"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 Keynesian `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 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-
inform ed
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
concer n,
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
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."


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
collection of useful knowledge and a
collection of useful knowledge and a
contribution to
make to the benefit of the total group, tuakana (elder) teina (younger)
contribution to
the benefit of the total group, tuakana (elder) teina (younger)
contribution to
pedagogy is
important in that elder learners have a cultural responsibility towards the
elder learners or in another sense faster learners have a responsibility to help
younger learners. Knowledge should be shared. In our classes those with cultural
younger 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
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
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
contradictory in the taken for granted University behaviours which often
endorse
endorse
individual endeavour; meritocracy, competition and the commodification of
individual endeavour; meritocracy, competition and the commodification of
knowledge
knowledge
as important tenets of University education. the use of Maori preferred
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
teaching and
learning; the use of Maori learning settings such as the marae; the use of
socially and
culturally comfortable settings and teaching style.
socially and
culturally comfortable settings and teaching style.

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

Whanau (Extended family principle)
Whanau (Extended family principle)
The setting up of close, integrated networks amongst staff and students.
The setting up of close, integrated networks amongst staff and students.
This extends
This extends
to learning within the institution and also to student survival in the
to learning within the institution and also to student survival in the
community.
community.
`Whanau' implies responsibility to each other - this obligation is
`Whanau' implies responsibility to each other - this obligation is
suggested in the
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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40. Government Reports, Papers, Articles


