The ZePA Model of Māori Language Revitalization: Key Considerations for Empowering Indigenous Language Educators, Students, and Communities

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Three years of research has led to a model of Māori language revitalization in New Zealand, the ZePA model, which acronymises three critical positions, Zero – Passive – Active, and presents factors that enable or disable language maintenance and acquisition. The ZePA model is an approach towards language revitalization that extends beyond the people to whom the language belongs and raises the issue of a language being valued by the greater nation. Where language provides a foundation of identity, acknowledgement of the language catalyses Indigenous existence and, therefore, affords the delivery and receptivity of Indigenous knowledge within mainstream and Indigenous forums.

In the classroom, children in bilingual or total immersion Māori language settings continue to achieve at least at the same rates as their Māori cohorts in mainstream schools (Murray, 2007) or higher (Ministry of Education, 2010). Compared to the early highs experienced during the renaissance period of Māori language in the early eighties, Māori student numbers in bilingual and total immersion education are trending downwards (Ministry of Education, 2010). Whilst 85% of Māori students still remain in the mainstream education system, recent research on associated topics will be discussed to outline key considerations for empowering Indigenous language educators, students, and communities.

> *Ko te reo Māori te whakairinga o ngā whakapapa a te Māori ki ana tātai, ki tana taiao.*
> Genealogical and environmental connectivity, for Māori, is afforded through the Māori language itself.

This opening comment shares the importance of the language to its people, in that it permeates engagement between the Māori people, and the people and their environment. Zuckermann (2014), in outlining 'Historical and Moral Arguments for Language Reclamation,' maintains that:

> ontologically, the loss of language is more severe than the loss of land. When the land is lost, it is still there, albeit mined or abused by others. When a language is lost, even though the ownership (rather than usership) still exists, the language is gone, together with cultural autonomy, spiritual and intellectual sovereignty, ideas, values, and experiences. (p. 186)

"Because language is so often taken for granted," writes O'Regan (2011, p. 32), "and, on the whole, lacks a physical presence, it makes it so much harder for people to 'see' and therefore 'comprehend' its declining health or subsequent death." Mead (2012) raises the issue of the language being part of a larger being, explaining:

> Mātauranga Māori refers to Māori knowledge in its widest and broadest terms. Te reo Māori was formerly the only language that the people used to express ideas, to talk about knowledge, to argue with others, to pass on knowledge or simply to reflect in silence. (p. 11)

He also contends that "in traditional Māori society, the pool of knowledge was closely related to the daily lives of people" (p. 12). While in today's society, Mead states there is no longer that close dynamic relationship between the knowledge system and the daily lives of the people, Mead is quick to comment about the flexibility of Māori to adapt to our needs in modern society. Here mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) has continued to develop "both in the way it is understood and in the range of ways it is applied to today's world" (Mead, 2012, p. 12).

In this chapter we discuss revitalization efforts regarding the Māori language in New Zealand and what past actions in the education sector have been effectively aimed at stemming the regression of the language beyond its 'fragile state' as recent reports assert. We introduce a model that offers an approach to Māori language revitalization. Like many others whose minority languages are under threat, we pose the question as to our existence as unique people in a world continually being consumed by introduced majority languages. We also describe a case study of educational providers to show how they advance both the Māori language and Māori knowledge in a society that has succumbed to Western knowledge and practices and the English language.

A language under pressure

In the same way as Māori knowledge is being adeptly applied to modern society, the Māori language needs to adapt, develop, and continue to flourish, taking the relevant language from the past into our future but ensuring that our children have the vocabulary they need to describe the world they are growing up in as well as the world still to come. Take as a small example, preferred Māori language speaking environments. Preliminary data from Olsen-Reeder and Higgins (2012) regarding the most common language environments used to speak the Māori language during any given week by participants in their Whaihua[1] research were their learning environments (kōhanga, Te Ātaarangi, kura, wānanga[2]) followed by their places of work (p. 147). The least popular speaking environments that recorded responses were their homes, then their marae (Māori complex). This particular finding, the research notes, was in stark contrast to the Māori language strategy from 2003, which promoted the marae, along with homes and other targeted domains as the most likely environments where spoken Māori would increase by 2028 (Olsen-Reeder & Higgins, 2012,

p.146). While only half this stated time period has elapsed there is no change. What needs to change to get a different outcome?

Compared to the early highs experienced during the renaissance period of Māori language becoming vogue in the early eighties, Māori student numbers in bilingual and Māori medium education were trending downwards by 2009 (Ministry of Education, 2010). However, children in bilingual or total immersion Māori language settings continued to achieve at least at the same rates as their Māori cohorts in mainstream schools (Murray, 2007) or higher (Ministry of Education, 2010). Furthermore, projected statistics showed the numbers to be on the increase again (Ministry of Education 2010, p. 6). After 14 years of personal observation, the statistics haven't appeared to have changed much. Approximately 85% of Māori students still remain in the mainstream education system, as their parents have exercised their democratic choice for a host of reasons – quality of teaching, curriculum provision, proximity to school of choice, transport, etc. A number of research reports point out the benefits of being educated in bilingual and immersion education (May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004 & 2006; Murray, 2007; Wang & Harkess, 2007; Tākao, Grennell, McKegg & Wehipeihana, 2010) – we have come full circle since 1816 when the first missionary school was set up where the medium of instruction was through the Māori language, prior to its removal from the school curriculum not long after. Since 1992 when there were only 13 Kura Kaupapa Māori[3] (KKM – Māori language schools based on Māori philosophies), these have increased to a total of 88; 70 KKM with three Kura Teina[4] (KKMs not yet government funded) in the establishment process and 15 designated character or s156 schools (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 12). Set up under the 1989 Education Act, s156 schools[5] are charter-type schools established at parent request when no other school of the same type is available for their children.

Statistics from the Ministry of Education's 2010 Annual Report on Māori Education indicate that the size of the Māori language education sector is continuing to increase even though the number of Māori student statistics participating in this part of the education sector show that they are still trending downwards, as reported above. Our population statistics are further evidence that the numbers of kura will increase again.

We now introduce the ZePA model as a way of assessing progression or regression with a) an Indigenous or minority language, and b) Māori language and knowledge, Mātauranga Māori, in New Zealand schools.

The origin and application of ZePA.

I speak Māori fluently, my wife speaks Māori fluently. Why, then, do we not converse in Māori all the time? My cousin's mother, a native speaker, always speaks Māori to me, but not to my cousin, a fluent speaker. At work, my default language with a staff member (with basic language proficiency) I had just met was Māori, yet my default language to another colleague who was a Māori language lecturer was English. My wife and I raised our children with Māori as their first language, now that they are 16 and 21 they speak more Māori to their

grandparents than they do with us. I had a grandmother who I never heard speak Māori until she was on her death bed. I have a sister who was raised by our other grandmother who never spoke English to her, but for the past 50 years, my sister has only spoken English, with a limited aural competence (Rewi, 2014).

From these few observances, Rewi and his research colleague became more curious in the varying scenarios and the motivators and demotivators behind each. The domains above move across generations within the family unit and the workplace. Let us introduce you to the ZePA model that has resulted from research that has been conducting over the past three years on the Māori language that:

> looks at the attitudinal and psychological position of the individual in regard to the Māori language. ZePA comprises three major states – Zero, Passive and Active. Zero (Ze) is the state whereby there is zero use and zero receptivity towards the Māori language. Those in the Zero state are dismissive and resistant to any acknowledgement of, or advocacy for, the Māori language. They are intolerant of the Māori language and have positioned themselves at a place of indifference, for whatever reason (not necessarily a lack of wanting). Passive (P) describes a position of receptivity to the Māori language. This refers to an inert cohort who may have no proficiency in the Māori language whatsoever; however, in terms of receptivity they are accommodating of the language and do not restrict the use of it in society, in the home, or in the workplace. Those in the Passive state will, for example, service Māori language needs upon request and support Māori language endeavours activated by others. The Active (A) component refers to operationalisation of the language. Individuals in this cohort actively strive to advance the Māori language in all arenas. (Higgins, Rewi & Olsen-Reeder, 2014, pp. 23-28)

If you use the standard components of language planning, namely corpus, acquisition, use, status and awareness, the ultimate aim is to right-shift on the ZePA model (See Figure1) in any, if not all of the areas. Cohort Zero, therefore, we might translate as the disablers of language revitalization who oppose and resist any work in the areas of language planning. Any individual or entity in the Passive zone allows any revitalization to take its course, neither promoting, advocating, nor initiating these activities. The Actives are those who encourage revitalization – this may not be through all areas, but within the area they have the ability to effect. We now provide a summary of three major ZePA states: ZePA Right-shift, ZePA Static and ZePA Left-shift.

Figure 1: ZePA right-shift

Zero →Passive →Active

Under ZePA Right-shift, we expect to see rightward movement. Therefore, a person who has been opposed to Māori language use in the past is offered a

promotion to a position which is responsible for the Māori language policy, for example, might become less opposed and move to the Passive position. That is ZePA right-shift from Zero to Passive. After six months in that position, that person then decides to learn the language, or implements the inclusion of the Māori language in the professional development of all staff members. Again, ZePA right-shift from Passive to Active.

In addition to shifting from one zone to another, there is always shifting within that Zone, for example, continuing from the scenario above, if after 5 years of learning the language herself, she then decides to pursue avenues of high proficiency and increased use of the Māori language – she has now right-shifted across the Active zone.

Figure 2: ZePA static

Zero ^Passive ^Active

The next operational state is ZePA Static (See Figure 2). As the term 'static' suggests, there is no movement whatsoever, that is, any individual or entity currently positioned here does not shift. The ultimate outcome of this is a future without change. If the present situation is that there is currently no one in the Zero position, and more people are located in the Passive and the Active positions, then this might be deemed a favorable state. Conversely, if there is a higher population in the "Zero, lets not support language acquisition, language status, language awareness, language use zone," then to be ZePA Static is detrimental to any language revitalization.

Figure 3: ZePA left-shift

Zero ←Passive ←Active

The third state is ZePA Left-shift. You will have already deduced from the ZePA Right-shift that ZePA Left-shift is anti-progressive for language revitalization. The greatest negative impact on revitalization is when a body moves from the Active to the Passive Zone, the next critical impact area being the shift from the Passive to the Zero position.

In considering any of the ZePA states it is also necessary to be aware of the current default position of the individual. Secondly, where Right-shifting is important across all points is the ideal, there may be instances where the critical shift is more needed, for example from the Zero→ Passive, because, this is often the attitudinal shift of the individual; it is the most challenging to achieve and, therefore, is the most potent catalyst to progress. This zone is especially important when key personnel who are in authoritative positions are located in zone Zero. If, for example, this person has ultimate sign off on policy, the strategic direction, or the financial oversight, if they are not right-shifted out of the Zero zone, then it is unlikely that any great progress will be achieved with regard to

initiatives that affect passive and active zoners.

Through our research, we have come to identify two major areas regarding the Māori language and its revitalization: growth and maintenance. With the current statistics placing approximately 97% of New Zealand's population as non-speakers of the Māori language, we know they are either Zero or Passive. They are Zero – opposed to the Māori language, or Passive – they have minimal knowledge of the language and hence do not use it. In order to promote 'growth' of the Māori language in New Zealand, the Zero and Passive cohorts would be key target areas. The remaining 3% who are active users of the language, we would assert, are the 'language maintenance' cohort.

To effect good language planning, therefore, we suggest that strategies and actions be specifically designed to target each area in isolation, as opposed to a generic plan that maybe attempts to cover both at the expense of one. Combining the above then, we would identify initiatives that combine language 'maintenance' and ZePA right-shifting and initiatives that focus on 'growth' and ZePA right-shifting. In 2013, Te Māngai Pāho[6] (TMP, The Māori Broadcasting Commission) adopted the ZePA paradigm as a basis whereby they could refocus their service. This requires any submissions by applicants for funding for the production of any television programs whereby they must show where their program will have impact as per the ZePA model, that is, "they would show how they propose to right-shift their specific audience" (Higgins, 2014). Will it target Zero users, Passive users or Active users of the Māori language? How might this be achieved? What might the results be? By identifying which cohort or zone each Māori language broadcast is focusing on, Te Māngai Pāho are able to allocate funds according to where Māori language needs are required the most, or at least allocate funding to programs that will ensure that movement across all zones is achieved.

> The theoretical ideology developed by Te Kura Roa (ZePA: Right Shifting to Rebuild Māori Language Communities) underpins the new Strategic Direction of Te Māngai Pāho, our quality assessment tools and our outcomes and purchasing framework. (Te Māngai Pāho, 2013)
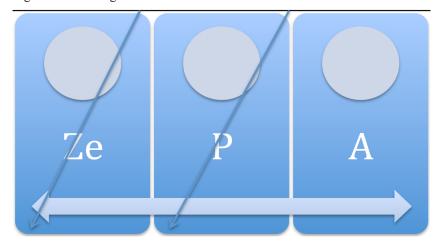
It is clear that the discourse related to Māori language revitalization falls under these particular values and is located in a range of disciplines including sociolinguistics, psychology, and education. Therefore, right-shifting measures would need to be clear as to which value was being measured in order to ascertain what questions need to be asked in such a survey. It is the development of the research question that is important here and how this will help us to understand the impact of this strategic direction and how this will be helpful in understanding the impact of the strategy on what TMP does.

In order to Indigenize education to empower students and communities, the first step is to identify who, or what the Zero empowerment zone is comprised of. How do we shift their mindset so that they stop, or decrease, expending their energy on disempowering our Indigenous communities? Sometimes these are our

own Indigenous people who, for whatever reason, consciously or subconsciously act opposingly to empowerment initiatives. As mentioned previously, the major aim is to move this cohort from that mindset of being 'oppositional'. If all we merely do is shift them to a Passive state – that is a major success. At least in the Passive state, they will allow or afford Passive and Active empowerment activities and the people who drive those the ability to 'empower.' In our line of work, this might begin with raising positive 'awareness and visibility' of the matter of empowerment and how this not only benefits the Indigenous community, but benefits the wider communities with whom we engage as Indigenous people. As they say, 'if it is good for Indigenous people, it will be good for everyone.'[7] That will be the biggest challenge. The Passive cohort are already supportive, what we now seek is a strategy or plan that moves them to action, as the old adage asserts, 'action leads to results.' Having identified the Active cohort, the aim is to move them from low Active to high Active.

A little earlier, we mentioned the default position, that is, the absolute baseline an entity reverts to under normal conditions on the ZePA diagram. Using Figure 4 as an example, we briefly discuss the importance of the default position. If the default position of an entity is in the passive position with regards to the resourcing of Indigenous education, there may be instances whereby that person is left-shifted, for example, because of human and financial costs incurred in producing such resources, to a Zero position. If that person remains in the Zero position thereafter, there is a sum left shift: the default line has left-shifted. If this is only experienced for a short time, and the person has a change of heart and moves back to a passive state, then theoretically will be no negative impact and no regression. Other issues regarding resourcing might be raised, for example, the availability of expertise. Additionally, there may be left-shifts in some areas with some right-shifts in other areas; again, the most important factor is the sum effect of these, that is, is it a right or left shift? This leads us into the next section on education, where we identify the ZePA in operation.

Figure 4: ZePA Right-shift – Default left-shift

Māori language and schools

As the co-author I identify, as Māori, my second name and the one I use, Tangiwai, is Māori. I was raised strongly in my Māori culture and whilst my parents are fluent speakers of the Māori language and spoke regularly to my siblings and I in the Māori language, we always answered in the dominant language, English, used in our home as I was growing up; a lasting legacy perhaps of our colonial past, along with my siblings and my English first names; names none of us use on a regular basis. My first name, for instance, is Raewyn. I only use this when I need my passport or for air travel as it is listed first on my formal documents, and admittedly when I think I might benefit from being non-Māori or having an English name. On occasion Raewyn Clark (my maiden name) gets a very different reception to Tangiwai Rewi.

Our early education consisted of attending a mainstream, rural, primary school, equivalent to grade K-7. Mispronunciation of our Māori names was prevalent from this age; a major left-shift in terms of acknowledging the cultural and identity factors imbedded in the Māori names we were gifted. In 1981 I went on to a small, single sex, urban, Māori girls' boarding school in New Zealand's biggest city, Auckland, from grades 8 through 12. This was also the first time everybody at school pronounced my name Tangiwai properly, including the teachers. In 1985, I left for Hamilton Teachers Training College and graduated with a Diploma of Teaching and a Bachelor of Education in 1989.

The reason I am raising my own state, compulsory sector, educational experiences with you now, is because I am wondering whether the existence of the ZePA model discussed in the first part of this chapter, in the early 70s and 80s might have made a difference to the teachers who taught me, especially with regards to their attitudes towards the Māori language and culture or the exposure of Māori language and Māori cultural content afforded me in the curriculum. In hindsight I think not. As lovely as they were, I put the first teachers I had back then in the Passive category. My family was the only Māori family in the farming district; my mother and father delivering the only Māori language and cultural content that was included in our curriculum. I would say most of our small, white, middle class community was either Zero or Passive when it came to things Māori. They probably tended more towards the Zero side, but nobody made an issue of it – 'it was just the way things were' and we had a very harmonious and happy upbringing there with positive schooling experiences.

Educational change

Prior to 1989, regional education boards were responsible for the appointment of new teachers to vacant positions, therefore, beginning teachers had little say in where they were going. Similarly, schools had little choice in who they were assigned. Nineteen ninety was a huge year of change with the introduction of Tomorrows Schools[8] which involved decentralizing the operational control of schools from the Government to Boards of Trustees. Armed with our diplomas and degrees, myself and my fellow graduates set out to conquer the awaiting,

teaching horizons with the Boards of Trustees doing their best to lure or persuade us to apply for their jobs in this uncharted, new process.

Let me provide a brief overview of what is meant by the terms 'bilingual' and immersion education in the New Zealand education system. A bilingual school teaches its subjects in two languages so that when its students graduate, they should be fluent speakers and writers in both of those languages. Immersion education is one form of bilingual education where students are taught mainly in a second language so they become bilingual. Māori medium education is a form of immersion education where most students are second language learners of Māori. Internationally recognized, immersion education is renown as a highly successful form of education for achieving bilingualism and producing academically successful students (May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2006, p. 2). Here in New Zealand, Māori language is least spoken by the wider society so is used as the main language in schools practicing immersion education, like Kura Kaupapa Māori (KKM)[9] and those mainstream schools with immersion units.

As a fledgling teacher, my goal was simple: stay local, preferably in a total immersion Māori language setting. Māori language education was on the rise and the momentum was building; it was either 'get on board or miss out.' I opted for a mainstream school with bilingual units in the end as they could offer me the fulltime position I needed to hold for at least two years to become registered. The preferred offer I turned down was at a re-designated bilingual school[10] where I was only initially guaranteed a position for two terms while the teacher was on parental leave. We had three units in operation at my kura (school); one a total immersion for grades K-2 for those who came directly from Te Kōhanga Reo[11], one a late immersion junior class grades K-2 and my class for the students from both the junior classes (grades K-2) for grades 3-5.

Returning to the ZePA model, of the five components of language planning, I would say all the parents of the children in the units mentioned above were either right shifting from Zero to Passive or Passive to Active regarding use, status and acquisition. I would also conclude from my recollections that their attitudes towards Māori language ranged from positive to very positive. Approximately 70% of the 32 students in my first class were non-Māori. Although it was supposed to be a bilingual class, by term two we were easily operating at 80% immersion rather than 50% immersion.

In 1993 I took parental leave myself to have our first child and during my break was approached by a parent of my class who ran her own Kōhanga Reo to start up a KKM so that the graduates of her Kōhanga Reo could continue their immersion journey into the next phase of their education. By the start of 1994 we had begged, acquired and borrowed the necessary equipment to sufficiently begin the New Year in a classroom with 13 students, representing eight differing year levels, which, in itself, was challenging and demanding.

In terms of the ZePA model, rules were more stringent in this new school. Parents were required to show more commitment to the Māori language. Additionally, they needed to better their own proficiency in the language; right shifting from Passive to the Active was more than just an ideal, it was an expectation.

The establishment year was extremely challenging; applying for formal status as a KKM to the government, setting up the schools' programs and resources, however, like many others to date, it was achieved because all of those associated with the school were lodged in the Passive or Active zones. Not only was it tough, but it was also lonely, as I was the sole teacher, with parents coming in at lunchtime to give me a short break. Some of the other parents were busily trying to produce resources to keep up with whatever I needed to assist with our teaching program, as there were no government-produced supplies at that time. We had gone from blacking out or pasting over the English text in the books with our own Māori text, to printing out images or drawing our own images and writing our own text underneath, then laminating these and binding them to make our own books. Many of our parents had begun in the Passive category on the ZePA model when they came to our kura, but they quickly shifted to the Active category, such was their desire to expose their children to schooling options they simply did not experience themselves.

As term three in 1994 came to a close, so too did my time at this immersion school. I applied for and won the Principal's job at another KKM across the other side of town, a school that had entered the formal establishment process slightly ahead of the school I had recently departed. It had recently been granted government status and was appointing new staff. In 1995 I took up this new post, albeit based at the school's temporary site while the new school neared completion on its new site. For three months myself, the other teacher and our kaiāwhina (teaching assistant) were consumed with maintaining a 'normal KKM program' for the 18 students on the roll whilst also going through the resourcing process all over again; along with setting up a new administration system for the office, preparing a new library system and a recruitment process to fill the last vacancies for our general staff.

The ZePA model in this environment had ramped up threefold. Unlike the previous acceptance of parents being located in the 'passive' zone regarding Māori language use, leniency towards those who were not conversant in the Māori language in this new school was almost nil. Everyone was now required to be in the Active category, or at least working towards medium-high Active. The majority of parents at this school either came from the University or the Polytechnic and all were staunch advocates of the Māori language. All meetings were conducted solely in Māori and school newsletters were published in Māori. Monolinguals were strongly encouraged to buddy up with those who could speak Māori. To even enroll your child at this school required you, the parents, to be in the Active category without question, a requisite you committed to on the enrolment form. At that time, 1995, there was a substantial waiting list of students seeking a position in the school, and interestingly, that scenario remains the case today, some 20 years later because places remain limited at this school – demonstrative of the continuous demand for Māori language medium education providers and the compounded issue, in this case, of limited physical space to expand. After five years at the helm of setting up and consolidating the school, tearfully I left this exciting incubator of Māori language and educational pursuit so that a new

visionary could come in, build upon the solid foundations that had been laid and chart the next course into the future – the passive dreams of this individual could now be actively applied. Having attended the 20th celebrations of the school in 2013, my observation is that the parents, students and community associated with the school are still predominantly in the Active category on the ZePA model if we are focusing on the delivery of education in these Māori language immersion and bilingual schools.

In contrast to these examples of working at the grassroots in bilingual and total immersion Māori language environments first hand, through my research (See T. Rewi, 2011, pp. 80-103) I also had the opportunity to visit a mix of schools in 2009 – see Figure 5 below; urban and rural, single sex and co-educational, full primary (grades K-7) and secondary (grades 8-12). This research predominantly focused on which Māori pedagogy, if any, was in use across these schools. Although I have not revisited all of these schools recently, I have consulted their latest Education Review Office[12] (ERO) reports or received oral feedback with some of those participants to gauge their approximate placement on the ZePA model.

I will now compare how, from my knowledge of those seven schools who participated in the research, they might have registered on the ZePA model regarding Māori language use (Please refer to Figure 5 below).

Figure 5: Details of Participating Schools[13] (including updated statistics)

Case study	Decile	Location	Authority	Type	Gender	Roll at 1 March 2009 and 2014 (bracketed)	Māori student % at 1 March 2009 and 1 July 2013 (bracketed)
1A	3	Urban	State Integrated	Secondary (Years 9–13) Grades 8-12	Single sex	208 (233)	100
1B	2	Urban	State	Secondary (Years 9–13) Grades 8-12	Single sex	623 (693)	44.9 (47)
2	1	Urban	State	Full Primary Bilingual Grades K-7	Co-ed	174 (176)	98.9 (98.4)
3	1	Urban	State	Full Primary Kura Kaupapa Māori Grades K-7	Co-ed	155 (84)	100
4	3	Rural	State	Full Primary Grades K-7	Co-ed	37 (32)	100
5	4	District	State	Secondary (Years 7–13) Grades 6-12	Co-ed	725 (636)	33.7 (40.7)
6	1	Urban	State	Full Primary Grades K-7	Co-ed	588 (529)	18 (16.9)

Source: Ministry of Education, 2009 and updated 2014

At School 1A, Māori language is offered as a curriculum subject and the students come from varying Māori language-speaking backgrounds depending on their grade K-7 school experiences. There are no immersion or bilingual classes. The support for Māori language and culture is further emphasized through the promotion of strong Māori values and cohesive relationships between the students and staff as well as the community, with kaumātua (elders) and whānau whānui (the wider Māori school community). This is evident, in the Principal's opinion, and also reflected in school achievement statistics through the high success rates experienced by the students at this school in NCEA.[14] We would position this type of operation as Active (high) regarding aspects such as Māori language, Māori culture, promotion of Māori values and community engagement.

School 3 is comprised of a high percentage of parents who are non-speakers of the Māori language, but nevertheless support the language by providing parent support to the staff and children where possible and by continuing to send their children to this total immersion Māori language school. These parents operate between the Passive and Active zones.

School 4, a mainstream school offering immersion education, is unique in that it is the only school in its locale where all the children living in the area attend and are of Māori descent. Consequently, the schools curriculum is centered on the Māori world, and in particular the location, which affords them access to a unique marine and natural environment. Their two classes are taught through Māori medium with English language classes offered to the older students from grade 4 in preparation for transitioning to secondary school. Many opportunities are provided for the children, staff, parents and the wider community to engage with te reo Māori and tikanga Māori (Māori culture) within the school and through the close relationships fostered with the community and local elders. These relationships are further reinforced in the school between the students through tuakana-teina (older student mentoring of younger students) partnerships. The children, staff, parents and the school community are either Passive or Active on the ZePA model.

School 2 is an actual designated bilingual school so all children participate in either bilingual or immersion education. From discussions, the students, staff and parents of the immersion students would be in the Active category when we consider the delivery of Indigenous education, whereas those engaged with the bilingual classes would range between being Passive and Active, that is, at a minimum they afford the delivery of Māori language and practices (they are Passive). Depending on the level of activity, there would likely be moments whereby they are Active.

School 1B offers Māori language as a curriculum subject but not in any bilingual or immersion capacity. Other than those staff, students and parents engaged with the language as a subject, most of the school would be Passive on the ZePA model in that they afford the existence of the Māori language and Māori pedagogies to exist within a predominantly Western education system with English as the main medium of delivery, whereas some of these staff, students and parents actively support. From a cultural perspective however, and with nearly a

48% Māori student roll, this school has strong connects to their local iwi (tribe), local marae and the wider Māori community through its family advisory group, placing this part of the school community in the Active category as far as local connectivity is concerned.

School 5 offers Māori language as a curriculum subject and supports those studying the language. Recent aspirations for meeting Māori student needs, increasing the Māori language and tikanga Māori at the school [and potentially right shifting the community in the process] are prioritizing teaching practices to include marae kawa (protocol) along with including more local Māori contexts and content in the school curriculum. This demonstrates a strong sense of right-shifting regarding the inclusion of Māori knowledge throughout the school. Consequently, the school is very proud that its staff has built up enough confidence to be able to carry out pōwhiri (Māori welcoming ceremonies) without defaulting to one of five Māori staff to do this, as was the previous practice. Since 2009 the percentage of Māori students has increased by 7%. The school acknowledged then, the need to increase its Māori staff, along with getting all staff to commit to understanding the concepts and value of manaaki (respect), aroha (charity) and whakawhanaungatanga (relationships).

School 6, teaches Māori language by way of karakia (blessings or prayer) and mihimihi (introductory, informal greetings), and customary practices to all students in the school, however, it does not offer Māori language as a separate curriculum subject, a common thing in primary schools. This is because learning areas[15], which include te reo Māori, are integrated into inquiry learning throughout the school. Including te reo into inquiry learning[16] puts an additional emphasis on ensuring te reo is embedded into the curriculum aligned with the topic of inquiry that is being undertaken. In a school which has the smallest percentage of Māori students on its roll (as you can see on Figure 5) with approximately 17%, we would concur that the school would be right shifting along Passive and Active on the ZePA model by way of the integration of Māori language and practices, however small it might appear, to all students throughout the school.

Conclusion

The ZePA paradigm and the case studies provide a mere glimpse to approaches of revitalizing the Māori language. There are many other initiatives under operation. Some considerations, therefore, that can be extrapolated from the examples, are often glaringly obvious and, at face value, simple, however they are for some reason challenging to effect. A simple example is the co-construction of both the goals and vision of the wider communities centered at, for example, a learning site: language through formal education, language initiatives amongst communities, and funders of these operations. Another is capitalizing on our own Indigenous contexts as a foundation for our language curriculum, including important cultural events, people, narratives and dialect.

Revitalization strategies must be dual pronged and consider both maintenance and growth (Higgins & Rewi 2013). Maintenance of the language will ultimately rest with the people to whom the minority language belongs, who

strive for its survival for integrative purposes. Formal education will also contribute towards language maintenance, mainly because education for children is still compulsory.

In terms of growth, we must find ways in which the collective pursuit of the shared language goal is acknowledged while we ensure each party with the ability to effect progress and right-shift along the language revitalization continuum maintains an optimum level of autonomy whereby none of these parties feels controlled or disempowered. In particular, we seek to empower those in the Zero category away from oppositional activity to contemplative or engagement activities in the Passive category.

As students exit compulsory schooling, any decision to pursue the minority language is purely one of choice. Any language revitalization plan, therefore, must be cognisant that capacity comes in many shapes and forms and should not just be squarely placed upon one person, or on one group. As Indigenous peoples we often argue for self-determination, especially in determining processes and practices intended to better our existence. In New Zealand, Māori language is primarily used by Māori, who comprise 25% of the population. From this 25%, with the addition of non-Māori using the Māori language, the sum percentile sits at around 4%. Perhaps the time is nigh that Māori need to loosen their grip on the language and afford some sense of ownership of the language with greater New Zealand thereby giving potential for the other 96% of non-speaking New Zealanders to right-shift from Zero to Passive. This is a growth strategy. The current response by Māori to this notion is highly oppositional, at this time. But if, as the statistics illustrate, the Māori language is on a decline, the very act of sharing ownership might be the new trajectory that will, at the least, stem the regression.

Bilingualism must be accepted and be located by the nation in the Passive position, at the least. What this means is that the monolingual English speaking majority must not oppose bilingualism. Albeit with reference to school education, May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2006) espouse the positives of bilingualism as,

> an "additive" approach, because students are "adding" a second language rather than replacing one language with another… students who are biliterate [able to read and write in two languages] are more likely to succeed academically and also often outperform students in English-medium schools. (p. 3)

Government employees commented that "people are our greatest resource and if our people were bilingual they would more easily be able to engage cross-culturally." "It would be 'a unique identifying factor of the nation if we were a totally bilingual nation' and it was 'about establishing a point of difference'.…if the world spoke Māori they would understand the essential principles of Māori existence" (in Rewi & Day, 2014).

From a ZePA perspective, right-shifting away from the Zero zone to the Passive is the most critical requirement. It is also the most challenging because it is

ideological and requires a shift in one's mindset. Reduction of the Zero cohort removes stigmatism of being challenged about the value of the language for those who sit in the Passive position. This will give them reassurance to move to the Active. It will also empower those already in the Active category to shift from low Active to high Active.

Notes

[1] A triennial investigation into the Māori language, encapsulates the success of two language revitalization initiatives, Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, in promoting Māori language use. Retrieved Dec. 14, 2012 at http://www.mara-matanga.ac.nz/sites/default/files/NPM%20Conference%20Proceedings%20 2012.pdf

[2] Kōhanga reo equating to early childhood centers, kura to schools and Te Ataarangi and wānanga to adult/tertiary learning forums.

[3] KKM under s155 mostly follow their founding document, Te Aho Matua, a Māori charter that sets out principles and practices of education, teaching, and learning in Kura Kaupapa Māori. For more see http://www.educationcounts. govt.nz/publications/maori/maori-medium-education/80403/2.-te-aho-matua

[4] Kura Teina refers to a new school in the establishing process that is not yet government funded that relies on support from their Kura Tuakana or mentoring school who is usually a good example of a fully funded Kura.

[5] s156 Designated Character schools allow for parents to propose any special character as long as no other school in their locality is already delivering an education reflecting the same special character. For Māori communities set-ting up this type of school, the special character usually centers on their tribal philosophies. It is different from a charter school.

[6] Te Māngai Pāho is a Crown Entity established to make funding available to the national network of Māori radio stations and for the production and broadcast of Māori language television programs, radio programs and music recordings. (http://www.tmp.govt.nz/about)

[7] Adapted from Durie's (2011, p. 168) comment that "What is good for Māori is good for the institution as a whole'. Taken from Penetito, W. http://view. officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.innovation. gov.au%2FHigherEducation%2F IndigenousHigherEducation%2FReviewO f IndigenousHigherEducation%2FDocuments%2FCommissionedResearch% 2FPenetito.doc

[8] "The changes to education administration in New Zealand which began in 1989 were part of the radical public sector reform started in 1984, after the election of a Labour government…. The Department of Education was reduced to a much smaller Ministry of Education, and the regional Education Boards were abolished…. In 1989, parents at every school elected boards of trustees who were made responsible for operational management…. Board members included the principal, a teacher, parents and other people from the school community" Retrieved May 29, 2014 at http://www.nzcer.org.nz/research/ impact-education-reforms

[9] Māori language total immersion school based on Māori philosophies.

[10] This was previously a mainstream school that was granted permission to es-tablish Māori language immersion programs in 1984, changing it's designation to a bilingual school in the process. Retrieved May 29, 2014 at http://www. poormagazine.org/node/2422

[11] Māori language total immersion early childhood center.

[12] The Education Review Office (ERO) is the New Zealand government department that evaluates and reports on the education and care of students in schools and early childhood services. http://www.ero.govt.nz/About-Us 05/06/2014

[13] Adapted from T. Rewi (2011, p. 83).

[14] New Zealand's National Certificates of Educational Achievement (NCEA) are national qualifications for senior secondary school students. Retrieved May 6, 2014 at http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/qualificationsstandards/qualifications/ncea/understanding-ncea/

[15] The New Zealand Curriculum specifies eight learning areas: English, the arts, health and physical education, learning languages, mathematics and statistics, science, social sciences, and technology. Retrieved Dec. 6, 2014 at http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/The-New-Zealand-Curriculum/Learning-areas

[16] Inquiry-based learning is a learning process through questions generated from the interests, curiosities, and perspectives/experiences of the learner. See http://www.inquirylearn.com/Inquirydef.htm.

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