions and European-type tunes.

they are Māori in language, essence and spirit, and are a modern development of traditional forms of Māori song and dance” (p. 109). The new performance genre incorporated traditional elements such as haka, poi and mōteatea²⁰⁴ with the waiata-ā-ringa and other contemporary alterations including the use of western melody, harmonisation and the use of hand movement which symbolised and enhanced the meaning of the words. As well as accepting that certain prominent figures influenced the development of these practices, the success and popularity of kapa haka can also be attributed to the social and cultural situation of the time. Kapa haka “endured not only because prominent leaders of the time told their people to ‘do a dance’, but because the Māori people themselves wanted to express their ideas and hopes through music and dance” (Zemke-White, 2004, p. 150). Evidently, Māori also wanted to express themselves through the medium of te reo Māori.

A number of key events in the early 1900s led to the entrenchment of kapa haka as a cultural marker for many Māori. In 1910 and ‘11, Maggie Papakura (born Margaret Patterson Thom) led a large Te Arawa troupe, featuring Eve Skeritt as Princess Iwa, on a tour of Great Britain and Australia. Although waiata-ā-ringa was still but a developing art, concert party repertoires were starting to assimilate European tunes into haka poi performances (McLean, 1996). At this time, most Māori songs were framed around popular European tunes. Key to this in terms of Māori language revitalisation is that, whilst the music may be western in origin, the words remained exclusively Māori. The adoption of European practices and the melding of these with traditional Māori performing arts allowed for this domain to retain its integrity as a site of continued language use. Ironically, the impetus to borrow European melodies as a musical backdrop for Māori performing arts was in part based on the biases of tourists, who were often “ignorant of the Māori language [as well as being] disconcerted with the ‘monotonous’ melodies of traditional chant and ‘grotesque’ gestures of the haka” (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004, p. 149). The use of popular tunes also enabled ease and speed of transmission when working with large groups. The adaptation of traditional Māori compositions to the tune of a European song was common in the pre-colonial and early postcolonial society of Aotearoa New Zealand and as a result, many original waiata tunes were often subsequently forgotten and thus lost from use (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004). However, another impact was that the Māori language was maintained by pairing it with popular music of the time.

Following Māori urbanisation, kapa haka developed as a means of cultural connection amongst metropolitan youth and the subsequent establishment of Māori clubs and cultural groups in the city centres. Kapa haka groups that developed at the time included Ngāti Pōneke in Wellington (1936), Te Hokowhitu-ā-Tū in Tokomaru Bay (1939), Wahirere in Gisborne (1951), and Te Roopū Manutake in Auckland (1969) (Broughton & Grace, 2001; Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004; Matthews & Paringātai, 2004; McLean, 1996). These groups, which were based in urban areas and often boasted a pan-tribal membership, cultivated a

²⁰⁴ Lament, traditional chant, sung poetry – a general term for songs sung in traditional mode.

talent in the performance of waiata-ā-ringa, and developed the kapa haka format seen in contemporary competition performances (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004; Matthews & Paringātai, 2004). However, the language of kapa haka was somewhat deficient when compared to antecedents in that the language of compositions was much simpler; “[they] no longer contained archaic phrases and the vivid imagery often found in traditional chants” (Matthews & Paringātai, 2004, p. 110). Indeed, chants fell out of fashion in this period, as the emphasis shifted to waiata-ā-ringa, their catchy tunes and popular lyrics.

Subsequently, the national kapa haka competitions were mooted in 1964 and first held in 1972 at Rotorua (Gardiner, 2007). At this time the teams were mainly tribal and could be distinguished as such from the dialect used, the tikanga employed, and the style of performance (Papesch, 2006). For the first two years when the festival was held, Pacific Island groups took part, but this was discontinued after 1973, and the Festival Committee made the decision to hold the event biennially. In the early days, 13-15 self-funded teams took part. Moreover, the host area had to bear most of the costs, with supplementation from the Ministry of Māori Affairs and later, TPK (Gardiner, 2007).

In 1996, the Polynesian Festival Committee changed their title to the Aotearoa Māori Performing Arts Society, and was registered as an incorporated society. Then, in 1998, the Society secured a major source of funding from the MCH. Finally in December 2003, the festival was given the name ‘Te Matatini’ by linguist and academic Professor Wharehuia Milroy (Gardiner, 2007). The name means “the faces of the many, the face we as individuals show to communicate, but also the face that represents us, the face of the kapa” (Papesch, 2006, p. 34).

Just as the name of the festival has changed over the years, the teams themselves have also changed. Whereas in the early days, the teams were mostly tribal, today the teams are mainly pan-tribal with only five out of the 28 or 30 who take part being identifiable as kapa-iwi (Kāretu, 1993). Other contemporary changes are evident in that “teams com[e] together under the unified banner of Te Matatini with iwi-defined boundaries or markers of reo, tikanga and style of performance somewhat blurred” (Papesch, 2006, p. 34). This blurring is due to the changes that are now seen in team performances in that teams do not always adopt the local dialect, probably due to the way that people acquire the language these days. According to Papesch (2006), “a more standard language [is] taught in the many and varied classrooms of the nation where iwi dialect is not important at the time of instruction” (p. 35). Often learning of iwi dialect is left until after the generic form of the reo has been mastered. Some commentators hold grave concerns for the impact of these changes on the integrity of kapa haka in terms of iwi identity. Papesch (2006) asserts that the “blurring of style is detrimental to the authenticity of iwi performance and to the identity of an iwi” (p. 35). Furthermore, she claims that this situation is being encouraged by Te Matatini because the tournament is now centralised, meaning there is no representation from the local iwi in

the festival's management structure. These concerns are summarised with reference to the role of kapa haka in Māori society.

[T]he dance is not separate... from the people. Rather, the people must be defined before the dance is composed. We need to preserve specific iwi identity as a way of ensuring the survival of Māori identity in the modern (European and international) era (Papesch, 2006, p. 36).

Thirteen years prior to Papesch's article, Kāretu (1993) also despaired over the directions taken in kapa haka performance focusing on the position and quality of the language. He reminded us that the words were considered the most important aspect of the performance in traditional times and points out that the modern use of language in kapa haka is of concern; "without the word there is no haka and this is the one aspect of contemporary haka that needs serious attention – the language" (p. 83). He suggests that this change is perhaps in line with audience expectations in that modern audiences tend to respond more to the actions and movements than the meaning of the words. This is probably due to decline in speakers of te reo Māori since the arrival of the Pākehā. In his words,

[the] language of much of the contemporary haka... needs to be addressed. The language, which is fundamental to [the performance of haka], is becoming peripheral while the actions and movements, the peripheral elements, are becoming the prime focus. With the history of the Māori language over this [the twentieth] century it is not surprising that such is the case, but this state of affairs should not be permitted to persist. There should be ruthless condemnation of incorrect use of language [by the judges] (Kāretu, 1993, pp. 83-84).

When the festival was established in 1972, the aim was "the revival of classical haka" (Kāretu, 1993, p. 83). This theme is extended by Papesch (2006) who contends that "the urgency was to preserve our Māori identity by coming together as individual iwi to demonstrate our knowledge and our prowess in composing and performing in our language, in our styles" (p. 37).

It is possible that these imperatives may re-root themselves, that is, to provide an avenue to continue the tradition of Māori performing arts, but also to celebrate Māori diversity in performance, language and tikanga. Kāretu (1993) indicates that this final aspect may be again coming to the fore, as he notes that the push to improve the use of language in the competitions is coming from the young. The role of kapa haka in terms of the revitalisation of te reo Māori has been noted by TPK (2008c), who stated "[there] are benefits in exposure to Māori language through kapa haka such as raising critical awareness about the language" (p. 4). Twenty-eight percent of the adult Māori population is involved in kapa haka, and of those with language proficiency, 79% are speaking at least some Māori while engaging in kapa haka. However, over a third of participants have little or no language-speaking

proficiency. Thus, kapa haka has the potential to support Māori language revitalisation as a key domain for language usage. For kapa haka to truly promote language revitalisation the language must be used in practice as well as performance. Moreover, the current emphasis on standardised Māori by teams at Te Matatini needs to be addressed in order to promote the use of reo-ā-iwi²⁰⁵ as an important aspect of te reo Māori.

In order to assess the contribution of Te Matatini to language revitalisation, a number of other questions need to be addressed. Is the competition organised through te reo Māori? Are the programmes in Māori? Do the announcers speak Māori? To what extent does the language saturate the competition? Answers to these questions are not immediately available.

Another example of performing arts undertaken in te reo Māori is Ngā Manu Kōrero²⁰⁶, a competition organised and run through secondary schools. Ngā Manu Kōrero speech competitions began in 1965 and were first known as the Korimako²⁰⁷ Contest. Today, the competition comprises four sections: Korimako (senior English), Pei Te Hurinui Jones (senior Māori), Sir Turi Carroll (junior English), and Rāwhiti Īhaka (junior Māori). The term 'manu kōrero' (literally meaning, 'the speaking birds') metaphorically means 'the orators' and the competition "encourages fluency in Te Reo Māori and English" ("Ngā Manu Kōrero", 2011, para. 1). Whereas the Māori sections are open to anyone, the English sections are for Māori students only. Competitions are held at the school level in the first instance to select the regional finalist, followed by regional contests to identify the national finalists culminating in a national contest to determine the winners for each section. The 2011 national contest was held in Tauranga in September, with 56 speakers contesting and an estimated 5000 people attending ("Manu Kōrero 2011- History", n.d.).

Ngā Manu Kōrero provide an avenue for the practice of speech-making in te reo Māori as a performing art that harks back to the traditional practices of whaikōrero and kōrero pūrākau²⁰⁸. However, the competitions also emphasise fluency in English, particularly for Māori students. Very little research or academic publishing had been produced about Ngā Manu Kōrero, so it is difficult to ascertain the exact correlation between the competitions and language revitalisation. However, due to the emphasis on fluency and the performance of te reo in front of an audience, one can safely assume that Ngā Manu Kōrero have the potential to support language acquisition, usage, status and corpus. They could also promote language discourse through speeches or ancilliary events or promotions that emphasise the critical issues that the language is facing to participants and the audience. Status is the main area highlighted here, in that students who take part in regional and

²⁰⁵ Regional dialects.

²⁰⁶ Orator; Māori-language speech competitions for high school students.

²⁰⁷ Bellbird, *Anthornis meanura* – an olive-green songbird with a short curved bill and dark bluish-black wings known for its loud, clear, liquid sounds. Female has a lighter colour and a white stripe below the eye.

²⁰⁸ Story-telling.

national competitions may be given a lot of mana, lifting the status of the language amongst their peers.

Clearly then, Māori language performing arts have huge potential as a site for engagement in te reo Māori. For this domain to achieve the potential that it holds, the primary position of the language in performance needs to be maintained. As stated by Kāretu (1993), “standards of language as well as standards of high performance need to be sustained but the language must be restored to its position of importance” (p. 84). Many Māori are involved in the practice of Māori language performing arts, not only in the national competitions but also in workplaces, schools and communities, through regional, school and Super 12 competitions, and through wānanga and iwi festivals (TPK, 2008). Clearly, Māori performing arts have the potential to provide a strong domain for the revitalisation of te reo Māori. This potential needs to be harnessed further by ensuring that event organisers include all five language-planning principles in their preparation and delivery.

Gàidhlig performing arts

This section starts with a brief historical overview of the role of Gaelic music in relation to Scottish Gaelic culture and identity. Next comes an exploration of three examples of Gaelic performing arts: cèilidhean; fèisean and organising body, FnanG²⁰⁹; and the Royal National Mòd, the annual Gaelic arts festival. Finally, an analysis of the way that these musical events contribute to language revitalisation is provided.

Gaelic performing arts have been a fundamental aspect of Scottish Gaelic life and culture for centuries, and nothing has really changed in this respect. What is more, performing arts also play an important role in the process of Gaelic language revitalisation. SMO, the Gaelic College of Scotland based in Sleat on the Isle of Skye teaches Gaelic music and singing as a key aspect of their programmes, and cèilidhean are a normal part of life at this institution and many others. Gaelic performing arts include musical performance accompanied by the voice, a dance, the pipes, fiddle, whistle, guitar, snare drum, keyboard and others (McKean, 1998). As well as the singing of Gaelic song, which in itself promotes the acquisition, usage, status and corpus of the language, instrumental music can also play a role in language revitalisation efforts (Dembling, 2010), as students are taught to play through the medium of Gaelic. Gaelic music in Scotland has long been linked to the process of oral transmission of the Gaelic culture, even in the face of social, political and environmental factors that prevented the continued use of the Gaelic language and culture. Historical events such as the industrial revolution and the Highland clearances contributed to a diaspora of Gaelic speakers to the urban areas in the south of the country, as well as overseas. Subsequently, in the twentieth century Scotland was affected by the collapse of industries such as engineering, shipbuilding and mining. This was followed by the burgeoning of a Gaelic renaissance, and a growth of “public and academic interest in traditional and folk music

²⁰⁹ Fèisean nan Gàidheal, the organising body for the Gaelic arts tuition festivals.

fostered by an interest in indigenous culture and the desire for political and social change by singers, story-tellers and commentators during the 1950s and 1960s” (Sheridan, MacDonald & Bryne, 2011, p. 173). This has been linked to the idea of the ‘Gaelic economy’ as a means of promoting not only the language but also economic growth and regional development, in that these events attract many tourists to the area, including members of the Scottish diaspora. However, concerns regarding this model have been raised. McLeod (2002) questions whether the language is actually being used in this context in that “Gaelic remains highly peripheral to the world of work and economic life, which remains an overwhelmingly English-language domain even in the most strongly Gaelic-speaking areas... and the recent growth of the Gaelic economy has done little to change this pattern” (n.p.). Furthermore, he argues that, as most of the Gaelic employment currently available is dependent on public funding, it is not clear whether the Gaelic economy can be self-sustaining. Another criticism relates to the disparate objectives of the Gaelic economy and Gaelic language revitalisation, which have different focuses that might sometimes collide. Moreover, there is the fear that “socio-economic development may in fact accelerate the further demise of the language” (SMO, 2002, para. 4). However, on the positive side of this idea is the contribution to language status and economic well-being that these activities can provide.

Despite these concerns, Gaelic folk revitalisation has had a long-term positive impact on the position and status of Gaelic music and song, particularly since the 1980s when many other strategies for Gaelic language revitalisation were also being put in place in education, policy, the media and the arts (Sheridan et al, 2011). This led to a reinvigoration of traditional musical activities, such as the cèilidh, the fèis and the Mòd. The cèilidh (plural cèilidhean) is a social gathering “where people gather for gossip, songs, stories and music” and share “stories of the old times, discussions of genealogy, jokes, news and local history” (McKean, 1998, p. 247). They are “a fundamental part of small community interaction – sharing conversation, food and drink and often a song and poetry... [and still remain] a significant means of ensuring transmission of Gaelic oral cultural heritage” (Sheridan et al, 2011, p. 177). The cèilidh is and was an important means of transmitting the language across generations in that “the concept of ‘giving’ a song or tune lies at the heart of the oral tradition” (Sheridan et al, 2011, p. 178). Today, attendance at cèilidhean has been linked to holding a Gaelic identity (Oliver, 2005).²¹⁰ Cèilidhean continue to be a popular social event in Scotland and this is often the format adopted for a wedding, birthday party or other celebrations. Scottish universities often host regular cèilidhean as a social event for students over the academic year. Some cèilidh bands try to reach new audiences by interspersing their musical sets with DJ music (“Cèilidh”, 2011).

²¹⁰ The definition of Gaelic identity is dependent on the context of the person describing it. For example, some claim that a Gael is someone from the Gàidhealtachd, whereas others would say it referred to a Gaelic speaker or a person with an interest in Gaelic activities like cèilidhean and fèisian (Oliver, 2005).

The fèisean (singular fèis; literally, 'a fête'), on the other hand, are Gaelic music and arts festivals run across Alba Scotland, particularly in Gaelic-speaking areas and Gaelic settlements (Dembling, 2010; Sheridan et al, 2011). A fèis can be defined as a "Gaelic arts tuition festival" (FnanG, n.d., para. 1) aimed at young people, or "aninformal, summer-camp style workshops for children aged 8-18" (Sheridan et al, 2011, p. 178). As such, they contain a formal teaching element that includes set class times, homework and the need to practice. Students have a choice from two instruments or voice with training from the elementary to advanced stages. Pedagogy focuses on group activities with tutors hired by the local fèisean community or as experts drawn in from other places. Tutors are given training and professional development (Sheridan et al, 2011).

The Fèis movement developed on the Isle of Barra when locals became concerned at the loss of local traditions and music. As a result, they held the first Fèis Bharraigh²¹¹ on the island in 1981 (FnanG, n.d.). Subsequently, over 30 fèisean have developed countrywide ("The Gaels: Alive and kicking", n.d.). The network of fèisean was set up in 1991 and is coordinated by the organising body, FnanG (literally, 'the Gaelic fêtes') based in Portree on the Isle of Skye (Sheridan et al, 2011). The organisation offers a range of services to members including grants, training, insurance and loans to purchase instruments. Every year, approximately 13,000 young people take part in FnanG activities, including 5000 taking part in the fèisean, 5,500 in Youth Music classes, and a further 2,500 as audiences of the Meanbh-chuileag theatre company that takes plays about Gaelic culture and history to schools. The organisation also runs the Blas Festival, a Gaelic and traditional music festival, with support from the Highland Council and the Promoters' Arts Network, as well as supporting the Cèilidh Trails, a series of cèilidhean throughout the Highlands each summer (FnanG, n.d.). They receive funding from a number of public agencies including CS/AC, local bodies and the European Union (Sheridan et al, 2011).

The revitalisation of Gaelic cultural arts through the fèisean has "created an opportunity for people to reclaim traditional music and song from the label 'old-fashioned,' from the domain of the drawing room professionals and even from the brink of extinction" (McKean, 1998, p. 251). Moreover, the Gaelic language is central to the movement's work in that taking part in fèisean enables one to gain a much deeper understanding of the language (McKean, 1998). Fèisean also play other roles in Gaelic society by creating "a sense of identity and place, community warmth and engagement rooted in local culture", with Gaelic language as a central component of this (Sheridan et al, 2011, p. 178). Fèisean provide classes for Gaelic and non-Gaelic speakers, with differing levels of language usage. Nevertheless, even in the non-Gaelic classes, students are taught about the instrument and music using Gaelic terminology, thus introducing them to the language and culture through music. Other examples of fèisean activities include Gaelic musical performances, cèilidhean,

²¹¹ The Gaelic arts tuition festival of Barra, the southern-most inhabited island of Na h'Eileanain Siar.

Gaelic-language classes, children’s workshops, music and singing, and whisky-tasting (see Islay Festival, n.d.).

The final example of Gaelic performing arts is Am Mòd Nàiseanta Rìoghail²¹², an annual festival of Gaelic song, arts and culture (ACG, 2013a) held in October each year at a different Scottish location (Robertson, 2001, p. 91). The history of the Mòd dates back to 1891, when it was established by ACG. It has been convened most years since 1892, except during the World Wars (ACG, 2013b). ACG is a voluntary organisation founded in Oban in 1891 with the aim of Gaelic language preservation. They also formulated the idea of the National Mòd, based on the Welsh language festival Eisteddfod. The first Mòd is also attributed to an 1891 performance by the choir of Glasgow’s St Columbia’s Church in Oban attended by Lord Archibald Campbell and Louise, Princess Royal and Duchess of Fife. The Mòd’s staple activity is formal competitions including prizes for a range of musical, oratory, dramatic and literary categories. The main aims of the Mòd are to provide a national and international platform to promote the Gaelic language, and to provide an economic, cultural and publicity boost to the host area. Finally, the Mòd focuses on bringing people together to “renew old friendships as well as forging new ones” (ACG, 2013b, para. 3). The Mòd is now the second largest festival in Alba Scotland and attracts visitors from around the world (“The Gaels: Alive and kicking”, n.d.).

The main criticism against these Gaelic festivals (particularly fèisean) relates to the role of Gaelic within them. McKean (1985) argues that “the commitment of some fèisean to this principle [the provision of Gaelic] is weak, leading to what BBC Ràdio nan Gàidheal producer, Kenny MacIver, calls ‘a bouncy castle fèis’” (p. 252). He goes on to state that

In the early days of the movement, an opportunity presented itself to make a real difference to the fortunes of the Gaelic language. The chance was not taken, partly due to the desire for numbers (participants = money), partly due to a desire to spread the gospel, and partly – it must be said – to avoid the absurd accusations of elitism often leveled at monolingual Gaelic broadcasting, public events and the like. The result has been a watering down of the ideal of regenerating the Gaelic arts and the language itself. What we have in its place is a healthy, and growing, instrumental regeneration and a stagnant, possibly weakening, language situation. Had the movement pursued the Gaelic medium fèis idea, we might still now be seeing young instrumentalists playing in Gaelic, rather than simply playing Gaelic tunes. By playing in Gaelic, I mean thinking Gaelic and thinking about the playing... in Gaelic cultural terms, creating a confidence in the culture and in the language that will allow the adaptation necessary to the survival of both (pp. 252-253).

Nevertheless, under the provisions of the National Plan for Gaelic, the Gaelic arts are identified as a means of promoting language usage, achieved through the preparation of a

²¹² The Royal National Mòd (see ACG, 2013).

strategy to promote Gaelic arts, and the publication of Gaelic language plans by local bodies such as CS/AC, VisitScotland, and HIE (BnaG, 2007). However, having looked at the language plan of CS/AS (see above), it was disappointing in that it really only considered Gaelic in terms of its status within the organisation, with some recognition of corpus planning, whereas the other three principles were not adequately considered. For organisations to start really contributing to language revitalisation, it is imperative that all five language-planning principles are addressed, and particularly the important area of language usage. Whilst contributing to status planning through organising events that contribute to a sense of identity and that provide a record of language corpus, this is not enough to effect language revitalisation. These events must be supported by activities that promote the other language-planning principles using the popularity they have already gained as a platform if they want to support the movement to reverse Gaelic-language shift.

Summary

Māori- and Gaelic-language performing arts are accepted aspects of language revitalisation strategies in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland. Kapa haka is performed regionally and nationally, and is often a normal part of life in mainstream and MM schools and other educational institutions. Moreover, the haka has become a symbol of the country's national identity, through the inclusion of haka in sporting events, notably the All Blacks' performance of 'Ka Mate'²¹³ and the new haka written for the team, 'Te Kapa o Pango'²¹⁴ (loosely translates as 'All Blacks' but literally means 'the team of black'). However, this has not been without sacrifices and amendments to the original Māori tradition. Similarly in Alba Scotland, Gaelic song, dance and instrumental performance are often considered key elements of Scottish culture and identity. In both countries the competitive element of performing arts is emphasised by being a key element of both the Royal National Mòd and Te Matatini. There are similar issues evident in terms of both case studies relating to the actual level of target language usage evident within Indigenous-language performing arts domains. Often although the performance may be in the target language, the dominant language culture maintains the upper hand behind the scenes. Thus, the value of performing arts in terms of promoting language revitalisation tends to be focused on the areas of status and corpus planning. One exception to this is the work of fèisean that are designed as sites for learning to play an instrument through the medium of Gaelic, with set

²¹³ Ngāti Toa Rangatira (also known as Ngati Toa) chief Te Rauparaha is credited with composing the haka 'Ka Mate' in around 1820 with the words 'ka mate, ka mate, ka ora, ka ora (meaning 'life, life, death, death') refers to "the triumph of life over death" (Pōmare, 2012, para. 5). Recently, Ngāti Toa reached a settlement with the Office of Treaty Settlements on their Treaty of Waitangi claim that includes recognition of 'Ka Mate' as "a taonga to Ngāti Toa Rangatira and an integral part of Ngāti Toa Rangatira history, culture and identity" (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2012, section 2D).

²¹⁴ 'Te Kapa o Pango' was composed especially for the All Black by Derek Lardelli of Ngāti Porou and was performed for the first time before a match against the Springboks (the South African national rugby team) in South Africa in 2005. Lardelli describes the haka as a haka taparahi (ceremonial haka performed without weapons) and says that it is a haka that is designed to prepare the performed physically and spiritually before engaging in an important endeavour ("Derek Lardelli explains Kapa o Pango", 2007).

classes, tasks and homework. This creates a strong focus on language acquisition, but also can contribute to language usage as learners practice their instrument and continue to play and learn. Indeed, attendance to these events may also act as a stimulant or initial source of language acquisition. Nevertheless, the two areas of language planning that need serious consideration in the performing arts are discourse and usage planning. In terms of usage planning, it could be argued that people engaging in these events are speaking the Indigenous language whilst planning, performing and participating at these events. However, this is incidental and unplanned, as well as being very difficult to measure and assess.

In order to ensure that these activities do actually promote language revitalisation, rather than merely allowing the language's replacement in this domain by English, the Indigenous language's status as instrumental rather than symbolic needs to be maintained (Lang & McLeod, 2005). Moreover, the need to focus on the needs of Gaelic-speakers should be kept at the centre of such activities, rather than falling prey to the idea that these principles can be sacrificed in favour of mainstream popularity and accessibility. If organisers and governing bodies are committed to contributing to language revitalisation, it is imperative that all five language-planning principles are considered explicitly during event planning and organisation.

Popular music

Popular music, like popular culture, can be defined in a range of ways. In one sense, popular music is "simply appealing to people" (Shuker, 1994, p. 4) and has "wide appeal" ("Popular music", 2011, para. 1). However, it can also be described as "grounded in and 'of' the people" (Shuker, 1994, p. 4). The first of these definitions relates to the idea of popular music as commercially produced music designed for mass consumption – what is sometimes referred to as pop culture – whereas the second refers to popular music as a cultural form that is authentic music of the people by the people, from a folk culture, often born out of nostalgia. Related to this is the idea of appropriation, in that "processes central to the creation and dissemination of new musical forms ... occur ever extensively and are rapidly giving rise to *new* forms of appropriation and syncretism" (Kahn-Harris, 2006, p. 128). Subsequently, folk culture is appropriated and repackaged as popular music for a mass audience, tapping into audience nostalgia. Nevertheless, some musicians are working against the popular tide by choosing to sing in a language that is Indigenous rather than dominant. This is also a nostalgic act but, musicians that perform in Indigenous languages often seek revitalisation rather than reminiscences.

Language choice is "related broadly to the politics of identity, multiculturalism, and the global dominance of English" (Shuker, 2005, p. 151). However, language choice also has implications for the potential market share the music achieves, and it can indicate the authenticity of a musician. Another element of popular music is the appropriation and re-

appropriation of musical genres and styles. Language choice also includes choices in terms of dialect and slang (Shuker, 2005). According to Berger (2003), language choice and the choice of musical genre are inexplicably linked when focusing on the role of music in relation to culture. The use of language gives us a message specifically in the context of the musical genre that is adopted. Musical genres are also indicative of a political or social positioning of the musician as well as their audience. In terms of music in Indigenous languages, this language choice can be indicative of a range of positions, including one relating to a wider national or regional culture, with which the language is associated. However, the same choice can also indicate a revolutionary or political stance which the musician adopts. For example, in terms of music in te reo Māori, opera singer Kiri Te Kanawa's choice to perform the Māori language song *Te Tarakihi* (literally, 'the cicada') sends a different message than a song like *E tū* by Upper Hutt Posse which is delivered in a combination of hard-core rap and is imbued with "revolutionary rhetoric" (Mitchell, 1994, p. 66). Music genre and language choice together give us a better idea of the message intended by the artist (Berger, 2003).

Māori popular music

This section begins with a brief exploration of the history and development of Māori-language popular music including the rise of the Patea Māori Club and their hit 'Poi e' in the 1980s, and the adoption of the bilingual national anthem following Hinewehi Mohi's performance in 1999. This is followed by an overview of TMP, the Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency that provides funding for music recording and CD production. Next, a number of musicians that perform popular music in Māori are considered as case studies of Māori-language popular music in Aotearoa New Zealand. This covers a range of genres including reggae, rap music and world music. Finally, the contribution of popular music to language revitalisation is considered with reference to the five principles of language planning informed by recent research from TPK (2008c) on this relationship.

"Music continues to be a foundation of Māori life. At the same time, Māori music has made transitional changes, adapting to and internalizing Western modes and methods and evolving into a variety of genres, some of which retain a unique indigenous quality" (Aperahama, 2006, p. 117). He then goes on to say that "Māori music is its people, who have taken their nuances, idioms, characteristics, spirit and nature of Māori onto the world stage to imitate other people's music with a distinct Māori flavour" (p. 117). As stated in terms of Māori performing arts, music plays an integral role in Māori society, both traditionally and in modern times. Traditional forms of song were used to give instruction, archive information, and transmit oral culture, through a range of forms and genres. The arrival of the Pākehā, particularly the missionaries and the arrival of hymn, had a huge impact on Māori music including the near loss of the mōteatea in favour of the more melodic and less traditional waiata. Despite these changes, however, music still has a central role in Māori identity, culture and society. As well as the performing arts associated

with kapa haka (see above), popular music in the Māori language has a strong association with Māori culture and identity. This is partly related to the relationship between Māori culture and certain musical genres, with a strong emphasis on Black American antecedents (Royal, 2001) such as blues, reggae, and rap and hip-hop amongst Māori and Pasifika artists. There is also representation of Māori language music and musicians across all of these genres, including: jazz songstress, Whirimako Black; Ruia and Ranea, who put out an album of Māori-language Bob Marley songs; Dean Hapeta (aka D'Word, Te Kupu) and the rap band, Upper Hutt Posse; and pop singers, such as Adam Whawhau, T-Sistaz and Sheree Waitoa. Another genre which is represented by Māori language musicians is world music, represented by Moana and the Tribe.

Māori-language songs had only occasionally been considered popular music in Aotearoa New Zealand until the 1984, when *Poi E* hit the charts and subsequently, spent 22 weeks in the top 40, and four weeks at number one. Ngoi Pewhairangi, a composer from Ngāti Porou wrote the lyrics with music by Dalvanius Prime from Taranaki. According to the MCH (2010b), “the song was a way to teach young Māori to be proud of being Māori – in a format that young people were comfortable with” (para. 2). The lyrics were in Māori with music featuring a combination of Māori cultural elements like chants, poi and traditional clothing, with the youth culture and hip-hop elements of rap and break dance (“Poi E”, 2011). The vocals were provided by the Patea Māori Club alongside music featuring a funky rhythm with bass, Linn drums and a synthesiser (MCH, 2010b). The Patea Māori Club developed in the southern Taranaki town of Patea, which suffered in the wake of the meat works closure in 1982 (“Patea”, 2011). Initially the song received no mainstream attention but following a TV story by *Eye Witness News*, the song gained radio time and hit the top of the Aotearoa New Zealand charts. This led to a UK tour in 1984, including the London Palladium, the Edinburgh Festival, and a Royal Command Performance. The song also contributed to Māori youth culture in Aotearoa New Zealand with breakdancing being performed to it by young Māori in Aotea Square in Auckland. The song was “a way of marketing Māori language and culture, especially in the urban context with its emphasis on consumerism” (MCH, 2010b, para. 6). *Poi E* later became the basis of a musical about the fortunes of the town of Patea following the closure of the freezing works. It was also re-released in 2010 with the feature film, *Boy*, written and directed by Taika Waititi (MCH, 2010b).

Another event in Māori popular music in Aotearoa New Zealand is the adoption of the bilingual national anthem. The English-version of the anthem had been in common usage since its adoption as the country's second national anthem alongside *God Save the Queen*. *God Defend New Zealand* was originally performed in Dunedin at the Queen's Theatre on Christmas Day in 1876. The words had been taken from a poem written by Thomas Bracken in the 1870s for a competition organised by *The Saturday Advertiser and New Zealand Literary Miscellany*. The song was officially adopted as the national song in time for the country's centenary in 1940, and was ultimately adopted as the national anthem in 1976,

following a petition signed by 7750. The Māori translation of the song was first requested by Governor Sir George Grey in 1878 and was provided by Thomas H. Smith of Auckland, who was a judge for the Native Land Court (MCH, 2010a). Nevertheless, up until the very end of the twentieth century, New Zealanders were only familiar with the English language version, which was played at all significant national events, including sporting events. This all changed dramatically at the RWC1999 in England, when Hinewehi Mohi sang *E Ihowā Atua*²¹⁵ before the All Blacks quarter-final match against England at Twickenham (MCH, 2008a). This has been described as “one of the most awkward moments in the history of this country’s race relations” (Tahana, 2007, para. 1). The response was a tirade of complaints and this became a controversial topic on talk-show radio. Many listeners claimed that it was inappropriate because the language was not understood or spoken by most New Zealanders, but Mohi responded that it was “a perfectly natural thing to do” (MCH, 2008a, para. 6). She is also quoted to have said,

To be honest I didn’t know all of the English words and some of them are funny. I thought people would dig it [the Māori version]. I thought if I’m really feeling so much heart then people wouldn’t be able to help themselves getting wrapped up in that emotion – the same as the haka (Tahana, 2007, para. 11).

Subsequently, the bilingual anthem gained public support and in a campaign by government, TTWRM and sporting bodies, the bilingual version has been supported with word sheets and publicity (MCH, 2008), and is now the standard version taught in schools.

Following the adoption of the bilingual anthem, the production and release of Māori language songs by popular musicians and on popular albums has continued to increase, for example, Herb’s version of *E Papa*, a type of song called a *tī tōrea*²¹⁶ (McLean, 1996). A more recent example of this is the Nesian Mystik song, *Lost visionz* which includes a haka as part of the soundtrack, and a message about language and cultural preservation. Nesian Mystik has a musical style they describe as “Polynesian culture merged with RnB, Hip Hop and Reggae... combining rap, soulful harmonies, scratching and guitaring” (Nesian Mystik, n.d., para. 1). The song was released on their album *Polyunsaturated* in 2002, which included three number-one singles. The album was certified Gold in its first week of sales; at the end of 2003, the album was still in the top 10 and had been certified four times Platinum (“Nesian Mystik”, 2011). The band went on to win four Māori music awards in 2009.

The rapid growth of Māori music recording and CD production has continued over recent years, encouraged by the funding offered by TMP. However, concerns have been raised that the agency allocates funds based on their own preferences in terms of genre, style and production. Subsequently, independent labels like Tangata, Urban Pacific and Mai Music have managed the production of Māori-language music by subsidising them with

²¹⁵ The Māori-language version of *God Defend New Zealand*.

²¹⁶ A song sung whilst playing *tī rākau* (stick games).

commercial music. The control that TMP holds has been alleviated by recent technological developments in digital technology, computing and the internet which provides a new vehicle and easier access for and to Māori language music (Aperahama, 2006). As a result, a number of bands and singers have begun to include Māori-language songs in their repertoire. These include Kiri Te Kanawa (*Te Tarakihi*) and Hayley Westenra (*Pokarekare ana* and *Kotahitanga*²¹⁷. . These songs can be understood in the context of music that aims to be ‘typically kiwi’ thus expressing a culture that is unique to Aotearoa New Zealand, and that includes the distinctive elements of Māori language and culture. Although limited in its contribution to language revitalisation, this music does have the potential to promote Māori language status in that it showcases the use of te reo in a context that is modern and relevant to young people, who are the language’s potential future. The recording of songs also contributes to corpus planning by retaining a record of language use for future reference, and there are potential links to discourse, acquisition and usage planning evident, although these are undeveloped.

Another musical genre that has resonated with Māori musicians is reggae. Inspired by Bob Marley’s 1979 visit to Aotearoa New Zealand, reggae became popular amongst Māori youth during the 1980s, including music in te reo Māori and which often raised “issues of Māori history, struggles for land rights, and the resurgence of *Māoritanga* or cultural pride” (Clough, 2003, p. 29). Thus, the genre’s attraction is associated with “reggae’s message of liberation and resistance against the dehumanization of colonization [which] has long resonated with the Maori of New Zealand” (Alvarez, 2008, p.587). Furthermore, as Alvarez (2008) explains, “The Maori... have developed their own brand of reggae music and style, overlapping reggae with other musical styles ranging from hip hop to traditional haka chants and rhythms” (p. 587). Moreover, Māori reggae often espouses a political message such as anti-colonialism (for example, *E tū* by Upper Hutt Posse) and language preservation (such as, *Revival* by Katchafire).

A number of contemporary Māori reggae artists have also released Māori-language songs including House of Shem (*Tahuri mai rā*) and 1814 (*Whakahonohono mai*). One Māori musician who was heavily influenced by Bob Marley was Ruia Aperahama. For Aperahama, “[Marley’s] lyrics were not just from another brown man. They also spoke of the oppression of indigenous people, and articulated what many Māori were feeling as they discovered more about the injustices their people had suffered during colonisation” (Andrews, 2009, para. 3). Ruia Aperahama and his twin brother Ranea released the Māori-language album, *Waiata of Bob Marley*, featuring ten Bob Marley songs translated into te reo. This included, *Could you be loved* (*Arohaina rā koe*), *Is this love* (*Nei te aroha*), and *Three little birds* (*Toru manu iti*) (The Big Idea – Te Aria Nui Charitable Trust, 2011).

²¹⁷ A Māori song that was included on the CD for the RWC1999.

Whirimako Black is another Māori singer who chooses to write and perform much of her music in te reo Māori. Her repertoire includes jazz and blues, and she has been awarded a Tui award, an APRA (the Australian Performing Right Association²¹⁸) award and she has been made a Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit for services to Māori music (Black, 2011). She also uses traditional Māori taonga pūoro²¹⁹ in her music. Black has been writing music for three decades, recently releasing a stream of Māori language albums including *Soul Sessions* (2006) which includes Māori language versions of eleven jazz and blues classics, including *Stormy weather*, *Black coffee*, and *Summertime* (Kara, 2006).

One of the early leaders in this area was Dean Hapeta (aka D'Word, Te Kupu) of UHP²²⁰, who merged, hip hop, hard-core rap and a revolutionary message increasingly in te reo Māori. UHP have been subsequently described as “the progenitors of Hiphop music in the South Pacific” (“Upper Hutt Posse”, 2011, para. 1). Hapeta was influenced by his experiences working with Māori constitutional lawyer, Moana Jackson during the 1980s as he conducted research for his historic report *The Māori and the criminal justice system* (Jackson, 1987-1988). Musical and political influences ranged from Public Enemy and Malcolm X to Bob Marley and Martin Luther King, with the common thread being the revolutionary voice of the oppressed. Whereas early releases like *E tū* included code switching between Māori and English – *E tu / Stand proud / Kia kaha / Say it loud* – later releases including whole albums were in te reo Māori. Their 1996 album, *Movement in demand*, included use of traditional Māori oinstruments, traditional Māori vocals including patere²²¹ and karanga²²², and references to atua²²³ in lyrics. One track, *Tangata whenua* (literally meaning, ‘people of the land’) is completely in Māori and relates the story of a polluted river, consultation with a

²¹⁸ The Australian Performing Rights Association - established in 1926 APRA administers the performing and communication rights of over 67,000 composers, songwriters and music publishers in Australia and New Zealand (APRA/AMCOS, 2010a). They also run the annual APRA Silver Scrolls Awards recognising outstanding songwriter, composer and publisher members in popular contemporary, classical and Māori music genres. Other projects include the New Zealand Music Hall of Fame and the Songs of the Year awards that recognises country, Pacific and children’s music (APRA/AMCOS, 2010b).

²¹⁹ Māori musical instruments.

²²⁰ Upper Hutt Posse.

²²¹ Song of derision in response to slander – most are compositions inspired by some derogatory reference, abuse or slander, sneering remark, or belittling statement. They are chanted at a fast tempo accompanied by defiant gestures.

²²² Formal call, ceremonial call – a ceremonial call of welcome to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue, at the start of a pōwhiri. The term is also used for the responses from the visiting group to the ceremonial call of the tangata whenua (local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land). Karanga follow a format which includes addressing and greeting each other and the people they are representing and paying tribute to the dead, especially those who have died recently. The purpose of the occasion is also addressed. Skilled kaikaranga (caller – the woman who has the role of making the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae at the start of a pōwhiri) are able to use eloquent language and metaphor and to encapsulate important information about the group and the purpose of the visit.

²²³ Ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being – although often translated as ‘god’ and used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning. Many Māori trace their ancestry from atua in their whakapapa and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over particular domains. These atua also were a way of rationalising and perceiving the world.

Māori elder, and atua destroying the factory causing the pollution. The song also includes karanga, the sounds of the pūrerehua²²⁴, and contains themes based on Māori philosophy and oral traditions (Mitchell, 2003). Moreover, the track is not translated into English on the lyric sheet, suggesting that “it is addressed to Māori only” (Mitchell, 2003, p. 14), or rather, those who can understand Māori only. The band’s first album totally in Māori, *Mā te wā* was released in 2000, and was followed by *Te reo Māori remixes*, remixed Māori-language versions of previously released UHP songs. As early as the mid-1990s, Boxill (1996) describes their music as “a force for building consciousness and continuing the struggle for the rights of Māori people in Aotearoa... ‘we are hard core; we play revolutionary music’” (p. 118). According to Buchanan (2000), “by rapping their language and incorporating sounds, values and history of their people, Hapeta and like-minded artists shatter stereotypes of what it means to be Māori” (p. 32). Soon after launching his single career, Hapeta, now under the name Te Kupu (meaning ‘The Word’) released two albums, one in English (*The Word that Penetrates*) and one in Māori (*Te Matakahi Kupu*), a twenty-track rap album on 1 January 2000 (Mitchell, 2003). This was followed by *Legacy* with UHP in 2005, which was again a two-album bilingual release, with one album entirely in te reo, and *Ka whawhai tonu matou* (We continue to fight) in 2008. Most recently, UHP released *Tohe* in 2011, which is almost entirely in te reo. Some might say that this “may put [it] beyond the reach of some” (Reid, 2010, para. 5). Nevertheless, for Māori-language speakers, Māori-language music is a vital component of living a Māori-language life. Alvarez (2008) describes their music as a combination of “hip hop beats, reggae rhythms, and more traditional Maori music with English and Maori lyrics stressing the dignity and autonomy of the Maori people” (p. 588). What Hapeta and UHP provide is a hard-core political rhetoric that espouses deliberate resistance against the power of the state, resistance that is evidenced by the deliberate focus on the Māori language as a means of delivery, especially given “singing in te reo is automatically seen as a political act by some Pakeha” (Hinewehi Mohi, cited by Smithies, 2003, E23). One issue that UHP and Dean Hapeta face in light of their choice to produce Māori language music is that they may be commercially unviable. However, technological advances have made this approach more affordable and accessible in that they undertake their own production, and release their music independently through the Te Kupu website (<http://www.tekupu.com>). Hapeta has also made global links with other colonised communities through his rapumentary, *Ngātahi: Know the links*, which “illustrates both the wide reach of colonization and the myriad ways that local populations mobilize cultural forms to articulate often seething critiques of its impact on their most immediate surroundings” (Alvarez, 2008, p. 589).

Other Māori-language music artists are being influenced by a range of musical genres to create a distinctively kiwi sound, for example, Moana Maniapoto and her band, The Tribe, who formed in 2002, replacing her previous band, the Moahunters. Their first CDs, *Toru*

²²⁴ Bullroarer – a musical instrument made of wood, stone or bone attached to a long string.

(2003) and *Live & Proud* (2003) both made ripples in European music charts. Subsequently, Moana and the Tribe have played approximately 150 international concerts. From the outset, Maniapoto has put the language at the centre of her music, with the release of her single *AEIOU (Akona te reo)*, which means 'learn the language' on the album *Tahi* (1993) that she made with the Moahunters. The song has been described as "a plea for the Māori youth to work actively to preserve their culture, learning about their history and keep traditions alive by learning the language" ("Moana and the Moahunters", 2011, para. 2), and combined rap with traditional Māori music. Subsequent music has featured tauparapara²²⁵ (chants), haka, and taonga pūoro, as well as use of Māori language. As stated by Mitchell (1994), the Moahunters "combine contemporary pop influences with rap, reggae, funk, soul, and aspects of traditional Māori waiata, with particular emphasis on the latter" (p. 55).

As this section attests to, a number of artists who use the language in their music have achieved national and international recognition for their music. Hybridisation has been evident in the approaches taken by a number of Māori musicians who have chosen to perform music in te reo Māori. According to TPK (2008c), "these activities provide a platform for the Māori language to be seen and heard on a national and international stage" (p. 7), placing the emphasis here on increasing language status. However, other areas that the language can support are language acquisition (particularly for musicians and composers, but also when using as teaching resources), language corpus by retaining a record of the language itself through recordings, and discourse planning through lyrics that explore critical issues relating to te reo. Nevertheless, it is also important that time and energy is invested in developing strategies for using Māori-language popular music as language-learning resources, and to support the contribution of these genres to usage planning and intergenerational transmission.

Gàidhlig popular music

This section starts with an overview of Gaelic popular music in Alba Scotland. Next, the work of a number of contemporary Gaelic musicians is explored, including popular folk rock bands Runrig and Capercaillie, and Gaelic punk bands Oi Polloi from Alba Scotland, and Mill a h-Uile Rud from Seattle in the United States. Although in previous chapters I have maintained a clear focus on Gaelic in Alba Scotland, I have decided to consider this American example of Gaelic music because Mill a h-Uile Rud has produced what has been described as "the only Gaelic CD... to consist entirely of original compositions in Gaelic" (Lang & Wilson, 2005, p. 4). Finally, the section concludes with an analysis of Gaelic music's contribution to language revitalisation via the five language-planning principles. Parallels can also be made to the Māori experience in that the decline of language ability in the

²²⁵ An incantation to begin a speech – the actual tauparapara used are a way that tangata whenua are able to identify a visiting group, as each tribe has tauparapara peculiar to them. Tauparapara are a type of karakia (incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation).

community has affected social practices in general and song performance in particular (see Shaw, 1992-1993).

As stated in terms of Gaelic performing arts, Gaelic music has been an element of Gaelic culture and identity for centuries, and this is still the case today. Moreover, Gaelic music has been identified as a significant resource for the promotion of language revitalisation. Often the perception is that Gaelic music is one of the language's more secure footholds as well as comprising an important anthology of Gaelic culture and knowledge. However, it has been argued that there is too much English-language use associated with Gaelic music. The reasons for this becomes clearer when we consider the potential audience(s) for Gaelic language music, which, for financial reasons, often necessitates that Gaelic songs attract both Gaelic and non-Gaelic speaking fans for financial sustainability (Lang & Wilson, 2005). Consequently, the fear is that:

Gaelic language may in fact be weakest where people think it is strongest, and that a thriving Gaelic music scene could be masking the most serious problems facing Gaelic – falling speaker numbers, low levels of literacy and linguistic confidence and lack of intergenerational transmission of the language (Lang & Wilson, 2005, pp. 1-2).

Runrig is a Scottish rock band who formed on the Isle of Skye in 1973 with the original name 'The Run Rig Dance Band'. Current members of the six-piece include songwriters and brothers, Rory and Calum Macdonald, longtime members, Malcolm Jones and Iain Bayne, and recent additions, Bruce Guthro and Brian Hurren. The band has released a total of 13 studio albums including a number of songs in Scottish Gaelic ("Runrig", 2011). According to Sawyers (1994), common themes in the band's lyrics include "celebration of Gaelic language and culture; the destructive yet potentially healing force of humanity; the natural beauty of the land; love of the homeland; and, most importantly, the survival and perpetuation of the Gaelic language" (p. 8).

Runrig's first album *Play Gaelic* released in 1978 was totally in the Gaelic language, but in total, only about a quarter of their songs are actually in Scottish Gaelic ("List of Runrig's Gaelic songs", 2011). Nevertheless, some commentators describe the band as "revolutionary" supporting this by saying that "for the first time in modern pop culture young Gaels are able to hear rock songs sung in their own language" (Sawyers, 1995, p. 9).

A second Gaelic band that has carved a niche for itself in the modern music scene was Capercaillie founded in the 1980s in the Argyll region of western Scotland. The band is named after the Western Capercaillie, an indigenous Scottish bird. In terms of their use of Gaelic, they are known for their adaptations of traditional Gaelic songs and music, and for mixing traditional lyrics with modern musical forms like drum and bass ("Capercaillie (band)", 2011).

Despite the popularity of Runrig and Capercaillie, much of which is from markets outside of Alba Scotland, some commentators criticise these bands because “their influence is perhaps out of proportion to their limited use of Gaelic material, and this is the result of their wide-ranging popularity” (Winter, 1998, p. 36). This is supported by Lang and McLeod (2005) who comment that “it is interesting that most albums by the most popular and commercially successful ‘Gaelic’ bands, Runrig and Capercaillie, devoted fewer than half their tracks to Gaelic songs” (p. 3). This is also in evidence when visiting their websites, where the Gaelic language is not obviously evident (see <http://www.capercaillie.co.uk/> and <http://www.runrig.co.uk/>). One reason for this phenomenon is that more than 90% of of these bands’ market, that is, the people of Scotland, in fact, do not speak Gaelic. As a result the domestic market for these bands is extremely small if they sing in Gaelic. This is exacerbated by the fact that music containing little or no English finds it very difficult to break into the mainstream market (Lang & McLeod, 2005).

Another element mitigating the commercial success of Gaelic music is its often conservative nature. Most contemporary Gaelic language songs released are actually interpretations of old Gaelic songs, often from many decades ago, and sometimes from as early as the sixteenth century, whilst, very few new Gaelic songs are penned and as a result, “there has been very little role for Gaelic song as a medium of expression for contemporary topics or concerns; it arguably has a fossilized quality” (Lang & Wilson, 2005, p. 2).²²⁶

Nevertheless, some contemporary bands are producing music in the Gaelic language, sometimes exclusively, particularly in the punk genre, which although not conservative, also seldom attracts mainstream appeal. Scottish punk band Oi Polloi began singing in Scottish Gaelic in 1996 (“Oi Polloi”, 2011), and released the first Gaelic punk EP, *Carson?* in 2003 (“Mill a h-Uile Rud”, 2011), followed by a full-length Gaelic language LP, *Ar Ceol Ar Canan Ar-a-Mach* in 2006. The band uses Gaelic for everyday communication (“Oi Polloi”, 2011), and encourages their listeners to learn the language, which has led to an influx of punks enrolling at SMO (Williamson, 2009). Another source states that Gaelic was taught informally within in the subculture in ‘Gaelic for punks’ classes, and once a level of fluency was achieved, a number accessed scholarships from the Gaelic college (“Scottish Gaelic punk”, 2011).

A second punk band that produces Gaelic language music is Mill a h-Uile Rud, meaning ‘destroy everything’, although the band never uses this as their name due to their commitment to speaking Gàidhlig. They formed in Seattle in 2003 and perform exclusively in Scottish Gaelic. Their first album, *Ceàrr* was released in 2004, and was “the first CD of all new Gaelic songs ever released” (“Mill a h-Uile Rud”, 2011, para. 3). Moreover, in a study of 108 CDs, *Ceàrr* was the only album that was presented in Gaelic only (Lang & McLeod,

²²⁶ It is also important to note that, in the genre of traditional contemporary music a number of musicians are engaging in more proactive use of Gaelic than was seen a decade or two ago, for example, Julie Fowlis (see “Julie Fowlis”, 2011) and to a lesser extent, Joy Dunlop (see “Joy Dunlop”, 2012).

2005), including notes provided in the language with no translation. Also, they boast the first all-Gaelic band website (“Mill a h-Uile Rud”, 2011). This group “takes a deliberately hard-line to language use” (Lang & McLeod, 2005, p. 4), in that they not only record exclusively in Gaelic and encourage people to learn the language through their monolingual Gaelic website, they also “refuse to do interviews unless they are conducted in Gaelic” (Williamson, 2009, p. 62). The downside of this is that their message is lost if fans cannot speak or understand what is being said. Moreover, it must be noted that the position of Gaelic punk bands in Gaelic-language networks and communities in Alba Scotland is extremely minimal compared to the popularity of traditional artists.

Contemporary Gaelic music is anecdotally at least supporting the process and achievement of language revitalisation. In concert with both mainstream and GM media, contemporary Gaelic music has the potential to reach audiences of Gaelic speakers and non-speakers alike, thus contributing to language status. Gaelic language music can at once increase Gaelic language status through the mere fact of being available, which may have flow on effects for Gaelic language acquisition and usage. Both the writing of new songs and the recording of traditional songs in Gaelic constitute forms of language corpus in that a record of these linguistic examples is being maintained. Moreover, bands that also show a political (rather than a simply materialistic) approach to the language, such as Mill a h-Uile Rud, also have the ability to promote language discourse through their hardline, Gaelic-only approach. In comparison, bands that use Gaelic as a form of window-dressing, whilst still having their role to play, can really only be linked to the development of language status. This is because the language is only a small part of these bands’ image in which Gaelic is merely used to expression notions of Scottish national culture and identity. Such tokenism suggests that the band’s intended audience is the non-Gaelic speaker. In contrast, bands like Mill a h-Uile Rud are engaging in the process of “singing to ourselves” (MacLeod, 1976, cited by Sawyers, 1994, p. 9), that is an internal rather than an external dialogue in which language revitalisation has an integral part. However, it must be noted that, given the genre of music performed by these hard-line Gaelic bands, they would struggle to gain popular support amongst the majority of Gaelic speakers in Alba Scotland. Nevertheless, if Gaelic is to survive, it may be that music based on pop and youth genres are part of that journey due to their ability to promote language status amongst youth.

Summary

Gaelic and Māori popular music share a number of commonalities. The genres adopted by musicians using their Indigenous language, although different, are often in genres that are linked to commentary, including rap, reggae and punk rock. Bands also perform Indigenous-language music to different extents (for example as a single, as a bilingual release, or as a monolingual album), and for different reasons (as an identity marker, or as a means of encouraging language usage and revitalisation).

Music has great potential to support language revitalisation, due to its potential to supplement broadcast media as a resource for language in the home. Indigenous language music can contribute to language corpus and status directly. There is also potential for it to promote language acquisition, given that they could potentially form the basis of language teaching resources. Music can also promote language discourse, particularly in songs which focus on a language's critical position, for example, *Lost visionz* by Nesian Mystik. Furthermore, music also has the ability to promote language usage through the production of popular music, as well as through indirectly promoting the idea of language usage. However, the amount of language being used during production needs to be considered: are the musicians only using the language whilst recording, or are they speaking it between songs? To what extent is the production crew engaging in the language, if at all? Similarly, the audience's use of the language is also a consideration.

Popular music has great potential as a site for the promotion of language revitalisation due to its potential for use as a language teaching resource, its ability to provide a language domain for the audience and producers of Indigenous-language popular music, and as a resource to support language acquisition in the home and intergenerational transmission. However, more needs to be done to evaluate the contribution of popular music to language revitalisation, including research into the exact nature of this relationship.

Discussion

Elements of popular culture like print culture, the performing arts and popular music have considerable potential to support Indigenous language revitalisation. In Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland, popular culture is linked to language revitalisation through targeted funding for the Māori and Gaelic arts through mainstream arts funding agencies, CNZ/TWT and CS/AC. These agencies focus on the arts as an expression of national culture and identity, with the Māori- and Gaelic-language elements contributing to this. In addition, Māori-language music recording and CD production is funded through TMP, a broadcasting funding agency that focuses on Māori-language media and aims to promote language revitalisation. Popular culture is also recognised as an element of language policy and planning in both countries through the Māori Language Strategy and the National Plan for Gaelic, with a focus on popular culture's ability to contribute to the promotion of language status and the creation of language corpora. Whilst important areas to focus on, without the other three principles (and particularly acquisition and usage planning), this approach is limited in terms of reversing language shift.

In terms of the activities associated with print culture, this is an area that has been targeted for language revitalisation activities, particularly in terms of the production of educational resources to support language acquisition in the education sector. In both cases, there are a number of publishing companies at work including state-run (SNnaG and LM/TPTK) and independent (Acair Books and Huia Books). In Alba Scotland, this is accompanied by

reasonably numerous examples of publication in newspapers with some in periodicals, although this is currently limited. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the work of publishing houses is supplemented by publishing by iwi and TTWRM. Print culture has huge potential to contribute to the principles of language planning as reading is an activity that is often part of people's private and home lives. However, the contribution production of print culture to language revitalisation in both countries is generally hindered by a narrow focus on status, corpus and acquisition planning. Usage planning is somewhat addressed in that the act of producing published materials in the languages provides a further language domain. More thought needs to be put into identifying the ways that print culture can support language usage and potentially encourage intergenerational transmission. Approaches like KMK that brings high-quality Indigenous-language print culture into learners' homes, perhaps supported by home visits by pouako and community events similar to Kāinga Kōrerorero have potential as strategies in this area. What is more, the production of a regular Indigenous-language newspaper or periodical would be beneficial in both cases. Both of these initiatives have potential for promoting language usage in the home due to their ability to engage with people in this setting.

The performing arts is another area of Indigenous-language popular culture that has been lauded for its ability to support language revitalisation. In both cases, customary practices that have been part of the Indigenous culture for centuries have been adapted to the modern context. Examples from Aotearoa New Zealand are kapa haka, Te Matatini, and Ngā Manu Kōrero, and in Alba Scotland, we see cèilidhean, fèisean and the Royal National Mòd. The main issue that influences these activities in terms of their contribution to language revitalisation is their alternate focus on the influence of these events on national culture and identity. As a result, the focus of the performing arts for language revitalisation tends to be limited to status and corpus planning. However, participation in kapa haka in educational and other settings has also been linked to language acquisition and usage, as is the case for people who are involved in Gaelic arts events like the Mòd. Moreover, the focus of fèisean on Gaelic-language tuition has clear links to language acquisition, and has potential to promote language usage. Furthermore, performing arts corpora also have potential to be used as Māori-language teaching resources in educational settings. In many cases, this is already happening, but these activities are often not explicitly linked to language revitalisation. There is much more scope in the performing arts for the inclusion of all five principles of language planning in the preparation and delivery of these events.

Popular music is another aspect of popular culture that has the potential to support language revitalisation, particularly in terms of status and corpus planning. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori-language popular music is specifically targeted for funding through TMP to help with the costs of music recordings and CD production. Consequently, there is a volume of examples of Māori-language popular music available across a range of genres including reggae, rap, hip-hop, blues, jazz and pop music. The impetus behind this funding model was

WAI 26 and the subsequent establishment of TMP to support Māori-language broadcast media, particularly the Reo Irirangi Māori²²⁷. A similar model has not yet been adopted in Alba Scotland but would be recommended as a source of language status and corpus, particularly in relation to genres popular with youth. In terms of the other three language-planning principles, there is no coordinated approach being used, but there is a lot of scope for contribution from this area. Indigenous-language popular music has the potential to be used as teaching materials to support language acquisition. Language usage can also be promoted by encouraging the use of Indigenous languages in the recording and production of music, and by incorporating immersion learning opportunities or other language experiences into popular music events such as concerts and festivals, also contributing to language acquisition. These activities could be based on the work of fèisean and incorporated other events to promote these two important aspects of language revitalisation. Finally, discourse can be promoted through music that addresses critical issues facing the language.

Due to the contemporary nature of popular culture, it is an excellent site for the promotion of language revitalisation through the language-planning principles, particularly in relation to youth. By engaging in popular culture, communities are able to raise the status of their language and produce new forms of language corpora. These are the two areas that popular culture is generally seen to contribute to language planning in the two countries. However, the potential for popular culture to support the other language-planning principles receives much less attention. This may be because Indigenous-language popular culture in the two settings is often also seen as a way of promoting ideas of national culture and identity, an activity also associated with status (that of the culture as a whole). Indigenous-language popular culture has the ability to contribute to language acquisition through the use of popular culture corpora as teaching resources, also helping with the lack of educational resources available in the language compared to English. There are also links to promoting language usage through inclusion of Indigenous-language popular culture into language learning packages to support language usage in the home and intergenerational transmission. This could also be supported through the provision of language learning and immersion activities at relevant events. Finally, discourse planning can be addressed through the dissemination of information and the recording and release of songs and other elements of popular culture that addresses critical issues that the language is facing. It is important that, for these examples of Indigenous-language popular culture to truly contribute to language revitalisation as many of their founders and organisers have intended, it is imperative that all five language-planning principles are considered in the preparation and delivery of these activities and events.

²²⁷ Māori-language radio stations associated with Te Whakaruruhau o ngā Reo Irirangi o Aotearoa.

5. Conclusion

The languages of indigenous peoples (and indeed the groups themselves) have usually not fared well under the government of the nation that has enveloped them. In the past and even today in some nations, repressive measures have been taken against minority languages. Even without covert repression, minorities may shift to the dominant language. This shift is sometimes made through voluntary, conscious decision. A group that does not speak the language of government and commerce is disenfranchised, marginalized with respect to the economic and political mainstream. Furthermore, languages other than the language chosen for government and education may take on a low status in the eyes of a nation's citizens and be denigrated as inferior (Hinton, 2001c, p. 3).

Thus, Indigenous language revitalisation is a global concept that has become a common goal of Indigenous resistance movements that eventuated in response to the processes of colonisation and European imperialism. Te reo Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and Gàidhlig in Alba Scotland are both Indigenous languages that have experienced such a fate, having faced a range of repressive measures that have led to responses from the community and government aimed at language revitalisation in the post-colonial era. The following summarises the key elements of successful language revitalisation programmes in light of the research evidence explored in the preceding chapters. This is followed by a critical evaluation of language revitalisation and its application in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland.

What is language revitalisation? And how can it be achieved?

Literature suggests that language revitalisation measures need to be tailored to the level of endangerment that the language is experiencing. Fishman's (1991) GIDS is one such framework that considers how to respond to language decline at different levels of endangerment, based on the evident disruption to intergenerational transmission (see chapter 1). Fishman clearly identifies that his key argument is that for a language to survive, reinstating the process of intergenerational transmission is absolutely vital.

... no amount of lectures..., theater performances..., song recitals, books or journals..., prizes and award ceremonies [in and for the Indigenous language]... can substitute for the re-establishment of young families of child-bearing age in which [the Indigenous language] is the normal medium or co-medium of communication and/or of other culturally appropriate home, family, neighborhood and community intergenerational vernacular activity (p. 91).

Fishman's analysis of language revitalisation or 'reversing language shift', is a very good starting point for achieving language revitalisation. If the ultimate aim is language revitalisation, that is, the redevelopment of the language as an organic, sustainable means

of normal, everyday communication, the language must be revived in the home. Anything else is merely a temporary measure. However, although there is a singular aim in terms of language revitalisation, the process of achieving it is conversely multi-faceted and complex.

Theories of language planning are useful as a means of conceptualising how this process can be coordinated using the language-planning principles of acquisition, usage, corpus, status and discourse.²²⁸ These principles provide a means of conceptualising the process of planning for language revitalisation but the overarching aim of intergenerational transmission must also be maintained. Thus, although the process may be thought of in terms of these five principles, the question should always be, will this encourage intergenerational transmission?

Next, the key areas of education, the media and popular culture were considered. Education often forms the backbone of language revitalisation movements due to the need to produce a new cohort of language-speakers to support language revitalisation activities. These new speakers, who are often second-language learners, are needed to work as teachers, policy developers, and creators of Indigenous-language media and popular culture. Educational provision is often available both formally and informally, and across a range of ages including early childhood, primary and secondary school, tertiary education, and adult provision. Moreover, the language can be taught through a range of pedagogies such as immersion, bilingual and subject-based approaches. Education is crucial to language revitalisation as only this can provide the human resources to promote language revitalisation, but it is important that language acquisition is supplemented by other language-planning principles, like language status and discourse, so as to promote the idea of learners bringing up their children with an Indigenous first language, and to ensure that learners are aware of why the language is important and in need of revitalisation. Moreover, for language acquisition to be successful, formal language learning settings must be supplemented by informal language domains, including those relating to popular culture such as participation in performing arts. This provides other domains for language usage, so that language skills can be practised and refined in a relevant, real-life setting. Indeed, educational initiatives must also be accompanied by programmes that promote intergenerational transmission and language usage in the home.

The media as a means of supporting language revitalisation has become increasingly popular and common in the last 30 years, an appropriate development given that the media has the potential to strongly support language revitalisation (Cantoni, 1996; Cormack, 2005; Pietikäinen, 2008). In particular, the media raises the status of a language in that, without it, “the language would be further marginalized” (Stradling, 2001, p. 54, cited in Cormack, 2005, n.p.).

²²⁸ See appendix 20.

Popular culture is an area barely considered in academic literature about language revitalisation. Examples like print culture, performing arts and popular music have the potential to provide much-needed resources to support language revitalisation activities in educational settings. Furthermore, the process of producing popular culture can also provide further domains for language usage. Clearly then, popular culture has huge potential to promote language revitalisation. By providing a range of resources to be developed in a range of genres, levels and styles, popular culture has the potential to promote language revitalisation. Popular culture in an Indigenous language can create a body of language corpus, and promotes language status through the fact that it even exists; it can also be used as a resource to promote language acquisition and can be managed so as to encourage usage in a range of language domains. Finally, popular culture that draws attention to the critical situation that the language is facing can encourage language discourse. Popular culture is an area with a great capacity to support the process of language revitalisation, but to achieve this, the following needs to be undertaken to support this: (1) the development of language revitalisation policy that explicitly focuses on the role of popular culture; (2) undertaking research into the role of popular culture in language revitalisation, including participation and consumption of print culture, music, performing arts, television, radio and the internet; and (3) the development of a range of teaching activities that facilitate the use of Indigenous-language popular culture as resources to support language acquisition. Given that the key aim of language revitalisation is to reinstate a language as an organic, sustainable means of normal, everyday communication, the production of popular culture in itself is an example of this occurring and thus should be actively promoted and cultivated.

Indigenous language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland

A number of key themes can be identified in terms of Indigenous language revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland. In terms of contemporary activities that promote language revitalisation, both countries are engaged in an effort to reverse language shift with input from government and the community.

In terms of language policy and planning, both countries boast language Acts and national language plans, as well as language planning being evident either in the community or at the local-government level. Most significant of these two approaches is that seen in Alba Scotland, whereby BnaG has been legislatively empowered to order public bodies to produce a language plan; this has led to the development of thirteen approved language plans for a range of local authorities and public bodies.²²⁹ This is much stronger than the

²²⁹ These are the Highland Council, Argyll and Bute Council, CnanES, the Scottish Parliament, HIE, the Scottish Government, Learning and Teaching Scotland, Glasgow City Council, Scottish Qualification Authority, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education, the Crofters Commission, and the UHI Millennium Institute (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, n.d.b).

provision provided with regards to Māori, which is only supported by language planning at the ministerial level, but even then, this is often within a general Māori strategy document.²³⁰ This devolved approach has huge potential to promote language revitalisation, in that it forces other public bodies to also engage in the process of language revitalisation.

Another area where the approach to language policy and planning in Alba Scotland outshines that in Aotearoa New Zealand is in terms of coordination of planning. Māori language planning is undertaken by TPK, the Ministry of Māori Development, with some aspects being overseen by a variety of other agencies including TTWRM, MOE and MCH. In contrast, in Alba Scotland, almost complete control of Gàidhlig planning rests with BnaG, the Scottish equivalent of TTWRM. The strength of the Scottish approach is born out in the history of language planning in each country; whereas in Aotearoa New Zealand, language planning has been poorly implemented and coordinated, and guilty of failing to meet milestones. In Alba Scotland, the approach undertaken by BnaG has been responsive and proactive, as evidenced by the fact that BnaG has now produced the draft for a second National Plan, as well as the Action Plan that was released in 2010. Moreover, the legislative framework in Alba Scotland ensures that such developments will continue, with the provision that BnaG produces a national plan for Gàidhlig every five years. In Aotearoa New Zealand, however, Māori language planning lacks legislative impetus.

Language policy and planning in both countries has links to the five principles of language planning but the main focus is on status and acquisition planning. Status is promoted through the increase in demand for language-speakers, and the promotion of the languages through the media and as an aspect of national culture and identity. There are also links to corpus and discourse planning through the creation of a range of media in the languages, and monitoring and undertaking research about the languages. However, the most important aspect of language planning is also the area that currently receives the least attention in language planning; that is, usage planning. It is crucial that language planning includes a strong emphasis on this area and in particular, seek to promote intergenerational transmission, elements without which language revitalisation can never hope to achieve.

The approach to language planning being utilised in Alba Scotland has two key advantages over that for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. In light of this, my key recommendations for language policy and planning to promote language revitalisation are that (1) a coordinated approach should be undertaken with control of language planning sitting with a single body of appropriate status and with sufficient power and resourcing to promote language revitalisation; and (2) a devolved approach to language policy and planning that ensures that public bodies are also contributing to language revitalisation. Furthermore, an

²³⁰ For example, *Ka Hikitia*, the MOE's (2009) Māori education strategy (see chapter 2).

emphasis on the role of the community and the aims of language usage in the home and intergenerational transmission need to be at the forefront of language planning, as without these areas, language revitalisation cannot be fully achieved.

Education is another very important aspect of the language revitalisation movement in both countries, with provision dating back for many decades and being provided for a range of ages. Both countries also have education policies in place, although in Aotearoa New Zealand, this is part of a generic Māori education policy as opposed to a dedicated Gàidhlig education strategy in Alba Scotland.

Furthermore, currently in Aotearoa New Zealand, trouble is brewing due to a claim that has recently been lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal by TKRNT. The basis of the claim is that TKR is not an educational programme; rather, they are a language development programme.

In terms of the relationship between educational provision and the language-planning principles in the two countries, not surprisingly, the focus is clearly on the area of language acquisition. Other language-planning principles are sometimes included, for example, language corpus, but this is generally included due to the lack of appropriate educational resources for language learning. Discourse is also promoted through engagement in educational research, but often this is conducted only in the state and tertiary education sectors. Language status has implicit support through education, in that the availability of Indigenous-language educational programmes enhances the value of a language. Language usage is promoted in that the language is being used in the school domain, but the important area of language usage, and in particular, the important area of intergenerational transmission, also need to be targeted through educational provision. Strategies that target families such as the 'Bumps and Babies' programme previously offered by CNSA/TAIC, and the Kāinga Kōrerorero programme in Aotearoa New Zealand. These approaches bring language learning into the home and focus on the individual needs and developmental stage of the family, and also promote the creation of a language-usage community that individual families can engage with for reciprocal support and comradery.

The media is an area that has recently seen major developments in terms of language revitalisation in recent years. In both countries, Indigenous language media has recently been reconfigured under Māori Television and BBC Alba. Whereas in Aotearoa New Zealand, the media has been employed independently of each other, with some exceptions (such as websites that support television programmes like *Kōrero Mai*), in Alba Scotland, MG Alba is creating an integrated approach whereby all three media are used in concert to promote language revitalisation.

The links between the media and the language-planning principles in these two case emphasise the areas of status, acquisition and corpus planning. Status is highlighted through the emphasis in both cases on Indigenous-language media contributing to a sense of

national and cultural identity. The difficulty here lies in the fact that, although status planning is important to encourage positive attitudes towards a language, at times the disparate demands of these two separate aims, encouraging notions of national culture and identity, and achieving language revitalisation, are at odds with each other. The way that this pressure has been managed in Aotearoa New Zealand in terms of achieving a television media service that meets the needs of 'all New Zealanders' is the launch of second channel, Te Reo TV, focusing on the needs of intermediate-level and fluent speakers, whilst Māori TV targets learners and non-speakers of te reo. This allows MTS to focus on both of these aims, by providing two channels that target quite different groups with creation of programming boosted by strategies such as versioning pre-existing programmes such as cartoons, and re-packaging material for use on both channels, for example, *Te Kaea* screens on Māori TV with English subtitles, and on Te Reo TV without. As well as promoting language status, Indigenous-language media also promote language discourse by disseminating knowledge about and exploring critical issues relating to the language as part of their programming or production.

In terms of language acquisition through the media, a range of television programmes and internet resources are explicitly aimed at providing opportunities for language learning. This is an important area due to the focus on acquisition in the home, rather than the school. Due to the nature of the media, in that it is something engage with in their homes, it may have more potential to promote language usage amongst those who are access these resources and programmes for language-learning purposes. Moreover, these resources in themselves also contribute to corpus planning by creating a record of the language for future reference. For example, programmes like *Waka Huia* in Aotearoa New Zealand that are delivered fully in te reo Māori and that often focus on recording the stories of kaumātua or relating to a specific topic or area of Māori knowledge. Strategies for Gaelic-language acquisition through the media in Alba Scotland that employ a coordinated approach combining television, radio and internet media to support language acquisition have a great deal of potential to promote language revitalisation. However, this also needs to be supported by specific strategies to promote language usage in the home, for example, by using this approach in concert with a home- and community based programme like Kāinga Kōrerorero. The final key aspect of language revitalisation, popular culture, is highly evident in both of the case study countries, but coordination of this in terms of language policy and planning is patchy. Popular culture has the potential to support language revitalisation across all five language-planning principles, as well as in terms of the overall aim of intergenerational transmission. In particular, popular culture may be able to support the two key areas of language acquisition as teaching resources, and language usage as domains for the audience and producers of popular culture. However, in order to facilitate this, popular culture should be included as an aspect of language planning. Interestingly, the latest draft national plan for Gàidhlig includes a section on arts, media and heritage that

primarily focuses on the promotion of language status and discourse, as well as language acquisition, particularly for fluent speakers (BnaG, 2011).

Similar to the issues with the media, popular culture is also often seen as having a role in the promotion of national culture and identity, which links to the principle of language status. Whilst this area is important to achieving language revitalisation in that it can prompt engagement in language acquisition and usage as well as promoting more positive, supportive attitudes amongst non-speakers, this dual focus can lead to conflict in the achievement of these disparate aims. For example, the organisation of an event totally through the medium of the Indigenous language may discourage engagement amongst non-speakers or people at a lower level of fluency, an impact that is at odds with the aim of promoting national culture and identity, but that would be acceptable and understandable in terms of language revitalisation. Thus, the promotion of status should be tempered with the inclusion of other language-planning principles. Moreover, a range of events and activities need to be provided across different levels of fluency as much as is practicably possible.

Popular culture also contributes to acquisition planning by providing domains for language learning to take place. This role is taken further in Alba Scotland through *fèisean*, which focus on musical tuition as a means of teaching Gàidhlig. This link is extended through links to corpus planning, an area that is currently not living up to its full potential. In terms of corpus planning, popular culture, like the media, has the potential to be used as teaching resources to supplement the creation of material through state-run publishing companies LM/TPTK and SNnaG. This strategy should be urgently implemented in both countries with pedagogical development to facilitate this. Moreover, language discourse also has strong potential in relation to popular culture, particularly in the case of where activities or events focus on critical issues that a language is encountering.

Finally, in terms of the principle of usage planning, some links are clear, in particular in relation to the people engaged in the organisation and production of these events. There is also the potential for these activities to also encourage usage amongst participants, particularly in terms of events like *Te Matatini*, *fèisean* and the *Mòd*, by including experiences that encourage immersion in or engagement with the language. This could include language experiences for families and children, an approach that may encourage language usage in the home and even intergenerational transmission, the fundamental building block in the achievement of language revitalisation.

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8. **Type of Project** (e.g. staff research, PhD research, multi-centre trial) **Is this a repeated class teaching activity?**
PhD research

9. **Aim and Description of Project** (Clearly specify aims. If there is a hypothesis it must be testable. Specify inclusion and exclusion criteria. Identify the end-point of the project)

- To collect information about language decline and revitalisation relating to Indigenous languages in Hawai'i, Ireland, New Zealand and Scotland.
- To collect information about language revitalisation tactics and their relative success or failure in revitalising Indigenous languages in Hawai'i, Ireland, New Zealand and Scotland.

10. **Researcher or Instructor Qualifications**

What experience do the researchers or instructors have in this type of research or teaching activity?

Ms. Timms is of Ngāti Raukawa descent. She is in the sixth year of enrolment as a PhD student at the University of Otago. She entered the doctoral programme without enrolling in a Master's degree. Her research experience includes the completion of her postgraduate dissertation in Māori Studies in 1999. Her Postgraduate Diploma in Arts was awarded with distinction. She has also recently had a co-authored article published in the Australian Society of Sports History journal, *Sporting Traditions*. She has been working as a guest lecturer in Treaty issues at the Southern Institute of Technology in Invercargill since 2000, at the University of Otago since 2003 and at the Otago Polytechnic in 2005.

Prof. Ka'ai is the Dean of Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago. She is also the primary supervisor of Ms. Timms' doctorate research. Prof. Ka'ai has many years experience as a teacher, academic and researcher. She has national recognition as a Māori educator with expertise in the history and politics of *te reo Māori* and *Kaupapa Māori* theory. She has international recognition in Indigenous epistemology. She was appointed as Professor of Māori Studies at Otago in 1996.

Prof. Moorfield is the Professor of *te reo Māori* in Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies. He has international recognition especially in the Pacific on second language teaching methodologies and methods of language assessment. He is known for his development of language textbooks and resources for teaching the Māori language, *Te Whanake* series.

11. **Participants**

Participants means any person:

- Whose behaviour, actions, condition, state of health etc the researcher proposes to study; or
- Whose personal information the researcher proposes to collect or use; or
- Other than an instructor, who participates in a teaching activity that requires ethical clearance; and includes subjects, clients, informants, students and patients.
 - a. Population from which participants are drawn (in particular, please specify whether any of the following might participate: minors, prisoners, hospital patients, or anyone whose capacity to give informed consent is compromised in any way)

Participants for this research are:

1. Professional people working in recognised language revitalisation institutes.
2. Experienced academics.

- b. Number of participants
20-40
- c. Age range of participants
20-90 years
- d. Method of recruitment
Participants will be targeted through:
- Recommendations from supervisors.
 - "Snowballing" from the research of literature.
- e. Please specify any payment or reward to be offered
N/A

12. Methods and Procedures: Describe the nature of the task required of participants and the various precautionary measures to be taken to avoid harm or discomfort if appropriate (up to 1 or 2 pages; any questionnaire or survey form to be used must be attached).

Research will be undertaken as face-to-face and/or e-mail interviews. The interviews will be formulated on a case-by-case basis depending on the individual's area of expertise and/or knowledge and experience.

In the case of participants who are professionals working in a recognised language revitalisation institute, the focus will be around the tactics that they employ or have seen employed with the aim of language revitalisation. In many cases this will relate directly to their professional career. As these people will primarily be academics themselves, it is anticipated that issues around avoiding harm and discomfort will be a lesser issue for these participants. However, the researcher will consider any issues thoroughly and will attempt to avoid or minimise their occurrence. Participants will be advised that they may withdraw from the project at any time without any prejudice to them whatsoever.

Where participants may be speaking as a representative of a group or institution, for example, a government department, an information form and consent form will also be sent to the appropriate person within the group or institution, requesting the release of someone to speak on behalf of the institution. This will require that both the individual and the institution or group they represent be provided with a draft transcript to edit and approve. Again, these institutions and groups will be advised that they may withdraw from the project at any time without any prejudice to them whatsoever.

Due to the researcher's inability to travel to some of the case study countries involved, many of these interviews will be undertaken by e-mail. It is envisaged that there will be approximately ten interviews undertaken in the overseas case study countries. Two interviews from each of these countries will be undertaken via audio-conferencing. The remainder of the interviews will take the form of an interview sheet which will be attached to an e-mail to the participant's agreed e-mail address. E-mail addresses will be confirmed by way of prior contact with potential interviewees. There have been some concerns voiced regarding the ability of e-mail interviews to maintain the anonymity of the interview participants. In one respect the preservation of anonymity does not apply in this case, in that all of the interviewees who are professionals working in a recognised language revitalisation institute will be identified in the thesis and will have given permission for this to occur. The researcher will make every attempt to ensure that the process is robust and the participants have the security of knowing who will be accessing their raw interview material, that is, the researchers and no one else. I have contacted Information Technology Services (ITS) who have advised me that ensuring privacy over e-mail is hard to achieve but that a common protective measure is the addition of a disclaimer to the e-mail text. They have advised me that the following text would be appropriate:

Caution: This e-mail message and accompanying data may contain information that is confidential. If you are not the intended recipient you are notified that any use, dissemination or copying of this message or data is

prohibited. If you have received this e-mail in error, please notify us immediately and delete all material pertaining to this e-mail. Thank you.

All e-mails to participants will have this disclaimer included at the top of the e-mail.

13. The Privacy Act 1993 and the Health Information Privacy Code 1994 impose strict requirements concerning the collection, use and disclosure of personal information. These questions allow the committee to assess compliance.

Note: Personal information is information concerning an identifiable individual

- a. Are you collecting personal information **directly** from the individual concerned?
YES / NO
If you are collecting the information **indirectly**, please explain why:
- b. If you are collecting personal information **directly** from the individual concerned, specify the steps you are taking to ensure that the participants are aware of:-
 - the fact that you are collecting the information
 - the purpose for which you are collecting the information and the uses you propose to make of it
 - who will receive the information
 - the consequences, if any, of not supplying the information
 - the individual's rights of access to and correction of personal information
- c. If you do not propose to take one or more of the steps listed in (b) above, please explain why:

These points are covered in the Information Sheets for Participants attached.
- d. Please outline your **storage and security procedures** to guard against unauthorised access, use or disclosure and how long you propose to keep personal information (Information Privacy Principle 9 requires that you keep personal information for no longer than is required for the purposes for which the information may lawfully be used). As a general principle, data relating to projects should be kept in appropriate secure storage within the University Department concerned (rather than at the home of the researcher) unless a case based on special circumstances is submitted and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee.
Interviews with participants who are professionals working in a recognised language revitalisation institute will be recorded onto audio tape and then transcribed. The audio tapes will then be destroyed. The transcribed interviews will then be kept in secure storage at Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies. Final edited and revised email interviews will also be kept in secure storage at Te Tumu. Earlier editions of the email interviews will be destroyed.
- e. Please explain how you will ensure that you collect or use only that personal information which is accurate, up to date, complete, relevant and not misleading:
Interviews will be transcribed and then returned to participants to review and correct.
In the case of e-mail interviews, supplementary interviews will be undertaken in order to obtain the level of detail achieved in face-to-face interviews. Once again, participants will be sent a draft copy of the final interview transcription for review and correction by email.
- f. How will you use the personal information?

Permission will be requested from the participant to publish personal information including their name, ethnicity, gender, qualifications, professional position and any other personal details that are relevant to the thesis.

Participants may choose not to answer any question or line of questioning that they do not feel comfortable with, and they will be able to withdraw from the project at any time should they so wish without any prejudice to them whatsoever.

- g. Who do you propose will have access to personal information, under what conditions, and subject to what safeguards against unauthorised disclosure? In what form do you propose to publish any personal information?

The researcher and her supervisors will have access to personal information in the context of the supervision and drafting of the doctoral thesis.

Do you propose to assign a unique identifier to an individual? If so, is this unique identifier one that any other agency uses for that individual?

No

- i. What arrangements will be made for the eventual disposal of personal information, by what means, and who will have responsibility for ensuring that this is done?

The interview transcriptions from both the email and audio taped interviews will be kept in secure storage in Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies for five years and will then be destroyed through document disposal. Ms. Timms will take responsibility for this.

- j. Do you propose to collect information on ethnicity? Collection of such data should not normally be done unless:

- it is required to adequately describe the sample population **OR**
- if researchers are drawing comparisons or conclusions between ethnic groups **OR**
- the nature of the project is such that there are clear potential implications of direct interest to Māori

If the collection of information on ethnicity will be used for drawing comparisons or conclusions between Māori and other ethnic groups or the project has clear implications of direct interest to Māori, consultation should be undertaken in accordance with the University's Policy for Research Consultation with Māori (Please see <http://www.otago.ac.nz/research/maoriconsultation/index.html>). If this process has already been undertaken please attach a copy of your completed Research Consultation with Māori Form with this application.

Information on ethnicity will be obtained where appropriate, for example, in the case where a person wishes to be defined along the lines of ethnicity. The reason for collecting such information is because the nature of this project is such that there are clear potential implications of direct interest to Māori.

Note: The University requires original data of published material to be archived for five years after publication for possible future scrutiny. The University is responsible for providing data storage space. An appropriate member of the University staff should normally be responsible for the eventual disposal of data - not a student researcher.

14. Potential Problems: Explain whether there will be harm or discomfort to participants, medical or legal problems, or problems of community relations or controversy, or whether any conflicts of interest might arise (up to 1 page). Researchers also have an obligation to be available after participants have participated in the project, should any stress, harm, or related concerns arise. Participants normally should have the opportunity to obtain information relating to the outcome of the project if they wish.

I would imagine that there is the possibility for harm or discomfort for participants. There may be issues that come to the surface that could potentially upset these participants. The researcher will try to avoid or minimise these problems by ensuring that participants are aware of their right to not answer any question or line of questioning that they find disturbing. The researcher will also ensure that participants are fully aware that they may withdraw from the programme at any time without any prejudice. The researcher will give participants the opportunity to view and amend the research transcript to ensure that the participants are represented in an accurate way. The researcher will also be

available to discuss any questions, concerns or complaints that participants may have both before and after the interview has taken place.

15. Informed Consent

Please **attach** the information sheet and the consent form to this application. **The information sheet and consent form must be separate.**

The Information Sheet must contain information about:

- the nature and purpose of the research;
- the procedure and how long this will take;
- descriptions of any risk or discomfort involved;
- who will have access and under what conditions to any personal information;
- the eventual disposal of data collected;
- the name and contact details of the staff member responsible for the project and an invitation to contact that person over any matter associated with the project;
- details of remuneration offered for participation and compensation payable in the event of harm;

and any other relevant matters .

If applicable, the Information Sheet must state the exclusion criteria for the project, and include a clear statement to the effect that: "People who meet one or more of the exclusion criteria set out above may not participate in this project, because in the opinion of the researchers and the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, it involves unacceptable risk to them."

The Information Sheet must conclude with the statement: "The University of Otago Human Ethics Committee has reviewed and approved this project."

The Consent Form must make it clear that a participant:

- understands the nature of the proposal;
- has had all questions satisfactorily answered;
- is aware of what will become of the data (including video or audio tapes and data held electronically) at the conclusion of the project;
- knows that he or she is free to withdraw from the project at any time without disadvantage;
- is aware of risks, remuneration and compensation
- is aware that the data may be published;
- is aware that every effort will be made to preserve the anonymity of the participant unless the participant gives an express waiver, which must be in addition to and separate from this consent form.

Notes:

1. Applicants should use the pro forma Information Sheet and Consent Form provided by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, with appropriate adaptation, unless a case is made and approved that these formats would be inappropriate for the specific project;
2. Research or teaching involving children or young persons should normally require written consent from both the child or young person AND the parent (unless an adequate justification is provided).

16. Debriefing Where participants have not been informed fully of the nature and purpose of the research, or where in the course of the project some degree of deception is involved, the researcher must provide participants with an explanation of the research goals and procedures when the procedure is completed. Researchers also have an obligation to be available after participants have participated in the project, should any stress, harm, or related concerns arise. Participants must have the opportunity to obtain information relating to the outcome of the project if they wish. Where relevant, explain how these matters will be dealt with in the proposed research.

Does the research or teaching project involve any form of deception?

YES / **NO**

If yes, please explain all debriefing procedures.

17. Fast-Track Procedure (*In exceptional and unexpected circumstances, and where the research needs to commence before the next monthly meeting of the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, a researcher may request that the application be considered under the fast-track provisions. It is not sufficient, however, merely to state that the research needs to start before the next scheduled meeting date (for the obvious solution would have been to prepare the application earlier) - there needs to be other special reasons to justify fast-track consideration. See section 16 of the University's "Policy on ethical practices in research and teaching involving human participants" for further details of this procedure.*)

Do you request fast-track consideration?
YES / **NO**

[Please note that this involves the application being sent around members of the Committee by correspondence and can be expected to take between 10 to 14 days]

If yes, please state specific reasons:-

18. Other committees

If any other ethics committee has considered or will consider the proposal which is the subject of this application, please advise details:

In the early phases of seeking ethical approval I had three meetings with Christine Rimene, Facilitator Research Māori in order to get guidance on the ethical approval process for this project and another. I then made an application to the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee on 11 January 2006 which has been approved.

19. Applicant's Signature:
Date:

20. Departmental Approval: *I have read this application and believe it to be scientifically and ethically sound. I approve the research design. I give my consent for the application to be forwarded to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee with my recommendation that it be approved.*

Signature of *Head of Department:
Date:

**[In cases where the Head of Department is also the principal researcher then the appropriate Dean or Pro- Vice-Chancellor must sign]*



**Language Revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland
INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE PROFESSIONALS WORKING IN A RECOGNISED
LANGUAGE REVITALISATION INSTITUTE**

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the aim of the project?

The aim of this project is to acquire data to be used as primary reference material for a doctoral thesis in Māori Studies on Language Revitalisation in Hawai'i, Ireland, New Zealand and Scotland. The transcribed interviews will be published and may be directly quoted in the doctoral thesis.

What type of participants are being sought?

Professional participants are people who work in an area that relates to language revitalisation. This area may be educational or political, and may relate to professions in mass media and technology, publishing or the arts.

What will participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be contacted by the researcher to be interviewed. Your experiences in your chosen field and the relationship of this field to language revitalisation will be recorded. In some cases, interviews will be in the form of e-mail interviews.

All transcriptions of interviews will be returned to participants for review and correction (if required) prior to publication.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

Qualitative information will be collected about your chosen profession and its relationship to language revitalisation.

This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable, you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.

What if participants have any questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Ms. Kate Timms-Dean	Prof. Tānia M. Ka'ai
Otago Polytechnic	Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies
Email katet@tekotago.ac.nz	University Telephone Number +64-3-479-7384

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee



Language Revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland INFORMATION SHEET FOR INSTITUTIONS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to your institution of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the aim of the project?

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in Māori Studies. The transcribed interviews from professional participants will be used as primary resources for a doctoral thesis on the topic named above. These transcriptions will be published as appendices to the thesis and may be directly quoted.

What type of participants are being sought?

Professional participants are people who work in an area that relates to language revitalisation. This area may be educational or political, and may relate to professions in mass media and technology, publishing or the arts.

What will participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, your representative will be asked to meet with the interviewer to discuss your experiences in the field of your institution and the relationship of this field to language revitalisation. In some cases, interviews will be in the form of e-mail interviews.

All transcriptions of interviews will be returned to participants for review and correction (if required) prior to publication.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to your institution of any kind.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to your institution of any kind.

What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

Qualitative information will be collected about the professional service of your institution and its relationship to language revitalisation.

This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable, you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to your institution of any kind.

The data will be used as primary reference material for a doctoral thesis in Māori Studies on Language Revitalisation in Hawai'i, Ireland, New Zealand and Scotland. The transcribed interviews will be published and may be directly quoted in the doctoral thesis.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Ms. Kate Timms	Prof. Tānia M. Ka'ai
Otago Polytechnic	Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies
Email katet@tekotago.ac.nz	University Telephone Number +64-3-479-7384

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee



Language Revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE PROFESSIONALS WORKING IN RECOGNISED LANGUAGE REVITALISATION INSTITUTES

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. my participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. the audio tapes will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained;
4. this project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind;
5. in the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable, I have the right to decline to answer any particular question(s);
6. the interview transcript will be returned to me prior to publication so that I can review or if necessary correct any information therein;
7. the interview transcripts may be directly quoted and I will be identified as the source of that quotation;
8. the interview transcript of the project will be published as an appendix to the doctorate thesis and will be available in the library.

I agree to take part in this project.

.....

(Full name of participant)

.....

.....

(Signature of participant)

(Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee



Language Revitalisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alba Scotland

CONSENT FORM FOR INSTITUTIONS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction. We understand that we are free to request further information at any stage.

We know that:-

1. our participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. we are free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. the audio tapes will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed;
4. this project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that our representative feels hesitant or uncomfortable they may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind;
5. in the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that our representative feels hesitant or uncomfortable, they have the right to decline to answer any particular question(s);
6. the interview transcript will be returned prior to publication so that we can review or if necessary correct any information therein;
7. the interview transcripts may be directly quoted and our representative and our institution will be identified as the source of that quotation;
9. the interview transcript of the project will be published as an appendix to the doctorate thesis and will be available in the library.

We agree to take part in this project.

.....
(Name of institution)

.....
(Name of releasing officer)

.....
.....
(Signature of releasing officer)

(Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee

Appendix 2: Māori research ethics application

Title of proposed Area of Research	Language revitalisation in Hawai'i, Eire/Ireland, Aotearoa me Te Wai Pounamu/New Zealand and Alba/Scotland
Principal investigator(s) and Department(s)	Principal Investigator 1
	Title Professor
	First Name Tania
	Initial(s) M
	Surname Ka'ai
	Department Te Tumu, School of Maori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies
	Campus Dunedin
	Email tania.kaai@stonebow.otago.ac.nz
	Telephone (03) 479-7384
	Principal Investigator 2
	Title Professor
	First Name John
	Initial(s) C
	Surname Moorfield
	Department Te Tumu, School of Maori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies
	Campus Dunedin
	Principal Investigator 3
	Title Ms
	First Name Catriona
	Initial(s) E
	Surname Timms
Department Te Tumu, School of Maori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies	
Campus Dunedin	
Concise description in lay terms of the proposed research (250 words max)	<p>Research will be undertaken as face-to-face and telephone interviews. Interviews will be undertaken with individuals who are professionals working in recognised language revitalisation institutes.</p> <p>The focus of the interviews will be their experiences of language decline and revival as a lay-person who is a member of a language community that is under threat. The aim of these interviews is to see how experiences at the "grass roots" level compare to the consensus from the research of literature.</p>
Concise description in lay terms of the potential outcomes of the area of research (100 words max)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A doctorate thesis in Maori Studies to be presented at the end of the 2006 academic year. • A concise description of the tactics of language revitalisation being employed in the four case study countries. • An analysis of which strategies have been successful and which have not. • A discussion of the differences between mainstream and Indigenous-centred approaches to Indigenous language revival.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A comparison of the impact of planned and unplanned language revival initiatives. • A discussion of some future areas which may prove fruitful in the revitalisation of Indigenous languages.
<p>Potential areas that are of interest to or of concern for Māori (if known) (100 word max)</p>	<p>The topic of Indigenous language revival is of the utmost interest to Maori due to experiences of Maori language decline during the colonial and post-colonial period. Since the advent of globalisation Indigenous peoples including Maori have sought to make stronger links across international boundaries in the attempt to support one another globally with their own localised issues. One of these issues is language revival. This research thesis seeks to build upon and strengthen these links by producing a doctorate thesis that outlines the “glocal” (global and local) experience of language decline and revitalisation in the four case study countries.</p>
<p>Collaborations in this area of research</p>	
<p>Potential funding bodies (eg HRC, FRST, Marsden) for this area of research</p>	<p>This research is being funded by Humanities Divisional Office and by Ms. Kate Timms who is the doctoral candidate.</p>
<p>Other relevant information</p>	

Appendix 3: Māori-language speakers, 1974-2006

Year	Under 15 years (%)	Over 45 years (%)	All speakers (%)
1974	15%	38%	
1976			12%
1996			25%
2001			25%
2006			23.7%

(Benton, 1979; Pohatu et al, 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

Appendix 4: Gaelic speakers, 1881-2001

Year	Number of Gaelic speakers	Percentage of Gaelic speakers per total population
1881	231,594	6.76
1891	254,415	6.3
1901	202,700	5.57
1921	148,950	3.47
1951	93,269	1.98
1971	88,415	1.78
1981	79,397	1.6
1991	65,978	1.4
2001	58,652	1.2

(General Register Office for Scotland, 2005; MacKinnon, 1991a, 1991b, 2000; McLeod, 2006b).

Appendix 5: Language planning principles

Principle	Focus	Strategies
Language acquisition	Language education for all ages from preschool children to adults	Establishment of educational institutions; Development of teaching pedagogies and resources; Teacher training; Policy development; Development of pathways for funding and support.
Language usage	People using the language in a range of domains including the home and community, as well as the public sphere	Development and organisation of language activities that cater for a range of ages; Development of broadcast media; Production of resources to support language usage; Language planning for communities, businesses and organisations.
Language corpus	Recording, collecting and archiving of language materials.	Secure archiving of existing language corpus (print culture, film archives, etc.); Recording and archiving of the language (e.g., audio-recording elders); Research into language corpus (grammar, lexicon, dialects); Lexical development.
Language status	Promoting positive attitudes, values and beliefs about the language amongst the speaking and non-speaking communities.	Marketing and promotion; Development of institutions across the broadcasting, education, legal and other sectors; Official recognition and the development of language policies and plans.
Language discourse	Engagement in critical analysis of a language's position and the factors influencing its survival.	Development of resources (e.g., print culture, broadcast media, etc.) that highlights these issues; Marketing and promotion.

(Hornberger, 1997; Hinton, 2001c; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Lewis, 2007).

Appendix 6: Fishman's (1991) GIDS and language planning

Stage	Circumstances	Planning Areas
8	Most vestigial speakers of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults	Status planning Corpus planning Acquisition planning Usage planning
7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age	Status planning Acquisition planning
6	The attainment of intergenerational informal oracy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement	Status planning Acquisition planning
5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy	Acquisition planning Usage planning Status planning
4	Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws	Acquisition planning Usage planning Corpus planning
3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen	Corpus planning Acquisition planning Usage planning
2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either	Corpus planning Acquisition planning Usage planning
1	Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)	Corpus planning Acquisition planning Usage planning

(Fishman, 1991).

Appendix 7: WAI 11: Comparison of claimants' demands, the Waitangi Tribunal's recommendations and the Māori Language Act's provisions

Claimants' Demands	Waitangi Tribunal's Recommendations	Act's Provisions
Make Māori an official language		Māori declared an official language
Māori to be used in law and administration	Māori to be used in all courts and communication with government departments	Māori permitted in the courts regardless of fluency in English
Certain government appointments should require bilingualism	Certain Acts should be amended to make bilingualism compulsory in "necessary and appropriate" positions	
Establishment of institutions to cultivate the language	Establish a supervisory body to oversee and promote the use of the language	TTWRM established to promote Māori as a living language
Use of education in language revitalisation	An enquiry into the education of Māori children	
Use of broadcasting in language revitalisation	Broadcasting policy should reflect government's duty to recognise and protect the language	
		Provisions for accreditation of translators and interpreters

(Parliamentary Counsel Office, n.d.; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

Appendix 8: Recommendations on the implementation of the Māori Language Strategy

1	TPK should ensure its briefings to the Minister of Māori Affairs contain more detailed assessments of progress in implementing the Māori Language Strategy.
2	Each lead agency should come to an explicit agreement with TPK about the best way for each agency to fulfil the Māori Language Strategy's planning requirements and ensure that requirements are fulfilled as agreed.
3	The MCH should engage more actively with key stakeholders in the Māori language arts area to encouragement alignment between the stakeholders' Māori language-related activities and the 25-year goals of the Māori Language Strategy
4	TPK and other lead agencies should work together to identify how each lead agency can influence the stakeholders in its section to take part in the Māori Language Strategy planning and implementation.
5	TPK and other lead agencies should work together to create five-year Māori Language Strategy outcomes to provide a focus for lead agency and stakeholder activities throughout each area of responsibility.
6	Lead agencies should identify shared outcomes where appropriate.
7	TPK and the other lead agencies work together to create five-year targets to measure progress towards the five-year outcomes, and include these targets in future planning.
8	Lead agencies, in consultation with TPK, should assess the work needed by each agency to effectively implement the Māori Language Strategy, and the resources needed to carry out that work.
9	Lead agencies should consider how they will make available the resources needed to implement the Māori Language Strategy, and advise their Minister if current resources are not sufficient.
10	As part of the planned review of the Māori Language Strategy in 2008/09, the ten areas of government responsibility for language revitalisation outlined by the Māori Language Strategy should be prioritised for action.
11	The 2008/09 review of the Māori Language Strategy should clarify the nature and extent of TPK's evaluation role concerning the government's Māori language activities.

(Office of the Attorney General, 2007).

Appendix 9: Recommendations and responses to Gàidhlig language planning

Recommendations	Measures taken to implement recommendations
“make primary and secondary education in Scottish Gaelic generally available in the areas where the language is used”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local authorities can bid for central funding to support the delivery of GME - Education authorities will soon be required to set out the level of demand in their area which would trigger GME
“with regard to Scottish Gaelic..., establish a system of monitoring the measures taken and progress achieved in regional and minority language education, including the production and publication of reports on findings”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bòrd na Gàidhlig is required to provide an annual report to the Ministers on the implementation of the Charter in relation to Gaelic as part of its annual report
“provide information and guidance to those responsible for implementing the undertakings chosen for Gaelic, in particular in the fields of education and administration”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bòrd na Gàidhlig will provide a national Gaelic language plan which will act as a assist public bodies in meeting their obligations to Gaelic - Bòrd na Gàidhlig will advise and assist public bodies on matters relating to Gaelic language, culture and education
“facilitate the establishment of a television channel or equivalent television service in Scottish Gaelic”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Gaelic Media Service is able to provide funding for the making of programmes, and for training and research, and is able to hold its own broadcasting license - The Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport will work with interested parties to develop a sustainable Gaelic television strategy
“overcome the shortcomings in Scottish Gaelic radio broadcasting”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - BBC has improved access to RnanG by greatly increasing FM coverage and by adding satellite and Freeview provision - RnanG is also available on digital radio DAB and is available globally over the internet

(Council of Europe, 2004b; 2005).

Appendix 10: Comparison of provision for Gàidhlig in the Western Isles and Glasgow

Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Glasgow City Council
All reception staff are bilingual	No provision
Those who write to the authority in Gaelic will receive a reply in Gaelic	No provision
Gaelic only notices in Gaelic language publications	No provision
Bilingual Gaelic language-related press releases	No provision
Pages relating to Gaelic language, culture and education are bilingual on the authority's website	Information about Gaelic medium education is provided in Gaelic on the authority's website
Bilingual information leaflets	No provision
Bilingual stationery	No provision
Bilingual signage	Some bilingual signage
Some committees are conducted in Gaelic	Option to conduct relevant meeting in Gaelic is available but no policy in place relating to this
Bilingual agendas and briefing papers for meetings	No provision
Bilingual format for major reports and policy documents	No provision
Bilingual minutes produced for certain committees	No provision
A high degree of written and oral communication in Gaelic internally and externally	Does not apply
Gaelic essential posts advertised in Gaelic only	Gaelic essential and desirable posts are advertised bilingually
Comhairle is a principal producer of new Gaelic terminology	Does not apply

(Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, 2007; Glasgow City Council, 2009).

Appendix 11: Fishman's (1991) GIDS and education

Stage	Description of the Level of Intergenerational Disruption	Restorative Methods relating to Education
7	The threatened language is mainly spoken by the older generation and not the younger. The elderly speakers are socially integrated and living in neighbourhoods alongside minority community members, many of whom are monoglot speakers of the majority language.	Teaching of the language to the younger generation is required so that they will be able to reinitiate intergenerational transmission in due course.
5	Literacy in the endangered language is established.	Literacy teaching for both adults and children should ideally take place in institutions controlled by the endangered language community.
4	The endangered language now has a place in formal education, either in private schools run by the endangered language community or in state-funded public schools.	The provision of a range of educational settings in which the language is taught through immersion, through bilingual methods and as a school subject.
1	The minority language is present in the mass media, higher levels of education, state administration and enjoys some level of official recognition from the state.	The language is taught throughout all levels of education through a range of teaching methods.

(Fishman, 1991).

Appendix 12: Ten help/hinder factors for the development of adult second-language proficiency

Individual Factors	
1	Aptitude
2	Age, timing and the critical period
3	Attitudes and motivation
4	Learner strategies
Social & Cultural Factors	
5	Instruction
6	Agency and anxiety
7	Wairua (Spirituality)
Wider Societal Factors	
8	Demography
9	Language Status
10	Language Planning

(Ratima & May, 2008).

Appendix 13: Ten principles of effective language instruction

Principle	Suggestion
1. Development of formulaic expressions and rule-based competence	Initial focus on rote learning of formulaic expressions; delay analysis until later.
2. Focus predominantly on (pragmatic) meaning	Teachers must make an effort to use language for communication.
3. Also focus on form	Teaching specific grammatical features; encouraging 'noticing' of grammatical features; tasks requiring learners to process grammatical features; allowing time for 'online' planning; and through corrective feedback.
4. Develop implicit and explicit knowledge	Instruction should be directed at both forms of knowledge but Ellis offers no suggestion as to how this would be achieved.
5. Take into account learners' 'built-in syllabus'	Adopt a 'zero grammar' or task-based approach with no attempt to predetermine the linguistic content; teach target features when learners are developmentally ready; focus on explicit knowledge rather than implicit as latter is subject to developmental constraints.
6. Provide extensive second language input	Maximise use of the second language as a means of instruction. Create opportunities for learners to learn outside the classroom, e.g., reading material, self-assessment centres, etc.
7. Provide opportunities for input	Ask learners to perform tasks that require both written and oral language.
8. Interaction in the second language is central for proficiency	Give learners opportunities and reasons: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. To use the language; b. To express their own personal meanings; c. To participate in activities just beyond their current levels of proficiency; and d. To deliver 'full performance' in the language.
9. Take account of individual differences in learners	Offer different types of both analytic and experimental (task-based) learning activities. Develop instructional clarity, an appropriate pace of delivery, and accept that it is a teacher's responsibility to motivate students.
10. Assess free as well as controlled production	Teachers should include the assessment of performance tasks.

(Ellis, 2005, cited by Ratima & May, 2011, pp. 8-9).

Appendix 14: Number of TKR and children attending, 1983-2010

Date	Number of Centres	Number of Children
1983	107	
1996	767	1,400
1998	648	1,200
2000	704	1300+
2001	606	9,532
2006	486	9,493
2008	467	9,165
2010	463	9,370

(Government Review Team, 1988; King, J., 2001; TPK, 2008b; Education Counts, 2011).

Appendix 15: Competency rates of Māori-language speakers by age, 2006

Age Grouping	No. of people with Māori language competencies	Total population size	Māori language rate	Proportion of Māori with Māori language competencies
0-14	35,148	199,920	18%	27%
15-34	40,965	178,869	27%	31%
35-54	33,324	131,967	25%	25%
55+	22,182	54,567	41%	17%

(TPK, 2008a, p. 19).

Appendix 16: Te Aho Matua

	Principle	Application
1	Te Ira Tangata The Human Essence	- Affirms the child's nature as a human being with spiritual, physical and emotional needs
2	Te Reo The Language	- Relates to language policy and how schools can best advance the language learning of the children
3	Ngā Iwi The People	- Focuses on social agencies which influence the development of children - Includes all of the people with whom they interact as they make sense of the world and their rightful place in it
4	Te Ao The World	- Deals with the world which surrounds children and about with there are fundamental truths which affect their lives
5	Ngā Āhuatanga Ako Circumstances of Learning	- Provides for every aspect of learning which whanau feel is important for their children, as well as the requirements of the national curriculum
6	Ngā Tino Uaratanga Essential Values	- Focuses on what the outcome might be for children who graduate from KKM - Defines the characteristics which KKM aim to develop in their children

(Tākao et al, 2010).

Appendix 17: Number of KKM and number of children attending, 1992-2010

Date	Number of Centres	Number of Children
1992	13	
1999	59	
2001		5000
2003	74	
2007		6272
2009		6015
2010	73	6038

(MOE, 2011).

Appendix 18: Expectations of students and tutors in Te Ataarangi

Rules to be observed by the tutors	Rules to be observed by the students
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Speak Māori at all times. 2. Be of kindly disposition. Do not scold or embarrass your students. 3. Place or manipulate the rods appropriately as you offer new words, so that meaning is totally clear. 4. Afterward, remain silent for a little while so that your students have time to sort out what you have conveyed. 5. Invite students to make utterances. 6. When the new statement or word is thoroughly understood, leave the students to practice on their own. 7. When the students indicate that they have commanded the new words, they are then ready for more. 8. Repeat from 3 to 7 until all the words from the lesson have been taught. 9. Allow students to correct their own errors. Making errors is a normal part of learning. Given time students will correct themselves. Constant correction on the part of the teacher tends to reduce the confidence of the student. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do not speak English. 2. Do not interrupt proceedings or disrupt another's learning. 3. Do not prompt others. 4. Do not speak out of turn. Respond only when a question or statement is directed at you. 5. Be of kindly disposition one with the other and have respect for each other's efforts to learn.

(Pewhairangi, 1981, cited by Ka'ai, 2008, p. 66).

Appendix 19: Students studying Gàidhlig by year, 2001-2006

Year	S4	S5/6: Higher	S6: Advanced Higher/CSYS
2001-2002	343	109	17
2002-2003	379	133	30
2003-2004	353	124	38
2004-2005	361	125	9
2005-2006	399	150	18

(MacCaluim, 2007, p. 33).

Appendix 20: A framework for language revitalisation

Language Policy and Planning				
<i>Acquisition</i>	<i>Usage</i>	<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Discourse</i>
Education policy and planning.	Dedicated language domains.	Recording, collecting and archiving of language.	Promotion through legislation and policy.	Promotion through education and popular culture.
Educational provision.	Popular culture as resources to promote usage.	Popular culture as language corpus.	Popular culture as a means of promoting language status.	Research into the language's position.
Popular culture as resources to promote acquisition.	Popular culture production and viewing as a domain for language usage.	Lexical development.	Research into attitudes towards the language.	
Research into appropriate and effective educational pedagogies.	Research into promotion of usage.	Research into language including grammar, lexicon and dialect.		
<i>Education – The Media – Popular Culture</i>				
Primary Aim: Intergenerational Transmission				

ⁱ Happy 7th birthday, Genevieve.