

Language re-vitalisation and cultural transformation

Colleen Morehu

Abstract: It is argued that most examples of mainstream schooling and education in New Zealand historically and in the present constitute a colonising experience, marginalising Māori by uncritically reproducing dominant and subordinate power relations. The following proverb provides readers with an insight into the struggle for the right of Māori to be Māori within the provision of education in Aotearoa. "*Kua whakatata ngā pae tawhiti kia whakamaua tonutia, ngā pae tata kia tina*". The proverb speaks of transformation as a mode of bringing distant horizons in so close as to be localised. Therefore it is an apt reflection of the contributions of all the individuals who have struggled to conquer the 'Māori language loss' horizon and to bring it back in close. Such an approach acknowledges and celebrates the diversity of Māori medium contexts that encourage Māori whānau to claim and reclaim their indigenous knowledge in order to survive as Māori into the future.

Keywords: early childhood; education; language; Māori; transformation

Introduction

A critical historical analysis of Māori participation in schooling and education in the early nineteenth century tells us that ideas and pedagogies about transformation of communities through education are not new to Māori. Kuni Jenkins' study provides an analysis which explains how transformation works using a theme called 'aitanga'. 'Aitanga', she said, "refers to a set of practices and processes which are played out in meetings between people. At their core, these practices and processes involve reciprocity: a giving and receiving by both parties equally committed to a relationship" (Jenkins, 2000, p. 26).

The relationship between the two based on the principles of 'aitanga', resulted in Marsden being welcomed by Ruatara and his people at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands on Christmas Day in 1814. Ruatara and Marsden came to an agreement that education through schooling would bring about transformation for Māori. The encounter that took place between Marsden, Ruatara and his people as described by Jenkins (2000) portrays Ruatara and his people going through the rituals of encounter with the pōwhiri. After the pōwhiri, Ruatara is portrayed as the central actor in the scene persuading his people to accept Marsden and the missionaries and allow them to establish a mission station and school. By doing this, Ruatara effectively facilitated the beginning of major transformation through education and schooling for Māori.

Jenkins' (2000) work tells a story about Māori consciously pursuing Pākehā contact to get access to the knowledge and skills through schooling needed to transform the way of life for those Māori living at Rangihoua. She describes Ruatara's and Marsden's quite different visions for transformation in the following way: "for Ruatara, contact with Pākehā meant a huge technological transformation of Māori society. For Marsden contact with Māori meant an evangelical and imperialist transformation of Māori society" (p.88), wherein Māori would be a subordinate group serving the dominant Pākehā leadership.

Thomas Kendall visited Rangihoua in early 1814 with a letter from Marsden promising Ruatara some quite radical ideals; for example, boys and girls would be taught together to read, men would be taught to construct houses and grow wheat in exchange for Māori guarantees of protection to the missionaries (May, 2005). The guarantee of protection was sought because of the burning of the vessel the 'Boyd' and killing of the people on board in

1810. The Bay of Islands was considered to be out of bounds for the British as a result of the incident. Kendall returned with Marsden in December 1814 to establish the mission school site at Rangihoua. The eventual school opened in 1816 with Thomas Kendall as missionary teacher. Ruatara was dead by that time, but had he lived he would have had no inkling of Marsden's agenda for imperialist transformation through schooling.

High spirited Māori children versus spare the rod and spoil the child

The contrast between the missionary imperialistic value and belief in 'spare the rod and spoil the child' and the Māori value and belief in nurturing high spiritedness in children is referenced as a constant point of tension between Māori and the missionaries. Kendall and other missionary teachers referred to Māori children as heathen and wild, while in the same context noted their literacy ability. In 1818, Kendall claimed that "they show a degree of skill quite equal, if not decidedly superior to that of a School of English Boys under similar circumstances" (May, 2005, p.29).

An analysis of the literature tells us that early missionaries did not attempt to mediate the tension between what they termed as 'wild and spoiled', and exceptional intellectual ability of Māori children. In order to develop and nurture the free spirit, Māori did not chastise or punish their children (Pere, 1991, 2008). Papakura's ideas (1986) coincide with Pere's argument that pre-European Māori children were never punished. Papakura stated that: "The Māori never beat their children, but were always kind to them, and seemed to strengthen the bonds of affection which remains among Māori throughout life" (Papakura, 1986, p. 145). Objection by Māori communities to correction and punishment of their children is well recorded by the missionaries themselves (May, 2005). Physical punishment and violence against children was introduced by the missionaries (Pere, 2008).

Tension in Māori and Pākehā values regarding child-rearing

Māori values of freedom and high spiritedness in child-rearing, nurtured curiosity, persistence and endurance that led to children growing up and being prepared to stand up and fight for the mana of their people. In order to transform Māori cultural habits in line with the imperialist agenda, the infant schools focussed on the foundations of learning underpinned by Pākehā values of manners and obedience with the youngest children.

The Government established native schools under the Native Schools Act 1867 as a way of dealing with the fallout of the native land wars. State provision and funding for native schools required all instruction to be conducted through the medium of English. This transformative process facilitated the shift away from Māori language as the dominant language. The shift away to Māori / English, English / Māori and finally English also saw a shift away from Māori. Fishman (2001) says that without language, understanding of a culture is diminished. The demise of the Māori language and fighting spirit facilitated through schooling and education reflects the 'distant horizon coming close' displacing the right to be Māori. Ruatara did see Britain and have appreciation for what he saw. We can assume with some confidence however, that Ruatara did not ever envisage that Māori would become Pākehā or that Pākehā would ever become Māori. He envisaged that we would be two distinct cultures living in harmony with both cultures intact.

Not only was the language of instruction changed, but corporal punishment was sanctioned to speed up the compliance process. Governor Grey's letter reported: "...it is with much pleasure we observe that the tenor of the scholars' behaviour is reported to us docile, teachable and generally obedient..." (Jenkins, 2000, p.125). The words docile, teachable and generally obedient used by Grey to describe Māori scholars are a stark contrast to the high spirited,

enthusiastic, exceedingly intelligent child described by missionaries at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Grey's comments mark the transformation of the Māori ethos of the 'distant horizon'. At close quarters, creeping in is the oppression and subjugation of Māori. Tension between Māori and Pākehā values and beliefs becomes very pronounced within the 'Native Schools' (May, 2005; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Conscientisation and resistance to government policies

From the late 1960s on, Māori began to challenge social policies that they saw as oppressive. The 'distant horizon' is upon us very close as 'te pae tata'. Sporting decisions that allowed Māori to tour Australia, but not South Africa raised issues of race that became divisive for Māori and non-Māori in New Zealand. There were several outbursts of Māori resistance during the 1960s and 1970s. Urban movements led by groups such as Ngā Tamatoa emphasised the need to strengthen Māori language, culture and political power. Linda Smith, (Diamond, 2003) emphasises the fact that it took a group of people who did not speak Māori to raise national awareness about the role of schooling in the near death and subsequent regeneration of the Māori language. After a long period of silence, that national awareness raising marked the beginning of the conscientisation process for Māori. According to Freire (Torres, 1998) conscientisation:

... is more than taking consciousness, because being aware is a normal way of being human. It involves to analyse. It is a way of seeing the world in a precise or almost precise way. It is a way of seeing how society works. It is a better way of understanding the set of problems, a question of power Finally, it involves a deeper reading of the reality and of the common sense, and beyond it (Torres, 1998, pp. 5–8).

In 1975 there was a protest march from one end of the North Island to the other expressing unrest at the loss of Māori land. The 1975 hīkoi on Lambton Quay, Wellington displayed to all New Zealanders a united Māori expression of discontent over loss of Māori land and a determination to part with not one acre more. A petition and a memorial of rights were presented to the Prime Minister, Bill Rowling, at Parliament. In the same year, the Waitangi Tribunal was established to deal with Treaty of Waitangi infringements retrospective to 1840.



Figure 1. 'Te pae tata' in action at the 1975 protest march.
Photograph by Ray Pigney, courtesy of Fairfax Newspapers
(www.treaty2u.govt.nz/.../waitangi-tribunal/).

Tu Tangata as localised agency for change

Within this climate of growing Māori awareness and discontent with the Government's assimilation policy, Kara Puketapu was appointed to lead the Department of Māori Affairs in 1977. His task was to promote "the social, cultural and economic well-being of the Māori

people” (Puketapu, 1982, p. 2). Puketapu introduced the concept of Tu Tangata as the catalyst for transformation to address Māori unemployment, education and crime (Puketapu, 1982). This is an example of ‘Te pae tata’ as localised agency for change. Māori are bringing the ‘horizons’ in close and acting on the circumstances that constrain them.

At this time Richard Benton (1979) unveiled the findings of his research; the paradox for ‘te pae tawhiti and te pae tata’ (the dreaded reality) which reported that the ‘death’ of Māori language was imminent with less than 5% of Māori children able to speak Māori. Being forced to face the reality that being Māori was to become extinct, like the moa. No Māori language, no Māori tikanga, no Māori world view. For these reasons, the importance of Benton’s research cannot be over stated. His research became the catalyst for the Māori language regeneration strategies.

Kōhanga reo was born amid the tumult of Māori consciousness as whānau, hapū and iwi grasped the impact of the Benton findings. The Tū Tangata programme within the Department of Māori Affairs facilitated the delivery of kōhanga reo as an initiative. Initially it was funded through the Department of Māori Affairs and after 1990 through the Ministry of Education. Kōhanga reo became the flagship initiative for Māori and marked the beginning of the renaissance in education, described here as twenty five years of revolution. In a more recent comment, Te Rito (2007) used a metaphorical analysis to encapsulate and localize ‘the distant horizon’ (te pae tawhiti) to be drawn close (te pae tata), with the phrase, “Māori have refused to lie down on the pillow of assimilation” (p.4). Māori were now daring to reflect on ‘te pae tawhiti’ when they had power and control over their world to negotiate ‘te pae tata’.

Language re-vitalisation

Kōhanga reo was established to regenerate the Māori language and its culture by conscientising whānau to step up and take power and control of decision making over the curriculum, the day to day operation, the enrolment process and the recruitment and retention strategies for the fledging institution. Mobilising whānau in this way is ‘te pae tata’ in a Freirean way acting in a transformation process (Freire, 1996). Fishman (2001) has written extensively about the regenerating language using a theory he calls ‘Reversing Language Shift’. Reversing the shift away from Māori language suggests going back in time as we do when referring to ‘te pae tawhiti’. This has been problematic for Māori because when we attempt to go back in time to rediscover language, we find that the past does not have the vocabulary to explain the realities of today and tomorrow as we find in ‘te pae tata’. The ultimate goal for Māori medium education is for Māori children to be competent and confident in both the Māori world and the Pākehā world, so language needs to be able to facilitate that. There has been resistance from Māori to the efforts of Te Taura Whiri to construct new words to make the Māori language relevant in the modern world. Language needs to evolve with societal changes to ensure that it survives. In referring to language re-vitalisation, Hohepa (1999) captures this need accurately in stating that: “Regeneration speaks more of growth and re-growth, development and re-development. Nothing re-grows in exactly the same shape that it had previously, or in exactly the same direction” (Hohepa, 1999, p. 46).

Tōku reo, tōku ohooho, tōku reo, tōku māpihi maurea, tōku reo tōku whakakai marihi (my language is my awakening, my language is my strength, my language is my adornment) is a proverb that speaks of the significance of the Māori language and culture to its people. During the 1980s and 1990s, kōhanga reo achieved outstanding results in language and culture re-vitalisation. Kura kaupapa Māori and wānanga Māori were established as a natural progression pathway for graduates of kōhanga reo and others interested in language re-vitalisation. Transformation is occurring on ‘te pae tata’ in its struggle to avert the imminent death of the language of which Benton

(1979) spoke. The re-vitalisation is like the phoenix arising from the ashes as the symbol of new life. Freire's transformative praxis is like that metaphor.

Conscientising element of language re-vitalisation

Whānau management in terms of power and control in decision making was a key element to the difference between the way kōhanga reo and early childhood education operated. The whānau management element was the leverage for change from the indoctrination model of the state to the re-vitalisation model. Not just the re-vitalisation of the language, but the re-vitalisation of Māori ways of knowing and being. Māori became politicized and socialized as actors in the transformation from the demise of the Māori language. Being an actor who can act on situations that need to be changed is critical to following the Freirean model of transformation and liberation.

The re-vitalisation of Māori ways of being, of values, of knowledge and of language provides Māori whānau the space to reflect on what aspects, of Mātauranga Māori are appropriate for the education settings of today. Do we want to revitalise the traditional Māori value for nurturing 'high spiritedness' in early childhood? How do we address the narrow cultural capital in early childhood for Māori that has seen kōhanga reo and Māori immersion settings reflect a dominant western artificial model regardless of whether they are urban or rural? How will we provide for the large number of Māori children in their early mainstream years when those settings sustain unsustainability by uncritically reproducing norms?

Kōhanga reo growing intellects from the grassroots

From my perspective in Tūwharetoa, the kōhanga reo we ran in 1983 out of a spare classroom in a primary school, marked the beginning of our re-vitalisation story. At that time, kōhanga reo operated under the Māori Affairs Department. Whakapūmautanga Downs was the kaumatua (elder) who spear-headed the grass roots initiative in Tūwharetoa. We were accountable for an annual grant of \$5,000 from the Māori Affairs department. No teachers were paid. However, we were required to meet the costs of some food, resources for children, hosting, caring and entertaining visitors, electricity, phone and yearly accounting fees. Only one mother had formal qualifications. The rest of us had no formal qualifications and very little (if any) Māori language. Benton's (1979) message of Māori language death and the phrase attributed to Sir Āpirana Ngata (1874-1951) by Karetu (1993) "Ki te kore koe e mōhio ki te kōrero Māori ehara koe i te Māori" (If you do not speak Māori you are not Māori) (p. 223) had filtered through to us. We became driven by a desire to 'be able to be Māori', to speak Māori, to understand and practice Māori cultural ways of knowing and doing.

To that end, we attended Māori language classes at night, community driven Māori cultural studies in weekends and kōhanga reo during the day. Our struggle to be Māori dominated our lives. This is 'te pae tata' in action. We were reflecting on the distant horizon at 'te pae tawhiti' to identify what we needed to do at 'te pae tata' to transform education for our children in the future. We had drawn a bottom line that we would not allow any more of our children to be educated in a schooling system that would not allow them to be Māori. At that time, it was a courageous stand because we made the decision to take responsibility for the formal education of our own children, consciously knowing what would be required of us in terms of pursuing knowledge and qualifications. We also made a commitment to have five children each so that our kōhanga reo would be sustained with 25 children for a period. The self-sustain strategy meant that there would be a group of children who would grow up being able to speak Māori and have knowledge of the Māori worldview; in essence, being able to know, think and be Māori.

As a group, we shared a vision of what we wanted in education for our children in the future. Because of our commitment to the vision, we were resilient and were able to repeatedly respond to ongoing Government policy changes that influenced the development of kōhanga reo in Tūwharetoa. Our focus was on the management of language, culture and whānau. We raised money and with the support of our husbands, built a kōhanga reo. Collectively, we contributed to the project, as laborers, painters, landscapers and babysitters. When policy changes required parents to be either in employment or training to be eligible for the childcare subsidy, which was \$65 per child, we developed a training package for parents to maintain the whānau ethos of kōhanga reo. We wanted parents to be involved at a practical level on a day to day basis. That intense participation was the platform for 'te pae tata' in re-vitalising the Māori language. The strategy worked for a while, but was not sustainable in the long term.

When kōhanga reo became accountable to the Ministry of Education, the focus was to reach a standard of compliance as set by the Ministry. Until that point, we had power and control over what we identified as curriculum. We spent very little time in our new dwelling. Instead our curriculum constituted being in the natural environment. We visited historical places in the local and wider communities. We engaged with other iwi, shared their environments, their stories, their histories. We did not just talk about the waterways and the mountains; we went there and experienced them. Literacy, numeracy, science, technology, social studies, art and health and well-being, physical education was wrapped around our excursions as curriculum. Our curriculum was an emergent one. Without the whānau actively participating at every level on an ongoing basis, the tension between change, yet not change surfaced. We were not able to continue to negotiate the emergent curriculum with the same intensity without the daily participation and support of whānau members.

Reflecting on the way we negotiated ongoing policy changes, our commitment was to language re-vitalisation. In my opinion, we did not expend enough energy critically thinking about how the Ministry of Education's compliance requirements might fit with the shape of Bourdieu's (1977) cultural capital. For example, the requirement for kōhanga reo to have equipment for 18 areas of play saw a move away from natural resources that we used extensively to a more manufactured artificial environment. The focus shifted from emergent Māori curriculum to minimum health and safety requirements as identified by the Ministry of Education. Change, yet not change.

Changes to the child care subsidy policy required all parents to either be in employment or in training. Logistically, the policy change meant that our whānau would need to pursue employment or training and therefore exit kōhanga reo over night to ensure eligibility for the subsidy. While parents were effectively working at the kōhanga reo, they worked in a voluntary capacity rather than a paid one and the grass roots training that occurred in our kōhanga reo was not formalised. Our response to the policy change was to develop a whānau training package for parents to ensure their ongoing participation in the re-vitalisation agenda and eligibility for subsidy to financially sustain our kōhanga reo operation. At that time, we as a whānau had the autonomy in terms of power and control at 'te pae tata' to make those decisions for ourselves.

The transition to school was not a good experience for our children. In 1990, they went into a bilingual class within a mainstream school, however, there was no enrolment policy to gain entry into the class and most of the children in the class had very little (if any) Māori language or understanding of it. Consequently, the English language was the vernacular used in the classroom. There was also tension between the values of individualism and collectivism, for example, the children were not encouraged to work together or to share. Our children (3 at that time) were unhappy, continually returning to the kōhanga reo (which was attached to the school) for affirmation that it is okay to be Māori. At that time, we made a strategic decision to home-school our children to give us time to find out how to develop a Māori medium schooling option in Tūwharetoa. Initially, we operated our school out of the office in our

kōhanga reo. We then moved to a basement of a church that was used as a crèche during church services. Even on the sunniest of days, we needed to use lights in the basement because it was so dark. At that time, we continued to run the kōhanga reo, make resources for our school and write submissions to the Ministry of Education to lobby for a Māori language schooling option in Tūwharetoa. We also accepted responsibility collectively for gaining formal teacher education qualifications to sustain our vision for Māori schooling and education in the future. For me, that meant pursuing a formal qualification in early childhood education. For others, it meant pursuing formal qualifications in the primary and secondary schooling sectors. At this point 'te pae tata' was engaged.

In an attempt to create 'time and space' to pursue teacher education qualifications, we looked for an established Māori language schooling option for our children. A decision was made to enroll our three children at Rakaumanga School in Huntly in 1991. Together, we purchased a vehicle and rented a house in Taupiri near Huntly. We took turns in accepting primary responsibility for the care of our children. For me, that meant taking my babies and staying in Taupiri with our three children who attended Rakaumanga for one week out of every three weeks. One of our whānau was enrolled in a teacher education programme in Hamilton under the philosophy of 'Te Aho Matua' at the time. Te Aho Matua is the guiding philosophy for Kura Kaupapa Māori schools. I was also enrolled in a teacher education programme delivered by Waikato University as an outpost in Tūwharetoa from 1991 to 1993. From my perspective, 'te pae tata' was fully engaged at this time. Conscious decisions were being made regarding what knowledge we were choosing to pursue to inform the provision of kōhanga reo and schooling in the future.

While there was support for our ventures in the pursuit of Māori language schooling, there was not the same level of support for pursuit of knowledge in the early childhood sector. Our kōhanga reo supported the initiative fully; however, there was tension between what we autonomously decided as a whānau would contribute to the ongoing transformation of kōhanga reo and the vision of the national parent body. Kōhanga reo for our whānau had been about re-vitalisation of the Māori language, autonomous whānau management in terms of power and control in decision making and growing your own to ensure that transformation in pursuit of excellence in Māori education maintained momentum. Kōhanga reo under Tu Tangata had initially been about empowering Māori to take control of their lives. There was a change at this point because of a tension that developed between autonomy in terms of power and control in decision making at the local and national levels. In an effort to be financially sustainable for the long term, decisions were made at the national level and imposed at the local level without consultation. Change, yet no change in the pursuit of excellence in Māori education from that time was dependent on how politically aware each kōhanga reo whānau was and how confident they were to defend their right to be autonomous. 'Te pae tata' is moving out of reach. Freire (1996) talks about the struggle against oppression and argues: "...but almost always, during the initial stage of the struggle, the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or 'sub-oppressors'" (p. 27).

Kōhanga reo started out as an initiative to emancipate Māori to act against dominant power relationships and policies that contributed to the demise of the Māori language and culture. It now appears that holding on to power in order to dominate others and prevent them from having a voice is still the site of struggle. The difference is that the new site of struggle is with Māori ourselves.

The plateau

After twenty five years of emancipatory revolution, the re-vitalisation of the Māori language and culture has reached a plateau. Māori language is not the vernacular in many homes. The urgency to re-vitalise the Māori language and culture to a level of inter-generational language

and culture transmission is diminishing. We need to review the mechanisms that uncritically reproduce dominant and subordinate power relations between ‘Māori and Māori’ and ‘Māori and non-Māori’ to understand how the unequal power relationships are intervening in the transformation agenda. An issue arises about the quality of early childhood and schooling for whānau who are oppressed. They want the freedom and emancipation as an ideal, but they are not brave enough to take responsibility for that freedom. It is easier for them to not make a stand. In this scenario, oppressors continue to oppress because the oppressed allow it (Freire, 1996).

Until 1997, kōhanga reo steadily gained momentum as an early childhood option for Māori children and their whānau. Since then, early childhood education is increasing its status as the preferred option for Māori. In 2002, the strategic policy document for early childhood advocated that teacher led services are an indication of quality and therefore attract more funding than other services. At least two kōhanga reo; one in Palmerston North and one in Hamilton have been re-designated as teacher led services. Others in kōhanga reo may think about having the freedom to continue to make their own decisions, but having that freedom involves taking responsibility, and many people are afraid of that responsibility. Another group has made conscious decisions to break away from the parent body of kōhanga reo and to operate as ‘puna reo’. Puna reo is emerging as a Māori medium model within the early childhood sector. It is different to kōhanga reo in that there is no responsibility or affiliation to the National Te Kōhanga Reo Trust. Puna reo receive funding directly from the Ministry of Education and are directly accountable to them like other early childhood settings.

Under the Māori social structure of whānau, hapū and iwi, it is a natural process to break away and form communities, so the decision made by kōhanga whānau should not necessarily be considered in a negative light. Audre Lorde (2007) wrote that “the Master’s tool will never dismantle the master’s house” (p. 112). In this context, her words are used to remind us that as Māori we are outside the envisaged societal empirical structure of education and as such we need to identify our differences and make them strengths. By doing so, we intervene in the homogenizing agenda of the government and celebrate the diversity of Māori early years education contexts. Within the context of Māori medium early years education, Lorde’s interpretation of the words “divide and conquer must become define and empower” are inspirational (2007, p. 112).

Puna reo as a viable option for Māori

Since 1994, there has been a steady decline in the number of children attending kōhanga reo. Enrolments dropped 25% from 14,027 in 1993 to 10,600 in 2004 to 9,165 in 2008 (Ministry of Education, 2008). According to King (2007), it is second language speakers who have gained fluency in their heritage language who demonstrate the passion and commitment required to drive the Māori language re-vitalisation strategies in New Zealand. She argues that many of those who have gained fluency are middle-class Māori parents who are now involved in immersion centres or puna reo and that these settings are attracting other middle-class Māori parents.

If we apply Maslow’s hierarchy of needs to language re-vitalisation, the needs and circumstances of whānau can act as the motivating lever. For example, whānau with significant economic needs motivate whānau away from their heritage language. Whānau who do not have economic needs, but have belonging needs may be motivated towards their heritage language. Maslow’s hierarchy of needs would argue that the economic needs are more fundamental than the belonging needs. In other words, those who do not have economic needs, including physiological and health and safety needs are in a better position to address their cultural belonging needs (Maslow, 1970). If puna reo continues to attract the middle-class whānau, an elitist model of Māori medium early childhood will become the norm for

those who can afford it. Historically, Māori were a very hierarchal people. There were the 'ariki' or chieftain strata, the commoners and the slaves. We need to ask, if we really want to return to such a model.

A call for action

From the advantage point, 'te pae tata' motivated the Government to highlight a need for education policy to be more responsive to the needs of Māori. In terms of the provision of early childhood education for Māori, the state engineered a strategic policy document that called for "a greater requirement on ECE (early childhood education) services and teachers to be responsive to the care and education needs of Māori children" (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 13).

During the consultation phase of the early childhood strategic planning, Māori voiced their desire for Māori medium teacher education. The early childhood policy document (Ministry of Education, 2002) responded identifying the need to provide Māori medium early childhood teacher education programmes to increase the number of professionally trained teachers responsible for providing education and care to young Māori children. The three wānanga, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi who were already providers of primary school teacher education programmes responded to the early childhood strategic policy and submitted applications for accreditation to deliver Māori medium programmes. Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi was accredited to provide an early years Māori medium teacher education programme, The Bachelor of Teaching and Learning (Māori Education – The Early Years) – Te Iti Rearea in Whakatāne in September 2004 and Wellington in late 2005.

Innovative elements of the degree

One aspect of innovation and creativity in the programme is the re-definition of the concept of early childhood to better reflect indigenous perspectives. This element is signaled in the title 'early years 0-8' which means that graduates from the programme can teach in early childhood and/or junior primary school. Another innovation responds to a Māori desire for technology (mixed-mode delivery) in teacher education which allows whānau to access the programme without diminishing their earning capacity (Ferguson, 2008). The application for mixed mode delivery was declined by the accrediting bodies in 2004. Since then, a core team has been involved in the ongoing review and development of the programme. TWWOA has approval to deliver the programme using mixed-mode delivery across multiple sites. The core early years teaching team now constitutes six Māori staff representative of the non-compulsory early childhood sector and the compulsory primary and secondary school sectors. Of the six staff, at least three self-identify as grass roots, organic intellectuals (see Gramsci, 1971). The teaching team now leads the development of Information Communication Technology (ICT) at the wānanga and continues to consult with Māori stakeholders to pursue innovation in shaping the programme to fit Māori aspirations for the teacher of the future.

Context and relevance

Within the concept of early years the degree encompasses and celebrates a multiplicity of whānau, hapū, iwi urban and rural contexts. Within these cultural contexts, graduates can teach in kōhanga reo, puna reo, whare kōhungahunga reo rua, kura kaupapa Māori, kura mana Māori a rohe, kura reo Māori and kura reo rua. Mātauranga Māori as curriculum is woven through achievement objectives rather than Mātauranga as curriculum woven through Mātauranga Māori. Aroha, manaakitanga, aitanga as whanaungatanga and wairuatanga are a theoretical base for teaching and learning. The degree re-conceptualises teaching and learning

strategies to include the social and emotional sides of learning along with the more intellectual sides. Ferguson (2008) refers to these dimensions as principles of 'ako'. The learner is not just a cognitive and meta-cognitive machine, but, rather a whole person. The conceptual framework of the degree as illustrated in Figure 2 encapsulates 'te pae tawhiti' as the distant horizon, 'te pae tata' as the transformation being drawn in close and the levers that continually negotiate the power and control relationships that determine change or not change.

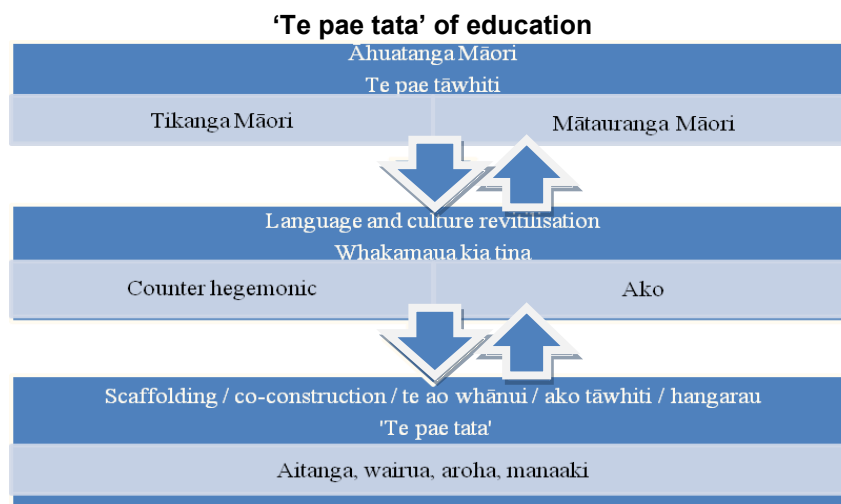


Figure 2. Conceptual framework of the degree.

Summary

The responsibility for the re-vitalisation of the Māori language and culture and the right to be Māori within the education system in New Zealand rests with a wide range of programmes including: the kōhanga reo, puna reo, whare kōhungahunga, kura kaupapa Māori, kura mana Māori Motuhake, kura Māori and kura reo rua and wānanga whānau. It requires a deep motivation a full commitment. We cannot rely on mainstream education to ensure that Māori have the right to be Māori; to develop a sense of pride in whom they are and where they come from. The history of education in New Zealand tells us that the unequal power relationships allow those in control to uncritically reproduce norms, by fragmenting understanding and creating winners and losers rather than exploring alternatives. Re-negotiation of the power relationships to ensure that Māori are empowered rather than disempowered is a fundamental element in the emancipatory processes involving these programmes. Iti Rearea is contributing to the navigation of a way forward, by helping to conscientise Māori to be critically aware of their world in order to take creative control of it. Iti Rearea is about reclaiming mātauranga Māori, āhuatanga Māori and tikanga Māori to transform the narrow cultural capital of early childhood to promote and cultivate a culture of achievement and excellence for Māori today and in the future.

Kua whakatata ngā pae tawhiti kia whakamaua tonutia, ngā pae tata kia tina.

The process of transformation brings distant horizons in so close as to be localized.

References

- Benton, R. (1979). *Who speaks Māori in New Zealand?* Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Diamond, P. (2003). *A fire in your belly: Māori leaders speak*. Wellington: Huia.
- Ferguson, S. (2008). Key elements for a Māori e-Learning framework. *MAI Review*, 2008, 3, Article 3.
- Fishman, J. A. (Ed.). (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Freire, P. (1996). *Pedagogy of oppressed*. England: Continuum Publishing.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hohepa, M. K. (1999). *Hei tautoko i te reo. Māori language regeneration and whānau bookreading practices*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Auckland - Auckland, New Zealand.
- Jenkins, K. E. H. (2000). *Haere tahi tāua. An account of Aitanga in Māori struggle for schooling*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Auckland: Auckland, New Zealand.
- Kāretu, T. (1993). Tōku reo, tōku mana. In W. Ihimaera (Ed.). *Te ao mārama 2. He whakaatanga o te ao: the reality*. Auckland: Reed.
- King, J. M. (2007). *Eke ki runga i te waka: The use of dominant metaphors by newly fluent Māori speakers in historical perspective*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Canterbury: Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Lorde, A. (2007). *Sister outsider. Essays & speeches by Audre Lorde*. Berkeley/Toronto: The Crossing Press.
- Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and personality* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper and Row.
- May, H. (2005). *School beginnings. A 19th century colonial story*. Wellington: NCER.
- Ministry of Education. (2002). *Pathways to the future: Ngā Huarahi Arataki. A 10 – year strategic plan for early childhood education*. Wellington: Learning Media.
- Ministry of Education. (2008, July). *Education report: Annual census of early childhood education services*. Retrieved March 30, 2009, from www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/ece/ece_staff_return/licensed_services_and_licence-exempt_groups/34821
- Papakura, M. (1986). *Makereti, The old-time Māori*. Auckland: Women's Press. (Original work published 1938).
- Pere, R. (1991). *Te wheke: A Celebration of infinite wisdom*. Gisborne: Ao Ako Global Learning.
- Pere, R. (2008, April 30). *Te tāonga o taku ngākau*, [Television broadcast]. New Zealand: Māori Television.
- Puketapu, K. (1982). *Reform from within*. Wellington: Department of Māori Affairs.

Simon, J. & Smith, L. T. (Eds.). (2001). *Civilising Maori? Perceptions and representations of the native school system*. Auckland: University Press.

Te Rito, J. S. (2007). Whakapapa: A framework for understanding identity. *MAI Review*, 2007, 2, Article 2, 10 pages.

Torres, A. C. (1998). A pedagogia politica de Paulo Freire. In M. W. Apple & A. Novoa (Eds.), *Paulo Freire: politica e pedagogia*. Porto: Porto Editora.

Author Notes

Colleen Morehu (Rangitane, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa) is a Senior Lecturer at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. Colleen has been involved with kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori at many levels for nearly twenty years. A version of this paper was presented at the MAI National Doctoral Conference, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, October 17-19, Whakatane, New Zealand.

E-mail: colleen.morehu@wananga.ac.nz