

He Mana tō te Kupu: Re-Engaging Māori with Literacy

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Āneta Hinemihi Rāwiri
nō Whanganui me Ngāpuhi

Pūkenga, Te Wānanga o Raukawa

Tēnā tātou kua hui tahi nei i raro i te maru
o ngā tūpuna a Ahumairangi, Mātairangi me Pukeahu e tū mai nei,
me te tupuna a te Whanganui a Tara e karekare mai rā
Nā reira Te Ātiawa, tēnā koutou
E ngā kaiwhakahaere o tēnei huihuinga, tēnā koutou
Heoti ano, tēnā huihui mai tātou katoa

In this presentation I will discuss the recurring themes that emerge from the research field of Māori and literacy, and more widely, Indigenous peoples and literacy.

It is appropriate that we reflect carefully on the deep insights gained from this important body of work. International and national literacy strategy are largely dismissive of these understandings. Yet, they are critical to addressing the current-day, significantly high levels of Māori and Indigenous disengagement with literacy; and to re-engaging Māori with literacy.

Whanganui Iwi literacy experiences and aspirations

I would like to begin by sharing a story from my *iwi*, *Whanganui Iwi*. It is an example of the fundamental recurring themes within Māori and literacy. This story is about one of our most prominent *pahake* of recent times, Titi Tihu. Titi Tihu was a cherished *tohunga* and *rangatira* of *Whanganui Iwi*. This story is about a particular English language literacy experience of his, and of *Whanganui Iwi*. I will first describe the events leading up to this story.

Known simply as ‘the River people’, *Whanganui Iwi* has lived with our ancestral River – the Whanganui River – for centuries. This ancestral relationship firmly binds together past, present and future generations of River descendants. It also binds the people and the River together – to the extent that we become inseparable.

This notion of ‘inseparability’ expresses an ancestral philosophy that pays deep respect for the sacredness of the River in the rich web of life that it supports, and which people are a part of; and the wider web of life that the River itself is part of. This web of life is expressed as *whakapapa*.

It prescribes that **all** peoples, must set our activities first and foremost around the values that the River has determined for itself. *Whanganui Iwi* has respected and lived according to the natural order and dynamics of our ancestral River for centuries. This is expressed by the *pepeha*:

I rere kau mai te Awa nui
mai i Te Kāhui Maunga ki Tangaroa
Ko au te Awa
ko te Awa ko au

The River has always flowed
from the Mountains to the Sea
I am the River
the River is me

Invasions to our ancestral homelands, our ancestral River, and our ancestral ways of life began in the 1840s. Sanctioned by successive state legislation and ordinances, these invasions paid no regard to the River and River descendants. They express an entrenched Pākehā cultural philosophy that places Western peoples above the natural world *and* Indigenous peoples.

In response, *Whanganui Iwi* engaged in a sustained campaign of resistance.¹ As part of this resistance, Titi Tihu led claims, petitions and submissions to the courts, successive governments, parliamentary select committees, and the Queen. His objective was to protect the River, and the River people's ways of life.

Titi Tihu led a court case on behalf of *Whanganui Iwi* for the Whanganui River, which became the longest case in *Aotearoa*/New Zealand's history. It progressed over 24 years, starting in 1939 and ending in 1962.

Early court decisions upheld a limited recognition of our ancestral relationships. Years later however, the Court of Appeal found that 1903 legislation had removed any rights, vesting ownership in the Crown, without the River people's knowledge or consent.²

In his 1975 submission Titi Tihu stated, "The government and the courts did not understand that the River is sacred. What was done was a direct attack . . . and such an attack is forbidden by [our] law".³ In his 1984 petition, at 100 years of age, he again sought "to recover the [law] of the River, and the [law] of the ancestors, removed without reason, without agreement, and without justice".⁴

There are many English language literacy experiences that punctuate these background events. But the particular story I want to share today, happened towards the end of our 24 year court case. *Koro* Titi was called to present evidence before the court of our ancestral relationships. In his evidence, he recited an ancient *waiata*. The *waiata* described the sacredness of the River; and recalled generations of ancestors and ancestral places, that bind together the River and its descendants.

In the court minutes however, it was simply recorded that Titi Tihu appeared, sang a song, and then stood down. As had happened – and would be repeated many times over – a people, our history, and our dignity, were dismissed with the stroke of a pen.

This story reflects well, the fundamental recurring themes within the research field of Māori and literacy. For Māori, on the one hand, literacy has and continues to function as a tool of dispossession, assimilation and colonisation. Yet, on the other hand, literacy becomes a tool of resistance, regeneration and self-determination. That is, it supports a fundamental aspiration of Indigenous peoples, to live our ancestral heritage and pass it on to future generations in its full richness and vitality.

A closer examination of these historical and contemporary realities reveals how these competing agendas are in fact, critical factors that determine Māori engagement or dis-engagement with literacy.

Māori and Indigenous literacy experiences and aspirations

Historical context

Written word and print literacy were introduced to *Aotearoa* in the early 1800s. Māori engaged quickly and enthusiastically with these new forms of communication. This was a rich period for Māori written text and print literacy, with a wealth of local, regional and national material produced at this time. This included manuscripts, letters, petitions, submissions, newspapers and other published material. Many of these are still held by *whānau* and *hapū*; and within archive collections.

Early material was written in *te reo*, but spoken and written bilingualism in *te reo* and *te reo Pākehā*

also began to develop at this time. The book *Rere atu taku manu!* brings together 12 essays on the Māori newspapers published at this time. The introduction describes these newspapers as documenting:

[A]n engaging and revealing report of the everyday life of Māori . . . notably the constant effort that Māori made to resist assimilation . . . and retain . . . their very *Māoritanga* or Māoriness. The voices of the ancestors . . . combine in print with modern Māori literary style. . . .

Confirming the very evident power that the press brings, the newspapers reveal not only a Māori world view, but also a belief in the importance of print to educate, inform, reform and entertain.⁵

This initial period of rich activity was soon to change dramatically with the advent of the state education system. The clear objective of literacy policy for Māori was the extermination of the Māori language and culture. Literacy policy firmly advanced an agenda of colonialism and assimilation.

C.J. Parr's research describes the implementation of this policy from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s. He notes the remarkably high levels of literacy engagement by Māori in the early stages of this period. In fact, *hapū* had developed their own systems and methods of literacy instruction.

He then describes the missionary schools that were established from the early 1840s. These were not well supported by Māori, partly because separating children from their ancestral community was repugnant to Māori; and also because of the harsh discipline and manual labour, which was described as being "akin to slavery".⁶

In 1867, the government established the Native Schools system. Māori attendance was compulsory. Literacy policy for Māori institutionalised strictly monolingual and monocultural literacy practice. Its stated purpose was to assimilate and 'civilise' Māori.

Dr Janet Solar has described literacy policy for Māori from the early 1900s to the 1950s, as further entrenching an agenda of colonial imperialism. Literacy policy continued to institutionalise Pākehā language and culture exclusively within education. This was justified by the colonial ideology of 'civilising' Māori in order to become 'equal' with Pākehā. Māori were also prohibited entry into teacher training at this time.

Literacy policy advanced a wider state agenda to undermine Māori autonomy and authority; and secure Pākehā dominance and control. Māori political and economic authority remained intact right up until the mid-1800s. Indeed, Māori society thrived at this time. Literacy engagement was remarkably high, with a wealth of written and print literacy produced at this time. Literacy policy sought to abolish this activity.⁷

A similar example is the thriving regional and national Māori trade in fishing, which had expanded into international trade at this time. This was well established by the 1820s and continued up until the late 1860s, when the state passed legislation to prohibit it.⁸ Arguably, the unequal, unjust colonial relationships created by the state's activity at this time, continue to be entrenched within a neocolonial New Zealand society today.

Contemporary context

In our own *Whanganui Iwi* adult literacy study, we asked River descendants what meaning English language literacy holds for them. Elders told us that to them, English language literacy means deceit and duplicity. They talked about literacy as a tool used to desecrate our revered sacred places, to dispossess us of our ancestral homelands, and to all but destroy cherished ways of life. They spoke about the humiliation and deep hurt suffered from being hit at school for speaking our mother tongue.

Later generations told us of the shame they carry from not being able to speak our ancestral

language, and how enriched their life would have been, had they grown up with *te reo* as their first language. They also spoke about the vital importance of protecting and handing down our language and culture to our grandchildren and future generations.

Institutionalised racism remains the predominant experience of River descendants within education. Because of this, most Iwi members strongly associate English language literacy with negative experiences of assimilation, cultural denigration and exclusion.

Even where River descendants have had positive school experiences, nonetheless they regard literacy as being mutually-exclusive to ancestral values that provide deep meaning and purpose to life. There is a profound sense of loss felt in the many difficulties we face today, to maintain these values.

When talking about why ancestral understandings are important, River descendants shared deeply meaningful things. They spoke about being a people woven together by kinship relationships and ancestral belonging. Moreover, ancestral heritage is understood not only to be a precious source of belonging and identity, but also a people and land management system – that is, a way to live one’s life based on respectful relationships.

Scepticism remains that English language literacy essentially facilitates an adoption of ‘outside’ individualistic Western ideals and behaviours, at the expense of ancestral relationships to land and kin. This has resulted in an intergenerational resistance to literacy participation within the Iwi.

There is an acceptance that literacy is a necessity in today’s dominant Pākehā society, particularly to interact with ‘outside’ peoples and gain employment. However, the prevailing view is that English language literacy is mutually-exclusive to the ancestral values that provide the basis for living a meaningful and fulfilling life.

Yet, our research also found that River descendants willingly engage in literacy, when it serves as a practical memory aid for carrying out Iwi activities. When reading and writing are embedded in Iwi day-to-day life, they become personally meaningful. River descendants then participate in literacy practice.

The findings reveal that it is not improved literacy skills that determine literacy engagement; instead, it is the social meanings attached to literacy. When Iwi ways of life are removed from literacy contexts, so too are the conditions for effective learning and participation. Equally so, when literacy is embedded in ancestral values it then becomes meaningful, and motivates Iwi members to use and improve our literacy skills.⁹

The current entrenched monocultural approach to literacy will not facilitate this. At best, literacy will continue to be overlooked by River descendants as lacking relevance; at its worst, it will be actively resisted as inherently assimilationist.

Dr Tākirangi Smith has considered the realities and impacts of literacy for Māori. He notes that Māori correspondence to the Crown around the mid-1840s, protest strongly against state encroachment into Māori ways of life and ancestral homelands. However, once those generations die, the tone of correspondence weakens, and sometimes even accepts the Crown’s version of events.

Dr Smith notes further that prior to colonisation, the predominant ‘text’ for Māori was the natural environment. Early ethnologists were astounded at the ability of Māori to recall hundreds of names, songs and stories. Reading the environment was a natural part of life and the mnemonics, or triggers for recall, were in everything Māori “saw, smelt, heard, felt and sensed”.

He contends that *whakairo* is a written form of the Māori world view, and is just as valid as Pākehā representations of their world view in written texts. Dr Smith describes Māori forms of literacy as being based on *whakapapa*, and located in entirely different understandings from Pākehā lineal notions of time and space. He argues that Māori forms of literacy are just as valid and relevant as those that derive from Pākehā cultural notions.¹⁰

Prof Wally Penetito described the notion of ‘Māori literacies’ in this way:

Being literate in Māori includes having the capacity to read the land . . . and name the main features of [tribal areas, such as] mountains, rivers and valleys; . . . and to be able to recite [tribal] boundaries.

And to be able to ‘read’ Māori symbols such as carvings, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai.¹¹

The Māori Adult Literacy Working Party discussed how *kaupapa Māori* initiatives have spearheaded ‘biliteracy’ approaches. Established in the 1980s, these initiatives deliver literacy within bilingual and bicultural education programs. Examples given of *kaupapa Māori* education providers were: *Te Kōhanga Reo*, *Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori*, *Te Wānanga o Raukawa* and Māori literacy providers of *Literacy Aotearoa*. The Working Party noted further, how these initiatives have transformed Māori literacy participation and outcomes in their respective sectors.¹²

Dr Margie Hōhepa has described the primary goal of *kaupapa Māori* literacy as ‘cultural continuity and dynamism’. *Kaupapa Māori* literacy reflects an international shift in Indigenous education, towards learning *within* ancestral heritage, rather than simply learning *about* it. This shift also seeks to reverse literacy ideologies that have disempowered and marginalised Indigenous peoples.

Dr Hōhepa argues that *kaupapa Māori* should now ‘inform’ and ‘reform’ literacy strategy and policy. This is critical to support the development of quality resources, professional development training and assessment tools that are grounded in a Māori world view. It is not appropriate to simply transfer across monocultural benchmarks into Māori learning environments.¹³

Bronwyn Yates has described how *kaupapa Māori* approaches provide more meaningful and effective literacy outcomes for adult Māori learners. However, a fundamental barrier is the dominant monocultural definition of literacy. Monoculturalism is so widely taken for granted as being ‘what adult literacy is about’ that it is extremely difficult to challenge, let alone change. Simply having to justify *kaupapa Māori* is a subtle way of undermining its validity from the outset.¹⁴

This discourse resonates with other Indigenous and First Nations peoples. The *First Nations Literacy Gathering* was brought together to advance the adult literacy aspirations of First Nations peoples. The following are the guiding principles developed at its inaugural gathering:

1. **The learner is the most important person** – learners’ strengths, experiences and aspirations determine literacy philosophies, teaching approaches, activities and curriculum materials, not funding criteria.
2. **An holistic approach inclusive of Spirit, Heart, Mind and Body is critical** – while each is of equal importance, for First Nations peoples Spirit comes first.
3. **Literacy in First Nations languages and culture is paramount** – literacy policy that does not recognise or affirm First Nations languages will further erode First Nations culture and the First Nations world view of interconnectedness.
4. **First Nations peoples have their own ancestral literacies** – recent, print-based literacy is only one type. Practitioners need access to relevant teaching methods and resources based on ancestral literacies. They do not have time to find them, read them, and incorporate them into

programs. A national organisation is required to coordinate this.

5. **Modelling inclusiveness** – of Elders, practitioners, learners, youth, on- and off-reserve, Metis and non-First Nations peoples is important. The values embodied in the Medicine Wheel of Honesty, Kindness, Sharing and Strength, permeate First Nations literacy activities.
6. **First Nations control of First Nations literacy education** – First Nations peoples know what has worked and what hasn't, for learners. This also ensures culturally-relevant programs and positive role-modelling for learners. It also prevents First Nations literacy from being subsumed and lost within national or provincial literacy strategies.
7. **Adequate long-term funding** – is critical for success.¹⁵

Functional literacy and Social practice literacy

By the 1950s, monoculturalism had developed further within adult literacy, into notions of functional literacy. Functional literacy theory assumes literacy to be a fixed set of generic, transferable, monocultural skills; their primary function being to enhance individual and national economic productivity. This has become the dominant, entrenched discourse within international and national adult literacy strategy today.

By the 1980s, a major international shift had started to take place within adult literacy research. Social practice literacy theory emerged from critical research findings. Social practice theory promotes an understanding and recognition of multiliteracies, that is, multiple purposes for English language literacy in different contexts.

Further, it cautions against the way a narrow functional approach further entrenches structural inequities between privileged/dominant and marginalised peoples. To avoid this, adult literacy strategy should be developed according to the social practice of the learner.

Pākehā adult literacy researchers Michele Lonsdale and Doug McCurry have described how this critical shift in understanding emerged; and how difficult it is to integrate it into international and national literacy strategy. This demonstrates how entrenched and pervasive functional literacy is.¹⁶

Pākehā social practice literacy researchers Richard Darville, Mary Hamilton and David Barton are highly critical of current-day adult literacy strategy, as entrenching a Western agenda of neoliberalism and neocolonialism. This approach promotes a purely functional understanding of 'what literacy should be'; rather than supporting Indigenous and other peoples to self-determine our literacy needs, and realise our distinctive literacy aspirations.¹⁷

The irony and inherent difficulties of seeking to change institutions that continue to legitimate deeply-entrenched monocultural beliefs is not lost on Indigenous peoples. They influence the level of autonomy – or conversely the level of subjugation – within which we are able to operate.

Prof Martin Nakata has argued that for Indigenous peoples, English language literacy is about improving our ability to shape, influence and reshape outside knowledges that seek to position us within a perspective that is not our own. He argues that this is as critically important for future survival as understanding and practising ancestral knowledge pathways.¹⁸

The Māori Adult Literacy Working Group encapsulated this discourse by proposing the following definition of literacy:

Literacy is a lifelong journey of building the capacity to 'read' and shape Māori, and other worlds.¹⁹

Te Wānanga o Raukawa and kaupapa Māori literacy

The ART Confederation is a confederation of three iwi: Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga and Ngāti Toa Rangatira. In 1981, the ART Confederation established Te Wānanga o Raukawa to assist in reversing the imminent threat of cultural threshold. Cultural threshold is the point where, under immense pressure from an outside culture, there is cultural collapse beyond which recovery – and survival as a people – is not possible.

The principal goal of Te Wānanga o Raukawa is to maximise our contribution to the *mātauranga* continuum for the survival of Māori as a people. We do this by applying *kaupapa Māori* and *mātauranga* in all our activities. This is expressed by the survival statement:

E kore au e ngaro
he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea

I will never be lost
I am a descendant of Rangiātea

The Crown has legislatively recognised the vital importance of this distinctive activity within the tertiary landscape, in the Education Act 1989. The government has reaffirmed this commitment to ‘Māori success as Māori’ within its *Tertiary Education Strategy 2014–2019* and *Ka Hikitia: Māori Education Strategy 2013–2017*.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa has consistently advocated for *kaupapa Māori* and *mātauranga* to be integrated into tertiary literacy strategy. In 2009, we proposed a *kaupapa Māori* embedded literacy plan for the Wānanga. The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) responded that our proposal fell outside its embedded literacy policy. We were required to implement its largely functional, monocultural embedded literacy approach and resources.

Since then, the TEC has made some concessions, by initiating three projects to integrate *kaupapa Māori* into certain aspects of its literacy strategy. Te Wānanga o Raukawa is a member of the TEC reference groups for these projects. Full presentations on these three projects will be given by other presenters at this Symposium.

The first project is developing *mātauranga Māori* reading assessment items for the Literacy and Numeracy Assessment tool. The monocultural nature of the Tool resulted in incorrect literacy assessments for adult Māori learners. The project is developing culturally-appropriate assessment items to address this.

The second project is developing *kaupapa Māori* professional development training workshops for literacy tutors. Called *He Taunga Waka*, the purpose of this project is to support the delivery of culturally-appropriate literacy programs for adult Māori learners.

The third project was initiated to develop a national Māori adult literacy strategy. Called *Haea Te Pū Ata*, the draft strategy took an evidence-based approach, integrating within it research findings that *kaupapa Māori* and *mātauranga* are critical to re-engaging Māori with literacy. It also reflected social practice theory, by building the draft strategy around the day-to-day literacy practice of adult Māori learners within their *whānau*. Consultation feedback from the Māori literacy sector and Māori communities overwhelmingly supported this approach.

The TEC responded that parts of the draft strategy fall outside its legislative functions. No further explanatory details were provided. Therefore, *Haea Te Pū Ata* will no longer be implemented as a strategy in its own right. Instead, it will be reduced to a work stream within the TEC’s existing literacy strategy. The TEC also removed a *te reo* version of the draft strategy.

The differences between a strategy and a work stream are significant. A strategy establishes new *kaupapa Māori* leadership and organisational structures, policy and resourcing. None of these changes will be made within a work stream. This greatly affects the stability and further development of any *kaupapa Māori* literacy activity. Further, relegating *kaupapa Māori* literacy to a work stream entrenches the TEC's dominant, largely monocultural approach to adult literacy.

By subsuming *Haea Te Pū Ata* under its existing strategy, the TEC has effectively shifted decision-making concerning literacy for Māori to wider tertiary and industry sector participants; who do not have any experience or knowledge of *kaupapa Māori* literacy, or the wider historical and contemporary contexts of literacy for Māori. This was reflected often in the TEC reference groups we participated in.

We would suggest that in fact, a national *kaupapa Māori* adult literacy strategy does fall well within the TEC's wider legislative, strategic and policy commitments to supporting Māori success as Māori within tertiary education.

More importantly, it is critical to reversing the current-day, significantly high levels of adult Māori dis-engagement with literacy. The statistics are alarming. Around 70% of Māori men and 60% of Māori women today are dis-engaged with literacy.

The recent national survey *Te Kupenga*, found that 70% of adult Māori consider ancestral heritage to be intrinsic to their sense of wellbeing.²⁰ This reaffirms the critical importance of shifting away from cultural exclusion within adult literacy strategy, towards genuine and meaningful cultural pluralism.

Conclusion

Within colonial discourses, literacy for Māori was primarily concerned with addressing 'cultural inferiority' within an agenda of colonial imperialism. This has now expanded into neocolonial discourses of providing special learning support to address 'cultural difference'; and securing 'improved economic outcomes' within a neoliberal agenda of Western capitalist globalisation.

For Māori, the outcome is the same: an outright dismissal of our literacy realities and aspirations; and ongoing assimilation and marginalisation. Research findings reveal that this outcome is in fact, the principal determining factor for the significantly high levels of Māori dis-engagement with literacy today.

In contrast, Māori and Indigenous adult literacy aspirations are to preserve ancestral belonging and connections; and to restore respectful relationships between peoples. In turn, this will reverse our social and political marginalisation; and the environmental degradation of our ancestral homelands.

Research has found that within historical *and* contemporary contexts, these are the principal determining factors for Māori engagement with literacy.

Restoring Māori aspirations to adult literacy will restore literacy to a central place within Māori lives. It will also realise a fundamental literacy aspiration of Māori and Indigenous peoples – to restore respect and integrity to the written word. This is expressed by the *whakataukī*:

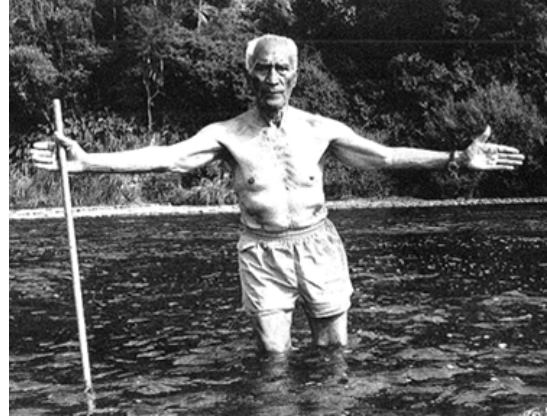
He mana tō te kupu

Uplifting, empowering words

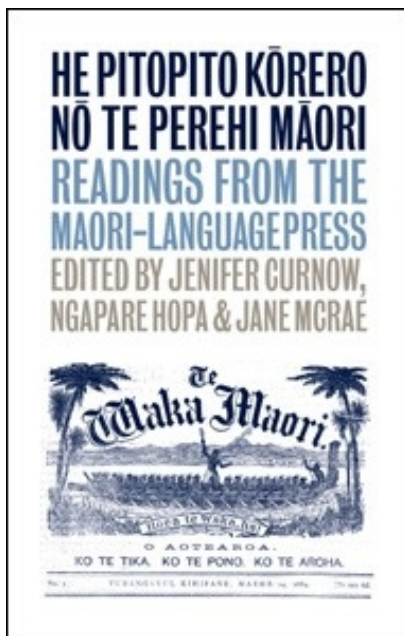
Nō reira, ka mutu i kōnei aku kupu kōrero. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā huihui mai tātou katoa.



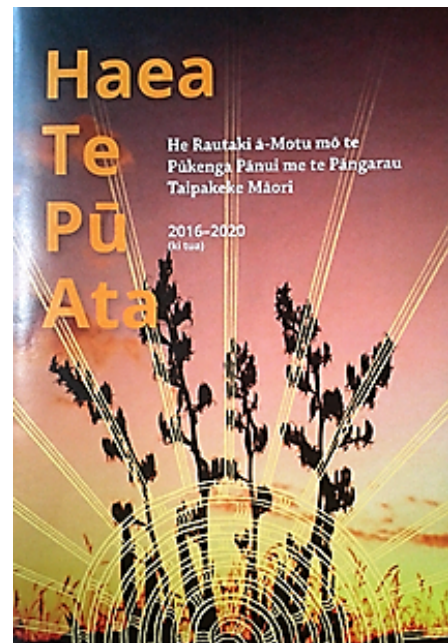
Whanganui Iwi *pahake* who filed the Whanganui River case, 1939
Titi Tihu is in the second row, second from the right



Titi Tihu in 1984, aged 100 years,
at Ngā Huinga, the Whanganui River,
Taumarunui



He Pitopito Kōrero, an engaging collection of excerpts from the early Māori newspapers, with Māori language excerpts translated into English



The *te reo* version of *Haea Te Pū Ata* removed by the TEC, reducing it to a strictly monolingual document



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Rauwena Barlow and Prof. Whatarangi Winiata,
Te Wānanga o Raukawa graduation

Glossary

Aotearoa	Long white cloud, the Māori/Indigenous name for New Zealand
Hapū	Kin-group of descendants of a common ancestor
Iwi	Kin-group of descendants of a common ancestor
Mātauranga	Ancestral knowledge
Pahake	Elder/s, male or female
Pākehā	English/European
Pepeha	Statement of identity
Rangatira	Leader
Te reo	Māori language
Te reo Pākehā	English language
Tohunga	Spiritual leader
Waiata	Song/s
Whakairo	Carving/s
Whakapapa	Genealogical relationships
Whakataukī	Proverb, significant saying
Whānau	Extended family

Endnotes

¹ See: Waitangi Tribunal (1999) *The Whanganui River report: Wai 167*. Wellington: GP Publications.

² *Re the Bed of the Whanganui River* [1962] NZLR 600 (CA).

³ Tihu, T. (1975) 'Submission to the Māori Affairs Parliamentary Select Committee on behalf of Whanganui Iwi'.

⁴ Tihu, T. (1984) 'Petition of Titi Tihu to the New Zealand House of Representatives on behalf of Whanganui Iwi'. The exact words are: "to recover the *mana* of The River, and the *mana* of the ancestors . . .". In Titi Tihu's submissions and petitions he uses the words 'mana' and 'law' interchangeably. I have translated 'mana' as 'law' in the cited quote, to convey this.

⁵ Curnow, J., N. Hopa and J. McRae (Eds.) (2002) *Rere atu, taku manu!: Discovering history, language and politics in the Maori-language newspapers*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

⁶ Parr, C.J. (1963) 'Māori literacy 1843–1867'. In, *Journal of Polynesian Society*, 72, pp.211–234.

⁷ Soler, J. (2000) 'Māori literacy and curriculum politics: 1920–1960'. In, Soler, J and J. Smith (Eds.). *Literacy in New Zealand: Practices, politics and policy since 1900*. Auckland: Longman.

⁸ Waitangi Tribunal (1988) *Report of the Muriwhenua Fishing Claim: Wai 22*. Wellington: GP Publications.

⁹ Rāwiri, Ā.H. (2008) *Embedding literacy in a sense of community: Literacy and employment within Whanganui Iwi*. Whanganui: Te Puna Mātauranga o Whanganui – Whanganui Iwi Education Authority, on behalf of Whanganui Iwi.

¹⁰ Smith, T. (1999) 'Doing research from home: Tāngata whenua issues and Māori research'. In, Te Pūmanawa Hauora (Ed.). *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference: School of Māori Studies, Massey University 7-9 July 1998*. (2nd ed.) Palmerston North: Massey University.

¹¹ Penetito, W., et al. (2001) *Te kāwai ora – Reading the world, reading the word, being the world: Report of the Māori Adult Literacy Working Party*. Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Hohepa, M.K. (2001) 'Maranga e te mahara – Memory arise: Learning, culture and language regeneration'. In, *NZARE Conference Papers*. Rangiora: New Zealand Association for Research in Education; Hohepa, M.K. (2000) 'Issues in the production of written Māori text'. In, Soler, J and J. Smith (Eds.). *Literacy in New Zealand: Practices, politics and policy since 1900*. Auckland: Longman.

¹⁴ Yates, B. (1996) 'Striving for tino rangatiratanga'. In, Benseman, J., B. Findsen, and M. Scott. (Eds.). *The fourth sector: Adult and community education in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

¹⁵ National Aboriginal Design Committee (2002) *National paper on aboriginal literacy*. Toronto, Ontario: The Author. I have used the term 'First Nations peoples' instead of 'aboriginal peoples' in this quote. This reflects the shift within First Nations peoples away from using the colonial-imposed terminology 'aboriginal', to self-defining terminology.

¹⁶ Lonsdale, M. and D. McCurry. (2004) *Literacy in the new millennium*. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.

¹⁷ Darville, R. (1999) 'Knowledges of adult literacy: Surveying for competitiveness'. In, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19, pp.273–285; Barton, D. and M. Hamilton (2000) *Situated literacies: reading and writing in context*. London: Routledge; Hamilton, M.E. and D.P. Barton (2000) 'The International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS): What does it really measure?'. In, *International Review of Education*, 46(1–2), pp.377–389.

¹⁸ Nakata, M. (2002) *Some thoughts on literacy issues in Indigenous contexts*. Melbourne: Language Australia; Nakata, M. (2000). 'History, cultural diversity and English language teaching'. In, The New London Group (Eds.). *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures*. New York: Routledge, pp.106–120.

¹⁹ Penetito, W., et al. (2001) *Te kāwai ora – Reading the world, reading the word, being the world: Report of the Māori Adult Literacy Working Party*. Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri.

²⁰ Statistics New Zealand (2015). *Ngā tohu o te ora: The determinants of life satisfaction for Māori 2013*. Wellington: The Author.