Whāia te māramatanga: Māori language revitalisation and tertiary education in Te Ika ā Maui and Te Wai Pounamu

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Abstract: This paper explores the relationship between Indigenous language revitalisation and tertiary education in Te Ika ā Maui (the North Island of New Zealand) and Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island of New Zealand). It discusses the relative developments, motivations and strengths of two tertiary educational institutions, Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago in Dunedin, and Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa in Ōtaki.

Keywords: Kaupapa Māori education, Māori language, Māori Studies, tertiary education.

Introduction

Language revitalisation has developed as a *glocal* phenomenon in Indigenous communities around the world. According to Roland Robertson (1995, p. 28) the term glocal is formed by telescoping *global* and *local* to make a blend, and refers to the transposing of local realities over global experiences. Thus, language revitalisation can be described as a global experience that is expressed through a collection of tactics that are being employed in Indigenous localities in response the threat of language obsolescence. Within this paradigm, rather than fighting against globalisation which seemingly threatens to overwhelm local aspirations, Indigenous peoples have and are developing their own global networks which still recognise and value the crucial role of localism inherent in Indigenous rights movements around the world. Language revival is a key aspect of such movements.

In Te Ika ā Maui (the North Island of New Zealand) and Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island of New Zealand), the revival of the Māori language may be described as a war being waged on many fronts, in public, in private and in response to the perceived primacy of the English language. One area which has been widely recognised as a key contributor to language revival, and indeed language decline, is education, as for example, in the *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori claim* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, pp. 48-53). There have been two approaches in addressing language revival in education in Aotearoa and Te Wai Pounamu, namely mainstream initiatives and kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy) initiatives. Mainstream initiatives attempt to set up structures to revive the language from within colonial educational institutions such as schools and universities. The alternative approach has established kaupapa Māori initiatives outside the mainstream arena. These schemes have been developed at the community or "flax roots" level, often without initial support from the government.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the motivations, similarities, differences, and relative strengths of these two approaches to language revival as they are represented by two different institutions. The mainstream institution is Te Tumu, the School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago where I undertook undergraduate studies. The second is Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, a tribal tertiary institution that is situated within my tribal area. After providing background for each, I will then compare and contrast their development, structure and

curricula in relation to language education, and conclude by exploring their relative motivations, similarities, differences and strengths with respect to the role each play in the revival of te reo Māori in Aotearoa and Te Wai Pounamu.

Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa

The first contemporary wānanga were established in the early 1980s with the term wānanga coming from "whare wānanga" the name for Māori houses of higher learning that existed before western contact (see Best, 1923). The essential role of whare wānanga in those times was to ensure the continuation of the culture's accumulated knowledge and traditions which were considered a taonga (treasure) of the Māori people (Aupōuri Māori Trust Board, 1992; Benseman, 1992, p. 4). Contemporary wānanga can be described as higher educational institutions developed by iwi (tribal) and pan-tribal groups throughout Te Ika ā Maui and Te Wai Pounamu as an expression of Māori agency. The term *agency* refers to the power of people to negotiate and/or resist, either passively or actively, as opposed to accepting or conforming to the dominant forces of the state (McCarthy, 1995, p. 1). The aims of wānanga include the retention of traditional Māori knowledge, skills and standards of excellence (Aupōuri Māori Trust Board, 1992). Wānanga share a number of common features. They were established in response to traditionally poor Māori achievement rates in mainstream higher education, and aimed to provide an ideological base which is either distinctly Māori or more specifically iwi-focused. They generally sit within a wider iwi or pan-tribal plan and are an integral mechanism in the attainment of rangatiratanga (self-determination) (McCarthy, 1995, pp. 1-2).

Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is an iwi-based higher educational initiative developed by a confederation of iwi (tribes) and hapū (sub-tribes) of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Āti Awa known as the ART Confederation (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2005). The area encompassed by these iwi covers the area between the Rangitīkei River and the top of the South Island (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2002, p. 12). Located in the former Māori Boys' College at Ōtaki, the institution has teaching and residential facilities for up to eighty people (McCarthy, 1995, pp. 78-9). The idea of an ART Confederation wānanga was first mooted in 1975, as part of a wider confederation plan called Whakatupuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000 (McCarthy, 1995, p. 79; Winiata, 1979). The focus of this tribal plan was to prepare the three iwi of the confederation for the 21st century (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2004, p. 4). In April 1981 the Raukawa Marae Trustees resolved to establish Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa in order to assist the confederation in achieving its educational aspirations under Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. The founding kaupapa of the wānanga aimed 'for the advancement of knowledge and for the dissemination and maintenance of knowledge through teaching and research' (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2005). The emergence of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa was a natural consequence and it was considered an institution that would give their people the opportunity to achieve bilingual and bicultural excellence (McCarthy, 1995, p. 80). In contrast to other higher educational institutions, which provided a generic view of the "Māori world view", the Wānanga was focused on the specific knowledge of one's iwi.

From the late 1970s, repeated proposals for State support of the Wānanga were addressed to the Crown, but the response was 'lukewarm'. However, the Raukawa Marae Trustees continued to prioritise the establishment of the Wānanga and in 1984, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa became an incorporated body. Nonetheless, it was not until 1993 that the Wānanga was recognised by the Crown under the Education Amendment Act 1990 (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2005). This amendment to the Education Act 1989 was made as a result of the Wānanga Capital Establishment Claim. This claim was made to the Waitangi Tribunal in May 1988 by Rongo Herehere Wetere on behalf of Te Tauihu o ngā Wānanga Association, the group representing the

three existing wānanga, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999).

Today, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa operates with this whakataukī or "forever" statement as its focus:

> *E kore au e ngaro; he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.*
> I will not be lost; the seed planted by Rangiātea.

The Wānanga describes this statement as 'an expression of confidence in the long-term survivability of Māori as a people' and sees its role in relation to this whakataukī as a challenge to 'maximise [their] contribution to [its] fulfilment' (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2003, p. 7). In order to achieve this contribution Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa has identified ten kaupapa or guiding principles from the Māori world view that they see assisting them in 'developing and maintaining [themselves] as a tikanga Māori [Māori culture] institution' (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2005). All ten kaupapa can be argued to have ramifications and applications that can be related to Māori language revitalisation. The ten kaupapa and their applications to Māori language revival are:

1. *Manaakitanga* – Hospitality
   Implicit within the concept of manaakitanga is the idea that visitors will be welcomed appropriately. This includes the use of appropriate oral literatures within the structure of the pōwhiri (welcome) ceremony including whaikōrero (oratory), karakia (chants and incantations) and waiata (songs). The protection and maintenance of these traditional oral practices is an important aspect of Māori language revival.
2. *Rangatiratanga* – Autonomy
   The idea of rangatiratanga inherently concerns the right of Māori to be self-determining. This includes the right to determine in which language they will interact with the world without prejudice.
3. *Whanaungatanga* – Recognition of relationships
   In the Māori world view relationships between peoples and people are expressed through the concepts of whānau (family), hapū (tribe), iwi (nation) and waka (ancestral canoe). It is through te reo Māori that a true understanding of these concepts can be attained.
4. *Kotahitanga* – Unity
   The concept of kotahitanga underlines the need for Māori to be unified in the face of the colonial and neo-colonial forces of the state and society. This includes a need to be unified in their pursuit of Māori language revival.
5. *Wairuatanga* – Recognition of the spiritual dimension
   All aspects of life in te ao Māori (the Māori world) are considered to be implicitly spiritual. This spiritual experience is only fully understood through the vehicle of te reo Māori.
6. *Ūkaipōtanga* – Recognition of origins
   Origins in the Māori world relate not only to one's family relations, genealogy and ancestral land, but also to the dialects of the Māori language that correlate to these.
7. *Pūkengatanga* – Teaching, preserving and creating Māori knowledge
   The vehicle for Māori knowledge is te reo Māori. Thus, Māori language revival is vital to the achievement of this principle.
8. *Kaitiakitanga* – Cultural and financial guardianship, accountability
   The principle of guardianship encompasses a responsibility to act as a protector of the Māori language for future generations as our ancestors did before us.

9. *Whakapapa* – Genealogy
   Unlike the western concept of genealogy, whakapapa crosses ancestral boundaries between people and other inhabitants in the natural world. All things are borne from the atua (original ancestors) including the land, all natural resources and elements, and even the language itself. In one story of the origins of te reo Māori it is stated that Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) were borne from the first words uttered by Io-matua-kore (the Parentless One) (Hedley, 1999).
10. *Te Reo* – Māori language revitalisation
    The final kaupapa, Te Reo underlines the institutions commitment to the revival of the Māori language. The position of the Māori language and its revival as the final guiding principle emphasises the importance of this kaupapa within the framework of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa.

The expression of these ten kaupapa is realised in the programmes taught at the Wānanga. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa offers a number of qualifications from the certificate to Master's levels. Each of these qualifications focuses on three main learning areas, Iwi and Hapū Studies, Te Reo Māori and Rorohiko (computer) studies. The Iwi and Hapū Studies component enables students to focus their studies relating to their own iwi and/or hapū by exploring their marae, history, waiata, artists or taonga in order to enhance themselves and their people. The compulsory component of Te Reo Māori is a 'high priority' for the Wānanga because the language is considered 'the doorway [to the] house of Māori knowledge'. The aim here is to develop bilingualism across the campus. To support this students are required to attend at least five three-day immersion "noho" (stays) as well as weekly language classes either on campus or by distance learning. Finally the Rorohiko Studies component reflects the necessity for learners to be computer literate and focuses on computer, printing and software skills (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2005).

Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous studies

According to Sidney Moko Mead, Māori Studies is 'a programme of courses which can be divided into two categories… language... [and] culture or the cultural aspect… including such topics as pre-history, traditions, tribal histories, art, oratory and customary concepts' (Mead, 1983, p. 333). The term Māori Studies was coined by its advocates at the University of Auckland as a means of averting collegial opposition (Webster, 1998, p. 157). The subject was designed to teach the Māori language but over time the discipline expanded to admit other elements of Māori culture including kawa (marae protocol), whaikōrero and waiata. In due course, other elements were introduced to embellish those already being offered, such as myths and legends, and the Māori arts of raranga (weaving) and whakairo (carving) (Walker, 1999, p. 194).

Today Māori Studies departments and schools offer papers focusing on many diverse aspects of Māori culture including the Treaty of Waitangi, policy development and analysis, Māori pedagogy, and research methods and ethics. Like black, ethnic or minority studies in the United States, Māori Studies has become a discipline that requires students to take 'a critical and theoretical approach to their studies' (Ka`ai, 2000, p. 11). For example, in Māori Studies at Otago, senior students are required to undertake a 300-level paper MAOR 314 He Pūkōrero, which focuses on the great works of writers such as Plato, Marx, Machiavelli, Foucault and Spivak. These philosophical and often political texts are then critiqued in relation to the Māori world view, which is seen as the benchmark against which the value of these works is measured (see Te Tumu, 2006).

The study of the Māori language and culture in the universities of Te Ika ā Maui and Te Wai Pounamu has grown into a discipline of critical enquiry into the political and social structures confronting Māori and other Indigenous peoples around the world. Like other expressions of Kaupapa Māori theory, Māori Studies constitutes an expression of Māori agency in the face of the dominant forces in society that are based on Pākehā values and beliefs. As Ranginui Walker describes it, Māori Studies has developed into a discipline that 'is at the cutting edge of culture and policy studies' (Walker, 1999. p. 195).

The first department of Māori Studies was established at the University of Auckland in 1952 after many years of demand dating back to 1908 (Ka`ai, 2000, p. 11; Webster, 1998, p. 157). This was followed by similar developments being set up at the other universities in New Zealand. Initially Māori Studies was nested within other academic departments including Anthropology (Auckland), Linguistics (Otago) and German (Canterbury and Waikato). The predominant attitude to Māori Studies as a stand-alone subject was described as being 'not seen to be separable from anthropology nor worthy of a place in its own right' (Mead, 1983, p. 335). In time though, Māori Studies did become a separate entity and across the nation today there is a department or school of Māori Studies in every university.

The University of Otago was the last national university to appoint a Māori Studies lecturer when Godfrey Pohatu was hired in 1986 (Te Māori News, 1994, p. 13). However, there had been demand for such an appointment dating back to the 1960s (Webster, 1998, p. 157). During the 1970s, the University did start to make efforts to provide such an appointment but it was not until the mid 1980s that an appropriate and willing candidate came forward in Pohatu (Williams, 2007). In 1990 the initial major in Māori Studies was offered when the discipline first became its own department (Te Tumu, 2006). By 1994 the department had grown from its meagre beginnings to the extent that, at that time, it was described as 'the fastest growing Māori Studies Department in the country' (Te Māori News, 1994, p. 13). Since then the department has grown further, with the University's first Professor of Māori Studies being appointed as Head of Department in 1996. When Otago's Division of Humanities restructured in 1999, the department evolved into a School of Māori Studies (Te Tumu, 2004b, p. 4). It was at this time that the name "Te Tumu" was adopted (Te Tumu, 2006). The name was chosen because it is a word recognised throughout the Pacific, and for its use in the phrase 'te tumu herenga waka' meaning 'a mooring post for tying up canoes' (Te Tumu, 2004, p. 2). Te Tumu describes itself as 'a foundation for the dissemination of Indigenous knowledge to students who come from all over the world to access this knowledge' (Te Tumu, 2006).

Te Tumu currently offers three undergraduate majors: Māori Studies, Māori Traditional Arts and Pacific Islands Studies, with the first two majors including compulsory elements of Māori language and culture. The Māori language element is an immersion course offered from 100 to 400-levels and is based on Professor John Moorfield's *Te Whanake* series. Moorfield was appointed in 1997 and received his Doctor of Literature degree in 1998 partly in recognition of his work in compiling the *Te Whanake* teaching resources. According to the Te Whanake website 'the teaching methodology reflected in the textbooks and resources is based on the way learners in a natural bilingual situation learn their second language' (Te Whanake, 2005).

In 2006, Te Tumu launched a new major, the Bachelor of Māori Traditional Arts (BMTradArts). The new major was dependent on the completion of the Te Tumu building which takes the form of 'an upturned waka' (Ellison, 2004).The BMTradArts 'will cater for students who wish to specialise in the study of traditional Māori arts and will be based on bringing together te reo Māori, Māori cultural practices and traditional Māori arts, such as carving, weaving and performing arts' (Haynes, 2005). Again, the *Te Whanake* series will be the basis for Māori

language learning in the programme, with the aim that as students become fluent in Māori culture and traditional arts, their language fluency will also build. This will play a part in the continued maintenance of the Māori traditional arts as a body of knowledge through its most suitable vehicle, te reo Māori.

As well as offering Master of Arts programmes in Māori Studies and Pacific Islands Studies, Te Tumu also offers a taught master's degree, the Masters of Indigenous Studies (MIndS) which was first offered in 2003. The MIndS is 'a postgraduate course that focuses on issues and research pertaining to Indigenous peoples, particularly the reinvigoration of Indigenous cultures and the investigation into the continued oppression of Indigenous peoples' (Te Tumu, 2005). The MIndS takes an inter-disciplinary approach and consists of one core paper, two electives and the completion of a research report. Although the MIndS does not include a Māori language element, there is consideration of the role of language in Indigenous realities. There is also an elective paper offered entitled MAOX 415 Te whakahauora i ngā reo taketake (Indigenous language revitalisation) that explores the social and political experience of language revival in Te Ika ā Maui and Te Wai Pounamu, Alba (Scotland), Eire (Ireland) and Hawai'i. The MIndS was offered as an on-line programme for the first time in 2006, enabling people from around the world to access the programme.

The respective roles of Māori studies and wānanga

According to Ka'ai, the role of Māori Studies is much as that of other expressions of Kaupapa Māori theory in action such as kōhanga reo (Māori medium preschools) and wānanga, in that they have emerged as 'acts of resistance to dominant Pākehā ideologies of schools and education' (Ka`ai, 2000, p.1). In contrast, Mason Durie states that there is a clear difference between the role of Māori Studies in universities and that of a wānanga in that 'it is not the business of Māori studies to teach students how to be Māori' (Durie, 1995. Cited in Walker, 1999, p. 195). Clearly these definitions are in opposition but I would have to respond to Durie's claim by stating that although he does not consider the development of Māori identity as a Māori Studies department or school's role, in many cases that is the role that these institutions *do* play in their students' lives. In my own experience I started university with little or no knowledge of my Māori ancestry, and due to my upbringing and appearance, I did not feel entitled to identify myself as Māori. My years of study in Te Tumu dating back to 1993 have lead me to feel empowered by and justified in my self-identification as a Māori woman.

With regard to language revival, a comparison of these two institutions indicates that both are motivated by a keen desire to protect and uphold the mana (prestige) of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) through the vehicle of the Māori language. Furthermore, despite the differences that the institutions demonstrate, there are many similarities due primarily to this intrinsic motivation. However, it is argued here that the institutions are characterised by different strengths particularly, in relation to the students who take up the study and training options offered. The nature of these different strengths means that both institutions are valuable in the promotion and support of Māori language revival.

Both institutions appear to be genuinely motivated by a passion and desire to protect and promote Māori knowledge through te reo Māori. This is illustrated by the strong focus on learning the Māori language in each of the institutions. In the case of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, te reo Māori is a compulsory part of every course on offer. At Te Tumu, te reo Māori papers are required for students undertaking an undergraduate major or minor in Māori Studies, or a major in Māori Traditional Arts. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa's commitment to Māori language revival is underlined in their discussion document, *Guiding principles/kaupapa of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa* which

states that 'Halting the decline and the revival of te reo Māori [is] a central focus of activity within… Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa… te reo Māori has been identified as a kaupapa of the Wānanga, and its revival central to not only the academic pursuits of the Wānanga, but all of its activities' (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2005). Te Tumu also indicates a strong commitment to Māori language revival in their information sheet where they state that '[Māori] language forms the core of Māori Studies.' They also utilise the following whakataukī

> *Ko te reo te tāhuhu o tēnei whare*
> The language is the ridgepole of this house (University of Otago, 2006).

In comparing the institutions attempts to assist in language revival, their approaches are quite different; particularly in relation to environment and curriculum. However, there are some similarities in that both operate under the Tertiary Education Commission, as well as sharing a commitment to education through Māori pedagogy as envisaged within the paradigm of Kaupapa Māori education. Another similarity is in the staffing of both institutions, where both are working towards up-skilling staff through training them into higher degrees.

With regard to the environment within which these two tertiary institutions exist, both operate under the mandate of the Tertiary Education Commission, Te Amorangi Mātauranga Matua, which is responsible for funding all post-compulsory education and training, and oversees the implementation of the Tertiary Education Strategy (Tertiary Education Commission, 2005). Despite this similarity however, the two institutions operate in very different institutional environments. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is an iwi-based initiative derived from its initial establishment from under the auspices of the ART Confederation. Te Tumu, however, resides within a larger institution, the University of Otago, which operates within the structure of western academic tradition. These environmental issues affect the two institutions quite differently in relation to their desires for Māori language revival. In the case of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, the ART Confederation also has aspirations for the continued use and growth of te reo Māori as a voice for the Māori people, particularly through the vehicle of reo ā-iwi (regional dialects). In the case of Te Tumu, however, the University of Otago does not have the same commitment to Māori language revival. Although there is a Māori Language Policy in place that acts as a mouthpiece for language revival, it is argued here that its actual power only resides in the hands of those that use the policy with language revival in mind (University of Otago, 2003).

The curriculum offered at the respective institutions is also an area where there is marked difference in their approaches to language revival. Again, for the most part this is due to the differences in their institutional structure, in that Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is a stand-alone institution whereas Te Tumu is part of the larger tertiary institution. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa offers a range of programmes from the certificate (Poupou) to Master's (Tāhuhu Mātauranga) level which range across disciplinary divides and cover areas including management and administration, Māori knowledge, information technology, hauora (health) studies, design and art, laws and philosophy, whānau and hapū development, teaching, and Māori language studies which are introduced at postgraduate level (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2005).

The courses offered by Te Tumu are framed in terms of their position within the structure of the University of Otago, that is, as a School within the Division of Humanities. Although Māori Studies at Otago (and in general) is interdisciplinary in nature, there tends to be a focus on 'the processes and systems of the human world' that are implicit within study in the Humanities (Division of Humanities, 2006). Thus, the programmes offered by Te Tumu fall within this framework and tend to focus on mātauranga Māori as it relates to the human experience. Te Tumu operates in two parts; Te Wāhanga Ahurea (Culture) and Te Wāhanga Reo (Language).

Within Te Wāhanga Reo are the papers related to te reo Māori which are based on the Te Whanake series of books, *Te Kākano*, *Te Pihinga*, *Te Māhuri* and *Te Kōhure*. In Te Wāhanga Ahurea there are a number of paper streams that relate to different disciplinary areas with which Māori Studies intersects. These include history, education, performing arts, Ngāi Tahu studies and the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tumu, 2006). Majors and minors are offered in Māori Studies which is a combination of papers from both streams as well as other papers from across the wider University. A major in Māori traditional arts was offered for the first time in 2006 and is comprised of papers from the two wāhanga as well as compulsory papers in performing arts and either raranga and whatu (weaving and plaiting) or whakairo (carving) (University of Otago, 2006). In both undergraduate majors there is a compulsory Māori language component. This is also carried through into the Honour's programme where students are required to take MAOR 431 Te Kōhure, an advanced paper in te reo Māori.

Māori Studies at Otago does not offer the same range of courses across disciplines that are offered at Te Wānanga, for example in the areas of commerce and sciences. However, programmes and papers in areas other than the humanities are offered in other Divisions, Schools and Departments of the University, sometimes with input and support from the staff at Te Tumu. For example, a number of departments offer papers with a Māori flavour, for example in the Department of History, the School of Physical Education and the Faculty of Medicine. This is due to the nature of the University which is made up of four academic Divisions (Commerce, Health Sciences, Humanities and Sciences) within which there are a number of Schools and Departments. However, in the case of Te Wānanga, the institution is a lot smaller and the sole focus of the studies is related to te ao Māori (the Māori world) including the Māori language. In the University setting, te ao Māori is but one world view that must co-exist alongside other ideologies.

Despite these differences in institutional approach to language revival, there are two main areas where Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa and Te Tumu are similar; firstly in relation to pedagogy and secondly in their desire and motivation to advance staff into higher degrees.

In relation to pedagogy, both institutions embrace the pedagogical principles implicit within the paradigm of Kaupapa Māori theory. According to Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Kaupapa Māori theory is 'both a theory and transformative praxis organically derived from within Māori communities.' He also defines the three key features of Kaupapa Māori theory as (1) conscientisation which comes out of active critiques of dominant ideologies, (2) resistance which allows the 'conscious "collective will" to make change out of existing circumstances', and (3) praxis which incorporates action and reflection to develop a collective vision rather than a vision developed in isolation (Smith, 1997, p. 483). It is on the basis of Kaupapa Māori theory that the pedagogical approach of both Te Tumu and Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is based.

With respect to staffing, the two institutions also share similarities, particularly regarding a desire to up-skill staff in terms of attaining higher degrees. In terms of Te Tumu, there have been significant moves towards training staff since the appointment of Professor Ka'ai in 1996. At the time that she was appointed only she and Dr. Michael Reilly were qualified to the doctoral level in the Department. Since then a number of new and existing staff have been awarded doctorates including Brendan Hokowhitu, Rawinia Higgins, Jim Williams and Poia Rewi. There are also a number of doctoral candidates enrolled in the Department (either wholly or jointly with other Departments) who are at different levels of completion. The ability of Te Tumu to "grow their own", as it is referred to at Otago, has been noted and moves toward emulation are in process throughout the Division of Humanities. This desire to improve the qualifications of staff is further reiterated through the School's approach to student course advising which actively promotes the

notion of cross-disciplinary study by encouraging students to engage in double degrees and double majors. This allows students to combine their studies in mātauranga Māori with another subject area such as Law, Management or Zoology.

In relation to Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, there is commensurate commitment to the advancement of staff into higher degrees. In their *Profile 2005-2007* the wānanga lists staff development as part of its strategic academic steps. At present Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa does not offer studies to the doctorate level. However, the profile not only indicates a desire for staff to proceed to this level, but also the aim that the wānanga will have 'direct involvement' in their doctoral studies in other tertiary institutions (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2004, p. 5). Furthermore, the wānanga also aims to provide its own doctorate level degree sometime in the future. This move has been planned for some years now with the wānanga claiming that the New Zealand Qualifications' Authority has been holding a proposal for the delivery of such a programme for 'over two years'. This is understood by Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa in terms of 'the right and authority to offer a PhD in Āotearoa New Zealand [seeming] to be tapu territory reserved for tikanga Pākehā institutions'. The Wānanga indicates that it does not believe it likely that the doctorate will be offered until 2007 (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2004, p. 10). This move would significantly aid the wānanga in its aim to up-skill staff. For one thing, the provision of an on-site doctorate programme would mean the academic progression of more senior staff members in terms of supervision. It would also mean that the wānanga would be able to encourage and foster doctoral research in areas that would directly benefit the teaching curriculum available to students. Theory (in terms of research) and practice (in terms of learning and teaching) are the areas that tertiary institutions concentrate on and therefore, both areas, it is argued, would need to be occurring simultaneously for the institution to be operating successfully. Thus, the development and delivery of a doctorate level programme at wānanga in general and specifically at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is an advance that appears necessary.

Clearly then, both Te Tumu and Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa share similarities as well as differences in their approach to enabling Māori language revival in tertiary education. The two institutions exist in quite different environments and provide quite different curricula. However, they are also similar in their adherence to Kaupapa Māori theory and also in their desire to develop staff and progress into the realms of higher research as an institution. In line with these different approaches to expressing the principles implicit in Kaupapa Māori theory, each institution demonstrates a myriad of quite different strengths in terms of their contribution to language revitalisation in Āotearoa New Zealand. In the case of Te Tumu, their key strength appears to be in the School's position in that it is located to engage fully with the coloniser via the university. As a result, it has the ability to lobby the university for inclusion of te ao Māori at all levels and in many ways acting as its conscience on Māori matters. In its position within a larger western institution, the school has the ability to be available to people who would not usually engage in studies at a wānanga. Māori Studies in universities are appealing to a number of different groups. These would include Māori who have lost or do not know their tribal links, Māori who are engaging in another degree at the university who want to maintain a link with te ao Māori, Pākehā, and tauiwi (foreigners). Finally by being located with a mainstream western institution, Māori Studies departments and schools can provide a constant challenge to the idea that mātauranga Māori has a lesser status than western knowledge.

The main strengths of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa and wānanga in general relate to their relationships with communities, their value to the maintenance of tribal language and culture, and their accessibility for those who would not usually seek out higher study at a university. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa acts as a forum for iwi-based pride and cultural resurgence. The Wānanga provides outreach programmes on marae which take education out into the community. They also

place a great deal of emphasis on tikanga-ā-iwi (tribal culture) including reo-ā-iwi. Furthermore, as an Indigenous institution that operates outside of the university system, the wānanga provides an opportunity for those who would either not feel comfortable attending a university, or who fear that attending a university may mean giving up too much in relation to their culture.

In conclusion, Te Tumu and Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa offer quite different approaches to language revitalisation, while still sharing a number of similarities particularly in relation to pedagogy and staff development. The greatest similarity they share is their commitment to the survival of te reo Māori. Their strengths in achieving this is that they both offer a tertiary education environment that provides a platform for language revival to occur, and their relative environments allow potential students to engage in this revival while choosing the best atmosphere to meet their needs and aspirations.

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