

# Aka Kaupapa: The Trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as Lived Experience



by

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as Lived Experience

*Chanting Down Babylon*



Yo Heta-Lensen

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*Ngarunui, Ngaruroa, Ngarupaewhenua, tihei mauri ora!* This study represents more than 30 years in education, during which time I became a mother and some of my greatest learning occurred. My children taught me to play again. By their example, they inspire me to want to do better, to keep going, to try harder, to finish. Being their mother is the greatest honour and has been my enduring source of strength. Thank you, my sons, my heart and my soul aku mihi arohanunui kia kōrua. To my stepson and daughter also, much love for your pure hearts. You have always loved and been loved. Mum and Dad, my hard-working parents, arohanui kia kōrua. I did not know what a taonga I had in you both. Thank you for what you gifted me. Through your hard work and lessons, I stand here and embrace all that the universe gifts with respect, aroha and deep gratitude to the Lord for the gift of being your daughter. Love you Mum and Dad. *Ki tōku whaea – Mama, ka heke tonu ngā roimata, ka pouri tonu te ngākau. He tino aroha ahau kia koe e te pou, he mihi aroha mutunga kore, he mihi maumahara. Moe mai, moe mai, moe mai ra.*

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Cox, stoic defender and country boy at heart, who tackled the traffic and came to the city to help make life bearable during such a difficult time for us, one word – legend!

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Koutou ma kua wheturangitia, okioki tonu i ngā ringa o te Matua nui i te rangi tae noa ki te wā ka tūtaki ano mātou. Kia tātou te hunga ora, aio ki te aorangi. Tihei mauri ora!

## Abstract

Kaupapa Māori expresses a worldview that is uniquely Māori. It is based on an ontological view that recognises the inseparable interconnectivity between people, geographies and resources of the Earth and beyond. It forms part of a wider Indigenous struggle for emancipation and sovereignty, challenging racist constructs, neo-liberal economic policies and global capitalism that continue to exert a colonising influence on Indigenous peoples.

Early assertions of Kaupapa Māori as a political force first emerged in Aotearoa in the 1980s. The development of Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis by Graham Hingangaroa Smith in 1997 was a direct intervention into the failure of the mainstreamed education system to support Māori aspirations. It mobilised Māori to take action against colonising practices and assimilation policies that had been deliberately designed to alienate Māori from their languages and culture, suppressing Māori knowledge for over one hundred years.

Varying perspectives between 'Kaupapa Māori approaches' and 'Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis approaches' are now coming to the fore in mainstreamed education and need to be understood within the socio-historic context of education in Aotearoa. There is persistent debate and confusion within mainstreamed education<sup>1</sup> about what constitutes Kaupapa Māori and who should be involved in Kaupapa Māori initiatives. This study is a personal account of lived experience of Kaupapa Māori in my own life. It reflects on how Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis have informed my work to date as a teacher and continues to shape my own subjectivity as a wahine Māori. It is hoped that the issues raised will stimulate further discussion and debate about the future direction and liberatory possibilities of Kaupapa Māori within the context of mainstreamed education in the 21st Century and make a contribution to the evolution of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis in education. Whilst it is a personal account, I bring my whole whakapapa with me to enable the story of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience to be shared from multiple perspectives.

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<sup>1</sup> Mainstreamed education refers to public or state education; it is the general education system.

## Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet the requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Yo Heta-Lensen

Signature:

Date: 11 August 2021

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# UPOKO TUATAHI

## Introduction: Setting the Scene

Our survival, our humanity, our worldview and language, our imagination and spirit, our very place in the world depends on our capacity to act for ourselves, to engage in the world and the actions of our colonizers, to face them head on.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

All Indigenous societies have specific methods for teaching and learning complex knowledge based on their own systems for the transmission of knowledge. In Aotearoa, prior to the arrival of the first Europeans and subsequent colonisation under British laws, there was a highly evolved social structure already present amongst the Indigenous occupants. We lived within our whānau, hapū and iwi. We operated within our own distinct systems and kawa (governing laws). Daily life was structured along a system of Rangatiratanga. Hapū and iwi all had their own knowledge systems (mātauranga). Mātauranga Māori is based on Māori ontological understandings that everything in the universe is connected. Ecological knowledge and systems of kaitiakitanga evolved based on distinct mātauranga as iwi gained understandings of the land drawn from their own interaction with and impact on the natural world. Lessons learned about how to live harmoniously with the Earth were recorded as whakapapa. This taxonomy of knowledge was passed on intergenerationally, forming the basis for how to live sustainably with the natural world. Inherent in these practices was an assumption that no footprint would be left on the earth that would harm the balance of nature.

The arrival of the first Europeans ruptured Māori ways of being, knowing and doing *and*<sup>2</sup> dislodged Māori ontologies and epistemologies. A Eurocentric governance system was imposed on an already highly functional society (Walker, 1990, 2004). Te Tiriti o Waitangi, signed on 6 February 1840, failed to halt the imposition of settler rule and the extraction of resources. Rather, it expediated it. Within two years of signing, the first Māori signatory – Ngāpuhi rangatira Hone Heke – had felled the flagpole located on the site where Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed four times. In his view, the Māori flag should have been flying alongside the Union Jack. His symbolic protest of removing the flagpole that he had originally gifted to

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<sup>2</sup> When the conjunction '*and*' appears italicised in the body of the text it refers to the 'intermezzo' (refer to Upoko tuarua)

Governor Fitzroy marked the beginning of a history of political struggle between Māori and the Crown for the restoration of mana, sovereignty and self-determination that has occurred ever since. The struggle for mātauranga Māori and Māori control over our own language, knowledge and education likewise commenced at the first point of contact (Pihama et al., 2004). This legacy, inherited from the first signatories of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, has endured with subsequent generations affected by, and involved in, the struggle in some way. This thesis examines Kaupapa Māori in education as an aspect of that struggle.

### **Kaupapa Māori in education**

This section introduces the context for the study, commencing with a brief outline of antecedents to the rise of Kaupapa Māori as emancipatory praxis (G. H. Smith,<sup>3</sup> 1997) that emerged in education. The 1970s marked a time in our country's history when people began to question race relations and equality. In their doctoral exploration of migration and national identity, Mitchell (2003) attributed this in part to Great Britain's decision to join the European Economic Community in 1973. This precipitated a change in immigration patterns and policies. Aotearoa was forced to review its national identity for the first time since it was colonised. Protest action escalated over humanitarian and social justice issues. Māori began demanding redress for the injustices that had led to the near extinction of Māori language and culture. Māori academics and activists began to act against hegemonic practices and assimilation policies designed to alienate Māori from their language and culture at the hands of the education system (Benton, 1979). This was the period of my primary school education. My generation were the first recipients of Taha Māori policies that included cultural enrichment programmes. I explore this in greater detail in Upoko tuawhā.

Early assertions of Kaupapa Māori as a political force in education first emerged in the 1980s with the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (G. H. Smith, 1997) developed Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis shortly after. Since then, it has contributed to the conceptualisation of workplace practices and academic protocols to include space for Māori ontological frameworks, methods and approaches across multiple sites (Durie, 2017). Wider trajectories of Kaupapa Māori

Perspectives appear to be shifting regarding the implementation of Kaupapa Māori in mainstreamed education. As an example of this, Kaupapa Māori theory was included in the Early Childhood Education (ECE) revised curriculum framework, *Te Whāriki: He Whāriki*

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<sup>3</sup> Due to the number of authors with the surname Smith, first name initials are included in-text to differentiate between authors.

*Mātauranga Mō Ngā Mokopuna o Aotearoa Early Childhood Curriculum (Te Whāriki)* (Ministry of Education [MoE] 2017). There is also evidence to show that there is a shift in consciousness occurring in Aotearoa regarding te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori. This shift is in part attributable to the pressure exerted on government departments, such as the Ministry of Education by Māori academics and Kaupapa Māori initiatives that grew out of the Māori resistance era of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (Pihama et al., 2004; L. T. Smith, 2012). Today, there are growing expectations on teachers to implement te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori in mainstreamed education, as outlined in the updated requirements for graduating teachers outlined in *Our code Our Standards: Code of Professional Responsibilities and Standards for the Teaching Profession Ngā Tikanga Matatika Ngā Paerewa: Ngā tikanga Matatika mō te Haepapa Ngaiotanga me ngā Paerewa mō te Umanga Whakaakoranga (Our Code Our Standards)* (Education Council New Zealand [ECNZ], 2017).

Different Māori perspectives regarding how Kaupapa Māori should be implemented in Māori community development initiatives have come to the foreground in the neo-liberal capitalist era (Eketone, 2008). As iwi regain their economic and entrepreneurial positions in the post-Tiriti settlement period, cross-cultural interrelationships come into play, influencing attitudinal shifts. Māori concepts seem to have been co-opted. Whereas discussing the land relationally was once the position adopted by Māori as tangata whenua, there is evidence that Pākehā<sup>4</sup> are now adopting positions of kaitiakitanga over resources that have recently been turned over to Māori, creating new tensions. This is playing out in Tāmaki Makaurau with tensions between newly appointed co-governance bodies and residents opposed to planned removal of vegetation from sites that have been placed under the authority of government co-authored, co-governance structures. The concept of mana whenua has become a blurred line for people on both sides of the debate, including tangata whenua.

As the world becomes more environmentally and ecologically distressed, there are also growing calls by academics, such as Barnes & McCreanor (2019), Chan & Ritchie (2019), Paul (2020), Ritchie (2012, 2018) and Wrightson & Heta-Lensen (2013) for Aotearoa to consider Māori relational approaches to whenua that could provide benefits for all New Zealanders.

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<sup>4</sup> In this study I refer to Pākehā as those people who whakapapa back to Britain and whose original settlement in Aotearoa was augured in with the arrival of the ship *Endeavour* under Captain James Cook, the subsequent arrival of missionaries and settlers in the early 1800s and the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the 1840s.

For example, Barnes & McCreanor (2019) suggest that such an approach could address the injustices and social inequalities for Māori since colonisation and contribute towards a more sustainable shared future for the benefit of all New Zealanders.

It is evident that the debate about whether Kaupapa Māori can be incorporated as an inclusive and appropriate paradigm in education continues. It is argued variously as a matter of mana ōrite (Berryman et al., 2013), a way to frame political arrangements in the future to enable Māori to live as Māori (Durie, 2017), a localised, constructivist, Native-theory approach (Eketone, 2008), a process of proactive self-determination (G. H. Smith et al., 2012) and an ethical and philosophical approach (Stewart, 2017). Pākehā scholar, Alison Jones (2012), points out that the preparedness of Māori to acknowledge the rights of non-Māori to act within Māori frameworks, is a tense issue. So too, are Pākehā assertions of rights and obligations. This poses a question about the preparedness of both Māori and non-Māori to view Kaupapa Māori as an inclusive educational paradigm. In 2001, Leone Pihama pointed out that initiatives involving Māori aspirations are inherently political. That statement is still relevant and forms the terrain in which I have been operating as a teacher since the 1980s. That terrain provides an excellent opportunity to reflect on the contribution of Kaupapa Māori to education and propose how it might contribute to mainstreamed education in a time of global economic and environmental change that is bearing down on our nation.

Kaupapa Māori as theory reframed education for Māori as transformational, supporting Māori aspirations and success in education (G. H. Smith, 1997; G. H. Smith et al., 2012; L. T. Smith, 2012). Awareness grew of how education as a mechanism of the state had replaced Māori ways of being, knowing and doing in the world. Dominant, hegemonic discourses that established, maintained and perpetuated inequitable outcomes for Māori in education, health, social and economic development were exposed (Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Māori put pressure on the Crown to honour its commitment to partnership with Māori in accordance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Kaupapa Māori is now being incorporated into mainstreamed education. However, Māori academics operating in mainstreamed liminal spaces are often straddling complex terrains, engaging in struggles for space for Māori ontologies, participating in, and contributing to, Western knowledge systems in ways that honour their own knowledges. Māori educator and academic, Te Arani Barrett (2013, p. 240), summarises this issue succinctly when they state:

As Indigenous people, Māori are challenged to live in two worlds. On the one hand, a Māori worldview is based on our epistemological and genealogical beginnings. On the other hand, in a Western world, we are engaged in the

struggle to assert our indigeneity following years of colonialism and imperialism. Kaupapa Māori sits at the intersection of these two worlds.

This study investigated the complexities of that intersection by reviewing how Kaupapa Māori has influenced, shaped and informed my own work as a teacher until this point.

## The study

Aka Kaupapa is located within my personal experiences as a Māori teacher with over 30 years of teaching experience across all sectors of education, including mainstreamed and Māori medium, from early childhood, primary and now as an early childhood teacher educator in tertiary education. In many ways, becoming a teacher has influenced who I am, who I have 'become' and who I am 'becoming'. I entered initial teacher education (ITE) in the 1980s and coincided with a societal shift in thinking about Māori positioning in terms of health, education and social policy. It was also the era of educational reform in Aotearoa; the first reform in over 100 years. It was within this context that I first encountered Kaupapa Māori. I felt compelled to share my experience of Kaupapa Māori within the context of my 'becoming' a Kaupapa Māori teacher-learner-researcher. I discuss my own experiences and work in the field of education to explore the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori theory as lived experience, related to intersubjectivities and embodiment, at times writing hermeneutically (Forster, 2015) through my embodied, relational experience of Kaupapa Māori as being Māori and becoming a teacher.

### *Research aims, rationale and questions*

The broad aim of this study was to add to the body of knowledge around the evolution of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis, and to stimulate further dialogue and reflection about the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis in education and the multiple ways that Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised. This notion was encapsulated in the name of the study. The word *aka* refers to a climbing vine. The name *Aka Kaupapa* embodies of the qualities of *aka* to thrive by sending out new shoots that enable them to spread rhizomatically and establish themselves in new terrains. Aka Kaupapa was employed as a metaphor to depict the way in which Kaupapa Māori theory has spread across education and branched into other fields of scholarship, including health and wellbeing, law, architecture, agriculture, science and business.

The specific research aims of the study were:

1. To explore how my understanding of the concept of Kaupapa Māori emerged, broadened and changed over time

2. To encourage debate and reflection on the transformative potential of Kaupapa Māori in the current context.

The research questions were:

1. How does my experience of Kaupapa Māori shed light on how Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised?
2. How can Kaupapa Māori be thought of as a political and educational force which holds possibilities to inform the next generation?

This thesis is an autoethnographic account of how Kaupapa Māori shaped my development as a teacher and how it continues to shape my own subjectivity as wahine Māori. An examination of how the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis played out in my life was undertaken to map the sphere of influence of Kaupapa Māori as decolonising work to shed light on how Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised; the focus of research question one. It is hoped that the issues raised will stimulate further discussion and debate about the future direction and liberatory possibilities of Kaupapa Māori within the context of mainstreamed education in the 21st Century; the focus of research question two. I also hope to shed light on the evolution of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis in education without collapsing the dialectical possibilities but rather opening them.

To investigate Kaupapa Māori as an evolving educational paradigm involves an understanding of both Kaupapa Māori theory and transformative education. According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), to have any credibility regarding Kaupapa Māori theory, people need to be able to show they have done the hard work in terms of 'rolling their sleeves up' and being involved at whānau, hapū and iwi levels. As urban Māori, my relationship with my iwi has been a distant one, fractured due to the impact of colonisation on generations of my whānau. There are times when this study follows a trajectory that is spirit driven (Murphy, 2019) as I speak across a time and space continuum to reconnect with my ancestors and call out to mokopuna yet to "come upon this earth" (J. Heta-Lensen, 2000, NZ Poets On-line). Karanga is my means of reconnecting to mana wahine (Ferris, 2015). I incorporate this as part of my approach to naming the impact of separation from, and reconciliation with, iwi and reclaiming my language, te reo Ngāpuhi.

#### *Kaupapa Māori research*

Kaupapa Māori is located within the context of Māori self-determination (Hoskins, 2000; Pihama, 2001; Pihama et al., 2004; G. H. Smith, 1997, G. H. Smith et al., 2012; L. T. Smith, 2012). Kaupapa Māori research is more than just a way of gathering and analysing data; it

facilitates a process of survival, recovery and development (L. T. Smith, 2012). It assists the researcher to frame their investigation within a worldview that is distinctly Māori (Nepe 1991; Pihama, 2001; G. H. Smith, 1997).

As Māori, we are consistently aware that our actions impact on the environment and on wellbeing, so there is a sense of responsibility to ensure sustainable practices for our mokopuna. Kaupapa Māori research facilitates a collective research process in the way it supports the researcher to navigate contemporary issues by always bringing the knowledge of our tūpuna forward with us in an ongoing quest to ensure sustainability for future generations. Thus, Kaupapa Māori also validates a Māori-centric approach, privileging Māori knowledge. In the process of conducting research, the Māori researcher reconnects, reaffirms, recovers and claims their whakapapa. Therefore, Kaupapa Māori is a decolonising process in and of itself. This benefitted me personally in terms of the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience and the intersubjectivity of encounter. To understand the influences on 'being' culturally located in society and to explore the intersubjective nature of 'becoming' and how that influences me and my work as a teacher, I selected an autoethnographic approach for this study.

#### *Autoethnographic inquiry*

Autoethnographic inquiry resides in narrative self-study methodologies. The defining feature of this method of self (auto) study (graphy) is the cultural element (ethnography). It gives voice to the lived experience of being culturally located within sociohistorical and sociopolitical contexts. According to Whitinui (2014), who has written on and conducted autoethnographic research, this type of inquiry addresses issues of social justice and develops social change by engaging the researcher in a process of:

rediscovering their own voices as culturally liberating human-beings. Implicit in this process is also the desire to ground one's sense of 'self' in what remains 'sacred' to us as Indigenous peoples in the world we live, and in the way we choose to construct our identity, as Māori (p. 456).

The ability to retain what is sacred to us and to speak to the world we live in on our terms as Māori informed my choice of an autoethnographic study. Autoethnographic research enables Indigenous people to tell the stories of their being, unencumbered by outsider interpretations of their lived experience of being. It is a way to write about our own experiences, to question influences on the self, but with consideration to the collective. Autoethnographical research was also selected for this study because of its shared objectives with Kaupapa Māori in terms of critiquing the 'actual' and creating ways to think about

experience in a broader social context. To a degree, it disrupts Western research traditions, enabling the incorporation of Māori-preferred methods. An autoethnographic approach enabled me to view the complexities of being and becoming, and to explore this in terms of how my understanding of Kaupapa Māori may have shifted over the period of my teaching years of 30 years. This provided a basis for thinking about how Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised; the focus of research question two.

Narrative researchers, Hamilton et al. (2008), argued that autoethnography can be used as a tool to critique culture and contest created objectivities and false subjectivities. Autoethnographers critique and resist perceived realities, positioning themselves within the research context to view the impact of cultural elements on personal experiences in their lives. I position myself in this study as a colonised Māori academic. In declaring that I am not a native speaker of te reo Māori, I am not refuting the urgency of the need to promote the revitalisation te reo Māori. Rather, I seek to position myself within the research context humbly and transparently. This aligns with the principles of ethical practice underpinning Kaupapa Māori approaches outlined by L.T. Smith (2012) in relation to *kia māhaki* (to be humble) and *kia tūpato* (to be cautious). English is my first language and I am Indigenous to this land. I am the daughter of a Māori parent who migrated to Tāmaki Makaurau and raised her children away from her hapū, iwi and tūrangawaewae or native lands, and an immigrant parent who also migrated to Aotearoa and raised his children away from his region, his province and his native land. My own view of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori and of this land can sometimes be through the lens of diversity. At other times, I view it through a very localised lens. This may create tension as I move somewhat fluidly between juxtaposed Western and Māori knowledge, and between European and Indigenous theories and histories as I explore topics and the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori in my lived experience as Māori, as a teacher, as colonised and as conscientised (Freire, 1972). Wherever possible, I return to my base as Māori.

Identity and culture are intertwined. For many Māori, our identity has been interrupted and influenced by colonising and harmful constructions and representations of Māori culture and identity that were imposed as a tool to support assimilative, sociopolitical, colonising agendas (Hemara, 2000; Hokowhitu, 2004). Education is the site where many of the policies and practices in relation to colonisation first exerted influence on our tūpuna. L. T. Smith (2017) points out that Māori, like other Indigenous communities, must somehow operate in spaces where our colonisation exists. Kaupapa Māori research requires critical analysis of the politics of our history to uncover how colonisation formed and continues to form us (Smith, 2017). It demands redress for historical and ongoing injustices. It recentres Māori-centric

agendas and Māori aspirations for te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori, Māori leadership and self-determination. Importantly for this study, it enables me to embrace my whakapapa and state my position as colonised Indigenous and bi-cultural New Zealander of Ngāpuhi and Dutch descent.

By our very nature as socially constructed and interconnected beings, our stories and experiences are always relational. By default then, autoethnographical researchers work in relational spaces. As Māori ethnographers, we do not work as individuals, but with thought for the collective other. This brings with it an ethical duty of care that guides Indigenous researchers to constantly consider how their approach will enable the next generation to flourish. This is an example of relational accountability outlined in Davidson (2019, p. 25) and provides an example of the congruences with Kaupapa Māori research.

#### *Research tensions between Western and Kaupapa Māori approaches*

There were some research tensions associated with the juxtaposition of being a Māori student in a mainstreamed academy that privileges Western research and knowledge constructs over Kaupapa Māori research approaches. Whilst it was an important methodological consideration, not the least because of the topic itself, studying towards a doctorate meant that there were limitations on how much freedom a researcher-as-student has to meaningfully address questions of initiation, accountability and representation required in Kaupapa Māori and cross-cultural research contexts. I have drawn from the work of Bishop and Glynn (1999) and L. T. Smith (2012) to distil these comparisons in Whakaahua 1.

#### *Whakaahua 1: Mapping the research terrain through the lens of Kaupapa Māori*

	The Academy	
Research question	Kaupapa Māori research	Mainstreamed research
Who does the research belong to?	The research belongs to the participants in the study. Everyone has a responsibility to ensure the integrity of the project.	The research is owned by the researcher, who has sole responsibility for the integrity of the project.
Who owns it?	The research becomes the knowledge of the people it serves.	The research remains under the ownership of the researcher as author.
Whose interests does it serve?	The research serves the needs of Māori. It considers positive	All research has a duty of care to consider the way it will impact on

	outcomes, any likely negative outcomes and how they can be mediated from the outset.	people's lives. However, the topic may not be chosen by the people whose interests it serves. In Aotearoa, an educational researcher has an ethical code of conduct that includes consideration of Māori and/or Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
Who designs the questions and frames the study?	Research methodology is co-designed; it is a collaborative approach. Research questions need to be approved by a Board of human ethics.	The researcher formulates a set of research questions that need to be approved by a Board of human ethics.
Who will benefit from the research?	The participants and the research community.	The researcher and the Academy. It is assumed that research will also benefit participants.
Who will carry it out?	This decision is made within the collective.	This is conducted by the researcher to show an ability to conduct a research project.
How will its results be disseminated?	A collective decision is often made about how findings will be blessed, shared, housed and disseminated.	The researcher decides possible requirements for milestone reports, presentations or publications.

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### *Research methods*

Kaupapa Māori research presumes a culturally relevant inquiry framework that benefits the research, the researcher and the researched (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). As such, it does not limit the use of research methods but it helps the researcher match appropriate methods and make choices about the research design to ensure the cultural integrity of the research. For example, Martel et al. (2022) use the metaphor *he awa whiria* (a braided river) to present a view of te ao Māori as capable of supporting mixed-methods research that draws on the strengths of both Indigenous Māori and Pākehā Western knowledge. Informed by mixed-methods research philosophy, the authors argue that *he awa whiria* enables the integration of two distinct worldviews into a workable whole to create a bi-cultural research framework. Similarly, this study drew on the metaphor of *te aka* to employ a mixed methods approach to draw on both Māori and Western knowledge whilst maintaining the cultural and ethical integrity necessary for the study. The following section outlines the specific methods and how they were incorporated, commencing with tikanga as ethical practice.

### *Tikanga and ethics in autoethnographic inquiry research*

It can be a difficult and sometimes risky journey undertaking autoethnographic research. Organisational researcher, Earhart (2018), points out the inherent dangers in authentic post formalist research, which aptly described both the benefits and tensions I have faced in opting for an autobiographic approach. Research inclusive of affect, reflexivity and the context in which the research takes place, allows for insights into organizational ethics that would otherwise not be possible. However, these approaches come at a personal and professional risk for the researcher. Truly authentic postformalist research demands a degree of hazard for the researcher, becoming both a way of living and an ethical choice. (p. 302)

As the subject of your own research, you are confronted with your personal and professional 'warts-and-all' self. As an Indigenous academic pursuit, it involves an added tension between critiquing aspects of your culture and risking the judgement of people who are not aligned with your own culture, position or history. Berry & Crowe (2009) refer to the consideration of the people who are vicariously implicated in self-study research as relational ethics. Employing a mixed-methods approach that includes storying as pūrākau and prose and poetry as toikupu facilitated whanaungatanga as a Māori process of relational ethics. That was achieved by positioning myself in the research as an active participant, who shared in the history and the impact on my whānau, and my being as a person and teacher with respect to the mana, mauri and wairua of all. I have woven pūrākau throughout the thesis to tease out the threads that emerged as I considered the impact and further potentiality of Kaupapa

Māori theory. These methods enabled me to remain emotionally connected and to manage the impact of colonisation for generations of my tūpuna. At the same time, I was able to employ Māori-centric techniques that enabled me to re-write and re-right Indigenous Māori knowledge and histories (L. T. Smith, 2012).

In self-study research approaches, the researcher ideally keeps a journal of their work, which becomes their data. In the absence of that type of record, this can be compensated for by writing reflective accounts, which are interrogated to identify critical incidents. A limitation of this approach can be what gets privileged by the researcher, through memory (Begg, 2008). The approach I took was to narrate periods of time in my life, recording my recollections of the stories my mother and father told me about their lives and to unpack my childhood experiences as a child of one Indigenous parent from Te hau awhiowhio (the swirling winds of Te Taitokerau) and one parent who migrated from Te raki-hauauru. (the north-westerly winds that blow from the North Pole). I recorded personal accounts of critical periods in my own life; childhood, going to school, entering the workforce, motherhood and the influences of Bob Marley and reggae music. These are woven in as pūrākau. I reviewed the teaching journals I maintained during my years in initial teacher education (ITE), studying to become a teacher and during my first years as a provisionally registered teacher to reveal how Kaupapa Māori was informing my development.

I also journeyed to significant geographical landmarks and reflected on the influences of geography on culture and beingness. To negotiate the time-space continuum and enable conversations between physical and spiritual spaces, I wrote toikupu. In addition, I incorporated quotes from the reggae music of Bob Marley as a storying method. Critical incidents were identified from my writing and analysed through a Kaupapa Māori ontological lens for their impact on my emerging understandings of my own subjectivity as a multiplicity of relational and interrelational connections with people, place, sacred space and time. Not all these accounts have made their way into this thesis. The following section elaborates on specific methods I incorporated, commencing with how Kaupapa Māori guided the selection of culturally relevant research methods.

#### *Pūrākau as method*

All cultures transmit their values and histories through stories. They provide ontological and epistemological insights into the way people relate in and with the world. It forms part of Māori knowledge systems to transmit knowledge via narrative accounts, which include whakatauki, oriori, pātere, tauparapara, pakiwaitara and pūrākau. Pūrākau are the stories that enable us to slide back in time and reconnect with our tūpuna and ngā atua (Martin & William, 2019). They allow us to soar into the future and speak to our mokopuna (Martin &

William, 2019; Seed-Pihama, 2019). The very process of colonisation asserted power over our knowledge systems, removing credibility and thereby undermined the validity of in-depth scientific understandings of astronomy, cosmology, environmental sciences, technologies and genetics by replacing our knowledge systems with those of the colonial settlers. In recent years, storying as method has been reconceptualised by Indigenous peoples as a decolonising process that challenges Western scientific empirical knowledge constructs to reassert traditional knowledge systems (Lee, 2005, 2009; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2012). Pūrākau recall these stories, reasserts their validity and brings our past into our present (Devine, 2000). As L. T. Smith (2012) notes, decolonising research methods, such as pūrākau and storying can inform the generation and use of knowledge. Our stories also contain the realities of our colonisation and our colonised condition (Seed-Pihama, 2019). The inclusion of pūrākau in research also reasserts a way of framing knowledge that is uniquely Māori. Through the selection of pūrākau, my aim was to address my tūpuna as part of the healing journey of Kaupapa Māori research (L. T. Smith, 2012). At times, my tūpuna spoke to me through pūrākau; at other times, aspects of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience are recounted along the lines of hokinga mahara, which I incorporated as a form of reflective storying. Our stories celebrate our whakapapa and rejoice in our use of te reo Māori. Therein lies the real research journey for one undertaking Kaupapa Māori research. I have used the concept of pūrākau throughout this thesis as method to follow the lines of flight. Storying is woven throughout chapters to give expression to the embodied aspects of Kaupapa Māori and the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience. The fact that so many lines of flight emerged shows the sphere of influence into which Kaupapa Māori has moved beyond education. It also shows how Kaupapa Māori forms part of the experience of 'being'.

#### *Whakapapa kōrero*

T. Smith (2000) defines *whakapapa kōrero* as tangata whenua discourses or kōrero that justify relatedness through interconnections with 'all things' that are existing. They argue that whakapapa kōrero enable spatial and temporal contexts based on Māori ontological understandings that provide insights of, and alignment with, Māori philosophical understandings of the world pre-colonisation and post-colonisation. In this study, whakapapa kōrero enabled me to position myself ontologically within the world to explore multiple terrains across time and space. Further discussion of whakapapa kōrero appears in Upoko tuarua.

## Outline of chapters

### *Upoko tuatahi: Setting the scene*

In this opening chapter, the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori were introduced to set the scene and rationale for the study. A brief account of Māori social organisation and education prior to European contact was undertaken to provide a context for the study by outlining the impact of colonisation on Māori ontologies, lifestyles and education systems. The development of Kaupapa Māori was outlined, along with some of the issues around the evolution of Kaupapa Māori. I then signaled the structure of the study and outlined my involvement in Kaupapa Māori to make transparent the relevance of the topic to my work and the contribution it may make to education and Kaupapa Māori. I outlined the methodological approach I have taken, highlighting some of the ethical considerations of autoethnographic research approaches. I discussed some of the research considerations when undertaking Kaupapa Māori-informed research and considered how the selected methods align with Kaupapa Māori research. I introduced the study, the aims of the study and the research questions. An outline of each chapter is also provided.

### *Upoko tuarua: Organising ideas and theoretical considerations*

In Upoko tuarua, I position myself within the study and outline the organising ideas and theoretical considerations that underpin it. I establish the terminology and writing conventions I will be using so the reader is aware of the intended structure of the study. I introduce some of the key theories that informed my thinking in this study, including Kaupapa Māori and Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theorisation of nomadology and rhizomatic writing. Their use of the intermezzo and how I incorporated it as a rhizomatic writing tool are discussed. I discuss complexity and how that is addressed and explored through the concept of whakapapa, drawing on whakapapa kōrero as a non-linear, Māori-specific, cosmological information-recording system that shows the interconnections and the relationships between tangata and whenua – between people and geographies. I look at concepts of time and methods specifically selected to enable me to travel across a time and space continuum through a process of whanaungatanga to speak to generations past and future. In this chapter I introduce the different ways that Kaupapa Māori can be contextualised, including a critical Māori ontological perspective. I also outline how I draw on the music and philosophies of Bob Marley and discuss the lens of social justice and emancipation that his music provided, enabling me to experience Kaupapa Māori as an embodied cognitive process through reggae music.

*Upoko tuatoru: The trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience in education*

Upoko tuatoru takes a hermeneutic narrative approach, incorporating whakapapa kōrero (T. Smith, 2000) and drawing on pūrākau (Lee, 2007; Lee-Morgan, 2019) to explore the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori. This involved reflecting on Kaupapa Māori as an embodied cognitive process, experienced and understood through music (in this case, the music and Rasta philosophy of Bob Marley) and how that shaped my experiences of Kaupapa Māori theory in education. The whakapapa of Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis is outlined, highlighting the theories that influenced G. H. Smith's (1997) conceptualisation of Kaupapa Māori. This illuminates the transformative potential of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience of decolonisation and enables the identification of the sites of struggle and lines of flight of Kaupapa Māori in education. To achieve that, I take a rhizomatic approach to map the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori and the changing educational terrain in which Kaupapa Māori as theory operates. This enabled me to consider the evolution of Kaupapa Māori and approaches moving forward.

*Upoko tuawhā: Ko tōku reo tōku ohooho: Te reo Māori as lived experience of being Māori*

Upoko tuawhā explores Kaupapa Māori and language revitalisation. The first part of this chapter explores the link between language and culture. I use pūrākau to unpack bilingual language development as lived experience in an attempt to demonstrate how Kaupapa Māori supports a healing process of language and cultural reclamation for Māori. By locating myself within this chapter, whanaungatanga is facilitated in a restorative conversation process with generations of my whānau. This was selected as a decolonising tool to address the intergenerational trauma caused to my family through colonisation and the subsequent language loss and cultural dislocation. I also consider the role of teachers and ITE in preparing teachers. I reflect on my own teaching practice and approaches, highlighting examples of the guidance I received from Māori experts and elders to explore Māori pedagogical approaches. I aim to identify Māori pedagogical approaches that could inform bilingual language teaching and learning in Aotearoa.

The second part is concerned more specifically with bilingual language development. I explore how the Crown's bilingual language development strategies support Māori aspirations and the implications for early childhood education (ECE). My aim is to identify whether and what types of support ECE services can provide to support the Crown's audacious Māori language goals. This chapter addresses research question two related to how Kaupapa Māori can be thought of as a political and educational force which holds possibilities to inform the next generation.

*Upoko tuarima: Mapping the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori in the Anthropocene*

Upoko tuarima explores a Māori ontological view of the sacred spaces of the Earth and how these are upheld through whakapapa. It commences by acknowledging Māori intersubjectivities and our relational interconnectivity with everything that resides within the realm of Ranginui and Papatūānuku (Appendix A). The impact of human activity on the Earth and the environmental threats that are endangering the balance of nature in the Anthropocene are then discussed. Drawing on literature and my own experiences, I consider how Kaupapa Māori could contribute to the development of Indigenous, sociomaterial narratives and frameworks that recognise and foster the relationships that exist between people, place and 'taonga'; positioning resources of the Earth not as 'things' but as treasured and sacred. This addresses research question one related to how my experiences of Kaupapa Māori can shed light on how Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised. I also look more broadly at the role of education in the Anthropocene. The support I received from Māori teachers and their influence in shaping my understandings of mātauranga Māori and pedagogy are highlighted in this section. I consider Kaupapa Māori as an educational paradigm by highlighting the potential that exists in ECE through the ECE curriculum framework and ponder our national preparedness to move to a Māori education framework.

*Upoko tuaono: Kaupapa Māori as lived experience of decolonisation*

This chapter tackles a range of complex concepts as I begin to pull together the lines of flight that emerged over the course of the study regarding the nature of colonisation. I take a Foucauldian (1977) approach to retrace aspects of the history of colonisation and oppression to locate my history in the present in an attempt to understand how my own experiences within the bi-cultural context create new ways of envisioning bi-culturalism and troubles narratives of colonisation and decolonisation. I draw on the work of Mills (1959) and his concept of sociological imagination, in which he urges a 'new quality' of mind to enable us to grasp history and biography and the relationship between the two within society. I also review the biographies of my parents that relate to the approximate time of writers, such as Deleuze, Guattari, Foucault and Mills. Understanding the worldwha they inhabited helps me understand the world I inherited. This enabled me to consider my experience of Kaupapa Māori, in line with research question one, and shed light on how Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised. I reflect on different perspectives around bi-culturalism to address its relevance in the modern context and consider who benefits and how. Aspects of this section have relevance for all New Zealanders. Finally, I reconsider bi-culturalism and what the implications might be in terms of teaching and learning, educational leadership and the future of Kaupapa Māori. This addresses the second research question related to Kaupapa

Māori as a political and educational force that holds possibilities to inform the next generation.

*Upoko tuawhitu: Conversations with tomorrow*

Upoko tuawhitu summarises the key themes that emerged and draws together the conclusions from the study. The rationale, aims and questions underpinning this study are restated to show how the study has met its aims. I address the findings and determine how they answered the research questions, and how this study might illuminate how Kaupapa Māori can be thought of as a political and educational force that holds possibilities to inform the next generation and encourage debate and reflection on the transformative potential of Kaupapa Māori in the current context. I discuss the conclusions and recommendations under each of the themes that emerged. I then provide recommendations for further research and identify any limitations of the study.

# UPOKO TUARUA

## Organising Ideas and Theoretical Underpinnings

Hāpaitia te ara tika pūmau ai te rangatiratanga mo ngā uri whakatupu.

Foster the pathway of knowledge to strength, independence and growth for future generations.

### Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined the growth and development of Kaupapa Māori as an educational intervention. I defined the aims of this study and outlined the methodological approaches. In this chapter, I outline theoretical understandings that influenced my thinking. I spend time considering the organising ideas and theoretical underpinnings in the study. The sections that follow consider my own perspectives and understandings of these theoretical positions. This is so that in later chapters I can refer to my perspectives rather than to the theoretical positions themselves. My research terrain shifted and altered as I learned new things and understood more clearly the influences of history and politics on my theoretical positioning. These positionings relate to Kaupapa Māori theory as critical ontology, whakapapa kōrero as a way to think about complexity and systems, language and identity concepts of time, whanaungatanga as relational accountability, and teaching and learning. I commence with a discussion of the theoretical understandings that informed my thinking.

### Theoretical understandings

#### *Postformal research methods and considerations*

This study draws on postformal autobiographic inquiry to critically engage in a sociocognitive process of understanding how sociopolitical forces shaped my own worldview, perspectives on education and self-image (Kincheloe, 2005). This will enable me to understand the impact of Kaupapa Māori and how my conceptualisation of it has shifted and changed over time. Postformal research assumes a theoretical position that accounts for cultural difference (Kincheloe, 2005). Postformal autobiographic researchers are concerned with understanding social constructions of the world and its impact on the self. Hence, postformal researchers are concerned with the complexities of everyday life and the unpredictable nature of relationships and connections that individuals make in constructions of self. Postformal research methods typically seek insight into who we might 'become' through deepening our understandings of how dominant cultural perspectives have constructed our present state of being; our collective ontological selves and our axiological selves. The researcher becomes

aware of the connection between biography and cognition. Postformal autobiographic researchers seek to understand the historical, philosophical and sociological influences on consciousness to disentangle the researcher from societal norms and develop constructions of self (Earhart, 2018; Kincheloe, 2005). Likewise, Kaupapa Māori research assists the researcher to develop a framework in which to position themselves as constructed beings seeking to decolonise their selfhood in relation to historical, philosophical and sociological forces (Hoskins, 2017).

#### *Radical objectivity versus self-awareness*

One of the criticisms of Kaupapa Māori research and qualitative approaches, such as autoethnography is that they are anti-positivist and therefore cannot be radically objective (T. Smith, 2012). Martel et al. (2022) define Kaupapa Māori as a critical realist perspective that encompasses the view that reality is capable of being known in many ways. Thus, reality exists whether or not humans are conscious of it. In their view, this is what distinguishes critical theory from positive ontology where all events, social and natural, are governed by a set of rules and can be predicted and controlled. Similarly, Kincheloe (2005) identifies a shortfall of positivist research; the lack in self-awareness or concern with consciousness and interconnectedness, which effectively alienates the individual from their complex interconnectedness with the cosmos. Kincheloe argues for a critical ontology, urging researchers to reflect deeply on notions of self and community, and engage in a quest for new and expanded, and more just and interconnected ways of being human. He is critical of positivism in the study of being human, as the following quote demonstrates:

The life-giving complexity of the inseparability of human and the world has been lost and the social/cultural/pedagogical/psychological studies of people abstracted - removed from context. Such a removal has brought about disastrous ontological effects. Human beings, in a sense lost their belongingness to both the world and to others around them. (p. 162)

I am compelled to put time into what it is to be human, to think about the process of recovery from the sense of loss that Kincheloe (2005) identifies. I do not come from a place of authoritative knowledge. I utilise autoethnography as a method to ask what it means to me to belong to the world, how I came to think that way and how Kaupapa Māori has impacted on my sense of being and thinking; my axiological self. I consider what it is to be human in the world and to interact relationally within complex systems that explain our place, relationships and responsibilities within the totality of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. I consider the inseparable connection that Māori have with whenua and the factors that are impacting on the wellbeing of Papatūānuku. In Upoko tuarima, I explore issues of environmental

uncertainty and our resilience within it, in a world characterised by a much faster rate of change (Rockstrom et al., 2009). I employ Kaupapa Māori as critical ontology to view the potential of Kaupapa Māori approaches to support a way to live relationally with whenua. In keeping with Kaupapa Māori approaches, which do not limit the use of knowledge but require critique and consideration of the benefits for Māori, I draw on a range of concepts and theories, both Western and Indigenous, to strengthen my understanding and extract meaning. This addresses research question one in relation to how my understandings of Kaupapa Māori can shed light on how it can be conceptualised to support a sense of reconnection and belonging to the Earth.

#### *Concepts of time*

Time is one of the greatest social constructs created to measure space and corresponding activity. Human experience is bound by our existence in the physical world (Pere, 1997). In the Western sense, time consists of sequential units of measurement along a continuum that gives order to human activity. Viewed this way, it is difficult – almost impossible – to imagine time as being as multidimensional. This creates tension with Māori views of time that are capable of supporting movement between and across multiple spans of time and space. For Māori, time is not a linear concept; the past, present and future are not singular concepts but are connected. Relationships in and with the past, present and future are maintained through whanaungatanga (Pere, 1997). Employing Kaupapa Māori research enabled me to reconnect with my tūpuna through the process of whanaungatanga to recover our whānau, hapū and iwi history and, in some small way, acknowledge the pain and trauma it caused our tūpuna, iwi and mokopuna. So, as much as this study looks at the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience, capable of reaching forward to speak to my mokopuna, it also reaches back and speaks to my tūpuna. Begg (2008) refers to the art of looking backwards and looking forwards as a form of dialogic interplay. This process enables reflection on how we are shaped by events of the past and challenges us to question our assumptions, confront the status quo and consider future possibilities (Devine, 2004). Concepts of time are explored in greater detail in Upoko tuarima when Māori cosmological understandings are discussed.

#### *Whanaungatanga as relational accountability*

Kaupapa Māori research carries with it tikanga or ethical responsibilities, which relate to the ethics of care for the research, the researcher and the researched (L. T. Smith, 2012). In this study I was guided by whanaungatanga, invoking tikanga related to manaaki and aroha. These tikanga complement autoethnographic and self-study research in terms of researcher vulnerability; the latter being a matter that needs to be mediated because of the exposure it opens the researcher up to (Berry & Crowe, 2009). I find it necessary to discuss this in this

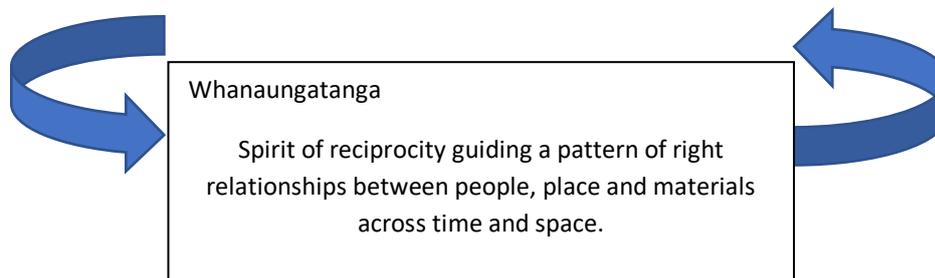
section to give voice to my initial concerns in terms of vulnerability not just of myself but interrelationally. This took time to mediate. It was negotiated using a range of writing genre outlined in Upoko tuatahi to speak to experiences in a manner that enabled a certain sense of distance for people involved by association with events in my life. Whanaungatanga helped me retain a relational connection to those implicated in the study. Throughout this study, whanaungatanga ensured relational accountability, centring the ethical duty of care needed for and by Māori researchers as we work to unravel our histories. It guided me personally to uphold the mana of people, place, space and materials, and remain in a pattern of right relationships with my research whānau, hapū, iwi, hāpori and te aorangi across the time and space continuum.

In Whakaahua 2 I map out how grounding this study in a Kaupapa Māori framework supports an ethical and whole relationship of manaaki as care for the research, the researcher and the research community. Whanaungatanga is a central feature that intersects and interacts across all three planes of the research context.

Our accountabilities to the maintenance of our human and our more-than-human relationships are fostered through the relational spaces established over the time-space continuum. Whanaungatanga is an active process of relational engagement maintained over time. In research, when whanaungatanga is established, it fosters relationships with the research, and between the researcher and the research community. As outlined in Upoko tuarua, the ethical duty of care the Māori researcher must maintain towards our deeper and wider connections within the human and the more-than-human world can be managed in autoethnographic research through whanaungatanga.

Whanaungatanga as ethical relationships of care in Kaupapa Māori research

The research	The researcher/s	The research community
Project is grounded in an appropriate ontological framework.	Is guided by familiar and preferred processes. Validates cultural ways of being, knowing and doing in relation to research processes.	Are active participants. Are involved in practices that support whanaungatanga.
Challenges taken-for-granted ways of conducting research.	Builds and deepens sustained relationships with the research community. Develops and deepens understandings of tikanga Māori as lived experience.	Is central to the outcome.
Assumes the legitimacy of te reo Māori me ona tikanga.	Locates the researcher in the research.	Are joint custodians of the research. Connects, resonates and responds to familiar and preferred processes.
Demands a culturally responsive relationship. Uses organic, flexible methods.		Is located as whānau, hapū, iwi tupuna and whenua in the research.
Is guided by critical theory to give robust analysis. Identifies and locates people in and across time, place and space.		



*Whakapapa kōrero and complexity*

From a Kaupapa Māori perspective, a blueprint has been handed down through whakapapa lines that enables the theorisation, conceptualisation and analysis of the impact of human interaction on the universe (Pere, 1997). According to T. Smith (2000), whakapapa kōrero maps out the nature of existence in a non-linear approach that connects people and place with everything in the universe, rather than along narrow, linear lines of identity.

Māori ontological approaches do not privilege humans as ‘living’ entities over geographies as ‘non-living’ entities. Everything in this world has mauri (a life force) and everything is traced back to the central source. Human offspring from Ranginui and Papatūānuku are considered relationally, through whakapapa, as younger siblings to their animal, flora, fauna and geographic relations. This is a Māori-specific, information-recording system that links everything to show the complex and intricate interconnectivity that exists between people, place, space and time. It enables the researcher to think about their relationality within and across time and space within the context of a “complex, emerging, living system” (Begg, 2008,

p. 3). Complexity is a fundamental feature of our universe that continues to expand as we adapt to living on Earth. Whakapapa kōrero is used in this study to explore this. The trajectories of Kaupapa Māori in my work and life traverse multiple terrains. Whakapapa kōrero enabled me to extract meaning from past events and Māori responses to them in the present time, to think about their implications for the future. This relates to research question two of the study, regarding the possibilities of Kaupapa Māori to inform the next generation.

#### *Deleuze and Guattari concepts of interest in this study*

The work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) disrupts the 'accepted order' of things and challenges the state's interpretation of geographies and social structures. Their theories challenge teachers to think creatively by disrupting our known directions (geographies) and ways of operating within spaces (social structures) to open new possibilities and ways of relating in and with the world. I apply aspects of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concepts with an emphasis on nomadology to think about the evolution of Kaupapa Māori and how it can be thought of as a political and educational force, holding possibilities to inform the next generation; the focus of research question two. In the following sections I outline aspects of Deleuzian-Guattarian thinking that have informed my thinking for this study.

#### *Nomadic warriors and the war machine*

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue that the state apparatus constructs within itself an interiority, modelled and reinforced through the state apparatus, which becomes the accepted approach by the inhabitants of the state. The military are the tools at the state's disposal and forms part of the state's assemblage, appropriated specifically to territorialise (striated) space, wage wars and immobilise adversaries identified by the state through its powers of 'magical capture'. The state remains sedentary in striated space and, lacking its own warriors, relies on its military apparatus to territorialise terrains.

Warriors, on the other hand, are nomadic. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) draw on anthropological aspects of traditional warriors and their detachment from social order and the state to understand the nomad-warrior's ability to remain on the exteriority of the state in (smooth) space. The war machine is a collection of nomad-warriors engaged in resistance to control; war being only a consequence of that resistance, not the intended object. The war machine constitutes the tools at the nomads' disposal, employed to avoid capture. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) discuss the constant threat to the nomadic lifestyle, the appropriation of which is taken up by the state through magical powers of capture (such as through the hidden curriculum, oppressive structures, cultural hegemony and other subtle means), the nomad

succumbs, becomes sedentary and is thus subdued. I use the concept of the nomad to think about the ongoing objective of the Kaupapa Māori theorist as teacher; to remain in a smooth space and deterritorialise education and avoid the magical powers of state capture.

#### *The conjunction 'and' as the intermezzo*

Rhizomatic methodologies are non-hierarchical approaches which allow for multiple entry and exit points in the representation and interpretation of data. Rhizomatic research methods derive from Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) philosophical position that knowledge and meaning is planar and interconnected, not fixed or arborescent. Like the rhizome itself, knowledge and meaning have no beginning or end; they are always in the middle, or intermezzo. The conjunction 'and' is seen as the fabric of the rhizomatic approach. This is consistent with the notion of whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga is an ongoing process of connecting and reconnecting people through time, place and space, and is relative to the temporal sphere of the multidimensional continuum outlined. As already identified, to Māori, time is not linear, nor are our relationships or our interconnectedness with the world. In that sense, whanaungatanga, which creates space for acknowledging multiplicities and entanglements, marries well with the 'intermezzo'. The intermezzo creates reflective planes, from which the researcher can adopt a nomadic position to observe the impact of relational spaces, connections and entanglements to and with the other. Whanaungatanga creates and holds space for acknowledging what emerges from the intermezzo. This is discussed in greater detail in Upoko tuatoru.

#### *Rhizomatic mapping*

A rhizomatic writing approach afforded the appropriate framework for mapping how Kaupapa Māori can be thought of as a political and educational force that holds possibilities to inform the next generation. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) do not view knowledge construction as a linear process, nor do they write from a central concept. Rather, they write rhizomatically, allowing chapters as plateaus to emerge non-linearly and to delve into a range of philosophical, scientific, psychological, architectural and anthropological ponderings, connected by threads of ideas that travel in different trajectories, speeds and intensities. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) challenge researchers to "make rhizomes, not roots, never plant! Don't sow, grow offshoots! Don't be one or multiple, be multiplicities ... make maps not photos or drawings" (p. 26). I adopted these strategies as part of the specific methods used to inform this study. Thinking about Kaupapa Māori rhizomatically, I explore the potentiality of Kaupapa Māori as transformative and emancipatory praxis proposed by Paulo Freire (1972) through active participation. Thus, rather than plotting the points in the trajectory of Kaupapa Māori, I follow the lines of flight. This gave me the ability to also analyse

my own point of entry into Kaupapa Māori (Upoko tuatoru). Mapping my own journey as a multiplicity in my being as Māori and Ngāpuhi and urban and Dutch and nomadic and Indigenous and academic and researcher, illuminates what it is to be Māori across time and space. Thus, a rhizomatic approach enables a further exploration and analysis of issues that emerge as offshoots along the lived experience continuum (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004). This provided the space for me to explore how my concept of Kaupapa Māori emerged, broadened and changed over time.

#### *Rhizomatic writing and nomadic assemblages*

The writing structure of this study has been influenced by Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concept of a writing plateau. The Māori word for plateau is kaupapa. So it seemed to be inviting me to write rhizomatically across a range of plateau. I write each of the kaupapa as stand-alone, self-organising bodies of work. Being underpinned by Kaupapa Māori which is a holistic and interconnected onto-epistemology, kaupapa (as plateau) within this study may overlap and have similarities. This is a point of difference with Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) approach. Where they look for differences, Kaupapa Māori approaches seek the connections. And there it is! As if to demonstrate their genius from beyond the veil, this shows that rhizomatic writing as method can add meaning to my inquiry! By pointing out our differences, I appear to have substantiated Deleuze and Guattari's use of rhizomatic writing. Through this approach, it may be possible to view concepts within Kaupapa Māori as an assemblage of tools that supports Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis, which addresses research question two, related to the evolution of Kaupapa Māori.

According to Dewsbury (2011), the concept of rhizomatic "thinking assemblages" (p. 149) of nomadic thought enables linkages between different systems of knowledge formation. The author claims that Deleuze and Guattari were mindful of the "ever growing and differentiated magma of assemblages becoming everything amounting to nothing and resulting in piecemeal appropriation and middle range theorising" (p. 149). Thinking assemblages offer a different way of conceiving the world, facilitating an expansion of possibilities and invention of new methods and perspectives, and active entanglement of things, feelings, ideas and propositions that were previously unavailable to us (Shaviro, 2009, cited in Dewsbury, 2011, p. 149). This has relevance to the lived experience of Kaupapa Māori. Just as our whakapapa of who we are, where we come from, our becomings and our interrelational geographies as Māori is constantly evolving and impacted by a milieu of political, historical, social and cultural plateaus, so too the multiple ways that Kaupapa Māori has emerged and continues to evolve. I acknowledge the inherent dangers and the great freedoms that this approach afforded me to view a broad range of knowledge fields and

theorists, and consider their relevance to the evolution of Kaupapa Māori and its impact for future generations to think the unthought (Devine, 2000). Devine (2000) indicates that, whilst history lacks physical form, change can occur intellectually. It is in this space that the possibility of thinking differently and making a difference to the future occurs. *Ur-sprung* is the ability to think the un-thought (that which has not yet been thought) by bringing history with you as you create a new pattern of thought (Devine, 2000). Every endeavour starts with thought, *Ur-sprung* entails envisaging a different future; not by relinquishing our past, but by bringing it into the present. This marries with whakapapa kōrero which is more than just whakapapa; it is the identification of relational existence and interconnectedness (T. Smith, 2000).

*Bob Marley: Check out the real situation*

Throughout this study, I refer to Rasta terminology and philosophies related to emancipation by referring to the life, times and music of reggae artist, Bob Marley, who contributed to consciousness raising in Aotearoa, the Pacific and internationally. He was inspired by the teachings of Emperor Haile Selassie I, Martin Luther King and other significant black leaders and freedom fighters. Being Rasta, Bob Marley was well versed in the King James Version of the Bible; one of his central sources of inspiration. His music was based on knowledge as power and he brought Rasta consciousness to the world, freeing the people with music, as expressed in his album entitled *Confrontation* (Bob Marley and the Wailers, 1983). He inspired people to focus not only on breaking free from oppressive systems but to expose and denounce them by chanting them down. He was highly influential in Aotearoa and one of the greatest influences in my adult life. Through his messages of freedom and justice, his continual exposure of the tools of oppression and his enduring legacy of universal love and compassion for all people regardless of race, he prepared people like me, who had no formal education in critical theory but possessed an ability to instantly understand the premise of emancipation embedded in Kaupapa Māori theory.

The specific ways that I drew on his work are through the concepts of Babylon and the notion of a collective, relational self through the use of the pronoun I-n-I<sup>5</sup> (i-n-I). Bob Marley was influenced by Rasta perspectives of Babylon as all the structures that hold people mentally captive or oppressed. They are the same systems that Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Paulo

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<sup>5</sup> I is the recognition of the oneness of Jah with everything in the Universe. I-n-I expresses the concept of oneness and harmonious relationship through Jah love. Rasta speaks of *I-n-I* instead of we, in place of you and me. *I man, I woman* and *the I* all refer to the collective oneness.

Freire (1972), Antoni Gramsci (1971), C. Wright Mills (1959) and Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) identify as the mechanisms of the state that exert power and control to maintain order in a society that is deliberately stratified to benefit the powerful. For me, conscientisation was an embodied cognitive process experienced through Bob Marley's music and teachings. In this thesis, I signpost this by incorporating relevant passages of Marley's songs as they influenced my thinking.

#### *Kaupapa Māori as critical ontology*

As mentioned elsewhere, Kaupapa Māori is not limited to Māori knowledge. It is a way to think about knowledge from a critical Māori ontological perspective. Kincheloe (2005) advocates for critical ontological approaches because of the way they connect the researcher with their communities and their lived experience of being human. Graham Hingangaroa Smith drew on a range of critical theorists to support the development of Kaupapa Māori. The influence of their work on his formulation of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis are discussed in more detail in *Upoko tuatoru*. There is a certain tension related to the juxtaposition of G. H. Smith's (1997) conceptualisation of Kaupapa Māori as an Indigenous model of liberatory praxis and the incorporation of multiple theories unrelated to Māori ontologies and epistemologies. Western theories in particular have been responsible for the promulgation of hegemonic narratives in relation to Indigenous people; perpetuating inequalities. However, Indigenous people have lived and operated in societies dominated by Western theories and discourses that have silenced their own cultures and narratives. They are the most suited to critique the impact of dominant Western discourses on their experience of being human (Kincheloe, 2005). Like *he awa whiria*, the braided river approach developed by Martel et al. (2022) as a mixed methods approach to research, the ability of Kaupapa Māori to draw on diverse theories and knowledge bases to support the evolution of Kaupapa Māori demonstrates its flexibility. This influenced my conceptualisation of Aka Kaupapa as a critical ontological approach for this study. It also marries with the rhizomatic methodologies developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) as non-hierarchical approaches, containing multiple entry and exit points in the representation and interpretation of data.

#### **Summary**

In this chapter, I identified key theoretical understandings that influenced my thinking and the methodological considerations of the study. I introduced postformal research methods and the work of Kincheloe (2009), and outlined the mixed-methods approach used in this study. The concept of Kaupapa Māori as critical ontology was introduced. The benefits and

tensions inherent in Kaupapa Māori were considered as I outlined G. H. Smith's (1997) formulation of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis, and how it would inform this study. I spent time discussing the specific ways I drew on the work of Robert (Bob) Nesta Marley and its relevance to this study. I then outlined how I intend to employ concepts of Babylon and the notion of a collective, relational self through the use of the pronoun **i-n-i**. Other writing conventions incorporated were outlined when I introduced the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), highlighting theories and concepts that would be of interest to this study. Writing conventions outlined included the use of the conjunction *and* as an intermezzo, and rhizomatic writing methods. I outlined how I would draw on them in the study and considered the intermezzo as a marker of whanaungatanga. Identifying the influence of rhizomatic writing methods and the concept of following lines of flight was important for understanding how this study incorporated it to follow the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience. This chapter laid out the theoretical understandings that underpin this study. In the following chapter, I outline the theories that influenced the development of Kaupapa Māori as I explore the emergence and development of Kaupapa Māori theory.

## UPOKO TUATORU

### The Trajectories of Kaupapa Māori in Education as Lived Experience

Wake up! It's time for you to wake up!

Dr Rangimārie Te Turuki Arikirangi Rose Pere C.B.E, C.M (2019)

#### The journey

In a discussion with Dr Joce Jesson and Dr Richard Smith (personal communication, January 18, 2013), I was reminded that Graham Hingangaroa Smith's seminal work on Kaupapa Māori theory (1997) was a political act. Whilst undeniably true when viewing Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis, I felt a stirring; a sense of something brushing up against my wairua, as if my being as Māori was being tested, provoking me to review my existence as Māori as being more than a spirit in a physical form ordained by whakapapa, but as a political being involved in a political act. I am loath to say I was being challenged, but I did accept the statement as a wero and I stooped to pick the taki up, not knowing if I was the right person to collect it but, guided as I was by my wairua, stoop I did!

That determined the starting point for investigating the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience. In the previous chapter, I outlined how Kaupapa Māori informed the methodological and theoretical considerations of the study. This chapter looks more broadly at the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori within the context of sociohistorical, political *and* cultural influences on the development of Kaupapa Māori theory. It comprises three interconnected sections (wāhanga). In Wāhanga tuatahi, I draw on T. Smith's (2000) whakapapa kōrero approach to explore the whakapapa of Kaupapa Māori. This includes a review of the theoretical influences on G. H. Smith's (1997) conceptualisation of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis. I then take a hermeneutic narrative approach through pūrākau (Lee, 2009; Lee-Morgan, 2019) to reflect on Kaupapa Māori as an embodied cognitive process through the music and Rasta philosophy of Bob Marley and how that shaped my lived experience of Kaupapa Māori theory in education. The use of pūrākau in this space enabled me to address Kaupapa Māori as lived experience of decolonisation. In Wāhanga tuatoru, I take a rhizomatic approach to map the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori and the changing educational terrain in which Kaupapa Māori as theory operates. This enabled me to consider the evolution of Kaupapa Māori and approaches moving forward.

## Wāhanga tuatahi: The whakapapa of Kaupapa Māori

Leone Pihama (2001) states that the word *kaupapa* can be interpreted as philosophies or ways of thinking about things. She extrapolates the root words contained within the word *kaupapa* and their associated meanings. In whakapapa terms, this can be viewed as the descent line. *Ka* denotes tense (past, present or future) but according to Pihama, particularly the present tense. *U* can be seen as the breast. It is also a process of holding firm to arrive at a point, to reach a limit, to bite. Taki (1996, cited in Pihama, 2001) explains that *kau* can refer to a process of seeing for the first time or disclosure. *Papa* also has a range of meanings, including Papatūānuku, the Earth, as well as layers and foundations. Pihama interprets *ka u* as Māori holding onto and connecting with the foundations of our existence to Papatūānuku. Williams (1971) defines kaupapa as including levels; surface, floor, platform, stage, scheme and proposal. Pihama (2001) notes that *Te Taura Whiri*, the Māori Language Commission (1996) further extended the notion of kaupapa in contemporary usage to include policy, scheme, subject and theme.

Pihama (2001) contends that each of the definitions connect with notions of kaupapa as philosophy and foundations. The term *kaupapa* then can be viewed as holding firmly to your fundamental foundations. This aligns with the definition of Kaupapa Māori provided by the online Māori-English, English-Māori dictionary, *Te Aka* (Moorfield, 2013), meaning ideology; incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society. Keegan (2012) articulates a linguistic perspective of the term *Kaupapa Māori*. He refers to various Māori dictionaries (Moorfield, 2011; Ryan, 2012; Williams; 1971) and prominent Māori scholars (Barlow, 1991; Marsden, 2003; Taki, 1996, cited in Pihama, 2001) as well as critical work awaiting publication, *Te Mātāpunenga: a compendium of references to the concepts and institutions of Māori customary law* (Benton et al., 2013) to provide explanations that concur with those of Pihama (2001). Keegan (2012) lists 22 possible interpretations of Kaupapa.

Carl Mika (2012) puts forward a view of kaupapa not associated with the noun phrase *Māori*, as Māori is already entangled with kaupapa by whakapapa. He argues that the term *Kaupapa Māori* reduces the scope of thinking along colonial constructions of knowable knowings, requiring a set of characteristics to measure the certainty of things. In his view, this creation of knowledge as a complete and knowable set is a colonising tool that is unhelpful in the true pursuit of knowledge and discounts thought for the *papa* as the ground of uncertainty and basis for our “act of perceiving and thinking” (p. 119).

I add here my own ideological interpretation of Kaupapa Māori along the lines of critical Kaupapa Māori ontology. For me, the emphasis is on *ka U papa*. I see this as being nurtured

by this land. This can be verified by viewing the teachings of renowned and esteemed world-ranked Māori elder, tohunga and educator, the late Dr Rangimārie Te Turuki Arikirangi Rose Pere (1937-2020) (hereafter, whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere). She outlines the vibrational sounds of te reo Māori, defining the vowel sound 'U' as the vibration to Papatūānuku (Pere, 2009). Thus, in the same way that a child is sustained by the nourishment they receive from their mother, people inhabiting this land are sustained and nourished by the land. In as much as this land is viewed as Papatūānuku (our Earth Mother), the nourishment is Māori. It is for all who feed from her, and therefore, it is for all to care for her. A child learns language and ways of being, knowing and doing at the breast of their mother. Those who reside here on Papatūānuku will be in the best relationship with the land when they are able to communicate, understand and incorporate the knowledge, attitudes, values and language of the land; then they are able to receive the best nourishment they can from the land that has adopted them.

The listing of kaupapa in many dictionaries provides evidence of the impact of te reo Māori on the English language. Scholarship around Māori language shifts can be seen as Aotearoa undergoes further rapid demographic changes as a super-diverse country (Ritchie & Skerrett, 2019; Skerrett, 2018). Concerned at the degradation of meaning found in some dictionaries, Keegan (2012) argues that further research is required into the changes in the use of Kaupapa Māori terms and how they are being understood. He provides the following example of Orsman's (1997) definition of Kaupapa as being "Used in English contexts in senses of 'private agenda', "(personal) philosophy" (cited in Keegan, 2012, p. 77). Notwithstanding the fact that English dictionaries incorporate non-English words, thereby raising concerns about the misappropriation of Māori terms, Orsman's interpretation may provide an insight into a mindset that still assumes a right to claim and interpret Māori knowledge.

#### *The introduction of Kaupapa Māori in education*

By the 1970s, Richard Benton (1979) recognised the threat of the total loss of te reo Māori as a sustainable language. Benton made a submission to the Waitangi Tribunal, calling for te reo Māori to become an official language of Aotearoa and questioning the fairness of the education system in relation to Māori aspirations and opportunities (Benton, 1987). Against a backdrop of growing political unrest (Walker, 2004) and calls for Māori sovereignty (Awatere, 1984), Māori academics waded in, calling for Māori to resist further assimilation policies in education. In 1987, Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Tuki Nepe and others met with the Minister of Education at that time, Russell Marshall, who agreed to

hear concerns of parents involved in Te Kōhanga Reo regarding the fact that their children were very quickly losing their reo Māori as they entered mainstreamed primary education settings. They sought assistance to secure a site, upon which to establish a Māori-medium setting (G. H. Smith, 2012).

Discussing these events with Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones, Graham Hingangaroa Smith attributed the origins of the term *Kaupapa Māori* as a philosophy to the late Taukana Tuki Nepe (G.H. Smith, 2012). At that time, there was growing frustration at the comparatively inequitable outcomes for Māori in education. Nepe called for a Kaupapa Māori schooling system, maintaining that Kaupapa Māori is the conceptualisation of Māori knowledge that is owned and controlled by Māori. Her ground-breaking work in establishing Kaupapa Māori schools – *Kura Kaupapa Māori* – in Aotearoa was based on her assertion that Māori had a right to live and be as Māori (Nepe, 1991). She argues that Kaupapa Māori is unique to Māori in that it was transported from the seat of Māori existence, *Rangiātea*. According to Nepe (1991), Rangiātea is the first known whare wānanga located in *Te-toi-o-ngā-Rangi* and home to *Io Matua Kore* (the Supreme Creator). This is significant for education in that mātauranga Māori was one of the gifts of *Io Matua Kore* transported to earth by Tane, the epigenous ancestor of humankind. Nepe's stance was that Kaupapa Māori is a knowledge system born of Māori lived experience with and of this land, Aotearoa. Pihama (2001) reinforces that view, affirming that the base of Kaupapa Māori is firmly entrenched in Māori whakapapa, "on this land, on Papatūānuku and that holds Kaupapa Māori theory as a distinctive framework" (p. 110). Viewed this way, it is clear to see why Nepe refers to Kaupapa Māori as unique to Māori. As Jones (2012) states, Kaupapa Māori is legitimated through Māori epistemologies, including complex relationships and ways of organising society based on notions of authority through whakapapa.

#### *The development of Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis*

One of the key contributions made by G. H. Smith (1997) to Kaupapa Māori was to insert 'theory' into Kaupapa Māori. He employed a range of theories as a deliberate strategy to open up a "powerful space for Māori in the academy" (G. H. Smith, 2012, p. 10). His stance was that academies are shaped by numerous theories, many of which positioned Māori as deficient, inadequate and problematic. His goal was to identify the change elements implicit in Kaupapa Māori approaches and gauge the potential for a wider application of Kaupapa Māori as an intervention strategy into what was a crisis for Māori in education.

G. H. Smith's (1997) seminal work, *The Development of Kaupapa Māori; Theory and Praxis*, was concerned with the transformative potential of Kaupapa Māori. Graham Hingangaroa Smith examined the development and formation(s) of Kaupapa Māori intervention strategies within education and schooling in the 1980s. He drew on a range of theories, arguing that Kaupapa Māori supports the use of all theory that can positively support Māori advancement (G. H. Smith, 1997, 2003). Kaupapa Māori as theory provided a space for Māori to speak back to the dominant discourses prevailing in education, thus re-centring Māori aspirations (L. T. Smith, 2012).

#### *The principles of Kaupapa Māori theory*

G. H. Smith (2017) asserts that Kaupapa Māori is not a prescribed, fixed set of principles, but a space created wherein Māori can operate unencumbered by dominant, cultural imposition. Within Kaupapa Māori spaces, Māori are able to develop and grow their transforming ideas and actions. He identified a set of critical drivers for change mobilised by Kaupapa Māori theory as transformational praxis (G. H. Smith, 1997, 2017). These are summarised as:

*Tino Rangatiratanga – The principle of self-determination:* This principle relates to sovereignty, autonomy, control, self-determination and independence. It affirms the goal of Kaupapa Māori initiatives, such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori. Māori control their own culture, language, aspirations and destiny. Involvement in key decision making and self-determination elicit greater commitment by Māori, thus ensuring success (G. H. Smith, 2017, p. 86).

*Taonga Tuku Iho – The principle of cultural aspiration:* This principle relates to the centrality and legitimacy of te reo Māori, tikanga and mātauranga Māori, and the validation of spiritual and cultural awareness. Keegan (2012) explains that the phrase *taonga tuku iho* literally refers to treasures bequeathed from one generation to the next, which can refer to the ongoing transmission of valued cultural practices (G. H. Smith, 2012, p. 81). As educational interventions, Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are successful where mainstreamed interventions continuously fail Māori communities because they fail to uphold and maintain the integrity of Māori language and cultural identity. Incorporating these factors into Kaupapa Māori initiatives embed strong emotional and spiritual factors. Whānau Māori are drawn in by the wairua and cultural relevance of the Kaupapa Māori approach and re-commit to education (G. H. Smith, 2012, p. 86).

*Akoranga Māori – The principle of culturally preferred pedagogy:* This principle acknowledges the teaching and learning practices inherent and unique to Māori, and the contemporary practices preferred by Māori. These practices connect not only to their cultural background but may also support the socioeconomic demographics of Māori communities. According to G. H. Smith (2017), this principle may be inclusive of other pedagogies, including borrowing from other cultures. In his view, a move towards Pacific and Asian cultures and languages is a “logical development given the cultural similarities and commonalities” (p. 87) held within these language groups.

*Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga – The principle of socioeconomic mediation:* This principle addresses disadvantages experienced by Māori communities. It acknowledges the relevance and success of Māori-derived initiatives as interventions that address current socioeconomic issues. G. H. Smith (2017) asserts that Māori communities involved in Kaupapa Māori education experience it positively because of the all-embracing feelings of ngākau and wairua that ideologically and ideally negate the socioeconomic impediments to participation. It is a principle that those who actively commit to Kaupapa Māori theory as praxis commit to. Certainly, it underpins my own praxis. My own experiences as both a teacher and a parent within kōhanga reo and whānau units is that what often holds a whānau together through conflicts in these settings (that can sometimes actually damage and affect wairua) is the absolute belief in the movement and the strong desire for their tamariki mokopuna to regain and maintain te reo Māori.

*Whānau/Whanaungatanga – The principle of extended family structure:* This principle acknowledges the relationships that Māori have to one another and to the world around them and sits at the core of Kaupapa Māori (Bishop et al, 2014; G. H. Smith, 1997). Whānau and the process of whakawhanaungatanga are key elements of Māori society and culture. My research to establish the values base of kaupapa whānau approaches in educational management found that whanaungatanga and manaakitanga were quintessential elements underpinning Māori relationships and organisational structures within whānau (Heta-Lensen, 2005). G. H. Smith (2017) explains that this principle incorporates collective cultural structures and states that the collective practices and structures of whānau is a way to mitigate the potentially negative effects of adverse socioeconomic circumstances “by drawing on the social capital of culturally collective practice” (p. 87).

*Kaupapa – The principle of collective philosophy:* This principle refers to the collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities. Research topics or educational interventions must necessarily contribute to the overall kaupapa set by the community it serves. Whānau of interest commit to the kaupapa, and connect with and articulate Māori aspirations politically, socially, economically and culturally. G. H. Smith (2017) asserts that this ability provides momentum and direction in political and educational struggles.

*Te Tiriti o Waitangi – The principle of the Treaty of Waitangi:* Leone Pihama (2001) identifies this as another principle to be taken into account within Kaupapa Māori theory and believes it is crucial in defining the relationship between Māori and the Crown in Aotearoa. It affirms both the tangata whenua status of whānau, hapū and iwi in Aotearoa and their rights of citizenship. It provides a platform through which Māori may critically analyse relationships, challenge the status quo and affirm Māori rights. In fact, Te Tiriti o Waitangi should provide the basis for *all* analyses of relationships of power in relation to Māori in particular and to all citizens of Aotearoa in general.

*Āta – The principle of growing respectful relationships.* The principle of *āta* was developed by Pōhatu (2005) as a transformative approach within the area of social services. *Āta* refers specifically to the building and nurturing of relationships. It acts as a guide to the understanding of relationships and wellbeing when engaging with Māori. *Āta* literally means gently, slowly, carefully, deliberately, openly, thoroughly. It can stand before verbs to indicate care, deliberation and thoroughness in carrying out an activity (Moorfield, 2013). Thus, this principle supports the principle of whanaungatanga, which is of particular interest to this study when considering teaching praxis.

The additional developments of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (Pihama, 2001) and *Āta* (Pōhatu, 2005), demonstrate that Kaupapa Māori is neither static nor closed, but is constantly evolving (Pihama, 2001) as G. H. Smith (2012) indicates it should. Keegan (2012) points out that G. H. Smith's articulation of Kaupapa Māori shifted from his 1997 definition as "Māori philosophy and principles" to his 2003 definition as "Māori philosophy and practice" (p. 79). This shows the emphasis on 'action' rather than rhetoric as a feature of Kaupapa Māori theory. G. H. Smith (2012) discusses the need for the principles of Kaupapa Māori to continue to grow and develop and points out that they are not a definitive overview of Kaupapa Māori

transformative praxis. As implied by the notion of 'praxis', he affirms and positions Kaupapa Māori as a dynamic, ongoing and evolving process.

So far, I have spent time looking at ontological and epistemological formations of Kaupapa Māori. This grounds Kaupapa Māori as Māori-centric theory. However, Graham Hingangaroa Smith drew on a range of theories and educational theorists in conceptualising Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis. Wāhanga tuarua outlines key influences and discusses how Graham Hingangaroa Smith used them to develop the concept of Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis.

### **Wāhanga tuarua: Theoretical influences on Kaupapa Māori**

In this section, I outline the body of key theories and influences on G. H. Smith's (1997) conceptualisation of Kaupapa Māori as theory, which includes the works of Paulo Freire, Frantz Fanon, Michael Apple and Antonio Gramsci. Elsewhere, I have acknowledged the tensions inherent in employing diverse and divergent theories to develop and inform Kaupapa Māori as Indigenous theory. This includes the criticism that, first and foremost, Kaupapa Māori theory should be constructed along Indigenous knowledge. Eketone (2009) and Mika (2012) both argued that the term *Kaupapa Māori* narrows the scope to colonial constructions of knowledge. Equally, however, it demonstrates the suitability of Kaupapa Māori as a critical framework for examining wide-ranging theory, research and literature to highlight the benefits for Māori, mediate any of the likely negative effects (L. T. Smith, 1999) and identify where the relationships of knowledge and power lie in relation to Māori.

G. H. Smith (1997) drew on the works of four prominent theorists: Brazilian educator, philosopher and advocate for critical pedagogies, Paulo Freire's pedagogy of oppression and liberation, and the processes of *conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis*; anti-colonialist, West Indian psychiatrist and political philosopher, Frantz Fanon whose work articulated Indigenous struggles across multiple cultural and economic planes; educational theorist and commentator on educational power and control, Michael Apple, whose work on curriculum, power and control made meaningful connections for Māori, such as the struggle at the interface of culture and education; and Italian Marxist educator, philosopher and linguist, Antonio Gramsci, who constructed the concept of cultural hegemony to shed light on how dominant groups exert force through ideology and economy (G. H. Smith, 1997). Gramsci made a significant contribution to the field of modern thought, adding to Marxist grand-structural notions of the ruler and subordinate binary. His work contributed

significantly to Graham Hingangaroa Smith's theorisation of Kaupapa Māori as liberatory practice.

From divergent sections of the world, these theorists share certain commonalities: they engage in the struggle for liberation; they want to expose oppressive structures that stratify society and perpetuate unequal power relations through hegemonic practices *and* they highlight the power of the mind to either enslave or emancipate, depending on circumstance and opportunity.

#### *Gramsci's influence on Kaupapa Māori*

Antonio Gramsci was a leading Marxist, journalist, linguist and a major intellectual theorist who believed that everyone is an intellectual to the degree that they are able to be. He was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment under Fascist dictator Mussolini's rule of Italy and ultimately died in prison after enduring eleven years of incarceration (Bates, 1975). His essays and theories were smuggled out of prison but were not translated into English until the 1970s. His work has had a significant impact on educational thinking in a short period of time. Gramsci was unable to consolidate some of his thinking before his death, however, some enduring themes emerged that influenced G. H. Smith's (1997) conceptualisation of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis.

#### *Ideological hegemony*

Gramsci's (1971) theory of the intellectual was entangled in his thinking around hegemony, which he developed from Lenin. Later, Stalin developed and employed hegemony to denote a dictatorial leadership style that, in his view, would help to lead the working class who were considered to be uneducated and in need of strong direction (Bates, 1975). Moving away from Marxist grand narratives of super-structures, Gramsci's (1971) study of the role of the intellectual in society led to his conception of the organisation of society into two tiers: *civil society* and *political society*. Gramsci was arguably influenced by Hegelian concepts of civil society which were also concerned with sociocultural understandings. Gramsci defined civil society as being constructed from the private productions of society, such as school, church, media, clubs and party memberships. He argued that these private productions of civil society make important contributions at a molecular level to the social and sociopolitical structure of society and, therefore, play a critical role in permeating thought. He defines political society as being composed of public institutions of society, produced as mechanisms of the state, such as government, the legal system, the police system, the army and the

monetary system. The ruling class exerts power over both civil society and political society, but by different means.

According to Bates (1975), Gramsci saw inherent dangers of the intellectual acting within civil society to achieve hegemony by promoting the will and rules of the ruling class. If the intellectual fails to convincingly promote political society ideals to those in civil society and achieve the consent of the masses to be ruled by free choice, thereby achieving ideological hegemony, the ruling class reverts to the more forcefully coercive mechanisms of the state to discipline and control.

#### *Traditional and organic intellectuals*

Gramsci was also aware of the duty of the intellectual as the critic and conscience of society. He identifies two broad types of intellectual; the traditional intellectual and the organic intellectual. The traditional intellectual has a relative degree of intellectual autonomy, at face value at least. The organic intellectual grows 'organically' to serve the needs of the privileged. The ruling class as the dominant group is essentially the thinking and organising force behind the organic intellectual. Gramsci (1971) argued that organic intellectuals are produced by the education system to serve the needs of the dominant social group in society. Thus, the ruling class maintains hegemony and its hegemonic position over the rest of society.

#### *The colon as an identifier*

G. H. Smith (1997) drew extensively on Gramsci's conceptualisation of the 'organic intellectual' as a way to define his position at that time as a Māori academic working within the traditional setting of a university in a dominant Pākehā academy. He used the colon to join words and inverted commas to emphasise them as deliberate writing conventions to represent the multiple sites of struggle within the terrain he occupies and speaks to and across. For example, " 'dominant: state: Pākehā' and 'subordinate(d): iwi: Māori' " (p. 50). The colon directly identifies the tensions and sites of struggle across a seemingly singular terrain. The inverted commas identify the incommensurable differences and highlights oppositional territories.

Significantly, this also signals that the labels 'Māori' and 'Pākehā' cannot act as singular concepts because they embody multiple interests and identities. This was a personal rupture for me; a critical moment of understanding, which marked a turning point for my own conscientisation as an organic intellectual and a starting point in the process of decolonisation as Māori.

Applying G. H. Smith's (1997) use of the colon, I considered my own position in relation to the academy when I first began as a lecturer in ITE. My position was 'Indigenous: organic: intellectual' operating within an educational environment that is 'dominant: global: capitalist'. My own introduction to tertiary education made me organic. I was not a 'traditional academic'; I had not charted a career for myself there and it took me a long time to learn the rules. Once there, I thought I could make the greatest use of my position as a Kaupapa Māori educator, but was I actually making space for other Indigenous: organic: intellectuals? I cannot say I have made any impact on the 'dominant: global: capitalist' educational environment. My relative naivety as a tertiary neophyte aside, education has become increasingly more prescriptive, relying on an increasing range of managerial checks and balances. This ongoing issue was critiqued by Mills (1959) who discusses the impact on teachers' work as they are increasingly measured by their ability to perform tasks and carry out functions. Being so engrossed in the minutiae of educational administration leaves the intellectual less time for meaningful contributions to educational critique as critic and conscience of society. Ensuring my praxis remained underpinned by Kaupapa Māori whilst positioned within mainstreamed Western educational models and approaches required me to do more than maintain a position within the Kaupapa; I needed to assert my position and challenge oppressive structures.

### *Consciousness raising*

Graham Hingangaroa Smith discusses the growing power of multinationals to influence fiscal policy and its impact on Māori in the 1980s and 1990s. There is also a developing and powerful new form of Māori capitalism emerging. Arguably, the degree to which Māori succeed is still dependent on the state. By this, I mean that power is not assured for Māori on the basis of economic capital alone; it is more likely that power is achieved politically for Māori capitalist enterprise when it serves the needs of the mechanisms of the state to delegate power to Māori representative groups to assist the state to meet their own agenda. Juxtaposed to that position, I have noticed wider consciousness raising regarding the extent to which capitalism erodes democratic choice and impacts on planetary wellbeing. Neo-liberal politics and economic policies have infiltrated every level of society (Devine, 2000), with the most affected being the voiceless and vulnerable in society. I include the planet (Ranginui me Papatūānuku) as my more-than-human parents as part of the voiceless and vulnerable. As a demographic group, Māori form the largest proportion of the disenfranchised citizens of Aotearoa. The power that now exerts itself in our lives is no longer that of the state alone, if it ever was, but is driven by global-capitalist, elite, networked

systems. The state is enmeshed in global trade deals that influence the direction of our economy and policies together with the condition of our land.

These impact on Māori struggles to be recognised, not just as the Indigenous people of Aotearoa with obligated stewardship of this land, guaranteed to them under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi but as a rightful party in business and trade. Further, it is possible to argue that the terrain has shifted so that Māori and Pākehā both occupy a place of struggle together with the state against the multiple sites of global liberal capitalism. Thus, 'intellectual: collaborator: treaty partner' might be considered positions that Māori and Pākehā both occupy.

The shift in emphasis from education to the 'employer' and the inherent dangers it represents for education is playing out in the 2020 tertiary education polytechnic sector reform. The emerging narrative is that vocational education should maintain a focus on the employer as well as the student. The employer was described as the main 'consumer' of vocational education. This emphasis on industry and business (Loo, 2020) is not all there is to education and threatens to undermine quality learning. The new structure threatens to interrupt the pursuit of knowledge and academic freedom. Academics are beginning to form a collective voice in speaking out against the newly formed Workplace Development Councils (WDCs) which were essentially established to give industry greater leadership across the vocational education system. Looking at the rhetoric of employers' rights as consumers of a 'service' that education and training providers 'market', the question that arises is how education can maintain its positions as the critic and conscience of society and a driver for change. In relation to Māori aspirations in education, Kaupapa Māori theory is an agentic voice for the rights of taurua Māori in the new vocational education space that is emerging. As an academic in that terrain, Kaupapa Māori guides an approach to maintaining a position as Māori critic and conscience to resist any attempts to subjugate Māori aspirations for education under state agendas related to the commodification of vocational tertiary education.

#### *War on position*

Speaking on Gramscian influences in his work, G. H. Smith (1997) identifies that one of the key projects of organic intellectuals is to "stage a war on position" (p. 31). The role of the organic intellectual is to influence traditional intellectuals who influence the status quo, which is then reproduced within dominant relationships of power and control. It is achieved by developing legitimate 'counter-hegemonies' to provide for a more human existence for those who are marginalised, oppressed and exploited. Graham Hingangaroa Smith's position was not to merely 'wait out' or describe the war on position; he set out to develop a war on

position, where he actively sought to challenge traditional perspectives about what counts as Māori education crises and how to appropriately analyse those.

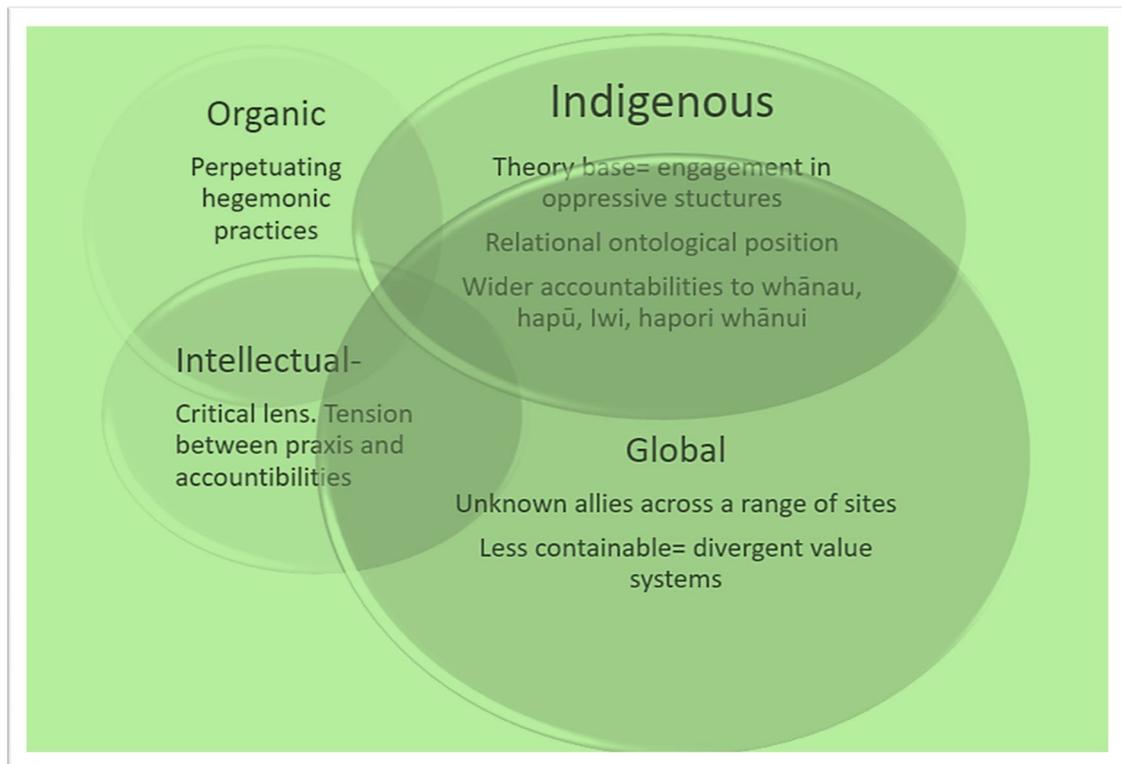
G. H. Smith (1997) engages strategies that could transform Māori education crises by asking 'what counts as a meaningful transformation strategy?' and, critically in his view, 'what and who should be transformed?'. He set out to engage across multiple sites of struggle to influence teachers, parents, policy makers, various government authorities (particularly the Ministry of Education) and diverse Māori communities. Through asserting the principles of Kaupapa Māori as transformative praxis, the war on position gained impetus and validity by emancipatory (utopian) visions (G. H. Smith, 2003).

#### *Applying the intermezzo*

Drawing on G. H. Smith's (1997) use of the colon to identify sites of struggle, I applied Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) use of the conjunction *and* as the intermezzo to illustrate the various ways that being organic *and* Indigenous *and* intellectual interact with each other. It allowed me to see the degree to which Kaupapa Māori enables meaningful interaction *and* intervention across terrains. Within the academy, Kaupapa Māori enables resistance at a localised level against the hegemonic position of being an organic: intellectual subjugated under the influence of the traditional intellectual mechanisms of the academy. However, navigation of the global: capitalist terrain is much harder to maintain as an Indigenous intellectual.

The interplay between the colon (G. H. Smith, 1997) and the intermezzo (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) has come to the foreground in this chapter. The colon and the intermezzo complement each other. The colon locates and marks out territory and the intermezzo infiltrates by examining the interactions occurring across terrains. From this perspective, it is easier to view the wider trajectories of Kaupapa Māori. Whakaahua 1 shows the interaction of the 'in-between spaces' of the intermezzo represented in intersecting domains.

*Whakaahua 2: The interaction in the 'in-between spaces' of the intermezzo demonstrating the pervasiveness of globalisation in relation to the domain/s of the intellectual*



The intermezzo enables an examination of the interiorities of the terrains that the Indigenous: organic: intellectual operates in. The intersecting domains show how the intellectual *and* the organic *and* the Indigenous domains are affected by global systems. The benefit of operating in wider global territories includes the ability to network with a diverse connection of Indigenous academics, which provides a greater degree of ability to stage a war on position. The challenge lies in being able to rupture positions of power and transform outcomes at the global capitalist level, which is becoming more frequent in education. The ability of the organic intellectual to be effective in that terrain is made more complex as the systems become more complex. The intermezzo can illuminate the interrelationships of power; it can assist Māori organic intellectuals to operate rhizomatically within the academy. It is a tool that helps to map the lines of flight of Kaupapa Māori theory and identify positions that threaten our own. It enables global capitalism to be conceptualised as an assemblage of 'capitalist: plateau' rather than as a non-specific terrain that is much harder to deterritorialise. Supported by whakapapa kōrero as a framework for understanding the interconnected nature of everything on this earth (T. Smith, 2000), the intermezzo helps Kaupapa Māori as theory to expose oppressive structures and inequalities in society.

The ability of Kaupapa Māori theory to draw on multiple theories enables its application in mainstreamed spaces; it is flexible and adaptable to the terrain. As applied practice, I found that Kaupapa Māori as theory was more objective than it is credited for precisely because it encourages the use of multiple theories to inform inquiry and critique. Kincheloe (2005) reinforces this by arguing that it equips the intellectual with a far wider theory base than Western purist and positivist criticisms assume. I demonstrated that by expanding on G. H. Smith's (2003) critique of Gramscian notions of the organic intellectual. I interfaced his use of the colon to identify sites of struggles with Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) use of the conjunction *and* as the intermezzo to identify how Kaupapa Māori theory is able to adapt and evolve in the pursuit of knowledge. In the next section I turn my attention to Kaupapa Māori as an embodied experience. I provide examples of how Kaupapa shaped my emerging identity as a teacher and explore it as hermeneutic, embodied cognition.

### Wāhanga tuatoru: Kaupapa Māori as embodied cognition

This section is a hermeneutic narrative (kōrero) that recounts how I came to be involved in both education *and* Kaupapa Māori, which I would describe as an embodied cognitive process rather than a rational intellectual pursuit. It reports on the early influences in my life that helped to shape my 'becoming' a teacher and relates them to prevalent discourses and assumptions that filled that period. These influences include my mixed heritage whakapapa, growing up in South Auckland, away from my homelands in Te Tai Tokerau, and the music of Bob Marley.



WE REFUSE TO BE  
WHAT YOU WANTED US TO BE  
WE ARE WHAT WE ARE, THAT 'S THE WAY IT 'S GONNA BE  
IF YOU DON 'T KNOW – YOU CAN 'T EDUCATE I  
FOR NO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY – TALKIN ' BOUT MY FREEDOM  
PEOPLE FREEDOM AND LIBERTY!

Bob Marley & The Wailers (1979b, track 4)

#### *South Side*

I grew up in South Auckland or South Side! I did not view some of the behaviours witnessed as an identity crisis, which was the enduring discourse at that time. I saw it as an assertion of mana, sometimes over others, which was counter to the limited understanding I had of Māori ways of being. I had no sociological lens at that time to rationalise things. I saw the pain it caused my mother to see the way her people were living in the city. I could not feel shame because, unlike my mother, I did not see that the actions of others could bring me shame

personally. Reflecting on this, perhaps I was better able to grasp concepts, such as whakamā, whakamana and takahi mana as my understanding of te reo Māori grew. I now have a greater sense of collective conscience than I had then. I also suspect my mother's reactions were partly reliving the trauma she experienced when she first relocated to the city in the 1940s. I revisit this again in Upoko tuaono from a hermeneutic lived experience perspective. At that time, I had not come across critical theories, but I understood that people could shape history by becoming agents of their own destiny (Freire, 1972, 1994).

#### *My mother my teacher*

As my first teacher, my mother had a significant influence on my life. A lesson I learned from her was that no one can 'take' your mana away; your mana and, therefore, the mana of your people is enhanced or diminished by your actions. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (2009), who contributed significantly to my adult life lessons, reinforced this when she reminded us to not let the cultural threads of our korowai drag along the ground; a wonderful metaphor and poignant reminder that the mana we carry is imbued with whakapapa Māori which carries with it a way to conduct ourselves. My mother's approach to conducting oneself appropriately was to rise above negativity. So, I 'refused to be what they wanted me to be'. Pākehā could not understand why I claimed to be full-blooded when they asked me to quantify my percentage of 'Māoriness' based on the colour of my skin! I asserted that I was born here, which qualified me as full-blooded; not a 'caste' of anything.

At the same time, I stayed close to the teachings of Bob Marley, rejecting as Babylon any rhetoric that I perceived to be counter to the mana of Māori; that positioned Māori as inferior. I was yet to come into the Rasta faith but until I did, Bob Marley gave me the lessons I needed to call out discrimination. He was my first critical theory teacher. His music and Rasta philosophy were my first encounters with critical theory.

#### *Bob Marley: Rasta revolutionary*



LIFE IS ONE BIG ROAD WITH LOTS OF SIGNS  
SO WHEN YOU 'RE RIDING THROUGH THE RUTS  
DON ' T YOU COMPLICATE YOUR MIND  
FLEE FROM HATE, DECEIT AND JEALOUSY  
DON ' T BURY YOUR THOUGHTS  
PUT YOUR DREAMS INTO REALITY  
WAKE UP AND LIVE NOW!

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1979d, track 10)

Robert Nesta (Bob) Marley (1945–1981) was born in Nine Miles, St Ann, Jamaica and later moved to Kingston, where he developed his critical awareness of subjugation through poverty. The son of a black Jamaican mother and a white Jamaican father, a plantation owner 40 years his mother’s senior, Bob Marley was born and grew up in extreme poverty. He experienced racism as a mixed-race person and later he experienced discrimination as a Rasta. Jamaica was a colonial country that had been established through forced labour and oppression of Black African people under slavery (Wong, 2013). According to Wong (2013), Bob Marley’s music was shaped by these experiences, his Rasta beliefs and his understandings of the teachings of key figures, such as the Emperor Haile Selassie, Marcus Garvey and Paul Bogle. He was inspired by them to sing about African unity, the impact of slavery and emancipation from mental oppression. For many people, he moved music beyond entertainment to spark a global ‘conscientisation’, calling on people to take stock of their values, attitudes and positions in society. His music was an expression of Rasta philosophy.

*Polynesian Panthers, Bastion Point, Springbok Tour and Bob Marley*

Bob Marley’s only Aotearoa concert at Western Springs in Auckland on 16th April, 1979 was one of the most influential concerts in our nation’s history. His impact on Aotearoa was significant, possibly because his message of rebellion against oppression resonated with those affected by the racial and political unrest that was occurring at that time; anti-colonial struggles were coming to the forefront (Shilliam, 2015). According to Tigilau Ness, the founding member of the Polynesian Panther Party and a Rastaman, the mood was tense for Pacific people in the 1970s and 1980s during the contentious and unsettling period of the dawn raids<sup>6</sup> (Southland Times, 2009). The 1975 Māori land march and the occupation of Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrākei of their whenua at Takaparawhau Bastion Point in 1997–1978 signaled a revolution of Māori who had grown tired of waiting for change to occur and moved from reactive politics to being more proactive in determining Māori development (G. H. Smith, 2017). Aotearoa was also becoming a nation divided over the 1981 all-white South African Springbok tour of Aotearoa which was disrupted by mass anti-apartheid protests. Shilliam (2015) documents examples of backlashes from Pākehā in Aotearoa at that time as

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<sup>6</sup> During 1974–1976, a series of raids were carried out on the homes of suspected overstayers. They were arrested and, if convicted, were deported under the 1964 immigration act. The raids usually took place in the early hours of the morning and became known as the ‘dawn raids’. The raids largely targeted Pacific Islands peoples.

a result of expressions and assertions made by Māori and peoples of the Pacific diaspora. Bob Marley and the Wailers' reggae beats created, for those of us who were moved that way, an embodied cognitive experience of having "the right to decide our own destiny" (Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1979a, track 2). Shilliam (2015) noted that in the 1970s Indigenous people subtly shifted from "identifying blackness to inhabiting blackness" (p. 107). Within the context of that time, Bob Marley may have given expression to newly found voices amongst the dispossessed and disenfranchised.

I experienced the impact of Bob Marley's music on the mood on the streets of South Auckland and in the hearts of many South Aucklanders to connect and join together that turned the spirit of South Auckland to what Bob Marley might have called "One love, one heart" (Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1977a, track 10). I am not surprised that his music captured a grounding process of 'sussing out the soul' within the urban Māori and Pacific diaspora (Shilliam, 2015). Māori and Pacific people have a strong spiritual consciousness and connection. Through colonisation, the majority of our people converted to Christianity, albeit retaining a connection to our whakapapa ties with Ranginui and Papatūānuku. So, families often felt confronted by the process of unshackling the colonial constraints of our oppression when we began to question the church. I personally found it difficult when I was younger to continue to connect with my Christian roots. Bob Marley quoted directly from the Bible; reggae music incorporated chanting, something a Catholic fully recognises, and Marley communicated in a way very familiar to Māori and Pacific peoples. They instantly resonated with Marley and this was a critical point of connection for many (Southland Times, 2009). Marley's music inspired Aotearoa with speeches about equality and standing up for your rights (U-music, 2020). He had a strong sense of social justice and spoke directly to the oppressed through his music. He became one of the world's most important reggae songwriters of his time and the greatest reggae artist of all time (Whitney & Hussey, 1984).

Bob Marley had a profound influence on how I step upon this earth; not as black or as white, not as oppressed or as displaced. This is not how we need to be defined or define ourselves. The effects of colonisation and the process of disentangling ourselves from it form part of our historical narratives that cannot be forgotten as we determine our futures (Freire, 1994). Collectively and individually, we learn from the lessons of the past. What I learnt and continue to learn from Bob Marley's Rasta philosophies gave me a way to overstand<sup>7</sup> the streets of

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<sup>7</sup> *Overstanding* is a Rasta term. The sound of the word *overstanding* adds vibrations of positivity, strength and respect to the act of enlightenment. Bob Marley paid great attention to positive vibrations of speech. Rasta looks at where deeply held beliefs may be exposed and altered by a 'simple twist of language' (Natural Marley) <https://www.marleynatural.com/blog/overstand-rastafarian-speech>

South Auckland. Bob Marley believed that “people with overstanding can do more than read from life’s book, but can help write it” (Marley Natural, n.d.). He saw the importance of challenging your assumptions to open yourself up to truth, vision and thought, and suggested that “the first order of business is taking the time to look within and ponder our actions” (Marley Natural, n.d.). To me, that equates to tika, pono and aroha.

**Tika:** Yes, it is **right**.

**YOU ’ RE RIGHT, YOU ’ RE RIGHT. YOU ’ RE RIGHT, YOU ’ RE SO RIGHT**

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1979b, track 2)

**Pono:** Yes, it is my **truth**.

**TELL THE CHILDREN THE TRUTH**

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1979b, track 4)

**Aroha:** Yes, it embodies empathy and **respect**.

**ONE LOVE, ONE HEART**

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1977a, track 10)

It was during this phase of my life that I first encountered Kaupapa Māori theory.

### *Re-entering the education system*

Coming into initial teacher education (ITE) with a critical Rasta mindset, I held a different vision of our realities from those that were being presented. I could not embrace the idea that urban Māori were passive or complicit in their subjugation. There was nothing passive about the resistance movements I had seen growing up in South Auckland in the 1960s and 1970s. If anything, I felt distressed by the number of people who seemed to be falling to the Babylon system,<sup>8</sup> (Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1979b, track 4). I did not yet have the sociological understanding of the world I developed when I went to university. All I had were life lessons and redemption songs (Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1980, track 10).

South Auckland urban Māori youth turned to a certain way of dressing and a certain way of speaking, which the education system at that time interpreted as language deficit (Walker, 2016). A certain way of living would lead some of them into trouble and jail. I realised that jail was a Babylonian construct where your apprenticeship into actual criminal activity and

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<sup>8</sup> Babylon represents a Rasta philosophy of how power and oppression is immorally and unethically maintained. It aligns with the Gramscian notion of political societies propped up by the ruling class. These government systems work to exert force over the oppressed. The judicial system, the police system, the banking system are examples of Babylon systems. Babylonians are the people who uphold these systems.

gangster life began; once you started on that path, it was not always your choice when you left. I was confused and uncertain about where I fitted into this changing urban Māori diaspora.

Street kids were fast becoming visible on the streets of South Auckland; along with sleeping under bridges, glue sniffing and tagging. The tagging culture was a movement on the streets that I could not reconcile. I was becoming alienated from what I believed it was to be Māori. I could not just pretend that that side of our culture was not happening. I rejected people, music and systems that cast Māori simultaneously as both victims and villains in their subjugation. That included the education system, the justice system and punk rock music which was fast becoming an expression of white supremacist fascism in Aotearoa! I left school at the age of 17 with no qualifications and few prospects. It was not what I had planned for my future at all. When I was young, I wanted to be a doctor!

More than 12 years later, as a solo mother, **-n-** had decided it was important for our youth and our future to upskill ourselves. So, after some contemplation, I began studying at Auckland College of Education in 1991. The 1980s and 1990s marked a period in Māori educational history when Māori academics were mobilising and rising up and gaining traction to actively resist further assimilation and language loss through education policy. Whānau were enrolling their tamariki in Kōhanga Reo at never-before-seen rates. Māori wanted their mokopuna to access early learning services but not initiatives, such as Māori Playcentres established under the Playcentre movement in 1963, supposedly to address the so-called deficit of Māori children who were thought to be ‘culturally deprived’ and have impoverished language. However, according to Ranginui Walker (2016), Māori mothers attending playcentres in urban areas realised that their children were being socialised to become “brown Pākehā” (p. 32). They withdrew from playcentres and established informal centres of learning in their own homes. Thus, contrary to commonly held assumptions, Māori parents in the community actively participated in the education of their tamariki by resisting assimilative education and finding their own solutions. However, this was not interpreted as participation. Māori were keen to embrace Kaupapa Māori education experiences for their tamariki. The success of Kōhanga Reo was unprecedented. Five hundred Kōhanga Reo had been established within five years of opening (Walker, 2016), with nearly 700 Kōhanga Reo established between 1981–1989, constituting the fastest unmatched growth of an educational initiative established for Māori, by Māori and in Māori. As a result of the success of Te Kōhanga Reo as a language intervention, academics, such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Tuakana Tuki Nepe, Pita Sharples and Tania Ka’ai successfully

petitioned for the establishment of Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori; total immersion Māori primary schools grounded in Māori ontology as Kaupapa Māori.

Entering into ITE was a wake-up call to action. The way Māori aspirations were discussed was a less-than-positive experience for me. As a student who had grown up in South Auckland *and* who was, probably for the first time, publicly claiming my indigeneity, I was often outraged in class. I felt Māori were constantly being ‘othered’ (G. H. Smith, 1997) as either helpless victims or somehow deficient; further perpetuating notions of Pākehā superiority *and* Māori inferiority. Of course, I had no language to name it at the time. What **I-n-** did have was a strong sense of social justice, instilled through the following:

1. Years of seeing my mother viewed as the coloured mother of a white child

THAT UNTIL THE PHILOSOPHY  
WHICH HOLDS ONE RACE SUPERIOR AND ANOTHER INFERIOR  
IS FINALLY AND PERMANENTLY DISCREDITED AND ABANDONED

2. The struggle of my father to gain recognition as a migrant worker in his profession and a legitimate right to call himself ‘Kiwi’ alongside Pākehā New Zealanders.

THAT UNTIL THERE 'S NO LONGER  
FIRST CLASS AND SECOND CLASS CITIZENS  
OF ANY NATION

3. A childhood spent growing up in South Auckland and experiencing difference based on my indigeneity and my colour as white.

THAT UNTIL THE COLOUR OF A MAN 'S SKIN  
IS OF NO MORE SIGNIFICANCE  
THAN THE COLOUR OF HIS EYES

4. The strong views of Irish Sisters of Mercy on language and culture, and a Catholic education that taught me that God expected great things for *all* his children.

THAT UNTIL BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS  
ARE EQUALLY GUARANTEED TO ALL  
WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE

5. The philosophy of emancipation in the songs of Bob Marley and his belief that emancipation lies in the minds of the people and the teachings of Rasta.

THAT UNTIL THAT DAY  
THE DREAM OF LASTING PEACE, WORLD CITIZENSHIP  
THE RULE OF INTERNATIONAL MORALITY  
WILL REMAIN BUT A FLEETING ILLUSION  
TO BE PURSUED BUT NEVER ATTAINED  
EVERYWHERE IS WAR!

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1976, Track 9)<sup>9</sup>

When we were bombarded with data to show Māori under-achievement in education, I rejected it! Looking back, my arguments were naïve; still embedded in Gramscian theories of ideological hegemony (Bates, 1975; Reis & Rothon, 2018; G. H. Smith, 1997). But at that time, I clung to the idea that we as Māori were not educational failures. I declared that Māori had no interest in schooling or we would go! I could not yet articulate that, after I left the Mercy Nuns, school was a culture-barren environment that lacked any relevance to the world I inhabited, either as Māori, Dutch or South Aucklander! As I became more articulate in educational discourse, I cited Bourdieu's (1986) cultural capital theory to demonstrate that the education system had failed to provide relevant curriculum contexts for Māori learners. We wanted to live in harmony with the Earth and in peaceful experience of oneness with spirit *and* that school was *still* failing to prepare me for this! It took a long time for the education system to acknowledge that their inadequacies (not ours) were failing to provide Māori the returns from education we sought. It took even longer to create a relevant anti-colonial curriculum (Ritchie, 2012). Fortunately, I was in the wave of students who were learning from educators who were on a journey to transform all that.

At that time, I had no Kaupapa Māori theory to back me up, but I always held that there was a difference between education and schooling. I was often at odds with many of the perspectives in my class and vigorously critiqued any discussion related to Māori interests in education. As a representative of a minority group, I held onto being Māori in the only way I knew at that time; by holding onto the mana of our ancestors. I agree with Whitinui (2014) that whakapapa builds resilience. By now a Rasta, I also had the teachings of Rasta to challenge university structures (Hill, 2003) that oppressed our people even further.

I refuted the prevalent narrative I encountered that positioned Māori as passive victims of assimilation. There was also nothing passive about Māori in South Auckland that I had

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<sup>9</sup> These lyrics came from the speech given by the Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Selassie to the United Nations in 1963 before he was overthrown (Nault, 2020).

encountered. Māori, like Archie and Maide Tamanui, founders of numerous kapa haka initiatives in South Auckland, actively sought to intervene in the loss of language and culture by working with young Māori in South Auckland through kapa haka (although it was not called that then). Or tohunga whakairo and principal of Manurewa South primary school, Pakariki Harrison (Matua Paki), who quietly worked away at revitalising whakairo with students at night school. Within the wider Māori community, Pa Henare Tate worked with the urban Catholic Māori community and Reverend Kingi Ihaka worked in the urban Anglican community *and* the inter-connectivity we shared when churches still did not fraternise between faiths. These are examples of Māori leadership in the 1960s and 1970s that helped to keep my language and culture intact in the years I was away from my Ngāpuhi homelands and whanaunga; that kept me connected to whenua whilst trapped in a concrete jungle (Bob Marley & the Wailers, 1973, track 1) as part of an urban Māori diaspora. Now, here I was at training college, thinking that teaching was a noble career choice to make a difference in our lives, listening to academics naming and blaming education – the very system they upheld – as the vampire! So, Bob Marley was right all along! I was angry and confused. I could not see myself lasting in education. But **-n-** decided to fight the Babylon system and chant down the vampires while I was there!

BABYLON SYSTEM IS THE VAMPIRE, FALLEN EMPIRE  
SUCKIN' THE BLOOD OF THE SUFFERERS  
BUILDING CHURCH AND UNIVERSITY  
BABYLON SYSTEM IS THE VAMPIRE  
SUCKIN' THE CHILDREN  
DAY BY DAY  
DECEIVING THE PEOPLE CONTINUALLY  
GRADUATING AND MURDERERS  
LOOK OUT NOW!

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1979b, track 4)

My world, work and life changed within months when I started an introductory course in educational sociology and, critically, was introduced to Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis. Academics, such as Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Kuni Jenkins, Leone Pihama, Paki Harrison, Ranginui Walker, Meremere Penfold, Tania Ka'ai, Tuki Nepe, Margaret Mutu, Rangimārie Rose Pere and Pita Sharples were all actively involved in Māori education delivery, innovation, research, critique and transformational education in my courses. Through what I learned from these critical educators, I began to piece together the intergenerational impact of colonisation and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, commencing with myself, my whānau, my great grandparents, my hapū and iwi. I heard a Māori perspective of

the impact of assimilation policies on Māori language, education and wellbeing. I began to slowly piece together my life in South Auckland *and* the circumstances under which high school failed me. The difference for me between the two methods of hearing about Māori was that the former positioned me as passive in my own experience as Māori and explained why I failed high school. Conversely, my Māori lecturers were asking me to locate myself in that history. I was not told *what* to think about these things; I was given the lens of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis. I gained clarity about Bob Marley's messages of defiant resistance against the powerful as my understandings developed of how colonisation affects the mind.

So began my journey of reclamation. Up to this point, I felt that I lacked a body of knowledge or a platform on which to position myself. Perhaps Western theories did not resonate as strongly when I applied them abstractly to imagine how they could be applied to Māori experiences, *my* experiences, my tūpuna experiences. My experience of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience was captured by Charles Royal (2009) who describes the gift of indigeneity as being able to recentre ourselves and reclaim our identity through our whakapapa from within; encapsulated. We are not reliant on external knowledge systems to tell us how to be Māori. The answer is within, through whakapapa!

#### *The critical theory base of Kaupapa Māori in my teaching*

As outlined earlier, a range of significant influences drawn from both Western and Indigenous theories have helped to shape Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis. Reflecting on that, I can see how embedding my own praxis in Kaupapa Māori theory has enabled the use of multiple theories. The primary reason for this, however, has been to determine their relevance to Māori education and benefits for Māori. For example, I have used Vygotskian theories to frame my own analysis around Māori children's intrapsychological development (Vygotsky, 1978). I have drawn on Western linguistic theories to question how tamariki Māori understand the value and worth of their own culture and language when it is appropriated and used in ways that can only be viewed as subtractive bilingualism (de Groot, 2011).

The last ten years have seen early childhood education (ECE) centres implement Reggio Emilia approaches, which were first inspired by Italian educator Loris Malaguzzi (Edwards, et al., 2012). Along with other educational academics (Berryman et al., 2013; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Ritchie & Skerrett, 2019), I have employed critical theory to question whose culture is being promoted in ECE settings in Aotearoa. Although there is a growing interest in, and validation of, Indigenous theories, European theories continue to influence mainstreamed ECE, which is entrenched in Vygotsky's (1978) views of development. More recently, ECE

discourses have become preoccupied with sociomateriality (Carlile et al., 2013). I compared Māori interrelationships with whenua and concepts, such as mauri and whanaungatanga with concepts, such as agential realism within socio-materiality. I conclude that Kaupapa Māori approaches better serve the reconceptualisation of the relationship between the social and material within Aotearoa. It is a growing area of scholarship in ECE, the outcome of which will impact on our mokopuna as the world normalises or at least accepts technology as an intrinsic part of our daily existence.

Although Rasta is not a religion in the traditional sense, critics of Rasta philosophy see it based on religious doctrine that contributed to the colonisation of Indigenous people. Perhaps for some, moving to Rasta may involve a move away from Indigenous ontological understandings of creation, which contradicts the goal of Kaupapa Māori theory. My own experience of Rasta has been as a philosophy of *livity*; a positive, clean-living lifestyle (Faristzaddi, 1987) that emancipates the mindset from colonised thinking. In as much as I am grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory, I am able to draw freely on a wide range of theories and influences to inform my thinking and this study. Like the braided river, Te Aka Kaupapa enabled me to integrate the best features of two distinct bodies of knowledge. By highlighting congruences between Kaupapa Māori (as a theory of emancipation that transforms education through decolonising pedagogies of emancipation) and emancipatory Rastafarian perspectives of freedom, liberty and unity, I was able to show how both work to expose education as part of the state's territories. Both work to deterritorialise the Babylon system and vanquish colonialism as the vampire. This also demonstrates the flexibility that Kaupapa Māori provides to critique theories and approaches, and to evaluate their effectiveness for, and relevance to, Māori aspirations. This approach to seeking knowledge has been handed down from our tūpuna, captured in the words of Ngāti Porou Leader, Sir Apirana Ngata in 1949:

E tipu e rea mo ngā rā o tō ao

Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau ā te Pākehā

Hei ara mō tō tinana

Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori

Hei tikitiki mō tō mähuna

Ko tō wairua ki tō Atua,

Nānā nei ngā mea katoa

Grow tender shoot for the days of your world.

Turn your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the wellbeing of your body.

Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a crown for your head.

Give your soul unto God, the author of all things.

(Tā Apirana Ngata, personal correspondence to Bennett, 1949)

#### *The nomadic capacity of Rasta to support the emancipatory causes of Kaupapa Māori*

The nomadic nature of Rasta as a narrative of emancipation is aligned with the views expressed Gramsci (1971), Freire (1972) and G. H. Smith (1997) regarding the oppressive structures imposed on society through the mechanisms of the state. According to Hill (2003), "The Rasta indictment of Babylon on the oppressed of the world, taken seriously will negate the tendency to equate 'the ethical' with 'the professional', and re-evaluate what it means to live the good life and to promote right social relationships" (p. 12). This is essentially whanaungatanga in the way people live and walk in a pattern of right relationship between people, place, space and time.

#### *Rhizomatic Rasta*

**I-n-I** have no political allegiances. Rasta names Babylonian structures and chants them down.

**I-n-I** remain in one consciousness. Rasta rejects all but positive vibrations. Rasta Itations (daily meditations) deconstruct the oppressive nature of language and raise consciousness as the relational and cognitive embodiment of spiritual consciousness (Faristzaddi, 1987).

**I-n-I** move to chant down Babylon. Rasta rejects monetary systems that maintain a position of poverty amongst the most oppressed of the world, and taking resources and rendering the land (and the Earth) unliveable. Rasta chants down ecocentric systems of the world's dominant capitalist elite, such as the international banking system.

**I-n-I** work towards livity, at one with nature and tune consciousness to positive vibration. Rasta's goal is to live *ital* (in vitality) with the bounties of the Earth.

Rasta consciousness is rhizomatic (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) and has no centralised system. Rasta philosophy influences people to form alliances with *causes* not *people*, to take a stance against the "isms and schisms" (Marley & The Wailers, 1979c, track 7) that divide people and society. The Babylon system, which can include both civil and political society (Gramsci, 1971), forms the terrains that Rasta deterritorialises. They do not necessarily seek to chant

down the state per se (because Rasta also rejects structures that cause disharmony and division of people) but to chant down corrupt systems. By default, then, Rasta deterritorialises conglomerations of states. Rasta is not interested in 'under' mining states because undermining is a tool of oppression. Rasta chants them down because Rasta's goal is freedom, unity harmony. Livity. Rasta takes aim at no one, but through the range of ways that Babylon is implanted in daily life, Rasta is a wailer, operating across territories.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) believe that conflict (war) often results from incommensurable differences between war machines, and the catalyst for war is the 'deterritorialisation' of rigid state space, often creating (liminal) spaces for difference and/or alternate ways of living (Robinson, 2010). G. H. Smith (1997) draws on Gramscian notions of staging a war of position to hold space and regain territory. Bob Marley draws on Rasta philosophy, forewarning of war until "unhappy regimes that hold people prisoner" (Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1976, track 9) are toppled to chant down the same structures identified by both Deleuze and Gramsci, and G. H. Smith.

#### *The influences of Kaupapa Māori as praxis in my teaching*

Kaupapa Māori created an essential platform for Māori to speak back to the academy and challenge 'dominant: Pākehā', 'subserving: Māori' relationships of power in education. Māori academics in this period gave voice to Māori experiences of education that challenged the taken-for-granted assumptions that prevailed in education in relation to Māori achievement. Along with other government sectors, the education system was held accountable for their failure to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Initiatives that purported to support language revitalisation attempts in schools were criticised as benefitting only Pākehā, who gained greater insights into Māori language and culture, with no significant funding for, or impact on, Māori (G. H Smith, 1990).

The goal of all Kaupapa Māori initiatives is the reassertion of Māori sovereignty; Tino Rangatiratanga. There were times when I found this principle difficult to reconcile. I suspect I was influenced by my religious faith that teaches that we are all one in the same with Jah. This is reinforced by Rangimārie Rose Pere, who reminds us that we are all one on a spirit level. I did not see how reclaiming tino rangatiratanga would balance out power, although it would certainly return the balance of power to Māori. At that time, I was not politically astute, nor experienced enough. I could not see how Māori would achieve that.

For a long time, I held onto the notion that integration was the only way to permeate a dominant education paradigm. At that time, Winston Peters was a national party cabinet minister under Jim Bolger's leadership until 1991, when he was dismissed for criticising party

policy. He was against the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori, which he saw as separatist education. He vowed he would never support that type of model. I was not sure whether it was separatist or not. However, **I-n-I** did see that over 85 percent of all our Māori children were in mainstreamed education. So, at that time, it seemed that I needed to be able to work within mainstreamed education and reterritorialize Kaupapa Māori praxis across terrains to normalise it as an inclusive and appropriate educational paradigm for Aotearoa. **I-n-I** set about doing this by promoting Kaupapa Māori as the rightful education paradigm for Aotearoa. This study has enabled me to review my practice and examine how my concept of Kaupapa Māori developed over time by reflecting on the lessons I gained. I report these in the sections that follow.

### *First years of teaching*

When I first graduated as a teacher, I worked exclusively in mainstreamed bilingual or whānau units. This was the era of *Tomorrow's Schools*; the government was determined to devolve power from centralised systems into the hands of communities. Boards of trustees were created and parents sat on the boards to govern the school. However, Māori often found that they were the sole voice on boards advocating for Māori aspirations. In terms of Māori aspirations in education, the devolution of power to the community in many ways enabled the government to abandon its responsibility for Māori outcomes in education and, thus, their accountabilities towards partnerships with Māori as tangata whenua. The success of whānau units seemed critically dependent on the goodwill of the principal to support it.

My first principal was a headstrong leader, who cared deeply about success for all his taura. He placed me under the guidance of whaea Paula Harrison, who taught me that it is entirely possible to align with Pākehā to achieve bi-cultural partnerships, and to learn and grow together. She was the head of the whānau unit and the new entrant teacher. I had learnt a lot of invaluable theory during my teacher training and now I was applying it with expert guidance. Some 30 years later, I am concerned to see the curriculum becoming narrower. I worry that the teaching profession will become further undervalued as Aotearoa experiences a paradigm shift precipitated by digital learning potentials (Dunham et al., 2015) and the auguring era of artificial intelligence (AI). The recent review of polytechnic education in Aotearoa resulted in the creation of a national body – Te Pūkenga The New Zealand Institute of Skills and Technology. It appears that Te Pūkenga is interested in locating initial teacher education within this sector of education. Whilst the benefits of field-based education cannot be underestimated, the importance of critical theory in education must not become lost under a prescriptive banner of learning 'skills' and understanding 'technology'.

Whaea Paula understood the 'art' of teaching; she used the ancient Māori art of tutu with tamariki to inspire curious inquiry. She saw the value of a literacy-rich environment and worked with whānau to create resources to support that. She valued karakia and she embraced the whenua as a living tūpuna. Tamariki were immersed in the natural environment and thrived in opportunities to be physically connected to Papatūānuku. Above all, she had unending faith in the capacity for aroha, which flowed between her and the tamariki, to open their hearts to learning.

In education, the deficiencies of Māori are often highlighted, but as a teacher, I saw how incredibly bright and naturally curious young Māori learners are. Through Kaupapa Māori, I learned to challenge those deficit theories and create learning environments that supported Māori success. At that time, I was still learning how to apply Kaupapa Māori pedagogically and the only real understanding I had of how to operate in that space was the concept of whānau. However, given that I lacked te reo Māori at that time, I now wonder if I even fully grasped that. I also thought that I understood the values inherent in whānau; manaaki, aroha and whanaungatanga. These values guided me and I hope I can say that I built a good relationship with whānau. Many years later, I am still in contact with tamariki from the whānau unit; they are now adults. They call me Aunty! They taught me how to be a teacher!

On reflection, I can now see how I failed to extend aroha to teachers who were not supportive of Kaupapa Māori, particularly in relation to the principle of Tino Rangatiratanga. Fresh out of university, I was loaded with theory and I was unafraid to use it! I was heavily influenced by the work of Paulo Freire (1972) in relation to the process of conscientisation and I was naive enough to assume that all teachers agreed with his perspectives! I lacked empathy for teachers and thought only of my tamariki, failing to understand the intersubjective complexities of teaching terrains. I believed then, as I do now, that it is the right of everyone to call out inequalities as we see them occurring; it is a requirement for a teacher, certainly a Kaupapa Māori teacher. The following is an example of how Rasta and Kaupapa Māori mutually support that requirement.

*The stripy book: Challenging symbolic racism*

As a new teacher, [redacted] challenged a practice I saw on the basis of symbolic meaning. Duty teachers recorded incidents of disruptive behaviour in the playground in *The Black Book*. These incidents were read out at Friday assemblies and consequences were managed accordingly. I questioned why a book that was essentially a list of people who had been 'bad' was called a 'black' book. The response was based on common sense theory that it was 'just a saying'. I challenged us to rename and recolour the book to become *The White*

*Book*. Not surprisingly, this idea was rejected. I suggested, *The Rainbow Book*. No! Or *The Black and White Book* – or even just *The Book*. Eventually, I suppose people tired of my ‘radical stance’ and, with very little if any resistance, I was able to place white stripes across the book and it became *The Stripy Book*! I would not be at all surprised if the book did not revert to *The Black Book* after I left the school. Perhaps I made a difference in how colour was perceived and internalised by our tamariki, if not my colleagues. My stance was that our children did not need to learn to associate colour with reward or punishment. A move away from a book entirely would have been emancipatory! In achieving a move to a stripy book, I hoped that the colours black *and* white would serve as a poignant reminder to teachers to move away from racist discourses or any activities that exert power to create inequality (Braidotti, 2019); that children did not need to be ‘blacklisted’ or get a ‘black mark’ against their name or that there is symbolic meaning attached to words. Using the words *black* and *white* as categorising adjectives related to negative or positive is unconscious bias at the very least and creates symbolic racism. There is a privilege associated with the adjectival use of the noun *white*. The word *white* has enjoyed language amelioration whilst the word *black* has undergone a process of language deterioration. This is highlighted in the Whakaahua 4.

*Whakaahua 3: The stratifying language of colour*

The stratifying language of colour	
<b>BLACK</b>	<b>WHITE</b>
Blackmail	Whitewash
Blacklist	White flag
Black mark	White lie
Black mood	White-collar crime
Black book	White noise

My concern was to trouble teachers’ assumptions. The semantic morphology of the word *black* can be traced back through history. Joyce (1981) highlights historical examples of the shift in meaning from the Indo-European root word *bhel* meaning burnt, to its use as an adjective to depict a sinister mood or intent. Questioning whether the use of the word *black* in this context was tika opened up a wider and deeper reflection on the origin of our assumptions, whose needs our assumptions serve and how our assumptions maintain certain positions of power. I was largely propelled by Rastafarian discourses of equality and liberation. This was further supported by the Kaupapa Māori principle, *Kia piki ake ngā raru i te kainga* (the mediation of the socioeconomic impediments to success for Māori learners) outlined by G. H. Smith (1997). It is immoral that society makes distinctions on the basis of colour or any other stratifying construct. Nietzsche (1887), a 19th Century German

philosopher, challenged notions of morality. In his view, values, such as good and evil, moral and immoral are not absolute, but are relative to the individual because all knowledge is constructed as a consequence of human activity within a cultural and societal context. The deterioration of the word *black* from its symbolic use to denote power to mean something negative or sinister can be traced back to slavery. Etymologically, it is not as easy to trace the amelioration of the word *white*. Sedivy (2017) attributes this to the simplification of language, arguing that one of the greatest ways language fails us is in how it underspecifies reality. In their view, language is a “very indirect mapping of the world around us. It strips details of information away from the world - so it is a great simplifier” (Sedivy, 2017, n.p.).

Through their lived experience of marginalisation, poverty and oppression, only the disenfranchised are vested in deterritorialising state space, unless there is a collective consciousness raising amongst the warriors of the state; of those who exert force on the disenfranchised through the assemblages of state to create inequalities and societal stratifications based on privilege.



IN THIS AGE OF TECHNOLOGICAL INHUMANITY  
SCIENTIFIC ATROCITY ( SURVIVORS)  
NUCLEAR MISENERGY ( SURVIVORS)  
IT ' S A WORLD THAT FORCES  
LIFE-LONG INSECURITY ( BLACK SURVIVAL)  
NA-NA-NA, NA-NA-NA TOGETHER NOW  
WE ' RE THE SURVIVORS- YES THE BLACK SURVIVORS !

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1978, track 4)

#### *Looking ahead: Exploring the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori*

This section considers the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori, its current direction and future considerations. Criticisms and concerns about the appropriation and direction of Kaupapa Māori include a well-founded concern that, in education at least, Māori knowledge is appropriated in tokenistic ways to serve Pākehā interests, with no real benefit to Māori (Heta-Lensen, 2005; Keegan, 2012; G. H. Smith, 1990). G. H. Smith (2012) notes the criticism of Māori positioning in the post-Treaty settlement period has seen some iwi adopt dominant capitalist models. Elizabeth Rata (2013) views this phenomenon as neo-tribal capitalism. Recently, her scholarship has come under scrutiny as being assimilationist (Stewart & Devine, 2019). Her arguments are also dismissive of Māori aspirations for self-determination. In this sense, G. H. Smith (2012) is clear that, first and foremost, Kaupapa Māori must serve the needs of the iwi and hapū.

Concern for the ability of Kaupapa Māori to support community development has also been identified. Eketone (2008) argues that Kaupapa Māori has been informed by and is underpinned by two juxtaposed and often conflicting theoretical perspectives; critical theory and constructivism where knowledge is legitimated through social construction of the world, and as such, it is located and specific. Eketone (2008) argues that a critical theory approach to Kaupapa Māori is not the understanding held by many Māori in the community. When considering the arguments put forward, it can be seen that the native constructivist approach they propose is inherently Māori. It also aligns with the view that Kaupapa Māori exists to provide a process by which Māori receives, internalises and differentiates knowledge and formulates ideas *in te reo Māori*. G. H. Smith (1997) is also careful to reinforce that Kaupapa Māori cannot be captured by academics but must also be driven by praxis that links back to Māori communities and iwi interests. However, as identified at the outset of this study, Pihama (2001) has a salient reminder for critics who would rather play down political aspects of Kaupapa Māori; that *any* initiative that involves a struggle for a Māori position is political.

#### Native constructivism as a rhizomatic outcome of Kaupapa Māori theory

Native constructivist approaches may be emerging rhizomatically due to calls to action by Kaupapa Māori theory. Kaupapa Māori as theory legitimated the re-use of native constructivism and the re-development of Māori-centric approaches. Kaupapa Māori theories and theorists operate nomadically to reinstate mātauranga Māori in education. The education system does not and cannot confine Māori knowledge to Māori sites. The Kaupapa Māori theorist, operating nomadically, is not confined within native constructivist approaches, or critical theory approaches, or transformative education approaches. Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised rhizomatically to suit the needs of the community it serves, making it difficult for the education system, as the mechanism of state, to contain the assemblages of Kaupapa Māori in education.

Using Deleuzean/Guattarian concepts it is possible to map the assemblages of the war machine created by Kaupapa Māori theorists as nomads; Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and Te Whare Wānanga. Using this framework, it is possible to propose that Kaupapa Māori is now spreading rhizomatically and deterritorialising the mainstreamed education system. I suggest here that the role of both Kaupapa Māori theory and native constructivist approaches is to continue to create and hold space; to disrupt the mechanisms of the state *and* continue to spread. They are working for a mutual goal, *re-territorialising* space for te ao Māori; both approaches are operating within Kaupapa Māori frameworks and

both are still embedded within a Māori ontological position. However, this is not the case when Kaupapa Māori is appropriated for use outside of a Māori ontological position.

#### *Domestication and cultivation*

The arguments presented by Eketone (2008) regarding Kaupapa Māori as a native constructivist approach demonstrate there are inherent challenges and varying perspectives held on the evolution of Kaupapa Māori. G. H. Smith (2012) cautions against the domestication of Kaupapa Māori by appearing to honour and commit to Māori ways of being, knowing and doing when no real or demonstrable benefits for Māori aspirations exist. Kaupapa Māori provides a platform to expose the continuation of colonising practices that subjugate Māori under a mainstreamed, hegemonic system. This is endangered or subsumed when native constructivist approaches join hands with mainstreamed practices, thus enabling the appropriation of mātauranga Māori. Gramscian notions of staging a war on position (G. H. Smith, 1997) and the alignment with Deleuzean notions of deterritorialisation (1987) can be seen in how Kaupapa Māori holds position and regains territory. Kaupapa Māori has spoken back to the academy and created space for native constructivist approaches in education. The one enables the other. However, that process can be dangerous when the power base does not shift to accommodate mana ōrite-equity between Māori as Tangata Whenua, and Tangata Tiriti.

#### *The trajectories of Kaupapa Māori across changing terrains*

Kaupapa Māori has played a critical role as a catalyst for the assertion of Māori self-determination in education, introducing resistance initiatives that rejected further attempts at language and cultural annihilation, talking back to the academy to achieve transformative outcomes for Māori (G. H. Smith 2016). To view the dangers of deterritorialisation of mātauranga Māori through the mechanism of education, I mapped constructions of education alongside the observance of tikanga within specified time frames. This revealed a flux of Māori ontological knowledge within the education system depending on the time frame. From the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi until the 1970s, the decline was continuous. The period of time between 1980–2010 showed the greatest increase. This demonstrates the critical role Kaupapa Māori theory played in re-asserting Māori ontological knowledge and supporting self-determination in education. The years between 2010–2021 showed another decline. Interestingly, this period has constituted a period of reform for education and deterritorialisation of Māori knowledge by magical capture. The mapping demonstrated how Māori knowledge was again in danger of being deterritorialised at the same time as it was being domesticated. There have been several educational reviews, apologies and pledges made by the Crown, some of which are addressed in the following chapter. Correspondingly,

there has been a departure from partnership with Māori as Tangata Whenua in some sectors of mainstreamed education, particularly in the tertiary sector. This could account for the requirement in the 2020 Education and Training Act that greater effect be given to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in education and demonstrates that, regardless of initial gains made in the 1980s–1990s, diligence must be maintained. It shows that Kaupapa Māori must maintain a war on position to prevent further deterritorialisation of Māori ontological knowledge in education through policies, strategies and reviews, which at face value at least, look to be supportive of Māori but may in the end constitute politics of distraction (G. H. Smith, 2017) and lead to the recapture of Māori territories. The next section draws on the work of Paulo Freire to provide insight into how power is employed as a tool to silence and dehumanise the oppressed.

#### *Freirean pedagogies of resistance and freedom*

Imprisoned for his beliefs, Paulo Freire deeply understood the political act that teaching is. He viewed pedagogy as an intervention emerging from ongoing political, historical and social struggles. Like Gramsci, who died in imprisonment, and Bob Marley, who left Jamaica for a period of self-imposed exile after an assassination attempt on him, Freire challenged oppressive structures and endured Imprisonment for his stance. He exposed the way the powerful work pedagogically to privilege, produce, regulate and legitimate certain knowledges and forms of knowing (Giroux, 2010). Freire (1994) strongly believed in the need to understand history as opportunity, not determinism. From a Freirean perspective, transformative praxis is exactly the goal of a pedagogy of resistance. His theories are not without criticism though; particularly of the way he positioned learners as passive subjects in need of salvation and incapable of critical thought without a wise teacher to enlighten them (Vlieghe, 2016). Vlieghe also notes that Freirean views of emancipation cannot be considered liberatory, since the student is reliant on the teacher to liberate them! Whatever the theoretical limitations, Freire is still credited as having made a significant contribution to education through critical pedagogy because of what education essentially consists of; the prospect of a radical change leading to emancipation.

Vlieghe (2016) questions whether education occurs only when the way in which we individually and collectively give shape to our lived realities is abandoned. Critical pedagogy sets a trajectory whereby the 'given order' of things becomes unnecessary. Perhaps the ability to break free from subjectifications and identifications in terms of fixed social, ethnic, biological, medical, psychological and historical constructs is entirely possible. My experience of this is that it may be, but it will also depend in large part on what Freire termed the

humanising experience for the oppressed and the conscientisation of both the oppressed and the oppressor (1972). Equity is not achieved by conscientisation alone. Critical pedagogies are considered valuable and relevant precisely because they are entangled with what education essentially consists of; radical action to mobilise emancipation (Vlieghe, 2016). This aptly describes the intent of Kaupapa Māori as transformative praxis as it was first theorised by Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Linda Tuhiwai Smith and other academics in the 1980s and 1990s. To the extent that it was a call to actively resist further attempts to assimilate Māori through the mechanism of the education system (G. H. Smith 1997), Kaupapa Māori theorists and practitioners employ pedagogies of resistance, which must lead naturally to a pedagogy of liberation through transformative praxis (Freire, 1972). Bob Marley deeply understood this concept and called on people to free their minds in Redemption Song; his final musical message before his death on 11 May, 1981.

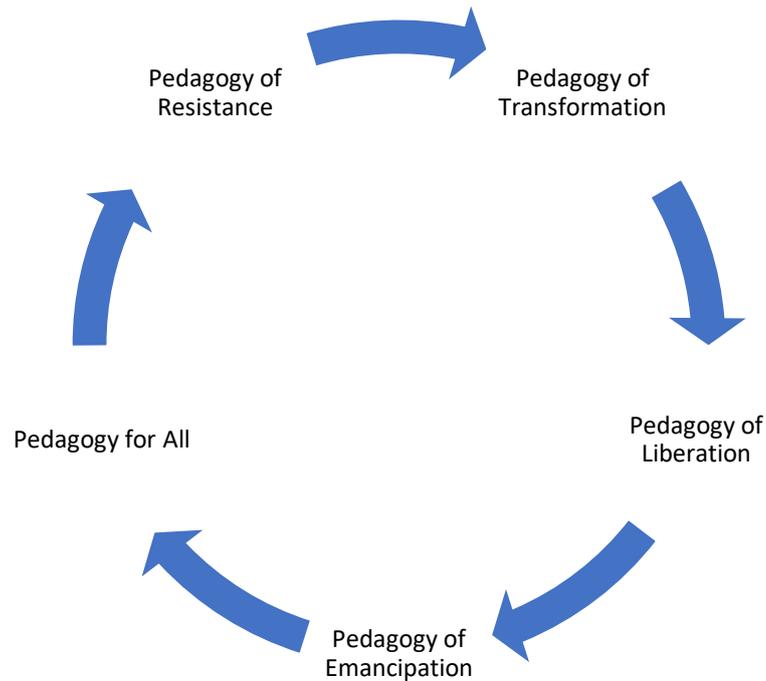


EMANCIPATE YOURSELF  
FROM MENTAL SLAVERY  
NONE BUT YOURSELF CAN FREE YOUR MIND

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1980, track 10)

G. H. Smith (1997) draws on Freirean analyses of the maintenance of power by control over what is validated as knowledge by the state *and* how that is employed as a tool to avoid conscientising the oppressed (Freire, 1972). This created a strong critical theory basis for Kaupapa Māori theory as transformative praxis. He draws on the works of Gramsci (1971) to position Kaupapa Māori as an approach that enables the Māori intellectual to resist mainstreamed, Western influences. Thus, Kaupapa Māori contributes to the creation of counter-hegemonic practices. It has the potential to emancipate Māori and Indigenous peoples from their self-limiting beliefs and self-subordinating positions, and to enable a freeing up of an Indigenous imagination that has been stifled by colonisation (G. H. Smith 2017, p. 81). The process of conscientisation is depicted in Whakaahua 5.

*Whakaahua 4: The pedagogy of emancipation*



A process of conscientisation causes people on both sides of the resistance to transform outcomes. This is a pedagogy of emancipation that Paulo Freire (1972) argues can only be initiated and achieved through the transformational praxis of the oppressed group; in this case Māori. Trapped in their own hegemonic position, it is impossible for the coloniser to become liberated from their positions of dominance without the support of the oppressed to conscientise and thus liberate them.

Through his own contributions to education, Freire (1994) demonstrates that education has a deep emancipatory meaning. This is a critical point. A constant threat to Māori aspirations in the education system is the appropriation and domestication of Māori knowledge (G. H. Smith, 2017), constituting magical capture as proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). Within the tertiary sector, we are currently bearing witness to education practices and reforms that have the potential, not to emancipate, but to subdue. I have mapped these out to reflect on how Kaupapa Māori as theory is a political force in education that continues to enable academics to maintain a war on position in Table A1, *Mapping of the deterritorialisation of Māori ontologies through education policy as the mechanism of state* in Appendix B.

There have been a number of advances in the conceptualisation of Kaupapa Māori and it continues to evolve. The last decade has seen a number of reviews in education and a tertiary

sector reform resulting in the *Education and Training Act* (2020). The Act requires the schooling and tertiary sectors to give greater effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As well, the government has made a commitment to the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory evolved and continues to evolve out of the struggle for the revitalisation of te reo Māori. This suggests that it has been successful in its goal. However, now more than ever, Kaupapa Māori theory needs to continue to critique and expose the extent to which traditional mainstreamed schooling can be transformed and be transformative by incorporating Māori language, culture and knowledge. G. H. Smith (2017) warns that those who are involved in this endeavour may in fact be caught up in the 'politics of distraction' by attempting to change a system from the inside; that energy might be better served by disentangling from being inside mainstreamed settings and building alternative pathways. To know where the root of oppression resides, what mechanisms are at play, *and* called to social activism as the war machine, Kaupapa Māori theory enables the 'nomadic: Māori: organic: intellectual' to deterritorialise educational terrains and maintain a position.

#### *Oho ake – stay woke*

The process of conscientisation forms part of the pedagogy of liberation. Freire (1972) conceptualises it as the process of becoming aware of how mechanisms of the state work to maintain a state of deconscientised ignorance. News and Culture editor for Okayplayer, Elijah C. Watson (2018) attributes the concept of 'woke' to William Melvin Kelly's 1962 essay, '*If you woke, you dig it*', that was published in the New York Times. In the modern context, he credits Erykah Badu and Georgia Anne Muldrow with sparking the 'stay woke' era. Along with Watson, The Merriam Webster Dictionary (n.d.) attributes the contemporary usage of the call to *stay woke* to a song released by Erykah Badu (2008), entitled Master Teacher (track 8). It has become synonymous with social awareness. Within black African American communities 'stay woke' has become a watch word for the conscientised, and calls to account dominant discourses entrenched in and perpetuating dehumanising paradigms. Following the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson in Missouri, 'the woke' became associated with the Black Lives Matter movement. Thus, a call be stay woke shifted consciousness from just being a word that signalled awareness of injustice or racial tension to a call to action. Activists are considered woke and call on others to stay woke (Merriam Dictionary, n.d.). Being woke in the context of everyday language is almost overused and my teenage son and young philosopher, Te Kahurangi Heta-Lensen, would argue, is not used correctly in everyday usage in Aotearoa, and is certainly not a term 'boomers' understand correctly! However, it does amplify how conscientisation is a tool for liberation (Freire, 1972).

### *Kaupapa Māori going forward*

Although Kaupapa Māori as theory was designed to support Māori struggles for self-determination in education, it quickly gained momentum as a way to support Māori in mainstreamed education. *Te Whāriki* (2017) sets a precedent for all teachers to engage in Kaupapa Māori. There are also aspects of Kaupapa Māori theory that support teacher reflexivity. G. H. Smith (2017) provides a set of guidelines to gauge the effectiveness of Kaupapa Māori approaches using the following five elements:

*Positionality*: Locating self in time and space. Understanding the context (where and why and to whom we are speaking and knowing our capabilities and limitations). Knowing what lends legitimacy to our work/contributions to educational transformation. Experience adds validity to our work. Knowing whose interests are served and how we are engaging in Indigenous frameworks and theorising.

*Criticality*: An understanding of our colonisation as being formed and reformed “over the top of us” (G. H. Smith, 2017, p. 90). Knowing the historical and political contexts and the context of unequal power relationships and social relations. Having critical understandings and knowledge necessary for agentic support of Māori language, knowledge and interests.

*Structural and cultural considerations*: The struggle for Māori occurs across multiple terrains, often simultaneously and in intersecting ways. There is a need to challenge the social, economic and cultural impediments to Māori success. This involves challenging deficit views of Māori as “needing to be improved” (G. H. Smith, 2017, p. 91).

*Praxicality*: Involving a continual process of action, reflection and reaction. A willingness to adapt and adjust practice within the community of interest we are engaged with and test our theorisations against our practice and our practical enactments.

*Transformationality*: Measures of meaningful transformative outcomes for Māori include being able to identify what positive changes we can identify for Māori as a result of engagement.

These principles act as a guide for Kaupapa Māori approaches and gauges their effectiveness at supporting Māori aspirations in an holistic assessment framework involving reflection on self (positionality, praxicality), context (structural and cultural considerations), process (criticality) and outcome (transformationality).

Kaupapa Māori has been highly successful at mobilising Māori and creating space for Māori in education. However, it is not the exclusive responsibility of civil society as the ‘worker’ to implement the desires of the state as political society (Gramsci, 1971). To assist its goals to achieve a bilingual nation, the Government needs to lead by example and show a willingness to partner with Māori at leadership level because it is only there that unequal relationships of power can be addressed and the balance of power redistributed. Kaupapa Māori exposes those power differentials in education *and* across multiple, inter-connected sites, *and* will continue to operate as inside outsiders of the state until the mechanisms of state “that holds one race superior and another inferior are discredited and abandoned” (Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1979, track 9). This being the case, a teacher who adopts Kaupapa Māori theory as part of their pedagogy will then become involved in the struggle for Māori self-determination in education. So, to the extent that teachers may incorporate te reo Māori and implement tikanga in their practice, it is only of value to the political goals of Kaupapa Māori if it is underpinned by a commitment to creating space for Māori. Overall, greater understanding is required in education services, including ITE providers, that Kaupapa Māori approaches entail more than observation of tikanga Māori, protocols and practices.

#### **Summary: Kaupapa Māori – Song of freedom**

Mapping the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis in this chapter showed how Kaupapa Māori has operated nomadically to disrupt mainstreamed education through Māori education initiatives. This chapter showed how Deleuzian concepts can be employed as tools, alongside the tools already at the disposal of the Kaupapa Māori theorist, to highlight sites of struggle for Māori involved in transforming education through emancipatory praxis. Kaupapa Māori is rhizomatically deterritorialising mainstreamed education, creating space for, and reinstating mātauranga Māori in education. Tensions include the very fact that it is no longer containable by the state, which brings both opportunities and challenges for the evolution of Kaupapa Māori. Whether Kaupapa Māori has the leverage to precipitate a national paradigmatic shift in education and beyond remains to be seen and needs to be understood within the relationships of power that have been exerted and borne by Māori since colonisation. The Māori intellectual must continue to maintain a position beyond of the interiorities of the state to avoid being subsumed or subjugated by dominant interests and state mechanisms.

In this chapter I have drawn on Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) outline of a nomadic approach to deterritorialising the apparatus of the state to conceptualise the trajectories of Kaupapa

Māori into the next era of education. Incorporating G. H. Smith's (1997) use of the colon to identify the sites of struggle, I was able to reflect on how I operate nomadically within the academy as 'Kaupapa Māori: academic: nomad'. In so doing, I have found a way for the colon and the intermezzo to speak to each other. There are criticisms that nomadism enables those who espouse it the ability to name their critique 'Deleuzean' with limited understandings of what that entails (Robinson, 2010). I have considered whether my own appropriation of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and any other theorists employed in this study has done enough credit to the depth of their work. Undoubtedly there is more work to be done. I have, however, identified the congruences between Gramscian notions of staging a war on position and Deleuze and Guattari's notion of the nomadic warrior and assemblages of the war machine that can work together to support Kaupapa Māori as the change agent for transforming education. This chapter also explored the alignment between the range of theorist Graham Hingangaroa Smith drew on in the formation of Kaupapa Māori theory as transformational practice. It outlined how Deleuzean concepts of rhizomatic development and nomadology may support the evolution of Kaupapa Māori.

Notions of state control, power *and* oppression, struggle *and* emancipation were also critiqued through a Rasta lens, provided by the music and philosophy of Robert Nesta Marley to show alignments with the theories underpinning Kaupapa Māori. Rasta identifies oppressive structures as part of the Babylon system. Part of the function of Babylon is to oppress the innocent. Part of the function of Rasta is to chant down Babylon. Bob Marley's music and teachings give voice to the suffering of the oppressed and expose the forces of Babylon. Therefore, Rasta philosophy is supportive of Kaupapa Māori. It may well be that an embodied cognitive approach will assist in future trajectories of Kaupapa Māori. Bob Marley's last waiata made that call:



WON'T YOU HELP  
TO SING  
THESE SONGS OF FREEDOM  
COS ALL I EVER HAD  
REDEMPTION SONGS  
SONGS OF FREEDOM

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1980, track 4)

This chapter reviewed a range of theories and educational approaches that informed the development of Kaupapa Māori and how they inform my work as a teacher. Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Linda Tuhiwai Smith were instrumental in shaping my

understandings of what it is to be a Māori educator. It was an empowering period in my life as kaiako, wahine, Māori. This highlighted to me that the most significant influence on my teaching remains Kaupapa Māori because it enables me the freedom needed to draw on a range of appropriate theories to conceptualise and theorise our past, our present and our future. It also informs my praxis within a Māori ontological framework. This shows how Kaupapa Māori theory recentres Māori ontologies as conscientising narratives, as opposed to colonising or de-colonising narratives, which Graham Hingangaroa Smith states essentially recentres dominant interests and histories. It also shows the potential of Kaupapa Māori as a political and educational force as an anti-colonial theory of praxis based on re-indigenising praxis.

For Māori, Kaupapa Māori assists us to emancipate our minds from colonial constructions of Māori selfhood, imposed and perpetuated through the various ways we are represented and our embodied experience of being Māori. The incorporation of pūrākau and toikupu in this chapter enabled me to demonstrate Kaupapa Māori as lived experience through an embodied cognitive process. It also enabled reflection on my own ongoing journey in the reclamation of te reo Māori, my subjectivity as wahine Māori and how Kaupapa Māori supports my interrelationship with Papatūānuku. It is assumed that the next era of Kaupapa Māori, theory must necessarily include an emphasis on the promotion of te reo Māori if Māori knowledge is to be handed onto the next generation as it was handed down to us. This will be explored in the following chapter.

*Kei hea taku reo, karanga ki ōku tīpuna ... (Whirimako Black, 2003, track 6)*

## UPOKO TUAWHĀ

### Te Reo Māori as Lived Experience of Being Māori

Ko tōku reo, tōku ohooho

Ko tōku reo tōku māpihi maurea

My language is my awakening

My language is the window to my soul

In Upoko tuatoru, I highlighted how Kaupapa Māori intervened in ways that mainstreamed education initiatives never have to transform both expectations and outcomes for tamariki Māori and whānau. I completed that chapter with a question, “Kei hea taku reo?” (Where is my language?) that musician Whirimako Black posed in 2003. That question sets the direction for this chapter, which explores the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori related to te reo Māori. For over 100 years, the education system in Aotearoa actively pursued assimilation policies, which resulted in language loss and cultural dislocation for generations of Māori children. Despite ongoing efforts and resourcing invested into revitalisation programmes, te reo Māori is still vulnerable (Ngaha, 2014). This chapter examines these vulnerabilities, mapping the terrain (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) from sociolinguistic and language-acquisition perspectives.

It is impossible to examine language merely from the point of view of language (Hamers & Blanc, 2000, cited in May et al., 2004). It must be explored within the context of particular circumstances of the language communities in question. To achieve that, this chapter draws on the concept of pūrākau. *Pū* refers to the heart or the source. *Te pū o te rākau* relates to the intent of the story (Lee, 2005). In this chapter, pūrākau enabled me to ‘get to the heart’ of issues related to language loss and retrieval. Narrative accounts *and* interpretation of the history of colonisation on my own family are incorporated throughout this chapter to highlight the impact of language loss and the ensuing intergenerational rupture and trauma that occurred for Māori (L. T. Smith, 2012). Sharing examples of my own experiences as a teacher offers insights into Māori responses that have transformed education for all in Aotearoa. Taken together, the approach I have taken in this chapter constitutes a process of language reclamation as journeying work involving both intellectual and spiritual integration. The process of writing across generations is assisted by whanaungatanga to reconnect with those past and greet those yet to come. This involves reflection on my own involvement in language revitalisation, activating a process for me of titiro whakamuri, haere whakamua (looking back to go forward) engaging ngākau, hinengaro, tinana and wairua.

Kaupapa Māori supports cultural recovery *and* reclamation *and* healing (L. T. Smith, 2012). By sharing my lived experience of language loss and the journey to retrieve it, it is hoped that this chapter may contribute to the reclamation and healing process for Māori. This chapter is presented in two wāhanga (sections). In Wāhanga Tuatahi, sociolinguistic aspects related to the impact of mass migration of the British on Māori identity, the subsequent imposition of colonial rule on Māori through the mechanism of education and Māori responses. The influences of Māori pedagogy on mainstreamed education are highlighted. To explore issues related to language revitalisation and acquisition, Wāhanga tuarua examines te reo Māori initiatives and issues in mainstreamed education and looks to the future of te reo Māori. I commence by outlining the impact of contact between Indigenous Māori and the British colonials.

### **Wāhanga tuatahi: Impact of contact**

#### *Introduction of assimilation in education*

Up until the middle of the 19th Century te reo Māori was the dominant language of Aotearoa. The population of Aotearoa was predominantly Māori until the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Those who migrated to Aotearoa before that time tended to speak te reo Māori as a matter of necessity because the first British settlers were reliant on Māori knowledge of the land and ocean for their survival (Williams, 2004). Once William Hobson secured British occupation of Aotearoa, the situation changed rapidly *and* dramatically for Māori. Although Māori had attended government-subsidised missionary schools on a voluntary basis, the *Education Ordinance Act* of 1847 officially established a schooling system in Aotearoa (Benton, 2015). The *Native Schools Act 1867* was a blatant act of assimilation whereby Māori language *and* knowledge<sup>10</sup> *and*, therefore, culture were banned *and* subordinated under the dominant force of colonial rule through a narrow curriculum that included health and hygiene, and domestic service training! This is an indication of colonial attitudes to Māori at that time (Hill & May, 2011). Wider state school education was established two years later. Successive assimilationist education policies were imposed on Māori and justified by the idea that Māori were “in a state of barbarism and hence, in need of deliverance through education” (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 190). The curriculum was loaded with British knowledge whilst Māori knowledge was viewed as a hindrance to colonisation and assimilation policies. This in turn led to a decline in use of te reo Māori, eventually disrupting the flow of tikanga Māori from one generation to the next (Hokowhitu, 2004). This resulted in disastrous

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<sup>10</sup> Using the conjunction *and* to identify the intermezzo (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987)

consequences for Māori language, knowledge and culture (Benton, 1979). Assimilation policies were not abandoned until the 1960s (Simon & Smith, 2000). Research first emerged in the 1970s about the imminent loss of te reo Māori without intervention to reverse the decline in te reo Māori speakers (Benton, 1989; Benton 1979, 1983, cited in Hill & May, 2011). The findings of the research reinforce a continued emphasis on the revitalisation of te reo Māori in order for it to flourish and a need to work with Māori communities (Benton, 2015).

*Hokinga maumahara: The decline of te reo Māori as lived experience of colonisation*

I can only imagine what it was like for our ancestors as their moko stopped being able to speak their language. I sometimes sit and wonder what my grandmother, Ruhi Taa Heta (Mumum) or my great grandmother, Kaa Rako (Granma) would have said to me. In attempting to reconstruct a kōrero based on my knowledge of what was important in Granma's life and her characteristics, I was struck by my inability to sit and communicate with myself in the language she would have used. This imagining gave me an insight into how quickly her world changed between the 1880s and the 1950s, the years of her life.

He kōrero ki taku moko nā Kaa Rako

E moko, haere mai, noho mai nei, whakarongo mai te reo e tangi nei. Whakarongo ki te reo a o tūpuna. Kia toi te kupu, kia toi te mana, kia toi te whenua, kia toi te oranga!

Moko what is that strange language that I hear from your mouth? E kii, that is the language of the people who ripped my language right out of your mother's mouth and forced – first our tongue, and then our minds to contort and accommodate new concepts and law, that meant nothing if they could not help me feed and teach my children, my moko, my hapū, and more. Aue, taukiri e – they have replaced your mother's tongue with theirs!

Tērā te maunga e moko, Ko Whatitiri. Tērā te awa, ko Waipao. Ko Ngāpuhi me Ngāti Hine ā Hine-ā-Maru ngā iwi. Ko Te Parawhau, Te Uriroroi, Te Mahurehure-ki-Whatitiri ngā hapū. Ko tēnei te whakapapa e moko. Āta whakarongo. Ma te rongo, ka mōhio, ma te mōhio, ka mārama.

Do you know your whakapapa Moko? Do you know how to make your way home using your mountain and your river to guide you? No matter how far the Pākehā scattered our iwi moko, remember your bones, remember your connections to this land. Listen carefully and hear the stories that lie fast and slow asleep beneath the soil. They reveal the true histories of our lives. Put your taringa to the earth and listen. Always make your way back home. No matter how contorted the landscape becomes, keep your ear to the earth, listen to it, know our true histories. One day you will understand.

Mau tonu mai ki ngā taonga i tuku iho e moko. Whiriwhiri mai ngā kōrero. Maumahara tonu ake. Manaakitia!

Do you weave moko? Are ancient memories stirred within when you smell the sacred breath of kōrari? Tihei mauri ora! Continue to weave the stories and whakapapa of your people. Caress the flax and remember your whakapapa. Feel your DNA. Take care of the treasures that have been handed down moko. Many years were spent with your grandmother weaving. That sustained us, until my way of living was killed off. I no longer used my fingers and my toes to help to pull the whenu together. So, my body too became contorted.

Karakia tonu ake moko. Ahakoa te aha, karakia. Karakia ki te atua. Mihi atu, karanga atu. Kōrero te haa o te reo ki te rangi! Hei oranga wairua.

Do you still pray moko? Do you feel the wairua that flows in this land? The missionaries with their contorted views of aroha! They thought they won when they put bibles in our hands. We say our rosary and go to church and give thanks for the bounties of this Earth. But they never won, because we were never lost! We know where we come from moko and we know where we are going. No matter what, you pray moko.

Now my moko, know that this Earth is a gift and we are the recipients of that gift. Many tears have been shed as the landscape buckled under the weight of the yoke of colonialism. Your Koro passed when your mother was just one and left her and your grandmother to help to care for me. But aue, your mother's mouth made the same contorted sounds and shapes that your mouth makes. I cannot make those sounds and you cannot make mine. But we have wairua, you have my whakapapa, you have been handed down treasures from your tupuna, you are a seed sown in Rangiātea moko, you will never be lost. Whakarongo ki te tangi a o tupuna moko, listen ...

#### *Language loss as lived experience*

That the world changed so drastically for fluent Māori speakers and the impact on whānau identity and cohesion came to life for me as I desperately tried to compose a letter on behalf of Kaa to her mokopuna, but stumbled and stuttered. I had indeed inherited my mother's tongue. As a youth of the 1960s, I experienced te reo Māori as a seldom-heard and rarely spoken language (by me and my peers) but an often-sung language. This fostered a type of switch to 'flight mode' in me when I did hear te reo Māori being spoken; a strategy that persisted well into my teaching career. When I was young, I would eagerly soak up any and all waiata. Conversely, if I heard people kōrero Māori, my mind would switch off because I did not understand what they were talking about. That became a pattern that I was not even conscious of for a long time. It was as if something in me said 'this conversation is not for

you' and so I would tune out. I realised this one day when I was sitting in the whare nui, Te Ngākau Māhaki at Te Noho Kotahitanga marae. The kaumatua were going through the whai kōrero process and I was present with my ears in flight mode. But after many years of sitting in Te Ngākau Māhaki with taura or attending work hui or wānanga there, something seemed to shift subconsciously. This day, to my surprise, I realised that I had understood much of the whai kōrero. Curiously, this was not the beginning of a new chapter for me; there was no 'break-through' moment, no enlightenment. I continued to 'enter flight mode' for many years more until I was caught out one too many times by taura or colleagues keen for me to explain what a speaker had just said. I had to confront the fact that I was not paying attention! And it was in that moment that I finally understood 'whakarongo, titiro, kōrero'.

It was here too, that linguistic understandings of identity and how they shape language help me to heal from the shame of not seeing it; I was not resistant at all. At least not consciously. I love language. And so did my mother. She would happily try her Dutch out when she went to Holland, unafraid of making an error! She spoke eloquently in English, as did so many of the old people. Another suggestion lies in notions of intergenerational trauma and memory. This notion arose out of a small research project I was involved in with a small group of kaiako in the local puna reo. Given that memories can be intergenerational (O'Loughlin, 2009; Pere, 1997), I pose that it is possible that generations of being told 'you cannot speak Māori' have impacted on language efficacy so that those families who experienced the trauma of being denied their native Māori language now believe we 'cannot speak Māori'. Some noted elders regard language as an essential component of identity (Durie, 1997; Pere, 1997). Pere (1997) states that language is the lifeblood of culture and identity. The essentialist view of language claims an inextricable link between language and the transmission of culture (Durie, 1997; Fishman, 1999; Ngaha, 2005, as cited in Ngaha, 2014). According to Baxter (2016), essentialist views have tended to position individuals as being self-organising, autonomous subjects. This then positions language as the object. When viewed this way, it exposes the potential for the burden of language loss to be borne by the subject as being somehow in control. In fact, for Māori and all endangered language families, there were greater societal forces conspiring to detach people as subject from their language (object). This is reinforced by Elabor-Idemudia (2011) who acknowledges that there are multiple interactions between language and identity, including the responses of individuals and groups to their situations, and how identity and relationships of power shape knowledge.

Understanding the way language is privileged in society and social groupings, and how that heavily influences constructions of identity lifted a weight for me. I stopped internalising my

inability to kōrero Māori as my mother had done all her life. The opportunity to be reflective of our experiences and those of our parents and grandparents provides intergenerational healing space (L. T. Smith, 2012).

#### *Language revitalisation as journeying work*

Every endangered language represents the hopes and aspirations of a particular family of language speakers, their cultural practices, mores and traditions. The reasons for, and impact of, language loss are unique to each language family's circumstances and experiences. Therefore, there can be no 'one way' to revitalise a language. Māori experiences of language loss have by default positioned Māori as knowledgeable about the importance of language revitalisation. Academics sometimes ignore the voices of the minorities, the oppressed and disenfranchised in pursuit of what they perceive to be the best solutions (Elabor-Idemudia, 2011). In the case of te reo Māori, the government ignored the voice of Māori and continued to impose colonising policies of assimilation, domestication and expurgation of Māori knowledge (Hokowhitu, 2004; G. H. Smith, 1997).

Kaupapa Māori was a Māori response to Government inaction; reclamation of te reo Māori became a primary aim (G. H. Smith, 1997). Today, te reo Māori is guaranteed protection under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As such, te reo Māori is an educational imperative (MacFarlane, 2004). In 1987, te reo Māori was recognised as an official language in Aotearoa alongside English and New Zealand sign language, which implies that Aotearoa is a bilingual country. However, Benton (2015) challenges this as not being a true indication of the actual fluent use of te reo Māori, particularly amongst Māori.

#### *Let the children speak: Who is benefitting from bilingual language teaching?*

The definition of bilingual education can be summarised as a programme of learning where the content of curriculum is delivered in two languages. The goal of bilingual education is generally seen to be educational success in and through both languages (Gonzales, 2008). Based on this definition, it can be argued that mainstreamed education in Aotearoa is not delivering bilingual education programmes and curriculum.

Children in Aotearoa are heirs to a minimum of two languages. However, being heirs to dual languages does not guarantee learners will receive their inheritance if the complexities of bilingual language acquisition and the implications for teaching and learning are not understood from a range of intersecting perspectives, including the dynamics of identity and social difference (Elabor-Idemudia, 2011). Critical sociolinguistics is concerned with the positioning of the powerful through language and the subtle ways that power is maintained by privileging one language over another (Elabor-Idemudia, 2011; Foucault, 1984; Freire,

1972). This illuminates why threatened languages, such as te reo Māori may struggle to gain traction despite what looks like commitment on the part of the dominant group towards language revitalisation. Past attempts at language enrichment, such as *Taha Māori* in schools policies in the 1970s have been criticised as serving Pākehā needs (G. H. Smith, 1990). In those programmes, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga were so far removed from authentic Māori experiences and realities that Māori themselves had difficulty recognising it as their own culture (Hokowhitu, 2004; G. H. Smith 1990; Walker, 2004).

The latest Ministry of Education data indicates that the majority of Māori children are also enrolled in mainstreamed educational services. Data retrieved from the government website *Education Counts* (2021) shows that, as of 1 July 2020, 22,391 students were enrolled in Māori-medium education, of which 97.1 percent identified as Māori. The data showed a positive incremental increase of 0.1 percent in the number of Māori enrolling in Māori-medium education. Still, this figure overall shows that only 2.7 percent of the total school population are enrolled in Māori-medium education.

Of the 97.3 percent of all children enrolled in mainstreamed education services, their experiences of te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori vary, not just from area to area, iwi to iwi, but also from school to school and, arguably, even from classroom to classroom, depending on individual teachers' praxis. This is partially due to a lack of cohesive direction or curriculum support within education (Benton, 2015). The Ministry of Education has had numerous opportunities to mandate te reo Māori since the Māori Language Act was passed in 1987 and the Māori Language Commission was established in 1988 (Benton, 2015). This is a further indication that the education system in Aotearoa may still not have the capacity to deliver bilingual language programmes, suggesting competency needs to be developed along with strategy. This throws into question how the Māori language curriculum document *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori - Kura Aoraki* (Ministry of Education, 2009) has been implemented and monitored.

#### *Addressing the fluency rates of teachers*

There is an overall lack of fluency in mainstreamed education (Benton, 2015). As a teacher educator, I have noticed that a lack of knowledge of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori upon entry into tertiary education can be a barrier to feelings of confidence for taira enrolled in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes. I also noticed anecdotally that attitudes to te reo Māori is associated with confidence to use it. These factors were highlighted by other researchers as a barrier to being able to confidently teach within bi-cultural frameworks (Baskerville, 2009; Greenwood & Brown, 2005; Legge, 2013). Some prerequisite

requirements of a minimum standard of fluency might provide teachers with the necessary propulsion to develop their bilingual teaching skills. Given the proportion of whānau Māori who access mainstreamed education services, Māori aspirations for te reo Māori in these settings need to be given a stronger voice to inform policy direction.

*Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017) is held up as the first bi-cultural curriculum for all licensed early childhood education (ECE) services, Kōhanga Reo and playgroups. It provides a framework for teachers and leaders to promote te reo me ngā tikanga Māori in early learning environments. However, Benton points out that there is no actual requirement for the delivery of te reo Māori. In fact, the education reforms of the 1980s removed even nominal inclusion of Māori language in the core curriculum, whilst focussing its attention on proficiency in English (2015).

Despite vague attempts to introduce a minimum standard of fluency in te reo Māori when the *Graduating Teacher Standards* were reviewed and subsequently implemented in 2017, requirements for teacher fluency in te reo Māori have remained purely arbitrary in mainstreamed ECE. Teachers are not being adequately prepared to support te reo Māori me ōna tikanga despite the fact that the early years are the ideal years for laying down language skills, including bilingual and multi-lingual language acquisition (Blaiklock, 2010). A lack of knowledge of how to support dual-language learning, or adequate knowledge of te reo Māori to be able to support fluency in te reo Māori has a direct impact on bilingual outcomes for learners. Whakaahua 6 shows the possible links between teachers' language proficiency and that of their students.

*Whakaahua 5: Teacher language proficiency and student impact*

Teacher proficiency	Student impact
Poor teacher language proficiency	Poor student language proficiency
Limited ability to discuss complex concepts to support learning development	Student hampered in learning, may only learn in English
Teachers are the primary language role models	Student ‘must’ learn from teacher, whether good or bad
Where there is an absence of hapū and iwi, teachers struggle to put language into culturally appropriate contexts for learners	Language is learned without the ‘nako o te reo Māori’ (the richness associated with culture)

Note. Adapted from *Whakamanahia te reo Māori: He tirohanga hōtaka-an exploration of the issues and influences that effect te reo Māori competence of graduates from Māori medium ITE programmes* by H. Murphy, S. McKinley, & N. Bright, (2008, p. 6). New Zealand Teachers' Council.

Currently, there are no entry criteria or firm policies regarding Māori language within the ECE sector, although there were vague attempts made by the New Zealand Teachers Council (NZTC), (formally Education Council, now the Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand – the Teaching Council) for graduating teachers to “have knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori to work effectively within bi-cultural contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand” (GTS 3B, NZTC, 2007). When the NZTC was replaced with the Teaching Council (2017), *The Graduating Teacher Standards* were reviewed and replaced with *Our Code, Our Standards* (Education Council of New Zealand [ECNZ] 2017). In the consultation hui, Māori educators made a strong call to introduce a minimum Māori language standard as an entry criterion, or at least as a graduating teacher requirement.

This call was not picked up by the Teaching Council, and ITE programmes currently still teach and assess te reo Māori in an ad hoc manner. The only change for Māori language seems to be the inclusion of a Māori language assessment measurement tool that ITE programmes will be required to demonstrate as part of the compulsory programme rewrite to reflect the updated Graduating Teacher Standards as outlined in *The Code of Professional Responsibility, an Standards for the Profession (Our Code Our Standards)* (ECNZ, 2017). The recommendation made by Teaching Council is that ITE programmes develop an assessment tool that measures taura ability to meet the Level 4 outcomes within The Māori Language Curriculum *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i te Reo Māori – Kura Aoraki* (Ministry of Education, 2009) by the time they graduate. However, it is just a recommendation at this point.

I agree with the view expressed by Skerrett (2012) that we cannot rely solely on the education system as an agent of the state to proactively support meaningful revitalisation of

te reo Māori. My view, however, is an emotional response. Understanding how the education system deliberately manipulated education policy to obliterate my language and culture has made me suspicious of the Crown's integrity and ongoing commitment to te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori. At the hands of the government, Māori language and therefore aspirations are very much dependent on successive party policies and inclination towards te reo Māori. Educators need to be aware of the history of assimilation policies that began the 'struggle' in education for Māori (G. H. Smith, 1997) and commit to ensuring we act intentionally to ensure mana ōrite in education for Māori.

Writers, such as Skerrett (2012) and Benton (2015) highlight that the Crown was slow to act responsively in terms of public policy around te reo Māori, which frustrated meaningful advancements. Drawing on Garcia's (2009) sociohistorical stages of language orientation and Waitangi Tribunal findings, Skerrett argues that the barriers to advancement are politically constructed problems, not linguistic ones. She is critical of misinformation about the nature of languages and what constitutes bilingual education.

#### *Meeting the bilingual requirements of teaching*

It is an important requirement for graduating teachers as agents of the Crown to be able to demonstrate they meet the qualifying teacher standards mandated in *Our Code Our Standards* (ECNZ, 2017). Tauira with no or little prior knowledge of te reo Māori when they enter ITE programmes can find learning re reo Māori both positive and challenging. On the one hand, it provides monolingual and monocultural students with insights and understandings of how to support speakers of English as an additional language, which builds empathy and teacher capability. On the other hand, there is a tension for people who have no prior relationship with Māori language, entrenched as it is in Māori-specific ways of being, knowing and doing in the world, needing to take it on board, plan curriculum and implement a language and a knowledge base they have not actively participated in. Given that language is the means to transport culture, there are issues around teaching te reo Māori without teaching the depth behind it to students, until they demonstrate an understanding of their responsibility as teachers.

The next section focuses on Māori pedagogies as I explore strategies that might inform and support bilingual language development and the revitalisation of te reo Māori in mainstream education. I first outline Māori approaches to teaching and learning that I have been involved in. Then I share examples of how that influenced my approach to teaching and learning, guided by kaupapa Māori theory. I commence the next section with a karanga issued from Whirimako Black (2003) that calls for the reinstatement of the status of

te reo Māori. In my discussion I outline how Māori pedagogical approaches activate that return.

### Wāhanga tuatahi: Māori pedagogies

Hoki mai, hoki mai, e taku reo rangatira

Return to me, my prestigious language (Whirimako Black, 2003, track 6)

Māori have practices related to language learning that are applicable, relevant and even ideal in bilingual language learning contexts. Māori forms of transmitting language through waiata, kōrero, whakapapa and pūrākau form part of what some consider to be the richest form of literature, oral literature. The knowledges that are imparted through these forms of language acquisition are considered to be ngā taonga tuku iho no ngā tūpuna (treasures that are handed down from the ancestors). Writers, such as Timoti Kāretu (1993), Jane McRae (2004), Rangimārie Rose Pere (1997) and Haare Williams (2019) have all discussed the skill of Māori oral literature both in preserving and passing on knowledge. They also point out how these forms of literature provide commentary on and adaptation to the contemporary context of Māori lived experience.

Māori understandings of the holistic and integrative way the learner receives information can be demonstrated in the range of methods used to tap into the potential for cognitive integration through embodied experience and sensory learning. According to Shapiro and Stolz (2019), embodied cognition theory (ECT) is relatively new in Western knowledge paradigms and challenges traditional views of cognition as being more than the ability to problem solve through abstract representation. The mind and body are now understood to be far more interconnected than was previously understood by Western theorists. ECT takes into account cognition as lived experience; learning that occurs whilst living through and within a moment in history. This type of cognitive learning process is aligned with Māori philosophies of learning put forward by Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere as part of her childhood learning in the whare wānanga (Pere, 1988). In my own childhood world, it occurred through kapa haka, tī rākau, poi and waiata-a-ringa. Learning te reo Māori was an exacting process and we often learned by movement, repetition and imitation. As we got older, we learned to watch and listen for memory 'triggers' or prompts. Repeated language experiences provide opportunities for practice in 'real-time' comprehension in that language. This sharpens processing skills that are critical for learning (Hurtado, Gruter, Marchman, & Fernald, 2014). It is therefore entirely appropriate for teachers to draw on waiata, kōrero, whakapapa, pūrākau and whakatauki as legitimate ways to offer rich Māori

language experiences to tamariki. Music and movement opportunities are particularly appropriate when working with tamariki, as these experiences constitute embodied cognitive learning.

The understandings Māori held and passed on about the world, science, humanity, biology and the arts attest to their grasp on the interconnectedness with all things. Whakapapa ties are established and maintained through whakawhanaungatanga as a way to maintain relational space and balance (Hoskins, 2017). The space within relationship is an entity within and of itself. Everything has a mauri that must be protected and acknowledged to maintain equilibrium. Tamariki are encouraged to develop an active relationship with te taiao through active exploration. We understand, through whakapapa and pūrākau handed down recalling the great feats of our ancestors and ngā atua, that we are endowed with curiosity, perseverance, courage, keen observation, intelligence and sharp cunning. We foster these dispositions in our tamariki mokopuna. Māori approached teaching and learning as a process of active discovery. However, it was never fully validated by colonial scholars because of Euro-centric assumptions that Māori knowledge was largely situated within the realms of 'daily survival' or concerned with the 'spirit world', not based on any type of scientific understandings. However, as Western science learns more about the world that is not new to Māori, it throws into question how Western curricula have interrupted the transmission of Māori knowledge. In the case of language development, for example, Māori have a methodology for the transmission of language that demonstrates their insights into the capabilities of the human brain (Pere, 1983). Much of our knowledge about the human mind was dismantled and replaced by Western views.

#### *Learning from the elders*

This section provides theory-in-action examples and discussion of Māori pedagogies in practice I have encountered through the mentorship provided by skilled Māori teachers and experts in te reo Māori. The learnings and knowledge I gained from them continues to influence and support my development as a Kaupapa Māori teacher. These are presented as discursive kōrero as a way to stimulate discussion about the lessons that can be gained by observation and emulation of the way Māori elders and leaders in education work alongside young kaiako, encouraging, guiding and challenging them. Looking back, I feel deeply blessed and appreciative of the involvement of our elders in my teaching practice.

I have selected examples of how skilled Māori elders and teachers have also walked alongside me throughout my life, commencing with my own mother. Without realising it, my mother played a big role in preparing me for many of the issues related to language and

identity I now grapple with as a teacher. Akin to the view held by Rangimārie Rose Pere (1987) regarding Māoritanga, my mother did not adhere to ‘universalisms’ of her identity. To her, she was Ngāpuhi and that was that.

#### *Normalising practice*

Also memorable for me was Whaea Kay, my first associate teacher<sup>11</sup> when I went out on practicum placement in my first year of primary teacher education. She was a senior teacher with nearly 40 years of teaching experience by the time I met her and a fluent speaker of te reo Māori. Whaea Kay taught structured te reo Māori to her new entrant tamariki in a middle-class, mainstreamed school at a time when it was not even ‘en vogue’. Her view was that the sooner tamariki experience te reo Māori, the more normalised it becomes. As well as incorporating te reo Māori in structured learning sessions, Whaea Kay also incorporated Māori pedagogical practices, such as tuakana teina and awahi mai awahi atu (the collective spirit of care and support). She guided the school in these concepts as well. A descendant from Te Arawa, Whaea encouraged me to utilise te reo Ngāpuhi to the degree that I was able. I was still learning the different language structures back then, but she played a critical role in my emerging understandings of myself as a Māori teacher and the role I would play as a teacher supporting whānau aspirations for te reo Māori. Having Whaea Kay as my first associate teacher was invaluable role modelling for me as a new student teacher, although I did not realise until I went out on my second and subsequent practicums just how lucky I had been. We remained in infrequent contact until her passing. Her high teaching standards, the expectations she held of her tamariki (and her student teachers!) as capable learners and the humble way she influenced many just by expecting to have te reo Māori around her and normalising it in the school were innovative and made a difference; not just for Māori, nor just for tamariki, but for the whole school community.

#### *The Māori child is capable*

As a beginning teacher in the whānau unit at Owairaka District Primary School, I was fortunate to have Papa Joe Nadan, of Ngāti Porou descent walk alongside me, guiding and encouraging my development as a Māori-medium teacher. At that time, I had tamariki in my class who had come from Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori and who were more fluent than I was! Bilingual units were being set up in mainstreamed schools in response to

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<sup>11</sup> An associate teacher is a registered practising teacher. A student teacher is assigned to them on a practicum placement experience, which is the practical experience of teaching. Typically in a first practicum, there is a period of observation of the associate teacher’s teaching strategies, after which the student teacher practises various pedagogical techniques, guided by their associate teacher.

pressure put on the government by Kōhanga Reo whānau whose children were losing the gains they had made in te reo Māori when they moved to primary education (G. H. Smith, 1997). Once I commenced teaching in such units, I realised the level of fluency needed to scaffold children from Māori immersion settings. On reflection, I now see how ill prepared I was to support their bilingual language development, had it not been for the guidance of Papa Joe. It also highlights the responsibility a teacher has to continue to develop both te reo Māori and bilingual language teaching skills in order to support their taura. To achieve that, education settings must afford the same status and resourcing to develop teacher capabilities in te reo Māori as other core curriculum learning areas.

Papa Joe primarily worked directly alongside me and scaffolded my reo Māori as I spoke with the tamariki, in the same way that a parent scaffolds their child's language in a positive guidance framework, by repeating my inaccurate phraseology correctly. The children and I learned together in a process of ako and we always looked forward to Friday when Papa Joe came. He would read with the tamariki and role modelled how to encourage te reo Māori through open-ended questioning strategies – and humour! The next week he would listen to me reading with the tamariki using open-ended sentences I had constructed to support the text. He scaffolded my reo with new and increasingly more complex texts, waiata and karakia. He also worked alongside me to plan appropriate curriculum that included both music and literacy based on my observation of children's interests. This was a critical period in my development as a Māori teacher as it provided me the hands-on opportunities to observe Māori teaching practices and experience how honouring the mana, mauri and wairua of a young student caused the mind to soar. I wanted to emulate his enthusiasm for learning in my own practice. I remained in contact with Papa Joe and returned to him as a lecturer to extend my use of te reo Māori further. He had a passion for teaching and a love of all languages which was infectious. He also taught me the importance of karakia being central to manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga. Building relationships with whānau, I came to learn more about different iwi, pronunciations, sentence structures and tikanga. This is invaluable knowledge to kaiako seeking to work in urban settings, such as Tāmaki Makaurau where taura will undoubtedly whakapapa to a range of iwi beyond and including Tāmaki Makaurau.

These early years taught me things that my years as a student in ITE failed to. I learned how thirsty for knowledge tamariki Māori are! How sharp and curious they are. It taught me that 'hau tutu' is an actual scientific inquiry process and our tamariki are natural scientists and inventors. I was set free by my own tamariki; their limitless potential was inspirational and Papa Joe Nadan walked alongside me at this awakening and taught me how to nurture their

innate gifts, honouring their whakapapa. I began to ask myself, 'What do I know about this child's name? About their whakapapa? What do I know about their funds of knowledge, culture and language? About their pre-school education? How am I going to cater for te reo Māori in the classroom/in the school/in the home? How can I respond to the stereotyping and deficit theorisation of tamariki Māori ?

It was this last challenge that I never fully overcame. I did not get training on how to navigate that. Whaea Kuni Jenkins, another great role model, was influential in helping me to see the power of the written word (for better or for worse) and once advised me that it would take more energy trying to improve things for Māori in mainstreamed education than focussing attention on Māori autonomy and aspirations in education. Educators and academics Russell Bishop and Mere Berryman have had a strong influence in mainstreamed education through *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2008, 2013, 2017), which was developed from the *Kotahitanga Project* (Ministry of Education, 2003). They provide examples of how Māori academics can influence mainstreamed education. I did not lose sight of Whaea Kuni's prophetic words. But at the chalk face in the 1990s, assisting a new teacher with nothing but a passion for improving outcomes for tamariki Māori in education, it was Papa Joe Nadan who guided my path and brought Kaupapa Māori as praxis to life in my lived and embodied experience as a teacher operating in mainstreamed educational terrains to make a difference for Māori.

#### *Te Haa o te reo Māori*

When I moved into Kōhanga Reo I was guided by the late kaumatua, Tuhoe elder and educator, Papa Haki Waikato. His approach was somewhat different. Like Whaea Kay, Papa Haki used structured daily sessions to support the tamariki and kaiako to develop our understandings of te reo Māori. He reinforced te reo Māori through ako, employing repetition, imitation, movement and karakia. Afterwards, we would sit and kōrero. Papa Haki would ask what my whakaaro were of a single word! And we would wānanga that word. Papa Haki was also steeped in te ao Māori. He believed strongly in tamarikitanga. He cherished the young people and spent years as a Māori Warden volunteering his time to support Māori youth in the city.

For me as a primary trained teacher, the opportunity to spend time learning in kōhanga reo was a great honour but also very different from the primary context of bilingual teaching, so I was on a steep learning curve. The day was basically divided into 'formal instruction' in te reo Māori and free play. During formal learning, Papa Haki would lead out; whanau, including the kaiako, supported by the pēpi and tamariki. Unlike mainstreamed ECE philosophy, free

play was tuakana-teina focussed. It was not a time for teachers to interact directly with tamariki but to be available to support them, if requested. We were involved in safe supervision, but this was a time for tamariki to develop their confidence in terms of social skills development and physical challenge opportunities. I developed insights into how to support the acquisition of te reo Māori in young children as an additive, positive approach (May et al., 2004). Often when tamariki spoke English, teachers respond with 'kōrero Māori'. My concern was to validate the child's whakaaro and scaffold their language, reinforcing te reo Māori in an additive manner. At kōhanga reo, with Papa Haki available most mornings, I made a conscious decision to use an additive bilingual approach to te reo Māori and not comment when a child demonstrated a preference for English. The reasons for that decision were based on a desire to reinforce te reo Māori through modelling. However, my inability to kōrero Māori conversationally for sustained periods was still limiting my ability to do that; I predominantly only used te reo Māori instructionally:

*Kaua e pēnā*: Don't do that

*Ka nui*: That's enough

*Hoki mai*: Come back

*Ka pai*: Well done, good

This one-way transmission of te reo Māori did not encourage children to respond, although their actions and body language affirmed their comprehension. The goal was to move our tamariki from emergent fluency to use of spoken te reo Māori, which necessitated developing my own fluency. Research shows there is a need to continue to improve teacher fluency in te reo Māori as well as an urgent need for further training opportunities and initiatives to upskill teacher knowledge of second language acquisition and second language teaching and learning strategies (Benton, 2015; May et al., 2004). May et al. (2005) identify a minimum level of 50 percent immersion in te reo Māori for bilingual/immersion programmes to be effective. They call for teachers to consistently use te reo Māori as an operational language rather than using it as organisational language alone.

#### *Kōreroreroia te reo Māori*

At kōhanga reo, I was able to experience how kōrerorero, a conversational reo approach between kaiako assisted to create a reo-Māori rich environment. Whilst remaining present and alert to tamariki and available to enter into their play if invited, we teachers held deliberate conversations in te reo Māori with each other so that tamariki could be immersed in te reo Māori language transmission opportunities as normally as if they were at home. Language and literacy is everywhere in our environment (Harrison et al., 2004; Heta-Lensen

& Wrightson, 2019; Wrightson & Heta-Lensen 2013). We created opportunities for kōrero by the environments we created. But we did not formally 'instruct'. For example, we might put the poi out but we did not 'teach' poi per se. We just did poi. And tamariki would emulate. This approach to passing on knowledge is reinforced by whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1994) as a natural approach that involves imitation and immersion learning. Through immersion and imitation, knowledge and language are transmitted from one generation to the next; it was how she grew up (Pere, 1979, 1987).

Working in Tāmaki Makaurau brings different challenges in terms of the range of iwi and reo variations a kaiako needs to mediate. Papa Haki guided us to be respectful of *all* reo Māori and to specifically enquire of whānau if there were particular Māori language learning requirements that we could accommodate. The principle of whanaungatanga underpins how curriculum is structured to take into account our connections to everything created in this world and our iwi based locatedness with the world. Whānau is, therefore, ideally a central feature of curriculum planning in these types of settings.

Children who are exposed to another language are also exposed to diversity and learn greater acceptance of multiple perspectives (Fernandez, 2000). It is often supposed that Aotearoa was a monolingual and monocultural society, formed by a homogenous race of Māori. However, Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1987) argues that it was precisely because of the diversity amongst iwi and hapū that there can be no 'one way'. In her view, Māoritanga is not a Māori concept but that it suited Pākehā to collectivise iwi, thus avoiding the need to mediate tribal differences. This adds to the assertion that we have always been a multicultural society. It is through whakapapa that we maintain our ties as being connected whilst the process of whakawhanaungatanga acknowledges and pays tribute to distinctive features of te reo Māori me ona tikanga and mātauranga that exist between iwi, hapū and whānau. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1987) is clear that this knowledge must remain within the iwi.

#### *Asserting Māori aspirations in education through te reo Māori*

Matua Haare Williams is of Ngāi Tūhoe and Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki descent. He grew up with his Tūhoe grandparents on the shores of Ōhiwa harbour. He has strong memories of how his first language, his mother tongue (te reo Māori) was 'kept at the gate' when he attended school. Later in life he became a teacher and went on to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori in education through his artwork, poetry, commentary and advocacy for, and promotion of te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori in education. He was the inaugural Pae Ārahi at Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka. Together with Nani Leti Brown, Matua Haare Williams worked with interested staff and students on campus and established this country's

first Puna Reo, Te Puna Reo o Wairaka, in 1999. It was established on site at Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka Unitec Institute of Technology. It was the vision of Matua Haare to bring grandparents back into the early childhood setting. To date, that vision waits to be realised.

Given that Māori elders are often more fluent, this approach could be supported and affirmed in mainstream ECE settings. Māori have always understood the capacity for children to learn, from the point of conception. This point will also be picked up again under discussion on brain development in young children. It is a given that tamariki begin their learning journey in-utero and that they continue to learn intensely through their young lives. Grandparents and community elders play a primary role in imparting important knowledge about the child's whakapapa ties to them in these very early learning phases. Their involvement and role as knowledge holders is also normal and revered in Māori education settings.

This is an important point in terms of the elders' influence on adults' emerging proficiency in te reo Māori as well. The importance of parents and adults in language revitalisation has been shown to be a critical factor in reversing language shift (RLS) in recent years (Fishman, 1991; May & Hill, 2011; Ka'ai, 2017). Intergenerational language transmission (ITL) is now seen by linguists as central to the revitalisation of endangered languages (Chrisp, 2005; Spolsky, 2003). There is a lack of scholarly attention given to how to support adult proficiency in Indigenous languages (Ratima & May, 2011). With the exception of Te Kōhanga Reo, up until recently, more attention was given to language interventions and acquisition programmes for children, than their parents. Research into RLS does not seek to explain how the development of adult proficiency in an endangered language can best occur. Māori approaches may contain local solutions that will support the overall aim of the education system to achieve proficiency in te reo Māori by considering building adult proficiency in te reo Māori. Speaking from my experiences as a teacher in both Māori immersion mainstreamed education and kōhanga reo settings, having the mentorship of a proficient Māori elder assisted my own development, not just in terms of te reo Māori but also in terms of modelling Māori pedagogies. Matua Haare was also to become an important pou tautoko for me when I commenced postgraduate studies. One of the most generous people of his knowledge and time I have ever encountered, his teachings during those times still guide my path. His influence in operationalising partnership and upholding the principles of Te Noho Kotahitanga within Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka was seminal for how the organisation upholds its commitment to creating Māori spaces for Māori learners, Māori knowledge, and Māori aspirations.

### *Teaching on the shoulders of our teachers*

When I became a lecturer, I was to be reunited with a lecturer I had at Auckland College of Education, Ngāpuhi elder and educational leader, Matua Hare Paniora, who was by now the Pae Ārahi where I went to work. From my beginnings as a lecturer to the present day, Matua Hare Paniora has walked alongside me. His approach is different again in that he supports me to find my own solutions. He assisted my career development goals and challenged my thinking more than once! Rather than answering my questions, he questions my answers! Matua Hare comes to class and will spend time just in kōrero and waiata with students. I have accompanied him at various hui and he has attended hui I have invited him to. He works tirelessly for both his iwi and his organisation. A contemporary of Matua Haare Williams, they attended the same teacher training college in Ardmore. I once commented to Matua Hare Paniora, what a different teaching world it is for Māori educators in today's education system. Although we are still struggling to reverse the appalling failure of the education system to meet Māori educational aspirations, we as educators are supported by a strong theory base in Kaupapa Māori. Even so, it can be tiring to work in education and to be involved in the ongoing struggle to achieve social justice for Māori. It would have undoubtedly been more difficult for Māori teachers involved in education at a time when assimilation policies were not only present, but actively promoted! Matua Hare shared with me the challenge he faced when he first began teaching and was instructed to 'focus on Māori students' learning' as the school felt they had the 'Māori culture' aspect 'in hand' when, in reality, he knew they did not. Matua Hare became a principal but his knowledge of the sharp mind and physical prowess of the Māori learner, if combined and harnessed, was what underpinned his approach. Perhaps, it is what all teachers do, but his early career was where he honed his craft. Now a respected educational elder, he continues to guide the next generation of Māori teachers. His toolkit still consists of leadership, a guitar, high expectations, a deep sense of humanity, and humour. He glides with equal smoothness through tense, poignant, soulful, uplifting and celebratory moments skillfully bringing different diverse groups of people together.

Through Matua Hare I have also deepened my knowledge of tribal histories in the Tāmaki Makaurau area and gained deeper understandings of the importance of whanaungatanga and the role it plays in facilitating and honouring concepts related to mana whenua. Significantly, by spending time with Matua Hare, I also deepened my own understandings of Ngāpuhitanga. This is a taonga for someone who has grown up away from their tribal connections. Over the years, he has guided our programme improvements to develop and strengthen te reo me ngā tikanga Māori.

*Pūkenga –The elders as the source of knowledge and wisdom*

Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1988) writes about Māori pedagogies that include the role of skilled and experienced experts to guide kaiako. Based on my own experiences as a teacher, I can attest to the benefits for young Māori teachers of having skilled elders to share their knowledge and guide praxis. I can also state that the practice of having fluent elders in education settings that I have experienced, improved my reo Māori and my understandings of how tikanga Māori as lived experience provides language contexts for the transmission of te reo Māori.

Māori elders are critical resources for developing teacher capability in te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori. The concept of having elders guide educational practice is not a commonly practiced approach in western educational paradigms, although a person may be considered an expert based on qualifications. Anecdotally, I have noticed the view that older staff are not considered to have worth or add value for the wealth of knowledge they have built up and are able to share with developing kaiako in mainstreamed education settings. In my time in kōhanga reo and later in puna reo, this was normalised practice and remains that way in Māori immersion settings. Conversely, although mainstreamed teachers in Aotearoa are able to conceptualise and apply tuakana teina in their practice with their taura, they do not seem to make that connection for themselves as a process of ako that kaiako can also benefit from. Māori educators and elders that I have encountered in mainstreamed education settings continue to operate along these traditions but receive little recognition.

Ka tuku mihi kia koutou nga pou, ngā tōhunga – e kore e mutu aku mihi aroha mo to koutou manaakitanga i runga i te korowai o te aroha. Ngā mihi, ngā mihi, ngā mihi.

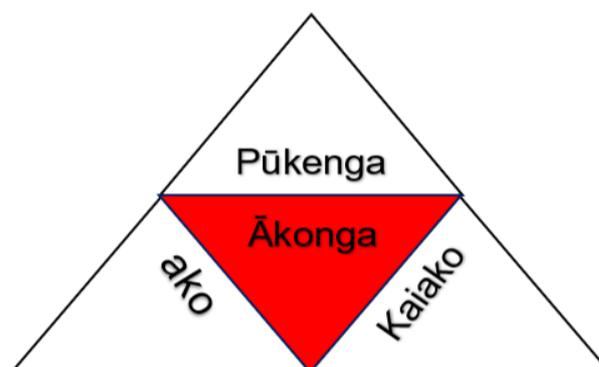
My absolute gratitude to the wisdom of our elders, our role models and our support systems, who share their knowledge and humbly guide us in our journey to becoming kaiako .

According to Pere (1988), Māori approaches to learning are based on the premise that every person is a learner from birth (or even before) until death. Over time, people's experiences and knowledge accumulate to form greater expertise and responsibilities. Kaiako and ākongā work together in such a way that the balance of mana is maintained to continue the flow of knowledge to the next generation (Pere, 1988). Traditionally, the tohunga who was the expert oversaw that process. In a contemporary context, our elders are the knowledge holders who are the pūkenga, the wisdom keepers and language experts.

*Pūkenga-ākonga-kaiako: A model for guiding language learning*

By sharing examples of my own experiences, a model has emerged to show the features and benefits of Māori approaches that have the ability to inform and support a Māori language teaching and learning paradigm in Aotearoa, based on the notion of knowledgeable elders as Pūkenga guiding kaiako and ākonga. This approach places the ākonga in the centre of the learning process and their learning journey as a starting point for orientating themselves to the kaupapa; the purpose for being in the learning space (Whakaahua 7).

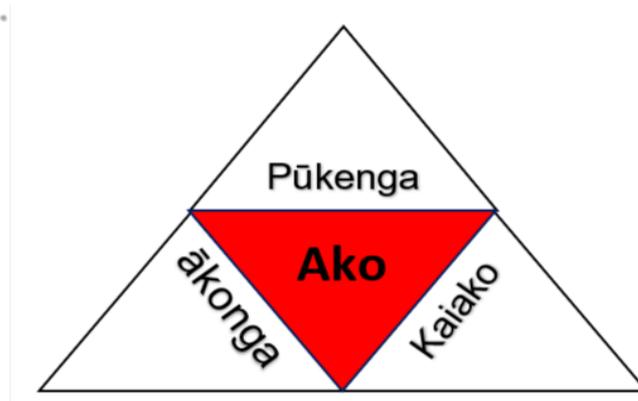
*Whakaahua 6: Pūkenga model stage one. Te aronui: Ākonga enters the wāhi ako*



As the ākonga becomes more secure, an understanding develops of the intersubjectivities that exist within the wāhi ako (learning space) and what each person brings to it.

As relationships build ākonga take their place alongside the kaiako and the learning now becomes the primary focus (Whakaahua 8). Whakawhanaungatanga guides the interconnectivity between kaiako – ako – ākonga. The pūkenga guides the transition from an ākonga-centred to an ako-centred space.

*Whakaahua 7: Pūkenga model stage two. Te aramoana: Ākonga begins to navigate the learning journey alongside kaiako and Pūkenga*



I have drawn on an ancient pattern that derives from the art of tāniko (Hiroa, 1936). The pattern can be interpreted in a number of ways. As niho taniwha, it can relate to strength and courage. It can be utilised as a structure to record the whakapapa of maunga and whare within iwi. It can be used to depict geographic features of the land and as the basis to illustrate the story of the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and the dawn of the creation of the world (Te whai ao). It forms part of the Aronui pattern which supports the pursuit of knowledge. It is also the basis of the Aramoana pattern which depicts the movements of the oceans. Thus, the tapatoru is the beginning form of a much more elaborate whakapapa. The journey to enlightenment (te ao Mārama) is taken by ākonga as they seek the knowledge they need. They are supported by the kaiako. The pūkenga has the role of supporting both ākonga and kaiako and presiding over the depth of knowledge to be gained towards expertise. The positioning of the pūkenga, ākonga and kaiako depicts the focus on learning. It also suggests the duty of care each member has to the learning process and the unique strengths each person brings. It shows the relational space they occupy, reflecting back towards each other an understanding of their inheritance, through whakapapa, handed from one generation to the next as being on a learning journey throughout their lifetimes. The care for the mana of the ākonga, kaiako and pūkenga is expressed through the equilateral triangles (tapatoru whakarite). This represents the equal status of each member of the learning relationship and the concept of knowledge as also having agency. Finally, the knowledge the ākonga seeks - in this case te reo Māori is viewed as a taonga that also carries mana and the learning becomes central.

Whilst there are invaluable benefits to fostering the Pūkenga model in the learning and teaching process in mainstreamed education, not least the benefit of partnership and the potential for rich immersion learning, there are challenges regarding the availability of elders to support it. I also noted that, in western mainstreamed contexts, age is not valued for the wisdom that comes with it in the same way it is in te ao Māori. It can be spiritually and emotionally humiliating for our people when the mana of our elders is not recognised or protected. They often play these roles with little recognition of the value they add to the teaching space. However, this is an example of the rhizomatic way Māori have continued to practise our culture. The loss of the Tohunga in our education systems did not prevent the practice from enduring in other ways. As part of a decolonising education, it might be timely to give greater recognition to the leadership of our elders as the pūkenga in education. Resourcing must also not disrupt localised and iwi-based Māori language initiatives. Priority must be given to supporting Māori communities to revitalise te reo Māori. This highlights an

issue of resourcing for mainstreamed education to be able to meet the Crown's audacious goals for one million fluent speakers of te reo Māori by 2040 (Te Puni Kokiri, 2018).

#### *Ensuring the cultural integrity of te reo Māori*

Te reo Māori is a cultural taonga, guaranteed protection under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Teachers have a responsibility to ensure the cultural integrity of te reo Māori. This includes how it is embedded in curriculum (Benton, 2015; Heta-Lensen & Wrightson, 2019). One of the greatest threats to Indigenous knowledge is the agenda held by Western education to universalise knowledge. Indigenous peoples tend to weave ancestral knowledge into the curriculum, reminding their people of their unique relationships with time, space and spirit (Marker, 2011). This is certainly the case with Māori. Thus, a logical way to support te reo Māori is to improve and develop the knowledge of Māori pedagogies and Kaupapa Māori as a theory of teaching and learning. Te reo Māori is a language that conveys deep meaning and is intrinsically linked to Māori values (McRae, 2004).

The Crown has acknowledged the need to redress injustices caused by colonisation (Teaching Council, 2017). Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a blueprint for respectful, power-sharing relationships for all people residing in Aotearoa based on manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. Research by Chan and Ritchie (2019) affirm this and states that recent increased migration to Aotearoa poses specific challenges for the maintenance of te reo Māori as the Indigenous language of Aotearoa. The benefits of bilingualism through the proactive promotion of te reo Māori may also benefit children from other language groups if teachers make a commitment to deepen their understandings and knowledge around bilingual teaching and learning (May et al., 2004). The skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary to support te reo Māori me ona tikanga could inform practice and provide strategies for supporting the diverse range of cultures and backgrounds of children in ECE in Aotearoa.

Chan and Ritchie (2019) conclude that how we respond to increasing migration has implications for curriculum and pedagogy that should be framed within the context of Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations. As a Māori teacher, I am aware of the role we play in supporting te reo Māori as a living language and as taonga tuku iho. It requires immersion in the lived experience of Māori knowledge. Aligned with the model of Māori elders as pūkenga, Ord and Nuttall (2016) propose embodiment as an alternative to theory/practice debates. Embodied teaching is the point where human experience and theory intersect. The interrogation of the felt experience of learning to teach can be supported by a close observation of expert mentors in education settings, followed by discussions about how they negotiate space, time, resources, concepts and feelings. In their view, the embodied sensation of learning is

as important as critical reflection to integrate theory and practice. For Māori, this is an ancient practice that still endures.

Māori methods of teaching and learning te reo Māori me ona tikanga have been shown to be effective. Providing taura opportunities to explore and develop within a sociocultural context that acknowledges tikanga Māori, as required by *Our Code Our Standards* (ECNZ, 2017), will lead naturally to increased incidences and use of te reo Māori. It was against this background that I first began to conceptualise an approach to teaching te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori as an immersion experience, the focus of the following section. I developed this approach to be flexible for continuous development and as our language requirements change, while retaining the integrity of Māori ontological knowledge as much as possible in mainstreamed education settings.

#### *Nga Kete Manaakitanga*

The whakatauki, *manaaki whenua, manaaki tangata – haere whakamua*, refers to the critical relationship and interdependence that exists between land and people in order to ensure our sustainable viability. A quintessential value within te ao Māori is manaakitanga. Linked to a pattern of care and therefore part of the construct of whānau, it forms part of Māori pedagogy to manaaki people – expressed as manaaki tangata, place – expressed as manaaki whenua, and those things that are held up as taonga – expressed as manaaki taonga across time, place and space. Te reo Māori carries with it those deep concepts that relate to Māori knowledge. Hence, it is considered a taonga, which carries with it a responsibility to continually seek to understand the essence and source of the language (Pere, 1997). It was in that manner that I began to conceptualise an appropriate methodology for teaching te reo Māori to field-based ECE teachers in training. I was seeking an approach that was Māori-centred that supported all students enrolled in ITE to meet the requirements of the programme.

Influenced by Kaupapa Māori to make the links to Māori ontological knowledge visible, the conceptualisation of *Ngā kete Manaakitanga* was inspired by the deeds of our primary atua, Tāne. Tāne, the great son of Ranginui and Papatūānuku climbed to the highest heavens to retrieve three baskets of knowledge, collectively known as *Ngā kete wānanga*, which he brought back to Earth so that we could prosper and thrive. Jahnke and Taiapa (2003) summarised the contents of each kete as:

*Te kete Tuauri*: Knowledge of peace, goodness and love

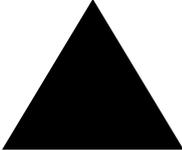
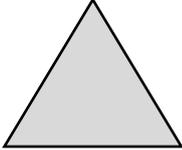
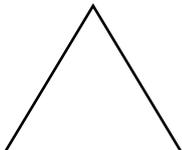
*Te kete Tuatea*: Knowledge of karakia, incantations and ritual

*Te kete Aronui*: Knowledge of war, agriculture, wood and stone working and knowledge of the Earth.

Today, the kete remains a metaphor for gathering new knowledge. As descendants of Tāne, people are charged with the responsibility to be constantly filling up our kete with knowledge for continued survival into the next generations. As mentioned earlier, this relates to the expectation that people continue to learn from birth to death (Pere, 1988). It is this metaphoric use of Ngā Kete Wānanga that inspired the notion of kete-based learning and teaching in ECE ITE. Taurua are immersed in learning through a mātauranga Māori lens. They apply this knowledge in their practice to support tamariki to develop understandings of the world that includes a Māori perspective. Since it privileges Māori knowledge, it is possible to demonstrate how Kaupapa Māori as theory supports me to implement mātauranga Māori guided by the principles of Kaupapa Māori teaching and learning.

It also draws on the strands of *Te Whāriki* as the basis for the knowledge to be gathered as Whakaahua 9 demonstrates.

*Whakaahua 8: The structure of Ngā Kete Manaakitanga*

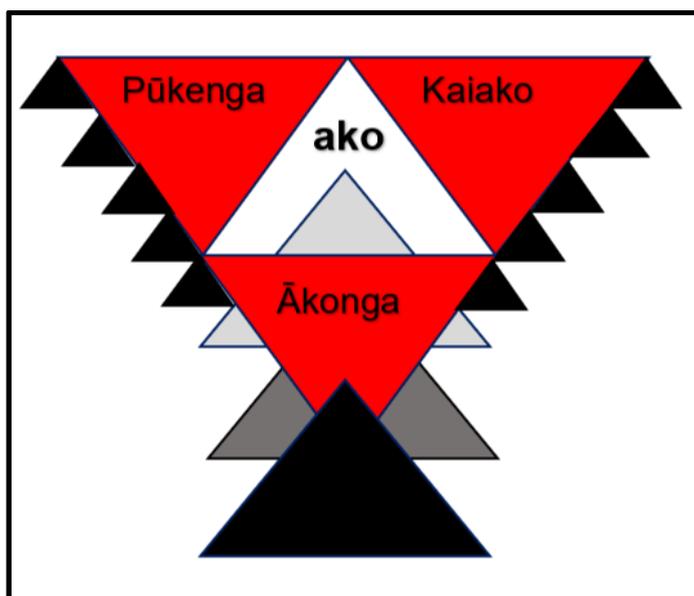
Kete of knowledge to be gathered	Corresponding curriculum strand in <i>Te Whāriki</i>	Examples of knowledge to be gathered
Te Kete Manaaki Tangata 	<i>Mana tangata</i> : Contribution <i>Mana aotūroa</i> : Exploration <i>Mana reo</i> : Communication	<i>Ko ahau</i>  <i>Mana tangata, manaaki tangata, tūrangawaewae, mana, mauri, whanaungatanga, wairua, karakia, whakapapa, te taha tinana, manaakitanga, tapu/noa, Ranginui me Papatūānuku, tikanga marae/ pōhiri</i>
Te Kete Manaaki Whenua 	<i>Mana whenua</i> : Belonging <i>Mana aotūroa</i> : Exploration <i>Mana reo</i> : Communication	<i>Mana whenua, manaaki whenua, ngā atua, ahi kaa, te aorangī, rongoā, tangata whenuatanga, te taiao, kaitiakitanga, te pā harakeke</i>
Te Kete Manaaki Taonga 	<i>Mana Atua</i> : Wellbeing <i>Mana aotūroa</i> : Exploration <i>Mana reo</i> : Communication	<i>Nga taonga tuku iho, nga kakano i ruia mai i Rangi Atea, tiaki taonga</i>

Each kete was designed to scaffold a student teacher’s knowledge of mātauranga Māori and deepen their understanding of the Māori values embedded in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017) as they develop skills in te reo Māori. Kaiako work alongside taura and draw on Māori expertise to support the learners’ journey and the learning process. This process ensures that taura are immersed in embodied learning experiences (Ord & Nuttall, 2016) and receive expert knowledge from authentic sources on how to apply it appropriately in their practice, and in planning and assessment. This relates to stage one-Te Aronui of the Pūkenga framework .

The degree of success is still dependent on taura motivation to engage in te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori, relating to stage two- Te Aramoana of the Pūkenga framework. This

resides in part with ability of the kaiako to motivate tauira. A relational pedagogy incorporating whanaungatanga is also critical when working with adults. This brings me back to the learnings I gained from Māori elders about the teacher’s role. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1983) speaks about the concept of enduring affection as aroha that should surround children in the learning process. Aroha, expressed as empathy, is important when working at the tertiary level as well. It is a practice that keeps both kaiako and tauira in a safe space as they work in cross-cultural contexts with each other. Kaiako at the tertiary level often balance the need to ensure the tauira has met the learning outcomes of their courses with individual learning attitudes, aptitudes and aspirations of tauira. Sometimes the two are incongruent. I have found that strengthening student self-efficacy to navigate their way through a new system-as demonstrated in stages one and two of the Pūkenga model, supports a closer alignment. As a teacher of Māori knowledge, I have found aroha is an appropriate strategy to mediate this juxtaposition. Navigating how to support a range of knowledge bases (Māori and Tauwiwi) that exist within a whānau of tauira-a group of students, needs to be managed with respect to their various histories. Regardless of background, this is a journey that tauira kaiako-student teachers must take to understand how their own biographies are shaped and the influence they will have as kaiako. Whakaahua 9 shows the Pūkenga model expressed as support for the student’s journey within *Nga Kete Manaakitanga*.

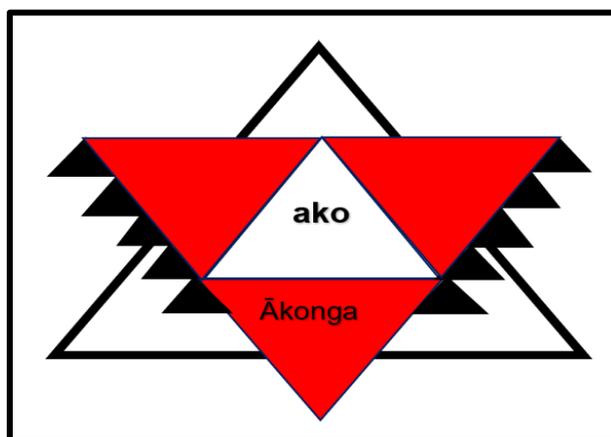
*Whakaahua 10: Pūkenga model: Huarahi ako – the learning journey*



The single black, dark grey and light grey triangles represent *Nga Kete Manaakitanga*. Te Kete Manaaki Tangata is black which represents *Te Kore*. *Te Kore* in Māori cosmology is seen as the pre-human period of the void (Walker, 2004). Within that void lay great potential

(Ministry of Education, 2009; Walker, 2008). Each kete takes the ākonga a step closer to the inner white triangle. White represents Te Ao Mārama where enlightenment resides. The colour red in the central triangle acknowledges the pūkenga, ākonga, kaiako relationship to each other and the whakapapa that each carries, reminding us that no one stands alone. The tauira bring their whakapapa into the learning space. They are flanked by generations of their tūpuna and carry with them their aspirations and dreams of future generations. All three have a shared duty of care for the learning process and the sacredness of the knowledge to be attained through the ako process. The small black triangles flanking left and right represent the journey of the ākonga. The pattern that is created through their journey is their story, informed by their whakapapa and their embodied experiences in becoming bilingual.

*Whakaahua 11: Te Pūkenga model of attainment: Whakatutuki*



Whakaahua 11 represents the attainment of all three kete and the integration of knowledge into the teacher capabilities. Tauira now take their place within the model as kaiako supporting the process of ako. The outer white triangle represents new horizons and new pathways yet to be created. This is in alignment with the view expressed by Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere that from birth to death we are on a quest to attain new knowledge. The tapatoru whakarite is a tessellating shape. In this model it depicts both the continuity of knowledge, passing it from one generation to the next and our own interpretation of how it can support humankind. The colours red and black are used as a way to incorporate the whakatauki: *Ma pango, ma whero, ka oti*

This whakatauki was first spoken in the colonial period of settlement when it was realised that our traditional ways of being and knowledge systems were under threat in the post-Treaty period and ensuing land wars between the 1840s and 1870s (Walker, 2004). It is often used as a whakatauki denoting collaboration to achieve an end goal. But there is a deeper

meaning that, as Māori, we need to be flexible to change and strive to work together in new ways as a united force of 'Māori' for the survival of our cultural ways and language into the next era. I have deliberately incorporated this into my framework to centre Māori concerns for the integrity of Māori knowledge.

Over the years, my approach to te reo Māori has been variously called a radical Kaupapa Māori approach, dangerous and progressive. I have reflected on what the dangers are as part of the process of checking on how my perspective of Kaupapa Māori has shifted. Based on my experiences, I agree with Graham Hingangaroa Smith's (2012,2017) concerns to ensure that Māori struggles for Tino Rangatiratanga and advances made are not subsumed in the next era of education. I propose that it may be through magical capture (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) by the State's show of commitment to te reo Māori but failing to make any structural changes to the impediments for Māori to be successful as Māori *and* 'in' Māori.

I draw on notions of *He atua, he tangata* (Pere, 1991) to uplift ākonga to see the value of their whakapapa, histories and stories. Accessing these illuminates how we came to think the way we do. For disenfranchised taura, the struggle for emancipation can be painful as well as liberatory (Freire, 1972) as demonstrated by an excerpt in the following poem, composed by a second-year ITE student and incorporated here by permission:

Grasping for the culture that is within,  
I feel abandoned by distance,  
that has separated me from my true place of origin ...  
and by time, that separated me from my reo.

This extract shows the taura reflecting on their relationship to whenua, accessing intergenerational experiences of loss and the impact of colonisation within Kete Manaaki Whenua (2018).

For those who have occupied privileged spaces, the journey back into their histories can also bring pain and conflict. One way I know that I have made a difference for taura Māori who, through Ngā Kete Manaakitanga, may be exploring their whakapapa for the first time occurs when a student opens up that they have whakapapa Māori. Their journeys and stories of language loss and tribal disenfranchisement may be painful. Together we navigate between healing and learning and creating a safe space for both to occur. I maintain wairua within the learning environment through waiata, karakia, aroha, tears and laughter. But the learning comes from the storying that occurs in the space.

By asserting Māori knowledge and normalising Māori language as my Māori mentors did for me, I believe it is possible to gain an embodied appreciation of te ao Māori, not just a working knowledge of te reo Māori. I also believe it is necessary, but it brings a risk. Historically, Pākehā settlers spoke te reo Māori but that did not prevent the steady and ongoing subjugation of Māori into a Western paradigm. Whether embodied pedagogies of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori will make a positive difference to that outcome is not so clear. However, I assert that, like the whakatauki *Ma pango ma whero ka oti*, Kaupapa Māori encourages us to stay focussed on our future and to approach education from a different paradigm. We need to keep making advances towards an end goal of transformation; continuously operating on the exterior as nomadic warriors, avoiding capture (Delueze & Guattari, 1987).

#### *Te reo Māori, language status and neo-liberal agendas*

Kaupapa Māori initiatives are concerned with language revitalisation and are seated within a wider Indigenous agenda to restore mana to Indigenous groups (L. T. Smith, 2012). Up until the advent of industrialisation and the subsequent scramble for resources some 200 years ago, Indigenous peoples formed the largest part of the world's population (Bodley, 1999). Their experiences of language loss and the devastating impact of colonisation on their cultural ways of being, knowing and doing differ but they all share similar outcomes related to language, culture, loss and the intergenerational consequences. There is growing knowledge and understanding of the immense benefits to overall brain function of bilingual education. However, whether this knowledge will do much to support minority and threatened Indigenous languages is still to be realised in Aotearoa and possibly other Indigenous groups in similar positions of struggle.

The struggle for language recognition and a share of educational resourcing are issues that all Indigenous people engage in. Languages are given status according to their perceived usefulness. There is international evidence that bilingual language programmes in schools may not be motivated by Indigenous language revitalisation initiatives. For example, the United States of America has become one of the most culturally diverse societies in the world. Journalist Jeffrey Kluger (2013) reported in the Times about active steps being taken in elementary schools across the State of Utah to implement bilingual language learning programmes aimed at supporting children towards fluency in a number of languages, including Portuguese, Mandarin and Spanish. The bilingual programmes were founded in 2009 by the late governor at that time, Jon Huntsman, who was himself fluent in Mandarin and an ambassador to China. He argued for multilingualism in education, stating that it would become increasingly essential in the 21st Century for students, business people and government officials. According to Kluger (2013), there was speculation regarding the

religious motivation behind this initiative in the Mormon stronghold state. Whether religiously or economically motivated, it is apparent that the establishment of bilingual language programmes in Utah had very little to do with a wish to honour the languages of its Indigenous people, whose tribes include the Ute, Bannock, Navajo, Shoshone, Paiute and Goshute peoples.

Aotearoa is also fast developing as a diverse multilingual and multicultural society. We need to ask critical questions about who benefits from the establishment of bilingual programmes. Generally, bilingual education is implemented largely for minority language speakers with limited or no knowledge of the dominant language. Conversely, English is likely to be the first language for Māori children in mainstreamed education, their families and teachers. Te reo Māori is also likely to be the minority language needing the most support in mainstreamed education settings. Ideally, therefore, bilingual language programmes should be developed together with whānau to strengthen their capacity to support te reo Māori in the home and the community, given that parents and family have the biggest influence on language development.

Māori view te reo Māori as a cultural treasure handed down from our ancestors. Te reo Māori is guaranteed protection under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Therefore, the Crown has a responsibility to uphold te reo Māori as a living treasure. This is reinforced by the United Nations international rights and obligations towards Indigenous languages (2007). Article 13.1 of the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) states:

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures (2007, p.12 ).

Skerrett (2007) argues for the re-vernacularisation (everyday, widespread use) of te reo Māori on the basis that it is essential for Māori cultural identity to be able to have access to te reo Māori. She believes that the notion of language as a resource is underpinned by the assumption that cultural groups have the autonomy to define their own histories and futures. Te reo Māori and its status as a language resource remains under threat at the hands of the education system.

Article 14.1. of the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) states that:

Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. (2007, p. 13)

Declaring te reo Māori an official language, creating audacious goals to install te reo Māori as a living and spoken language by all people in Aotearoa has implications for the rights of Māori in terms of influence and control over te reo Māori as a language resource or taonga in mainstreamed education.

*Te reo Māori as an act of social justice*

Since teaching sits within the field of social sciences, the role of a teacher is, in many ways, an interdisciplinary role, although little scholarship is put into that issue. Kaupapa Māori theory centres critical theory in the teaching and learning process. It is here that students can begin to unpack the sociology of education. I have found that an understanding of the sociohistorical, sociopolitical and socioecological factors that have shaped our shared experiences of colonisation and our specific lived histories as Māori, the role of education in that process and how that is being addressed in the current context, can activate a greater understanding by taura of their roles as illustrated in Whakaahua 8; Te Aramoana, stage two of the Pūkenga model. Once taura understand this, they may become more open to learning te reo Māori. Beyond the identity politics that can emerge in relation to teaching and learning te reo Māori, I notice that teachers can more easily embrace the benefits to children rather than just the benefits to themselves.

It is clear that language cannot be viewed as separate from social and political influences on the language group under investigation (Benton, 2015; Fishman, 2000; Hokowhitu, 2004; Rameka, 2016). A critical consideration of those influences enables a clearer vision going forward (Rameka, 2016). Teachers who are committed to the revitalisation and maintenance of te reo Māori must necessarily be aware of the barriers that exist within the education system and how divergent philosophical approaches can impact negatively on the cultural transmission of Māori values and, by association, te reo Māori. The Māori Language Commission has developed a language plan to inform policy and identify actions that will influence language behaviour. The language planning elements adapted for Aotearoa are outlined in Te Puni Kokiri (2018) as follows:

- *Marama Pū/Critical Awareness:* Aotearoa whānui know that te reo is a threatened language, accept the need for language revitalisation and understand the roles of individuals and organisations to support revitalisation.
- *Mana/Status:* Aotearoa whānui understand the value of te reo Māori and accept that it is a part of our national identity.

- *Ako/Acquisition*: Aotearoa whānui have increased opportunities to acquire te reo Māori at a level that supports their use.
- *Puna/Corpus*: Quality new words, terms and standards are developed and available to support the use of te reo Māori.
- *Mahi/Use*: Aotearoa whānui can speak, listen to, read, write and comprehend te reo Māori at a level that supports their use and have access to reo-rich environments and domains.

These elements will be a good measure of our societal conscientisation towards te reo Māori and preparedness to kōrero Māori. In the past, there was very little research done into bilingualism in childhood. Consequently, until recently, bilingualism was viewed as disruptive to a child's own overall literacy and language skill and development (Bialystok, 2006). These deficit views are being overturned as researchers discover the multitude of benefits associated with children learning a second and/or third language.

### Summary

Wāhanga Tuatahi has largely focussed on the sociolinguistic considerations of te reo Māori. The embodied experience of language loss was explored to highlight the impact on Māori of that loss. Wāhanga Tuatahi also discussed the potential of Māori pedagogies to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori in mainstream education.

In Wāhanga Tuarua the focus was on bilingual language development, with an emphasis on early childhood. It commenced with a discussion of aspects of bilingual teaching and learning related to the benefits for young children.

## Wāhanga tuarua: Bilingual language teaching and learning: Supporting te reo Māori?

### *Introduction*

This section focuses on issues related to bilingual teaching and learning, commencing with the role of early childhood education (ECE). Data retrieved from the Ministry of Education's annual Early Childhood Education Census, available on their *Education Counts Website (2022)* shows that approximately 68 percent of all children enrolled in ECE centres are under 2 years old. This fasted growing enrolment group with a reported wait-list of 34% nationally. Current research suggests that by the time a child is three, their neural pathways are 80 percent formed. Greater attention is now being paid to brain development in ECE studies. The critical roles that ECE teachers play in supporting language development and the implications for practice are now receiving greater and overdue scholarship.

Developments in neuroscience highlight that the first 1,000 days of a child's life are critical. In terms of the neurological aspects of language acquisition, studies have shown that a child from bilingual parents is bilingual even before birth because the human auditory system is developed in utero at around the third trimester mark (Kluger, 2013). Developmental psychologists have shown that babies from birth to three days old responded differently to language stimuli by tracking their sucking response when exposed to language. The response of babies of monolingual mothers was only triggered when they heard English recordings. However, the babies whose mothers were bilingual also perked up when recordings of other languages were played. This suggests that newborn babies are able to recognise their native language and distinguish it from others (Kluger, 2013). It is a significant finding that bilingual language exposure from birth, or before-as Māori have always believed (Pere, 1983), improves brain development. Māori understood the capacity for learning in utero as evidenced by the practice of reciting whakapapa to the child from conception through waiata oriori (Pere, 1983). It was here that our relationship with Papatūānuku is established through the whenua (placenta) which will be returned to her once we are born into the world.

Kluger (2013) argues that the optimum age to start dual language learning is at birth. In their view, children retain a sharp ear for languages up to the age of one but after that the brain is already closing pathways in a process known as synaptic pruning. They report a sharp drop off at the age of six but children are still able to achieve greater success than teenagers and adults. The first year is also now considered a critical time for language development as the synapses are working to connect neurons in the brain, meaning this is a critical language development period for maximising a child's linguistic awareness, and bilingual and multilingual capacity (Bialystok, 2006; Blaiklock, 2010; Kluger, 2013; Quigan, 2020). This

shows that intensive, sustained and repeated exposure to te reo Māori will clearly assist the synaptic development of an infant's brain. It also demonstrates that the quality of experiences and the frequency of te reo Māori use need to be of the highest standard and most intensive in the first year.

Pedagogically, this has implications for where the most fluent teachers should be placed. This is not necessarily with older children as is often the practice in the Aotearoa education system. Dewaele (2006) confirms that the younger someone learns their second and subsequent languages, the greater the probability of reaching high levels of proficiency. This is relevant to deepening our understandings of the issues in becoming proficient bilinguals, given that te reo Māori currently sits as a minority language in most children's lives, certainly in mainstreamed education. This implies that tamariki must receive maximum exposure to te reo Māori in their early years to become proficient bilingual language speakers. It also adds weight to the critical role of whānau and teachers working collaboratively to support that.

#### *Te Whāriki, Te reo Māori and early childhood education*

Early childhood education (ECE) has potential for such an approach because of its curriculum document, *Te whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017), with bi-cultural development as one of the foundational tenets. There is an easy alignment between Kaupapa Māori principles and *Te Whāriki* (2017). From its inception as the country's first bicultural curriculum, ECE has shown its commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi as the following affirmation in the (1996) framework demonstrates:

New Zealand is the home of Māori language and culture. Curriculum in ECE settings should promote te reo and tikanga Māori, making them visible and affirming their value for children from all cultural backgrounds. Adults working with children should demonstrate an understanding of the different iwi and the meaning of whānau and whanaungatanga. (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 42)

The inclusion of Kaupapa Māori in the revised and updated ECE curriculum document *Te Whāriki* (2017) has transformative potential by incorporating te reo Māori in the curriculum. Kaupapa Māori approaches could support robust theorisation that "centralises the issues related to the validity and revitalisation of Māori language, knowledge, and culture" (G. H. Smith, 2017, p.84). The issue is whether it is possible. Employing the intermezzo *and* to language *and* culture, it is possible to proffer insights of why the vast amounts of government-funded resourcing that have gone into te reo Māori initiatives in education have had minimal success at reversing language loss to date (Simmons et al., 2020). It is a given that language *and* culture are inextricably linked (Fishman, 1991, 2007; Ka'ai 2017; G. H.

Smith, 1997; Vygotsky, 1972). Culture is kept alive through language. Language conveys culture through rituals, song, poetry, storytelling, oratory, prayers, idioms and sayings, and proverbs (Fishman, 2007). The sum total of experiences as a member of a language group constitutes culture *and* informs *and* underpins a culture's ontological worldview. It has been well documented how Māori language loss has resulted in cultural dislocation for Māori. It is against this backdrop that reo Māori language initiatives have gained momentum to the point of urgency in an attempt to reverse language loss. For example in 2014 *Te Rautaki Reo Māori, Māori Language Strategy* was introduced. The initiative aims to have one million fluent te reo Māori speakers by 2040 (Simmonds et al., 2020).

There are a number of challenges that need to be addressed to achieve this aim. Teachers who have limited or no knowledge, particularly as lived experience of Māori language, knowledge, political history or culture, will be required to teach a language with limited knowledge of the culture. *And* just as Māori resisted education that did not foster their own ontological worldview, is it possible that the same will occur in reverse in the next generation of our history of contact? It is possible to suggest that there still exist incommensurable differences between Māori *and* Western positions; the incommensurable, *le differend* (Lyotard, 1983). Stewart (2020) also critiques the incommensurable differences and identifies the challenges this poses for our ongoing development. What will be the future for Māori language if there is no actual ontological position adopted as well?

#### *The critical role of whānau in language development*

Given that exposure to a second language at a young age greatly increases the probability of reaching native-like proficiency in a language (Cunningham-Anderrson & Anderrson, 2004; DeKeyser, 2000; Dewaele, 2006), the role of parents as the first language teachers is also critical for a child's linguistic development. Further thought needs to be given to the individual language needs of whānau in Aotearoa. It is likely that different types of support will be necessary, according to what the first language is for families, and what their Māori language goals are for their whānau. Teachers need to be flexible to work with whānau Māori, so that the reo Māori that is spoken in the child's daily family life is reinforced in the child's daily life at the ECE centre. Support for whānau who do not have direct ties to te reo Māori is also important to the overall goal of bilingual language development so that te reo Māori can be reinforced and validated at home. The possibilities here are that teachers, particularly ECE teachers, can further influence a societal shift by a greater use of te reo Māori, or at least, a greater acceptance of it. This demonstrates the transformational potential of education. It also supports Kaupapa Māori educational goals through liberatory praxis.

### *Developing bilingual language proficiency*

Bilingual language proficiency is complex and the issues differ from country to country, and from family to family. Gaining proficiency and how it is gained is disputed amongst scholars; the number of measures used and interpretations of proficiency have resulted in inconsistent conclusions.

In the context of ECE, teachers and the education system itself must reflect on assumptions made and stances held about maintaining home languages given what is now known about the significant influence on the first years of a child's growth and development. The first years are some of the most crucial in terms of language acquisition, bilingual language development and intrapsychological development. World-renowned, sociocultural theorist, Lev Vygotsky (1978), discusses the interplay between language and culture in relation to the cognitive plane of development. In his view, the child, through the cognitive plane of development, interprets the value and place of their culture and language based on how they experience it in relation to their wider world. Fishman (1980, cited in Moorfield & Johnston, 2004) advanced this and stressed the importance of affirming belonging to a group through language. In his view, the use of language in the child's family, community and society emphasises their membership to that particular group. This view is shared by Moorfield and Johnston (2004), who argue that schools and all government departments and tertiary institutions, religious movements and the media play a vital role in supporting the maintenance of, and literacy and fluency in, te reo Māori. This, in turn, gives status to te reo Māori in the eyes of the community.

Therefore, in relation to Vygotsky's (1978) cognitive plane of development, it raises the following question; how do tamariki Māori perceive the place of their language and culture in Aotearoa when they attend mainstreamed ECE settings? For example, when tamariki Māori attend ECE centres where a snippet of te reo Māori may be spoken or sung, but no thought is given to important cultural practices, particularly in relation to everyday practices of tikanga, mana, tapu and noa, what silent messages do these contradictions convey? (Heta-Lensen, 2005). It is in these early experiences that tamariki develop their self-concepts. Their view of themselves as learners is inculcated and their subjectivities as culturally located beings are formed and their working theories of the world are developed (Skerrett, 2009). If ECE centres do not foster and support children's cultural and language aspirations, it means that tamariki Māori are at risk in mainstreamed education at a far younger age than in the years prior to the advent of ECE services.

### *Changing the way we think about bilingual language development*

Socioemotional development refers to the way in which children develop their abilities to process emotions in social and communicative settings. Sociocognitive development is concerned with how children develop their ability to think about social and communicative issues. This is a crucial point to bear in mind in relation to the debate around constructions of childhood (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1999; Duhn, 2006; O'Loughlin, 2009). If indeed the young child is prepared for school and readied for learning through a process of filling them with the knowledge, skills and dominant cultural values of society as is argued (Duhn, 2006; Dalhberg, Moss & Pence, 1999), the status of te reo Māori me ona tikanga must be elevated in ECE to build positive attitudes towards it.

A poststructuralist view is that individuals are always 'subject to' not 'outside of' cultural forces or discursive practices. Identity is shaped by ways of being (subject positions) privileged by an individual's social groupings, such as community or culture. This is reinforced through discourses operating within the given social context. If people do not conform to these approved discourses in terms of how they speak, act and behave, they are at risk of being stigmatised (Baxter, 2016). It is feasible to argue that many Māori had no sense of 'group' (Fishman, 2000) here our own language was concerned and we developed our own code as we lost our own. Phrases such as '*Chur bro, yeah nah was mean as eh*', '*laters*', '*Catch yous fellas*', '*Up to G*' crept into our English language *and* appalled our parents. This was not the reo Pākehā they valued but they could not help us with the reo Māori we lacked. Whilst I do not have the necessary sociolinguistic theory to qualify this statement, as lived experience I would say that, as urban Māori, we were seeking internal approval from within our own language 'group'. This warrants further investigation to illuminate how the revitalisation of te reo Māori might also impact on overall literacy. As it stands, experiences like this, initiated and assisted by colonisation and subsequent assimilation policies, highlight how and why te reo Māori came to be under threat of survival by the 1970s (Benton, 1979).

The early years are critical in shaping children's cognitive perceptions around identity, belonging, culture and society. ECE educators play a critical role in ensuring that children are prepared for school with a positive disposition to learning (Walker, 2008). Tamariki are capable beyond what we give them credit for, of understanding the depth and breadth of te reo Māori as a taonga. Matua Haare Williams (2019) firmly believes that the young child is capable of grasping the richness and depth of te reo:

To me, it's the passing down of the taonga of words, the taonga in stories, in art, in tikanga, and the taonga of whakapapa. Whakapapa is grace on wings. I want my moko to inherit the healing power of whenua, moana, ngahere, and te reo. Sometimes we underrate the ability of our children to understand, to feel the

rhythm, beauty, elegance and the power of language. Yes, birds, trees, and all creatures each have a language, too. He reo to ngā mea katoa. (Williams, in Husband 2019)

*Are we there yet? Government support for the revitalisation of te reo Māori*

The Crown has recognised that assimilation policies in the colonial settler period of first contact with Māori were unjust and has committed to a process of redress. Despite my apprehension about the government leading the revitalisation of te reo Māori, their involvement is critical to ensure adequate consultation, status, attention and resourcing. *Te Ture mō te Reo Māori 2016 The Māori language Act 2016* set the scene for a new approach the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

*Whakaahua 12: Te whare o te reo mauri ora*



*Note. Reprinted from Te Puni Kokiri (2018, p. 7). <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en>*

This involves a partnership between the Crown, iwi and Māori communities, who are represented by Te Mātāwai. Māori are represented on the left of the whare as Maihi Māori. Their focus is on homes, communities and the nurturing of Māori children as language speakers of te reo Māori. The Crown, to the right of the whare, is represented as Te Maihi Karauna and focuses on creating an Aotearoa society where te reo Māori is valued, learned and used in developing policies and services that support language revitalisation.

Within this partnership the Crown (Maihi Karauna) and Māori (Maihi Māori), represented as *Te Mātāwai* have collaborated to create a shared vision; *Kia mauriora te reo*. Te Puni Kokiri lists three measures for achieving that vision:

- *Kia rere*: Māori language is shared and used in daily life.
- *Kia tika*: Māori language is fit for purpose.

- *Kia Māori*: Māori language is a first language and shared.

(Te Puni Kokiri, 2018, p.9)

What has emerged in education as a result of Crown directives are initiatives established, reportedly to address an agenda to make te reo Māori accessible to all people. The Ministry of Education affirms a need to ensure equitable outcomes for Māori, with the expectation that “te reo Māori not only survives, it thrives” (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 3). There is a discourse of recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a potential partnership framework for building positive relationships based on mana ōrite/equity and initiatives are developed within the principles of Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti. It is not clear to me why this point needed to be made beyond concern to ensure our shared responsibilities for working in partnership are maintained. In as much as it becomes wearisome for Māori to have to fight for a place at the table, it is arguably necessary for the ministry to keep asserting this.

However, I suggest that the balance of power in education needs to be addressed at all levels and within all structures to ensure that Tangata Whenua are not subsumed under wider and more dominant discourses of Tangata Tiriti. Although Māori advisory committees and working parties guide the Ministry of Education and the Teaching Council-Māori aspirations for education in mainstreamed education are not being decided by Māori, or even with Māori. This has brought criticism and frustration. Further, the benefits of the resourcing that is now being invested into te reo Māori do not appear to be trickling down to Māori communities. In the nursing profession, the regulatory body, the Nursing Council, also has a Māori Nursing Council. The establishment of a Māori Teaching Council to oversee Māori aspirations and educational initiatives might now be timely. Further, it would be in accordance with Article Article 14.1. of the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) identified in the previous chapter regarding the rights of indigenous peoples to have control and input in to their own education systems.

*The Tertiary Education Strategy* (TES) (Tertiary Education Commission, 2020), representing the government’s priorities for tertiary education, set an expectation of high aspirations for every learner/ākonga to be achieved (priority two). This is expected to be achieved between education settings and their communities by partnering with whānau and hāpori to design and deliver responsive education programmes that support ākonga aspirations, identities, languages and cultures. Priority five of the strategy revolves around meaningful incorporation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into the everyday life of the place of learning. The objectives set for targeted government support for priority five include the

development of an approach to support the inclusion of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori throughout tertiary education and training:

- To develop and implement a plan for qualifications and graduate profiles to be bilingual in te reo Māori and English.
- To review funding rates for Māori language and mātauranga Māori in the tertiary sector.

Given what is now known about the importance of ECE for language acquisition, scholarship into how effectively ITE programmes achieve the level of adult bilingualism necessary to support young children is crucial, along with appropriate resourcing and language learning environments.

The Crown, through its statutory documentation, Māori language policy documents and strategic direction has publicly committed to working in partnership with iwi and Māori to continue to protect and promote te reo Māori as a taonga to hand on to future generations (Te Puni Kokiri, 2018, p. 5). However, education spanning both the non-compulsory and compulsory sectors in Aotearoa has been dominated by 'monolingual English policies and practices' and debate still occurs about the place of te reo Māori as compulsory curriculum. In 2012, Skerrett charges the government as being 'leaden-footed' for the length of time it took for any movement forward in terms of bilingual language policy. In 2021, I observed there was a willingness expressed through 'audacious goals' set by the Crown as part of the *Tau Mai Te Reo: The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013–2017* (Ministry of Education, 2013). *Tau Mai Te Reo* was authored in 2013 and tertiary providers were not required to have their Māori language strategy plans in place until July 2020. How they will be measured is not yet clear! Thus, Skerrett's point about the length of time it takes to progress Māori aspirations in education is a salient one.

#### *To teach or not to teach bilingually*

The Crown recognises the role of education in assisting it to meet the 'audacious goals' it has set to be achieved by 2040, that includes having 150,000 young people with dual language fluency (Te Puni Kokiri, 2018). However, as identified in previous sections, there are varying views on the benefits of te reo Māori being taught in mainstreamed education settings that are largely culpable for the decline in the number of te reo Māori speakers in the first place.

Some Māori scholars are critical, even cynical, of te reo Māori being taught in schools. Kawharu and Tane (2014), for example, reported on the view of kaumatua, who are supportive of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori education initiatives, do not approve of te reo Māori being taught through prescribed texts written for a generalised rather than a localised readership. This has also been acknowledged by the Waitangi Tribunal (2011, cited in Kawharu & Tane, 2014), who highlight that the standardisation of te reo Māori in school learning texts results in the loss of local idioms and iwi-specific knowledge. This presents a challenge for Māori not associated with their local areas. As our societal demographics change, a larger proportion of Māori are projected to identify with at least one other ethnic group. It is predicted that there will be continual growth in intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori in homes that include non-Māori whānau members (Te Puni Kokiri, 2018). The home is the first site of language acquisition and mātua/parents and whānau are the first teachers of language. There is a need to build strategy and capability to support te reo Māori in homes and in the community. While the partnership between the Crown as Te Maihi Karauna to build capacity and create policy, and Te Mātāwai (n.d.) as Te Maihi Māori to work with whānau and hāpori is complex, it has merit and warrants further research.

According to Te Puni Kokiri, the Crown acknowledges that a multi-sector approach is needed. Revitalisation efforts must necessarily engage the wider hāpori of Aotearoa. At the same time, the Māori Language Strategy must also ensure te haa o te reo Māori; that is, the integrity and depth of meaning of te reo Māori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2018). Kaitiakitanga mō te reo Māori (guardianship of Māori language and language integrity) resides amongst hapū and iwi. Māori contributions to the revitalisation of te reo Māori are important if we are to achieve the expectation set by the government that providers will partner with whānau and hāpori to understand how to meet Māori aspirations in education (Benton, 2015).

A study by Ngāha (2014) into young people's exposure to te reo Māori found that they most often heard te reo Māori being spoken on the marae, followed by kapa haka and then school, television, grandparents and radio. Fifty-three percent heard te reo in the home compared with 80 percent who heard it at school (p.79). The criticisms around who benefits from targeted language resourcing in education is as relevant today as it was when the issue first emerged as a result of Taha Māori policies (G. H. Smith, 1990). If te reo Māori is heard more at school than in the home as a living language, then it is clear that Māori communities are not enjoying the returns of language resourcing, which is why there are prevailing concerns held by some that te reo Māori is in crisis (Hohepa, 2000; Ngaha, 2014, Skerrett, 2018). Rather than politically and quantitatively determining the strategies that will best address

the issue, Kaupapa Māori approaches emphasise Māori responses to issues and highlight Māori solutions. In the case of te reo Māori, it is about acknowledging the critical role that whānau play as the first teachers in supporting language revitalisation (Skerrett, 2007). Critically important within the whānau are the attitudes of our elders to te reo Māori and their support for its transmission.

#### *The liminality of language acquisition*

I have seen many of our people afraid to speak te reo Māori, myself included. It is as if what we understand is not matched by what we can articulate. Drawing on my own experiences and from the literature reviewed about bilingual language development (Baker-Bell, 2020; East, 2020; Fishman, 1991, 2000, 2007; Simmons et al., 2020), the ability to comprehend more than you can articulate is an emergent stage of language acquisition and forms part of the journey towards becoming fluent. Given that the critical language development period is now known to be the early years, it is important that teachers understand the principles and stages of language acquisition in order to effectively scaffold language development (Rona & McLachlan, 2018; Simmonds et al., 2020). To support the acquisition of te reo Māori is more than just curriculum content knowledge. Teachers also need sociolinguistic knowledge to mediate the sociocultural and sociopolitical factors at play in learning to speak another language. This comes back to how the Teaching Council supports ITE to prepare teachers with the range of skills they need to support bilingual language acquisition generally, and te reo Māori in particular. Over the years, education has diminished its focus on critical theory (Hoskins, 2017a). The sociology of teaching and learning needs to be understood in order to engage in education for social justice, which is, ostensibly, what the Māori Language Revitalisation Strategy is addressing.

Teaching te reo Māori is a political act (Pere, 1997; Simmons et al., 2020). When taurira Māori commence their learning journey, they bring with them their ancestral knowledges and histories *and* their recent histories of language and cultural suppression. Their journeys to learn how to teach te reo Māori in mainstreamed ECE are located within their embodied experiences as Māori descendants of tūpuna whose language was not validated; they understand this through lived reality. Sometimes the journey for taurira Māori is to culturally relocate themselves because they have been estranged from their whakapapa. For them, te reo Māori becomes a journey of rediscovery (G. H. Smith, 1997). It can be as painful as it is liberating for taurira Māori. It is even more frustrating when they are in mainstreamed classes with students who do not necessarily see the benefits of te reo Māori or mātauranga Māori. It can be embarrassing for them when assumptions are made about what they should know. My mother had this experience and was humiliated in class for not speaking te reo Māori. It

is the irony of colonisation that the blame for subjugation is borne by the subjugated. Kaupapa Māori guides my approach to support taura Māori to take their journey.

When taura Pākehā come into te reo Māori classes, they too carry with them generations of their ancestral history of contact with Māori. They arrive with differing perspectives, from openness through to ambivalence, fear and hostility towards the Māori language; the result of a range of factors including their own cultural locatedness within Aotearoa, their schooling experiences and their whakapapa. I am guided by tikanga and the principles of aroha and manawanui and I draw on sociological knowledge to provoke and affirm their journey of rediscovery.

When taura who are tangata whai hou (new settlers to Aotearoa) arrive in my class, they too bring with them generations of their ancestors. They too are on a journey. They may have left their families. They may have family who migrated here and they have lived here all or most their lives. They may understand what it is to be dislocated from their homeland and the struggle to retain language. They may still be coming to grips with Aotearoa and aspects of our dual national identity that they were unaware of prior to migration. Some taura already speak multiple languages and their primary goal is to strengthen their use of English and maintain their own language/s. I am guided by knowledge of language acquisition to support and build an understanding of how to support their journey.

In every teaching situation I am guided by whakawhanaungatanga and whakapapa kōrero to encourage all learners to express their identity, language and culture in a way that upholds their own mana. Beyond that, *Te Whāriki* (2017) highlights the Ministry of Education's expectations in terms of curriculum planning and assessment that includes mātauranga Māori. *Ngā tikanga Matatika me ngā paerewa – Our Code, Our Standards* (ECNZ, 2017) guides our shared professional responsibilities as teachers working bi-culturally as Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti.

#### *Future proofing te reo Māori*

Benton's (2015) assessment of te reo Māori in 2014 was that it is in a far better position than it was in the 1970s, when the imminent threat to its survival was brought to the nation's attention (Benton, 1979). However, he warns that te reo Māori is in danger of being eclipsed by other languages that have entered Aotearoa as a direct result of migration. The danger is particularly pronounced in urban settings, such as Tāmaki Makaurau, given that the greatest proportion of Māori now live in urban settings; so too, the greatest proportion of new settlers. A third of the entire population of Aotearoa reside in Tāmaki Makaurau, including half of all multilingual speakers and 20 percent of Māori. Benton (2015) reports that in the

contemporary context, te reo Māori lags fourth behind Samoan, Hindu and Cantonese in Aotearoa. Drawing on Statistics New Zealand Census figures, he estimated that it is likely that a much greater proportion of multilingual speakers (of whom, about 60 percent were born overseas) will speak another language 'well', compared with Māori.

This is significant because the linguistic landscape emerging in Aotearoa puts Māori at a disadvantage (Benton, 2105). For example, he reports a language other than Māori was the second most frequent after English in 17 out of the 21 Auckland's administrative district divisions. Signage and billboards highlight Chinese and Indian languages in shops in Tāmaki Makaurau. Beyond Chinese and Indian languages, English signage is predominantly and arguably exclusively used in some areas, particularly in Tāmaki Makaurau. Benton's (2015) work also highlights that consultants to the New Zealand Treasury pointed out to the government that creating a Māori linguistic landscape would be a cost-effective strategy that could greatly enhance efforts to revitalise the Māori language as far back as the 1990's. Although there is now greater linguistic evidence of te reo Māori, for example on television and social media platforms, and in privately owned stores, changes to the linguistic scape to include te reo Māori remain ad hoc.

I raise the issue of multiculturalism and the increase of multilingualism in Aotearoa to highlight the inaction on the part of the Ministry of Education to actively support the revitalisation of te reo Māori and my concern that the Crown, despite its discourse of support, has yet to coordinate its agents to operationalise and mobilise its audacious goals. Having come from a multilingual family, I am aware of the benefits to be gained. Equipped through whakapapa-kōrero approaches (T. Smith, 2000) inherent in the concept of whanaungatanga, Māori approaches connect people across time and space *and* across languages and cultures without feeling threatened by difference. We work to create relational space within our intersubjectivities (Levinas, 1961) through whakawhanaungatanga. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere recalls an elder teaching her that, if she stood tall, her tūpuna stood tall. She reports that she was able to appreciate and respect other cultures and traditions because she felt strongly connected to her own as Māori (Pere, 1979). Similarly, my mother taught me that an understanding of your whakapapa defines your place to stand in the world, which gives you a strong base and confidence to welcome others into your space. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere likens that base to the tap root of a tree that carried her back to her source. From the tap root springs language and traditions that convey the knowledge systems of our people and informs our approach to life. From this perspective, I perceive that perhaps that Māori language is not threatened as much by

the recent increase in migration to Aotearoa and subsequent growth in language communities in the 2020 as it is by how the government responds and how it will prioritise Māori.

Educator Colin Gibbs (2006) discusses the characteristics of critical multicultural teaching. He identifies that minority teachers are more likely to have empathy for other minority groups because they can relate to their issues and often exhibit pedagogical practice that is embedded in and/or informed by critical multiculturalism. This could account for the commitment that many migrant teachers appear to show towards te reo me ngā tikanga Māori in my experience of teaching in ITE. However, it is also possible that migrant teachers' views of the status of Māori language and culture have not been shaped by the Aotearoa education system that privileged dominant, Pākehā, westernised cultural values and marginalised Māori knowledge, language and culture, influencing popular opinion and attitudes towards the place of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori as being marginally important to the cultural needs and identity of Aotearoa as a nation. This post-colonial 'hangover' is one of the most insidious barriers to the revitalisation of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori.

Māori-Pākehā relationships have been built upon an inequitable foundation of domination and subjugation through state-generated policies of colonial control that resulted in language and cultural assimilation and loss for Māori. Foucault (1984) believes that language, as a system, does not represent human experience in a transparent and neutral way but always exists within historically specific discourses. These discourses are often competing, offering alternative versions of reality and serving different and conflicting power interests. Such interests usually reside within institutional Babylon systems (Marley, 1979b), such as law, justice, government, the media, education and the family. Benton (2015) highlights a range of ways that the government, despite its discourse of partnership, still inhibits te reo Māori for Māori from flourishing.

The trajectories of Kaupapa Māori into the next generation of education must necessarily maintain a war on position (G. H. Smith, 1997) to ensure that that te reo Māori does flourish to the benefit of Māori. The premise here is that language is power, and Māori must be able to identify the forces that shape the society our tamariki occupy and that threaten the viability of te reo Māori (Skerrett, 2007). Te reo Māori can also be viewed through the lens of social justice. It is as much a matter of being politically aware of the antecedents, consequences and impact of language loss on generations of whānau as it is a matter of understanding best bilingual practice going forward.

*He reta ki tōku Tūpuna wahine a Kaa Rako*

*Dear Granma,*

Great news! On May 27, 2021, I appeared at the Māori Land Court in Albany and applied to succeed your whenua from Mum. Wow Granma, I have so much to learn. I don't even know where half of it is. Or who your people are. But I met your namesake at the urupā at Christmas. An amazing wahine, her whole whānau appears very spiritual. Like you (and Taa - my Grandad Heta too, from what I have heard of our whanaunga up there). They came back to see their Mum who is your brother's girl – my great cousin. I met them too. Their Mum is lying in the Rako line with you. Thank you for introducing us, Granma. Thank you for making sure we can still connect across the generations. I am not sure what I am doing but I know that we will try to keep it going for the next generation. Well, I will. The others are all overseas now, Granma. It was a bit mokemoke in court. No one else was there except for my Pākehā hoa – he knew how long I have been trying to get this settled. He came for moral support. But I cried anyway. It was lonely. But I knew you and Mum and Mumum and maybe even Grandad were there. We never stand alone, eh Granma!

Granma, I am sorry for what happened to you and our hapū and iwi. I cry for the pain of my tūpuna and the burden my mother carried as a result of that pain. You might have thought that Mum was not listening, but she was, Granma. She did the best she could to pass everything on that she remembered from her days with you. But she had te reo Māori beaten out of her, Granma, by your stick! And she lost her confidence. I love my Mum so much and I get so angry to know that her wairua was under siege like that. And yet she loved you and Mumum, who was too hard on my Mum sometimes, Granma. But my Mum knew that your wairua was under siege too. She was an angry young woman. Hurt. But she held her head high. And she healed. She saw how upset I used to get when she used to tell me the stories. She told me not to be hard on you. For real! Aroha eh, Granma. She had so much aroha for you. And so must I because I come home all the time. I have been coming home to visit you all my life. I think of you riding into town on your white horse across metal roads to sell your kai to feed the whānau as I zoom along tar sealed highways in the opposite direction on my metal horse to come back home to get a feed and drink from the ancient waters that have fed us for so long. Waters that our people have always cared for. Still care for. Waters that run through the valley and connect us all up. I always come to see you, Granma, and Mumum and Grandad and now my little Mummy and my darling Uncle Doug, who was the first to come back home; It was him who brought Mum home too. She lies at your feet beside her brother. Happy. Home. You can hear me coming when I arrive, Granma. I am the one you

hear calling to you when I arrive. I can karanga. Granma. I can karakia and waiata and karanga. I am trying to speak. I am not afraid; just shy. My Mummy could chop wood! She could manaaki, and awhi and tiaki whānau. She was a strong defender of the whānau, Granma. She tried to speak. She was not shy; she was afraid. She was the most amazing Nana. My boys, your great-great mokopuna – one is a teacher, the other is on a Māori scholarship at university. They are They were nurtured by your moko, my Mum. She didn't teach them to kōrero; she couldn't. She taught them mana! She taught them aroha! She taught us all hard work. And she taught me to love you. Through the pain and suffering, she loved you. So Granma, this tongue I speak to you in is our family war medal. We survived. Love you, Granma.

E te whaea, tēnei au te tamāhine a Pati, tēnei au to mokopuna.

Tēnei au he uri nō Te Uriroroī, Te Parawhau, Te Mahurehure ki Whatitiri.

Tēnei au he kakano a Ngāti Hine ā Hine-ā-Marū e karanga ana.

Tihei mauri reo e!

## Summary

This chapter has addressed the issue of bilingual language development as lived experience. My aim was to contribute to the reclamation and healing process for Māori by sharing personal accounts of language loss and the journey to retrieve it. Sharing examples of the guidance I have received from Māori experts and elders demonstrated an established mentorship approach that Māori incorporate in the teaching – learning relationship that could inform a unique bilingual language teaching and learning paradigm in Aotearoa based on kaiako, ākongā and elders as pūkenga. I have attempted to show the features and benefits of Māori pedagogical approaches to demonstrate the richness of tikanga Māori in supporting te reo Māori as embodied experience.

This chapter recognised the Crown's support for the revitalisation of te reo Māori and discussed the criticality of the early years for bilingual language development and the implications for ECE. It highlighted that further thought needs to be given to the individual language needs of whānau in Aotearoa. It identified that different types of support will be necessary, according to what the first language is for families and what their Māori language goals are for their whānau. The influence of parents on the young child was discussed, together with the opportunities it creates for partnership with whānau to support and nurture bilingual language at home. I discussed the considerable influence teachers, particularly ECE teachers, can have in precipitating a societal shift to greater acceptance and

use of te reo Māori. This demonstrates the transformational potential of Kaupapa Māori as liberatory praxis in education. With reference to te reo Māori, I highlighted the need for better preparation of teachers in ITE and in-service training, more resourcing for Māori-medium education and improved teacher fluency in te reo Māori. Criticisms of te reo Māori in mainstreamed education are well founded. Ongoing commitment to working in partnership with iwi will be necessary to retain the integrity of a national approach to the regeneration of te reo Māori. It was noted that this does not come without a risk of appropriation of te reo Māori and the potential for subsequent domestication of Kaupapa Māori as discussed by Graham Hingangaroa Smith.

The choice to locate myself within this chapter alongside my mother and my great grandmother enabled restorative conversations as part of a decolonising journey towards healing the intergenerational trauma that my family experienced through colonisation and subsequent language loss and cultural dislocation. Discursive narratives enabled a broad view of the impact of assimilation on Māori aspirations in education and shed light on why it is important to maintain a position of vigilance regarding the state's involvement in reversing language loss. Despite my reservations about the coordination of a Crown-led strategy to create a nation of fluent speakers of te reo Māori, I remain convinced that the place to commence and focus on is in the early years. I am hopeful that partnership between the Crown and Te Mātāwai will achieve the shared vision; *Kia mauriora te reo*.

In this chapter, I have illuminated ways that Kaupapa Māori supports cultural recovery *and* reclamation *and* healing. By sharing my experiences as lived experience of language loss and the journey to retrieve it, it is hoped that this chapter may contribute in some way to the reclamation and healing process of language revitalisation and retrieval for Māori.

*Ka u te whakapono, ka rea te kakano* (Whirimako Black, 2003, track 6)

## UPOKO TUARIMA

### Kaupapa Māori i Te Ao Hurihuri

Ko au te maunga ko to maunga ko au

Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au

Ko au te whenua ko te whenua ko au

Tihei mauri ora

#### Kaupapa Māori as relational pedagogy within sacred spaces

The whakatauki used to introduce this chapter provides an insight into the inseparable relationship Māori have with the land (Harrison et al., 2004). It expresses our sense of being one and the same with the mountains, the rivers, the earth. This chapter maps Kaupapa Māori as lived experience in this present time and considers how that supports and informs my praxis in te ao hurihuri, a changing world.

#### *Māori cosmological understandings*

Māori ontology is deeply embedded in relational connectedness to te ao, Papatūānuku and Ranginui. In order to discuss many of the concepts in this chapter, it is necessary to provide a background to Te Oro Kōhanga o te ao (an explanation of the creation of the universe). I need to declare that what I record of Māori cosmology is not based on any one tribal knowledge. The account that I provide is one taken from my years of listening to pū rākau gathered as a result of growing up in the city, being involved in Te Kapa Haka o Ngā Whetū Tini as a child and through university in my later years under the tutorage of a number of great Māori influences.

A range of discourses related to Māori cosmology and much Māori and non-Māori scholarship have contributed to defining aspects of Māori cosmology (Best, 1924; Forster, 2019; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2016; Pere, 1991; Walker, 1990). There has been great debate about the influence of Christianity on Māori cosmological accounts of the creation of the world, particularly in relation to the atua wāhine (Forster, 2019). Royal (2005) states that the relevant traditions regarding Māori creation stories are those that describe the sequence of development from nothing (Te Kore) to the manifestation of existence from darkness (Te Po) to light (Te Ao Marama) and that record how Earth (Papatūānuku) and Sky (Ranginui) were

separated and how nature evolved (ngā atua).<sup>12</sup> The following excerpt is a retelling of Royal's (2007) account of creation provides a whakapapa of the creation of the world from a Māori perspective.

Papatūānuku - the Earth and Ranginui - the Sky formed a union resulting in more than 70 children. Eventually, the children became too cramped and thrust their parents apart. They then set about populating the world and became the atua of the various domains of the natural world. Their children and grandchildren became the ancestors in that domain. Thus Tangaroa, Atua of the sea, was father to Punga. Punga then had two children: Ikatere became the ancestor of the fish of the sea. Tūtewehiwehi became the ancestor of the fish and amphibious lizards of inland waterways.

(Royal, 2007)

The other common narrative that emerges independent of tribal derivation, is the lack of delineation between the spiritual essence (Te Ira Atua) and the physical essence (Te Ira Tangata) within the human person. Māori view the spiritual world and the physical world as equally tangible. Time is not measurable on a continuum or in a linear way. Whanaungatanga ensures a constant and enduring relationship. Te orokōhanga o te ao is a detailed whakapapa that links up everything in the universe (Pere, 1997). In retelling some of the stories I know, I am also sharing learnings from Karanga Wananga held at Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae with Te Raina Ferris (2015) and whaea Lynda Toki (Ngāti Maniapoto) and the late rangatira whaea Wharetatao Kingi (Ngāpuhi).

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<sup>12</sup> I make the distinction between Atua meaning 'God' and 'god'. I do not adhere to the concept of Atua as either God or god. The English language was largely developed as a trade language, which partly accounts for why it is the most spoken language in the world. Perhaps for that reason, it is not a language that can lend itself easily to complex ethereal or spiritual concepts. There is critique to suggest that perhaps the early European scholars who first documented Māori accounts of Te orokōhanga o te ao (the creation stories) based their definitions on the 'Greek gods' (Walker, 1990). Whatever the reason, this had dangerous implications for Māori. As Christianity took a stronghold within Māori communities, re-labelling our atua as 'gods' effectively cast Māori into the realms of 'pagan' sinners in need of redemption! It threw Māori Christians into a turmoil of needing to choose between their cultural knowledge and their new-found religion. The result was an interruption of the flow of knowledge of taiao from one generation to the next which had an assimilative effect for many Māori. Our relationship with the natural environment has been heavily curtailed by colonisation. Our feminine knowledge was practically obliterated (Yates-Smith, 2001).

Ko te Kore

We commence with the realm of Io taketake (the source of all things) to Io Mātua Kore (the parentless) to Io matua (the supreme parent) (Ferris, 2015). This period existed within Te ao tua-ātea (the world beyond space and time) (Nikora et al., 2017).

*Ko Te Kore* (the void, energy, nothingness, potential)

*Te Kore-te-whiwhia* (the void in which nothing is possessed)

*Te Kore-te-rawea* (the void in which nothing is felt)

*Te Kore-i-ai* (the void with nothing in union)

*Te Kore-te-wiwia* (the space without boundaries)

There was a great silence; no movement, no shape. Nothing could be felt or sensed. In this void existed potential. It is here that Ranginui and Papatūānuku took form. There was an increase in consciousness. From the great void came night; Te Po emerged.

Ko te po

*Na Te Kore, Te Po* (from the void the night)

*Te Po-nui* (the great night)

*Te Po-roa* (the long night)

*Te Po-uriuri* (the deep night)

*Te Po-kerekere* (the intense night)

*Te Po-tiwhatiwha* (the dark night)

*Te Po-te-kitea* (the night in which nothing is seen)

*Te Po-tangotango* (the intensely dark night)

*Te Po-whāwhā* (the night of feeling)

*Te Po-namunamu-ki-taiao* (the night of seeking the passage to the world)

*Te Po-tahuri-atu* (the night of restless turning)

*Te Po-tahuri-mai-ki-taiao* (the night of turning towards the revealed world)

*Ki te whai-ao* (to the glimmer of dawn)

*Ki te ao-mārama* (to the bright light of day)

The period of Te Po marked the nights of intense, great darkness, the long and enduring darkness, of darkness unseen, of a darkness where a searching and longing emerged. Te Po, literally the night, represents a time of becoming (Nikora et al., 2017) in which the world was

conceived through the union of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. It was in that darkness that Papatūānuku was conceived and born into darkness. She matured and there in the darkness she took Ranginui as her lover. It was there in the long-lasting span of darkness of night that the many offspring of Papatūānuku and Ranginui were conceived and born. It was in the time of Te Po namunamu-ki-taiao that the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui tired of being cramped between their parents. They became restless and wanted to be out of the darkness. They turned their attention towards a revealed world (Ferris, 2015).

*Ki te Whai ao* – towards the glimmer of dawn

Of the many children who tried to separate Papatūānuku and Ranginui, Tāne was successful. Tāne Māhuta – Tāne who embodies the greatness of Tāne nui a Rangi – Tāne the Great son of Rangi, Tāne-i-toko-Rangi – Tāne who propped his father up. It was Tāne who caused light to flood the world and so we were born into the bright light of day.

*Ki Te Ao Mārama* – the enlightened world

Te Ao Mārama, a time when sense perception was activated, augured light in with the creation of the natural world, a time when humans came into being. In sacred communion with mārama we breathe life in the connectedness we have in Te Ao Tūroa (Nikora, et al., 2017). The grief and despair of Ranginui and Papatūānuku was great. The tears that flowed between Ranginui and Papatūānuku threatened to flood the world. The children determined it best to turn their mother to her side, away from the constant gaze of Ranginui. Turning her is what caused the mountains and valleys to take shape. The tears of Ranginui filled the valleys and the open spaces, formed the lakes, the rivers and the oceans. Forever apart, Ranginui dwells in the heavens, allowing the children their freedom to grow. He keeps a constant watch over the rhythm and flow of life and death. He is witness to pain, sorrow, despair, jealousy, rage, courage, faith and love. He also ensures warmth and light is directed towards Papatūānuku and her unborn child. Yes, still nursing in her belly was their unborn child; the one who trembles, the one gifted with the secret of fire; Ruaūmoko. Ranginui and Papatūānuku may be unable to be reunited but their love endures as does their grief at their separation and their deep understandings of the dispositions of all their tamariki; of Tūmataunga and his fierceness, of Tāwhiri-mātea, their restless child who cannot sit still. They know and understand their children and their children's children. They still express their love for each other and find union. Listen carefully as the morning mists rise up for the sighs of Papatūānuku mingling with the caress of Ranginui, formed through his tears and released as the night dew to his beloved (Ferris, 2015).

*Te ao hurihuri* – life on Earth begins

There are different accounts of how the Earth was populated with the flora, fauna and animal life. I will proceed with one account but acknowledge the deeds of Tāwhaki (Walker, 1990) as well as tribal variations on how these things came to be on the Earth.

There was a time of great unrest in *te ao*. The children, all atua in their own right as direct descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, fought hard with each other. Major battles ensued as they settled into life on Earth, for they had no knowledge of how to live in this new world of light. The following account is from Kōrero handed to us at The University of Auckland by the late, great tohunga whakairo, Matua Pakariki Harrison of Ngāti Porou whakapapa.

Having separated their parents, Tāne turned his attention to the wellbeing of his siblings and set about sourcing the knowledge needed for them to flourish on Earth.

To achieve this, he ascended to the highest heaven and retrieved *Nga Kete Wananga*.

It was he, Tāne te Wānanga, who retrieved the baskets of knowledge; Tāne Ruanuku (Tāne the wise). It was Tāne Matahi who brought us back the birds. And it was Tāne Mahuta, Tāne the greatness of the forest, Tāne te Waotū who brought us back our great ancestors, the trees. It was also Tāne te Ngāngara who brought the insects that lived in the forest, keeping the forest floor clear and providing kai for our brothers and sisters, the birds. The journey of Tāne to retrieve Ngā Kete Wananga is recalled in an ancient karakia that has become synonymous with education and learning. This karakia is used to activate and remember the knowledge that Tāne brought back to us and the duty of care we have to also continuously seek out knowledge.

#### Nga kete o te Wānanga

<i>Tēnei au, Tēnei au</i>	Here am I, here am I
<i>Te hokai nei i taku tapuwae</i>	Here am I swiftly moving by
<i>Ko te hokai-nuku</i>	the power of my karakia for swift movement
<i>Ko te hokai-rangi</i>	Swiftly moving over the earth
<i>Ko te hokai o to tīpuna</i>	Swiftly moving through the heavens
<i>A Tāne-nui-a-rangi</i>	The swift movement of your ancestor
<i>I pikitia ai</i>	Tane-nui-a-rangi
<i>Ki te Rangi-tuhaha</i>	who climbed up
<i>Ki Tihī-i-manono</i>	to the isolated realms

<i>I rokohina atu ra</i>	to the summit of Manono
<i>Ko Io-Mātua-Kore anake</i>	and there found
<i>I riro iho ai</i>	Io-the-Parentless alone
<i>Ngā Kete o te Wananga</i>	He brought back down
<i>ko te Kete Tuauri</i>	the Baskets of Knowledge
<i>ko te Kete Tuatea</i>	the Basket called Tuauri
<i>ko te Kete Aronui</i>	the Basket called Tuatea
<i>Ka tiritiria, ka poupoua</i>	the Basket called Aronui.
<i>Ki a Papatūānuku</i>	Portioned out, planted in Mother Earth
<i>Ka puta te Ira-tangata</i>	the life principle of humankind
<i>Ki te whai-ao</i>	comes forth into the dawn
<i>Ki te Ao-marama</i>	into the world of light
<i>Tihei mauri ora!</i>	I sneeze, there is life!

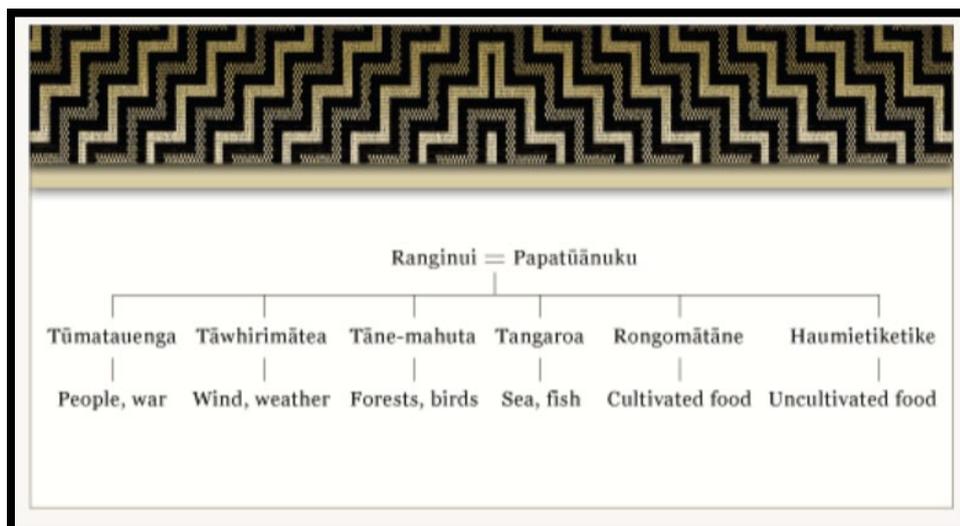
Source: Tāne te Wānanga: The three baskets of knowledge.  
<https://maori.com/whakapapa/ngakete3.htm>

The whakapapa of humans and our more-than-human tuakana

It was only after Tāne completed creating conditions for human life to flourish on earth that he set about finding the right mate to help him form the Earth, Hine-ahu-one. However, by establishing that trees, animals, mountains, rivers, valleys, rocks and all resources of the earth were created before humans makes all those taonga, tuakana to us as humans. That is, they are our older brothers and sisters and are more senior to us in a Māori view of the world.

Ngā atua Māori preside over nature and all the elemental forces of the Earth. To tell the story of how each of the elements of the Earth were made, falls beyond my knowledge base and also requires deep wānanga to fully illuminate. What I provide is a very brief overview of the domains of ngā atua and explanation of a complex network of interrelated taonga, who all whakapapa back to Ranginui and Papatūānuku. This is shown in Whakaahua 13.

*Whakaahua 14: The domains of Ngā Atua*



Note. Reprinted from *Papatūānuku - the land. Papatūānuku - the earth mother* (Royal, 2007, p. 7).

*Kaitiakitanga*

Each of the atua became kaitiaki over the resources of their domain. As their descendants, we are also charged with the duty of Kaitiakitanga. Forster (2019) defines Kaitiakitanga in today's world as a political aspiration held by Māori towards the environment that also refers generally to customary relationships over the tribal territories. I agree with their perspective overall. Although, as kaitiakitanga is increasingly linked to the recognition of Indigenous rights and acknowledged through legislation, we need to recall the tikanga that underpin the concept of kaitiakitanga. Forster (2019) re-inserts the feminine energy into the whakapapa of kaitiakitanga to highlight those tikanga in this karakia:

*Ko Ranginui e tū iho nei*

*Ko Papatūānuku e takoto ake nei*

*Ko Tāne Mahuta mā, ko te ira Atua*

*Ka puta ko tātou, ko te ira tangata*

(Forster, 2019, p.5)

Forster states this karakia is a tangible reminder of the nature of te ao Māori. To me it is a demonstration of how whakapapa has been handed down to enable us to link up back with everything in the universe. Through the karakia, Forster also demonstrates the inseparability of the spiritual and physical dimensions of the world to Māori. They show the balance of everything in the universe, which includes the masculine and the feminine. Further, they are able to articulate how human activity upon this Earth is negotiated through the spiritual domain. This is the essence of kaitiakitanga. As the descendants of the atua we have been

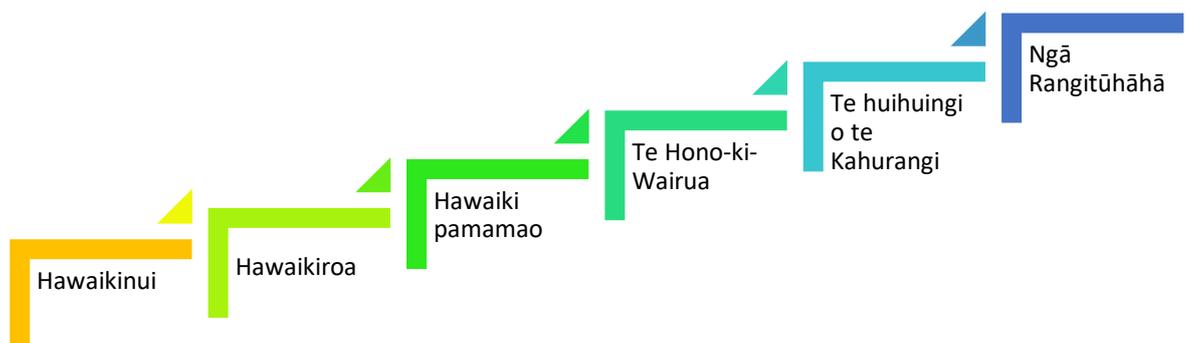
handed the whakapapa as a blueprint for ensuring the sustainability of the natural resources of the world as the following passage in Forster (2019, p. 5) demonstrates:

The spiritual is represented by Ranginui, Papatūānuku and Tāne Mahuta. The physical is represented by Tāne Mahuta and humanity (the words tātou, te ira tangata). Tāne Mahuta as a physical manifestation represents the various atua who reside over the natural realms. These atua are physically manifested in natural resources such as soil, flora and fauna, and forces such as wind, lightning and earthquakes. The various activities of humanity that occur in each domain and in relation to the natural resources and forces are negotiated with atua. According to this understanding of the world there is an interconnectedness between the spiritual and the physical and this association shapes the way we think and act.

*The cycle of life: Returning back home*

Upon death the tūpapaku is guided back home using the same pathway trodden by our tūpuna, and the cycle is complete. The journeying spirit must navigate across the cosmos. There are a number of spiritual gathering places we need to traverse before we reach our final resting point. Whakaahua 15 shows the pathway that guides our final journey.

*Whakaahua 16: The pathway that guides our final journey*



Sacred mountains and rivers demarking tribal connections are described to the journeying spirit so they do not lose the path. They are constantly encouraged to travel onwards to their destination. Whakapapa is recited so they know who to follow. Karakia, whaikōrero, and karanga (invocations and calls) are made to the tūpuna to guide the journeying spirit of the tūpapaku to reconnect with them and the cycle is complete. This is a process of release so that the spirit can make the journey to Hinenuitepo, also known as Hine-nui-te-pō-te-ao (Pere, 2004). Here the spirit reaches into the realms of infinity. And so, having come full circle, we return home again to our spiritual home spaces. The tangi process is a time when whānau gather to support that journey and transition. Acknowledging the pain and tears are part of

it. This also shows the duty we have to care for our whakapapa in order to support our tūpapaku to find their tupuna and return to their spiritual home spaces and settle. Nikora et al. (2017) discuss how Māori ontological approaches to death are tied in with our understandings of temporal and spiritual spaces. They see this as central to personhood since we “sit in relationship within those worlds in which we are members”(Nikora et al, 2017, p. 153).The ability to maintain connected relationship with the departed is critical to our ongoing physical, spiritual and emotional wellbeing At death, our relationship with the deceased adapts from physical to spiritual connectedness. The authors utilise Māori cosmological narratives to explain how, through tikanga associated with death (and life), we come to understand our sacredness as spiritual beings transcending across time and space. Whakaahua 17 shows the Māori cosmological origins, adapted from Nikora et al., 2017, p. 154, fig. 9.1).

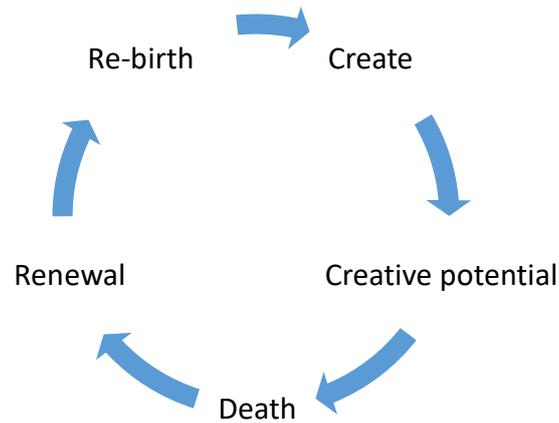
*Whakaahua 18: Māori cosmological origins*

The origins of Māori cosmology		
<i>Te Kore</i> The Nothingness	<i>Te ao tua-ātea</i> The world beyond space and time	<i>The time of potential</i> In this space we come to understand our sacredness as spiritual beings. It is here that Rangi and Papa form an attachment
<i>Te Pō</i> The Night	<i>Te tua-uri</i> Beyond, in the world of darkness	<i>The time of becoming</i> The conception of the world occurs
<i>Te Ao Mārama</i> The World of Light	<i>Te aro-nui</i> The natural world	<i>The being</i> This is our emergence into enlightenment, our birth, re-creation
<i>Te Ao Tūroa</i> The Long Standing Day	<i>Te Ao Hononga</i> From the world of connnecteness	<i>The connectedness</i> Tihei mauri ora! We breathe life and light into our communion with the world until it is time to complete the cycle and return home

Adapted from *Indigenized internationalization: Developments and lessons from two Aotearoa/New Zealand universities*. Nikora et al (2017, p. 154).

Whakaahua 16 illustrates the cosmological cycle of birth, death and renewal that is premised on a desire to fulfill our potential.

*Whakaahua 19: The cycle of life*



(Nikora et al, 2017, p. 155)

A reluctance of the spirit to depart is not uncommon. In my experience, this is particularly the case when the spirit finds it difficult to disconnect from loved ones on this physical plane. However, anxieties are noted and talked to; the spirit is assured of connectedness in the afterlife, of spiritual continuity in this realm and guided to follow the footprints of their other recently deceased whānau.

In many ways, following this process is for me the ultimate and final tribute you can pay to loved ones. From my experience, it has painful consequences when it is interrupted due to dislocation from marae, whānau, hapū and iwi. I will not detail those here but would urge any whānau experiencing that rupture to look to the guidance of the elders to support the journeying spirit and help to restore wairua to the remaining living. I acknowledge that everyone has a different approach, but for me, the final journey is paramount; it is the final physical interaction you will have. It must be done with integrity. The goal is always manaaki tangata. My grandmother, Mumum, taught my mother to ‘pray for the dead’ but think of the living. I agree. I have no doubt that the journey is made easier when the departing spirit can see the whānau is there to support the living in their grief. This assists the tūpapaku to transition well. No reira, ngā hunga mate ki ngā hunga mate. Ngā hunga ora ki ngā hunga ora, tihei mauri ora!

*Personhood and identity*

Our whakapapa connects us to the elements of this world (Heta-Lensen & Wrightson, 2019; Mildon, 2016; Pere, 1991; Whitinui, 2014). From our ways of being to our ways of doing, we are linked one in the same with everything that exists in the natural world. All our ancient art forms, kōwhaiwhai, whakairo, tāniko, tukutuku, raranga express our interpretation of and

relationships with nature (Harrison et al., 2004; Wrightson & Heta-Lensen 2013). Ngā toi Māori preserved and recorded the whakapapa of all living things to be handed on as taonga tuku iho.

Colonisation had a far-reaching impact on Māori language, culture and art from which we are still recovering. For me personally, the effect was the loss of my mother tongue. However, within each of us there is a whakapapa, and it is that whakapapa that will draw you to the knowledge you need to reconnect you to your whenua. It is here that you find your mana motuhake, your absolute uniqueness to be able to stand and express your belonging as part of a bigger 'self', a collective self. An iwi, a maunga, an awa. Belonging to the land. A place to stand. Turangawaewae. I am. The land.

#### *Person of worth and thing of value: Defining worth and value*

Western theories of personhood and identity appear to have their roots in individualism. Trendelenburg's (1910) posthumous etymological treatise on the history of the word *person* included a discussion by German philosopher, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), who wrote in 1785 that rational beings are called persons because their "nature distinguishes them as an end unto themselves" (Kant as cited in Trendelenburg, 1910, p. 337). Kant argued that being capable of rational thought is what gives a person freedom and *worth*, as opposed to having *value* in the monetary sense, or a market price.

Kant had a significant influence on morality studies. What struck me though, was how the view of people having 'worth' or no worth (worthless) made such an impact on the way people view each other, which provides an insight into how 'worthless' (that is, worth less compared to others) life might have been back then. This was at about the time that Captain James Cook first sailed to Aotearoa! Here the notions of privilege and entitlement also emerge through the different levels of importance attached to material objects, resources and people. The 'value' (market price) of things (materials) was less important than the 'worth' of a person (social). So, essentially people had worth, which I equate to human agency because they were capable of thought. In this narrative, the value of material objects and resources were 'things' of great value as they provided material wealth that increased the 'worth' of people. But material resources themselves lacked worth and, therefore, lacked agency. Here we see the distinction between worth (of people) as having status and agency with transcendental overtones, and material objects as things of value that can be exchanged probably for money but lacking in status and agency.

This is absolutely counter-intuitive to Māori and Indigenous views of the resources of the Earth. However, it was the prevailing Western discourse in the period that Captain Cook navigated the Pacific, when Australia, Aotearoa and many islands in the Pacific and Africa were being colonised. Our sacred landmarks, knowledges and cultural artefacts, viewed as (material) objects and things lacking 'worth' in the Western sense, were dismantled. Western views of things as having no worth were therefore not afforded the same status as the human person. Conversely, imbued with mauri and carrying whakapapa that links them to Ranginui and Papatūānuku, the resources of the Earth are considered to be living relatives of higher status than humans. A Māori ontological view of the worth of our more senior relatives is that they are 'priceless'.

The etymology of the word 'person' predates the English language. One explanation is that it derives from the Latin word *persona* and can be traced directly to the masks worn by actors in Roman theatre traditions. The range of masks represented the range of *personae* in the stage play. It came to be associated with the character or range of characters that an actor/actors assumed. Nanau (2017) states that in the modern context, *persona* is concerned with the 'second identities' assumed by people according to their situational context.

Māori views of identity, based on notions of a collective self, bind us to our connectedness with each other as a sum total of the union between Ranginui and Papatūānuku. The trajectories of personhood extend to the natural world in te ao Māori. This view is shared by a number of Indigenous cultures. Bolivia and Ecuador, for example, were the first countries in the world to set a legal platform for nature to be recognised (Lane, 2018). Aotearoa followed suit soon after. The *Te Urewera Act* (2014) and the subsequent *Te Awa Tupua* (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act (2017) constituted a world first when the government of Aotearoa, in consultation with iwi Māori and the country as a whole, granted a natural resource - water, the same legal rights as humans. Under the Act, the river – Te Awa Tupua – gained status as an entity in its own right. Te Awa Tupua encompasses the Whanganui river from the mountains to the sea and incorporates all the physical and metaphysical elements of the river (Te Puni Kokiri, 2016). The Māori worldview is that the river is indivisible and whole. Over a period of 140 years, through Te Tiriti o Waitangi, iwi have battled the Crown to achieve legal recognition for our rivers as tūpuna. This recognition of Māori ancestral ties with the natural world links Māori to the land through whakapapa. This is critical for understanding the sense of obliged stewardship (*kaitiakitanga*) that Māori carry for the land. The personhood of the whenua as Papatūānuku, Earth mother, and our rivers as our ancestors carrying mauri (life force), mana (power and authority) and wairua (divine sacredness) (Pere, 1997).

Matua Haare Williams states that Māori will bear the spiritual burden of breaches to the mana, mauri and wairua of natural resources (Williams, 2005, cited in Heta-Lensen, 2005). Why is this so? How can we still feel that burden after years of being disconnected from whenua and disenfranchised from the role of kaitiaki of our natural resources, which we view as ngā taonga tuku iho? How can we feel a connection to whenua that was taken from us over 140 years ago? How have we retained our connectedness to our natural resources even though we are not all connected to our tribal lands, language and culture? And how are we affected by breaches to the mana, mauri and wairua of our whenua?

To answer these questions, I return to this chapter's introductory whakatauki, *Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au*. Literally, I am the land, the land is me. This whakatauki affirms the unbreakable link between the spiritual and physical, between living and non-living, between the life force of whenua and human life force. Through whakapapa, Māori trace our descent all the way back to Te orokōhanga o te ao. Time and space are not linear; we can link into different realms, past and future (Pere, 1991; Smith, 2020) (See Appendix A, Kaupapa Māori as lived experience). It is this ability that helps to explain how we can be dislocated from whenua, yet still connect. It is this ability that positions us well to act as rhizomatic nomads, able to deterritorialise the assemblages of state (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). We are not contained within the state's territories alone. We move across terrains and oceans. It is also within this whakatauki that we can see why Māori do not view the land as having 'value' in a material sense but having 'worth' and personhood. From our pūrākau that have been handed down as lessons for how to survive into the next era and aeon, we know the importance of balance between the elements of the Earth and Sky. And we know the burden we carry if we do not adequately care for our parents, the Earth and Sky. As the tamariki of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, we are the obligated stewards of their care *and* we will bear the pain as Matua Haare Williams said. But who will bear the guilt?

### Te ao hurihuri and the Anthropocene

Our planet is under stress. The date is January 5, 2020. As I sit here and write, I can smell the smoke that is reaching our shores from Australia. Their lands are on fire. Further afield, America has just assassinated an Iranian leader, reopening the threat of war, petrol prices are about to soar even further and there is potential for further loss of lives and environmental devastation — one of the unspoken wages of war. There are multiple environmental problems emerging in Aotearoa, some borne as a result of years of poor town planning, such as the quality of our soils and water. Others by an increase in demand for resources, such as land and housing. Regardless of the problem, it can all be traced back to

human activity and impact on the environment. As an example, it has been recognised that fossil fuels are a finite and unsustainable resource. Yet it was reported by *The New Zealand Herald* journalist – Bernard Orsman, in *Driven* on July 22, 2019, that Tāmaki Makaurau will have an extra 250,000 vehicles on its roads by 2028. I ponder how it appears that societies can continue to think that what is happening in their country is no one else's business. Also, that what is happening in other countries will not affect them. However, in the Pacific nations, there are people who are some of the world's first climate refugees as their islands flood and erode due to increasing sea levels.

Environmental responses in Aotearoa have been further complicated by successive governments claiming or appearing to be responding to Māori calls for the government to honour its commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. However, I argue that some of their restorative justice processes in relation to this could also be interpreted as 'policies of absolvment' and laissez-faire governance, employed as an easy 'leave it to the Indigenous to solve' tactic to negate the need to act responsively and responsibly to intervene ethically on the human impact that development and industrialisation has on the endangered resources, environment and populations of this Earth.

In the city I was born and bred in, I am watching Māori, Pākehā and Tauīwi locking horns over the imminent clear felling of hundreds of exotic trees from 14 of Tāmaki Makaurau volcanic cones. For appointed Māori involved in this government-funded initiative, the assertion is that this issue is related to the restoration of mana whenua. Headed by Paul Marjurey, Tūpuna Maunga Authority is a body of members who were selected through a tendered process to 'restore the mana of the maunga' as part of a Treaty Settlement Process in 2014. They have the commercial rights of the maunga. Along with gating and renaming the maunga, erecting palisades, clear felling exotic trees from the maunga and replanting them with native trees are amongst its strategies to achieve this. For some environmentally aware local residents, the issue is about the loss of fully matured trees and the impact this will have on animal life, soil erosion and climate. I perceive a deeper issue on both sides of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, of a history of association with the maunga. Great grandparents planted some of the trees that are due for removal. Tūpuna from opposing iwi all occupied it at differing times. Our histories have become entangled. Knotted.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the Anthropocene: Lost in translation? A localised example

As a local resident of the area, I have at times felt offended at the suggestion that the tensions escalating in Tāmaki Makaurau around the clear felling of trees is a racial one. The protection of the environment was becoming lost under Pākehā Māori attitudes towards each other. At the same time, the government has been loudly voicing its silence, distancing

itself from matters of governance, and the council-appointed representatives, whose roles are to represent the general voice of the local community but who appear not to be noticing removing trees from the maunga is particularly disconcerting, even painful, for residents, who may have no whakapapa ties, now have entangled relationships with their local maunga built up over generations. Given the number of years I have now been at the interface of Māori-Pākehā relationships, as a Māori teacher involved in bi-culturalism in education, it was difficult to see this playing out. It has highlighted for me the lack of understanding of our (hyphenated) bi-cultural responsibilities as expressed in Stewart's (2020) call for radical bi-culturalism. It calls into question when, how and if, as a society, we can ever give expression to Te Tiriti o Waitangi as an approach to caring for Papatūānuku, where the mana of the whenua is honoured and upheld over our personal and dual positions of authority, power, ownership and identity. L. T. Smith critiqued the way contemporary Indigenous organisations are formed through direct involvement with the state (2012). Such organisations are often assumed to be formed along authentic Indigenous principles. L.T. Smith argues that Indigenous committees and organisations formed under state control are in fact colonial constructions, whereby governance structures remove Indigenous democratic processes of extending participation outward and inviting public debate without necessarily involving parliamentary-style governance (Smith, 2012, p. 157). Legislation is used to establish and regulate State-appointed councils and committees. Tūpuna Maunga Authority as a potential example of that. L.T Smith called for Indigenous communities to develop governance approaches embedded in Indigenous value systems geared to 'meet contemporary social challenges with the best minds and skillsets in the community' (ibid). Undoubtedly, the appointed Chair of Tupuna Maunga Authority is eminently skilled to envision such a governance approach, pending an ability to disentangle from state control. But stepping even further back, is a need to question Government motivation for the formation of co-governance structures as part of a 'treaty settlement' process using structures and processes that perpetuate colonial subjugation. Indigenous peoples who are elected on to these types of committees, despite any good intentions they may have, by agreeing to state-prescribed terms of governance, or co-governance, that bear no resemblance to Indigenous approaches, are missing opportunities to impact positively and be a force for change for Indigenous rights, and possibly the environment. The ruptured spaces that leaders involved in contentious environmental issues must operate in as Tangata Whenua *and* Tangata Tiriti certainly does require skill, and aroha. Māori *and* Pākehā histories and inter-subjectivities have now become entangled in the relational spaces that constitute our whenua. It is difficult under state-controlled governance models for Māori appointed committee members to

avoid capture and remain on the exteriorities of state without a decision-making framework that honours the collective voice of all parties, including the voice of our more than human taonga, our tupuna, our whenua.

When so many wider global issues are bearing down on Papatūānuku, a danger for Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty is that that it will be dismissed as secondary to the wider issue of global viability. The latter is, however, very much an Indigenous agenda that Indigenous people need to be able to effectively participate in. Indigenous peoples and lands were the first to be affected by the greed and hunger for resources that fueled and characterised the colonisation of Indigenous lands and set a chain of events in motion that precipitated many of the environmental issues we are dealing with in the Anthropocene. The Anthropocene is a contested term but is gaining recognition as a period that is mapping the negative impact and consequences of human activity on the environment in the field of humanities (Braidotti, 2019; Nxumalo, 2019, p. 119).

Our tūpuna recognised that the plundering of natural resources and environmental pollution would compromise health and wellbeing. Uncertainty about our environment and our resilience within it, is a human condition that our ancestors also faced. But in the 21st century we are living in a society characterised by a much faster rate of change (Rockstrom et.al, 2009). It is increasingly clear that we are uncertain how to effectively manage the by-product of our own creations in Westernised industrial societies. Further, there is growing awareness of the need to highlight and critique the interconnections between environmental issues such as climate issues *and* race issues, *and* settler colonialism (Nxumalo, 2019). Speaking on this issue in relation to entanglements between African American descendants of ancestors forcefully taken in to slavery *and* settler colonisers in the American context, (Nxumalo, 2019, p. 116) highlighted the importance of acknowledging the way the inheritances of the past play out and manifest in the late capitalist conditions of increasingly unliveable conditions characteristic of the Anthropocene.

Indigenous people have already suffered and lived through the consequences of environmental destruction, augured in with the first settler colonials and resulting industrialisation of society. In the case of Māori, in my mother's lands, large scale felling of our Kauri and Totara forests, decimated our ability to eat from our forests, live off our lands, and exist in our traditional ways. We saw no wealth come from the plundering of our natural resources. It caused mass dislocation as people needed to relocate away from our tribal lands in search of new ways to support their whānau. It has taken more than 140 years for Māori economies to start to recover. At the same time as we were disenfranchised from the

bounties of our lands, the settler colonials continued to extract the resources from our lands to fuel an ever-increasing demand for resources in a Western industrial society. After the great fires in San Francisco, the houses there were largely rebuilt from timber extracted, most likely by my own tūpuna, from our ngāhere, leaving our people unable to enjoy their traditional diet that came largely from the forests and water ways in my mother's lands.

#### *Ongoing plundering of taonga*

My hapū are facing a renewed threat to our traditional ways of living, over the fight for the water in the Whatitiri area. There is a growing awareness of climate change impacting on people globally in terms of our ability to source fresh water. Despite this, *and* despite the fact that our own largest cities in the country are facing a water crisis due to a mixture of poor town planning, *and* exponential population growth partly due to immigration brought on, ironically, by an increasing global migration pattern due to unstable environmental conditions including climate change (Chan & Ritchie, 2019) the Aotearoa New Zealand Government continues to sell the rights to tap into our ancestral waters to its foreign trading partners. This brings very little income into our country. Most of the profit of the sale of water will go to the countries who paid for the rights to extract the water. But it has devastating effects on Māori wellbeing, and cultural ways of interacting with our whenua.

#### *The paradox of industrial development*

Industrial societies are characterised as those societies that are driven by the use of technology and machinery to enable mass production. The catalysts for the industrial revolution were fuel sources, steam power, mechanisation and automation. At the same time as industrial societies advanced, so too the consequences of mass production. In the 21st Century, climate change is one of the most pressing issues we face. Paradoxically, to intervene in the production of carbon emissions that contribute to climate change competes with financial goals of industrial societies (Giddens, 2007, 2013; Irwin, 2019) and threatens to destabilise the established economic order. Therein lies the reason countries appear to be ignoring the signs and warnings of the imminent existential crisis we face as a planet.

**GUILTINESS ( TALKIN' BOUT GUILTINESS )**

**PRESSED ON THEIR CONSCIENCE – OH YEAH**

**AND THEY LIVE THEIR LIVES**

**ON FALSE PRETENCE**

**EVERY DAY**

**EACH AND EVERY DAY**

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1977b, track 3)

From a Western knowledge perspective, I have a social science background, so I do not have a Western science perspective of global warming. However, being in relationship with Papatūānuku, **I-n-I** remain deeply connected to and communicate with her. **I-n-I** have human understanding based on observation of the impact of human activity, including population growth, on our planet. Carbon dioxide emissions (CO<sub>2</sub>e) have steadily increased in line with increased industrial production over the last 150 years. Not everyone believes in the climate crisis; it is known that carbon emissions have always fluctuated along with temperature. According to educator and Māori knowledge expert, Rereata Makiha (2021) Māori have also kept records and have long been aware of the cyclic nature of the Earth's temperature. However, in 2007 Giddens identified that at no time in the last 650,000 years has the CO<sub>2</sub>e content been as high in the air as we are experiencing it today. As a naïve observer, this appears accurate given that never in our history have we been able to extract and, therefore, release so much carbon into the atmosphere. Giddens (2011) expresses even more concern about the existential threat that climate change poses, and the political and collective steps that humanity needs to take to avoid the imminent consequences of inaction. I find it incomprehensible that, in 2022, we are still reluctant to act with the speed scientists warn us is needed to respond to climate change. In other words, very little has changed in terms of addressing the climate crisis since 2007.

#### *Western Industrialism and Kaupapa Māori responses*

The future of human existence has been seriously compromised as a result of colonial imperialism that established, exerted and continues to maintain dominance over the resources of the world (Ritchie, 2012; Rockstrom et al., 2009). The extraction of resources from the Earth has been shown to be unsustainable, culturally invasive, socially immoral, politically bankrupt and scientifically inefficient. There is a global imperative to maintain what remains of the Earth's finite resources, restore balance and thereby extend human ability to remain on Earth. As an Indigenous member of the planet, it causes great pain to bear witness to the continual planetary deafness that Western industrialism continues to suffer from in relation to Indigenous understandings of how to maintain a pattern of right relationship with the Earth and Indigenous struggles for survival as a result of that deafness that will ultimately impact on all of humanity if radical change does not occur.

The Holocene state of balance the Earth has enjoyed for ten thousand years created a stability that enabled greater human manipulation of the resources of the planet (Rockstrom, et al., 2009). This, in turn, fuelled the rise of industrialisation and the insatiable appetite for new resources. The stability of the Earth may well be threatened, as was first signalled by Rockstrom et al in 2009, as the following passage by the authors demonstrates:

Since the Industrial Revolution, a new era has arisen, the Anthropocene, in which human actions have become the main driver of global environmental change. This could see human activities push the Earth system outside the stable environmental state of the Holocene, with consequences that are detrimental or even catastrophic for large parts of the world.

(Rockstrom, 2009, p. 472)

Globally depleted marine and terrestrial biodiversity, acidification of the world's oceans, stratospheric ozone depletion, interruption of phosphorous and nitrogen levels destroying ecological balance are all examples of the result from human activity on the planet. As the last remaining groups of people, who still remember our traditional ways to live closely with the bounties of the Earth, Indigenous peoples were the first to be affected by the impact of Western industrialisation on the natural resources of the world. They are also the first whose lifestyles, food sources, habitats and human viability are endangered. But it will be felt by the entire planet if the Anthropocene state is not reversed or at least halted.

Māori ways of living in harmony with the Earth are linked to Indigenous knowledge systems that could significantly contribute to the recovery of the Earth. There is an urgent need to disrupt the anthropocentric assemblages of state. A blog on the Transition Town Media website (March 4, 2013) identified a set of assumptions that need to be challenged in order for society to transform the imminent outcomes created by industrial growth. These assumptions alerted to me the differences between Western and Indigenous views of how to benefit from the Earth, by living harmoniously with Papatūānuku.

Because we are all descended from Papatūānuku, we need to work in harmony with her to maintain whanaungatanga; a state of balance through a pattern of right relationship with all things of the Earth, to which we are connected and related. If the mauri (life force) of our natural world becomes stressed, then we too become endangered for we are interconnected (Ngaropo, 2021). Ngā taonga tuku iho includes all these resources and considers them precious. They have been handed down to us and it is our responsibility to ensure we treat them as taonga so that we too can pass them on to our mokopuna, as our tūpuna before us did to ensure our ongoing survival on this planet.

Drawing on Kaupapa Māori, I mapped the trajectories of both sets of assumptions to create a counter-narrative as a way to explore the trajectories of both sets of assumptions posited. The counter-narrative is based on Indigenous Māori assumptions that the Earth's resources are taonga tuku iho. Whakaahua 17 summarises this mapping.

*Whakaahua 20: Western industrial growth assumptions mapped against Māori assumptions under kaitiakitanga*

Mapping Western and Māori assumptions	
Industrial growth assumptions <i>(Transition Town Media, 2013)</i>	Māori assumptions of guardianship for the Earth's resources as taonga tuku iho
<p><b>Bigger is better</b> Technology enables mass production. This creates competition and is good for business and grows personal wealth.</p>	<p><b>Whakaiti</b> Be modest. Grand displays of wealth are considered boastful in te ao Māori.</p> <p><b>Manaakitia</b> Take care of the resources you have. Take only what you need.</p>
<p><b>Endless growth is good</b> There is no limit to our potential for growth; there is only a limit on what we will accept as the bottom line.</p>	<p><b>Manaakitia te rito o te harakeke, kia puāwai</b> Take care of the heart of the harakeke plant so that the whole may flourish; an analogy for caring for the growing child, so that they may flourish. This means the environment in which we live needs to be kept in careful balance. Endless growth without management will put stress on the people.</p> <p>Human survival is critically dependant on how we manage resources to ensure our needs are met and our futures are viable.</p>
<p><b>Endless growth is possible</b> There are no barriers to growth. To pursue growth is a given for industrial growth.</p>	<p><b>Ata tupu</b> Based on the Ata model (Pōhatu, 2003). Growth must be carefully managed and negotiated amongst different iwi to ensure that resources are sustainably gathered and not depleted.</p>
<p><b>We have unlimited resources</b> The resources of the earth are infinite and can continue to fuel economic growth.</p>	<p><b>Tiakina ngā hua o ngā atua</b> We are the caretakers of the bounties of the elemental forces of the Earth. We have a finite set of resources but abundant opportunities to receive the bounties of the Earth if we follow the natural rhythms of resources and trade what we have effectively.</p>
<p><b>GDP is the measure of happiness</b> The wellbeing of people is separate from the wellbeing of the land.</p>	<p><b>Aio ki te aorangi</b> Peace to the universe (Pere, 1991, 1997). The spirit soars. The measure of happiness is wellbeing. This resides in the wellbeing of whenua. When people are connected with the whenua, their wairua is uplifted and wairua is a measure of happiness.</p>
<p><b>Material things are very important</b> Human worth is measured by material worth; happiness is measured extrinsically.</p>	<p><b>He taonga ngā hua o Papatūānuku</b> The gifts of the Earth provide sustenance. Taonga belong to the people, not to individuals. They are to be preserved and passed on from generation to generation. We are guardians of the bounties of the Earth.</p>
<p><b>Survival requires wealth</b> Wealth can secure survival. Wealth can manipulate outcomes. Those who have access to wealth will flourish.</p>	<p><b>Whakaaro tahi, mahi tahi haere whakamua</b> Commitment to a shared vision supports success and flourishing. It is not enough to just survive. Collective</p>

effort is required to flourish. People need to think as one, work as one.

**Wealth = money**

Economic wealth is the only way to measure 'worth'. Health and wellbeing are not indicators of wealth.

**Oranga = wealth**

To thrive, to be sustained by the bounties of the life-giving energies of the Earth. Oranga is not achieved or measured by capital or economic gain. It is achieved through shared purpose or kaupapa.

**More of the same will solve the problem**

A sustained emphasis on industrial growth will ensure survival; there is no culpability for how the 'problem' occurred.

**Ma te tika, me te pono**

What has been done to this Earth has created the problem. A call to act with integrity and truth.

**We are separate from nature**

Humans manipulate the resources of nature as part of industrial growth. We are unaffected by nature and unaccountable to it.

**Whenua tahi – One Earth.**

Inspired by the whakatauki, *Ko au te whenua, Ko te whenua ko au.*

We are one and the same with nature.

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There is a Western industrial assumption that humankind exists separately from the environment. The resources of the Earth are treated as commodities, objects. Indigenous ecological epistemologies, including Māori are underpinned by an assumption of collective interdependence. We are all dependent on the Earth and exist because of its resources, which do not belong to Earth's inhabitants, but to the Earth itself. In Aotearoa, Western resource management has recently granted our rivers the same rights as humans. Māori have always seen our rivers and mountains – our natural world – as having greater status than humans, having been here before us. Ritchie (2016) refers to these as our more-than-human relations. Western science accepts that everything that has mass, from the stars to the trees to the human body is made up of matter. From a Māori perspective, all elements and resources of the Earth are seen to have mauri; life force (Pere, 1997). As mauri is drawn from the same life force as people, we are all connected. The trees, birds, insects, fish; all were created before human activity. So these are all our tuakana (older siblings), not resources that are there for our dominion. This is a perspective which has been justified through Western misinterpretations of the Bible to enable the brutal extraction of the wealth of Papatūānuku as part of a Western industrial growth mindset to achieve economic dominion.

*Theorising the shifting assemblages of the state in the Anthropocene*

Viewed from a Deleuzian perspective, it is possible to theorise that, as the Earth becomes depleted of resources, the interiorities of the state will shift to maintain power. Under pressure to address the global impact of the extraction of finite resources, such as fossil fuels,

the industrialised West has turned its attention to alternatives and, by magical capture, have introduced new entanglements of resources that the world is embracing and becoming reliant on. The planet has become so digitalised that the world is now networked into the assemblages of the state which, by magical capture, has convinced the world that 'there is no alternative'. Professor Rosi Braidotti (2019), who writes and researches in critical humanism, refers to this as the fourth industrial revolution.

Sociomaterialism examines the social and material aspects of technology and organisation. It enables the study of technology in the workplace, which may include sites of learning and education, by allowing researchers to simultaneously examine the inherent entanglements between the social and the material, the function of material objects and artefacts and their interactions with human agency (Carlile et al., 2013). Kaupapa Māori approaches are concerned with relationships across space, time and place, considers mana, mauri and wairua of people and material objects across time, place and space, maintained through whakawhanaungatanga. Sociomaterialism also offers an approach for discussing how artefacts, people and more-than-human beings can be imbued with a life force. Whereas material theory views the interaction between the social (human action) and the object as distinct and unrelated parts, sociomateriality recognises that the relationship between the two is one of entanglement, in which the human (social) and the material (matter) continuously interact (Carlile et al., 2013; Davies & Riach, 2018). The consequences of those interactions can form and inform the communicative constitution of technology and organisation. Adopting a sociomaterial lens to view the latest advances of technology may also enable discussions about new formations of knowledge and changing human agency that are occurring through technological advances. I argue that these could soon overtake Western industrialism as the global economic paradigm. Braidotti (2019a) argues that this is the new capitalism, which brings both challenges and potential.

A limitation of sociomaterialism is that it is largely concerned with the interaction between the social and the material, but it is not cognisant of the superconscious domain of wairua (Pere, 1991). However, I found it useful to expose how Western industrialisation was and is underpinned by a privileged worldview of human agency having dominion over resources of the earth. Kaupapa Māori theory asserts Māori views that could contribute to the development of Indigenous sociomaterial narratives and frameworks that recognise more than the interactions between people and 'things' and the agency that 'things' have. Māori approaches recognise and foster the relationships that exist between people and place and 'taonga'; thus positioning them not as 'things' but as sacred. We do not perceive that we are imbued with a life force that is superior to our ancestral connections with the precious

resources of the Earth. Our relationships are maintained across place, space and time. Whanaungatanga acknowledges the mana, mauri and wairua (life force) of everything that exists in this living world and our deep connectedness through whakapapa (Murphy 2019, Pere 1991).

#### *Toi tū te whenua: Teaching Kaupapa Māori in the Anthropocene*

Toi tū te whenua is part of a whakatauki that refers to the health and wellbeing of the land, its ability to sustain life, its permeance. According to Alfonse Montuori, we are in "a transitional moment ... [with] ... an opportunity to shape the emerging world" (2014, p. 2). The years 2021–2030 were declared the United Nations Decade on Ecosystem Restoration at the United Nations General Assembly (New York) on March 1, 2019. This declaration recognises a global imperative to urgently reverse a number of environmental issues, including our degraded ecosystems and the climate heating crisis, and an urgent agenda to ensure food security, provide clean water and protect biodiversity on the planet. Coinciding with the United Nations Decade of Ecosystem restoration is the United Nations Decade of Ocean Science for Sustainable Development, which has an urgent agenda to reverse the deterioration of the health of the ocean (Waltham et al., 2020). Paul (2020, p. 108) states that Indigenous peoples own, occupy or utilise one quarter of the Earth's surface areas. They are involved in activity to safeguard 80 percent of its remaining biodiversity. The actions we take or do not take will undoubtedly have a major impact on Indigenous peoples and their lands. The World Bank points out that only five percent of the world's remaining population is Indigenous. Paul (2020) argues that climate justice is directly connected to social, cultural, racial and Indigenous justice. The following section considers Kaupapa Māori in my teaching practice and the degree to which it supports me to address a global imperative of injustices to people, place and taonga of the Earth.

#### *The missed potential of the education reforms of the 1980s*

For me, one of the greatest influences of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience has been in manaaki whenua. I have always understood the relationship we have with whenua and our sacred connection to our papa kainga through our whānau, hapū and iwi ties. Becoming a teacher in Māori bilingual units was the first time I needed to plan mātauranga Māori curricula. As a graduate from teacher education in the early 1990s, my teacher preparation did not include Māori planning. But the newly released New Zealand Draft Curriculum Framework, which constituted the country's first National Curriculum Framework documents provided great scope and unrealised potential and promise for that to occur. The jettison of the New Zealand Curriculum review, which commenced in 1982 was a major setback for the potential of Kaupapa Māori in the curriculum to influence environmental

education. It falls outside the scope of this study to discuss at length the cost, politics and division that occurred during the years of the jettisoned review. However, I agree with Codd (1993), G. H. Smith (1991) and Roberts (1998) that conflicting priorities sabotaged any real potential for reform promised by the curriculum review and tethered us again alongside our colonial influences in Britain and right-wing politics. Devine (2000) argues that the Business Round Table had a huge influence on education ideology and the neo-liberal, market-driven agenda. Based on the skills driven curriculum that replaced the jettisoned National Curriculum Framework under a new National led government, it stifled what could have been the transformational moment that Professor in Alfonso Montuori, whose work is in the field of complexity, change theory and education speaks of (2014). As a new teacher in that era, however, I was guided by Kaupapa Māori theory first and foremost, but I was also required to work with the Draft New Zealand Curriculum documents. They had the potential to inspire a neophyte like myself to consider mātauranga Māori in curriculum planning, particularly the science and mathematics draft curriculum documents. As these two draft documents included Māori concepts and glossaries of terms, it was an opportunity for me to reflect on my own gaps in knowledge and understandings, and to seek that knowledge out to deliver the curriculum.

Thus began my journey into the interconnected and complex world of Māori science and technology. I immersed myself more fully in the whakapapa of te taiao and came to understand, at a deeper level, how I am connected to the trees, birds and insects, who are my tuakana, through whakapapa (Pere, 1982). I merged with my maunga and my awa, and felt my being as part of the landscape of whenua, *and* the land as being part of me. Once I understood these connections, it was as if a cog turned and my DNA settled into position. I was connecting with my whakapapa.

#### *The whakapapa of knowledge*

Knowledge for our survival was brought through Nga Kete Wānanga. The knowledge that came from Te Kete Aronui constitutes the day-to-day knowledge needed to ensure our ability to sustain ourselves. Technologies and hard materials, construction and sustainable practices are all examples of the knowledge that comes from Te Kete Aronui. By its whakapapa and direct application to sustainability on Earth, this is the knowledge most commonly transmitted. However, the higher-order learning that resides in Te Kete Tuauri and Te Kete Tuatea requires deeper understanding and knowledge, carrying with it greater responsibility for its care. T. Smith (2000) discusses the limitless potential and ability of young learners in

pre-European times to access knowledge. Since colonisation, however, Māori have been more careful about what knowledge to share, with whom to shared it and for what purpose. When I was a beginning teacher, I was fortunate to have my sistren,<sup>13</sup> Margaret Hibbs of Ngai Tuhoē, walking alongside me. As a native speaker of te reo Māori and a qualified teacher, my sistren never failed to support my clumsy attempts at te reo Māori; I owe a great deal of thanks for her support in my early years as a teacher. She introduced me to another of her whanaunga; an amazing and dedicated teacher who began her teaching career at a primary school in South Auckland. By the time I met her some decades later she was the principal. She had already retired, but the school somehow lured her back. She was known by the tamariki as Nan or Nanny. The school was a small, urban, mainstreamed school organised as a Māori immersion school when I visited it. Anyone could attend but Nan had structured the school so that taura went into a unit based on the level of fluency family aspirations for their tamariki were. It was a thriving little school catering to its community. From her, I learned an atua-based approach to planning. This was a profound time of learning in my life as it immersed me in the need to deepen my knowledge of ngā atua Māori, which I am still seeking. For a long time I planned my teaching around the model I first learned from Nan. I found it was a very effective teaching guide as it supported me to embed mātauranga Māori across the curriculum by making the curriculum fit te ao Māori, not the other way around. In the whānau unit, I taught science and technology through Tāne. Weather patterns were observed through Tāwhiri-mātea. Geography included stories of Rangi and Papa; geology through Ruaūmoko and so on.

When Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere came to Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka as a guest speaker in 2006, she challenged my thinking about teaching through ngā atua Māori. She discussed the sacred nature of knowledge related to ngā atua Māori and why that was. In her view, this level of knowledge needs to be precise and exact for the integrity of te taiao to be maintained. By now I was no longer teaching tamariki Māori; I was a lecturer in mainstreamed early childhood ITE, teaching diverse cultures and no longer able to reinforce learning over a sustained period of years as I had done as a primary teacher, but over short blocks of time – weeks, not years, hours not days. It took me quite some time to work through the issues that emerged from this kōrero related to how much to teach, to whom it

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<sup>13</sup> Sistren is an inclusive Rastafarian term for Sister that acknowledges the sisterhood to which we belong.

should be taught, and who should teach it. I am still not sure I have all the answers - but I have altered my approach significantly *and* have committed to deeper learning.

What I can say though, based on reflection on my experiences of becoming a teacher informed by Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis as part of this study, is that knowledge of the natural world of the Māori is often the point of relatability for tauira. It is also at the heart of our subjectivities as Māori and our intersubjectivities as Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti. I will teach manaaki whenua and share knowledge of ngā atua Māori, but I am mindful of the concept of tika which, according to Paul (2020) is directly linked to whakapapa. In their view the concept of tika is based on kinship and is inseparable from whakapapa. Since we are inherently connected to taiao through whakapapa, the impact of climate change and other environmental changes characteristic of the Anthropocene will “significantly affect the essences and vitality of those whakapapa relationships” (Paul, 2020, p. 109). This has implications for our mokopuna. Therefore, I inch forward within the framework of tika, and share our sacred knowledge.

#### Mana Whenua and Tiriti based partnership

I have discussed elsewhere the guidance I receive from matua Hare Paniora. From him I have learned the importance of differentiating between teaching adults *and* teaching adults how to teach children. It is important that teachers are able to adapt what they learn as adults to suit early childhood contexts. But it is also important that adults learn tikanga appropriate for their lived experiences *as adults*. The pepeha process is an example of this. There is certainly a place to be able to give your whakapapa in ritual encounter situations such as during whakawhanaungatanga, traditionally and in contemporary whaikōrero contexts. However, a speaker also pays homage to the landmarks of the people they are addressing. Through kōrero with Matua Hare Paniora in the course of this study, I have been able to reflect on the appropriateness of students learning a pepeha that speaks exclusively of their own landmarks. Students also need to learn to be flexible to be able to mihi not just recite their whakapapa. Providing learning contexts that enable them to form a relationship with their new geographies, with their local maunga and awa, and to make iwi connections so they can experience the flow of pūrākau from authentic sources provides opportunities to learn about mana whenua as embodied experience (Ord & Nuttall, 2016, Wrightson & Heta-Lensen, 2013). It also opens space for conversations that can assist to develop understandings of Tiriti-based partnership and how to work within the context of Tangata Whenua/ Tangata Tiriti (Chan & Ritchie, 2019).

Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere's (1991) views on engaging children with resources in their natural environment to nurture their creativity, intuition, energy and imagination influences my approach in Te Kete Manaaki Whenua. The natural world provides authentic engagement opportunities to connect to Papatūānuku, which fosters manaaki whenua. Through immersion learning, tauira learn appropriate tikanga associated with respect for the whenua, the gathering of resources and Māori views of Kaitiakitanga, enabling them to consider Māori approaches critically and politically to the environment, how that relates to manaaki whenua and how they can meaningfully engage with Māori as Tangata Whenua, as part of the requirements of *Our Code, Our Standards* (ECNZ, 2017).

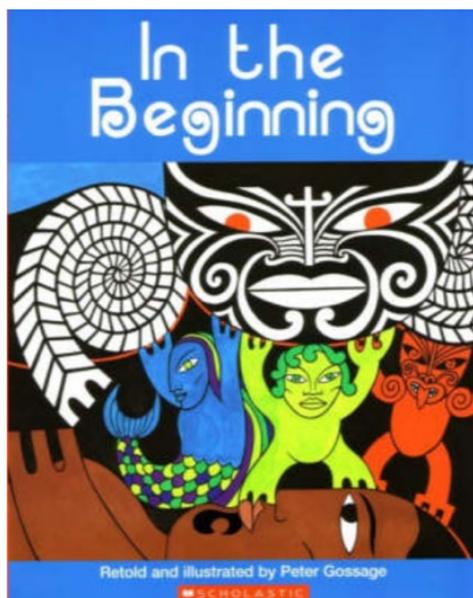
#### *Towards an Indigenous Anthropocene narrative?*

There are infinitesimal connections that exist in the world that link us all up and in with every single thing on this earth. Whether you view it from a Western science approach or from a Māori science approach, through the interconnectivity of all things of this Earth, the need to maintain balance and preserve the ecology of the Earth is a global imperative that goes beyond culture and identity in the Anthropocene. It recentres our entire existence as a collective working for the benefit the earth. This is a daring space to be in and cannot be used as another colonial tool. On this matter, African American scholar, Nxumalo (2019) argues for a black Anthropocene that seeks openings for pedagogies of practice that honour black *and* Indigenous children's relationships to nature. She is critical of the coupling of childhood *and* nature so that it remains framed by whiteness that has romanticised formations of environmental education for young children.

I am not comfortable to speak concurrently about the experiences of Indigenous peoples and peoples of the diaspora, believing our circumstances pre- and post-colonisation to be separate and needing our own spaces to retell our stories and make sense of our experiences. Nxumalo's discussion, however, does have implications for teachers in the context of ECE in Aotearoa.

Anecdotally, I have observed noticeable formations of environmental education in Aotearoa that appropriate taonga Māori and romanticise Māori approaches to the environment and of Māori cultural knowledge without applying the associated tikanga. For example, from the artwork I see in a number of ECE centres, it is evident that formations of both environment and environmental education, perhaps influenced by enviro-schools, is inspired by the illustrated children's book, *In the beginning*, which is a retelling Te Orokōhanga o te ao, by

Peter Gossage (2006). The story is based on Māori creation and, as such, includes many of the most commonly known atua.



I was struck by the large images of ngā atua Māori that have started to appear in kindergartens in the last few years. Logically I understand there are requirements for centres to show bi-cultural practice placed on them through *Te Whāriki* (2017) and *Ngā Tikanga Matatika, Ngā Paerewa-Our Code, Our Standards* (2018). I was curious to know why the atua Māori, in particular, had been put up and I enquired. The intent varied from centre to centre, and so too the level of integrity and respect shown for our taonga. I was conflicted. I was a manuhiri in the centre; tikanga dictates respect for my hosts. Professional relationships also need to be fostered for the benefit of learners. In such situations, I draw on whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere's teachings around the principles of tapu and noa. I apply whakanoa to support respectful kōrero with teachers who are earnestly seeking to embed mātauranga Māori. Karakia keeps me (and others) spiritually safe. And Kaupapa Māori demands a critical lens about the appropriation of cultural taonga. My practice is informed by my Māori elders, aroha ki te tangata!

I stood there, holding on to my tongue that darted and prodded behind silenced lips, a taiaha jabbing at the back of my throat – ready. Tūmatauenga had arrived. Nervously, in halting syllables, always afraid I would err, I greeted him, embracing his energy:

“Tūmatauenga, Keeper of the violet flame, who enables me to integrate and assess, tēnā koe.”

He hissed back in my taringa, “Kia rite!”

“How?” I asked trying not to make a move that would identify my position and endanger my territory. How do I engage in an historical colonial educational battle that people do not even know they are still fighting, still taking prisoners, still gaining territory through magical capture under the guise of bi-culturalism? Our knowledge is their weapon now.

“How do I prepare? What should I ask?”

I wanted to ask why centres had positioned ngā atua Māori, static, in the places they put them.

I wanted to ask how they manaaki the atua they had in their centres and the elemental forces they represent.

I wanted to ask what connections they were helping tamariki to establish with the domains of Tāne, Rongo-mā-tāne, Tūmatauenga and Tangaroa.

I wanted to stamp my foot and demand they free Papatūānuku, trapped under a plastic prison of fake green grass that covers too many centres outdoor play areas, while her children are, ironically, trapped above.

I wanted to ask how Haumietiketike could possibly feel free, loved and supported to cultivate his tamariki. And where are their wives? Where are their offspring?

I wanted to ask these questions and so many more.

I observed as children ran up fake plastic mounds of synthetic green and right past Rongo-mā-Tāne to the centre's carefully installed whare atop. Once there, they busied themselves in their own discoveries, all part of a 'normalised' free play environment.

Whakarongo - titiro! Could I even (please) hear a single kupu from any of these free play spirits to acknowledge the sacred world the kaiako had 'set up' for them. Can a kaiako (please) at least validate the language of the Atua who appeared trapped and unacknowledged. Someone? Anyone? Sadness, unbearable weight, why is this still happening? I scream silently ... to myself!

My tūpuna, in the distance, rising up over the brow of the plastic mount, heading towards my mouth. Now behind me, beside me, within me. Urging Tū to hold position, lest we perish.

I wanted to ask. I needed to wait for the right moment to ensure our advantage.

Tangaroa, swirls around and about me. Energising, flowing, power – two spinning pools of water bathe my spirit.

I looked up at Rongo-mā-Tāne, standing to the right of his brother, Tū. And I saw the love in his eyes as he looked back at me "Kia tau te Rangimārie," he whispered.

I breathed in. Tāwhiri-mātea gently stroked my wairua; I was supported. I breathed out.

Tihei mauri ora! Tāne-te-waiora encompassed me. "You do not need to ask. You just need to breathe. We work together!"

I grounded onto the fake plastic grass and, with my feet, I greeted my mother, Earth – felt the stirring of Papatūānuku, magnetic force beneath my feet, fluid, solid, hard, gentle. Whaea.

"It is not me who is trapped," she assured me.

With this in mind, I cautiously inch my way forward as an educator because I believe it is too important to ignore. Papatūānuku needs us to exercise kaitiakitanga and put our human

agency to work to ensure the agency of our taonga, the maunga and awa, the whenua, the rākau and manu, our tuakana, our more-than-human relations.

#### *Transformational potential of early childhood education?*

The ECE curriculum, *Te Whāriki*, (2017) has potential to bring about a societal paradigm shift towards an interrelationship with Papatūānuku based on whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. Teachers are expected to collaborate with whānau and tamariki aspirations and co-create a localised curriculum that is designed to support strong identity and sense of belonging (Ministry of Education, 2017). It includes building a relationship with community. However, there are inherent and persistent dangers in the inclusion of a mātauranga Māori curriculum in mainstreamed education. There remains an enduring fascination with Western knowledge paradigms, which continues to position mātauranga Māori, at best, romantically, at worst, tokenistically.

#### *Fascination with European theory*

Many ECE centres in Aotearoa have fully embraced 'Reggio Emilia' approaches, first developed after World War II by pedagogue, Loris Malaguzzi, and his local community in the provincial town of Reggio Emilia, Italy (Edwards et al., 2012). Some centres in Aotearoa advertise themselves as 'Reggio inspired'. The Reggio Emilia approach has had a strong influence on centre environment, views of the child, pedagogical documentation and curriculum, and specifically, on arts-based learning. Malaguzzi's global sphere of influence has been extensive. There are similarities between Malaguzzi's philosophy of teaching and Māori pedagogies. For example, he holds strong views on the interrelationship between the teacher and the learner, which resonated for me as it was aligned with my own understandings and approach to teaching and learning based on the principle of ako. Malaguzzi also strongly believed in building education around the community. Reggio Emilia is a town famed for mosaics and mosaic art. He built up a strong arts-based culture reflecting the community's cultural values. There are huge benefits to this approach because education wraps around the child and mirrors their world, fostering a sense of belonging. This too resonated with me because it links in with the concept of whanaungatanga. So I was and remain concerned to see how many centres were embracing yet another European view of education while continuing to overlook Māori pedagogies and philosophies of teaching and learning. The irony is that I doubt Loris Malaguzzi himself would have encouraged that because he was a firm believer in building education around the resources within the local community. We do not have a strong history of mosaics in Aotearoa and yet at one point you could not enter a centre without seeing some evidence of mosaic pursuit! If we are to shift our teaching and learning environments to one that reflects a Māori ontological

understanding of the world, the mātauranga must also be present; not just the pictures and the words.

#### *Building local curriculum*

Keeping abreast with international developments, latest research and new knowledge enables us to maintain currency with, and input into, education globally. Research and published works of academics like Jenny Ritchie, Cheryl Rau and Mere Skerrett and the late Rangimarie Rose Pere have influenced ECE at a global level by sharing what is done locally within our ECE communities. It is important for teachers in Aotearoa to continue look to our own local community interests and resources. And it is equally important that we engage with our own localised curriculum, Te Whāriki, to establish a solid foundation for all tamariki in this country to be able to find their unique place in this world. Rameka & Soutar (2019) point to the potential of the revisions and inclusions of the revised and updated version of Te Whāriki (2017) to achieve the vision of its original intent; to promote and celebrate the dual nature of our cultural heritage in alignment with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. These include a stronger commitment to bi-cultural practices and a greater emphasis on te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori, Māori pedagogy and praxis. Stewart (2020) argues that an identity lens is inserted when knowledge is seated within the realms of 'Māori'. Her view is that terms, such as Māori philosophy, Māori education, Māori science, highlight difference and so challenge the accepted norms upon which the "(white) academy stands" (p. 131). It could support the shift of knowledge privilege as well.

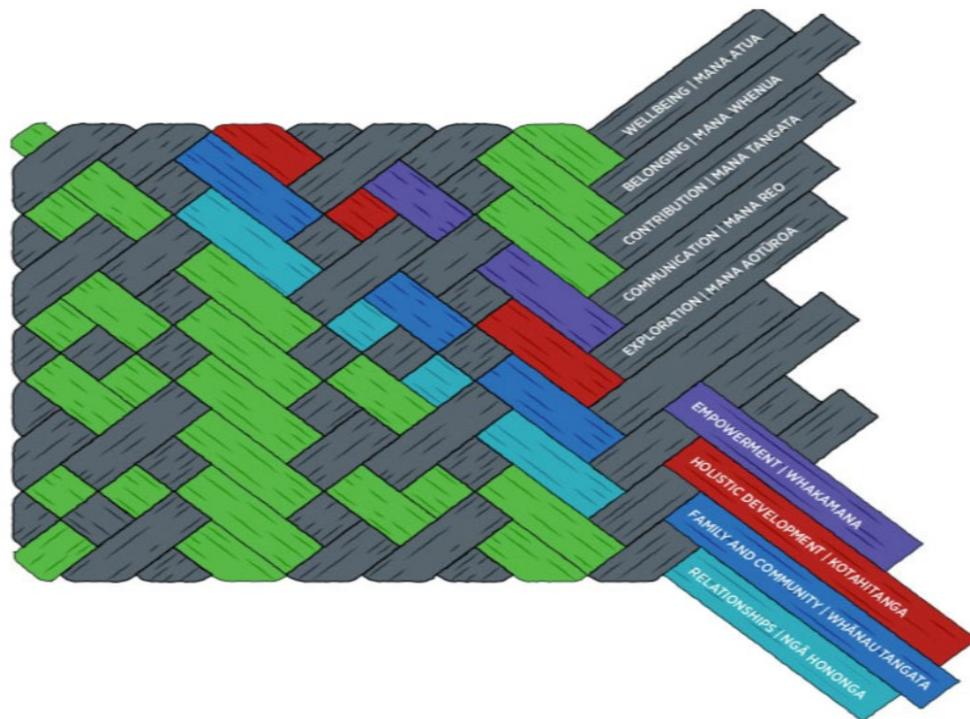
I hold Kaupapa Māori up in the same way and have experienced first-hand the transformational outcomes for Māori education. However, it is to no effect if changes do not equate to transformational outcomes for Māori learners. If the Ministry of Education is committing resourcing to promoting bi-cultural education and te reo Māori, but teachers are still struggling to implement practice to uphold the bi-cultural vision of *Te Whāriki*, the question that emerges is, what more do teacher educators need to do to support the next generation of teachers? This needs to be addressed as an urgent priority in view of the Crown's vision for a strongly bi-cultural and bilingual society.

#### *Weaving mātauranga Māori into Te Whāriki*

When *Te Whāriki* was reviewed and updated in 2017, the takitahi weave of the original curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 1997) was replaced by the kōwhiri whakapae (Whakaahua 21). *Te Whāriki* discusses the colours on the Kōwhiri whakapae as the various parts of the learners' journey that will take them "beyond the horizon" (p. 11).

To fully understand the depth of that concept requires an understanding of te reo Māori and a willingness to put scholarly time into understanding Māori epistemologies and how they have shaped the document.

*Whakaahua 22: Te kōwhiri whakapae whāriki*



*Note. Reprinted from Te Whāriki by Ministry of Education (2017, p. 11).*

There are multiple ways that *Te Whāriki* can be conceptualised along a continuum that can support Māori ontologies, including the concept of curriculum as a whāriki or finely woven mat that weaves in unique knowledge and whakapapa. The art of raranga as a collective endeavour that requires care for resources equates to the art of collaborative teaching approaches to caring for mokopuna. The idea that knowledge is a taonga is linked to the whāriki as a taonga that is revered by whānau who are the kaitiaki of the whāriki. The harakeke plant itself is a metaphor for the growing child and their whānau.

Increasingly, ECE research and scholarship in Aotearoa shows that the potential of *Te Whāriki* has not yet been fully realised (Cooper et al., 2019). Te One and Ewens (2019) identify concerns that range from a pedagogical disconnect between aims and content; teachers used *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017) to justify their practice in the schoolification of ECE through the introduction of national standards in numeracy and literacy (Te One & Ewens, 2019). There is criticism of the failure of *Te Whāriki* to fully respect diversity, particularly in relation to Pacific peoples (Devine et al., 2012; Leaupepe et al., 2017; Ritchie & Skerrett, 2019). Concern has been also expressed about the lack of linguistic and cultural

diversity amongst teachers in education and insufficient Pacific teachers to support a large Pacific population in Aotearoa (Mara, 2019). Ritchie raises the lack of authentic evidence of bi-cultural practice and minimal use of te reo Māori. This is supported by Te One & Ewens, (2019, p. 11). Ritchie and Skerrett (2019) pick up on a critical point in the 2017 edition of *Te Whāriki*; that the juxtaposition of “Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi provides no assurance of equitable outcomes for Māori nor a guarantee that te reo Māori will be supported to flourish” (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 80). This adds to concerns raised throughout this study about access to te reo Māori.

*The trajectories of Kaupapa Māori early childhood education*

Although it is written bilingually, it is generally accepted that the Māori version of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017) is for use in Māori immersion settings, such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Puna Reo. The English version has appropriated many of the concepts. I argue that, if they are included in the English version, those concepts need to be afforded mana. Teachers who engage in the Māori version of *Te Whāriki* will also deepen their knowledge in a number of ways, including Māori views of childhood. Once teachers understand the depth that exists within *Te Whāriki*, they may be better equipped as bi-cultural teachers and more able to authentically implement *Te Whāriki* as a philosophy of teaching and learning that centres around Papatūānuku by requiring a pattern of right relationship between people, place, space and time. This is the true essence of whanaungatanga; it is a multidimensional term that links us up to everything in the universe. It would also more adequately prepare teachers to be able to meet the expectations of *Te Whāriki* to “develop their own knowledge of te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and Māori world views so that they are better able to support children to understand their own mana atua” (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 28).

It is possible to demonstrate the potential for deepening knowledge that exists within *Te Whāriki* by mapping *Ngā taumata whakahirahira* alongside the *Curriculum Strands* within the framework of the document. I acknowledge that the English version of *Te Whāriki* is not a translation of the Māori version. However, by unpacking each of the taumata whakahirahira, it is possible to reveal notions of mana, mauri, wairua, ihi, wehi, and wana encompassed within the corresponding curriculum strand that the English equivalent does not convey. The following section demonstrates this, summarised in Whakaahua 23.

*Whakaahua 24: The curriculum strands and related taumata whakahirahira in Te Whāriki*

<i>Te Whāriki</i>	
Curriculum strand	Taumata whakahirahira
Wellbeing	<i>Mana Atua</i>
Communication	<i>Mana Reo</i>

Exploration	<i>Mana Aotūroa</i>
Belonging	<i>Mana Whenua</i>
Contribution	<i>Mana Tangata</i>

The kupu *mana* refers to and signals greatness, prestige and power. Mana attached to each *taumata whakahirahira* strengthens the inherent qualities within the tamaiti and the sphere of influence that can be generated, if upheld.

#### Mana Atua

Within the context of *Te Whāriki*, *Mana Atua* refers to the sacredness of the child. Mana Atua refers to our absolute uniqueness (Pere, 1991, 1997; Reedy, 2019) and is of the upmost and primary importance. It exists within everything in the universe because all things were created by Io Mātua. It represents a divine right invested in people, place and space; endowed in everything that is of this plane. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1997) leaves a pathway for teachers to follow within *Te Wheke* that can bring about a way to understand Mana Atua as the divine right of a child to be in connected relationship with all things in and of this universe; “... a leaf, a blade of grass, a spider, a bird, a fish, a crustacean, all that the same divine right as a person. The challenge is to feel for what this really means" (p. 14).

#### Mana Reo

*Mana Reo* is encapsulated within Mana Atua and is acknowledged in *Te Whāriki* (p. 19, p. 28). Mana Reo gives effect to the awesome power of language and te reo Māori. It provides insight into the sacred nature of te reo Māori as a 'taonga'. Thus, under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, te reo Māori has the same rights to protection as all our cultural treasures.

Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere shares with kaiako the sacredness of te reo Māori as more than a language but as entangled with one and everything in the universe. She was an expert in te reo Māori and the sacredness of sound. I attended her keynote address at the ‘Exploring Notions of Māori Education’ symposium hosted in Taumarunui in 2009 and have heard her make a number of other presentations. From these encounters, I developed an insight into how and why te reo Māori is more than just a language for daily communication, or a 'trade language' like the English language. Whaea Rangimarie Rose Pere taught ‘te reo huna’, the hidden language that can be revealed by understanding the vibrational tones of each vowel sound. I record them here in the order she outlined them (2009) as, E, U, A, I, O:

- *E = Vibration of heaven*
- *U = Vibrates to Papatūānuku*
- *A = The vibration of the divine mother (taha mau)*

- *I = The vibrational sound of the divine child*
- *O = Vibrates to the divine father (taha mātau)*

When you know the sound of each vowel, you begin to understand each vowel's vibrational potential and the different realms they resonate to. The speaker controls the vibration and, critically, the tone of each vowel. This is the communication potential of te reo Māori. Even with the language, there is evidence that Māori view the Earth and all things of the Earth as living beings in their own right.

Due to the mana (status) afforded to te reo Māori, mana reo is not just about communication; it marries well with the concept of 'Mana Reo' in *Te Whāriki*. But teachers must dive deeper to understand the breadth of 'mana reo'. Te reo Māori must be afforded status alongside all other things present as part of the universe. Perhaps this is why whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere often introduced the vibrational tones of te reo Māori as part of her discussion on whanaungatanga. Understanding te reo Māori as a sacred sound that can link you up through whakapapa to everything in the universe also fits with the concept of Mana Atua. Understood this way, teachers begin to understand the basis of Māori views of te ao tūroa.

#### Mana Aotūroa

Mana Aotūroa relates to the curriculum strand Exploration. The concept of Mana Aotūroa applies where responsibility needs to be shown over natural resources and the bounties of Papatūānuku through kaitiakitanga. Mana Aotūroa affords status to our maunga, awa, moana and all the resources of the natural world. Being related to the physical world, Mana Aotūroa links into our human existence on the Earth and is therefore connected to Te Ira Tangata; our presence as physical beings (Pere, 2009). In teaching practice, Mana Aotūroa acts as a signpost for how to plan for learning that positions us, not as romanticised explorers in individual pursuit but within the context of kaitiakitanga; a collective endeavour to care for the mana of the Earth, to know how to gather kai in sustainable practice and respectful relationship, how to protect our waterways from pollution, how to maintain the ecological integrity of nature. These are all part of Mana Aotūroa. Viewed this way, we see a differing worldview emerging from the exploitative one that has dominated the planet, contributing to the Anthropocene since industrialisation. It is a view where human activity and pursuit does not come before the greater good of the planet. Mana Aotūroa signals a way to interact with the Earth that shows respect for the whenua as the primary concern.

### *Learning from the past, preparing for the future*

Here I pause and acknowledge ecological mistakes made as humans came to understand how to live in a changing landscape. According to Perry et al. (2014) the Holocene period (the last 11,700 years of Earth's history), there was a great migration in the eastern Polynesian area resulting in scattered settlement of the peoples of the Pacific across many of the islands in the Pacific, including Aotearoa. Research shows that during that period, human activity in Aotearoa had dire ecological effects in places that had been untouched for over 80 million years (Perry et al., 2014). There are stories warning us of the mismanagement of resources and the disastrous effect on te ao as far back as Māui, who wrestled the secret of fire from Mahuika, very nearly causing the destruction of all of earth's vegetation in the fires caused by the battle. I suggest that Māori have preserved, through our pūrākau, the stories of these errors, which together with our maramataka have served as a blueprint for how to manage the resources in Aotearoa. We build on that knowledge and attempt to act in respectful relationship through whanaungatanga with whenua. In contrast, I question whether colonising governments exercise some sort of historical amnesia to avoid accountability for the effects of repetitive patterns of parasitic exploitation of the resources of colonised lands and the impact on the original and Indigenous peoples.

Māori lived experience of respectful relationship with the land is based on lessons learned. Our approaches to manaaki whenua are ancient practices. We do not claim to have sole knowledge or higher authority over any other culture but Māori do have knowledge, as do all Indigenous peoples, that can support the Earth through its cyclic changes and restore mana to whenua. In fact, in these uncertain times of climate change and growing concern about the heavy tree felling occurring in urban areas such as Tāmaki Makaurau, there are calls from Māori elders for everyone to be involved in manaaki whenua. For example, elder and teacher, matua Pouroto Ngaropo of Ngāti Awa ki te Awa, has spoken out against Tūpuna Maunga Authority and Auckland Council's unfathomable approach to cutting down hundreds of giant exotic trees in the Auckland area. At 3.30 a.m. on 6 April 2021, flanked by whaea Mereana Hona, matua Pouroto and whānau gathered a small group of residents together with members of the Owairaka Protest group - *Honour the Maunga* and began a 'tree-koi' of all the maunga that have lost or are about to lose trees due to Auckland Council and Tūpuna Maunga Authority decisions to clear exotic trees. Matua Pouroto spoke about the physical harm being done to the Earth by felling rākau. He also spoke of the need to honour the mauri of the trees, including those that had lost their lives already as the spiritual wellbeing of our ancestors; the trees need to be honoured. He invited everyone present to assist him as he proceeded from Western Springs in Central Auckland to Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka, up

to Owairaka, to Avondale, out to Mangere, then Ōtāhuhu in South Auckland, and then across to Maungarei in East Auckland, and finally to Ōhūiarangi, paying respects and offering karakia to our tūpuna rākau. Mātua Pouroto Ngaropo makes no distinction between people based on culture and no distinction between trees based on origin. He stands for the all the well-established rākau who, like their human relations, carry whakapapa that we have a duty to respect. Matua Pouroto invites everyone to participate in caring for the resources of the physical world. This is Mana Aotūroa; putting the wellbeing of the gifts of the physical world ahead of political or economic gain.

### Mana Whenua

Mana Whenua signals belonging. The insertion of the kupu 'mana' affords status to the land and, therefore, the people who come from the land. As an Indigenous person of this land, it is important to me that I am able to communicate with this whenua in the language of the land, te reo Māori. This has become even more important to me since I learned about the sacred tones and vibrations of te reo Māori as a way to link up to all things within te ao. So, I situate Mana Reo alongside Mana Whenua. It is also within this taumata whakahirahira that teachers can deepen their understandings of Tangata Whenuatanga and the concept that has been recently introduced within Ministry rhetoric, of Aotearoatanga which is a term that has been coined in Crown documentation to refer to citizenship. When embedded within the context of mana whenua, both these relationships provide an understanding of the power and the majesty of whenua, our relationship with it and our responsibilities towards it rather than our sovereignty or dominion over it.

Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1990) explains important concepts related to the whenua that show how entangled people and the whenua are when she identifies how people's physical and spiritual wellbeing is connected to the place they identify with and belong to. Our identity as Māori is connected to Papatūānuku; she is the divine mother. When we are born, our placenta (whenua) is gifted back to the whenua, linking our DNA back to our mother Earth, Whaea Papatūānuku. When we die, our mauri transforms, we will return our physical selves to her and the circle is complete. People are born of the whenua but they never own it. We are but the caretakers. It is our ability to manaaki whenua that affords us our sense of wellbeing and prestige; our mana. That is encapsulated in the whakatauki I have referred to in this chapter, *ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au* – speaking of the inseparability between people and the whenua. This is what gives us a sense of place and builds Mana Tangata.

## Mana Tangata

Mana Tangata is the power invested in the human person. This links directly back to Mana Aotūroa. *He tangata, He atua* is a phrase that denotes our dual nature as being both physical and celestial. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere speaks about this dual energy that exists within us, saying, “I am human, I am divine” (Pere, 2009). In our physical form we connect to Te Aotūroa and are one in the same with everything in the universe (Pere, 2009). This is where we give expression to our physical essence or Te Ira tangata. It acknowledges the human in both our physical and our more-than-physical attributes. *Te Whatu Pōkeka: Kaupapa Māori Assessment for Learning ECE exemplars (Te Whatu Pōkeka)* speaks of mana, as well as mauri and wairua as the essential essences of the human person. It challenges teachers to consider how their practice and the curriculum support te mana o te tamaiti, te mauri o te tamaiti, te wairua o te tamaiti (Ministry of Education, 2009). This is the source of Te ira atua (our divine essence). It is through wairua that we are able to move across time and link up with our tupuna, who we sometimes carry and who sometimes carry us. *Te Whatu Pōkeka* reminds teachers to centre the child within the context of their whakapapa, acknowledging that the child does not arrive into the education system alone, but is flanked by generations of their tūpuna. Within and through their whakapapa lies Mana Tangata.

### *Te ihi, te wehi, te wana*

As a child there was a chant we used to 'stomp' to on the whenua. It was a game to me then; a rhythmic tongue twister. I had no conscious understanding of what I was chanting.

Taku mana, taku mana,

Taku mana motuhake,

Taku ihi, taku wehi, taku wana!

Whaea Rangimārie broke into this chant on my first meeting with her nearly 40 years later. I was transported straight back to my childhood! Her opening line in her Keynote address in Taumarunui “Love yourself to the enth degree! If you can't love yourself, how can you expect anyone else to love you! You are divine, a miracle in expression. There is no one on this earth like you - you are unique.” (Pere, 2009). And suddenly I understood the chant and why my mother smiled to herself as we stomped around speaking of our divine authority invested in us through our tūpuna!

Notions of 'self' are not individual within the concept of Mana Tangata. Stewart (2020) discussed Māori ideas of self as engendering 'every part of being Māori in thought and

action'. This will include the whakapapa that we carry and the whenua we descend from. Teachers working with tamariki in a framework that acknowledges te mana o te tangata, uphold and foster the child's uniqueness, and support their sense of collective belonging to Papatūānuku.

Activating Mana Tangata or any of the Māori concepts within *Te Whāriki*, does not need to apply solely to the Māori learner but can inform a pedagogy of practice. *Te Wheke* was posited by whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1991) as a view of humanity, not her view of Māori! It is a philosophy that has been handed down through ancient teachings that go back 12,000 years and link us back up to the time of Hawaiki, according to whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere. She was a passionate conservationist, a tohunga with in-depth knowledge of, taiao, te ao Māori, and ngā atua Māori. She was a matakite *and* she was an academic, a teacher and philosopher, a healer and world recognised social scientist. She delivered *Te Wheke* (1991, 1997) globally and it has been embraced in countries such as Japan, Germany and Canada. So it is narrow minded and naïve to think that *Te Wheke* has no application beyond Māori. I give thanks our great visionary leader and educator, Whaea Rose, for the knowledge she passed on, in particular of the plant world and of the female atua.

*Mihi aroha*

*E te Rangatira, e kore e mutu aku mihi aroha mo tou koha aroha ki te ao. Ngā whakawhetai mo ou pūkenga me ngā taonga katoa i homai. Nō reira, e te rangatira, te mareikura, moe mai, moe mai, moe mai ra. Aio ki te aorangi.*

*The theoretical trajectories of the vision of Te Whāriki*

The Ministry of Education has shown its intention to support the continual revival of te reo Māori. Issues emerge, the solutions to which need to be found through wānanga and dialogue as arguments rage on both sides of the continuum regarding non-Māori appropriating Māori knowledge. I have concerns about this myself. It is arguably within this space that teachers need to be prepared to engage in order to progress authentic and agentic bi-cultural practice. In order to achieve this, there have been multiple and repeated calls for early childhood teachers and/or (ITE) programmes to strengthen commitment to developing competencies in te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori (Ka'ai, 2004; Nepe, 1991; Rameka, 2017; Rau & Ritchie, 2005; Ritchie & Rau, 2006; Ritchie & Skerrett, 2019; Skerrett, 2007, 2018; Walker, 2008). There are numerous Ministry of Education and Government Print publications, curriculum documents and cultural competency frameworks that can guide teachers. Despite the shortcomings and criticisms of the revised edition of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017), the philosophical framework of *Te Whāriki*, particularly if it

pairs with the Kaupapa Māori Assessment for Learning framework for early childhood education, *Te Whatu Pōkeka* (Ministry of Education, 2009) has the transformative potential to holistically engage and support early childhood teachers to develop and work within in an education framework underpinned by Māori philosophy (Rameka, 2017). The problems lie with interpretation and implementation. This is reinforced by Rita Walker, key author of *Te Whatu Pōkeka* (2009). Gillian Fitzgerald, facilitator in the (2015) Professional Leadership Project recalled a comment made by whaea Rita Walker that instead of spending time trying to translate reo Māori, time should instead be spent interpreting it. In her view Māori language is (a) taonga because every word has a whakapapa (of) where it has come from” (Fitzgerald, 2015, p.3) This adds weight to the teachings of whaea Rangimarie Rose Pere (1994, 1997, 2009) in relation to the depth that is conveyed through te reo Māori.

*The unrealised trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as localised theory*

Here I share an insight into what I have experienced when teachers and communities in mainstreamed education do not see it appropriate for them to engage in Māori knowledge. My experience is that they often cite cultural reasons, and sometimes, religious reasons. A Kaupapa Māori view is that the cultural context for engaging in mātauranga Māori is geographic. Māori knowledge is part of the wider pool of Polynesian and Oceanic knowledge *and* is geographically, linguistically, socioculturally and sociopolitically relevant to anyone living in Aotearoa.

Further, it may be possible to suggest that there is an over-proliferation and persistent theorisation of *Te Whāriki* and early childhood and ECE in Aotearoa by academics and scholars based on Western knowledge. With all the best intentions to draw on, and contribute to, contemporary research in ECE studies, this may be contributing to the ongoing confusion about how to implement the bi-cultural vision of *Te Whāriki* within a localised context that includes Māori ontological perspectives. Perhaps it is time to ask whether Western knowledge is still afforded greater status or seen as more relevant than Indigenous Māori, Pacific and Oceanic theories here in Te-moana-nui-a-Kiwa – the Pacific Ocean. Neo-colonial, Euro-centric idealism is detrimental to Māori knowledge. For example, there is a growing body of work in ECE in Aotearoa highlighting concerns that the Anthropocene is the greatest threat to our survival. There are mounting calls for immediate action to halt further stress on the Earth. This is increasingly considered a planetary imperative. Located within critical theory, posthuman theory is an emerging theory appearing in childhood studies, influenced by the seminal work of feminist author, Rosi Braidotti (2013), who proposes posthuman theory to identify the intersection or entanglements between philosophy, science and technology and philosophies of 'subjects'. A theorist from Latisana, Italy,

Braidotti utilises post-humanism to imagine and theorise life with and beyond human existence. This is a growing narrative in Aotearoa. Tesar and Arndt (2019) for example, call for a reconceptualisation of *Te Whāriki* through a post-human childhood studies lens.

The application of sociomateriality and posthumanism are useful and maybe necessary for people who do not have existing theories or sciences to explain relationships *and* interactions with *and* within the 'more-than-human' spaces that occupy the universe. Examples of that are the unspoken interactions that occur in arts-based learning and learning triggered by memory through the senses, such as touch and smell. So too, the cognitive embodied space of dance, music and movement. However, Māori do have a system for conceptualising these things. Māori approaches and relationships with the 'more-than-human' world are already clearly established and evident in whakatauki, pūrākau and whakapapa. The lack of attention paid to the limitations of posthumanist theories of sociomateriality, particularly to understand the already intricately connected interrelationships the child has when viewed through a Māori lens, adds weight to the question, how well do teachers in Aotearoa understand the depth of knowledge available to them through mātauranga Māori within *Te Whāriki* (2017) and *Te Whatu Pōkeka* (2009)? Māori science *and* Western science are not interchangeable; all cultures have their own 'truths' about the creation of the world and human relationships within it. But the enduring tendency of explaining *Te Whāriki* through a series of Western theories overlooks Māori knowledge systems, which are in many ways eminently more appropriate for the context of Aotearoa. Māori knowledge carries with it a deep and rich body of language for discussing more-than-human experiences and interrelationships between people, place, space, material objects, nature and time. Concepts, such as whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, mana, mauri, wairua, Te Ira Tangata and Te Ira Atua are part of a language of interconnectivity with the universe that has existed for over ten thousand years (Pere, 2009). It is this knowledge system that has helped us to develop in-depth understandings of kaitiakitanga for the resources of the Earth.

#### *Reimagining childhood through mātauranga Māori*

Early Childhood educator and researcher, Professor Jenny Ritchie's work affirmed the value of Māori knowledge for theorising and reimagining childhood in the Anthropocene (Ritchie, 2018). Māori creation stories carry a whakapapa of everything in the universe. That whakapapa positions us within a respectful relationship with the maunga, the awa, the rocks, the oceans, the animal kingdom, the flora and fauna, and the taonga (as opposed to 'things' as they are called in posthumanist theory) that are rendered from the resources of

Papatūānuku. In that sense, Māori knowledge can be categorised along the lines of complexity that existed long before Western scientists began to realise that reductionism in science did not assist their research to understand complex ecological systems. Jenny Ritchie's (2018) critique of anthropocentric practices suggests that Indigenous knowledge, such as the knowledge contained in *Te Whāriki* may recentre the wellbeing of the Earth. I cautiously agree with this view and suggest that it timely for researchers and academics to put time into scholarly pursuit into deepening understandings of mātauranga Māori.

It is possible that the enduring tendency to theorise *Te Whāriki* along the lines of western knowledge and so away from mātauranga Māori, could in fact, be hindering the actualisation of the bi-cultural vision held for early childhood. This may also hinder the transformational potential of *Te Whāriki* to address and meaningfully support Manaaki whenua in the Anthropocene. This is reinforced by Kepa (2015), who believes that it is beholden on teachers to have a working knowledge of tikanga Māori, and a respect and willingness to learn and gain knowledge of spiritual values, which he believes need to be taught with respect.

#### *Kaupapa Māori as hauora*

There are other ways that Kaupapa Māori exerts influence in a fast-paced and constantly changing world, which is increasingly under threat. In this section, I tell how implementing daily practices of hauora connected me to knowledge that in turn reconnected me to hauora, hau ora, te hau o ra (to my sense of total wellbeing). This came about through a pedagogical decision to practise hauora daily, in order to be able to practise it authentically online with students during the outbreak of Coronavirus disease 2019 caused by an outbreak of SARS-CoV-2 resulting in what has become known as the Covid-19 lockdown. Over night all our teaching was moved to on-line delivery. This augured in a new strand of learning that took me down a whole new road. Māori knowledge finds you when you have the ability to understand the depth. Until then, it remains locked up because the whakapapa of all our knowledge is conveyed through te reo Māori and is carried through wairua. For me, an unintended outcome of Mate Korona (Covid-19) was the opportunity to reconnect to Papatūānuku and to be in embodied learning with her.

#### ***Hā ki roto***

Breathing in deeply of the divine breath, the essence, the very tone of the universe, **preparing to receive ...**

#### ***Hā ki waho***

Exhaling – release. Gifting back the utterance of the sacred tone, breathing out until all that remains is the sacredness

#### ***Hā ki waho***

I centre myself back to the divine umbilical cord **that connects me to the Earth**

*Tuwhera ki Ranginui ta māua ki Papatūānuku*

I stretch out, opening up to the energies of my divine parents, **embracing my eternal source**

*Ko te pito*

Exhaling – release. Gifting back the utterance of the sacred tone, breathing out until all that remains is **the sacredness**

*Ko te pito*

Drawing my whakapapa right back in – **grounding**

*Puritia te mauri*

I grasp on to the divine spark, embracing my innate power, igniting my unique being **holding on ...**

*Hei oranga wairua*

Activating deep connectedness, turning towards the sacred source, returning to the **cherishing waters**

*Hei oranga hinengaro*

Summoning forth the hidden mother, remembering, **soothing, calming, nurturing**

*Hei oranga tinana*

Energising body, actioning movement – stretching up and out, **alignment begins**

*Hei oranga whanau*

Supporting a continual flow of love and light towards and within relations, healing, **holding up, restoring**

*Ko te pito*

I draw my whakapapa right back in, grounded to **my universal and divine source**

*Hoki ki muri ko ngā tupuna*

Reaching back to the sacred knowledge and gifts of our ancestors – **honouring**

*Anga ki mua ko ngā uri whakatipu*

I remember, I know, I breathe, I am

*Kia mau te hauora, kia tau te waiora*

*Tihei Mauri ora !*

An unintended, or perhaps unforeseen outcome of this daily practice was the activation of te taha wairua within me. I would describe it as awakening to another level of consciousness, possibly activated through hinengaro (Pere, 1997). This did not occur as an epiphany, or a

sudden vision and I do not think I am fully awake or aware yet. It seems that wairua also works rhizomatically, at least that is how it is occurring in my spirit. An example of that is in the piece above. I did not realise at the time of writing, that two pieces of prose had emerged, rhizomatically. The second line of each of the English translations can also be read as a coherent discussion of Ko Te Pito *and* a guideline for managing hauora during the pandemic. Wairua!

*Ka rere te wairua – the spirit flows*

Working in my back yard, looking out over the Wairau, part of the Whau River which I have lived alongside most of my life, in the practice of ‘Ko te Pito’, one day I received a single word, clearly and unexpectedly in my mind: ‘Porotiti’. It took me a while to understand but, once I did, I assumed it was a call from Tāwhiri-mātea. Since I was doing breath work, I supposed my mind made a subconscious connection to Porotiti (a spinning instrument that creates a whirring sound).

THERE'S A NATURAL MYSTIC BLOWING IN THE AIR  
IF YOU LISTEN CAREFULLY NOW  
YOU WILL HEAR

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1977c, track 1)

**[n]** contacted my brethren, Craig Dan from the tribe of Dan, who I heard had become a skilled craftsman in the art of making taonga puoro. Within weeks, I had a porotiti. Dan taught me how to use my new taonga and shared with me that the vibrations made by the porotiti were used by skilled practitioners to lift hupe (phlegm) off babies' chests. Breath work! I had no idea when I asked for one. I thought I would use it as a meditative instrument.

From what I learned from Rasta Dan, **[n]** set about working with porotiti and discovered the healing power of taonga puoro. Not deliberately. Up until that point, I did not even understand the connection between our taonga puoro and healing; I assumed they were instruments. I should have realised that there would be a deeper kōrero behind taonga pūoro, given that everything in te ao Māori, including Māori tools, has mauri and so, has a whakapapa (Harrison et al., 2004). It is also here that I came into the knowledge of Hine Raukatauri and the world of ngā atua wāhine started to reveal herself further through taonga pūoro, assisted by a male! It falls beyond the scope of my knowledge to do justice to this in-depth whakapapa yet. However, this is an example of Kaupapa Māori as embodied experience through music.

Connecting *a- wairua*, at spirit level through whakapapa and communication. It all began with the daily activation of 'Ko te Pito'. Te pito – the source. This is where you take your physical form. My pito connected me to my mother. There, I was nurtured and my whakapapa ties were cemented. Bound together with my iwi through the rauru, the umbilical cord that secured me and nurtured me. Te taurahere tapu, the sacred thread of my whakapapa once connected my mother to my grandmother, to my great grandmother, back to Papatūānuku. Ko te pito!

*The language of my mother is te reo Māori.*

*She holds me up and comforts me in the physical realm, soothing me,  
calming my distress, rocks me gently in her loving embrace.*

*I relax into her love, feel the heartbeat, my breath becomes one with  
hers, my startled wails settle and are replaced by gentle breaths*

*My language is awakening my desire to communicate with my mother  
grows, I breathe out, I speak –*

*Tihei mauri ora*

## Summary

This chapter revealed a complex Māori ontological view of the sacred spaces of the Earth and how these are upheld through whakapapa. The impact of human activity on the Earth and the environmental threats that are endangering the balance of nature in the Anthropocene were highlighted. Global environmental changes are threatening Indigenous peoples' cultural practices and reliance on the land for physical, cultural and spiritual sustenance. The extraction of resources that has driven Western Industrialism is not sustainable and is no longer viable.

This chapter also identified that, in Aotearoa, people who have no direct whakapapa ties have become entangled in the land and feel a sense of Kaitiakitanga towards their local geographies. I drew on an example in my own community to highlight the tensions that this creates between Māori and Pākehā, which has caused me to rethink whether Aotearoa truly is a bi-cultural nation and how invested both Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti are in achieving that. Who benefits? How is the whenua being positioned in the bi-cultural relationship? The land is our point of connection. Where is her voice? Who speaks for her? Who decides? The assemblage of the state is culpable for the mounting cultural tensions by absolving itself from engagement and passing consultation on to Māori-appointed boards

who may or may not be direct descendants of the land in question. They may not be local residents, but are themselves entangled with geographies of this land by whakapapa. There are incommensurable differences that need to be mediated with care and respect to all people. The government has a duty to work authentically with Māori communities and actively support Māori governance frameworks to be developed by Māori that lead to more meaningful engagement processes with whole communities as a way to recentre consideration for Papatūānuku.

In discussing the role of education in the Anthropocene, this chapter has highlighted that Kaupapa Māori can support communities to envision sustainability strategies and future direction in Aotearoa in the Anthropocene period. The potential exists through the ECE curriculum framework for Kaupapa Māori theory to evolve as a national educational paradigm. Whilst there are academic calls for this, there are also reservations. I am skeptical of our national preparedness to move to a Māori education framework but believe there is an urgent need to consider the benefits to Papatūānuku. The pedagogical enablers of Kaupapa Māori approaches were also highlighted in the way my development as a teacher has been supported by Māori teachers and elders in education. The role they play and their influence in shaping my understandings of mātauranga Māori and pedagogy provided insights into the way Kaupapa Māori in education can evolve to pay greater attention to the role of our elders as the pūkenga or wisdom holders, who can have immense influence on classroom culture and the implementation of mātauranga Māori. On this final point regarding mātauranga Māori, a critical finding from this chapter has been the realisation of how much of te ao Māori is revealed 'a-wairua' – that is, at spirit or super-conscious level (Pere, 2009) and that is connected to te reo Māori.

## UPOKO TUAONO

### Kaupapa Māori as Lived Experience of Decolonisation

The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor

Is the mind of the oppressed

(Bantu Stephen Biko 1946-1977)

#### Entanglements and rhizomes

In this chapter, I am pulling a lot of threads together. These threads constitute issues that have emerged rhizomatically from the preceding chapters as I explored the trajectories of kaupapa Māori as lived experience. The issues show both the wide reach of colonisation on the lives of generations of Māori and the expanse of territory that Kaupapa Māori as a decolonising process has participated in. The influence of Western theory, culture and histories on our lived realities as Māori in the post-Tiriti context of Aotearoa is undeniable. I have demonstrated how G. H. Smith (1997) drew on Western theory in the development of Kaupapa Māori theory. I have also incorporated Western theory in this study showing the flexibility of Kaupapa Māori theory to support the pursuit of knowledge that will benefit Māori. Sharing examples of my work to date as a teacher has highlighted Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis in education and provided opportunities to consider how Kaupapa Māori might be developed and understood; the focus of research question one.

The key issues that have emerged from previous chapters are summarised here: Māori ontological knowledge; colonisation; language loss; resistance and liberation; identity and intersubjectivity; the future of education and educational leadership; environmental wellbeing and sustainable futures. In this chapter, I take a lived experience lens and address them as an assemblage of education, drawing on the work of American sociologist, C. Wright Mills (1959), whose seminal work on the concept of the sociological imagination is still considered one of the greatest contributions to the field of radical sociology. Mills (1959) proposes that, rather than taking a microscopic view of troublesome knowledge as people's private 'troubles', or as unconnected milieus, we have to be able to name and recognise the impact of structural practices on people's lives. In this chapter I explore my lived experience of colonisation and the reflect on the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as a process of decolonisation. Drawing on Mills' use of radical sociology may also make a contribution to

Kaupapa Māori theory as a political and educational force, which holds possibilities to inform the next generation; the focus of research question two.

In Upoko tuarua, I outlined Kaupapa Māori as a framework that enables researchers to position themselves as constructed beings seeking to decolonise their selfhood in relation to historical, philosophical and sociological forces (Hoskins, 2017). I discussed the goal of postformalism (Kincheloe, 2005) to understand the complex and unpredictable influences that shape social constructions of the world and the impact of those on shaping constructions of the self. I address this using Mills' (1959) concept of the sociological imagination to identify the interconnectivity between history and biography. This chapter constitutes a sum of many parts. In the pursuit of understanding the entangled global networks that threaten to be the new colonising force in this world, I follow Mills' proposed approach and seek to draw on multiple sources of knowledge, understanding and critique. Importantly, I share my story, for this is a reality that is playing out in my lifetime. As Mills states, "they are a part of me" (p. 223). Therefore, I seek to better understand my constructions of myself as shaped by history.

I use whanaungatanga as an intermezzo as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) use the conjunction *and* to identify the intersubjectivities between time and space, and between people and place. Whanaungatanga constitutes a multiplicity of trajectories where histories meet biographies and geographies. Implicit in this, is "the assumption that relationships of the past construct the present" (Devine, 2000, p. 25). Devine elaborates that, whilst history lacks physical form, change can occur intellectually. It is in this space that the possibility of thinking differently and making a difference to the future occurs. *Ur-sprung* is the ability to think the *un-thought* (that which has not yet been thought) by bringing history with you as you create a new pattern of thought (Devine, 2000). Every endeavour starts with thought; *ur-sprung* entails envisaging a different future, not by relinquishing our past, but by bringing it into the present. This marries with whakapapa kōrero which is more than just whakapapa; it is the identification of relational existence and interconnectedness (T. Smith, 2000). This chapter likewise seeks to think the unthought; to find the *ur-sprung* and imagine a different future.

I pull Kaupapa Māori and postformal research methods together to explore the impact of biography on cognition at both an individual and a wider macro level. I commence at the point of self. Constructions of self are formed through whakapapa. Since my whakapapa links me to Ngāpuhi, Europe and the British Isles, I draw on a range of theorists who can enable an understanding of the life and times of my immediate and primary influences; my Ngāpuhi mother *and* my Dutch father. Both my parents were raised by parents who had been in two

world wars. Both also lived through the great depression and World War II. Both had experienced violent rupture, occupation of their homelands and forced migration in search of new beginnings. Their commonalities were greater than can be viewed through a single lens alone. While Western intellectualism often highlights the differences between cultures, Māori approaches are concerned with the connections. This is evident through practices, such as whanaungatanga and whakapapa. Whakapapa seeks to identify the relationship between people and place, across time *and* space. Drawing on whakapapa kōrero (T. Smith, 2000) as storytelling, I retrace aspects of the history of colonisation and oppression as lived experience as an assemblage of state domination as it played out in my parents' lives and consider the intergenerational impact of their experiences. I have not undertaken an authoritative historical account of colonisation, opting instead to locate my history in the "history of the present" (Devine, 2000, p. 19). There is a slight tension in opting for this method. Foucault (1977) is critical of genealogies that locate 'origins' as it implies a primordial, pure source of truth. However, under colonisation, Indigenous people are often reduced to a position of needing to validate their sources of knowledge and legitimate their origins (L. T. Smith, 1999). For ngā iwi Māori, who had our sources of truth violently ruptured through colonisation, the origins of truth are recorded through whakapapa kōrero. This is how we retrace our footsteps on the earth, our histories of belonging. Indigenous peoples including Māori, who live relationally with the earth, lived in harmony with nature and strove to leave no 'footprint' on their Mother. In so doing, minimal architectural impact on the land is made, so retracing our genealogies and bringing our ancestors forward into the present (Devine, 2000) is often our only way to prove that we have a history beyond and before what colonial settlers and writers of history were willing to record.

#### *The sociological imagination*

The sociological imagination represents what Wright Mills refers to as a working model of a social system (p. 25). It involves looking at societal structures as a whole and the way the institutions that comprise that society shape the character of the individual. In order for a person to actively resist a process, they need to first recognise it. To do that, Mills believes that people first need to connect their private troubles with public issues in order to be liberated from them. Like so many of the theorists who wrote in the post-war period, Mills was undoubtedly affected by the war, which caused a rupture in the psyche of many young affected Europeans. Young European theorists, like Deleuze, Guattari, Foucault and Bourdieu were greatly disillusioned; everything they ever knew about humanity and the concept of a fair and just world, and a merciful God was tested. I realised a remote and vicarious connection to my own history was that these writers were all affected by events in history

that had also shaped both my parents' upbringing. I wanted to understand more deeply Mills' (1959) premise that societal structures shape the character of individuals. In the next sections, I apply sociological imagination by considering the impact of war through the lens of my father's life as a child growing up in Holland during World War II.

*Het verhaal van mijn vader – Wilhelmus Johannes Lensen*



My father, Wilhelmus Johannes Lensen (Wim) was born in Zwolle, Holland in 1932. His mother, Hendrika Lensen Hageman (Oma Lensen-Hageman), was a native Zwollenaar. His father, Hugo Lensen (Opa Lensen), was from the province of Gelderland, directly neighbouring Germany.



My father was the first of five children. He was born in Assendorper Straat<sup>14</sup> in the centre of Zwolle. He was seven years old when the Nazi soldiers marched into Holland and occupied it. Most of my father's stories of childhood centred around his experiences of growing up through war and the aftermath of that.

When he was about ten years old, the family relocated to a town called Twello in Gelderland; my grandfather's (Opa Lensen's) native province. They went to assist my great grandfather with the family hotel. And so, Opa packed up his family in the middle of the war and moved away from my grandmother, Oma Lensen's home of Overijssel.

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<sup>14</sup> Image retrieved <https://images.app.goo.gl/nwN3hfxcdfu1htu4A>

Nazi occupation of the hotel<sup>15</sup> kept the family relatively safe, but not exempt from attack. Once, German sniper planes flew over Twello, peppering the town with bullets. Oma could only watch from the atrium ensuring the safety of the other children as my father hugged himself to a tree that dominated the courtyard to avoid being hit by bullets. Dad never told



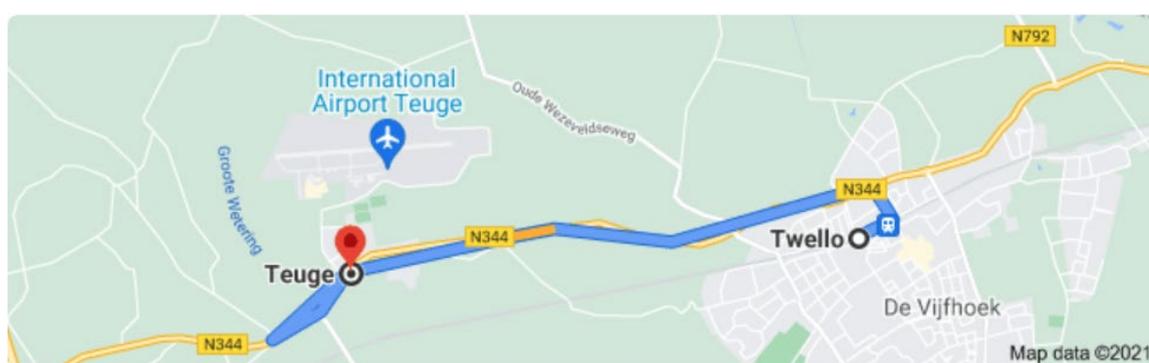
me this. Many years later when we went back to Twello in 1972, my father's first trip home since leaving, my uncle pointed out the tree and told us the story. Standing back on the lands of his childhood triggered so many memories of his family's strategies for getting through the war for my father. Always a storyteller, he was now speaking his histories over the land he had once had to protect and that stored thousands of years of history for him before he migrated.

The Germans conscripted young Dutch people to fight for them and often did not return. My father's uncle, (Oom) George was taken in this manner and ended up as a prisoner of war. After the war, ten years after he was first seized, Oom George made it back home. It was the most amazing story of survival. My father was profoundly affected by how emaciated Oom George was. Likewise, when the soldiers occupied the hotel, they took all the blankets and left the occupants of the hotel shivering and huddling together at night for warmth. Recalling this, Dad recounted that when you are so cold you are freezing to death; you become very sleepy, and you just seem to dream and drift off. He informed us he had decided as a child that this was going to be his method of death if he needed to select one! So profound was the impact of war on a seven-year-old child.

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<sup>15</sup> Hotel van Enter in Twello, where my father lived from the time they left Zwolle, until he migrated. To the right of the hotel, beside the atrium, the tree that shielded my father from bullets during the Nazi occupation of Holland can be seen. <https://images.app.goo.gl/89bykZ5YE>

The town of Twello was not far from Teuge, a major airfield in his province (refer to the following map). My father was in awe of the activity of the sky. When he came to Aotearoa, he pursued this fascination and took up parachuting. We grew up close to Ardmore Airport and spent many weekends plane spotting and watching skydiving together. He knew the sounds of different planes and could differentiate between them. Standing in the land of his childhood and hearing the stories of his young life for the first time, I remember being overwhelmed to realise his childhood memories were largely centred on war. Reflecting back, I now wonder if being back in relational space triggered those memories for him to speak about it. His adult interests certainly remained connected with the impact of war on a young boy.



Map of Teuge Airfield today

The war ended when my father was 12–13 years old. He vividly remembered the celebrations in the streets that lasted for days. But this was mixed with sadness, grief and confusion as the Dutch had to come to grips with towns that had been completely rased to the ground and people dislocated. There was the horror of comprehending what had happened to the Jewish families of Holland.

#### History meets biography

After Nazi Germany fell and World War II ended, the Dutch and Germans restored their relationship, presumably through a reconciliatory process that occurred over years. My father left Holland about five years after the war ended and was not part of those years of recovery and reconciliation. The impact of the war on him was not openly evident to me as a child on a day-to-day basis. The realisation of how it impacted on him came from going back to Holland and learning of his life as he recounted his lived experiences of the war. Reflecting on my first encounter with German people at the age of 11, I realised how the stories my father told me about the war affected me. This brought an understanding of how intergenerational trauma works; again, it is at the point where history and biography meet.

According to Pere (1991), trauma lies within the cellular memory. If unaddressed, it will resurface insidiously.

All the same, my father developed great resilience as a result of the hardships he endured. I remember feeling like he was eternally preparing for every disaster; he had a tool for every need, an escape plan for every scenario *and* survival skills for every terrain! It is only now that I realise his preparedness might have been the outcome of his childhood experience of war in Nazi-occupied Holland. My father's views were very left wing; he believed in holding people in positions of authority to account. He held the government responsible for much of the unrest we witnessed on the streets of Auckland in the 1960s and 1970s during the Vietnam War protests and the closure of many South Auckland factories, resulting in mass unemployment and rising community unrest in the area. He was suspicious of all politicians, and he cared deeply about the resources of the earth. He was passionate about the natural world. Even in the 1960s, he was taking the Auckland City Council to task for their mismanagement of water and land in Aotearoa, which he said was only possible because of our relative isolation and scattered population. His theories about the future of our world in relation to sustainability and the standard of living, and his wrath at economic greed, which he viewed as creating elitist societies seemed beyond my imagination as a young person, and even beyond his own group, some who found my father's views a little too radical. But I wonder now, about his grasp of structural forces and systems within those structures. Was this the result of going through the war years? The same war years as sociologists, such as Deleuze, Guattari, Foucault, Bourdieu and Mills? Perhaps it was the unfathomable destruction of people and place witnessed as a child that caused my father to challenge bureaucratic constructions of human order and question the meaning of human existence in later life. Was it the impact of coming to a land so pristine, unpopulated and full of promise at that time that released him from the regulated structure and predictable future of career inheritance of provincial Holland that caused him to speak up against oppressive work and political practices? Had my father internalised the effects of war to be his 'private trouble'? Would he have sought a new beginning? Coming to understand the times and impact of war on key theorists referred to in this study gave me greater insight into my father's somewhat radical stance. At the same time, my father's experiences of war and how people responded to it gave me insights into the conditions in which key theorists were writing.

I then asked myself whether and how those experiences had any resonance to the impact of war on my mother and how she experienced it. And what the impact on me could have been. Dad's Dutch values were so vastly different from my mother's Māori values in so many ways

and yet aspects of their experiences complemented each other. My father protected Māori language and culture more than anyone else I knew as a child. I am beginning to wonder if this too was due to the threat to his own culture and language during the Nazi occupation in Holland in World War II. He was adamant that my younger brother and I should access Māori and Dutch, and actively supported my mother and her children as we struggled to reclaim what had been relinquished by my mother and her whānau many years earlier to be successful in a Pākehā world. Leading on from Mills' (1959) view that resistance requires us to 'position ourselves within' as social actors in order to fully understand the mechanisms of our oppression, I retell the story of that time through a second lens, provided through the lived experiences of my mother, growing up in the Pacific, in colonised Aotearoa during the same war.

*Te kōrero o tōku whaea: The story of my mother*

*Ko Ngatokimatawhaorua te waka*

*Ko Nukutawhiti te Tangata*

*Ko Whatitiri te maunga*

*Ko Waipao te awa*

*Ko Ngāpuhi me Ngāti Hine ā Hine ā maru ngā iwi*

*Ko Te Uriroroi, Te Parawhau Te mahurehure ki Whatitiri ngā hapū*

*Ko Maungarongo te marae*

*Ko Kataraina (Kaa) Rako rāua ko Eruera Taa Heta ngā tūpuna mātua*

*Ko Norma Lillian Ruhi (Lu) Taa Heta rāua ko Vivian Dudley (Red) Hayward ngā mātua*

*Ko Marian Mavis Caroline (Buddy) Heta-Hayward te tamāhine matāmua*

My mother, Marian (Buddy) Lensen nee Heta-Hayward, was born in Porotī in the Ngāpuhi region of Mangakahia in 1932. She was born during the depression on the family papa kāinga and returned there at her death. Porotī is her tūrangawaewae. She was the eldest of seven of her parents' children, and one of nine children in total. Her childhood was unremarkable in that the depression affected many families in this country. Hardship, joblessness and helping to support a large family were typical for working class rural families in that time, particularly if you were the eldest or female; certainly if you were Māori. However, aspects of her lived experience as a child of mixed whakapapa and how that affected the way the family was treated during the hardships of the period of a world at war provides a window into how society viewed interracial marriage in my mother's time. My grandfather, a second generation Pākehā, was not able to get government assistance during the 1930's depression that left so many working-class families struggling to provide food and shelter for their

families because he was married to a Māori. The government's rationale was that Māori could return to the land to live. Ironically, land in my mother's area, once rich in kauri forest (Cyclopedia of New Zealand, 1902), was now land declared useless by the government and returned back, by ballot, to eligible Māori families once all the kauri had been extracted. It was barren, flood-prone mud. Having been deforested, the land was uneven due to the craters that remained after the last of the gum was extracted from the ground. As inland dwellers, my mother's people lost their primary food sources from the forest. My mother vividly recalled her mother breaking back in the land from morning to night with a horse-drawn plough to make it prosperous again. And still my grandfather got no assistance for having children with a Māori woman. The family grew large and my grandfather (known as Dadad to his moko) took work wherever he could to supplement their meagre earnings as farmers, often leaving my grandmother (Mumum) and my great grandmother (Granma) to run whatever farm they were living on at the time as share milkers. This left my mother to keep house. She was cooking full family meals by the age of six! Her ability to manaaki manuhiri (feed anyone who walked through the door) was honed in the years she helped to feed a large, extended whānau. This too was not unusual, particularly amongst Māori. I recently spoke to my Mum's sister about the division of labour amongst the siblings. She recalled that my mother was the family cook, pragmatically because she was the eldest, but also because she did not show an interest in outdoor work. The next aunty down was given the job of caring for their grandmother, Kaa Rako (Granma) because she could understand te reo Māori better than the other children. My aunty came next in line and her job was to help Mumum in the garden; she became the family green finger. Now in her 80s, she remains in that capacity in our whānau. So on through the family, she listed each sibling's assigned responsibility. Each child's roles in the family were based on my grandmother's observation of their strengths and traits; this is a very typical approach to selection used by Māori that endures from iwi, to hapū and now I see also within whānau groupings as well. Ranginui Walker (1990) has written about how children were largely selected to become experts in their fields based on the elders' observations of the innate abilities and dispositions they demonstrated. This is one example I could glean from my family to demonstrate that their lives were, in fact, more influenced by a Māori ontology than perhaps can be seen at first glance. This may be because so much of our embodied experience as cultural beings is lived rather than reflected upon (Foucault, 1977; Freire, 1972; Mills, 1959). War also seemed to have less effect on Māori constructs of whānau than our country's own colonial policies that continued to apply systematic pressure on Māori.

Like my father, my mother was 13 when World War II ended. Her stories of the war differed from my father's, whose country and its citizens had all been collectively caught up in the thick of European combat. Aotearoa mainly experienced the full impact of war vicariously through our lost soldiers and soldiers who returned to their loved ones and communities that had not been directly involved in the war and did not fully comprehend what the New Zealand troops had been through. However, the rupture (Mills, 1959) caused to Māori by government urbanisation policies as part of an active process of assimilation of Māori (Hemara, 2000) that continued during the depression and the war years was also violent for Māori, resulting in a range of health, education, economic and housing disparities, which can actually be traced back to before World War I (Moewaka-Barns & McCreanor, 2019) and continues to the present day.

The differences between my parents' experiences of war were undeniably different based on geography. However, I perceive another difference in their experiences once the war ended. For my father, there was a period of restructure and restoration between affected countries and Germany. For Māori, the impact of colonisation continued in their lives just as it had done prior to the war. How did my mother respond? Was she able to make sense of the structural forces that maintained a position of dominance over Māori? In the following section I look at my mother's lived experience of colonisation.

#### Growing up

My mother remembered her marae as a place where young children enjoyed great freedom, but once inside the whareniui, they knew they were expected to sit quietly, observe and listen to the proceedings of kaupapa occurring. This was also my experience of our marae during childhood. In recent years, this has been greatly relaxed and I love to see the way the young tamariki are encouraged to be more involved where appropriate. Whilst I fret somewhat about how we will retain our ways into the future, I respect our kaumātua for recognising the changing world that our mokopuna are living in and the need to help them feel a sense of connection with their marae, particularly if they do not live in the area.



Maungarongo Marae, Porotī

Karakia and (Catholic) church were a big part of life for families in the Porotī area and children learned the discipline of the art of karakia and āta whakarongo, āta titiro in multiple ways around the marae. That too has relaxed amongst the young families. It was not that way, however, when my mother was young. She remembers women speaking at the marae and the order of seating was quite different in that there was no taumata in those days. She recalled that tangi processes were also much longer and she maintained that Kaumatua were both male and female and did not hold with the notion that a kuia was the female role to the male role of kaumatua, as has been popularised. The point about seating is an important one. In the absence of an orator's platform, people stood to speak from wherever they were within the whare. I do not know why this would have been since there was high fluency in the area at that time. But it confirms that women, as my mother always maintained, stood at her marae and spoke in her childhood. I am aware that this point could be explored in greater depth. However, beyond commenting about the way colonisation subjugated constructions of wāhine Māori, I have opted not to pursue exploration of this as part of a doctoral study. That is local knowledge that needs to be understood by going back to the marae and seeking permission.

#### School

My mother attended school sporadically, partly due to the transience of the whanau, and partly due to the need to provide support on the farm or with her siblings. This was not unusual in rural areas in those times. The school conditions and childhood of Mum's younger siblings differed considerably from her own and those of her older siblings, who had spent much longer on the papa kāinga and growing up in rural Northland. This preserve in my mother a sense of who she was as Ngāpuhi. Even though she rarely spoke te reo Māori, my mother grasped it more than any of us gave her credit for. A progressive woman, my mother never-the-less assumed the role of matāmua and tuakana to her siblings and was devoted to

her whānau. She was also an independent and strong woman. Once married, she continued to work, despite my father's and society's differing views about the place of women in the 1960s and 1970s! At the age of 83, my mother was still working as a doctor's receptionist; a role she held for more than 35 years, right up to the day she died. She excelled, despite her limited schooling. Her father taught her to read via candlelight. When she was at school, she won prizes for writing and read voraciously. She also won good jobs. Her work ethic had been instilled in her by observing her mother and her grandmother work so hard to feed and care for the whānau, and by learning to support her siblings from such a young age. Her ability to work was her outstanding feature, and it was also her independence, she said. It may have also been her act of resistance. A protest a predetermined destiny. Devoted yes; but with her own goals as well, albeit to enlarge her whānau. She did it on her terms!

#### Recollections of te reo Māori

Whilst history tells us of the way te reo Māori was banned in schools, my mother, though her attendance was intermittent, did not recall any incidents of not being allowed to kōrero Māori at school when she attended Porotī School or Waimate North Native School for a short period. She said it would have been impossible to stop because everyone up there spoke te reo Māori, including the teachers. She had no enduring memories of how she was perceived as a Māori in the education system at that time. Te reo Māori was also spoken in the family home. Her father, a white man born and raised largely in the Mangakahia region, had attended native schools, as did many rural Pākehā in those times because, these were often the only schools in the area. At home, her parents spoke to each other in te reo Māori. I also remember my grandfather speaking te reo Māori with his Pākehā friends, who had also attended native schools. I took that for granted and did not realise I was living through a piece of history not much spoken about now. This refers to the point made by Devine (2000) that we bring our histories into the present by retracing the footsteps of our tupuna. In so doing, we remember their stories on their behalf and can rewrite our histories (L. T. Smith, 1999) to re-right our present. I spoke with my mother more about these memories as part of this study, before she passed. Her view was that the division between Māori and Pākehā was not prominent in her area. It came more when she moved to the city.

#### Migration to the city

Capital is 'instilled' in people in subtle ways. Graham Hingangaroa Smith drew on Gramscian notions of ideological hegemony, which is covered in Upoko tuatoru to critique the way dominance is exerted by the powerless to maintain power on behalf of the powerful, thus colluding in the maintenance of power and assisting in the subjugation of the powerful. In a

similar manner, Mills (1959) argues that the structures of society and its interconnected systems formed an assemblage that maintained a position of power over the powerless. He writes of people needing to remain on the exteriority of these structures and not succumb to them by internalising the oppressive forces bearing down as their 'private troubles'. The following are accounts of my mother's experiences of what it was to be Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau when she first arrived in the 1940s. I retell her stories as a way to bring to life the realities for Māori migrants as an urban Māori diaspora in the city at that time. These accounts are not what I have read from books; they are the lived experiences of Māori subjugation by means of ideological hegemony. They are my mother's experiences of being Māori. They are my histories. They are the biographies of my mother's people.

My mother's earliest memories of coming to the city were to visit whanaunga. My grandmother would bring Mum down to Orakei to visit her aunty Bella who lived there. My mother recounted her memories of the appalling conditions they were living in there. She remembered the mud they had to wade through and how there was inadequate plumbing, so the smell was terrible. When I first went to Takaparawhau marae at Orakei, memories of my mother's stories seemed to yell in my ear as I heard from Tangata Whenua the stories of how Ngāti Whātua ki Orakei were pushed off their land and forced to reside in overcrowded conditions in an area at the bottom of the hill by the sea at Ōkahu, which was flood prone. They spoke of the typhoid epidemic, which wiped out many of their people, severely depleting their population. I welled up as it became clear to me the dangers my whānau faced when they came to the city. Those perils are often overlooked in our resettlement histories, like an uncomfortable admission of fragility, poverty, uncertainty and loss. But not defeat! Some of my mother's impressions and experiences of Tāmaki Makaurau when she first arrived remained as disturbing memories throughout her life. She was shocked to see kuia begging in the streets on Symonds Street in town. It shocked her to see elders displaced and without support. She recounted these stories whenever we went past old parts of central Auckland, which, demonstrated to me the profound effect it must have had on a young girl, fresh from a rural and Māori lifestyle. There is a growing body of evidence to support Māori discourses surrounding racial bias and culturally belittling practices within colonial criminal justice systems that have failed Māori in Aotearoa (Brittain & Tuffin, 2017; Tauri, 1999, 2005). There is also evidence that homelessness, borne of socioeconomic disadvantage, are part of the lingering effects of colonisation for Māori, who are over-represented in statistics related to displacement and homelessness (Groot et al., 2015).

My mother remembered Tāmaki Makaurau as a place of great homelessness and poverty for many Māori. During the 1990s, Mum worked from time-to-time as a Māori warden alongside her younger sister. It worried me that she spent her Friday and Saturday nights on inner city streets, making sure that our homeless rangatahi got to safe shelter. She was concerned to see increasing homelessness in Tāmaki Makaurau before her death in 2016, once commenting “nothing much has changed for our people”.  share these stories with respect for the aroha the elders of my mother’s generation show *and* their leadership in teaching the essence of Manaakitanga by example. Although it is only an anecdotal comment and I have no data to back this statement up, this may have been why our Māori wardens, who worked within a framework informed by whakamana and manaakitanga were able to support young Māori in difficult and sometimes dangerous circumstances, and account for the respect they appeared to show for their elders in return.

### *Shaping our own histories*

I report these facts to reinforce two points. First, to identify that my mother’s lived experience as Māori during the war was mediated through pre-existing colonising strategies designed to subdue the Indigenous inhabitants of this country and assert power over resources that continued after the war ended. My second point is to explore the trajectories of my parents’ histories and their biographies. Like the Dutch, Māori responses to colonisation were not to ‘wither and die’ as was supposed would happen (Walker, 1990). Although a relatively small country, the Dutch overcame multiple attempts to overrun them. Today they are a sovereign nation. They are not defined as a nation once subjugated under multiple colonising forces. Māori experiences of colonisation and their responses to it are important, but it cannot and should not be the only way that Māori identity is addressed. Like the Dutch who resisted occupation and subjugation historically, Māori do not sit passively by and allow themselves to be overcome through colonisation. Māori then and now actively participate in shaping our own identity as Māori, highlighting injustices and calling for redress of historical events that have led to health, economic, social and educational inequalities as a result of the colonisation of Aotearoa. Māori knowledge experts are also reasserting iwi-based knowledge systems in education underscoring how Kaupapa Māori approaches are advancing Māori aspirations (Smith, 1997, 2012). This places the power of our own outcomes back in our hands, derailing colonised and colonising influences. Viewed through a nomadic lens (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984), Kaupapa Māori constitutes the nomenclature at the nomad’s disposal to deterritorialise captured territories, such as education by disrupting the assemblages of education, such as curriculum content and educational organisation and philosophy. It also adds weight to Mills’ (1959) view that in

order for people to overcome oppressive forces, they need to be able to view them as part of an overall structure and identify the systems that are used within that structure to subdue.

*Our reactions to our histories determine our futures*

Just as my mother had unsettling memories of being Māori, I also have my own memories of incidents of racism I have witnessed against her and her refusal to allow her mana to be trampled on, exhibited by the way she responded. In terms of self-efficacy and self-identity, my mother was always sure of who she was. She was better prepared than I ever thought she was before this study, to assist her children to take their place in society as descendants of mixed heritage (Tamaira, 2009). It can be an awkward territory to occupy when you are 'othered' as belonging to an in-between space by people who do not understand the integrative nature of whakapapa (C. W. Smith, 2000). Spoonley (2018) states that people of mixed identities are often seen as operating on the borders of mainstreamed identity or "as third way pre-mutations" (20018, preface) which positions them as somehow less significant. He asserts that greater attention needs to be paid to mixed ethnicity and race issues. These in-between spaces and evolving identities are critical to the negotiations and exchanges that occur as everyday lived experience in society. Being of mixed heritage enables me to view issues from multiple perspectives, which I intend to show when I look more closely at decolonisation. Levinas (1961) is critical of the way Western knowledge is concerned with the reduction of relations to totalities and with individualistic models of personhood as representing a totality. He argues that Western thought has forgotten its whakapapa, that is, its pre-existing relationship to the other. He argues that the individual as subject becomes individually self-positing and self-originating and so is not borne 'through' anyone or anything. The sovereignty of the 'I' is maintained by categorising others into an 'object of the self'. Thus the 'other' becomes an extension of the 'subject'. In Levinas' (1961) view, the 'other' is never fully knowable and cannot be made into an object of the self. Before becoming an 'I', we are infinitely bound to the 'other'. So the subject is not firstly sovereign but a relation! This is whakapapa; the taxonomy of all 'things' established and maintained through whanaungatanga to bind subject and object between human and more-than-human living resources. Drawing on Levinas' (1961) work on intersubjectivity, Hoskins (2017) asserts that, as relations, we are bound by our responsibilities to the other from the very beginning. The concept of whanaungatanga demonstrates a Māori ontological understanding of this. Taumoefalau (2017) argues that there are incommensurable differences between Western and Indigenous constructions of knowledge. While this is true, whanaungatanga enables us to find the compatibilities. This is the essence of Levinas' (1961) arguments. It requires us to lean in and seek our relationship to the other. My whakapapa enables in me an ability to find

the relationships between us and also to comment on why one worldview works better in my life than another.

*I am Māori*

*I am Dutch*

*I am Kiwi*

*I am colonised*

 *is Rasta woman!*

*I relate,*

*I lean in,*

*I am whole.*

*Behold, the breath of life*

*Tihei mauri ora.*

#### *Decolonising our minds*

This section looks at te reo Māori through a decolonising lens. In the previous chapter, issues related to language loss were discussed. I turn my attention now to the lived experience of language revitalisation as a process of retrieval and acquisition to suggest that the process of decolonising our minds starts with decolonising our tongues.

On rare occasions, I heard my mother speak te reo Māori when we went home and went to visit her Ngāti Hine whanaunga. She spoke even more rarely in the city. Many times in my lifetime, she attended te reo Māori classes. She was involved in kapa haka and attended Māori mass at Te Unga Waka in Epsom, did Rangatahi Māori courses at night school and went to Te Atarangi reo Māori when it first came out in the 1970s. She attended te reo Māori courses at Unitec for a very short time as well. I was curious to understand why she didn't want to learn te reo Māori when she was young, given that she spent much of her young motherhood trying to learn it. Her response was that she did want to learn it but was never 'any good' at it. She recalled her grandmother, Granma, getting very frustrated with her because she could not communicate in te reo Māori. My mother's attestations that she could not kōrero Māori made me dismissive of her knowledge until I began teaching in bilingual units and I struggled to find words or know how to say things in te reo Māori. Mum would offer her suggestions. I quickly learned not to underestimate her knowledge of the language. I would say to her, "Mum, how did you know that?" and she would recount her life growing up with Granma, who spoke no English and how my mother used to have to duck Granma's

walking stick because she would get so frustrated at Mum and exclaim, “Pai kare, Pati” (her name for my mother).

Mum told me, “I grew up hearing te reo Māori and I learned a lot by listening to Granma and Mum talk. I just couldn’t speak it and that would upset Granma.” It was in this moment that I understood why my mother would only speak if she was sure and how important it was to her to speak correctly. Growing up, I had no way of knowing, much less understanding, the impact of colonisation, although it was part of my lived experience of being Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory provided me with a decolonising lens so that, as I reflect back on my mother’s life and the impact of that on me, I am able to critique language loss in my family as part of the cultural assimilation of Māori and not internalise it as my private trouble (Mills, 1959). Kaupapa Māori theory has been at the forefront of propelling me towards a desire to retrieve my language, which I seek to reclaim as a process of reindigenisation, rather than a process of decolonisation; the former is an additive process that helps me to reinstate, redistribute, reclaim and regenerate things Māori, for Māori, for my mother, for my tamariki and tamariki mokopuna, for my Iwi and for myself.

#### *Kaupapa Māori as liminal teaching space*

In this section, I turn my attention to the lived experience of teaching te reo Māori as an act of social justice to support language revitalisation and as a process of decolonisation. I consider issues related to teaching complex mātauranga Māori concepts in mainstreamed contexts and how Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis can support Indigenous teachers within mainstreamed education settings.

In Aotearoa, Māori teachers in mainstreamed settings are often teaching in cross-cultural spaces. Techniques for teaching are influenced by rapid changes introduced through ever-increasing advances in digital technologies (Kyei-Blankson et al., 2019). However, relationships between kaiako and taura are still considered to be central in effective pedagogies of teaching and learning (Bishop et al., 2014; MacFarlane, 2004; Macfarlane et al., 2015). Whanaungatanga enables an ako relationship to be fostered, whereby learning and teaching is co-constructed. Mainstreamed spaces are potential sites of struggle for Kaupapa Māori teaching and learning (G. H. Smith, 1997). At the same time, Kaupapa Māori theory enables us to identify the tensions and barriers to Māori aspirations and to intervene to rectify that. If whanaungatanga is established effectively as relational pedagogy within the classroom, the site of struggle is the learning opportunity where the taura grapples with te reo Māori to understand new and often previously undervalued concepts related to mātauranga Māori. Kaupapa Māori as theory, therefore, opens liminal teaching spaces. Liminal spaces facilitate a process of knowledge creation through rupture of the known. Deep

learning requires “stepping into the unknown, which initiates a rupture in knowing (Meyer et al., 2010). Meyer et al refer to this as the learning ‘threshold’ or portal that liminal teaching spaces create

Liminal teaching spaces have the potential to be transformative. This was superbly role modelled to us through the actions of our epigenic tūpuna, Tāne, who climbed to the higher realms of the heavens to retrieve Ngā kete o te Wānanga. In so doing, he established a pattern of learning for us to emulate; to strive to attain excellence; to seek knowledge to improve our conditions, understandings and relationships with people, place, space and time. As an educational model it is assumed that the seeker of knowledge will retrieve and successfully integrate the knowledge on one taumata (level) in order to ascend to the next taumata of the poutama.

Traditionally, time was not a factor in the acquisition of knowledge and skills proficiency. Kaiako would work alongside taura until the tohunga declared the taura to be proficient, based on their sustained demonstration of excellence in their knowledge discipline. In the contemporary world, education is becoming increasingly prescriptive against a set of state agendas, often attached to economic/labour goals (Devine, 2000). Educational rhetoric aspires to ‘student-led’ learning, but taura have a finite number of years to demonstrate they have attained the predetermined curriculum outcomes of their programme of study. Kaiako have to be satisfied that their taura have shifted their thinking to accommodate new knowledge. Experience tells me that, in environments where learning is time bound, there is little time for taura engaging in mātauranga Māori, sometimes for the first time, to explore all the complexities that emerge in liminal space.

Māori organic intellectuals (G. H. Smith, 1997) operating nomadically in mainstreamed teaching spaces need to develop self-care strategies to mediate taura responses and behaviours within liminal spaces. The academy increasingly overlooks the rights and responsibilities of the academic engaged in social sciences teaching and learning to provoke thinking and to challenge assumptions. The focus on student-led and student-centred approaches is criticised as being more concerned with how students ‘feel’ about a subject than their proficiency in it. This is an ever-present tension for Kaiako teaching in mainstreamed spaces delivering mātauranga Māori, particularly when confronted with defensive responses and learning resistance from their taura.

In terms of ITE in mainstreamed education, taura attitude and inclination towards te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori are likely not known until after entry into a programme. Reluctance or reticence to learn a new language is not uncommon in programmes where it

is a requirement rather than an option. Speaking anecdotally, for students with language learning diagnoses, such as dyslexia this can be exacerbated if not articulated by the learner or identified by the teacher. Monolingual speakers are also amongst those who express reticence.

Resistance to the knowledge field cannot be overlooked. Just as Māori resisted colonising education, it is possible to suggest that the same can occur in reverse; that Pākehā may struggle or actively resist revitalisation attempts in education. This issue may come to the foreground more as we head toward a time where ITE programmes will be required to rate a student's demonstration of te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori. The next section suggests an approach that could inform an approach to teaching complex Māori concepts based on threshold concept theory (TCT). Whilst it is not grounded specifically in Kaupapa Māori theory as an approach, TCT resembles the concept of the Poutama through the dispositions required to attain knowledge necessary to attain increasingly more complex levels of learning. It may also provide a useful structure for kaiako teaching mātauranga Māori in liminal teaching spaces in mainstreamed settings.

#### *Threshold concept theory*

TCT emerged from understandings developed by Meyer and Land (2003) that certain 'threshold concepts' are central to the mastery of a subject. TCT assumes that there are certain key concepts that open the tauira up to a whole new way of seeing and conceptualising knowledge. This activates a new and previously inaccessible way of thinking. Schwartzman (2010) likens concept threshold learning to passing through a portal whereby the learner's thinking is transformed, a new perspective opens up and the frame of meaning is enlarged and reconfigured. For the tauira, this is critical to progression. The concept of mastery has been criticised as normalising knowledge to fit into predetermined and packaged outcomes (Irwin, 2019). This is a tension within mātauranga Māori where learning is seen as a lifelong pursuit. Fear is already being expressed about the future of te reo Māori in the hands of mainstreamed education. However, when tauira currently arrive in ITE programmes with no prerequisite for fluency but need to demonstrate mastery to a predetermined level upon graduation, TCT offers a strategy for achieving that; this could require more than just mastery of language. Threshold concepts are concerned with 'core concepts' within a discipline-specific field of knowledge. The tauira may be confronted with 'troublesome knowledge', that may be knowledge that is conceptually difficult, counter-intuitive, foreign to the tauira (emanating from another culture or discourse, such as mātauranga Māori), or seemingly incoherent (Meyer & Land, 2003). Reversing common-sense understandings that are barriers to mastery of a threshold concept is *troublesome*,

particularly when it involves an uncomfortable, emotional repositioning and taps into identity (Cousin, 2006). Schwartzman (2010) contends that all threshold concept learning involves encountering the unknown portal at some level and so are 'troublesome'. However, it is within liminal spaces that new understandings are assimilated into our biography, becoming part of who we are, how we see and how we feel. Thus, grasping a threshold concept entails an axiological shift; changing what we know. It may also entail an ontological shift, changing our sense of being. Therefore, threshold concepts are transformative. The mindset shift *and* transformation is part of the learner journey. From this point of view, it can be seen how TCT is supported by Kaupapa Māori theory in how it challenges common-sense understandings and 'troubles' established assumptions.

#### *Engaging the will to act authentically*

In this section I reconsider colonisation. I propose that the dominant group also needs to decolonise their thinking. I argue that decolonisation is not just an Indigenous endeavour. This is a troublesome concept that involves a will to change. The following section discusses the use of liminal space to create conditions for change and transformation to occur.

Schwartzman (2010) sought to understand student experiences within liminal teaching spaces. They view learners from a psychological perspective where their feelings of adequacy versus inadequacy to manage a situation may make them defensive. This will frame their response. This can be problematic when they have no space to reflect on their internal processes and not just the process of learning. Given that defensiveness is seen as one of the greatest barriers to learning, the question is how to get in touch with, address and overcome defensive responses to knowledge? Avoiding the challenge of new knowledge may shield tauira from knowledge rupture and estrangement from the known, and negates the need to enter into the liminal space. But it in the liminal space that the transformation occurs as Meyer et al., (2010, p. xiii) explains:

The liminal space can be seen as a transformative space. It occurs when things such as our thoughts, knowledge or ideas are in some way challenged, when our understanding of something is unsettled rendering it fluid. That space of in-between is a state of liminality, a transition in the learning process, the crossing of a threshold. From here we begin to reconfigure our prior understandings, perspectives and conceptual schema. We let go of the conceptual stance we had. Once we reach this post-liminal mode the shift is irreversible and 'alters our way of being in the world'.

Meyer et al. (2010) make a compelling case for why teachers may need to deliberately create liminal learning spaces in order for societal shifts to occur in mātauranga Māori and our national identity. However, learners are impeded in their ability to progress to the next level

of learning if they are shielded from the need to engage in liminal space and lack a will to act authentically. Moreover, according to Segal (1999, cited in Schwartzman, 2010), through a process of projection, a defensive learner disassociates from uncertainty and displaces responsibility for their own reaction to the unknown back onto the source. In the case of teaching te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori, the blame would likely be shifted to either the teacher or to Māori. This is a further challenge for a teacher operating in liminal space. They need to keep themselves safe and teach within a culturally responsive framework that honours the mana of all their taurira and upholds the integrity of mātauranga Māori, but ruptures defensiveness and creates change. In the next section, I suggest a Māori approach to understanding how to work through the liminal spaces of decolonisation in education based on a model created by the late Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1991, 1997), *Te Wheke*, that might support teachers' work.

#### *Taha Hinengaro: Learning through activating the hidden mother*

Hinengaro is the psychological aspect of the human dimension that deals with emotions. This is demonstrated in both *Te Wheke* (Pere, 1991, 1997) and *Te Whare Tapa Whā* (Durie, 1984). In *Te Wheke*, Taha Hinengaro is described as the hidden mother. This is the seat of emotional wellbeing and described by Pere as the first site for receiving and processing information, particularly by young children. In her 2009 presentation, she taught that Hine-ngaro, who represents the hidden mother in us all, has three consciences.

- *The subconscious*: where learning and knowledge are intuitively known
- *The conscious*: where the learner obtains knowledge by being in the present moment as the knowledge is imparted
- *The superconscious*

Pere argues that we tend to operate in our conscious and sometimes subconscious zones of learning, but we rarely use the superconscious, yet we know it exists (examples of superconscious thought and action are ihi, wehi and wana). The old people often taught important knowledge at nighttime, and this practice still exists where I am from. This was because there were no distractions and you could be totally alert to the learning as your senses were fully engaged in the moment; your superconscious learning capacity was optimised. In the contemporary context, wānanga often invoke this type of learning. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere identifies this as the realm of *Tāne maurangi* (whole brain learning). This is where perfect balance occurs and divine learning is activated.

Pere (2009) provides an account of the whakapapa of Hinengaro, referring to her offspring Tūmatauenga and Rongo and their roles:

- *Tūmatauenga* represents te taha tāne (masculine energy) and is positioned at the right side of the body.
- *Rongo* represents te taha wahine (feminine energy) and is positioned at the left side of the body.

Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (2009) applies this knowledge to assess how to manage interactions with people in hui to restore harmony. Summoning te taha hinengaro (superconsciousness), the realm of Tāne Mairangi (the whole brain) is activated. This occurs with successful integration or balance between Tūmatauenga and Rongomātāne. According to Browne (2005), "divine intelligence can be experienced when one stands on the fulcrum point between the two" (p. 3). Understanding how the integration of te taha hinengaro can support my teaching is an ongoing process. It is important to me personally to apply understandings that link me back to my whakapapa. Applying Māori pedagogical understandings also recentres mātauranga Māori in the curriculum and supports Kaupapa Māori theory. Because hinengaro is concerned with emotional wellbeing as the key to activating the will to act authentically as a learner, it may also be a key to providing support for the emotions that can surface in liminal spaces that may impede transformative learning. It can be confronting to address aspects of our histories and/or positions that may be the outcome of our histories. Troublesome knowledge, knowledge that causes rupture or challenges our assumptions can create highly charged learning environments. There are times when energy needs to be understood and brought back to a place of mauri tau (calmness, neutralised energy). Within mainstreamed education, there is no formal training for Māori teachers on how to deal with defensive learners, disassociation from learning, racism and unconscious bias towards Māori. As a teacher, this is liminal teaching space and can assault your wairua. Actively drawing on Hinengaro (Pere, 1991) supports the mediation of energies in the teaching space. Integrating the energies of Tūmatauenga and Rongo to create liminal spaces is a skill I am still learning. It provides insights for my praxis in the next era of education, with its focus on supporting the audacious goals of the Crown to create a bilingual nation by the year 2040 and our bi-cultural responsibilities as Tangata Tiriti and Tangata Whenua in education.

Applying TCT to mātauranga Māori enabled a discussion of the key knowledge domains necessary for moving from one level to the next; troublesome knowledge, learning that occurs in liminal spaces, and the positive and negative responses to new learning. It discussed the tensions teachers encounter and need to be aware of when knowledge rupture occurs in the liminal spaces of teaching and learning. By discussing the concept of Taha Hinengaro

outlined in *Te Wheke* (Pere, 1991,1997), I have been able to access a way to work in liminal spaces that honours the learning, the learner and the learning journey. The next section looks at the learning journey as the ongoing process of decolonisation as embodied practice.

### Decolonisation as journeying work

The present time is our point of connectivity to consider our bi-cultural differences as a society. As teachers, we need to be able to locate ourselves within our histories and identify, if not directly with the present time, then with our responses to the terms of the present time; why we think, feel and act as we do to events in the present time. Some assume it is a Māori priority to work towards decolonising and liberating ourselves. G. H. Smith (2003) argues that politics of distraction tie Māori to needing to justify, reassert, explain and follow rather than innovate and lead. He describes this as a typical colonising tactic employed to 'distract' Indigenous people from challenging inequalities and maintaining the status quo. Becoming involved in understanding how Māori histories of colonisation have contributed to where we find ourselves in the present has helped to free Māori from the politics of distraction.

In this section, I consider Mills' (1959) concept of reason and freedom in relation to colonisation and consider how Pākehā identity has also been shaped by colonisation. It is important to understanding the way history has been constructed to shape the present in terms of Māori and Pākehā positioning. I alluded to this by sharing aspects of my parents and grandparents lived experiences in Aotearoa in the 1900s up to my mother's passing in 2016. It illuminated accounts of the use of te reo Māori amongst colonial settlers. I pose that the education system had disastrous effects for a range of learners, but primarily the disenfranchised, the powerless and the economically disadvantaged. This includes Māori *and* the children of the migrants to Aotearoa. Children whose parents migrated from Victorian England and Britain, and Māori children both attended schools that were established and structured along the lines of an English value system. These children were experienced a curriculum that neither reflected their new lived experiences nor acknowledged their newly emerging identities and relates as peoples of the South Pacific. In the case of the newly arrived children from Britain, they were kept tied to mother England through a system that promoted and romanticised British might. Those who remained within their Māori communities, like my grandfather, were excluded from being able to access the same benefits and resources as their Pākehā contemporaries. Conversely, Māori were forced to relinquish their ties to their mother lands *and* were systematically disenfranchised from their language and culture through the mechanisms of the state, mainly the education system.

The newly forming education system in Aotearoa replicated the hierarchical stratification and division of power that occurred in Britain based on language, religion, gender and social class.

### *Food for thought*

Warren Lindberg (2021) is a past Hillary College teacher and former Manager of Te Puke o Tara Community Centre. He is an historian, community development advocate, a man who has been involved in community health and development for a number of years and is a Pākehā of Irish and Swiss descent. I was discussing the joys of boil up – a staple Māori kai I was surprised when Warren shared that boil up was colloquially known amongst early New Zealanders as ‘bog-Irish’ food because it was a staple amongst the poverty stricken of Ireland! It occurred to me in that instant, the subtle, unconscious ways people were stratified in Aotearoa. I remembered my mother telling me how, even though they lived and worked on farms until my mother was a young adult, they rarely ate the best cuts of meat. Mumum could reportedly make a meal for the family of eleven out of nothing but a handful of bones and a pile of watercress. There is more history to be explored here but I have always pondered why the Māori diet is so basic considering all the exotic new herbs, meats, fruit and vegetables that flooded this country with the arrival of the British in the post-Treaty migration period. There are a range of possible reasons, which may also include Māori dietary preferences. But Warren’s historical snippet adds to the histories of how the working class of the British Isles made their way here and settled amongst us. It also supports the notion of ‘conferred privilege’ (Bell, 2020). Even though they owned a large portion of the wealth of the country (Walker, 2004), Māori did not gain access to the resources of middle-class Aotearoa to the same degree that working-class colonial families did. This also shows that Māori were stratified according to race not wealth and highlights the limitations of Marxist theory to explain how Indigenous people were disempowered, disenfranchised and subjugated. It falls outside the scope of this study to investigate that further, but it is a commentary on history that shines a light on the fact that working-class colonials were able to elevate themselves in this country in ways beyond what they could have achieved in their countries of origin. They worked hard and enjoyed the fat of the land – a far cry from boil up – whilst Māori worked hard for the fat that fell from their tables!

### *Aotearoa: Passage to a new life or reproducing inequalities?*

The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi opened the flood gates for mass migration to Aotearoa. Prior to that, there had been quite a slow but steady arrival of settlers to the new colony, mostly on a trading mission – sealing and whaling – or a civilising mission of missionaries through native schooling (Walker, 2004). At this time, the industrial revolution was in full

swing in Victorian England. Ironically, increased wealth created worsening social conditions, including intolerable pollution caused by coal, inadequate plumbing systems and high mortality rates caused by infectious diseases that spread out of control in high density living areas in major cities in Britain. There was also a sudden and violent rupture in the natural environment, acknowledged to be the catalyst for the Anthropocene period, as outlined in Upoko tuarima. Whilst the elite classes enjoyed an unfathomably high standard of living, the working classes endured abject poverty and resulting ill-health and poor education. In formerly rural areas, conditions were bleak for people, whose livelihoods were either removed or seriously affected by industrialisation and resulting changes to agriculture (Phillips, 2015). Orphaned children and widowed women and their children ended up in 'poor houses'. Here, children were frequently put to work in the cotton mills or as chimney sweeps. The mortality rate of young children amongst working class British was high.

Travelling to lands so far removed from their own would not have been a decision made lightly. I base this on how my father needed to make that decision, and my mother's family decision to leave their papa kāinga. Presumably, decisions would have been made because of the opportunities that emigration offered, offsetting the challenges of the distance and the journey itself. Although some migrants came out of a desire to expand economic wealth or religious territories, just as many came with the promise of a better life and greater opportunities. Most had no idea that the lands they were coming to were already occupied. Many were tricked into believing that the land in Aotearoa was ready to farm. British emigration officials were eager to attract the interest of those who had mechanical and agricultural knowledge to assist in the colonisation of Aotearoa and later, domestic servants for the established colonial families<sup>16</sup> (Phillips, 2015).

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<sup>16</sup> This famous emigration poster compares life in England and New Zealand. In the 1830s and 1840s many people in England believed in the theory that population growth was related to food production, and that as Britain's population continued to rise there would be penury and starvation – as depicted in the scene on the left of the poster. The solution was to encourage emigration to countries where abundant land would bring plenty of food and health – as in the happy scene on the right. This image is reprinted with the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/cartoon/2094/emigration-a-remedy>



The New Zealand Company was established and set about advertising propaganda to attract the labour needed to help shape the new colony. According to Phillips (2015), emigration posters, like the famous one pictured above, promoted a view of an abundance of land and, in turn, an abundance of food. The common theme was that emigration was the solution to the poverty, hunger and homelessness people were experiencing in Britain. In fact, when the new settlers arrived, they were greeted by dense forest or marshy wetlands and swamps. This was a far cry from the pastured farmlands with undulating plains they were promised. Many nearly starved as they had no idea how to gather food or live from the produce that could be harvested from their newly adopted landscapes.



Artist: Charles Heaphy. *The level country at the South end, looking north of Blind Bay*<sup>17</sup>

To give the illusion that land was fallow and ready for farming, artists were commissioned to create romantic images of an undulating landscape. For example, in this landscape drawing entitled, 'The level country at South end' drawn at Motueka looking northeast towards Marlborough, the cattle in the foreground were inserted into this scene to give the illusion to intending emigrants that Aotearoa was good 'level' farming country by the artist, Charles Heaphy, The New Zealand Company draftsman, explorer and lithographer to Queen Victoria. For many, the realities of what they came to were overwhelming.

#### *The stratification of society in colonial New Zealand*

Despite the challenges faced by British colonial immigrants, many of whom were misled about what they would find in their new country, Aotearoa was transformed to resemble, as much as possible, customs and culture they had left behind in England. This included creating a society stratified according to wealth and status that reproduced those same hierarchies

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<sup>17</sup> This image is reprinted with the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa. Ref: PUBL-0011-07. /records/22700563

Allom, Thomas, 1804–1872. Heaphy, Charles 1820–1881: *The level country at the South end, looking north of Blind Bay* / drawn by Charles Heaphy Esqr.

Day & Haghe, Lithrs to the Queen. London, Smith Elder & Co., [1845]. Wakefield, Edward Jerningham 1820-1879: Illustrations to "Adventure in New Zealand". Lithographed from original drawings taken on the spot by Mrs Wicksteed, Miss King, Mrs Fox, Mr John Saxton, Mr Charles Heaphy, Mr S. C. Brees and Captain W. Mein Smith. London, Smith Elder & Co, 1845.

in education. The creation of an education system based on British norms and practices affected both Māori *and* colonial children. The children of many of the newly arrived British were less literate than their Māori peers, thanks to years of missionary schooling of Māori to teach them to read the Bible at a time when school attendance was not yet a national requirement. Indeed, in the early years of settlement, most colonial children spoke te reo Māori. This shifted as soon as there was a critical mass of English-speaking immigrants. Critically, this did not affect rural populations. Many second-generation colonial children, such as my grandfather and other Pākehā children attended native schools (Simon and Smith, 2001) as there were no other schools available in the area. As previously discussed, whole generations of Pākehā New Zealand children spoke te reo Māori. Of course, it is not plausible to make inferences or reimagine Māori Pākehā relationships on the basis of isolated accounts. However, by applying Mills' (1959) sociological imagination, it is possible to consider why it might have been expedient to relocate Māori to urban settings, such as Tāmaki Makaurau, considered to be the pinnacle of Pākehā society (Walker, 2004). In my mother's time, rural areas still offered opportunities to live amongst Māori language and culture. This might have ensured the continued flow of te reo Māori from one generation to the next and the continual use and normalisation of te reo Māori amongst *all* people in rural areas, including Pākehā. At this time, the majority of the population lived in rural Aotearoa. In order to break that flow, it would have been necessary to assimilate Māori *and* rural Pākehā into Pākehā language and culture. The city provided the appropriate environment for controlled social engineering via assimilation policies to succeed those rural settings could not provide. This view of disconnecting rural Pākehā from te reo Māori troubles what is commonly held to have happened. Regardless, power differentials arose through differences that emerged between Pākehā and Māori; the education system abolished Māori language in schools, invisibilised Māori cultural and social values, and imposed British societal value systems, norms and mores, including Western gender stratification and class structures.

According to Bell (2020), this had the effect of middling colonial settler families, creating a further stratification between working class Pākehā and Māori. Given the centrality of language in conveying and transmitting culture (Pere, 1983, 1997; Vygotsky, 1978), it greatly benefitted colonial children attending school that the language of instruction reverted to English once a critical mass was reached. The field of education thus positioned Pākehā as the elite or dominant group within society. This 'conferred privilege' (Bell, 2020) added to the emerging dominant discourse, elevating their status within this country through

education as an agent of the state that they likely would never have attained back in their countries of origin.

The subtleties of Freirean (1972) concepts of dehumanisation are at play here. Research by G. H. Smith (1997) shows that education policies in relation to Māori were underscored by policies of civilisation, domestication, expurgation, annihilation and assimilation in the early period of Aotearoa colonial settlement. Hokowhitu (2004) provides insights into the attitude of superiority and force that the British colonising forces exerted through the mechanisms of the Crown when Māori lost interest in attending the missionary schools. This was largely due to the missionaries' failure to educate them in the type of literacy they realised they needed to tackle newly formed government departments and negotiate with the settlers. There was a growing fear that 'uneducated' Māori, without the influence of missionary education, would revolt. Politicians debated the need for a 'civilising education system', and actively and openly discussed the assimilation of Māori children into European culture and society (Hokowhitu, 2004). For example, Hokowhitu noted in his research an incident in 1867 whereby the Under-secretary of the Native Department, Henry Charlton, whilst debating the Native Schools Act (1867), argued that the traditional Māori lifestyle was no longer acceptable because of events that had "...come to pass making it necessary to either exterminate the natives or civilize them" (2004, p. 191). This shows that British officials viewed Indigenous people as being 'expendable'. In that time, human life seemed to have very little worth to the British if you were working class, evidenced in how working-class British families and children were treated during the Industrial Revolution of Victorian England.

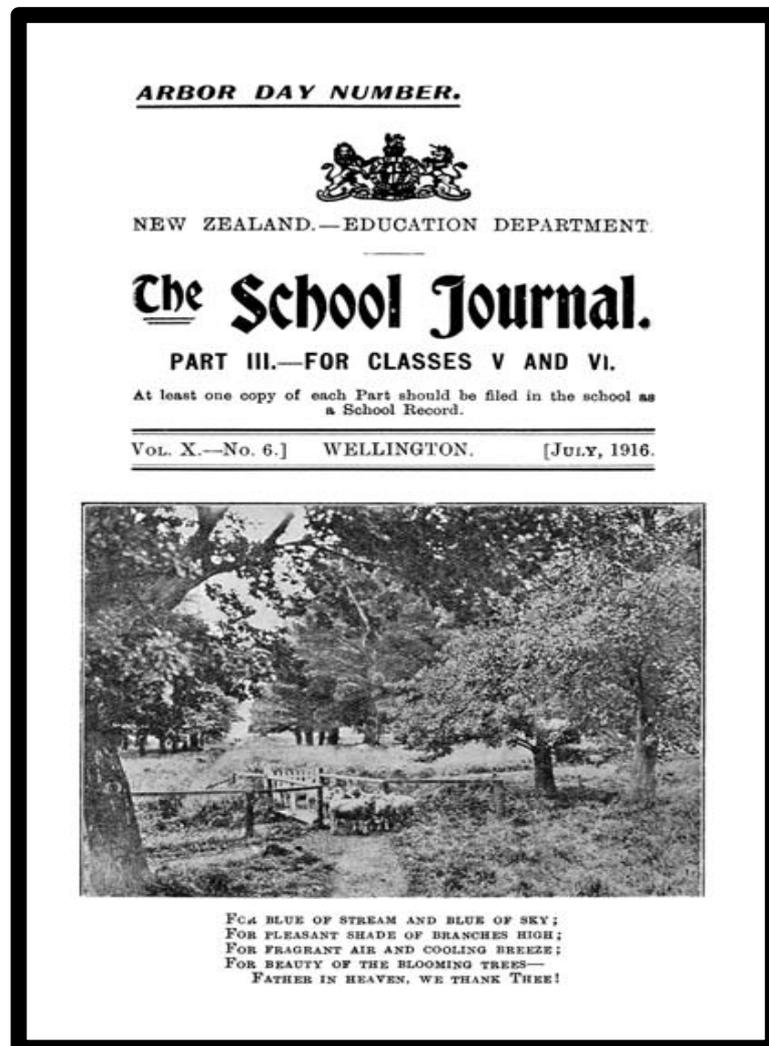
Assimilation policies, including banning te reo Māori – essentially rendering generations of Māori 'speechless' – were not abandoned until the 1960s. The Hunn Report of 1961 commissioned by The Department of Maori Affairs, stated that the education system had failed to successfully assimilate Māori and called for the abandonment of assimilation policy in favour of integration policies. This was reinforced in the *Report of The Commission on Education in Education (The Currie Report)* a year later, in 1962. However, assimilation had already had disastrous effects on the outcomes for Māori, who were also excluded from the economic and social benefits that the colonial individualistic education system espoused as part of a meritocratic myth of equality of opportunity and outcome. The proposed shift away from assimilation to integration policies, proved to be no better for Māori outcomes in education (Benton 1979, 2015; Smith, 1997).

The impact of successive and sustained colonial assault on Māori ontologies, identities and language (Bell, 2020; Simon and Smith, 2001) was a dehumanising experience for Māori (Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Those who adopted the new ontologies that were superimposed over their own, often relinquished ties to their tribal identities and whakapapa, resulting in further land and language alienation. Māori were also driven by the need to find other ways to financially support their whānau when their own lands were no longer sustainable as a result of colonial extraction of resources and land clearing for agriculture and industry. Characteristically of the Victorian era, resources were stripped from the new colonies and returned to industrialised England, in an insatiable appetite to profit from the richness of the new-found lands. Māori who rejected colonial rules and regulations were often prosecuted. If they did have the means to fight their cases in courts, the legal process itself often stripped the claimants of any remaining wealth they possessed (Walker, 2004). This resulted not just in the loss of land but also the loss of mana for whole iwi. Bell (202) identifies this rupture as a key moment of historical trauma for Māori and an historical windfall for Pākehā. Māori collusion by some, resulting in their own demise was part of the process of assimilation. They may have become economically successful, but it often came at a cost to their language and culture. These examples of sustained dehumanisation processes (Freire, 1972) have impacted on at least five generations of Māori and left a legacy of intergenerational trauma, the effects of which manifest *and* are poorly addressed in our judicial, health and education systems (Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Brittain & Tuffin, 2017; Hokowhitu, 2004; G.H. Smith, 1997; Stanley & McCulloch, 2012; Walker, 2004).

#### *The subtleties of deconscientisation*

The process of 'conferred power' stratification has arguably been more of a process of deconscientisation than dehumanisation for colonial children. However, the process of deconscientisation can still be viewed along Freire's (1972) theory of oppression, as I will discuss now. Once colonial economic dominance was asserted, cultural assimilation was won through the school curriculum, which kept colonial children tied to notions of 'service to king and country'. The school curriculum completely invisibilised Māori knowledge and misrepresented Māori histories and their own histories of settlement in Aotearoa, imposing colonial narratives on both Māori and settler tamariki. *The School Journal*, first published in 1907 is an example of this. The aim of the journal was to support New Zealand-focused curriculum content. In their critique of the journal, Swarbrick (2012) finds that much of the content in its early years was about the British Empire. This served as a reminder that Aotearoa was still part of the British Empire, resulting from the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, The Treaty of Waitangi. The period of World War I saw a plethora of patriotism towards

British bravery appear in the journal. Māori histories were often misrepresented. Swarbrick cited the publication of July, 1916<sup>18</sup> (see below) stating that some of the New Zealand content in the journal was “seriously flawed”; such as an article about the Moriori people of the Chatham Islands which contained numerous incorrect details. According to Swarbrick (2012), “so influential was *The School Journal* that several generations of New Zealanders grew up misinformed about their own history” (n.p.)



The British settler government perpetuated hierarchical structures and maintained power by instilling in colonial children a view of English superiority and Indigenous inferiority. They achieved this through mechanisms of the state, such as the education system. This

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<sup>18</sup> Cover page of the School Journal 10, pt 3, no. 6 (July 1916). This image is reproduced with the permission of Auckland City Libraries Tāmaki Pātaka Kōrero. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/document/36646/school-journal-cover-1916>

demonstrated to me that deconscientisation works in education to oppress the minds of the oppressors as well as the oppressed.

Education can be viewed as a vehicle through which a social class system developed in Aotearoa that failed to take into account Māori social order, value systems or economic principles (Bell, 2004). The education review of the 1980s, the first review of education in over 100 years, perpetuated that. Neo-liberal ideals have permeated education since the *Tomorrows Schools* policy introduced in the late 1980s as a result of the 1988 Picot Report. Devine (2020) points out that, ostensibly neo-liberal policy, characterised by the concept of public choice should have been beneficial, particularly for Māori because of the freedom of choice it provided to express educational, religious, lifestyle, cultural and even economic preferences. Instead, it created an individualistic and competitive system that failed to reflect Māori collectivist concepts. In fact, neo-classical economics have captured the education system. Choice is reserved for those who have the ability to pay to enter the system and are willing to accept the 'terms' of entry. As a Kaupapa Māori researcher, my first priority is to Māori. I am aware that preoccupation with, and attention to, colonial histories must necessarily lead to a positive outcome for Māori as part of the overall goal of Kaupapa Māori research. Cram et al. (2019) identify the importance of understanding our colonial history in order to intervene and improve Māori health status. The same is true of education and for transformative outcomes in education for Māori. My goal is to trouble the space (Meyer et al., 2010) around constructions of colonisation and suggest that new formations of bi-culturalism, such as radical bi-culturalism, as proposed by Stewart (2020) must involve a process of critical conscientisation in education.

#### *Economic colonisation of education*

Mills (1959) alerts his readers to the rupture that occurred in societal structure precipitated by World War II. He argues that colonialism had been replaced by less visible forms of imperialism whereby the majority of people are excluded from democratic processes. Referring to society as an over-developed world Mills' (1959) view was that democracy itself was being replaced by a system where methods used to maintain authority and violence were replaced and all-encompassing with its mechanisms and bureaucratic form; the state continued to gain territory through its agents. Critiquing the then current context of education, philosophers, such as Taylor (1989) and Howell (2012) find that our current educational paradigm is dominated by discourses that perpetuate and reinforce individualism, instrumentalism and consumerism, resulting in an ego-orientated society. Dale argues that our current education discourse is underscored by economic measurement terms like 'client', 'service', 'stakeholder', 'consumer', performance-based', 'outcome

orientated', 'market-demand' 'cohort groups' (Howell 2012). Speaking about the entangled relationship between the economic and the political, Devine (2000) also discusses how terms, such as 'accountability' in education, 'adding value' and 'delivering' the curriculum, educational 'competition' and the 'market' embeds the language of neo-classical economics and public choice theory in education.

Today, economic globalisation bears down on Aotearoa; economic policy is no longer just a domestic issue. At the same time, our systems are increasingly driven by the global economy. This is potentially the new colonising force, which carries with it a far greater assemblage. Māori need to guard against abandoning or losing our ontological position; our ways of being, knowing and doing in the world. The ability of Kaupapa Māori to enable Māori to maintain a war on position (Smith, 1997), regain territories and reassert mātauranga Māori will be tested under globalisation. I suggest that hopefully incorporating Kaupapa Māori as a critical ontological framework will enable the conceptualisation of shared values and practices to enable Aotearoa to shape a collective vision for the world.

According to Joris Vlieghe (2018), the goal of critical pedagogy is to "interrupt any given order of things and to renew our common world" (p. 925). He critiques Freirean (1972, 1994) views of education *for* emancipation against Rancièrian views of education *as* emancipation (1981, 1991 (Vlieghe, 2016 as cited in Vlieghe 2018) to propose a "pedagogy of thing" (Vlieghe, 2018. p. 918). He is critical of the neo-liberal approach of student-centred education, which he argues maintains a hierarchy of knowledge. He makes a case for education to be not driven by the needs and interests of learners but by attention to, and care about, the world.

A pedagogy of 'thing' - thing' where thing' is the 'subject' which is knowledge as outlined by Vlieghe articulates an approach to teaching and learning aligned with Māori views of knowledge as discussed in Upoko tuarima by honouring the natural world as a living entity. Although Māori approaches to teaching and learning are both student- and teacher-centred, knowledge also has agency within a Māori view, thus marrying with a pedagogy of thing better than the current view of education as a means of depositing knowledge necessary for the state to achieve societal goals. This gives weight to the view that Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis offers an educational approach that could improve mainstreamed education in Aotearoa (Heta-Lensen & Wrightson, 2019; Ritchie, 2012, 2018).

#### *Reconceptualising bi-culturalism*

Bi-culturalism has been part of national education policy since 1984. Even though its intention was to address social justice for Māori in education (Snowden, 2012), the potential of bi-cultural education remains unrealised (Stewart & Benade, 2020). Since its launch shortly

after the failed Taha Māori policies of the 1970s, there have been multiple critiques of the failure of bi-culturalism to improve conditions for Māori in the education system (Heta-Lensen, 2005; G. H. Smith, 1990, 1997; Snowden, 2012; Stewart, 2018). Snowden's (2012) research into bi-culturalism in mainstreamed education concluded that te reo Māori is incorporated in ad hoc ways in schools and does not receive the curriculum time needed. Teachers are not trained to teach te reo Māori and there are not enough Māori-speaking teachers to support the development of te reo Māori. This is supported by Stewart and Benade (2020) who criticise the equity policies that position Māori within bi-cultural discourses and have repackaged Māori culture into bi-cultural education policy that has resulted in truncated accounts of Māori ontology. Stewart and Benade (2020) also critique the emerging tendency of renaming or repositioning bi-culturalism as a Treaty-based partnership as merely skirting around the issue. They call for a radical reboot of bi-culturalism to ensure that the intent of bi-cultural policy is not lost in debates and reclassifications of meaning and context.

Walker (1990) claims that the ideal of superior European culture has been perpetuated through hegemonic practices for over a century. Snowden (2012) argues that even in the contemporary context, Western idealism continues to undermine and delay bi-culturalism. The question is how do we bridge divergent worldviews to achieve embodied bi-culturalism? What would it look like? What would be our shared responsibilities? Is it possible? What aspects of our lived experience as participants in both Māori cultural knowledges and technologies, and colonial settler cultural knowledges and technologies can we apply to reimagine our positions and subjectivities in a world that is moving beyond controlling the natural resources of the earth and Indigenous peoples and is now turning its attention to total colonisation through our economic systems? (Devine, 2000). Applying Mills' (1959) sociological imagination to reimagine our bi-cultural relationship raises consideration of relevant theories that may inform our thinking as we come to a critical point in our settlement of planet Earth. Whakapapa kōrero may provide that subject matter to enable a new way to show our interrelationships, not just with each other, not just within our human planes, but across the universe. Whanaungatanga is the practice of honouring the relationships that recentres our connections. What would a pedagogy of 'taonga' look like in Aotearoa and what would be the benefits? Vlieghe's (2018, p. 99) view aptly describes how it could recentre care for te ao.

It is the experience of becoming proficient in something that promises the coming of the new. In the name of emancipation, a case can be made for forms of teaching that are neither

student-centred, nor teacher-centred, and for an education that is not so much driven by the needs and interests of learners as it is by the attention for and care about the world.

#### *Bi-cultural teaching spaces as spatial justice*

Stewart & Benade (2020) call for spatial bi-culturalism in education based on Soja's (2010) concepts of geography as part of identity. They argue that Soja's (2010) theory of spatial justice aligns with bi-cultural education ideals for social justice. Soja's emphasis on the histories of the land is an example of how that might be applied. Soja (2010) posits that our lives as spatial beings are entangled with our lives as historical beings; people are essentially spatial beings. As such, we are embedded in our geographies as much as we are embedded in our histories. They emphasised the need to consider traditional ontologies of time and history alongside space and geography. In his view sits at the core of the special turn in social science and was the basis of his spatial theory of justice (Soja, 2010, p.63). Soja argued that space is not ethically neutral or inert but socially produced. Spaces can therefore enable human agency. According to Stewart and Benade (2020) this casts learning spaces as geographies that can enact social and political agendas. Thus, they question the 'cultural particularities' of space for Māori learners and query how flexible learning spaces actually contribute to social justice. Interestingly, they highlight that the only existing ministerial policy on Māori flexible learning spaces homogenised equity discourses by justifying them along the lines of improving outcomes for Māori and Pacific learners.

Skerrett (2018) argues that the key to being able to work bi-culturally is through a critical literacy framework and a critical Kaupapa Māori framework to activate the transformational goals of *Te Whāriki*, which is Aotearoa's first bi-cultural curriculum framework for all children. She calls for kaiako and communities to commit to the tenets of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, social justice and critical pedagogy for transformation. She rejects linguistic hierarchies and privileging practices that exist in ECE and challenges the perpetuation of colonialism's 'corrosive languages' policies. In terms of the promotion of te reo Māori, Skerrett argues that all languages are powerful and that *all* ECE centres are language nests, not just Kōhanga Reo. Her points give further weight to earlier arguments that ECE has a critical role to play in supporting the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

Regardless of the potential for bi-cultural development and the amount of government resourcing that goes into developing methodologies and strategies to promote te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori in the curriculum, research continues to highlight that the advancement of bi-culturalism is hampered by a legacy that ranges from indifference towards Māori knowledge (Heta-Lensen, 2005; Snowden, 2012) to confusion about how to

implement bi-cultural practice respectfully (Jenkin, 2017; Jenkin & Broadley, 2013), the perpetuation of colonial privilege (Hemara, 2000; Mikaere, 2011; Ritchie, 2016; Skerrett, 2018; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999).

Looking back over all the arguments presented about the failures of bi-culturalism, what stands out is the inequity of power distribution through leadership in education. There is a big difference between equality and equity. Without equity, achieving social justice is a challenging prospect for the oppressed of society if their oppressors suffer from social justice paralysis. True equity involves commitment to sharing resources (Stewart & Benade 2020) and building power-sharing relationships. Currently, Māori in mainstreamed education are often positioned to critique the relationships of power rather than contribute to leadership. Through the leverage of Kaupapa Māori we may be making advances in achieving our own spaces. We often talk about Tiriti-based partnership and Tiriti-based teaching. But if we are to enact bi-cultural practice, based on the tenets of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Skerrett, 2018), it is timely that we now consider Tiriti-based leadership in education, given the strong evidence to show that, some 50 years after it was first introduced, bi-culturalism is still implemented with varying degrees of success and failure in mainstreamed education. At the tertiary level, it is having little impact on improving educational outcomes for Māori. Consequently, Māori and Pacific Island taura now have their own status as 'priority learners' (Houghton, 2015).

Despite the proliferation of Ministry of Education resources aimed at deepening Māori knowledge, Nanai (2018) found that teachers lack awareness of key documents, such as '*Tātaiako: Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Māori Learners*' (Education Council, 2011), '*He Kāhano*' (Ministry of Education, 2016a) '*Te Kotahitanga: Improving the Educational Achievement of Māori Students in Mainstream Schools*' (Ministry of Education 2016b) and '*Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success*' (Ministry of Education, 2017a). Failure to provide education that meets the aspirations of learners and their whānau is an equity issue and is a breach of our commitment to partnership with Māori under the terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Failure to engage with ministerial publications designed to support teachers to meet the requirements for Māori education is professionally irresponsible. But it also provides insights into how difficult it is going to be to reach the goals set by the government through '*Tau Mai Te Reo*' and '*Ka Hikitia*' for the development of te reo Māori and the creation of a bilingual society. It also leads back to the question, are we ready? or 'are we there yet?' (Snowden, 2012). The following section looks at whanaungatanga as a guide to relational ontologies that centres care for the relationship between people.

### *Leadership through the embodied act of whanaungatanga*

Describing the scene of Waitangi Tribunal hearings that have occurred in the North in the Te Paparahi o te Raki (Ngāpuhi) claim, Hoskins (2017a) ponders the face-to-face encounter with the Waitangi Tribunal process as sites for ethical responses that facilitate a starting point for social justice, grounded in Māori ontological preference for kanohi-ki-kanohi. In this encounter, the notion of personhood is not autonomous or individual but framed within the 'relationship'. Hoskins (2017a) argues that a relational ontology gives rise to practices of manaaki and aroha, and a regard for the mana of others. She was not interested in critiquing any progress towards a “utopian bi-cultural future” (p. 137), but in how these events facilitate potent encounters and connections shaped by Māori relational ways of being and acting through a process of whanaungatanga.

Hoskins (2017a) refers to the political field of colonial settler – Indigenous Māori relations occurring on the ground at Waitangi Tribunal hearings as historic-embodied encounters occurring in intimate spaces on Indigenous Māori ground. She observes that regardless of how ethically and politically challenging tribunal processes are for Māori, they are guided by an ontological approach, which we retain despite our marginalised position and requires us to desist from opposition. The acknowledgement of mana and the extension of aroha is seen as ethical behaviour and the prerequisite for a broader social or political relationship (Hoskins, 2017a) Whanaungatanga guides the embodied experience of encounters of 'difference' and the humanness of others experienced by both parties at the marae, which shifts power differentials at Waitangi to one of mutuality rather than domination. Durie (1997, cited in Hoskins, 2017a, p. 139) states that Māori understand that treating the 'other' as having significant importance in your world foregrounds good and peaceful relations. Thus, the notion of personhood is not autonomous or individual in a Māori worldview but framed within the 'relationship'. Drawing on Massumi's (2015) notion of affect, Hoskins refers to the Waitangi Tribunal hearing and similar encounters as encounters of affect in that Māori understand that the work they do has an affect that ensures productive outcomes (Hoskins, 2017, p.139). These types of encounters are often embodied encounters where a range of emotions are exhibited. Through the 'irruption' or expression of strong emotions, attention is forced onto that emotion. How these emotions play out is uncertainty that represents the ethical moment. Maximising the potential and connection for relational forms of 'becoming' is the ethical moment. How it is dealt with for Massumi (2015) is the 'affective domain'. I see the affective domain as being supported by whanaungatanga. As discussed at the outset of this chapter, whanaungatanga provides a framework for ethical teaching in

liminal teaching spaces; space for irruption needs to be negotiated and acknowledged as part of embodied bi-cultural teaching and learning spaces.

Māori approaches ontologically privilege the relationship as can be seen in how we relate everything, including our own existence, to whakapapa. This brings its own sense of ethical responsibility to others. As outlined earlier, Levinas (1961) argues that Western thought has forgotten its connections and intersubjective relationships. Before becoming an 'I', we are infinitely bound to the 'other'. Hoskins (2017a) considers the face-to-face encounter as an important validation of the self as it gives effect to the existence of self. Therefore, given that the subject is not firstly sovereign but a relation to the other, from the very beginning we are bound by our responsibilities to the other.

Concern for the relationship to the other is at the heart of Levinas' arguments. This requires ethical consideration of the face-to-face encounter as the lived intersubjectivity. In this regard Hoskins asserts that, *who* the other is always exceeds *what* the other is. This is evident in Māori ontological views of the Te Mana o te Tangata. In relation to the other, we can never be indifferent but can choose to respond in a number of ways. It remains our choice to respond ethically by taking responsibility and questioning our assumptions and self-certainties to initiate reflection and change. In this approach, "attention to our ethical obligations, felt in face-to-face encounters, can be found the desire for justice for others" (Hoskins, 2017a, p. 138). Thus, it can be seen that it is within the space of our intersubjectivities that transformation can occur through troubled and troubling encounters that rupture our ways of thinking to create new possibilities.

#### *Tiriti-based leadership*

Within education, leadership is essentially where the power to influence and effect change resides. A central concern expressed in Western education in modern times is social justice. As part of that, national education policy in Aotearoa has been underpinned by bi-culturalism since 1984 (Stewart & Benade, 2020). Bi-culturalism forms part of our defining history and politics (Stewart & Benade, 2020) and our relational positions as Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti within Aotearoa, which constitutes a national commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Given that fact, Hoskins' (2017a) account of the encounter between two diametrically juxtaposed perspectives and the potential to learn from the relational space that is established and maintained through whanaungatanga makes a compelling case for thinking of the possibilities of Tiriti-based leadership in education. It is primarily at leadership level that key decisions are made that impact on taura and where priorities and strategies are set in place. In a power-sharing model of Tiriti-based leadership, appropriate guidance,

knowledge and leadership could support educational direction, develop meaningful engagement contexts for bi-cultural education based on both parties working in a power-sharing model, and that would give voice to Māori articulation of Māori aspirations. At every level of education, the government requires providers to show community engagement; consultation with iwi and Māori is central in that. In a power-sharing model, engagement would start right from the source.

Tiriti-based leadership could be the next space for us to explore as part of a national imagination of how to develop and/or reimagine bi-culturalism. Currently, the success of this is often reliant on the willingness of those who hold power to enter into shared, Tiriti-based leadership based on whanaungatanga as Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti. Towards that end, the idea that you can introduce the suffix, *tanga*, to the noun *Aotearoa* to create *Aotearoatanga* to depict citizenship in Aotearoa is hopeful. The Government appears to be throwing the responsibility for harmony onto its citizens, whilst ignoring the fact that much of the conflict and power struggle is maintained and perpetuated by the failure of the state to commit to *Tirititanga*, which I have coined as a suffixed noun to denote power-sharing relationships and leadership based on the intent of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

#### *Letting the kaupapa lead*

In 2001, Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka Unitec Institute of Technology honoured its commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi by formalising Te Noho Kotahitanga, a partnership agreement between Māori as Tangata Whenua on campus and tauiwi as Tangata Tiriti. Te Noho Kotahitanga is based on five guiding principles:

- *Rangatiratanga*: Authority and responsibility
- *Wakaritenga*: Legitimacy
- *Kaitiakitanga*: Guardianship
- *Mahi kotahitanga*: Co-operation
- *Ngākau māhaki*: Respect

These principles guide staff and students to examine our commitment to, and engagement in, Māori knowledge, our relationships with each other and within our local communities (Unitec Institute of Technology Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka, n.d.). I am familiar with setting a kaupapa to guide the success of a programme, project, marae, kōhanga or whānau as it forms part of a Māori organisational approach. It is likely that this stems from our earliest ontological understandings that we are all connected, as we are all descended from the same source. Divine authority thus resides with Io Matua Kore (Katene, 2010). The kaupapa guides the approach to an initiative and can be likened to plotting a course for an ocean voyage.

The kaupapa is the waka that will keep you safe during choppy seas and will help you to maintain your course; it reminds everyone in the waka how critical their own role is in ensuring the waka reaches shore safely. The kaupapa does the leading, everyone else has a role to play.

Making space for Māori leadership roles that can guide and make meaningful contributions to Māori knowledge within the academy is an approach that recognises partnership between Māori as Tangata Whenua on campus. As well, it recognises Māori knowledge by allocating resourcing for the role rather than expecting Māori teachers to add it in, on top of their other responsibilities. The leadership challenge is to avoid magical capture (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) by maintaining your position as a Māori academic and not allowing mainstreamed priorities or the increasingly managerial, task-oriented aspect of educational leadership (Mills, 1959) to silence Māori aspirations. The benefit of having a set of organisational principles based on partnership and mutual respect is the framework it provides. It enables the Māori academics acting rhizomatically (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) to remain focussed on the transformative goals of Kaupapa Māori. A set of well-constructed principles, such as Te Noho Kotahitanga provide an ethical framework of encounter and commitment that can lead an organisation. In this way, Māori leadership is supported by the organisational culture *and* the organisational culture is, likewise, supported by Māori leadership. This is an important point. The range of opinions and perceptions about the relevance of te ao Māori that exist are part of a very complex terrain for a Māori academic. For us to be able to move forward as a bi-cultural nation, it is important to foster safe environments for respectful and meaningful engagement in those conversations. However, the Māori academic is most often at the interface between two worldviews with students as well as staff. The importance of understanding the need for Māori staff to feel safe and supported in their roles cannot be underestimated. Providing Māori leadership to support Māori staff is key to hauora. In Upoko tuawhā I described the support I have received from Māori elders in my career.

Being an Indigenous organic academic in a mainstreamed teacher education space is not always an easy space to occupy. As noted by Kitchen (2009a), teacher education spaces are contested spaces. Teachers intent on pedagogical and curriculum reform need to also “wrestle with their own internal tensions and the culture of their institutions in order to make a difference” (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 108). In the modern context, organisations, such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Ngā Kura Kaupapa organise themselves along the lines of whānau. I have experienced this same approach through Te Noho Kotahitanga at Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka; the experience and guidance of our elders leading out from behind (Pere, 1997),

role-models Rangatiratanga and guards our kaupapa. Whanaungatanga is a key value that ensures relationships remain strong and connection is maintained. I have experienced whānau-based leadership through the Pae Ārahi, Matua Haare Williams, as the inaugural Pae Ārahi, followed by Matua Hare Paniora, acting in their leadership roles as Kaumatua at various events, sometimes presiding, sometimes responding, always flexible, consulting, collaborating and making decisions about our approach and guiding us through it. Regardless of the type of leadership, it is apparent that, in te ao Māori, leadership is not a role assumed by the individual alone. Traditional leadership was not one dimensional according to Katene (2010) but consisted of overlapping roles and responsibilities. The same can be said of Māori leadership today.

#### *Developing a national imagination*

Applying a national imagination after Mills' (1959) sociological imagination can help to explore the notion that Pākehā have also been colonised and assimilated into a way of thinking that maintains their position within society. The question is whether Western theories alone are the most relevant in supporting those who are being asked to reconsider their ontological position in the world as *westerners*? What relevance does the term hold for Pākehā people living in the South Pacific now, beyond maintaining for them a (dominant) position, or is the name *westerner* a marker that ties them to their European whakapapa? Do Pākehā view it as central to their identity? I suggest that the journey for Pākehā is as personal as it is for Māori. Just as Stewart (2020) argues the term, *Māori*, homogenised us, perhaps the name, *Western*, homogenises Pākehā. Is there a political benefit to be gained from retaining a collective identity as 'Pākehā'? And if there is, is that for Pākehā to unpack? In my own case, as a woman with Māori *and* Pākehā *and* European whakapapa, it has been possible for me to access my own subjectivity and interconnectedness through Kaupapa Māori theory. In so doing, I began the process of disentangling myself from constructions of being 'Westernised' imposed upon me; segmenting me into fractions of myself, that Māori have been subjected to (Tamaira, 2009). These imposed subject constructions restricted me from fully embracing my whakapapa *and* my history of settlement in Tāmaki Makaurau as Ngāpuhi, Dutch. To suggest that Kaupapa Māori can be applied as a general theory to assist all people to reimagine their identity as decolonising work, is to move away from its intention as a transformative, Māori-centric methodology and runs the risk of theoretical domestication (G. H. Smith, et al, 2012). But there are lessons to be gained.

#### *Sacred pedagogy*

Throughout my work as a teacher, I have been guided by Māori principles and values that inform and underpin Kaupapa Māori theory. However, my first understanding of values, such

as wairua – the focus of this section – came from lived experience rather than an academic understanding of what this means. Wairua is expressed in different ways by people, depending on their cultural, religious and personal relationship with the spiritual aspect of existence. By and large, when people enter mainstreamed education settings, they leave their wairua practices at the door. As Māori, we carry those practices with us. Growing up, I was not conscious of the wairua that was part of my every-day lived experience, although I was immersed in it. My mother role modelled a range of tikanga related to the concept of mana tangata – personal authority and integrity (Eketone, 2008). Over time, I learned that these practices were all part of ensuring te tapu o te tangata – the sacred nature of the human person. Later, I came to understand more deeply the sacredness of being human through the teachings of whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere (1991, 1997) around ira atua, ira tangata. I now understand how my very existence within the realm of tamarikitanga was celebrated by my mother’s care for my whakapapa of descent from the divine source, te ira atua. I experienced this through the embodiment of tamarikitanga. But, as a young child growing up in urban South Auckland away from my mother’s people, I was not able to identify these practices as being associated with anything; certainly not with te ao Māori, partly because I lacked the level of reo Māori needed to grasp the ontological concepts carried within te reo Māori and partly because my mother lacked the support of her own whānau to reinforce and normalise these things. Her own mother died when my Mum was a young mother and she was left to carry the line of her Ngāpuhitanga on alone in the city.

Once I was at university and enrolled in the course, *Introduction to Māori Society*, with the late Ranginui Walker, I began to understand why these practices were in our house. I questioned my poor mother about why she had not explained that what she had taught us was tikanga Māori. Her response was that she did not know what ‘tikanga Māori’ even represented! To her these things were the ways she was raised and so she was raising us the way her mother had raised her! Suddenly, I stopped resisting. I felt ashamed that I had challenged the tikanga she had been teaching us; instilling in us. To this day, I have so much aroha for my mother’s patient persistence and unrelenting adherence to the ways of her mother and her grandmother’s people. I cry as I recall the challenges she faced – in her own home!

I share this insight as an example of the transformative potential of Kaupapa Māori in education for Māori. By selecting Māori education as my major at university, I gained access to knowledge that was lost to me. I was able to articulate how my mother’s ability to transmit tikanga within a normalised Ngāpuhi knowledge paradigm was disrupted by the

disenfranchisement of Māori from their papa kainga. I was able to locate myself within the intergenerational impact of the resulting migration to urban settings in pursuit of work. And I was able to understand the concerns that Māori hold about the homogenisation of Māori knowledge systems, including te reo Māori. Māori have always known and acted within localised knowledge systems, with each area having their own specific expertise in resource management for their areas, literacy systems and language traditions. Rereata Makiha discusses how this knowledge was passed on through wānanga-based learning and was clear that the Ministry of Education should not be developing curriculum based on Māori knowledge, “because they will always get it wrong” (Radio New Zealand, 2021).

Taken together, the following toikupu, *Te Kore*, describes the journey I have taken from a state of void where potential resides to reclamation of my whakapapa, my reo Rangatira, me.

*Te Kore*

*A stirring in the void*

*Darkness sets a direction*

*Look to your ancestral mountains*

*Peer through darkness to reveal the light.*

As I listened to Matua Rereata, memories were ignited. Reaching through the radio waves carried through Tāwhiri-mātea, I recalled stories passed on from Granma of the Whare Wānanga in Te Ramaroa, of the night wānanga.

*Te Po*

*Lost in the darkness*

*Turn back to Te Ramaroa a Kupe*

*Sit there in the darkness, there sits the light.*

My mother had knowledge of her people and her landscape. She was a beacon, a pou.

*Ki Te whai ao*

*Revealed in the night,*

*The mind cannot be distracted.*

*There in the darkness, there sits the light.*

My mother persisted. Her people's knowledge shone through her and guides me to find my way ...

*Ki Te ao Marama*

*Lost in darkness? Never!*

*The lighted pathway of Kupe*

*Adorning your wairua – incandescent light*

*Behold your ancestral line, behold the breath of life*

*Tihei mauri ora!*

*... back home.*

Colonising practices in the education system further disrupted the transmission of mātauranga Māori and Māori cultural practices from mother to child. Te ūkaipō. How difficult it must have been to raise your tamariki as an 'outsider' in their world. How difficult to realise that your tamariki were outsiders at once within their own iwi and yet also within their own country. How difficult to be raising a whānau who knew very little of your own cultural practices. Yet this was the reality for many urban Māori who were raising their tamariki separated from their whānau structures and tribal lands.

Traditional education for Māori was deep and based on our connectedness with everything in the universe and it was based on readiness, not age. In a presentation entitled *Mana: The power of knowing who you are*, renowned Tuhoe leader, scholar and artist, Tame Iti, discusses how he learned of his connections to this world, to his maunga and awa through the education he received from his people. By contrast, when he went to school, he learned 'Hey diddle, the cat and the fiddle, the cow jumped over the moon' (Iti, 2015). Matua Haare Williams (2019) also tells similar stories of the nonsense songs he learned when he went to school, which had no relevance or connection to his world.

Through Kaupapa Māori theory in education I was able to 'recognise' that the tikanga I had learned as lived experience of being Māori was the first step in being able to reclaim it. I was able to access knowledge that was around me but that I could not name. I was able to honour my mother! I stopped participating as an outsider and 'came home' to a place of ease. A place that embraced me for the person I am through my whakapapa. A place that reminded me of the importance of karakia and my divine qualities of mana, mauri and wairua. These three essences gives me access to myself, my world and my language. As Māori.

I have learned that, in order to be able to implement Māori pedagogies, a teacher needs a background understanding in te reo me ngā tikanga Māori. Gaining access to this is not just an academic exercise. The key lies in being able to draw on knowledge to 'recognise' or remember knowledge and practices. How does a teacher who has not come to this place of knowing through whakapapa engage in wairua and associated tikanga connected to wairua? People's own practices of wairua can be the greatest indicator of their acceptance and willingness to engage authentically in te taha wairua.

Karakia is an expression and active practice of wairua in te ao Māori. In the contemporary context, we have come to understand Karakia as prayers. However, karakia is more than just that; it can also be a way to set the energy and lay a pathway for work to be accomplished. Different types of incantations are called upon for clearing energy and for summoning energy. These are practices that link Māori back to the whenua, to our tūpuna, to Papatūānuku. Thus, it determines the actions of people and whānau. When I travel back home I look for signs from the land; I hear the wind karanga to me, Tāwhiri-mātea licks at my skin, blowing me ever closer to my whenua. Ahead I see my tuakana, Kahu – the hawks – soar, sentry-like ahead of my car in a due north trajectory, eyes cast forward to my mother's homelands. Straight up the Mangakahia Highway. Turn left at Draffin and follow your wairua. I know I must return to Te Hauhau Pounamu. My mother's bones are there. Her mother's bones lay at her head and beside her mother and her grandparents. And so, the sacred thread that bound me to my mother and her to her mother pulls us home to whenua, binds us through our connections to people, place, space and time. *Hau mie, hui e, taiki e!*

Matua Haare Williams succinctly explained to me that taha wairua (the spiritual dimension) encompasses elements of Māori epistemology pertaining to our relationships with the land and its inhabitants. Wairua is also concerned with spiritual values that are linked to notions of responsibility towards a pattern of right relationship towards people and place. His explanation shows how wairua underpins every aspect of our being and our interconnectivity with whenua.

Māori spiritual values we hear about frequently involves the concepts of whakapapa, mauri, tapu and noa (and whakanoa), hara and he, mana, ihi and wehi, whānau, hapū, aitua, whakamomori, iwi, and others. All are relevant to understanding not only the holistic or ecological approach Māori have to the environment but explain why Māori prioritise this duty of kaitiakitanga or 'obligated stewardship'. While Māori are not the only ones to value the environment, Māori believe that they bear the spiritual costs associated with any degradation whoever initiates a transgression (known as hara, something that grows in the subconscious, personal knowledge, to knowingly do something wrong, to know that you're not doing the right thing). This

is a very strong driver to action to prevent further degradation of the environment as this cost manifests as *aitua* (injury or misfortune), *mate* (illness) and *hara* (deliberate transgression) especially in weaker and dependant family members of Māori entrusted with the responsibility, that is, the *hapū* or *iwi* with *mana whenua*, primacy over a particular area of land. Ownership of the land or even occupation is irrelevant: *mana whenua* was won by battle, occupation, marriage and wits

Williams (2005, cited in Heta-Lensen, 2005, p.38).

*Te Aka*, the Māori online dictionary also defines *ira atua* as supernatural forces (2020). Māori do not speak lightly about supernatural forces; I certainly do not. But I am aware of the way *karakia* and other forms of incantation can support both the principle of *ira tangata* and *ira atua*. Eketone (2013) states that *karakia* can assist to restore *wairua* when a person has been confronted by situations that affect *wairua*. He provides examples of times when *karakia* were used to restore *mana* to individuals. This links to the concepts discussed by *whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere* (1991, 1997) and *Matua Haare Williams* (2005, cited in Heta-Lensen, 2005) related to *hara*, *he* and *whakanoa*.

Maintaining *wairua* was confronting for me when I first started teaching in ITE; I was aware of the importance of upholding the sacredness attached to people, place and space. This is the awkward dance that I sometimes found myself doing when teaching Māori concepts in mainstreamed education. How much knowledge is appropriate to share? Always in my thoughts are; who should teach this? And to whom? How does it honour Māori knowledge to move people through a course and state they have met learning outcomes when they are still grappling to understand much less demonstrate core concepts. We face this tension now with the latest Teaching Council requirements (Education Council, 2017) for graduating teachers to demonstrate a prescribed level of fluency in *te reo Māori*. It is not possible or even desirable to teach *te reo Māori* without teaching core values and *tikanga*.

#### *Sacred relationships with people place, time and space*

*Wairua* must be felt; it must be recognisable through active experience. *Wairua* can guide our relationships with people, place, space and time. It connects us to our entirety when we observe *tikanga* in relation to our own spirit. This aspect of *wairua* uplifts and reminds us of our divine and sacred essences, to which we are heirs; *te ira tangata* – the human principle, and *te ira atua* – the divine principle. *Ira* can translate as life principle. *Ira tangata* keeps us grounded as terrestrial human beings and supports our human natures whilst *ira atua* reminds us of our essence as spiritual celestial beings descendant from the *atua* or elemental forces. *Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere* (1997) states it succinctly; “*He tangata, he atua: I am human, I am divine*”. In her view, at spirit level we are one with everything that exists in the

universe. These are the embodied experiences of Māori ontology and underscore the view of the child within *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017) demonstrating the influence Māori ontology has had on ECE in Aotearoa. Referring back to threshold concepts theory (Meyer et al., 2010), discussed previously, these are the concepts that teachers need in order to fully embrace the depth of the ECE curriculum.

Pedagogically, concern for the hauora or total wellbeing of the tauira is a priority in Māori teaching and learning spaces. Taha wairua is an embodied concept, ensuring spiritually safe teaching and learning environments and optimal conditions for learning, free from any negative influence, assisting learners to feel ready, restored and open to receive knowledge. It ensures the safety of the kaiako when thinking is troubled in the liminal teaching spaces that mātauranga Māori often occupy. As a Māori teacher, I am reminded that mauri represents the unique energy that every tauira carries, understanding from the teachings of whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere that everyone resonates to a vibration that is right for them. This is imbued through te ira atua and manifests within the human person through essential elements, such as mana, mauri and wairua (Walker, 2008). Karakia plays a role in uplifting those essential elements within the human psyche.

#### *Trajectories of Kaupapa Māori into the future*

This section draws together different narratives and constructions of Kaupapa Māori to consider how it can be thought of as a political and educational force which holds possibilities to inform the next generation; the focus of research question two. It has highlighted how Kaupapa Māori theory challenged Pākehā; dominant; discourses that subjugated Māori ways of being, knowing and doing, including preferred pedagogical practices (G. H. Smith, et al., 2012). It legitimated mātauranga Māori, enabling the transportation of tikanga Māori into education and normalising it in teaching and learning practices.

Eketone & Eketone (2008) called for a Native Constructivist approach to Kaupapa Māori that is aligned with Māori preferred ways of being, knowing and doing in the world. The authors were critical of the political aspect of Kaupapa Māori as a theory of action that challenges Western practices. The political aspect of Kaupapa Māori, in their view, meant the two approaches were often competing against each other, causing tension for Māori involved at the local level. Graham Hingangaroa Smith acknowledges the duality within Kaupapa Māori, noting the culturalist (onto-epistemological) and structuralist (political) dimensions that reside within the Kaupapa Māori project (G. H. Smith, et al., 2012). Hoskins (2017) believes that Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis can become limiting when it adheres rigidly to structuralist analysis. Royal (2007) makes a distinction between university approaches to Kaupapa Māori as anticipating 'tikanga Māori' and holding space for Māori and mātauranga

Māori which is free from any assumption of ethnic alignment and is more concerned with the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge.

Mika (2012) views that Māori, by whakapapa, are already entangled with Kaupapa, which reduces the scope of Kaupapa Māori to thinking about and measuring the certainty of things (see Upoko tuatoru, p. 45). The same argument can be applied to the pursuit and dissemination of mātauranga Māori, which Mika argues would essentially colonise knowledge by limiting it to narrow constructions of knowable knowings. Whilst there is merit in all the opinions expressed, G. H. Smith himself warned of the domestication of Kaupapa Māori if we fail to protect it as sacred space (G. H. Smith et al., 2012).

Based on my lived experience of Kaupapa Māori as a teacher, I have observed that good will is more easily expressed towards aspects of culturalist, Native Constructivist approaches through a willingness to take on board aspects of mātauranga Māori as ritual practices to observe tikanga. But a structuralist Kaupapa Māori theory approach brings to the surface questions related to how these practices are supportive of Māori aspirations in education. If Māori cultural practices are appropriated and normalised into mainstreamed practice but serve no benefit at all for Māori, but may even negatively impact on them, there is a real danger that Māori culture itself could become the part of the state's apparatus of 'magical capture' to subdue Māori and domesticate Kaupapa Māori theory. It is important to maintain Kaupapa Māori as a platform upon which to challenge hegemonic practices and assimilative policies, and restore Māori knowledges and ways of being in the world.

If we look at the liminal space between those two conflicting views, it might be possible to conceptualise a third space. What if there is an ecological approach that can create meaning and knowledge based on socially mediated constructions of our lived geographical experiences. What and to whom would be the benefits of developing anthropogenically constructed spaces whereby care for our more-than-human relations situate us as related to *all* people living on Earth by nature of the shared resources we are all related to, such as oxygen, soil, fauna and flora, the sun, water and oceans? How might a critical Kaupapa Māori ontology facilitate that and what could that look like? *And* how could our intersubjectivities in relational space within Aotearoa inform a localised theory of *Tirititanga*?

Speaking of reason and freedom, Mills (1959) argues that freedom is not the ability to choose freely but the ability to reason freely and make informed choices, *and* to be aware of the influences on our constructions of reality and truth. He cautions that the moral and intellectual promise of the social sciences is under threat. Moreover, our deteriorating

freedoms and abilities to reason freely are not necessarily obvious and are obscured through technologies, which he refers to as “gadgets” (p. 175).

I share Mills’ (1959) concern about the deterioration of reason and add a concern to understand how I am involved as an intellectual in that demise.

At a structural level, I am concerned to understand how it is possible to understand tikanga Māori to match the degree to which people are encountering it in our lives and education if it is not named and explained? Who should be responsible for handing Māori knowledge on? These questions immediately emerge when commencing any conversation around conceptualising new formations of Kaupapa Māori. In conceptualising the future of education, there is a global climate crisis bearing down on the Earth that threatens humanity (Chan & Ritchie, 2018; Giddens, 2013; Irwin, 2019). According to Irwin (2019), education needs to transform to prepare students with the skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary for the world they are about to inherit. It is clear that climate action is an urgent agenda item that requires environmental curricula. In *Upoko tuarima*, I outlined how Kaupapa Māori approaches to teaching and learning centre an environmental curriculum based on *te taiao*. I propose that new formations of education in Aotearoa need to be guided by Kaupapa Māori theory. Furthermore, it is important to differentiate between Kaupapa Māori as a theory of transformative praxis (G. H. Smith, 1997) which will likely be better able to fit into eco-global education and culturalist approaches, which I argue are essentially bi-cultural constructivist approaches to building tikanga into mainstreamed education practices, and therefore likely to be more focused on national curricula. Perhaps the two are diametrically opposed, but the division is where the liminal space for growth resides. This is the *aka kaupapa*, the *Ursprung* (Devine, 2004), where new knowledge emerges, leads growth and spreads.

Perhaps the space that is created within that circle of difference will illuminate a third space. However, we are still in a liminal space dance with each other as a nation. This does not mean that Māori aspirations in education should be held back. Kaupapa Māori exists to reassert Māori ontological approaches. That is the conscientisation project for Māori in education. The decolonising journey of education itself is part of a wider discourse. A dialogue between Ruth Irwin and Indigenous environmental expert, Te Haumoana White, highlights that the knowledge Indigenous people hold of sustainable relationships with the *whenua* are critical in a time of economic globalisation, rapidly expanding capitalist greed and the resulting *ecocide*, which has placed our survival on earth under threat (Irwin & White, 2019). Mills (1959) argues that, in order to change what is wrong, we need to be able to identify it. In this time of rapid shifts and changes in the world, there also needs to be the will to act

authentically to engage in positive transformation. Kaupapa Māori theory remains grounded in Māori ontology whilst enabling the conceptualisation of new formations of kaupapa to emerge dynamically within that framework. Aka Kaupapa might be emerging rhizomatically based on relationality (rather than subjectivity) with whenua. As a trajectory of Kaupapa Māori, Aka Kaupapa as ecological praxis, decolonises education by aligning with Indigenous views of a non-hierarchical relationship with the natural world, recentring te taiao.

## Conclusion

At the outset of this study, I outlined that English is my first language. As identified at that time, I have followed the lines of flight that emerged rhizomatically in mapping the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori theory across a range of terrains. Those lines of flight converged in this chapter, demonstrating the dynamic nature of Kaupapa Māori in how it supports the ability to move fluidly between juxtaposed Western and Māori knowledge and between Indigenous and European theories and histories in pursuit of solutions to multiple complex issues that emerged and that impact on Māori and education. Despite the limitations of my reo Māori, Kaupapa Māori theory enabled me to remain focused on exploring the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as I traversed multiple planes, including those that might usually be perceived as beyond the scope of Kaupapa Māori, in search of meaning. This is a critical point in terms of the ability of Kaupapa Māori to assist those willing to engage in gaining access to mātauranga Māori. It sheds light on the range of ways Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised as a vehicle for supporting language acquisition and revitalisation by normalising te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori. On this point, tensions emerge in relation to the cultural imperative for respect of mātauranga Māori as taonga tuku iho and having a willingness to seek knowledge. There are tensions around who should have access to mātauranga Māori and who should teach what to whom. Sharing my own lived experiences of how I have been supported to develop Māori pedagogical and ontological knowledge by our elders as knowledge experts has provided opportunities to share Māori practices that are not necessarily well documented but that have greatly assisted me to develop as a Māori teacher.

In this chapter, I explored influence of colonisation and how it shaped and continues to impact on our national identity and intersubjectivities as Māori *and* Pākehā and as Tangata Whenua *and* Tangata Tiriti. I have unpacked the sphere of influence of colonisation to imagine it beyond constructions of Māori subjectivities in Aotearoa and to propose that decolonisation is part of a conscientisation journey for all peoples of the Pacific, including Pākehā. I make a call for Māori to add reindigenisation into our narratives and constructions

of our identity as an additive approach to the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori. I see this as a way to take charge of Māori constructions of identity that release us from being constantly tethered to the colonisers in a binary relationship that always positions us as subjugated, subdued and dominated.

To view the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience of decolonisation, I revisited and reimagined the lived experiences of Indigenous and colonial settler people to explore how colonisation has impacted on our national identity and interrelationships as Māori and Pākehā. I propose that there is now a new colonising force emerging through global economic policy that is permeating education *and* affecting *all* New Zealanders. For Māori, there remains a need to maintain an exteriority from the state to be able to critique and challenge policy, practice and resourcing in relation to Māori education. I have highlighted the need to revisit bi-culturalism and challenge education to move to Tiriti-based leadership to support the development of authentic partnerships, based on *Tirititanga* as a matter of social justice in education. I contend that it is only through a willingness to work in partnership that the true spirit of bi-culturalism will be realised. Adjoining this is a need to be clearer about how this can be achieved. It is hoped that this chapter will stimulate further debate about the possibilities for *Tirititanga* as a decolonising journey for all New Zealanders.

## UPOKO TUAWHITU

### Conversations with Tomorrow

Research for social justice expands and improves the conditions for justice; it is an intellectual, cognitive and moral project, often fraught, never complete, but worthwhile.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012)

#### Titiro whakamuri

The rationale for this study was to stimulate further dialogue and reflection about the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis in education. I was interested to explore how my concept of Kaupapa Māori has broadened and changed over time. I sought to understand how my experiences of Kaupapa Māori might shed light on how Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised, the focus of research question one. It was hoped that this might illuminate how Kaupapa Māori can be thought of as a political and educational force which holds possibilities to inform the next generation and encourage debate and reflection on the transformative potential of Kaupapa Māori in the current context. This was the focus of research question two. The sections that follow report on key findings that emerged from the study. Conclusions and recommendations are discussed under each of the findings. Recommendations for further research are offered. Finally, I discuss the limitations of this study.

#### *The evolution of Kaupapa Māori*

Question one of this study was concerned with how my experience of Kaupapa Māori might shed light on how Kaupapa Māori can be conceptualised. By sharing accounts of my lived experience of Kaupapa Māori as a teacher, I was able to highlight conceptual, emotional and political differences in responses to culturalist approaches and structuralist approaches to Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis. Native Constructivist approaches evoke a willingness to take on board aspects of mātauranga Māori and ritual practices to observe tikanga, whilst Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis is more politically orientated towards issues of equality, participation, power, accountability and representation. This brought to the surface questions related to whether and how Native Constructivist approaches are making a difference to Māori aspirations in education and the threats and benefits each approach posed to the other.

I conclude that both approaches are working for a mutual goal; to reassert Māori ontologies in education. Both approaches operate within Kaupapa Māori frameworks and both are revitalising Māori knowledges, languages and understandings of the world. I suggest that the liminal space between those two views may hold the clue to conceptualising a third space, or multiple spaces based on socially mediated constructions of our collective lived geographical experiences. Anthropogenic praxis in education, centred on manaaki whenua – care and protection of our precious natural resources – offers new conceptualisations of our becomings. It asks us to re-imagine ourselves as a collective assemblage of Papatūānuku. Thus, we can see ourselves as entangled with the Earth’s precious and shared resources that we are all related to and rely on, such as oxygen, soil, fauna and flora, the sun, water and oceans. In so doing, it may be possible to imagine ourselves as an interdependent part of the Earth’s resources rather than as somehow separate from Papatūānuku and each other. Kaupapa Māori as theory plays an ongoing role in this regard. We have to be aware of the diffuse, overt and subtle influences on our constructions of reality and truth. And then we have to be flexible and let new meanings emerge.

*The trajectories of Kaupapa Māori in te ao hurihuri*

This study sought to understand the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori in a period of shifting economic paradigms as a result of rapid advancements in technology and environmental crises that, combined, are altering our known ways of being, knowing and living. The world is experiencing destabilising climatic changes that are bearing down on Papatūānuku, signaling the imminence of another period in the Earth’s evolution, the Anthropocene Period. For cultures who live relationally with the whenua, our physical, cultural, economic and spiritual wellbeing is interconnected with the wellbeing of the whenua. This study mapped the rise of industrialism and highlights that Indigenous rights existed before colonial industrial rights. Drawing on whakapapa kōrero to showcase our intersubjectivities in relational space with Papatūānuku, captured ways that Indigenous rights were ruptured by colonial industrialism and how Māori have responded to that in education as a process of decolonisation and conscientisation. Māori already have a way of managing complexity through whakapapa and whanaungatanga that we need to diligently deploy and develop in the new period being augured to continue to seek the benefits of new systems and expose the threats they pose to our mokopuna. The literature reviewed and theories considered reinforce Māori ontological explanations of the world as a complex, interconnected network of living treasures. This demonstrates the richness contained within our own knowledge paradigms and the potential of Kaupapa Māori as an educational and political force to inform the next generation.

I conclude that in the contemporary context, there is an urgent need to continue to assert and maintain Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty over our taonga to ensure that Indigenous rights and knowledges are not dismissed as being secondary to the wider issue of global viability. Kaupapa Māori theory can contribute to that space by maintaining a critical gaze on issues related to the fourth industrial revolution and the implications for Indigenous peoples in the fast growing, non-linear networks and systems that information technology has created, resulting in the emergence of global economic capitalism.

*Early childhood education as a driver for change: Conceptualising Kaupapa Māori as a national education paradigm – are we there yet?*

The early childhood education (ECE) sector led the way in Aotearoa when it created the first bi-cultural curriculum document in 1996. *Te Whāriki* has shown that applying Māori concepts and pedagogy does not need to apply solely to the Māori learner but can inform a pedagogy of practice. The ECE sector has role-modelled mana ōrite by grounding its curriculum in a bi-cultural framework, which includes te reo me ngā tikanga Māori and Māori pedagogical approaches. Including Kaupapa Māori theory in the updated ECE curriculum (MoE, 2017) asserted the sector's commitment to Māori aspirations in education. Unpacking these issues in this study has shown that the potential exists for Kaupapa Māori to evolve as a national educational paradigm. However, whether ECE has the leverage to precipitate a national paradigmatic shift in education and beyond remains to be seen and needs to be understood within the relationships of power that have exerted and borne down on Māori since colonisation and on ECE since it was introduced in education in Aotearoa. Whilst there are academic calls for this, there are also reservations. I am doubtful of our national preparedness to move to a Kaupapa Māori educational paradigm yet but believe there is an urgent need to consider the benefits to Papatūānuku. Although I have reservations about the inclusion of Kaupapa Māori theory in the curriculum framework, including it has made explicit an ECE commitment to upholding Māori aspirations. This study has also highlighted the criticality of the early years for bilingual language development and the implications for ECE.

I conclude that further thought needs to be given to the individual language needs of whānau in Aotearoa. I identified that different types of support will be necessary, according to what the first language is for families and what their Māori language goals are for their whānau. The influence of parents on the growing young child was discussed, together with the opportunities it creates for partnership with whānau to support and nurture bilingual language at home.

This study recommends that the status of ECE in Aotearoa be elevated to recognise the criticality of the first years in supporting language development to achieve adult fluency in te reo Māori. Further, that the Government commits greater resourcing for te reo Māori capability building in the ECE sector, which is well poised through intention, but not capacity, to deliver a bilingual ECE programme at this time.

#### *Kaupapa Māori as critical ontology*

This study was able to show how Māori ontological approaches enable us to map out the evolution of our existence as humans and our intersubjectivities with everything in existence, including language through whakapapa. Viewing language this way enabled the use of the Ur-sprung to think the unthought to conceptualise Kaupapa Māori as sacred pedagogies of interconnectivity. In this view, everyone who resides in Aotearoa is linked to te reo Māori. For Māori as Tangata Whenua, the journey is through direct whakapapa that links us back up to our tūpuna, our whenua, our hapū and iwi and our reo. The journey for Tangata Tiriti is removed from the direct whakapapa line but still has a connection to te reo Māori being shaped through locality. Geography connects Tangata Tiriti indirectly to te reo Māori through the whakapapa of the resources in their hāpori, through their local geographies. Everyone who lives in Aotearoa is connected to Papatūānuku. She provides us a place to stand, a platform, a papa. Ka - u - Papa: this is at the heart of how we have an interconnectivity with the land. Nurtured by, and in relationship with, Papatūānuku. I seek the language that enables me to communicate with her; I seek te reo Māori.

#### *Kaupapa Māori as the guardian of te reo Māori*

Recommendations that emerge from the Pūkenga model include to test the wider benefits for young Māori teachers of having Māori language experts or senior teachers with expertise in mātauranga Māori working alongside them to guide their applied practice of te reo Māori. This could address the concern highlighted in this study about the Government's ability to meet its audacious reo Māori goals of achieving fluency in this country without compromising the whakapapa-a-iwi o te reo Māori – iwi-based knowledges of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. The risks of the homogenisation of te reo Māori have been brought to the fore through this study and warrants wider investigation. I recommend that the Government commits greater resourcing to iwi-based language initiatives to develop localised reo Māori projects to mediate the threat of the homogenisation of te reo Māori.

### *Kaupapa Māori as a political and educational force*

This study has added insights into traditional Māori approaches that have endured in education through the practice of having skilled tohunga and the qualities they bring to their roles to guide kaiako. There is a need to recognise these roles in mainstreamed teaching and learning settings. In the modern context, our elders are our Pūkenga and our professional role models. As such, they bring skills in te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, mātauranga Māori and Māori pedagogies. They often play these roles with little recognition of the leadership they provide in education, the knowledge they carry or the value they add to the teaching space. Western views of age are misaligned with Māori views of our elders as taonga. Kaupapa Māori theory disrupts that view. This is part of the decolonising function of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis in education and provides further evidence of how Kaupapa Māori theory is a political and educational force in Aotearoa.

By drawing on the theories of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), I was able to consider the relationships between Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis, bi-culturalism and Kaupapa Māori as a Native Constructivist approach that acknowledges the cultural mores and tikanga underpinning te ao Māori.

I conclude that that Kaupapa Māori as theory supports Native Constructivist formations of Kaupapa Māori. However, the reverse does not necessarily apply. Practising tikanga Māori and speaking te reo Māori does not necessarily support Kaupapa Māori theory as transformative praxis that intervenes in education to support Māori aspirations and address unequal relationships of power. Although the concept of re-booting bi-culturalism to include radical bi-culturalism has merit, it is prefaced with a warning that Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis must remain nomadic to be effective and not fall to the interiorities of the state. Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis constitute the tools at the nomadic Māori academic's disposal. This keeps us critically aware of the dangers of subjugation, appropriation and, ultimately, domestication. I still have questions about the ability of radical bi-culturalism to support Kaupapa Māori as theory. Depending on how it is conceptualised and by whom, it may even have a destabilising effect on the transformational goals of Kaupapa Māori.

## Recommendations for further research

A recommendation from this study is for Kaupapa Māori theory to continue to advance the transformative potential of education and exert pressure on the Government regarding Māori aspirations for education, leadership and self-determination. Maintaining a particular focus on driving the direction of te reo Māori and formalised curriculum teaching of Māori histories in education is also recommended. Related to that is ongoing Kaupapa Māori research into how Māori aspirations in education regarding Māori self-determination are being met by the Government.

In relation to decolonising education, I recommend that further scholarship is needed to illuminate how radical bi-culturalism serves the emancipatory goals of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis.

Ongoing research within initial teacher education into the implications and effect of the new requirements for a minimum standard of fluency in te reo Māori for graduating teachers set by the Teaching Council is necessary to establish what further resourcing and support is needed to assist teachers to meet those expectations. A particular emphasis should be placed on supporting ongoing research in ECE because of this critical period of language acquisition.

A further recommendation is that resourcing be specifically allocated for Māori scholarship into the impact of government-funded language policy initiatives on fluency amongst Māori, with an emphasis on iwi-based research into te reo a iwi – tribal languages.

This study recommends further wānanga around ways that Māori knowledge paradigms can contribute to conceptualising pedagogies and praxis that are responsive to Papatūānuku. Further scholarship into Kaupapa Māori responses to the Anthropocene to illuminate how Kaupapa Māori can guide education and shape manaaki whenua in education is recommended.

This study also highlighted the way our female knowledge has been overshadowed. Further Māori scholarship in this area is indicated to re-establish mātauranga wāhine.

## Limitations of the study

The obvious limitation of this study is an inability to quantify the findings since the study design precluded that. Writing as subject – researcher is also limiting by the nature of what the researcher privileges and what they omit. That was the case in this study. In selecting autoethnographic accounts of Kaupapa Māori, I wanted to ensure I wrote within a framework

of tika, pono and aroha in a way that protected my whānau. Writing respectfully about historical events that affected my whānau was supported by the methods I chose. The intensity of emotion was sometimes overwhelming until I gained strategies to integrate it and channel it meaningfully into the study. In places I told stories, I composed letters, I sung or wrote in prose to articulate and draw meaning from experiences. I realised the need to write honestly about language loss and dislocation from whenua and iwi, and how that affected me personally. My writing style and resilience got stronger as I progressed.

The methodological approach to this study was carefully selected to enable a Māori-centric approach to tell the story of lived experience of Kaupapa Māori. I wanted to kōrero directly to my tūpuna and my mokopuna yet to be. However, I was struck by my inability to speak to them in te reo Māori and their inability to communicate with me in English. My lack of fluency in te reo Māori limited my ability to articulate my thoughts in te reo Māori and my ability to follow the lines of flight and deeply engage in some aspects of the Māori theoretical knowledge that emerged in relation to concepts of time and space.

This study was also limited by my lack of engagement with my iwi. I am aware that Kaupapa Māori research approaches are not merely academic pursuits but, in this instance, I am very much engaged in academic research for the purposes of attaining a higher qualification. As urban Māori, the way I engage in research is largely academic. In place of my iwi, I tend to work within my community in Tāmaki Makaurau, particularly my local community, and have done so since I became a teacher. I hope that the findings of this study may still make a contribution to my iwi and hapū in some way.

Retrospectively, the choice to write rhizomatically posed a limitation born of my own inexperience as a writer. In attempting to follow a rhizomatic approach, I found it difficult without set writing structures and I reverted to having chapters and headings, introductions and conclusions, photographs and diagrams! The chapters themselves emerged rhizomatically. Following the lines of flight that emerged aligned well with Kaupapa Māori which crosses complex terrains to understand the multiple ways our lives are affected by the state and how that impacts on Māori. I was limited by my own inexperience but believe that, overall, Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) rhizomatic approach enabled the study to demonstrate the multiple trajectories of Kaupapa Māori and how they have shaped and continue to shape my experiences in becoming a teacher.

## Kupu Whakatepe

Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis is not fixed but adapts to the needs of the communities it serves. This study has found that Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis make space for other constructions of Kaupapa Māori. Combined and working collectively, they support Māori operating in liminal spaces, such as education to advance the emancipatory project of Kaupapa Māori. By acting nomadically, Māori are able to maintain a position beyond the interiorities of the state to avoid being subsumed or subjugated by dominant interests and state mechanisms. In so doing, Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis shield Māori academics from the destabilising mechanisms of the state so that they are able to make an impact in education, including mainstreamed education spaces. It is my hope that the examples I have provided show the successes of Kaupapa Māori in deterritorialising the assemblages of the state and decolonising education. Tensions include the very fact that it is no longer containable by the state, which brings both opportunities and challenges for the evolution of Kaupapa Māori.

An autoethnographic approach employing Aka Kaupapa as a braided river approach, drawing on a range of sources supported exploration of the intersubjectivities of people and place. What emerged from that was a deeper understanding of the impact of colonisation on myself, on Indigenous people and on the earth itself. Kaupapa Māori has helped to change that narrative for Māori from a colonised to a decolonising narrative. However, this study has illuminated that colonisation has not just affected Indigenous peoples. Thus, I seek to position decolonisation as a participatory project between Māori and Pākehā. There is a new form of global economic colonisation emerging as the world heads at an alarming pace towards environmental disaster. This is a critical time for Indigenous peoples, who have been warning of the consequences of over-extraction and lack of ecological integrity for centuries, to reassert their knowledge paradigms. For Māori in Aotearoa, new formations of Kaupapa Māori can assist in advancing narratives of reindigenisation to recentre Indigenous relational approaches to the Earth. Education too has a critical role to play in expediting a paradigm shift; guided by Kaupapa Māori.

Aotearoa is poised to be able to make that difference.

I conclude by highlighting the need to revisit bi-culturalism and challenge education to move to Tiriti-based leadership to support the development of authentic partnership, based on Tirititanga as a matter of social justice in education. A will to work in partnership is where the spirit of bi-culturalism resides. It is hoped that this study may inspire further debate about

the possibilities for Tirititanga as a decolonising journey for all New Zealanders. It is there that new formations of a collective and emancipatory educational paradigm can be created. Kaupapa Māori as theory has the flexibility and theory base, drawn from the world we live in, to both support and challenge those formations. It is critical at this time in our world's history that we look beyond identity as an individualised construct of self, and we look back to our collective relationship with the earth, with our whaea. Tihei mauri Papatūānuku!

*No reira kua wehe atu tēnei mahi i runga i te rangimārie, te tika, te pono me te aroha. Aio ki te aorangi.*



YOU THINK IT 'S THE END  
BUT IT 'S JUST  
THE BEGINNING ...

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 1976, track 9)

# TURUKITANGA

## Epilogue

In the beginning, there was chaos and potential.

Some years ago, a challenge issued by my colleagues to think about Kaupapa Māori as a political act sent me on a journey across time and space to explore the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori in my teaching, spanning a period of more than 30 years. What emerged was the impact of Kaupapa Māori theory as a political act that has recentred a Māori worldview in education in Aotearoa. Nearly 40 years on, as mātauranga Māori becomes more embedded in mainstreamed education, it is necessary to maintain a critical Kaupapa Māori theory approach to ensure the integrity of the whakapapa of mātauranga. It enables a way to challenge dominant Pākehā interests and assumptions to decolonise education. I wrote autoethnographically about Kaupapa Māori as lived experience because it enabled me to think reflexively and relationally about my experiences and perspectives. It highlighted the lived history of language loss *and* retrieval for Māori. It gave voice to histories that in another approach might never have been heard. It honoured my first teachers. A study grounded on insider knowledge of being Māori that had its axiomatic base in Kaupapa Māori theory was bound to cause tensions! Our tūpuna handed us down ancient wisdoms to enable us to find pathways to move forward. For example, the whakatauki, *Titiro whakamuri, haere whakamua*, literally means to look backward into the future and guides us to look back to the histories of our physical manifestation of Papatūānukua and to keep moving forward by returning to the source of our being. Retracing our steps, understanding our relationships within te aorangi – whanaungatanga and expressing care – manaakitanga: quintessential values within a Māori view. Such is the nature of Māori knowledge. It is circular; it is all linked in and interconnected. I can now respond to the challenge set before me because Kaupapa Māori theory is inextricably linked to Māori through whakapapa; it is more than just a political act; it is a critical ontology that legitimates a unique way to view the world. For this reason I suspect, it became clear to me as I wrote that the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori have influenced my very being as lived experience and are entangled with my view of self as a kaiako.

A second challenge was issued by my examiners, who posed a question about the somewhat human-centric nature of my study in places. A study about the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori that takes place at the cross-cultural interface of mainstreamed education created

complexities because it led me through Western and Māori knowledge bases and addressed the liminal spaces that occur within the relational spaces of teaching and learning. It addressed the process of Kaupapa Māori theory as decolonising education and discussed ways in which Kaupapa Māori theory has and continues to re-indigenise education. How could I *not* be human centric in that space? Space-Te Atea. I pause-*intermezzo*-and I go back to the source. There, in the time before human life, a method was laid down to guide the journey from ignorance to enlightenment, moving from darkness ever forward to light, to life.

*Te Kore:* A sacred void and a site of becoming. In that zone of potential energy resides the divine spark that propels movement forward.

*Te Hīhiri:* Moving onwards – to stretch, to grow, to dream, curiosity forms.

*Te Mahara:* Remembering, ancient connections, knowledge awakens.

*Te Hinengaro:* Movement becomes more conscious, guided onwards.

*Te Wānanga:* Learning, theorising, pushing boundaries

*Te Whakaaro:* Reason forms, ideas take shape, movement is purposeful, with specific intent.

*Te wananga* and *te whakaaro* travel out through te whē. There in the expanse, their collective energies manifest sound.

*Te Hauora:* Sacred breath, bringing wellbeing.

*Te Atamai and Te Ahua:* As shape and form are created.

They in turn create time, *Te Wā*, and space, *Te Atea*.

Te Wā, Te Atea. Time and space. Created in the realms before the presence of Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku. There, space is not a quantifiable measurement of being. Time is not a construct of being human. The time-space continuum is creative energy. Time and space are a relationship, not a measurement. Within te ao Māori maintaining a pattern of right relationship between people and place over time (Te Wā) and space (Te Atea) is an expression of whanaungatanga that commenced before the time of the coming together of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. It has been preserved through whakapapa kōrero. Now whanaungatanga enables us to travel across Te Wā and Te Atea. Thus, whanaungatanga acknowledges the relationship between Te Wā and Te Atea. This is why it works as an intermezzo that enables consideration of what is between space and time.

Desire was formed in the shapeless, silent darkness. Movement was part of our first response to desire. Movement is thus central to the human experience. Our existence within this world

was born of conscious knowledge and understanding. Over time, the will of ngā atua forged new growth, to seek new horizons, to move forward. From then to now, that knowledge is preserved. It is accessible through whakapapa. Whanaungatanga is the process of connecting back to the time before bodies took form, to the shapeless period *and* maintaining our relationships within a vast and interconnected universe.

Whakapapa is a relational science containing a knowledge system that connects everything in the universe up. It contains the source of our becoming. The relationships between the terrestrial and the celestial – the physical and the spiritual – may occur on the same or different planes at the same time. So too, our ability to speak with the living and the departed interact with the animate and the inanimate and with our human and our more-than-human relations. This too can be understood through the whakapapa of time itself. Te ao mārama represents freedom and the will to be human achieved through taking human form. It provides an understanding of enlightenment. In order for hauora to manifest its potentiality in the world, balance between all the interconnected parts of the universe must be maintained. Through this, total wellbeing is achieved. Te Hau Ora.

He Tangata He Atua! This reminds us that we are at once human *and* divine; we are both terrestrial and celestial. We learn that the birds, rivers, trees, mountains, insects and the very earth are our tuakana. They all have sovereignty. As Ira Tangata, our role is kaitiakitanga – a duty of care, not dominion. Post-human theory accounts for human perception of self as generated by forces outside the self. Thus, humans have become distinct because we have invented ourselves from the non-human tools of our own creation. We discuss concepts abstractly; we use language to define things symbolically. New normalising narratives around artificial intelligence are emerging that are pervasive and persuasive. However, it is recognised that human life is still chaotic while tools and processes are improving! When the tools we have developed to create ourselves also destroy ourselves, they do not serve te aorangi and, therefore, do not serve humans because humans are part of the whakapapa of te aorangi. The human quest to ‘be’ has precipitated anthropogenic events placing the planet under stress. The concept of the preeminence of the human is probably the cause of anthropocentric behaviours and attitudes. Kaupapa Māori theory disrupts and troubles the inevitability of an apocalyptic event. We are not encoded in our whakapapa to accept the demise of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. We are encoded to keep moving. This is the world that we were encoded to physically manifest in, as tangata: human. So, it might be a human-centric position but that cannot mean a preeminent position. It must mean a relational position within te ao.

Te Ao Hurihuri; the world turns, movement. Te Whakaaro; thought is a tool that manifests creative energy. Language is an important tool at our disposal that carries with it the aspirations and vision of the human. To Māori, tools are not 'things' but taonga. The physical and mental taonga at our disposal all have whakapapa and as such, they all have an energy, a mauri. That mauri needs to be understood and respected for the potentiality of its creative forces. Concepts of time may indeed measure day and night, sun and moon, tide in and tide out. Te Wā. But when our time on this Earth is done is that the end of time? Perhaps I perceive time relationally because I am connected through whakapapa, but I see my concept of time in relation to my presence within te ao hurihuri. Te ao hurihuri is also the world of our tamariki mokopuna. Our descent lines are encoded in us at birth and can be seen through te reo Māori. Our children are our tamariki, descendant from the celestial planes. Our grandchildren are our mokopuna, our offspring, the spring of our source. Te Pū - the source. Teaching from the intermezzo, from the relational space of whanaungatanga would foster in our tamariki mokopuna an understanding of our interconnectedness within the universe. Whaea Rangimārie Rose Pere states it, so too does Bob Marley. We are all one in the same with everything in the universe. It is a paradigmatic shift of mind and heart. Aka Kaupapa enabled me to think beyond issues of identity and culture. Whilst it is critical to maintain a critical theory lens, Kaupapa Māori as critical ontology enabled me to traverse beyond human realms in my quest to deepen my understandings of the trajectories of Kaupapa Māori. I have returned from the journey with deeper understandings of the vast and interconnected complexities of the world.

*Ki te whai-ao: a glimmer of light enters*

*Ki te ao mārama: light floods the world. Enlightenment is attained. Potential is realised.*

Tēnei te karanga

Tēnei te tangi

Kia tūwhera ngā tātau

I te whai-ao, ki te ao mārama

Tihei mauri ora

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## GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

<b>Ako</b>	To learn, to teach
<b>Aro</b>	Present, in the present time, focus and focussed
<b>Aroha</b>	Empathy, compassion, love
<b>Āta</b>	A modifier, āta is added before a verb to intensify thought or care. Examples used in this study: <i>āta whakarongo</i> (to listen with specific intent/carefully) <i>āta titiro</i> (to carefully observe)
<b>Hapū</b>	Kinship grouping of wider localised relations. Sub-tribe
<b>hapū</b>	Pregnant
<b>Harakeke</b>	Phormium tenax, commonly known as NZ flax, Harakeke is actually a member of the lily family
<b>Hauora</b>	Wellbeing
<b>Hokinga mahara</b>	Memoirs, recollections, auto-biographic writing
<b>Hui</b>	Meeting
<b>Ihi</b>	Essential (human) force, presence of inner power
<b>Ira Atua</b>	Celestial nature, divine principle, connected to the higher realms
<b>Ira Tangata</b>	Human nature, life principle, connected to the physical world
<b>Iwi</b>	Regional kinship grouping. Tribe
<b>Kahu</b>	Hawk
<b>Kaiako</b>	Teacher
<b>Kākano</b>	Seed
<b>Karakia</b>	Incantation
<b>Karanga</b>	Literally, to call. The female domain, the karanga is the first sound that rings when <i>manuhiri</i> come onto the <i>marae ātea</i> . Also done to welcome a baby into the world, to farewell people from this world and send them to the next, or to acknowledge people's deeds.
<b>Kōrero</b>	Tell, talk, speak, address
<b>Kōwhaiwhai</b>	Decorative surface painting
<b>Kupu</b>	Word
<b>Mana</b>	Absolute uniqueness (Pere, 1997). Authority, influence, prestige, inherited status and rank through whakapapa
<b>Mana ōrite</b>	Equality
<b>Mana tangata</b>	Human influence, prestige
<b>Manaaki</b>	Support, show respect, generosity and care, to protect. <i>Manaakitia</i> is an active form (verb) of the word manaaki.
<b>Manaakitanga</b>	The practice of caring and supporting, being generous (noun)
<b>Manawanui</b>	Patience, kind heartedness
<b>Marae</b>	The sacred courtyard at the front of the <i>whare nui</i> . In modern contexts, it is sometimes mistakenly assumed that the marae refers to the whare nui.

<b>Māreikura</b>	In its contemporary use, māreikura refers to the female energy of the Goddess. It also refers to women who play specific roles connected to <i>wairua</i> and, traditionally, to the supernatural world. May be used as a term of respect.
<b>Mātauranga Māori</b>	Mātauranga refers to knowledge. Mātauranga Māori is literally Māori knowledge. Mātauranga can also refer to the curriculum in a educational context. Therefore, mātauranga Māori can also pertain to Māori curriculum.
<b>Mauri</b>	Life force, energy, unique vibration of a person, place or object
<b>Mokemoke</b>	Lonely
<b>Moko/mokopuna</b>	Grandchild/grandchildren. Often shortened to <i>moko</i>
<b>Niho taniwha</b>	A triangular repeating pattern that represents the teeth (niho) of a taniwha
<b>Ngākau</b>	To have a sad or heavy heart, be distressed in spirit
<b>Ngā taonga tuku iho</b>	Literally, treasures handed down. These are considered great gifts and there is an inherent expectation of care to pass them on
<b>Kōrero</b>	Tell, talk, speak, address
<b>Ngā toi (Māori)</b>	A modern term denoting Māori arts. <i>Toi</i> refers to origins or source
<b>Oriori</b>	Lullaby. Used to also transmit tribal knowledge and whakapapa to tamariki from the point of conception and through their young years
<b>Papa kāinga</b>	Homeland, family base, communal family land
<b>Papatūānuku</b>	Earth mother. Papatūānuku is the personification of the earth to Māori. We are all descended from her and are charged with a duty of care for the Earth as our mother (refer also to <i>Ranginui</i> )
<b>Pātere</b>	A type of chant used in specific encounter circumstances
<b>Pito</b>	Navel, umbilical cord
<b>Porotī</b>	A type of shrub. Also a rural Northland area along the Mangakahia highway.
<b>Pouako</b>	Teacher ( <i>Kaiako</i> is another name used)
<b>Puawai</b>	Blossom, flourish
<b>Pūkenga</b>	Refers to expert knowledge, a specialist or expert
<b>Puna</b>	Spring (of water)
<b>Pūrākau</b>	Storying. There are tribal variations on what constitutes pūrākau but this is generally seen as handing on of knowledge through storied accounts. <i>Pū</i> refers to the source, <i>rākau</i> is tree. It is a metaphor for the source of knowledge. Some say that pūrākau were related to the stories that are embellished into <i>whakairo</i> through the patterns, whilst <i>pakiwaitara</i> referred more to oral narratives.
<b>Rauru</b>	Plaited cord. Also a spiral pattern used in <i>whakairo</i> (carving)
<b>Rangi</b>	Sky

<b>Ranginui</b>	Sky father – husband to Papatūānuku. All living things were formed from the union of Ranginui and Papatūānuku; our primordial parents (refer also to <i>Papatuanuku</i> )
<b>Taiao</b>	Earth, natural environment
<b>Takahi mana</b>	Takahi means to stamp. <i>Takahi mana</i> is to trample over someone's mana, to act disrespectfully
<b>Tāne</b>	Tāne is an important <i>atua</i> who has many personifications. As <i>Tāne-nui-a-rangi</i> , he is the great son of Rangi who separated his parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku enabling light to enter the world. Tāne refers to masculine energies of Tāne. All males are named after Tāne (tāne = man; tama tane = son/boy)
<b>Tangaroa</b>	The <i>atua</i> of the seas and oceans and also of marine life. One of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
<b>Taniwha</b>	Water spirit, guardian. They can be fierce and can inhabit the form of a range of mediums including wood, other animals and sea serpents. A powerful leader might also be referred to as a taniwha.
<b>Taonga</b>	Precious, prized treasure.
<b>Taonga pūoro</b>	A general name for musical instruments
<b>Tauira</b>	Student (in this study). It can also refer to example
<b>Taumata</b>	Taumata can refer to a resting place or summit. In the Northern region, the taumata also refers to the <i>taumata kōrero</i> , the speakers' bench. In other iwi this is referred to as the <i>paepae</i>
<b>Tauparapara</b>	A type of karakia unique to tribal groups
<b>Tāwhiri-mātea</b>	The <i>atua</i> of winds and controller of weather. Tāwhiri-mātea is one of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
<b>Te ao (Māori)</b>	The universe. Te ao Māori refers to a Māori worldview or Māori ways of being, knowing and doing
<b>Te haa o te reo</b>	The essence of te reo Māori. It also refers to the tone of language
<b>Te Kōhanga Reo</b>	Total immersion Māori language nests for children from 0–6 years old. When referring to centres generally the lower case is used. If it appears capitalised, it refers to Te Kōhanga Reo collectively as the national early childhood Maori language revitalisation entity
<b>Te-moana-nui-a-Kiwa</b>	The Pacific Ocean
<b>Te oroKōhanga o te ao</b>	The creation of the world
<b>Te reo me ngā tikanga Māori</b>	Māori language and customary practices
<b>Te reo Māori me ōnā tikanga</b>	Māori language and associated grammar and syntax
<b>Te Tai Tokerau</b>	The Northern area
<b>Te Tiriti o Waitangi</b>	The Māori version of The Treaty of Waitangi, signed by Māori Chiefs and representatives of the British Crown assembled at Waitangi on February 6, 1840 and viewed as the foundational document of the new

nation of Aotearoa New Zealand. The English version differs from the Māori version.

<b>Te Wheke</b>	A model of humanity put forward by Rangimārie Rose Pere in 1991 and revised in 1997 (a wheke is an octopus)
<b>Teina</b>	Literally, younger brother to a male or younger sister to a female. It has also been utilised in learning contexts where the learner will position themselves as teina – one who is still developing their knowledge alongside a more skilled <i>tuakana</i> (refer also to tuakana)
<b>Tihei (tihei mauri ora)</b>	<i>Tihei</i> is to sneeze. <i>Tihei mauri ora</i> translates as ‘behold, the sneeze of life’. It is a phrase which remembers the deed of Tane, who created and breathed life into the first woman, <i>Hine-ahu-one</i> Hine formed from the Earth.
<b>Tikanga</b>	From the root of the word tika, or correct. Tikanga refers to correct practices or customs, the right/accepted approach or method.
<b>Titiro</b>	Look
<b>Tohunga</b>	Selected skilled expert, chosen knowledge keeper. Trained in the traditional ways, within the whare wānanga tradition
<b>Tuakana</b>	Literally, older brother of a boy, or older sister of a girl. Can also refer to peer learning with more skilled learners taking on the role of tuakana to mentor the <i>teina</i> (refer also to teina)
<b>Tukutuku</b>	Lattice work. Tukutuku work typically lined the inside of the <i>whare nui</i>
<b>Tūpuna</b>	Ancestor/s (Ngāpuhi region)
<b>Tūrangawaewae</b>	Where your ‘standing place’ is, traditional homelands and associated rights through whakapapa
<b>Wāhi</b>	Place, space. <i>Wāhi ako</i> refers to the learning space
<b>Waiata</b>	Song (melodic)
<b>Wairua</b>	Psyche, spiritual dimension. Commonly refers to spiritual energy or spirituality in a contemporary context. Also refer to Stewart (2020) for discussion about <i>wairua</i> as the psychic or second side of a person – connected to <i>Te Ira Atua</i>
<b>Waka</b>	Canoe
<b>Wana</b>	Passion, liveliness, inspiring a positive energy
<b>Wānanga</b>	In this context, it is a time of intense inquiry and learning for a specific purpose but for Māori its contemporary use is often still related to tribal knowledges
<b>Wehi</b>	Awesomeness, provoking dread
<b>Whaea</b>	Mother. In a modern context, whaea can also refer to teacher
<b>Whakaahua</b>	Table or Figure
<b>Whakairo</b>	Literally to embellish or decorate. <i>Toi whakairo</i> represents the art of carving. A master carver is known as <i>tohunga whakairo</i>
<b>Whaikōrero</b>	(The art of) speech making
<b>Whakahihi</b>	Boastfulness, arrogance

<b>Whakaiti</b>	Humbleness, modesty
<b>Whakamā</b>	Unassuming, shy, embarrassed
<b>Whakapapa</b>	Commonly refers to spiritual energy or spirituality in a contemporary context. Also refer to Stewart (2020) for discussion about <i>wairua</i> as the psychic or second side of a person – connected to <i>Te Ira Atua</i>
<b>Whakarongo</b>	Listen
<b>Whakatepe</b>	Conclusion. <i>Kupu whakatepe</i> refers to concluding comments
<b>Whānau</b>	Literally, family. In a contemporary context, there are other constructions of whānau that relate to how groups of people organise themselves along the lines of whānau values.
<b>Whanaunga</b>	Relative, extended whānau relation
<b>Whanaungatanga</b>	Refers to a pattern of right relationships with people and place, across space and time, maintaining ties and connections
<b>Whare nui</b>	The main meeting house of the marae
<b>Whare pora</b>	Formal weaving school where expert weaving knowledge is gained
<b>Whare Wānanga</b>	Formal higher school of learning where expert knowledge is gained
<b>Whenua</b>	Land. The other meaning is placenta. It is here that Māori ontological views of direct connection to Papatūānuku are evident.



## APPENDIX B

### Mapping the Trajectories of Kaupapa Māori as lived experience

Mapping of the deterritorialisation of Māori ontologies through education policy as the mechanism of the state	
Constructions of Education	Māori Ontological Positions
Pre-European, Indigenous, native, constructivist knowledge approach	Tikanga
Iwi presided over tribal knowledge Local knowledge was the responsibility of hapū Whānau were responsible for communal common knowledge Higher-order learning was taught through wānanga. Taura were selected for this level of learning by observation and based on readiness, aptitude and whakapapa.	All tikanga observed in relation to iwi and hapū Rangatiratanga Tapu, noa Karakia Whakapapa Iwitanga in tact
Early Contact with Missionaries, 1816–1845	
Education for conversion	Tikanga
Schooling in religious indoctrination Education was a civilising mission designed for Māori only Literacy was taught through the Bible and was limited to biblical needs	Initially rangatiratanga was still observed Chiefs selected recipients for missionary instruction so that they could take the knowledge back to their hapū Karakia was replaced by ‘prayer’ Tapu-noa was replaced by sin and virtue Whakapapa was replaced by Eurocentrism Iwitanga was disrupted by Christianity
Post-Treaty Education, 1845–1960	
Schooling for Colonisation	Tikanga
Schooling of Māori was for assimilation Education was limited for Māori – based on domestic service for girls and manual labour for boys Māori language was banished and replaced with English Colonising curriculum	Tikanga completely disappeared Māori subjugation under oppressive education acts Iwitanga was completely written out of education Prayer was replaced by ‘secular education’ Sin and virtue were replaced by failure and success Christianity was troubled by secular education but not entirely disrupted Education was heavily controlled by the state Māori education was sustained largely through Christian schools, Catholic/Anglican (St Joseph Māori girls, Hato Petera, St Stephens, Queen Victoria) Native schools still maintained some aspects of mātauranga Māori (e.g., whakairo) until they were entirely abandoned
Education for Integration, 1960s–1970s	
Schooling for Problem Solving	Tikanga
Schooling of Māori was a ‘rescuing mission’ Education for Māori was saving them from themselves Māori positioned as central to the problem Colonial use of te reo Māori introduced Waitangi Tribunal established Introduction of bi-cultural policies Colonising curriculum retained	First reassertions begin to appear Secular education disrupted karakia Success or failure was replaced by privilege and underprivileged Iwitanga completely written out of education Māori academics were conscientised Tikanga limited and heavily controlled by the state Waitangi Tribunal established

Taha Māori policies	
Education for Decentralisation 1980s–2010	
Schooling for Absolvment	Tikanga
<p>Schooling was ‘decentralised’</p> <p>Māori resistance assertions in education</p> <p>First review of education in 100 years</p> <p>Education Review Office (ERO) replaced inspectors</p> <p>Ministry of Education replaced Dept of Education</p> <p><i>Tomorrows’ Schools</i> policy was introduced</p> <p>State assertions of bi-culturalism</p> <p>Treaty settlement process begins: Fiscal envelope</p> <p>Education differential: Mainstreamed education vs Māori immersion</p> <p>Māori language revitalisation initiatives</p> <p>Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori,</p> <p>Colonising curriculum is challenged</p> <p>Treaty charters were introduced</p> <p>First bi-cultural curriculum developed</p> <p>The year of Māori language introduced</p> <p>Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis positioned Māori as central to the outcome</p> <p>National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) was introduced</p> <p>First Puna reo established: Competitive funding pools &amp; decline in Kōhanga Reo</p> <p>Shortage of fluent Māori speakers identified</p> <p>Teach NZ scholarships introduced</p>	<p>Re-territorialising mātauranga Māori</p> <p>Reassertions of tikanga: Karakia embedded arbitrarily into mainstreamed settings</p> <p>Tikanga embedded into Māori immersion settings</p> <p>Privileged and underprivileged replaced by mainstreamed and immersion</p> <p>Treaty-based partnership emerges as a concept in education</p> <p>Devolvement of control from state to community-based boards of trustees</p> <p>Kaupapa Māori: Māori initiatives exposed sites of struggles for Māori in education</p> <p>Iwi reassert control over tribal knowledge &amp; language revitalisation</p> <p>Te reo Māori is recognised as an official language. Use of te reo Māori by teachers arbitrary and not measured in mainstreamed education</p>
Education for reform, 2010s–2021 and beyond	
Schooling for deterritorialisation by magical capture	Tikanga
<p>National standards introduced</p> <p><i>Closing the gaps</i> policy and the push down curriculum</p> <p>Teacher cultural competencies introduced (Tatai ako, Ka Hikitia)</p> <p>Education Council replaced by Teachers Council and then by Teaching Council.</p> <p>Graduating teaching standards reviewed – <i>Our Code our Standards</i> introduced.</p> <p>Te Whāriki reviewed and rewritten with a statement of the inclusion of Kaupapa Māori as the theoretical underpinning of the document</p> <p>NCEA review</p> <p>Review of vocational education</p> <p>Review of Boards of Trustees</p> <p>The government announces Māori history will be taught in Aotearoa schools</p> <p>Shortage of fluent Māori speakers; Teach NZ scholarships still offered</p> <p>Teaching Council announces all teacher education programmes need to develop tools to assess te reo Māori. Resourcing not included.</p> <p>Review of vocational education (Rove)</p> <p>Polytechnic sector reform</p>	<p>Tikanga appropriation and no accountability</p> <p>Whakanoa: In an historic move, the PM apologises to iwi Māori for the wrongful confiscation of land and incarceration of tūpuna</p> <p>Pohiri normalised in education practices</p> <p>Karakia normalised</p> <p>Te reo Māori still arbitrary in mainstreamed classes</p> <p>Assertions of Kaupapa Māori as paradigmatically correct (<i>Te Whāriki</i> embeds Kaupapa Māori theory into document)</p> <p>Breaches to Māori leadership</p> <p>Waikato University calls for a review of the tertiary sector amidst calls of racism</p> <p>Polytechnic merger to form Te Pūkenga dismantles Māori leadership &amp;</p> <p>Tramples on Te Noho Kotahitanga Partnership agreement (2020–2021)</p>

Table A1 The deterritorialisation of Māori ontologies through education policy as the mechanism of the state