"TANE-NUI-A-RANGI'S LEGACY ....

PROPPING UP THE SKY ......"

(Kaupapa Maori as Resistance and Intervention)

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ABSTRACT

Kaupapa Maori is the philosophy and practice of `being Maori'. It assumes the taken
for granted social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural legitimacy of Maori
people. Since the 1980's Kaupapa Maori has become the identifiable feature of
several successful initiatives developed from within Maori communities to intervene in
Maori language, cultural, educational, social and economic crises. In particular it has
been this core component, Kaupapa Maori philosophy and practice which has
underpinned the successful educational interventions of Te Kohanga Reo (pre-school
language nurseries); Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori medium primary schools); Whare
Waananga (Maori Tertiary Institutions). These educational innovations, which were
begun by Maori communities outside of `mainstream' educational structures, stand as
manifest critiques of the dismal failure of state schooling to change and high
escalating high levels of Maori pupil schooling failure.

This paper argues that these resistance strategies developed by Maori people, ought
to be carefully studied in order to identify the potential intervention factors (Kaupapa
Maori) contained within them. In particular there is a need to learn from these
initiatives with a possible view to the wider application of the `success' elements
embedded in these responses. Such radical action is necessary in order to intervene
in the general educational crisis faced by Maori pupils many of whom are trapped
within a narrow range of existing mainstream schooling options.

Three important points related to the context within which this paper is situated need
to be clarified from the outset.

i)Maori needs and aspirations in regard to schooling and education are not
homogenous or singular. An unfortunate failing of past and present policy
reform within education has tended to apply `blanket' policies based on this
assumption, and subsequently it has been mostly ineffective;

ii)the most overt crisis within New Zealand schooling and education is that which
relates to disproportionate inequalities suffered by Maori as a group. This
situation is apparent within almost every negative statistic related to schooling.
This disastrous scenario is also reflected across other societal indices such as
health, unemployment, criminal activity, welfarism, socio-economic factors and
so on;

iii)policy reforms ostensibly designed to alienate Maori schooling and educational
crisis have not worked. In fact, historically speaking they have been an
abysmal failure. Even an uncritical view of the purported instrumental
relationship between schooling, credentialism and work, ought to acknowledge
that rising Maori unemployment and a burgeoning Maori underclass are
indications of the chronic failure on the part of `would be' educational
reformers. The development of more critical understandings of the role played
by the control of `power' in maintaining societal positions of dominance and
subordination is now being understood by growing numbers of Maori. They
have been able to critically engage what is happening to them in schools and

education by asking key questions such as:

> Policy reform for whom?
> Policy reform in whose interests?
> What counts as legitimate policy reform?

Such questions which expose the shortcomings of educational policy reform
aimed at Maori educational crisis are also couched within a deeper set of
questions which explode the myth of the neutrality of knowledge and expose the
fact that knowledge taught in schools is selected to the benefit of particular
dominant interest groups. For example questions (following Michael Young,
1971) highlight this development.

> What counts as knowledge?
> How is such knowledge produced?
> How is this knowledge taught?
> Whose interests does this knowledge serve?

These questions provide the critical setting for the arguments which are developed
within this paper.

Author's Note

`Tane-nui-a-Rangi's Legacy ... Propping up the Sky...'

The title of this paper refers to the traditional Maori story concerning the making of the world, when
Tane-nui-a-Rangi separated Rangi, the sky father from Papa, the earth mother. He achieved this by
lying on his back and pushing up with his feet against Ranginui the sky. (This enacts the birth process)
Tane's motivation for separating his parents was to intervene as the tuakana (elder child) charged with
the cultural responsibility to look after his younger siblings. Thus his efforts on behalf of the children
liberated them from the cramped space and world of darkness between the two parents. It is the
notions of creating space of liberation and of creating `light' to which I allude in the metaphor contained
in the title of this paper ...

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines Kaupapa Maori as a resistance initiative which has evolved out
of Maori community and cultural contexts. Kaupapa Maori can be defined in general
terms as the `philosophy and practice of `being Maori''.   It is a common sense, taken
for granted assumption. In this respect `being Maori' has a valid and legitimate social,
political, historical, philosophical, intellectual and cultural authenticity. Within the New
Zealand context this has not always been the case given the colonising and
assimilatory history of a dominant Pakeha (non-Maori) population, which has operated

within a societal context of unequal power relations.

Kaupapa Maori philosophy and practice underpins the successful educational initiatives
of Te Kohanga Reo (Maori medium pre-schools) Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori medium
primary schools) Whare Kura (Maori medium secondary schools) and Whare Waananga (Maori tertiary institutions). Of concern in this paper is an attempt to
understand why these educational initiatives are successful in the eyes of Maori people
and to also identify the central determinants of success embodied within Kaupapa
Maori philosophy and practice. Of further interest is the transforming potential which
is contained in this Kaupapa Maori theoretical and practical framework for Maori pupils
across New Zealand schooling generally, noting also that most Maori children have
little option other than attend local state schools. For example:
        i)Maori children constitute almost twenty percent of the total schooling
population in New Zealand (while Maori people only constitute fifteen
percent of the total population in New Zealand), that is the bulk of the
Maori population is very young;
        ii)less than five percent of Maori children have the opportunity to attend
Kura Kaupapa Maori primary schools or Whare Kura secondary schools;
        iii)there are in excess of 20,000 Maori children in Te Kohanga Reo
language nurseries. Te Kohanga Reo is the fastest growing pre-school
initiative in New Zealand. Despite the fact that Kura Kaupapa Maori
primary schooling is the natural extension of Te Kohanga Reo preschool
there are many Maori children who do not have the opportunity to go to

one of only thirteen state funded Kura Kaupapa Maori primary schools
as at July 1991.

Maori people have maintained that Kaupapa Maori has always been part of their lives,
this being expressed in the following comments.
`No one can take my Kaupapa Maori ethos away from me; I control it,
it is part of being. It integrates my spirituality, my language and my
cultural behaviours... its me ... its my Maori identity'.

Maori teacher
(field notes)

`Its our Maori way of doing things'.

Maori University Student
(field notes)

The resurgence and revitalisation of Kaupapa Maori as the central organising,
philosophical and practical basis of contemporary Maori educational resistance can
be correlated with an emerging political consciousness among Maori communities.
This consciousness is developed around understandings of the politics of the control
of knowledge, understandings of the debilitating effects of hegemony, and
understanding of the general politics of existing in a societal context of unequal power
relations. Fundamental to Kaupapa Maori revitalisation has been the deconstruction
of hegemonies which have disempowered Maori from controlling their own knowledge.
This has seen a shifting of Kaupapa Maori from within the domain of `unofficial
knowledge' to the legitimated domain of `official knowledge'. A shift from the marginal
position of the constructed `other' to the more central position of `inclusion'.

This paper analyses Maori resistance from within the framework of structural
arguments on the one hand and cultural arguments on the other. It adopts the stance
that Maori cultural struggle (oppression) is not separate from the economic struggle
(exploitation) and that there ought to be an acknowledgement of the dialectic between
these two positions. There is also a need to consider Maori language and cultural
aspirations on the one hand with regard to mainly working-class (and under-class)
social positioning on the other. Thus the development of the Tomorrow's Schools

reforms (following Picot, 1988) and the emergence of Kaupapa Maori resistance
initiatives need to be understood within a wider, social, political economic and cultural
context of competing interests.

THE NEW RIGHT CONTEXT
The shockwaves of freemarket policies designed to radically restructure New Zealand

education are still being very much felt in 1992. Dating from the Picot Report 1988 the
fundamental shift to insert freemarket economic principles inside New Zealand
schooling and education continues to be developed, although one might argue that
in fact the major policy platforms are already in place and that the state is now merely
embarked on a programme of `fine tuning'. It has also been argued by critics that the
latent potential contained within the freemarket base is yet to be fully felt and they cite
examples of commercially sponsored schools, voucher systems and fully privatised
schooling as future possibilities. (Apple, 1988; Marshall and Peters, 1990; Snook,
1991; Lauder, 1990).

The changes which have occurred post 1988 have not occurred in a vacuum. There
has been opposition mounted against these perceived attacks on education from
within educational and academic groups (Snook 1991; Codd 1990; Marshall and
Peters 1990; Grace 1989; Lauder 1990; Bates 1991; Smith 1991). Such opposition
has centred on core arguments related to `state responsibility' versus `public good'
notions, and on issues of `inequality' versus `equality' as educational outcomes and
processes. Some of the most coherent and persistent of opposition voices to the
implications of freemarket ideologies have been those from within the Maori
community. They have argued strongly against the erosion of their values, culture and
rights which were guaranteed the protection of the Crown under the Treaty of Waitangi
contract of 1840. A major problematic is that the new right dogma and freemarket
ideologies contradict both the explicit and implicit rights contained in the Treaty of
Waitangi and thereby form a new-wave of colonisation and assimilation of Maori
language, culture and knowledge.

It is significant that Maori people were effectively excluded from influencing early

educational policy reform based on the freemarket, this in spite of being the worst

case in almost every crisis indice related to schooling and education, for example,
underachievement levels and truancy rates. In fact I would argue that the true test of
the effectiveness of any educational and schooling reform ought to be its ability to
alleviate the worst case scenario, that is, its ability to deal with the schooling and
educational crises which accrue to Maori as a group. It has only been recently that
Maori people have been canvassed, not about whether the new right policies are
worthwhile or are beneficial for Maori, but merely in terms of how Maori people are
going to fit into the `fait accompli' new economic context. Not only have freemarket
education reforms been developed in the exclusive interests of a dominant Pakeha
capitalist society, they have also been developed in isolation from the contradictory
questions which are raised by Maori culture and values. For example, the primacy of
the individual, the emphasis on meritocracy and the fundamental need for competition
stand in direct contradiction to Maori culture and values which support notions of
collectivism, emphasises shared mana (status and power) and regards cooperation
as a fundamental value. These contradictions have seen Maori positioned in
opposition to new right thinking and therefore a threat to the legitimacy of new right
ideology. It is the reason why the Business Roundtable's `new right' advocate from
Britain (Stuart Sexton) spent a considerable effort in attacking and undermining the
validity of Maori language culture and knowledge (see the Sexton Report, 1990).

With the spectre of the `non achievement' of past policy and reform initiatives aimed
at Maori in education and schooling having been raised as a `back-drop', I want to
now move to consider the current situation of New Right political ascendency in
particular to examine how freemarket ideology impacts on Maori schooling and
education crisis. In regard to defining the New Right, I agree with the Jesson analysis,
(c.f. Jesson, B., Ryan, A. and Spoonley, P.:1988) in that there are two distinct and at

the same time overlapping components to the New Right. Firstly an economic
thrust
(the libertarian Right) concerned to overthrow the Keynsian `welfare
state',
interventionist economic approach and to replace it with the notion of the
freemarket.
Secondly that there is a moral thrust (the authoritarian Right) concerned
to overthrow
liberal societal attitudes and behaviours, and to reinstate conservative
values and

moral standards. Within the New Zealand context of New Right reform,
deriving from
Thatcherism in Britain and Reganism in the United States, two policy
emphases have
evolved in respect of Maori. The first policy trend has been to down play
and deny
cultural differences as being significant and thereby emphasising
assimilatory policy
trends; the second policy approach, and which has become more obvious over
the
last four years of education reform has been the tendency to ignore
completely the
development of policy specifically directed at Maori as a group.

The Libertarian Right
The New Right libertarian economic approach is based on the freemarket
principles
such as individual freedom, competition, choice, construed (selected)
notions of
equality of opportunity and construed (selected) notions of equity
(horizontal equity).
Thus in the capitalistic logic of the freemarket, meritocratic principles
come to the fore.
Every individual is regarded as being born with equal life chances and with
equal
opportunities to participate and achieve whatever they so desire.
Inequalities are
explained in terms of individual failure. In this scenario of the
`survival of the best',
group interests related to race, gender and class considerations are viewed
as
anomalies which contradict the importance of the individual and therefore
disconnect
from the fundamental principles of the freemarket system. The primacy of
the
individual (c.f. Hayek:1974) is upheld by the construction of supportive
ideologies. For
example, it is commonly held (if falsely) that to give groups special

attention is to
advantage them and further that this has a contradictory effect of
disadvantaging
others. This situation is then seen as being more unfair. New Right logic
insists that
everyone should be treated the same within the horizontal equity principle.
This of
course has the outcome of maintaining the status quo and that those already
privileged and in positions of power will be able to maintain their
positions of
advantage. Further with the entrenchment of the corporate hegemony within
schooling and within the minds of pupils, ideologies such as the `open
market place'
enables those already privileged to exact greater social, political and
economic
advantage and thereby sustain and legitimate a societal context of `haves'
and `have
nots'.

The Authoritarian Right
Maori language, knowledge, values and culture have been directly undermined
by both
the libertarian and the authoritarian sectors of the New Right in an
attempt to dismiss
their viability and legitimacy. This is because New Right theory and
subsequently
capitalistic principles are unable or have no `interest' in attempting to
adequately
explain or deal with notions of ethnicity. The disconcerting element
contained within
these attacks is that nothing substantive in the way of a compatible
structural
intervention from the Maori point of view, has been suggested as an
alternative. The
pervasive feature of these attacks is the inevitably dominant Pakeha
cultural
perspective and assimilationist stance which is almost always adopted.

The Sexton Report (1990) commissioned by the New Zealand Business
Roundtable
provides a very clear account of the New Right agenda in relation to New
Zealand
education and schooling. This Report was completed by a `selected'
overseas `expert'
after a minimal three week, first hand acquaintance with the New Zealand
schooling
and education system. While here he spoke to a small number of `selected'

local
people involved in varying aspects of education and in business. That the
Business
Roundtable thought it worthwhile to invest heavily in seeking such a
Report, and to
also continue to publish the document (with only minor alterations) after
severe
criticism of the Draft Report's racist overtones (P.P.T.A.: 1991;
Marshall, et al: 1990)
points to the seriousness with which the Business Roundtable is seeking to
insert the
fundamentalist doctrinaire of the New Right inside New Zealand education.
The
present National Government has already made strong advances along this
track, with
the intrusion of New Right ideology and practice now permeating every
aspect of
schooling, and all sectors of the education system. The platform for big
business
capture, through the instruments of `ideological capture' by the insertion
of corporate
hegemonies such as `competition', `meritocracy', `credentialism' and
`freemarket'
education have already been set in place. It also indicates that within
the reductionist
economic mode of thinking and acting, based on the reification of the
individual and
notions of private goods, people generally (and derivative notions related
to collective
needs such as the notion of the `public good') are to be of minor
consideration and
importance.

The Attack on Maori
The validity of Maori language, knowledge, culture and values is at odds
with New
Right philosophies and because of this have been subjected to systematic
attack.
These attacks have been perpetrated against Maori people and their
interests from a
number of fronts; from the monied elite such as the Business Roundtable;
from the
moral guardians of `standards', `excellence' and `law and order'; from
politicians of all
political persuasions; from a range of right-wing sector groups asserting
particular
conservative interests. All have been to some extent aided by a plethora
of right-wing

media outlets in which we have seen an unprecedented and consistent attack
on
Maori language, Maori culture, Maori knowledge, Maori values and Maori
rights.
These attacks have a common theme, attacking Maori people and their culture
for
their reluctance or inability to conform to the prescribed mould of
dominant Pakeha
society. The structural imperative of New Right ideology appears to
discredit and
destroy the anomalies presented by non conformists to the new economic
order such
as Maori, because they are `constructed' as not contributing fully to the
maximisation
of production, and therefore to the benefit of the Nation.

The attacks on Maori people, language, knowledge and culture as exemplified
in the
Sexton Report and in public statements by Government M.P.s; e.g. Rob
Munro's (M.P.
for Invercargill) attack on the judiciary when the courts ruled in favour
of Maori
claimants in a recent airwaves claim (April, 1991); John Bank's (M.P. for
Whangarei)
attacks on Maori crime rates on talkback radio (April. 1991); Gordon
McLaughlin's
(Newspaper columnist) attack on Maori language after a Broadcasting
Tribunal ruling
against Telecom New Zealand (June, 1991); Mr Tony Steel, M.P. for Hamilton
East,
attacks on Maori immersion schooling, saying that such schooling was a
`cruel hoax'
(May 1992). More recently the Minister of Social Welfare's (Jenny Shipley)
assertion
that there was evidence of significant amounts of undisclosed child abuse
among
Maoris and Pacific Islanders implying a disproportionate level amongst
these
communities (October 1992). Such comments and actions coincide with the
ascendency of the New Right authoritarian ideology and show links to
similar
developments in both Britain and the United States. The construction of
racist
ideologies and racist policies are instruments used by New Right advocates,
including

many politicians and policy makers to deal with the contradictions which
race and
culture (ethnicity) present.

Ethnicity has been a difficult and unwieldy phenomenon as it contradicts reductionist
economic theory implied in New Right thinking. For example the emphasis within New
Right philosophy on individualism (Hayek: 1974) contradicts Maori concepts of
collectivism such as iwi (tribe) hapu (sub-tribe) whanau (extended family).
Individualism is also in conflict with the values implied in social practices such as utu
(reciprocity) manaaki (hospitality) tiaki (nurture) hui (cooperative organisation) and
aroha (respectfulness). However, the general inability of New Right advocates to
adequately account for culture is also shared by some traditional Marxist writers who
have shown a reluctance to acknowledge the centrality of cultural elements in respect
of analyses involving Maori (see Nash, 1983; 1991, Bedgood; 1980). Unless an
analysis that can also take account of Maori cultural aspirations in relation to language,
knowledge and culture is evolved out of our own New Zealand context, then New
Right theorists at one extreme and the more traditional Marxist theorists at the other
extreme, will only have a limited effect in adequately analysing or developing
appropriate interventions for current Maori crises. The development of a New Zealand
theory in this regard is very much needed and I would suggest an urgent project for
social policy reformers given the increasingly hostile attacks on Maori.

Commodification of Maori Culture
Yet another response to the contradictions posed by Maori language, culture,
knowledge and values has been a growing emphasis towards the commodification of
these cultural aspects. In the 1991 census for example Maori people were asked to
nominate a ranking of tribal affiliations. This cuts across the tribal views and cultural
indices held by many Maori families who hold more than one tribal affiliation equally,
and that it is possible to inherit tribal affiliations equally through both mother and father
(bilineal descent). A further example can be seen in the commodification of koha
(traditional Maori gifting) which has been the subject of redefinition by

the Inland
Revenue Department. Recent moves by the New Zealand Qualifications
Authority to
commodify the cultural conditions and definitions of Kaumatua (tribal
elder) tohunga

whakairo (carving expert) and whare wananga (traditional Maori learning
centres)
contain many dangers for Maori people. By packaging and quantifying Maori
cultural
items within Pakeha definitions the control over what these items might
mean shifts
from Maori to Pakeha, and by redefining these cultural items into self-
contained
components they become susceptible to market forces, in that their `value'
is more
dependent upon economic considerations than cultural considerations.
Freemarket
principles such as individualism and competition are more easily
facilitated through
such commodification. In this sense commodification equates with
assimilation.

Devolution
The policy of devolution forms a major platform of freemarket economics.
The
framework for devolution as it was to apply to Maori social, economic,
cultural and
political needs was handed down to Maori by the Labour Government in the Te
Urupare Rangapu document (1989). Initially the devolution policy was
popularly
received in some tribal areas where it was perceived that a potential
existed for
assuming increased control over their own tribal affairs. Recently more
critical views
have emerged and which have been voiced at various Maori gatherings (hui).
Several
difficulties with devolution policy have been identified, such as the
`divide and rule'
potential which is created between independent Iwi groups; the `catch 22'
situation of
the devolution of increased responsibility to Iwi but real power remaining
within state
bureaucracies who retain the ultimate control through controlling funding.

A parallel example can be drawn with schooling and education where there is
a similar
devolution of responsibility to Boards of Trustees but the ultimate control
over funding

being held by the Ministry of Education. The `catch 22' factor for Maori people relates
to the protective role which the state should have in respect of minority interest groups
- to relinquish full power and control to local bureaucracies does not guarantee that
those disadvantaged now will be any better off. Already we have seen the National
Government abdicating its public responsibility to disadvantaged groups in schools by
diminishing equity provisions and principles within school charters and by making
Treaty of Waitangi obligations optional. The undoing of equity provisions is also seen
in the diminished role being given to the Education Review Office's function of

moderating equity provisions. The moves to diminish the Education Review Office's
powers in relation to the supervision of E.E.O. and Equity provisions in universities is
a specific example of this trend (see the Lough Report 1990). In this sense, with the
increasing abdication by the State of its 1840 contractual obligations to protect Maori
cultural interests, Maori identity and cultural survival becomes extremely vulnerable.
Maori aspirations in this scenario become reliant on the goodwill of the general
`dominant Pakeha' public who are able to co-opt construed democratic principles
based on `majority rule' and `one person, one vote' to prioritise their own interests.
For example, New Right interests have underpinned recent calls for National
referendums to be held on Maori language and the Treaty of Waitangi. What this
means within our societal context of unequal power relations is that co-opted
democratic principles allow eighty-five percent of the population who are non-Maori to
determine the validity of Maori language and the Treaty of Waitangi!

Before I move to address the second half of this paper, I want to restate and reinforce
the points that I have been making so far:
        i)past reform and policies related to Maori generally and in education and
schooling in particular have largely failed;
        ii)the current context of New Right ascendency has seen the

emergence
of two distinct approaches in dealing with Maori;
                a)non specific policies, that is blanket policy-making
which tends to
ignore specific Maori needs and aspirations;
                b)a systematic attack on the validity Maori language and
culture in
that they constitute major anomalies to the new economic order;
        iii)these attacks are discernible within education policy trends
and despite
the major reforms developed within education over the last five years
very few of these changes have been targeted specifically at Maori
education and schooling crisis.

The first section of this paper has attempted to summarise, perhaps the
more extreme
parameters of the new policy context and in the second part of this paper
there is a
need to consider how Maori people themselves have responded and reacted to
the

challenges posed by the new economic context and to also consider some
potentially
positive directions that future policy development ought to take.

One of the most significant developments which has been given impetus by
the New
Right inspired attacks on Maori language, culture and values has been a
parallel
increase in the political conscientising of Maori people. This new
awareness has
moved Maori people beyond surface level explanations of their social,
cultural and
political predicament. Increasing numbers of Maori people are now going
beyond
narrow discourses related only to race and culture to explain their social,
cultural and
political situation, to now understanding more deeply how fundamental
impediments
such as those related to unequal power distribution, and unequal economic
distribution
affects their life chances. The consequences of this emerging
consciousness among
Maori has seen a corresponding, and rapid growth in autonomy initiatives,
usually
articulated in terms of `tino rangatiratanga'.  The impetus toward `tino
rangatiratanga'
as an organising philosophy has also been as a result of Maori critical
analyses of the

limits and capacities of biculturalism. Devolution is a two edged sword for Maori. It
gives the illusion of increased power and autonomy, however, it is also about the
abdication of the State's responsibility to minority interest groups.

Biculturalism
Essentially biculturalism is being perceived by increasing numbers of Maori as a limited
ideal in terms of delivering Maori aspirations. Biculturalism has developed out of a
particular political context of the 1960s and 1970s, and was a measured response to
the largely hostile and monocultural social-political climate which existed at that time.
It was a period when Maori culture was struggling to gain acceptance in mainstream
thinking and practice. It was a time when cultural deprivation theories and deficit
theories (victim blaming theories) were prevalent. For many Maori it was very
awkward to overtly identify as Maori (see Edwards, M.:1990, Walker, R: 1990).
Biculturalism was targeted at all New Zealanders and aimed to develop rudimentary
understandings and practices of Maori culture within all New Zealand citizens - the
outcome was to be citizens who were able to stand comfortably in two cultures. The
present predicament of imminent language death and cultural demise suggests two

things about biculturalism, firstly, it has failed in its aim to produce bicultural citizens
and secondly it is obviously a limited concept in sustaining Maori cultural and language
aspirations. While there are strong arguments that biculturalism ought to be supported
in order to develop an indigenous identity within the New Zealand Pakeha community,
biculturalism both as a social ideal and social practice has not, and has never been
concerned to respond to Maori cultural aspirations. As a consequence the late 1980s
and early 1990s saw increased calls from Maori groups such as Te Kohanga Reo
whanau, the New Zealand Maori Council, independent Iwi Authorities, Maori Union
groups, and Urban Maori authorities for increased autonomy over their own

lives and
cultural welfare. This trend is also discernible with regard to actions
undertaken by
Maori groups within education and schooling. While such moves can be
explained in
terms of a proactive stance adopted by Maori seeking more meaningful
control over
their own lives, it is also, in part, a resistance reaction to the poor
performance of
mainstream policy and reform. Predictably these initiatives toward
increased autonomy
are often perceived negatively by dominant Pakeha society and Maori
pursuing these
objectives are inevitably criticised of `separatism' and `apartheid'.. At
times it seems
that Maori communities are unable to win whichever way they move, for
example:
`A Pakeha community in Christchurch complained about having `taha
Maori' forced upon them by `liberal' school policy. In the same week yet
another Pakeha community from the same city, in the same newspaper
complained about the development of `separatist' schooling for Maori in
Christchurch because Maori parents who had apparently become
frustrated at not having their needs met within their local school had
decided to opt out. The contradiction here is that on the one hand
Maori are accused of `ramming it down the throats of Pakeha' when they
try and influence existing structures from within, and then on the other
hand are accused of `separatism' and `apartheid' schooling when they
attempt to meet the schooling and cultural aspirations for themselves.
(Smith, G. 1991:11).

The challenge being developed here for those concerned with policy-making
is that
in the current climate of general hostility towards things Maori in
schooling and
education, very few, if any, meaningful interventions have been proposed or
initiated
which reinforce, support, and proactively co-opt Maori cultural aspirations
in ways
which are desired by Maori people themselves. Maori resolve and commitment
to the
preservation of their culture and language is clearly and frequently
articulated by

numerous Maori groups and individuals. The lengths to which Maori people
are now
prepared to go in defence of their cultural aspirations is clearly
suggested in the
following resolution, passed unanimously by over three hundred Maori
educationalists

(ironically, the great majority of whom worked within the State education system)
attending the 1984 Maori Education Development Conference at Turangawaewae Marae.
"This conference declares that the existing system of education is failing Maori people and modifications have not helped the situation, nor will they. Therefore we urge Maori withdrawal and the establishment of alternative schooling modelled on the principles underlying Kohanga Reo". (Walker, R: 1984).

Kaupapa Maori: Theory of Change
A new theory of change has emerged out of these Maori resistance initiatives. This
theory has developed from within the Maori community itself and is generalised under
the label of `Kaupapa Maori'. Kaupapa Maori speaks to the validity and legitimacy of
being and acting Maori; to be Maori is taken for granted. Maori language, culture,
knowledge and values are accepted in their own right. Kaupapa Maori is the critical
factor underpinning Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, hui Maori, Marae, whare
wananga and some bilingual units. It is not a rejection of Pakeha knowledge and or
culture. Kaupapa Maori advocates excellence within Maori culture as well as Pakeha
culture. It is not an either/or choice - Maori parents want full access to both cultural
frameworks for their children.

The development of Kaupapa Maori as a theory of change provides exciting potential
for intervening in the general Maori schooling crisis. As such it ought to be carefully
considered by all would be policy makers and reformers who are genuinely concerned
to alleviate Maori schooling crisis. The crucial change elements embedded within
Kaupapa Maori need to be identified with a view to wider application across the whole
of New Zealand schooling. For example, some of the critical change factors are listed
here; (c.f. Smith, G: 1991).
        i)Tino Rangatiratanga (relative autonomy principle);
        ii)Taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations principle);

        iii)Ako Maori (culturally preferred pedagogy);

> iv)Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga (mediation of socio-economic
factors);
> v)Whanau (extended family management principle);
> vi)Kaupapa (collective vision principle).

The ongoing failure of policy reform handed down to Maori, coupled with
disillusionment with notions such as Taha Maori, and biculturalism, has
given impetus
to the subsequent development of Kaupapa Maori as a new theory of change.
Perhaps more importantly this has occurred because Maori people have worked
out
the intricacies of our societal context of unequal power relations. In
particular they
have understood how power has been used (misused) in education and
schooling to
construct schooling in particularly exclusive ways. The increased calls
for Tino
Rangatiratanga (autonomy), are driven by desires to implement and to effect
Kaupapa
Maori unencumbered by external interests. Calls for Tino Rangatiratanga I
suggest
are made in order that Kaupapa Maori can be implemented and practiced
without
interference.

KURA KAUPAPA MAORI BACKGROUND
Kura Kaupapa Maori are total immersion Maori language and culture schooling
options
offered at the primary school level. These schools are not to be confused
with `total
Immersion' schools in the traditional sense such as the Welsh medium school
model
or the French Canadian immersion model. Kura Kaupapa Maori Schools involve
much
more than total Immersion schooling within mother tongue language, they
also operate
within a specific cultural framework and mediate a particular social and
economic
context. Kura Kaupapa Maori Schools are uniquely New Zealand and lead the
rest of
the world in many aspects related to Immersion type education. Currently
there are
six State funded schools which form part of a national trial following the
inclusion of
Kura Kaupapa Maori within the legislation of the Education Amendment Act
1989
(December). The six schools participating in the official trial are Hoani
Waititi (Glen
Eden), Waipareira (Kelston), Maungawhau (Mt. Eden), Mangere (Mangere) and
Piripono (Otara) in the Auckland region. A sixth `trial' school has been

established in
Palmerston North. Some twenty-two other Kura Kaupapa Maori schools of
varying

degrees have also been established. As at May 1992 fourteen of these
schools are
State funded, the rest exist outside the State system and are funded by
local Maori
communities and parents. Each year the government makes funding provision
for the
further establishment of `up to' five other schools. It is however,
important to
acknowledge that Kura Kaupapa Maori were originally established and
developed for
some years outside of the state schooling structures by independent Maori
communities wishing to capitalise on and continue the successful language
gains
made by their children in Te Kohanga Reo (pre-school language nurseries).
While
Kaupapa Maori schools are concerned with Maori language revival and
survival they
also involve much more. For example, in these schools `to be Maori' is
taken for
granted and the legitimacy of Maori language, knowledge, culture and values
are
assumed to be `normal'.  In the Bourdieu (1977) sense, the `cultural
capital' of the
schools connects closely to the `cultural capital' of the homes from which
these
children come.

It must also be acknowledged that Kura Kaupapa Maori parents originally
chose
(mostly because there was no other choice) to move outside of the state
school
setting in a conscious effort to resist the inhibiting structural elements
embedded within
state schools, these structural impediments being perceived by these
parents as
contributing to the poor performance of many Maori pupils in state
schooling and to
also being antagonistic to their cultural aspirations. In seeking
alternative schooling
outside of the State system Maori parents moved to assume greater control
and
autonomy over the important educational decision making related to the
schooling of
their children. Parents often couched their reasoning for such action in
statements

such as:

`we can't do any worse than what the state school system has done for
our children'   Awhireinga Parent
(field notes)

Greater influence over the curriculum, administration, pedagogy and
learning outcomes
were able to be achieved through Kura Kaupapa Maori existing outside the
state
structures as an independent alternative. Major sacrifices were made by
many parents

and whanau in support of Kura Kaupapa Maori as they struggled to exist in
the early
stages of this development;
`I have to get up at six thirty in the morning, get the kids up, take the
youngest to Kohanga Reo, the oldest to Waipareira across the other side
of town, come back to work by 8.30 so that I can earn money to pay
rent on our school buildings. I really feel for our kids - we don't get
home till after six most nights of the week - but I'm prepared to do this
for as long as it takes.'Waipareira Parent
(field notes)

Kura Kaupapa Maori provide a schooling option not provided for elsewhere in
state
schooling, (nor in the Tomorrow's Schools (1988) provisions).
Notwithstanding that
Maori schooling needs and aspirations are not all the same, the need for a
total
immersion type of schooling option has increased as the children from Te
Kohanga
Reo have sought to have their language needs met in the formal schooling
structures.
Through the process of total immersion in a Maori language and schooling
environment. Maori children are provided with meaningful opportunities to
develop
fluency in their mother tongue, and their mother culture.
`Our children argue, laugh, play, cry, talk in their sleep and are able to
cheat at cards all in Maori, all very naturally.'
Maungawhau parent
(field notes)

These schools provide not only a total Maori language experience but also a
wholly
Maori cultural experience all day, every day for their children. Taha
Maori programmes
(Maori cultural additive programmes) and bilingual schooling are not to be

confused
as fully providing for Maori language and cultural needs. Nor is the
meeting of these
needs achieved by pursuing a curriculum grounded only in the traditional
past such
as what Maori tanga programmes tended to be. Kura Kaupapa Maori parents
have
expressed repeatedly that they want for their children excellence in both
Maori and
Pakeha languages and culture. Kura Kaupapa Maori schooling is not a
question of
either Maori or Pakeha language and culture.   The outcome of Kura Kaupapa
Maori
total immersion schooling therefore, is bilingualism and biculturalism
although formal
moves to teach English language skills are not made until the children are
ten to
eleven years old. For the most part, children have shown that they easily
pick up
English language anyway through other everyday activities and experiences
outside

of the school; through their parents at home, through television and radio,
through
trips to the supermarket, through playing with other children, through road
signs,
through other printed media and so on. Almost without exception Kura
Kaupapa
Maori children speak very good Maori and very good English.

Kura Kaupapa Maori have also been able to intervene successfully within
Maori homes
through the whanau administrative structures which require full parental
participation
and support for the children at school. These structures have been
successful in
cutting across the deep-seated mistrust that many Maori parents have of
schooling
given their own unhappy experiences of school. All parents within the
whanau network
have a contribution to make, and therefore have responsibilities through
the whanau
structures to assist meaningfully in the education of their children. Many
of the Kura
Kaupapa Maori also run adult education classes - usually Maori language
learning, for
their parents in order that they can better support their children's
language, and
schooling development in the home.

Te Kohanga Reo communities are still engaged in the struggle to fully establish Kura
Kaupapa Maori; for example the development of a teacher training course at the
Auckland College of Education; the development of a Kura Kaupapa Maori Resource
Centre in West Auckland the establishment of a Kura Kaupapa Maori Secondary
School in West Auckland. Fund raising activities, resource production, mediating
political structures and conscientising the community at large to the `intervention'
potential of Kura Kaupapa have all had to continue, largely from within and through the
resources of the community itself despite the development of enabling legislation and
the flow of some funding support from government. However, throughout the
historical development of Kura Kaupapa Maori dating from 1985, the notion of
`struggle' has been an important element in not only refining the Kaupapa (guiding
philosophy) but also in making parents more resolute and unified in respect of it.

Kura Kaupapa Maori are arguably the only real change within all of the present
education reforms which attempt to implement a structural overthrow of the existing
Maori schooling crises in that it endeavours to effect some change, albeit limited, at

the power relations and ideological levels. For example through increased control over
knowledge, through increased control over the curriculum, and therefore through
increased influence over the credentialling processes. Kura Kaupapa Maori is a
positive and proactive force which has the support and commitment of the Maori
community out of which it has evolved. It is acknowledged that Maori educational and
schooling needs are not singular or homogenous, and therefore Kura Kaupapa Maori
schooling provides but one option for Maori pupils. These schools are also concerned
to provide an excellent education within the national curriculum guidelines. Maori
parents as an outcome of such schooling want for their children the ability to have

access to a full range of societal opportunities. Despite attempts by ill-informed
commentators to the contrary (very few, if any who have actually visited such a school
and who are caught within other social, cultural and political agenda), Kura Kaupapa
Maori education is not a choice of one culture or language at the expense of another,
this point being clearly expressed by Kura parents themselves, for example;

"My daughter is going to be the real New Zealander of the future, in fact
better off than most Pakeha kids. She's going to speak both Maori and
Pakeha, think in both Maori and Pakeha. Most Pakeha can, and I
suppose a lot of Maoris too, are only able to korero and think in one
language - they're the ones disadvantaged."
Hoani Waititi Parent
(field notes)

The potential of Kura Kaupapa Maori schooling to `speak' to the general crisis of Maori
educational underachievement needs to be acknowledged, explored and capitalised
upon if we are genuinely concerned to alleviate the current circumstances. Given the
choice to make key decisions in regard to curriculum, pedagogy and so on, what
choices were made? What are the successful elements of Kura Kaupapa Maori and
how might they be effectively employed to the benefit of Maori pupils generally?

KAUPAPA MAORI AS EDUCATION INTERVENTION
The crisis of legitimacy currently being experienced in New Zealand schooling, while
being inextricably linked to other major crises on an international front, can also be
attributed in part to effective critical analyses of the education system by social policy

analysts from both the Left and the Right. A historical review reveals that prior to the
1960s, non-educational achievement by Maori pupils was not a major social concern,
and that it was the Hunn Report in 1960 which centralised this issue. Since the Hunn
Report, New Zealand education has embarked on a series of intervention strategies
to deal with Maori `underachievement' (Smith G. 1990). During the 1960s

and early
1970s interventions focused clearly on the Maori child, family, home or culture as the
`problem'. This focus tended to produce a `victim-blaming' orientation in both research
trends and subsequent interventions and failed to make any significant impact on
Maori underachievement.

The 1970s and 1980s saw the focus begin to shift from the Maori individual and
cultural explanations to an increased emphasis being placed upon the questioning of
the system and its structures such as, knowledge, curriculum, pedagogy, teachers,
administration, the `hidden curriculum' and so on. To be fair, critical enquiry into the
`system' has only just begun and has not yet been fully developed, consequently it is
too soon perhaps to assess the limitations and possibilities of these types of
interventions. However, it has been this emphasis upon critical enquiry of the `system
and its associated structures' (although still in its early stages), which has contributed
to the legitimation crises in New Zealand schooling.

One of the obvious shortcomings of education research in New Zealand is that it has
often been extreme, either tending towards Deficit or Deprivation theories, that is, a
`victim blaming' orientation or towards the other end of the scale, focusing solely on
`structural impediments'. It may seem obvious, but in terms of a meaningful schooling
intervention for Maori, a more `balanced' intervention strategy is required, one that is
able to work on all fronts, and one which is able to incorporate where necessary both
cultural and structural considerations.

Thus Kura Kaupapa Maori, building on the successful elements of Te Kohanga Reo
have produced an intervention that is already proving successful at many levels for the
children in these schools and when considered against the schooling experiences of
many Maori children within mainstream state schooling. Some of the key intervention

elements which are embraced within Kura Kaupapa Maori and which have the
potential
to speak to the general Maori crisis in schooling are briefly outlined
here.

1.   (TINO) RANGATIRATANGA (relative autonomy principle)
        -the goal of `control over one's own life and cultural well-being'
has made
gains within the relatively autonomous development of Kura Kaupapa
Maori. Greater autonomy over key decision-making in schooling has
been attained for example in regard to administration, curriculum,
pedagogy and Maori aspirations. Key points are that Maori people have
made these choices and are therefore more committed to making them
work. This principle has long been a basic tenet of good business
practice. It is also part of the Japanese work ethic exemplified in the
`Nissan Way' - where the workers are more committed to the outcomes
of the project because they are meaningfully included in the key
decision-making.

2.   TAONGA TUKU IHO (cultural aspirations principle)
        -In Kura Kaupapa Maori, to be Maori is taken for granted. Maori
language, knowledge, culture and values are valid and legitimate. Maori
cultural aspirations, particularly in a wider societal context of the
struggle
for language and cultural survival, are more assured. One of the
common faults of previous schooling interventions has been the
inadequate or serious attention paid to this aspect. In incorporating
these elements, a strong emotional and spiritual factor is introduced to
support the commitment of Maori to the intervention. Maori people have
a deeply held emotional drive related to the revitalisation and survival of
their culture. This is a powerful driving emotional force. Kaupapa Maori
co-opts this positive energy by speaking meaningfully to these cultural
aspirations. This `energy' and `force' is harnessed in ways which
commit Maori students more wholeheartedly to the enterprise of learning
and education.

3.   AKO MAORI (culturally preferred pedagogy)
        -That teaching and learning settings and practices are able to
closely and
effectively connect with the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances
(socio-economic) of Maori communities. These teaching and learning
choices are selected as being culturally preferred. Other pedagogy is
also utilised including general Pakeha schooling methods, and some
cross cultural borrowing, e.g. Japanese pedagogy.- `Soroban' maths
programme; learning of Japanese language. The move towards
Pacific/Asian cultures and language is a logical development given close

cultural similarities, and given the shared commonalities of the
Austronesian group of languages. Maori values and attitudes towards
knowledge often differ from those which have become established as the
norm in general schooling. In a Maori world view, knowledge is often
perceived as belonging to the group; individuals are only repositories of
knowledge in so far as to benefit the whole group; knowledge ought to
be shared; individuals have a responsibility to use knowledge to benefit
others; individuals are encouraged not to overtly display their knowledge
- this is regarded as whakahihi (showing off), one is encouraged to be
whakamaa (retiring) in respect of knowledge. Other examples of Maori
preferred pedagogy include `tuakana - teina' (older- younger) pedagogy,
where older children have a cultural responsibility (chartered in the
earliest origin traditions and stories such as the Maui and Tawhaki
histories) to look after, teach and nurture their younger peers. There are
numerous examples of Maori preferred pedagogy, many of which are in
direct contradiction to those often emphasised and incorporated into
dominant Pakeha schooling structures.

4.KIA PIKI AKE I NGA RARURARU O TE KAINGA (mediation of socio-
economic and home difficulties principle)
        -The Kaupapa (philosophy) of Kura Kaupapa Maori is such a powerful
and all embracing force, through its emotional (ngakau) and spiritual
(wairua) elements, that it commits Maori communities to take seriously

the schooling enterprise despite other social and economic impediments;
it impacts at the ideological level, and is able to assist in mediating a
societal context of unequal power relations; it makes schooling a priority
consideration despite debilitating social and economic circumstances.
Kaupapa Maori does not overthrow socio-economic crisis, but I would
argue that it provides a cultural framework which goes some way
towards mediating the debilitating effects which socio-economic factors
have on Maori participation in education and schooling. Much has been
written by both the `left' and the `right' of the impact of socio-economic
factors in minority group educational crises yet few have been able to
provide effective intervention strategies. The key intervention factor
contained within Kaupapa Maori lies within collective structures such as
whanau. So that where socio-economic factors might normally impact
negatively on the learning chances of children, the group responsibility
embedded in collective cultural practice often operates to mediate these
circumstances.

5.WHANAU (extended family structure principle)
        -This structure supports the ideological support `won' in the
previous
category. It does this by providing a practical support structure to
alleviate and mediate social and economic difficulties, parenting
difficulties, health difficulties and others. Such difficulties are not
located
in individual homes but in the total whanau; the whanau takes collective

responsibility to assist and intervene. While the whanau structure implies
a support network for individual members there is also a reciprocal
obligation on individual members to `invest' in the whanau group. In this
way, parents are culturally `contracted' to support and assist in the
education of all of the children in the whanau. Perhaps the most
significant aspect of this type of whanau administration and management
is that it brings back into the schooling setting many parents who were
once extremely `hostile' to education given their own `unhappy'
schooling experiences. Many of these parents have transferred their

negative attitudes on to their children, who in turn resist `Pakeha'
schooling as being alienating.. This is a major feature of Kura Kaupapa
Maori schooling intervention - it has committed parents to re-invest in
schooling and education as being some worthwhile potential for their
children. What were once negative attitudes have been transformed in
these contexts to become positive attitudes.

6.   KAUPAPA (Collective vision; philosophy principle)
        -Kura Kaupapa Maori have a collective vision which is written into
a
formal charter entitled `Te Aho Matua'. This vision provides the
guidelines for excellence in Maori; what a good Maori education should
entail. It also acknowledges Pakeha culture and skills required by Maori
children to participate fully and at every level in modern New Zealand
society. `Te Aho Matua' builds on the Kaupapa of Te Kohanga Reo, and
provides the parameters for the uniqueness that is Kura Kaupapa Maori.
Its power is in its ability to articulate and connect with Maori
aspirations,
politically, socially, economically and culturally.

This list contains only some of the key elements of Kura Kaupapa Maori
schooling
which contribute to the success of these schools. It is not a definitive
list.

CASE STUDY: BACKGROUND
In this third section of the paper I consider a case study in which Kaupapa
Maori as
an intervention strategy has been applied in a University setting. In
specific terms as
it has been used in the development of Maori education in the Education
Department
at the University of Auckland.

The context of this example is explained in the following points:
i)The University of Auckland is situated in the largest polynesian city in
the
world;
ii)15.3% of Auckland school students are of Maori descent; 17.1% are

Pacific Islands students. That is, nearly one third of Auckland school

pupils are of either Maori or Pacific Island descent;
iii)At the University of Auckland in 1988 there was only one Maori post-
graduate student enrolled in the Education Department. This is
compared to the current situation in 1992, where there are thirty-three
Maori post-graduate students in the Education Department, out of fifty-
eight post-graduate students in total across the whole of Arts Faculty;
iv)Nationally; "official enrolment figures for Maori students at University
are
only available for the years 1986-90 inclusive. During this time the Maori
participation rate for internal students (that is, excluding extra mural
students) has risen from 3.6% to 5.8% of all students. In 1990 33% of
Maori internal students attended Waikato University, 22% at Auckland,
12% at Massey, 15% at Victoria, 10% at Otago, 7% at Canterbury and
1% at Lincoln".
(p. 23 E Tipu E Rea - Government Report, 1991);
v)Nationally, "of the total Maori University student population, 47% were
aged 25 years or older in 1990, which was higher than the percentage
for non-Maori (38%). Concentration in the 25 years - plus age bracket
indicates that many students have not come directly from secondary
school".

(p. 24 E Tipu E Rea - Government Report, 1991);
        vi)Nationally, "in 1989, 3.1% of the total number of University
students
eligible for graduation were Maori. Of these Maori graduates, 70%
received bachelors degrees, a further 11% received undergraduate
certificates and 12% received undergraduate diplomas. Only 7% (27
people) received post-graduate qualifications.

(p. 25 E Tipu E Rea - Government Report, 1991).

In summary the points being made here are that:
There are few Maori students in universities and fewer still, who actually
get to graduate.
The Maori student population is generally older and consists significantly
of `adult entrants into University'.

Very few Maori students go on to post-graduate study - but
proportionately more do so than non-Maori.

CASE STUDY: THE UNIVERSITY CONTEXT
In 1988 the Education Department at Auckland University made an appointment
in
Bicultural education. Since this appointment there has been a consistent
application
of a Kaupapa Maori strategy to intervene in the dire situation exemplified

in the lack
of Maori students at University generally and within post graduate
programmes in
particular. The cornerstones of this intervention approach rest on the
following
assumptions:
        a)That the institutional frameworks are essentially culturally
antagonistic to
many Maori students.
        b)That institutional structures ought not to be taken for granted.
        c)That institutional structures which are restrictive need to be
engaged in
ways which create space for Kaupapa Maori. There needs to be an
awareness about not being captured in a reactive mode of engaging the
restrictive structures to the extent that proactive intervention
strategies,
such as Kaupapa Maori are overlooked.

With respect to this last point, there has been a historical setting
related to the two
principal approaches alluded to here. In the 1960s and 1970s some emphasis
was
placed on changing institutional structures in attempt to enable them to
deliver to
Maori, although more often than not Maori students were expected to change
to fit
into the prescribed `mould' of the institution.   Since the 1980s, and the
development
of Kohanga Reo, Maori people have adopted a new emphasis which has
concentrated
on engaging the structures only in so far as to create authentic space for
Maori
structures within these settings. The success of Kohanga Reo development
outside
of mainstream structures, and from `the grassroots up' directly confronted
two of the
taken for granted methods of policy making for Maori; that policy needed to
conform
to the `giveness' of institutional settings and that policy should be
developed by
experts and handed down to the people. However, the new intervention
strategies
which have evolved from Kohanga Reo assumes a level of critical
consciousness to

enable ongoing `reflective and reflexive' (Marshall and Peters, 1988)
critical monitoring.

Maori people are often forced to conform to the `taken for granted'

structures within
institutional settings - the justification by the controlling authorities is usually couched
in arguments that Maori have chosen to enter the institution and therefore ought to
conform and abide by its canons, practices and expectations. What is problematic
here is that most Maori people do not come into the institution, secondly if they do,
it is often wrongly assumed that Maori have exercised a freedom of choice and,
therefore ought to accept the `taken for granted' status quo situation. The reality is,
of course, that the `choices' most Maori have are limited, to either participating in
Pakeha dominant institutional frameworks, or not participating at all. The corollary of
entering into a Pakeha dominant tertiary institution, for example, is highlighted in critical
questions such as what counts as knowledge; who determines what counts as
knowledge, what counts as pedagogy, what counts as research, what counts as a
credential and so on. For the most part many departments within Universities
construct the answers to these questions in culturally exclusive ways. In this way
notions such as `academic freedom' only apply in `selected' and predetermined
knowledge and cultural frameworks. Fundamental to answering these questions is the
issue of who has power. In New Zealand Universities it is mostly Pakeha (non-Maori)
who determine the answers to these questions.

Maori people have little option other than to enter into Pakeha dominant tertiary
institutions and do their best to survive in a largely culturally alienating environment,
because of the lack of alternatives available to them. As well Maori parents have
expressed repeatedly (even in Maori immersion schools) that they want for their
children excellence in Maori and Pakeha knowledges. It is not an either or option,
they want excellence in both cultural frameworks. Finally, an intervention strategy such
as Kaupapa Maori is inclusive, it can involve a whole Department and personnel if they
are willing to support Maori staff. In the Auckland case, many Pakeha staff are key

components of this intervention. In this sense, there is a role for everyone to assist
in the task of intervening in Maori educational crisis, even if it might only be to move
aside and allow others to proceed with the tasks which need to be carried out.

CASE STUDY: KAUPAPA MAORI INTERVENTION
The following `diary' account provides a description of the Kaupapa Maori elements
employed in the Auckland example:
Tino Rangatiratanga; (the relative autonomy principle.)
Appointment of staff at senior level, with status and influence. An overt effort to control
key decision-making in respect of Maori education in both the academic and cultural
domains. The understanding of both submerged and visible power relations operating
for and against Maori interests. Provide pertinent critical, theory based courses which
speak meaningfully to the political context which Maori experience, such as the
ramifications of unequal power relations. It is important to provide meaningful choices
so that Maori students feel they have real power to choose and not be restricted to
have to take what is offered. Most importantly, it is the power (academic freedom) to
assert the validity and legitimacy of Maori knowledge without interference.

Taonga Tuku Iho; (the cultural aspirations principle.)
Provide a range of courses that connect culturally with Maori students to provide a
connection with their cultural backgrounds and homelife situation; to connect with the
emotional, deeply felt desire related to Maori language and culture revitalisation and
survival; the use of Maori language as a teaching medium. Again the validity of Maori
knowledge, language and culture is positively reinforced.

Ako Maori; (Maori teaching and learning principle.)
Diminished distance between teacher and learner; reinforce Maori notions and
attitudes about knowledge and learning, for example; knowledge is not the property
of individuals, it belongs to all and individuals are only repositories of knowledge for

the benefit of the whole group; everyone has useful knowledge and a
contribution to
make to the benefit of the total group, tuakana (elder) teina (younger)
pedagogy is
important in that elder learners have a cultural responsibility towards the
younger
learners or in another sense faster learners have a responsibility to help
slower
learners. Knowledge should be shared. In our classes those with cultural
expertise
will be partnered with those who have other expertise such as a good grasp
of theory
- they will be expected to help each other succeed. These ideas are quite

contradictory in the taken for granted University behaviours which often
endorse
individual endeavour; meritocracy, competition and the commodification of
knowledge
as important tenets of University education. the use of Maori preferred
teaching and
learning; the use of Maori learning settings such as the marae; the use of
socially and
culturally comfortable settings and teaching style.

Kia Piki Ake I Nga Raruraru O Te Kainga; (mediation of socio-economic
impediments.)
The impact of user pays education has affected Maori students severely.
Intervention
is attempted through the proactive seeking of monetary support for Maori
students
through grants and scholarships from both Maori and Pakeha sources; support
networks which extend to `survival' outside of the University are
established and are
subject to ongoing, frequent monitoring. Maori staff earn extra funds to
provide some
support in needy circumstances. There is a need for preparedness to
constantly
advocate on behalf of students seeking funding support, and who have
conflicts of
interest between the demands of academic life versus domestic survival.

Whanau (Extended family principle)
The setting up of close, integrated networks amongst staff and students.
This extends
to learning within the institution and also to student survival in the
community.
`Whanau' implies responsibility to each other - this obligation is
suggested in the
comment "that if one person fails in the class, the whole class has

failed" (in the
cultural sense). There is an emphasis on shared responsibility.
Furthermore sharing
is important and encouraged; the sharing of notes, sharing of research,
sharing of
reading, sharing of ideas. The whanau network also assists, through peer
group
support, in the mediation of socio-economic impediments. The recognition
and
acknowledgement of students whakapapa (genealogy) and iwi (tribal)
background
creates a supportive atmosphere for students.

Kaupapa (Collective vision)
Maori students, because of their minority numbers, are to a degree forced
together.
Over and above this a collective vision is developed around their minority
status, lack

of power, and their marginal positioning. On a more positive tack, Maori
students
often share the deep desire to retain Maori language and culture, intervene
in wider
Maori social and economic crisis. There is an emphasis placed on Maori
post-
graduate development with the ultimate aim to move Maori people (in
education) from
middle-management roles into more influential decision-making positions of
authority.
Much effort is put into developing critically conscious students. These
visions are
shared in both formal and informal gatherings of Maori staff and students,
and are
packaged into positive, proactive, dynamic actions.

CONCLUSION
This paper has attempted to show the potential of a Kaupapa Maori framework
for
intervention into Maori educational crisis - in particular its potential to
create authentic
spaces in dominant Pakeha institutional settings. More than merely
responding at the
culturalist level, for example, the traditional liberal type intervention
strategies such as
adding Maori staff, adding Maori dimensions to existing courses, adding
tokenistic
pedagogical measures such as marae visits, Kaupapa Maori also speaks at the
structural level. It moves beyond surface level, explanations is an
attempt to engage

deeper impediments associated with control of knowledge, validity of knowledge and
culturally preferred pedagogy. Further more, Kaupapa Maori begins to address and
control for fundamental structural impediments derived from the unequal power
positioning of Maori and from debilitating socio-economic forces. (The obvious
contradiction here in respect of the `elitist' outcomes of a University education are
hopefully tempered by the development of socially, culturally, and politically conscious
graduates who work for the benefit of people).

No claim is made to `overthrowing' the structures either immediately or completely.
Kaupapa Maori does critically engage and challenge the taken for granted, it also
mediates the debilitating effects of power and economic elements on Maori students.
It attempts to create more authentic spaces for Maori to `do their own thing'. The
successful outcomes of Maori students learning and the success of such programmes
make some inroads into changing traditional structures such as the University setting,
but only over time.

Kaupapa Maori brings into sharp relief several theoretical ideas. For example, Paulo
Freire's (1971) statement of `name the word, name the world';   Pierre Bourdieu's
notions of `cultural capital' and `habitus'; Michael Apple's notion of the `hidden
curriculum'; Antonio Gramsci's notion of `hegemony' and Henry Giroux's notion of
`resistance'. However this is but one theoretical cluster in which the emancipatory
potential of Kaupapa Maori may be understood. For Maori people there is another
`theoretical' framework underpinning Kaupapa Maori and which connects to the wider
structures of Maori society. For example, notions of tino rangatiratanga (autonomy)
mana (authority) iwi (tribal support) whanaungatanga (group responsibility)
manaakitanga (sharing and support) and many others. It is the ability of Kaupapa
Maori as an intervention to begin to speak to the cultural and the

structural, to the
theory and the practice, to the academic and to the political domains which
contains
the new intervention capacity.

Kaupapa Maori decodes the ideological interests of dominant Pakeha society
which
permeate educational structures through a capture of the meanings of
curriculum,
pedagogy, knowledge and evaluation. Kaupapa Maori asserts its own logic to
counter
the subversive trends of dominant hegemony. It is this counter logic which
underpins
the radical potential embedded in Kaupapa Maori. Maori have been left with
little
alternative than to become more politically conscientised in order to
clearly understand
the enormous contradictions of their situation: unjust contradictions that
extend far
beyond mere cultural difference explanations between Maori and Pakeha.
They are
contradictions that connect with broader oppositions between the individual
and the
State, the colonisers and the indigenous people; the powerful and the
powerless; the
exploiters and the exploited; the oppressors and the oppressed.

"I te wa ka tipu ake au, ka mahi aui te mahi roia, me te mahi putaiao
ranei. He tangata whakahangahanga pea .... (When I grow up I want to
be a lawyer or a scientist. Perhaps an inventor ...)
Kura Kaupapa Maori girl age 10
(fieldnotes)

Glossary of Maori Terms
1.Ao
2.aroha
3.hapu
4.hui
5.iwi
6.Kaumatua
7.Kaupapa Maori
8.kawa o te marae
9.Kawanatanga
10.koha
11.kohanga reo
12.korero
13.mana
14.manaaki
15.Maori

16.marae
17.Pakeha
18.taha Maori
19.tangata
20.tangata whenua
21.Te Aho Matua
22.Te Urepare Rangapu
23.teina
24.tiaki
25.tino rangatiratanga
26.tohunga whakairo
27.tuakana
28.utu
29.wahine
30.whanau
31.Whare Kura
32.Whare Waanangaworld; universe
respect; love; pity
sub tribe
meeting; gathering
tribal group
elder (male or female)
Maori philosophy, principles, practice, knowledge, language
marae protocol, ritual practice
state; governorship (lit.)
gift; donation
pre-school language nurseries
speak; talk
self-esteem; prestige
sharing; caring
indigenous people of New Zealand
traditional meeting spaces
white New Zealanders; non-Maori
Maori side (lit.) Maori dimension
man
people of the land (Maori)
philosophy of Kura Kaupapa Maori
devolution policy (Iwi Transition Agency Report)
younger sibling
nurture
sovereignty; autonomy; self-determination
expert carver
elder sibling
reciprocity; payment
woman
extended family group
Maori medium secondary school
Maori tertiary institutions

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