

The Future of Te Reo : Building on the Lessons from the Past 50 Years¹

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We can look at the lessons of the last fifty years in the light of three questions:

- (1) I hea tātou e rima tekau tau i mua – Where were we 50 years ago?
- (2) Kei hea tātou inaianei – Where are we now?
- (3) Ko hea tātou – Where might we go?

(1) Where were we 50 years ago?

On the basis of the sociolinguistic survey, we estimated that there were 60-70,000 fluent speakers and about 30,000 marginal speakers with an excellent understanding of te reo in the mid-1970s. However, very few of these people were passing on their knowledge of te reo to the next generation. There was just one truly Māori-speaking community – Ruatoki – and only a handful of others, mostly in Northland, the Bay of Plenty, and the East Coast, which could fairly be described as marginally Māori speaking, although in most of these it was the adults who were likely to be the ones doing the talking. One of these communities, Opoutama, was in Hawkes Bay.

We estimated that by 2011, if nothing was done, there would probably be less than 10,000 fluent speakers, and a smaller number of marginal speakers. However, a decade later, there was good reason to hope that if kōhanga reo lived up to its promise, kōhanga graduates were able to extend

¹ Pages 1-8 of this paper are the text of my presentation to the *Whāngaihia te Reo Ka Tipu te Reo Summit*, held at the E.I.T., Taradale, 6-7 July 2016. Pages 9-28 are an appendix with some information about te reo Māori in Hawkes Bay, and some thoughts about development to support te reo and its speakers, based initially in the Bridge Pa area, inspired by the Summit and by conversations with participants and some of the Summit's sponsors.

their knowledge of te reo in the school and community as they got older, and the lower-level Māori language programmes were maintained, we would have another 70,000 young fluent speakers to make up for the loss of their parents and grandparents, and half a million or more people with at least a little more than just a passing acquaintance with te reo. It was a big “if”, but not beyond the bounds of possibility. However, in the mid-1970s there were no kōhanga reo, although, thanks to pressure from Nga Tamatoa, Te Reo Māori Society, and other groups, the language was being taught as a subject in an increasing number of secondary schools, and “the elements of the Māori language” were added to the core curriculum (albeit the only core elements that were optional – they were to be taught where teachers were available!).

Bilingual schooling was one way to start to stem the downward trend, especially where Māori was still widely spoken or understood. I had first advocated that in the early 1960s, but when I raised it again with the Department of Education ten years later, I was told that it was an idea which the Department would “consider without commitment”.

A commitment was forced upon the Department by John Rangihau and his friend the outgoing Minister of Education, Les Gandar, and the first bilingual programme was established at Ruatoki, soon followed by its neighbor Tawera, justified by the Department partly on the basis of our Linguistic Survey results. Meanwhile, the NZCER had conducted surveys of parent views in Ōmāhu and Otaki, and held successful discussions with the Hawkes Bay Education Board and the Wellington Catholic Schools office respectively about establishing bilingual programmes in the two schools concerned. The formidable Kate Walker made sure that Hiruharama was added to the list.

We’ll come back to Ōmāhu later. But before we leave the area I must mention a conversation I had on a plane trip from Napier to Wellington, after a visit to the school, with a very prominent Hawkes Bay kaumātua. He told me that he had heard that I was trying to get a bilingual programme set up in Ōmāhu, and went on to tell me that I was wasting my time. It was a nice idea, but nobody spoke Māori there or anywhere else in Hawkes Bay any more, except occasionally on the marae – it was a dead language now and we may as well concentrate on

teaching English. I was very amused years later when the venerable gentleman became a stalwart of a key institution in the revitalization movement.

(2) Where are we now?

We have held the line. In their follow-up to the 2013 census, the Department of Statistics estimated that there are about 50,000 fluent speakers of Māori now. This is four or five times more than we would have expected, had some very positive things not happened in the meantime. However, these speakers are generally very thinly spread across the landscape.

In situations like we have here in Aotearoa, where there is a dominant language that practically everybody speaks, to be sustainable in any particular place, another language needs to be spoken by more than 70% of the local population. In fact, UNESCO regards such a language as endangered as soon as even one family from the community identified with that language stops using it as their everyday language at home. The reason for the 70 per percent criterion is that once the proportion of speakers sinks to that level, there is a less than even chance of two people from the community, meeting each other casually, being able to use the language for talking to each other – 70% of 70% is 49%. When the overall percentage drops to 50%, the chances are only one in four, for two people meeting by chance, and much less for groups.

This explains why language loss is such a rapid process – in the early 1960s, there were many Māori-speaking communities; 10 or 15 years later they were few and far between. Right now, in Taitokerau, there are only two census mesh blocks, with a total of 12 households, where the 70% mark for the whole neighborhood is reached. There are none in Hawkes Bay, although there are a very few where more than half the Māori population (but less than half the total population) speak Māori, according to the census. And of course, the Statistics Department's follow-up studies warns us that only about half the "Māori speakers" counted in the census speak the language "well" or "very well". Most Māori live in areas where they are a minority – it's thus vital for them as well as the nation that knowledge and use of the language becomes increasingly

the norm for non-Māori as well: that (as with the 1892 edition of Williams' Dictionary), it becomes once more unequivocally "The New Zealand Language".

However, serious as the situation is, we have a lot to be happy about. 50 years ago, the Māori-speaking population was overwhelmingly old people, in fact, one might say it was becoming increasingly *very* old people, who were not going to be around for very much longer. Now, knowledge of the language is spread much more evenly through the population, and in fact in many rohe and iwi, there is a higher proportion of the total number of speakers in the under 25 age group than there is in the over 50s. It is very clear that educational initiatives – kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, but also Te Ataarangi, bilingual schools, other Māori-medium programmes, and the work of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, and other tertiary agencies, Māori radio, Māori television, as well as language wānanga sponsored by the Māori Language Commission and hapū and iwi groups, along with the families who have participated in these programs, can take the credit for this. Without them, the sombre picture painted in the 1970s, would have become a reality.

There are other bright spots. Māori has been an official language since 1987, although the legislation still guarantees only its oral use by litigants, accused criminals, and their lawyers. There is an increasing – although still inadequate – use of Māori signage on public buildings, entrances and exits to towns and cities, in places such as libraries, and some supermarkets (ironically, the supermarket chain which is most diligent in this respect is Australian owned). Even if it's only a few words, you do hear Māori spoken, and see it written, in the community at large much more often now than 50 years ago. People are no longer given the sack for answering the company phone with "Kia ora".

(3) Where to from here?

Schools are not the magic bullet in language revitalisation, but in a modern society they are a vital ingredient in the process. I am sure that Māori-medium schooling made a difference in Ōmāhu. In the 1970s we put the district in category "74" – few or no children and young people

and less than half the adults in the Māori community were Māori-speakers. In 2013 the Ōmāhu Census Area Block was in the top five in Hawkes Bay for the proportion of the Māori community – 39% – who could converse in Māori. True, this was down from 49% in 2001, and accounted for only 25% of the total population (I doubt that the two figures are unconnected), but this was still a quantum leap from the 1970s.

Nevertheless, schools will not be effective without adequate teacher training. Many years ago, I spoke about the need for training teachers to teach through the medium of Māori, now that the idea of bilingual schools had finally been accepted, to the teacher training division of the old Department of Education. I told them they should start immediately on implementing a program similar to that used in Ireland, whereby a steadily increasing number of teachers would receive a substantial portion of their training through the medium of Māori so that they were comfortable with using the language in an educational milieu. We could also incorporate the Basque practice of year-long-intensive language acquisition courses so that teachers who were not yet proficient in the language could become competent speakers. (The Basque Government and corporations also provide such opportunities for administrative and front-line staff.) The notion seemed to shock them, and the only reaction I got was a remark by the person in charge, “That’s a novel idea”. It seems that adequate teacher training on a large scale for Māori-medium education is still a novel idea.

Although the former Minister of Overseas Trade advocated “compulsory Māori” in the schools, the idea is still regarded with something close to horror by many people. However, in the long term, for the language to thrive, and to be truly the language which defines Aotearoa New Zealand, this is going to happen. It’s not impossible. A lot of children don’t like mathematics, and many people are frightened of “science” – and yet mathematics and science are a key part of the official school curriculum. There is no reason why Māori cannot be added to this mix, and in fact become part of it. There are plenty of convergences between te reo Māori and mathematics and science.

It is partly a matter of public relations. Many years ago, I was asked to talk to a group of parents who were mostly in favour of a bilingual programme proposed for the school, but two of whom,

who had quite a bit of influence in the community, were implacably opposed to it. I talked about the strong research evidence from Canada and elsewhere of the values of bilingualism, and its relationship to cognitive development. A few months later, there was a change of principal, and the new principal, who could not speak Māori, decided not to implement the programme. Within hours, those two people were on the doorstep of the school, berating the principal for sabotaging their children's cognitive development! The programme went ahead.

The presence of large numbers of immigrants from multilingual countries in our cities and towns also provides a wonderful opportunity – these people are used to having more than one language in school and the community, and tomorrow you will hear from an Auckland group, Te Reo Tuatahi, that has the enthusiastic support of schools and parents in parts of Auckland where Māori speakers and Māori people are few and far between. Te reo Māori gives these people and their children a chance to become true New Zealanders.

To accomplish this, it would be helpful to have a general cease-fire in the methodology wars. There is no one “right way” to teach or learn a language – what works will vary from person to person and with time and circumstances. “All or nothing” approaches tend to frighten people and discourage potential learners. Eventually, the most effective methods will prove to be the most durable and attractive. In the Basque Country, for example, thirty years ago only a small proportion of parents favoured Basque-medium education; the majority chose either a balanced bilingual approach, or Spanish-medium with Basque as a subject. Now, as a result of free choice over the years, Basque-medium with Spanish as a subject is chosen by the majority, with the bilingual approach next, and Spanish-medium a distant third.

Modern technology also offers huge advantages and opportunities for transmission and widening knowledge and use of te reo – think of the potential of the smart phone alone in this regard!

Signage is another area in which te reo can not only be made visible but also be transmitted. Twenty years or so ago when Sir Kingi Ihaka was Chairman of the Māori Language Commission, and I ran an on-line bulletin board (Te Wahapū), we started a project on wine terminology – Sir Kingi would suggest Māori equivalents for the descriptions on the labels and I

would post these in our database. Here in Hawkes Bay you have great opportunities to continue this work! Find ways of making sure that producers who make good use of te reo Māori benefit with increased sales for their efforts.

Participants in Māori language classes and wānanga should be encouraged to be evangelists for te reo, demanding signs and services in te reo Māori, and making it obvious that those who cooperate will attract a lot of new customers or clients – and those who don't cooperate will lose them. Shopkeepers and businesspeople will follow the money!

In the debate on the 1987 Māori Language Bill, the now Rt Hon Winston Peters asked “How many houses will official recognition of Māori provide”? This remains a highly relevant question. Official recognition *should* provide houses. In the year 2000 an atlas of socioeconomic difference, *Degrees of Deprivation in New Zealand*, was published. This ranked every Census Area Block in the country on a scale from 1 (most affluent), coloured dark green, to 10 (most deprived), coloured dark red. If you looked at the red areas on the map, there you would find most of the people who speak te reo Māori. In Hawkes Bay there are 86 Census Mesh Blocks with 24 or more Māori speakers. (The mesh blocks are the smallest units, apart from individual households, into which the area blocks are divided for census purposes.) Seventy-four of these are in areas classified as 9 or 10 – socially and economically most deprived – in the disparities index. These people are a vital national asset – an asset that is neglected and grossly undervalued.

A very high priority should be given the development (and restoration) of sustainable communities in long-established and traditional settlements, along with making te reo a taonga that is of great *practical* and *economic* value as well as of spiritual and cultural value. This should also be a prime concern of government as guardian of the welfare of te reo and the welfare of the people who speak it.² Local community development is essential also for the maintenance and growth of dialects. Dialects are variants of a common language and contributors to it, ways of speaking which are rooted in particular places. They are the key to the

² There are some notes about the forms which this support might take, and cautions about how it might be subverted, in the Appendix (prepared after this paper was presented).

health and full vitality of the language as a whole. They are the aspects of language which iwi and hapū have a right and a responsibility to nurture, and a right to the means and support to enable them to do this.

(4) Te Rerenga atu

We've come a long way, and we have a long way to go. We need to cultivate the patience to accept that an incremental approach, with each of us doing what we can, will move us toward our goal – that each step forward *is* a step forward – but we need also the passion to ensure that there are always more steps forward than back, that “near enough” is not always good enough. And always, to make sure that speaking te reo Māori is “cool” in the minds of young people, and learning it is fun for people of all ages.

Hei kupu whakamutunga, I would to quote the very wise words of the late Sir Peter Tapsell, spoken in 1987 during the debate on the report of the Select Committee on the Māori Language Bill:

In the end, whether the Māori language is to become a taonga for New Zealand – something we shall cherish, and that can be of real value to us – will depend on the extent to which the public uses it, and the extent to which it is considered to be the language of a people that is vigorous, benevolent, and not afraid to look forward as well as backward.³

³ Hon Peter Tapsell, Māori Language Bill / Te Pire mō te Reo Māori 1987, debate on the report of the select committee, 9 June 1987, NZPD Vol 481, p. 9342.

APPENDIX

Some Information about te Reo Māori in Hawkes Bay, and Thoughts about Development to Support te Reo and Its Speakers.

On returning home from the Summit, I did some further exploration of the Census data I had looked at in preparing my paper, and also contemplated what the information about the Bridge Pa Triangle which was shared with us at the superb dinner incorporated in the Summit programme might mean for the future of te reo in the Hawkes Bay region.

In my talk, I mentioned that 74 of the 86 census mesh blocks with 24 or more Māori-speakers were in areas classified as 9 or 10 – socially and economically the most deprived – in the Disparities Index. Since then I have been able to look at the data for median income by mesh block, and these reveal that in 2013 26.9% of the Māori population, and 29.9% of the Māori-speaking population, lived in neighbourhoods where the median personal income was less than \$20,000 (that is, below the poverty line). On the other hand, 1.3% of Māori and 1.1% of Māori-speakers lived in the top 10% of neighbourhoods ranked by median income (\$42,500 – \$125,000 per annum). These data are summarised in Table 1.

Percentages in income groups as percentage of TOTAL POPULATIONS - Hawkes Bay Region Census Mesh Blocks										
	Māori Population		Māori Speakers		Other Ethnicities		Total Population		Mesh blocks	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Top 10% income: \$42,500-\$125,000	447	1.3%	99	1.1%	5070	4.4%	5517	3.7%	108	
\$30,000-\$42,000	5874	17.1%	1383	15.0%	39189	33.8%	45063	30.0%	489	
\$26,300-\$29,500	5094	14.9%	1266	13.7%	20379	17.6%	25473	16.9%	262	
\$20,200-\$25,800	13680	39.9%	3729	40.3%	38727	33.4%	52407	34.9%	493	
\$16,500-\$19,700	5676	16.6%	1734	18.7%	8931	7.7%	14607	9.7%	159	
Bottom 10%: \$2,200-\$16,300	3516	10.3%	1038	11.2%	3726	3.2%	7242	4.8%	108	
TOTAL	34287	100.0%	9249	100.0%	116022	100.0%	150309	100.0%	1619	
	Māori Eth		Māori Spkrs		Not Māori		Total pop.			

Table 1.

Source: Department of Statistics, 2013 Mesh Block Data Set, Hawkes Bay Region.
(The median personal income per capita for Hawkes Bay Region is \$26,100)

The census mesh blocks for the Hawkes Bay Region are grouped into 86 area blocks. I ranked the 79 area blocks for which data were available, according to 7 criteria:

Number of Māori-speakers;
 Total population;
 Māori population (number of people claiming Māori ethnicity);
 Māori population as percentage of the total population;
 Māori-speakers as a percentage of the total population;
 Māori speakers as a percentage of the Māori population⁴;
 Median personal income (total population).

Table 2 shows how the rankings across these categories compare for a sample made up of the census blocks ranked in the top five in any one of the criteria. The five with the largest Māori populations also have the greatest number of Māori-speakers. However, although these areas had fairly high proportions of Māori-speakers in relation to the Māori population, they were not in the top five – or even in the top 10 – in that respect, although three, Wairoa, Kingsley-Chatham, and Maraenui were in the top 10 in proportion of Māori speakers in the total population. There was nevertheless a fair degree of overlap between the percentage of the Māori population able to speak te reo, the percentage of this group in respect of the total population, and the proportion of Māori people and the total population. Since most Māori-speakers at present identify as Māori, this is not surprising. It does underline the fact, however, that the likelihood of people in a particular place to be Māori-speakers is more closely linked to the proportion of Māori speakers there than to their actual number.

The total population was not linked to the proportion of Māori-speakers in this group of area blocks, and there were very few Māori people, let alone Māori-speakers, in the five with the highest median per capita income. The partial exception in regard to affluence was Sherenden-Puketapu (fifth wealthiest, \$35,600 per annum median personal income), which ranked 38th in Māori population (276 people), and 49th in number of Māori speakers (51). However Māori-speakers were most likely to be found as a dispersed minority in urban areas where the median

⁴ “Māori-speakers include all people who indicated that they could converse about everyday things in te reo Māori; “Māori population” includes all people claiming Māori ethnicity, irrespective of what other ethnicities they may also have identified with. At present, most Māori-speakers are of Māori ethnicity. In Tables 2 and 3 the category “Māori-speakers as a percentage of Māori population” includes all Māori-speakers, irrespective of ethnicity, so the percentage of Māori-speakers in the ethnically Māori population may be slightly lower than indicated by these figures.

income is below that for the region (\$26,100): in 2013, 66.8% of Māori and 70.2% of Māori-speakers lived in neighbourhoods where the income was between \$2, 200 and \$25,800.

Table 2
Rankings of selected Hawkes Bay Census Area Blocks in relation to numbers and proportion of Māori-speakers in total and ethnically Māori populations, and median personal income, 2013.

Area Block		Speak Māori 2013			Māori Population		Total Population	
Number	Name	Total Number	% Māori Population	% Total Population	Number	% Total Population	Median Personal Income	Total Population
545500	Wairoa	1 (810)	18 (31.5%)	6 (20.0%)	1 (2,568)	5 (63.4%)	71 (\$20,300)	9 (4,050)
548620	Flaxmere East	2 (558)	17 (31.6%)	12 (15.3%)	2 (1,767)	11 (48.6%)	72 (\$19,700)	11 (3,639)
548611	Kingsley-Chatham	3 (480)	16 (31.7%)	8 (16%)	3 (1,512)	10 (50.3%)	75 (\$19,100)	19 (3,003)
546700	Maraenui	4 (477)	13 (32.6%)	10 (15.4%)	4 (1,464)	14 (47.3%)	78 (\$17,900)	16 (3,093)
548612	Lochain	5 (417)	22 (30.3%)	13 (15.3%)	5 (1,377)	9 (50.4%)	70 (\$20,900)	23 (2,730)
545831	Waiohiki	54 (45)	1 (51.7%)	15 (12.7%)	68 (87)	33 (24.6%)	16 (\$32,500)	68 (354)
545201	Tuai	36 (75)	2 (44.6%)	1 (34.2%)	55 (168)	1 (76.7%)	79 (\$17,500)	76 (219)
545303	Nuhaka	37 (75)	3 (40.3%)	2 (28.7%)	50 (186)	2 (71.3%)	69 (\$21,500)	72 (261)
545842	Bridge Pa	15 (177)	4 (39.8%)	11 (15.4%)	26 (444)	18 (38.6%)	73 (\$19,700)*	45 (1,149)
545822	Omahu	32 (90)	5 (39.0%)	3 (25.6%)	44 (231)	4 (65.8%)	67 (\$21,500)	69 (351)
549601	Porangahau	53 (45)	7 (36.6%)	4 (22.7%)	61 (123)	6 (62.1%)	76 (\$18,800)	77 (198)
545302	Whakaki	17 (159)	19 (30.8%)	5 (21.7%)	23 (516)	3 (70.5%)	55 (\$24,500)	54 (732)
547100	Greenmeadows	19 (144)	62 (20.3%)	63 (2.3%)	15 (711)	62 (11.1%)	46 (\$26,400)	1 (6,393)
547300	Taradale South	18 (156)	51 (22.6%)	54 (2.9%)	16 (690)	59 (12.7%)	51 (\$24,700)	2 (5,433)
547200	Taradale North	22 (135)	41 (24.6%)	58 (2.6%)	22 (549)	64 (10.5%)	37 (\$27,900)	3 (5,226)
546600	Marewa	8 (306)	34 (26.1%)	30 (6.5%)	8 (1,173)	31 (25.1%)	65 (\$22,500)	4 (4,674)
548300	Akina	11 (237)	52 (22.3%)	36 (5.3%)	10 (1,062)	34 (23.6%)	64 (\$22,700)	5 (4,494)
548822	Havelock Hills	74 (9)	67 (18.8%)	76 (0.9%)	73 (48)	78 (5%)	1 (\$41,300)	51 (954)
548833	Te Mata Hills	76 (6)	75 (13.3%)	78 (0.6%)	74 (45)	79 (4.5%)	2 (\$39,300)	50 (1,005)
548400	Woolwich	77 (3)	10 (33.3%)	23 (8.3%)	79 (9)	32 (25.0%)	3 (\$38,800)	79 (36)
541503	Taharua	79 (0)	79 (0.0%)	79 (0.0%)	77 (21)	19 (36.8%)	4 (\$36,300)	78 (57)
545821	Sherenden-Puketapu	49 (51)	66 (19.1%)	65 (1.9%)	38 (267)	68 (9.8%)	5 (\$35,600)	25 (2,724)

Variables ranked from highest (1) to lowest (79) in the 79 Area Blocks for which data are available.

Area Blocks included are those ranked between 1 and 5 in at least one of the variables illustrated.

* Median income level for Bridge Pa is probably closer to Taradale South – see text for discussion.

Income figures derived from Census Quickstats maps:

<http://www.stats.govt.nz/StatsMaps/Home/People%20and%20households/2013-census-quickstats-about-a-place-map.aspx>

Other figures from Area Block data in Department of Statistics file 2013-mb-dataset-Hawke's-Bay-Region-individual-part-1.xlsx

The Ngāti Kahungunu Māori Language Strategy 2014-2017 has as one of its goals that “By the year 2027, the Māori language, along with its Ngāti Kahungunu distinctions, will be a principal language of communication for Ngāti Kahungunu in all events, and all places.” It also refers to the Iwi’s assets. The big challenge in regard to te reo is to turn te reo Māori itself into an asset associated with bright green (least deprived) rather than bright red on any future map of socioeconomic disparity, in a way that brings the Māori population as a whole out of the “most deprived” categories. To do this the vision for a Māori-speaking region should be extended to include the whole community, Māori and other ethnicities alike, and at the same time be linked to policies which link Māori people and te reo with locally-based Māori-oriented community development, starting in centres where there are concentrations of Māori-speakers and Māori people who have ancestral links to the place where they live, and which could act as hubs to which people would be drawn and from which knowledge of te reo could radiate out in ever-widening circles.

I had thought of this originally in relation to some currently geographically remote and abysmally neglected concentrations of Māori-speakers in Taitokerau, but the Whāngaihia te Reo Summit brought Bridge Pā into focus. This traditional Māori community in close proximity to a major urban area has the advantage also of being at the heart of what may become a world-renowned winegrowing region, the Bridge Pa Triangle. The disadvantage of this of course is that the small Māori community and smaller Māori-speaking population may be in danger of being overwhelmed completely by English-speaking non-Māori tourists and entrepreneurs with little interest in te reo or tikanga Māori. On the other hand, it has the potential of being the centre of a Māori-language hub, where its Māori-speakers could become its greatest asset and the challenges be turned into opportunities for promoting the knowledge and use of te reo Māori locally, throughout Aotearoa, and internationally.

First, we can look at the geography and demography. The census mesh blocks included in and adjacent to the Bridge Pa Triangle, along with the larger Bridge Pa and neighboring census area blocks are shown in the sketch map (Figure 1). The aerial photograph (Figure 2) shows how settlement is concentrated in two of the mesh blocks (Bridge Pa village). From Table 3 it can be

seen that the Māori-speaking population and the Māori population generally is concentrated in the village area, which is almost equally divided between the area inside the Triangle, enclosed by Maraekakaho Road, Ngatarawa Road, and State Highway 50, and the houses along Raukawa Road, just outside the Triangle.

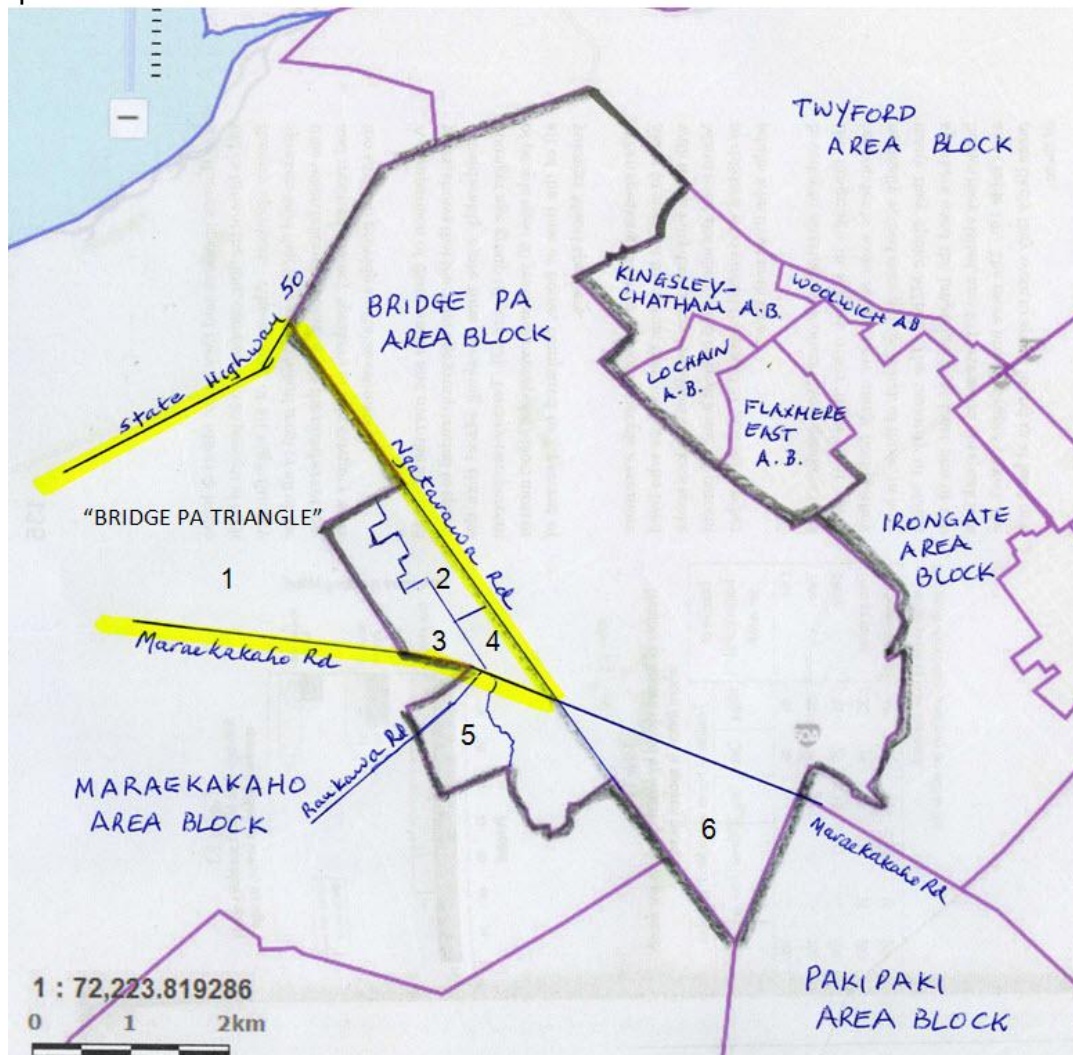


Figure 1: “Bridge Pa Triangle”

Numbers 1-6 indicate census mesh blocks referred to in Table 3: 1 MB1462901; 2 MB 1470209; 3 MB 1462902; 4 MB 1470211 (Includes Bridge Pa School and Church); 5 MB 1463200 (Main settlement); 6 MB 1470213 (Prison). (Map outline: Department of Statistics)

Could the Mesh Blocks within the triangle, plus Mesh Block #5, be designated a “Rohe Whai Mana ā Ture mō te Reo Māori”?

There are a few Māori-speakers scattered through the rest of the rural area, and a substantial number in the prison in the southwest corner of the Area Block. People of Māori ethnicity are a substantial majority (82%) of the population of the Raukawa Road mesh block, but Māori-speakers are in a minority (28% over all, or a third of the Māori population) even there. However, they still number over a hundred, and thus constitute a formidable resource for the revitalization of te reo throughout this region.



Figure 2: Aerial View of Bridge Pa triangle and village

About half the people in the major winegrowing area within the Triangle are Māori, but Māori-speakers make up less than 20% of the population of the area. I have been told that none of the vineyards is currently owned by Māori or by fluent speakers of te reo. Although this is unfortunate in terms of the surface practicability of the ideas which are to follow, it is not necessarily a major obstacle to their realization.

The conjunction of an important of an important and still-intact tangata whenua Māori settlement with a prime wine-growing region offers tremendous possibilities for a similar conjunction of broadly-based economic development with the revitalisation and propagation of te reo Māori.

Such a revitalisation is already obviously in progress in the district. When the NZCER sociolinguistic survey of this part of Hawkes Bay took place in January 1978, there were probably only about 50 Māori-speakers in the Bridge Pa area (out of a Māori population of about 400). Most of the fluent Māori speakers were over 45 years of age.⁵ Now there are over 100 speakers, many undoubtedly young people, and a much smaller population. Considerable credit for this can be given to the kura kaupapa Māori, which attracts children from Bridge Pa and neighbouring districts.

Table 3
Population, Ethnicity and Number of Māori-speakers, Bridge Pa Census Area Block, 2013

Population, Bridge Pa Area Block + BP Triangle						Māori Speakers 2013		
Areas	Mesh Blocks	House-holds	Total Population	Māori Ethnicity	Percent Māori	Number	As % of Total	As % of Māori
BP Triangle	4	96	306	147	48.00%	54	17.6%	36.7%
BP Central	1	48	180	147	81.70%	51	28.3%	34.7%
Prison MB	1	18	450	150	33.00%	60	13.3%	40.0%
Other MBs	8	162	303	33	10.90%	15	5.0%	45.5%
Inadequate data	7	21	48
TOTAL	21	345	1287	477	37.10%	180	14.0%	37.7%
"Bridge Pa Triangle" includes MBs 1462901 (Maraekakaho AB), 1462902, 1470209, & 1470211.								
Prison is in MB 1460218								
"Bridge Pa Central" comprises mainly the houses along Raukawa Road.								

The current socio-economic status of people in the district is unclear. According to the 2013 census figures, the median personal income for the Bridge Pa area block as a whole is \$19,700 per annum: which is below the poverty line. On the other hand, the 2000 Disparities Index places Bridge PA at level 6, which would be closer to the middle of the range, and the median incomes

⁵ See Lee Smith, *The Māori Language in Bridge Pa and Ngatarawa* (Survey of Language Use in Māori Households and Communities, Pānui Whakamōhio no. 11), Wellington: NZCER, 1982. The fieldworkers for the Bridge Pa survey included Tamati Kruger, later Chief Negotiator for Tūhoe and now Chairman of Te Uru Taumatua, the governing body of the Tūhoe Nation, and Patricia (Hekia) Parata, currently Minister of Education.

for the mesh blocks with substantial Māori or total populations are well above the poverty level. It may be that the prison is included in the Area Block income statistics (it is excluded from these at mesh block level), which would explain the low figure. Nevertheless, the Bridge Pa school, with 42 students, is ranked at decile two (second most disadvantaged) and the kura kaupapa Māori with 129 students is ranked at decile one (most socially and economically disadvantaged). All the pupils at both schools are Māori.⁶ The low median income may therefore reflect the situation of Māori families, even if it is misleading as regards the area as a whole.

This underlines even more strongly the urgent need to do something effective to remove such disparities, and to break the implied association between te reo Māori and disadvantage. A model for how this could be done is offered by the Irish Gaeltacht (officially designated and supported Irish-speaking communities or regions). Indeed, I think we could once more, take a leaf out of the Irish book (as we did with the 1987, Māori language act, which was based partly on the Irish legislation). The Gaeltacht Act 2012 provides for the setting up of Gaeltacht Language Planning areas, where community groups recognised by the Minister, and supported by the Údrás na Gaeltacht (Gaeltacht Authority – something akin to Te Puni Kōkiri for the Gaeltacht areas) prepare plans “to provide for and encourage the increased use of the Irish language in the family, educational, public, social, recreational and commercial life of the area concerned”⁷, and also Gaeltacht Service Towns, where important services for the language planning areas are located, and for which complimentary language plans will be prepared by a community group with the assistance of the Foras na Gaeilge (a body similar to Te Taura Whiri).

Something akin to this may be the only way forward. Apart perhaps from Ruatoki, there are few if any truly Māori-speaking areas left in New Zealand, and since Bridge Pa has made a quantum leap in this direction since the 1970s, it is an ideal candidate to be the first “Rohe Whai Mana ā Ture” outside the Urewera (which is well looked after by the Tūhoe Authority) in New Zealand. There is a really urgent need for the creation of officially designated districts where te reo Māori will be the default language, and the resources, support and infrastructure will be provided to enable te reo to flourish there. This should cover everything from childcare to education,

⁶ Ministry of Education, Directory of Schools as at 03 March 2016 (Directory-School-Current.xls)

⁷ Gaeltacht Act 2012, s. 7 (6).

employment opportunities, provision of government and local body services, commercial and professional enterprises, and access to social and cultural activities in which te reo plays a vital part.

Under the Irish legislation a language plan would incorporate six criteria. These are listed below, with “Māori” substituted for “Irish”, and comments on how some of them might be applied to Bridge Pa.

- First, *the proportion of the population concerned who speak Māori*. Currently, this is approximately a third of the Māori population, and 22% of the total population in the primary target area (Bridge Pa triangle and Raukawa Road), or 15% of the Triangle and the Bridge Pa area block, excluding the prison (13.3% Māori-speakers).
- Secondly, *the availability of education in te reo Māori*. Primary and secondary schooling (Years 1 to 15) is available through the medium of te reo at the Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga. This is the only school offering Māori-medium education at secondary level on the Napier/Hastings area, according to the Ministry of Education’s register. The Eastern Institute of Technology in Taradale (20 km distant) has a wide range of tertiary-level courses in te reo.
- Thirdly, *the availability of childcare and family support services in the Māori language*. (I have no information about this.)
- Fourth, *the extent of use of the Māori language in commerce and industry*. At the moment this is probably minimal, but see below!
- Fifth, *the extent of use of the Māori language socially and recreationally*. In the 1970s, “most people in the community spoke only English. Neighbours, friends and workmates spoke with each other mainly in English. Māori was used mostly at hui on the marae and

for certain religious services.”⁸ Judging by the census statistics, there is probably considerably more Māori used informally now, but English is still the dominant language of the community.

- Sixth, and finally in this list of essential criteria, *the use of the Māori language in the provision of services*. Most of these would be provided at present in the “Service Town”, Hastings. Planning for a radical and rapid shift toward the availability through te reo Māori of all services provided by government departments and agencies would be a necessary adjunct to the planning for Bridge Pa. Strong encouragement and support to enable them to attain a high level of proficiency in te reo Māori would also be required for tradespeople and other regular suppliers of goods and services to Bridge Pa residents.

The Irish government’s 20-year strategy for the Irish language⁹ envisages the establishment of “one-stop community shops” to:

- provide advice to new parents who wish to raise their children bilingually;
- give guidance on the range of Irish-medium education opportunities which are available;
- assist public and voluntary organisations who wish to increase the use of Irish; and
- encourage businesses who wish to offer a bilingual service to their customers.¹⁰

Substituting “Māori” for Irish, this is exactly what we need for Bridge Pa and other communities which could become centres for sustained Māori language revitalisation, ultimately affecting all Aotearoa. It would seem that the activities of the new body, Te Mātāwai, could be employed to establish such a one-stop-shop for Heretaunga, and there were participants at the Summit – Hiria Tumoana, Lee Smith, and Dr Joseph Te Rito, to name only three – who could play key roles in getting such a facility off the ground.

⁸ *The Māori Language in Bridge Pā and Ngatarawa*, pp. 2-3.

⁹ Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (Ireland), 20-Year Strategy for the Use of the Irish Language, 2010-2030, <http://www.ahrrga.gov.ie/gaeltacht/20-year-strategy-for-the-irish-language-2010-2030/>

¹⁰ 20-Year Strategy, p. 24.

To begin the process of ensuring a sustainable and prosperous economic future for residents of the Bridge Pa triangle and community as a “Māori-language zone”, could the Treaty of Waitangi provisions of the Resource Management Act be invoked to ensure that no new vineyards are established in or adjacent to the Triangle, and no expansion of existing vineyards is permitted, without direct Māori participation? It seems to me unconscionable that a major agricultural activity can take place adjacent to a traditional Māori centre with ownership and control residing entirely outside the Māori community. There are two aspects to this – (1) tāngata whenua benefiting economically from commercial activities in their ancestral rohe, and (2) the opportunities provided to expand the knowledge and use of te reo through such activities. The economic side could be taken care of by locally-based Māori groups or individuals negotiating rights of first refusal on the future sales of vineyards and associated businesses, or purchasing shareholdings in existing enterprises when the opportunity arises. However, the advancement of te reo can proceed quite independently of ownership, and action on this could begin immediately.

The Irish Gaeltacht authority offers businesses, especially those associated with Gaeltacht communities and language planning areas, assistance, appointing a Language Officer to assist them to “put in place a language programme to give guidance and advice, and provide information on relevant services”. Assistance is also given with language courses for staff, and translation. The Authority has also compiled a guide to “encourage and help companies” to implement language plans, covering areas like signage, written and spoken communication, advertising and marketing, translation services and website development.¹¹ A “one-stop shop” for te reo Māori set up with funding from Te Mātāwai, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, and Ngāti Kahungunu Inc. could play a key role in providing such assistance for businesses and agencies serving the Bridge Pa district.

An immediate start should be made on persuading the Bridge Pa Triangle wine producers to use bilingual labels. The Grin and Vaillancourt report to Treasury in 1999, emphasises the importance of signage on language revitalisation, and subsequent research has strongly

¹¹ Údrás na Gaeltachta, “Irish in Business”, <http://www.udaras.ie/en/an-ghaeilge-an-ghaeltacht/tionscnaimh-teanga/gaeilge-agus-gno>

supported this view.¹² Producers will respond if they see that this will be good for business – something that could be aided by an official stamp of approval from an iwi authority, adding endogeneity to the clean Green image which most of them are anxious to maintain. A possible example of a logo which could accompany the Bridge Pa Triangle symbol on their bilingual labels, is illustrated in figure 3.



The process should not stop at designing labels. The next step should be to prepare the way for a Māori-speaking (and as far as possible local Māori) workforce at all levels of the wine industry in the Triangle. This will entail working with the industry to train and ensure secure employment for Māori-speaking winemakers, marketers, salespeople and workers at every level of these enterprises, preparing the way for Māori ownership of an equitable share in this industry. The ownership can be a long-term goal, but the groundwork of establishing the workforce should begin without delay. Te reo must not be allowed to drift away from Bridge Pa, as it has in the past, because of limited opportunities for its speakers.

Even if the current ownership of the vineyards in the Bridge Pa Triangle remains unchanged, the local businesspeople and the iwi can still cooperate to ensure that whenever vacancies occur, they are filled where ever possible by Māori-speakers from local families. This implies a long-term plan to ensure that local people, and especially local Māori people, have the opportunity to become both fluent Māori-speakers and accomplished professionals who can fill these positions at all levels. According to the census, about 30% of people in the Triangle area are members of the LDS Church; these people may perhaps not want to be winemakers or salespeople for the wine industry, but there are other managerial and professional roles

¹² See F. Grin & F. Vaillancourt, Language Revitalisation Policy: An Analytical Survey. Theoretical Framework, Policy Experience and Application to Te Reo Māori. Report to the Treasury, Wellington (1988); also Jasone Cenoz, Jasone & Durk Gorter (2006). Linguistic landscape and minority languages. *International Journal of Multilingualism* Vol. 3, No. 1, 2006, pp. 67-80; Heiko F. Marten, Luk von Mensel & Durk Gorter, Studying minority languages in the linguistic landscape, In D. Gorter, H.F. Marten & D. Gorter (eds), *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; Durk Gorter, Linguistic landscapes in a multilingual world, *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 33, 2013, pp. 190-212.

they could fill – the important thing is to ensure that in areas like this where a major land-based industry is located right on the doorstep of the Māori community, local Māori participation is not confined to seasonal and ad hoc labour – there will be some people who really enjoy such work, but the iwi and community should ensure that it is not the only employment in the neighbourhood open to its members.

Nor do the opportunities for locally-based economic development in the Triangle as a “Māori language zone” stop at vineyards. The whole range of goods, services and activities affecting people in the Triangle, whether based within the local community or outside it, from plumbing, banking, posting letters and buying groceries, to sport, social clubs and church services would be incorporated in the language plan, and where ever possible, a substantial proportion of their linguistic content (if not all of it) shifted systematically over time from English to Māori.

Securing the future.

Expanding the presence of te reo Māori in the Bridge Pa Triangle will no doubt require determination, resilience, and ingenuity in overcoming difficulties and avoiding obstacles. However, if eventually there is a thriving Māori-speaking resident community with a cluster of enterprises in which Māori is also the featured language, supporting the use of te reo Māori and providing employment opportunities for local Māori-speakers in the district, the crunch question will be: how do you prevent outsiders with no commitment to these ideals from muscling in? There will probably be no provision in the Resource Management Act, now or in the future, to require this, and even the Irish legislation says “encourage” rather than “compel”. This is something for local residents and language activists concerned about creating and maintaining communities where te reo Māori is the default language to discuss with local body and national politicians.

Similar considerations apply to housing. There would certainly be a need to prevent the development of what the Irish call “builders’ Gaeltachts”. My family lived in one of these in Galway when I had a sabbatical in Ireland. The Irish Government had provided generous

subsidies so that developers could establish new urban communities for Irish speakers. All the houses in these developments were sold to fluent speakers of Irish who used the language as the normal means of communication within their families. However, within a few years, many of these families (it was said, often with the connivance of the developers) sold their houses at a profit to other people who had no great interest in maintaining the Irish language, and by the time we rented a house there, the majority of residents in the one where we lived used English as their normal language. The person who ran the naionra (the Irish kōhanga reo), also told us that the majority of the children at the naionra were from English-speaking families who wanted their children to be admitted eventually to the local Irish-speaking high schools, which had very high academic reputations. However, those people at least saw an instrumental value in fluency in the language!

In what follows I am *assuming*, in the manner of some writers of treatises on economics, that these and similar problems can either be avoided, or confronted and solved ā te wā. My comments are about developments which could take place within the community – some, for all I know, may already be underway – are based partly on what I was able to observe in Ireland, Wales and the Basque Country. These are just brief sketches of ideas that could be expanded in a full development plan. They are organized under six headings: language schools; bed and breakfast enterprises; spin-offs from the first two; security; eco-tours and environmental experiences; and involvement of the “service town” (in this case, Hastings). Finally, in this section, there is a brief note about the Gimblett Gravels wine-producing area, which runs between the northern edge of the Bridge Pa Area Block and the Ngaruroro River, and should eventually be included in the Reo Māori Zone. After that, this addendum concludes with a brief retrospective section and a call to action.

Educational initiatives incorporating te reo Māori. Basic education for the children and young people in the area is a matter for the national government, which appears at the moment to provide the Māori-language component of this through the Kura Kaupapa Māori in Stock Road (outside the Triangle but serving the Bridge Pa community). Arrangements should also be made for the Bridge Pa School to offer a bilingual curriculum, so there is a substantial Māori language component in the formal education of all children in Bridge Pa.

However, there are educational initiatives of the kind taken by communities within the Irish Gaeltacht which could be emulated in Bridge Pa and could be an important source of income for community members as well as substantially advancing the revitalization of te reo. These are language programmes offering instruction and immersion in te reo, analogous to some of the initiatives funded in the past under the Taura Whiri's mā te reo programme, and catering for different levels of learners, from beginners through to whaikōrero, and incorporating kapa haka and other cultural activities. These would be available in a variety of time-frames and formats, short and long-term, some seasonal (e.g., some offered during the regular school holidays or tertiary vacations), and some offered or available throughout the year. All should be based in Bridge Pa and actively involve members of the community, but close liaison should be maintained with sources of support and expertise, such as Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, Te Ataarangi, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and the EIT. There will be a close link between the "schools" and the development of local accommodation facilities (see below).

Bed and Breakfast Enterprises and Other Accommodation Facilities. A very important contribution to language revitalization can be made by Māori-speaking families with one or two spare bedrooms who are willing to host guests. This is one of the simplest owner-operated businesses, which can be closed from time to time whenever the owners want to take a break. The premises do not need to be "flash", just clean and operated by a genuinely hospitable people who are willing to warmly welcome strangers into a Māori-speaking environment. These businesses would have a special appeal to people who wished to have the opportunity to practise their use of te reo in a domestic setting, but would also be attractive to English-speakers, including foreign tourists, who simply wanted to experience something of Māori family life, and they would have the opportunity to learn a few words and phrases in te reo on the side. My family enjoyed the hospitality of a Welsh-speaking family in an establishment of this kind in Aberystwyth, and although we didn't learn any Welsh, we did know that we were really and truly in the Welsh heartland! As well as bed-and-breakfast facilities, even sleep-out type cabins for participants in the summer language schools could be maintained by families with big enough sections. When we first arrived in Galway on my sabbatical, we stayed for a week in one of these places in a Gaeltacht village, and my youngest son still has very warm memories of this experience. As with the Galway

cottages, these cabins could be rented out to tourists or other short-term visitors during the off-season. In Bridge Pa, such facilities could become part of a network of low-cost but good quality accommodation for people making a wine-trail pilgrimage (about which there will be more below).

Spin-offs from the Language Schools and the Availability of Accommodation. The availability of accommodation in itself would eventually allow people interested in exploring the Bridge Pa and adjacent Gimlett Gravels wine areas (and other nearby parts of Hawkes Bay) to start sojourning at Bridge Pa rather than just passing through. This could, over time, lead to the establishment of one or more cafes and restaurants featuring foods incorporating ingredients unique to Aotearoa, perhaps also a convenience store and a specialist motel catering for the language schools as well as other visitors. The motel or eating places, ideally in cooperation with the school, could be involved in establishing and maintaining a set of specialist native plant gardens (see the section on environmental experiences for a brief discussion of this possibility). Such developments would have to be carefully managed, to make sure that local ownership, staffing, and the dominance of te reo Māori is ensured at all times, so it will probably be a matter of carefully thought-through incremental growth, not a sudden mushrooming of enterprises and facilities.

Security. The establishment of visitor-oriented services like bed-and-breakfast facilities or summer language schools brings with it the need to ensure the safety of the manuhiri and the security of their property at all times. Visitors could be reassured if a community constable were located in the neighbourhood – but care would have to be taken to ensure that the person appointed to this post were a fluent speaker of Māori, and willing to participate in community activities in te reo. An added bonus would be to have a local person fill this role.

Environmental Experiences and Eco-Tours. Bridge Pa could be the base for guided tours with commentary in te reo Māori taking people to places of interest in the wider area, marae, regional parks (Pekapeka, Pakowhai, and Waitangi Regional Parks are relatively close, as are the Cape Kidnappers Gannet Colony and the Ngaruroro River), along with surfing lessons in te reo Māori at Te Awanga (only 26 km distant). Some of these tours could be bilingual,

enabling overseas tourists and monolingual Anglophone New Zealanders to follow the commentary through an interpreter, but underlining the fact that Māori is a living language. It would be clear too that those who understood Māori had an edge on those who did not, as some of the inherent humour and skillful turns of phrase would be obscured in translation. Another environmental activity could take place right at the base, if gardens with native herbs and culinary plants, along with other significant native flora were established, along with pā harakeke. Visitors could be taught how to plant, grow, look after and use these shrubs, trees and herbs, and be told stories associated with them. The school and, later, other establishments could be encouraged to develop a linked set of these plantations, with complementary themes and specializations.

Hastings as a “Service Town”. Ultimately, it should be possible for all the goods and services required by people resident in the Bridge Pa triangle and environs to be provided through te reo Māori. Facilitating this would include employment and language use agreements with enterprises and institutions based in Hastings:

- tradespeople – builders, plumbers, electricians, repair people;
- services – Post Centre, doctors and medical centres, electricity companies, WINZ, banks (these currently employ Mandarin-speakers for their linguistic skills, and those in Hastings should employ Māori-speakers with equal zeal);
- schools – especially highschoools (including Catholic and other integrated and private schools – I noticed that some of these sent representatives to the Language Summit);
- local body and central-government offices and agencies;
- supermarkets and other businesses patronized by Bridge Pa residents.

Retrospect and Prospect

In 1835, when Te Hapuku signed the Declaration of Independence, and 1840, when Harawira Te Tatere Mahikai signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the dominant language of Heretaunga was te reo Māori. Although overwhelmed by English in ensuing decades, in the late 1970s the tide began to turn, and, despite ebbs and flows since then, te reo Māori is in a stronger position in the region now than it was for most of the second half of the twentieth century.

The idea that the Bridge Pa Triangle and a substantial chunk of the Bridge Pa area block, including the adjacent Gimlett Gravels wine region could become the heartland of a resurgence of te reo as the major regional language may seem far fetched, but thirty years ago I was told that a plan to establish a bilingual school in Ōmāhu was unrealistic and a waste of time. After carefully studying the linguistic ecology and attitudes of local officials, teachers, parents and community members in six Hawkes Bay communities, and the practicalities of introducing te reo Māori as a “medium of instruction” – a language for teaching children about any subject on the curriculum – we recommended that bilingual education projects be established in four¹³. Two of these schools, Omahu (where Tamati Kruger conducted a house-to-house survey to ascertain parents’ views¹⁴) and Mangaterere (Whakatu) are still among the surviving officially designated bilingual schools within the state education system, and have had a discernable impact in the revitalization and maintenance of te reo in the communities they serve. So I know that the impossible can be done; it just takes patience, dedication and time.

In 2014 a report to the Welsh Government made 27 recommendations on the reciprocal relationship between economic development and Welsh language and bilingualism, and how economic development, the public sector, labour market data and a future governance structure could support and promote both economic development and the Welsh language. In addition to the original report (*Report of the Welsh Language and Economic Development Task and Finish Group to the Minister for Economy, Science and Transport*, January 2014), a companion volume covering the responses to the Group's call for evidence, along with the Welsh Government's response to the Report (July 2015) are available on the Welsh Government web site¹⁵. During my stay in the Basque Country in 1987 I was very impressed with what I saw of the work of the Mondragon cooperatives in promoting both the use and revitalization of the Basque language and sophisticated economic development. A recent report from a group of leading figures in the Welsh cooperative movement (some of whom had also first visited the Basque Country in the 1980s), gives an updated view of the

¹³ Richard Benton, *An English-Māori bilingual Education Programme in Four Hawkes Bay Schools*, Wellington: NZCER, 1978.

¹⁴ Reported in Richard Benton, *An English-Māori Bilingual Education Programme in Selected Hawkes Bay Schools*, Second Report. Wellington: NZCER, 1978, pp. 13-15.

¹⁵ <http://gov.wales/topics/businessandconomy/welsh-economy/wled-task-finish-group/?lang=en>

cooperative and how its principles intertwining culture, language and economic advancement could be more strongly linked to similar goals in Wales¹⁶. This I believe is equally true for Aotearoa. The Basque movement, which now incorporates 120 cooperatives, research institutes, a university with over 3,000 students, a major bank, enterprises with a turnover of more than NZ\$25 billion a year, employing over 80,000 owner-members, and the largest Spanish-owned retail supermarket chain, started off with a Parish Priest helping to raise funds for a small group of unemployed parishioners to start a cooperative enterprise with cultural and linguistic as well as economic goals, in a remote, economically depressed Basque town. It is thus not asking the impossible to suggest that a community like Bridge Pa could also become the centre for a movement which would have a huge impact on national cultural, linguistic and economic life.

Thirty years ago we did not think of setting up a “Rohe Whai Mana ā Ture mō te reo Māori”, on the lines of an Irish Gaeltacht, in Hawkes Bay. In all probability, the time would not have been right for such an initiative, because the infrastructure was weak, and the proposal would have seemed even more wildly unrealistic than the idea of bilingual schools, even to most language activists. That is no longer the case. Although a huge amount of lobbying, talking to people, and sharing information would be required to get it off the ground, I think such an idea does at least have a glimmer of practicality in it, and it could mark a substantial turning point, ensuring the continued viability of te reo Māori, and at the same time leading to much greater economic prosperity and social security for the Māori population of the area, particularly the tāngata whenua. Much of what has been said here could apply also to the Gimlett Gravels area – there are only a few vineyards there which have cellar doors, and they should certainly be included in the negotiations about Māori-language on labels from the outset, and the employment of Māori-speaking staff. Eventually, Te Rohe Whai Mana mō te Reo could cross the river and incorporate Ōmahu – but that is a task for another day!

¹⁶ *The Leading Dragon: Lessons for Wales from the Basque Mondragon Cooperative*. Cardiff: Institute for Welsh Affairs, 2012. I am grateful to my friend and colleague, Dr Jeremy Evas of the University of Cardiff, for sending me a copy of the Mondragon report and the links to the other Welsh material cited in this paragraph, as well as for all the other information and ideas on these topics we have discussed over the years.

Let me conclude with a Latin saying and two whakataukākī as calls to action:

Carpe diem!

Tūtū maiea Tāwhirimātea, whakatere ana Poupaka.

Korikori tātou, ka taka tauira!