Education and Schooling:
The Marae / School Interface

Think Piece

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Final Report

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This paper has been constructed as a Think Piece and is not a statement of government policy. The views expressed in this document are not necessarily those held by the Ministry of Education.

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Section One: Introduction

The heart of a nation is found in its people. In their dreams, in their passion, in the way they shape the futures they desire. This is especially true of Maori in Aotearoa. In the face of the wretchedness of colonisation (Fanon, 1967) Maori have dared to dream, dared to create hope, dared to require education to create authentic pathways to new futures (Freire, 1994).

Not pathways which take us away from our ancestral past, in the misguided belief that the past is a romantic construct of little relevance to the contemporary condition. But pathways which enable the past to build the present and illuminate the future. The first millennium energising the third. The ancients speaking through the ages to their mokopuna.

Maori have travelled from wretchedness to hope (Irwin, 2002).

On the journey Maori have asserted the right to name the world and experience it on our own terms. Central to this has been the Maori Renaissance and the programmes of Maori Development which emanated from it. 1975 was a pivotal year in that renaissance. It is the year that the hikoi, the land march, was lead by the late Dame Whina Cooper, from Te Hapua in the north, to the steps of Parliament. It was the year that Whakatupuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000, an experiment in tribal development, for the ART confederation of tribes, that includes Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa, was launched (Winiata, 1981).

Central to the renaissance is the expression of a fundamental human right. That is, the right to be Maori, to live as Maori, and to utilise Maori institutions in the process. One such institution is the marae. Perhaps the place of last retreat from the onslaught of the wider society. A retreat even from what is termed `education' in this country. Perhaps especially from what is termed education, but what is in reality schooling.

Education is by nature an applied, interdisciplinary field. The study of education can be approached in many ways, including the study of learning and teaching, curriculum and assessment, education systems, philosophies, ideas, theories, programmes, experiences and the educational practices which are derived from them. As an interdisciplinary field the study of education is informed by a wide range of the discipline bases including history, politics, philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology, linguistics.

Education is used increasingly as a synonym for schooling. At issue in this paper is the relationship between education and schooling, and the institutions of their delivery. This paper explores the marae / school interface as a site of educational struggle and transformation.

Three levels of analysis are provided through which to explore and analyse the interface. They are:

- A systemic Analysis;
- An analysis of the role of policy;
- An analysis of the role of theory.

The structure of the analysis takes its form from concepts which are central to critical theory which argues that explanations of social issues can be developed at three distinct levels (Gibson, 1986: 14). These are the structural (level three); the institutional (level two); and the personal / interpersonal (level three). A critical feature of this set of understandings, in the context of education, relates to the applied nature of the field of education itself. Any consideration of educational theory, policy, practice, experience or praxis must be `read' in the context of the broader historical, structural and cultural features which shape education. And so it is in this report.

Think Piece

This paper has been commissioned by the Ministry of Education as a *Think Piece*. The purpose of the *Think Piece* is to provide stimulus for debate about the issues surrounding the task of rewriting the NZ Curriculum Documents, Nga Marautanga o Aotearoa.

Whilst written as a *Think Piece*, the paper has been written within the academic genre. It is informed by published research and scholarship, and utilises the technical conventions of academic writing.

The draft of this analysis was presented at the Ohu Matua Hui, held in Wellington in April, 2005. Peer reviews will also be sought from a group of academics and provided to the Ministry of Education as part of the contract.

The Influences of Whakapapa and Whanaungatanga

In terms of style, and the positionality of the writer, I am `in the text' as described in a paper by Professor Alison Jones of Auckland University. Jones describes her experience of the PhD writing process, during which she wrote herself out of the text, only to be followed by a post doctoral exercise of then writing herself back into it (Jones, 1992).

This paper maps and explores its journey from the position of `insider', in a manner informed by Maori epistemology, ontology and methodology, as described by Maori Marsden (Marsden, 1992: 117):

> The major task consists not in analysis of outward institutional forms ... but in penetrating into states of mind for some kind of evaluation and understanding ... Only an approach which sets out to explore and describe the main features of the consciousness in the experience of the Maori offers any hope of adequate coverage. For the reality we experience subjectively is incapable of rational synthesis ... I believe only a Maori from within the culture can do this adequately. Abstract rational thought and empirical methods cannot grasp the concrete act of existing which is fragmentary, paradoxical and incomplete.

Ko Hikurangi te Maunga	Ko Moumoukai te Maunga
Ko Waiapu te Awa	Ko Nuhaka te Awa
Ko Ngati Porou te Iwi	Ko Ngati Kahungunu te Iwi
Ko Putaanga te Hapu	Ko Rakaipaaka te Hapu
Ko Horouta te Waka	Ko Takitimu te Waka

I was born in Waipiro Bay, on the East Coast of New Zealand, into a family of teachers engaged in Maori education. Over the years I have come to know that my decision to become a Maori educationist was not mine alone. This historical and family connection helps me to understand my career in an insightful way; to locate and see myself as `a historical and social being' (Giroux, 1985: xxiv). Drawing on the work of Freire, Giroux notes that `history ... becomes dialectical ... because it is used to distinguish between the present as given and the present as containing emancipatory possibilities' (ibid). `The historical and social being' is a significant feature of Maori scholarship, as Rangimarie Rose Pere highlights in her analysis of Te Wheke, a framework for the articulation of praxis in matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. Whanaungatanga, the extended family, and whakapapa, genealogy, are central features of this model (Pere, 1988). Rangihau (1975) also posits whakapapa and whanaungatanga as central to his theory of Maoritanga which he argues is fundamentally iwi based, shaped by the traditions and cultural practices each iwi takes its identity from.

My mother's lineage was from iwi Maori, the Ngati Porou and Ngati Kahungunu tribes, and the Orkney Islands. Her mother was Maori, her father from the Orkney Islands; he travelled to Aotearoa NZ as a young boy. My father's lineage was from Scotland and Ireland. Three features of this whakapapa are of significance. The first is three generations of bicultural marriages (Maori / Pakeha) in a colonised society in which Maori remain the minority to this day. The second is that it comprised three generations of Maori women who each entered the profession of teaching and who married men whose careers were also in the professions. The third is that in each of the three generations our family have been involved in careers which have had as their mission Maori and bicultural development in Aotearoa.

At issue in my whanau background is the notion that the gifts given to me through whakapapa from three of my grandparents have not been considered problematic in this society, that they are gifts to be proud of, whilst those of my Maori grandmother have been devalued through the process of colonisation and patriarchy and the practises of racism and sexism. It also rankled my grandparents and parents, giving rise to their career pathways and vocational choices. Knowing this has been a source of great solace to me in my hours of reflective analysis. As a family we have been raised amidst the stories of the impact of these choices on their lives - the joy and the possibilities as much as the tensions and the frustrations. One historical fact, more than any other, impacted on the lives of our whanau. That historical fact was the colonisation of Aotearoa.

The Organisation of the Report

Section One, The Introduction, sets out the parameters within which this `Think Piece' was commissioned. Section Two, From Wretchedness to Hope, introduces the reader to the report by providing a conceptual overview of it. The section opens with an account of an interview I had for a Lectureship in Race Relations and Education at Victoria University of Wellington. The opening was carefully chosen: it was a real situation, an example of transformative educational praxis, of the kind Maori seek to take us from wretchedness to hope. The account brought together analyses of culture, education systems, power relations, structural analysis, institutional practices and the journeys through them that educators take in their praxis. The theme of moving from wretchedness to hope is outlined in the early stages of the work to provide a focus, a positive focus, for the terrain covered in the work.

The authentic space which is the nexus between Maori epistemology, ontology and methodology is highlighted in these opening pages. Here the need to identify what is `authentic' about this space is identified as an issue for Maori education. Whanau / hapu / iwi, who are moving from wretchedness to hope, are pioneering innovative solutions which come from this space. Understanding the defining characteristics of this space, then, is a critical issue for educators generally to understand and for Maori educationists specifically to implement.

Section Three, The Education Systems of Aotearoa, provides an exploration and analysis of the education systems which exist in this country. It argues that there is a pre-contact Maori education system, a post-contact New Zealand education system and an emerging set of transformative

programmes which Maori are leading the creation of what is termed the Maori Mainstream. The pre-contact Maori education system is outlined and its major features of explored and discussed. Major points of difference with the education system, which is described as the New Zealand Education System, are highlighted so that critical epistemological differences between the two systems are made transparent.

The section begins with an exploration of the notion of matauranga whanau, locating epistemology at the local level. Key features of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi, are then described. The notion of `border crossing' (after Giroux 1992) is then proposed and explored. This section highlights the nature of the challenges facing Maori in education. The need to reaffirm and develop the Maori education system, the need to partake in the New Zealand education system, and the need to move between the two systems successfully as `border crossers'.

Section Four, Maori / Education / Policy explores the policy milieux and its impact on Maori education. At issue in the section is the role of the policy milieux as the `crucible' in which colonisation was forged. This section comprises a critical reading of the policy milieux in recent times (1990 - 2000). Rather than a detailed account of policy science, `specific policy proposals and technical details' (Grace, 1988: 16), it comprises a more critical examination of policy scholarship which `examines fundamental principles and ideologies in struggle' (ibid).

It begins with a consideration of the policy of Maori Development and the Hui Taumata (1984) at which it was articulated. This policy initiative, more than any other, outlines the position favoured by Maori and so it is used in this introductory part of the section to frame it. The `rights / needs' basis on which Maori Affairs Policy is developed by the state (Parata, 1994) is briefly sketched enabling critical dimensions of the crown position to be outlined. Analysis and exploration of major aspects of educational policy with respect to Maori education comprise the bulk of the section. The analysis reveals that the outcome of some of the most radical restructuring in education in over 100 years has left Maori highly dissatisfied, still calling for radical change. The grounds of the calls are based on the notion that the restructuring process has not been a Treaty based process in which the two Treaty partners benefited equally. The major beneficiary of which has been the state.

Section Five, Commentaries on Contemporary Theory, charts a journey of reading between the words and the worlds of contemporary educational theory, derived from the western knowledge codes, and the study of Maori education, informed by matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. It starts with critical readings of contemporary educational theory as these pertain to the study of Maori education. The aim of this section is to identify the strengths and limitations of three major schools of educational thought before outlining the contribution of kaupapa Maori as social theory.

The second major section outlines and explores the development of kaupapa Maori social theory. The aim of this section is to highlight this emerging field of theoretical inquiry and to identify its critical characteristics. One of those characteristics is the groundedness of the theory, emerging as it did in the wake of whanau / hapu / iwi / community-led programmes of transformative praxis in the 1980's. A case study of te kohanga reo is developed to enable the theoretical features to be `read' in context. As much as a case study highlighting the contribution of Maori social theory to the study of Maori education, the case study also highlights the extraordinary results of the successful integration of educational theory, policy, practice and praxis. The third section considers the notion of theorising being Maori. This section is informed by discussions based on epistemological, ontological and methodological considerations.

Section Six sets out the concluding position. It is that whilst the marae lies at the heart of the Maori education system becoming `border crossers' is a contemporary response to the requirement that mokopuna participate in both the Maori and the New Zealand education systems. Regardless of philosophical differences between the marae and the school, there is a need to ensure that mokopuna enjoy a smooth transition between the two. Whanau and the professional educational community are jointly responsible for the successful achievement of this.

Section Two: From Wretchedness to Hope

Te kakano i ruia mai i a Rangiatea,
kua kore e ngaro.

The seed planted in Rangiatea will never be lost.

Rangiatea is described as the mythical homeland of Maori knowledge.
To say that the seeds planted there will never be lost is to say that the sacred thread which joins us to our ancestors, te aho tapu, will never be lost.

Introduction

On January 29th, 1988, I was interviewed for a new job, a lectureship in Race Relations and Education, a position offered by the Education Department at Victoria University of Wellington. The advertisement for the job was bilingual, written in te reo Maori and in English. The bilingual wording was a sign which I was pleased to see. It grounded the position in Aotearoa, through the Treaty of Waitangi, with whanau / hapu / iwi.

I was short listed and called to interview.

I'll never forget the date of the interview; it was my daughter's second birthday. She, of course, wanted me home that day and protested at my going. I was very nervous on the day of the interview, as is to be expected; job interviews routinely have that impact. The nerves were also connected to the genesis of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. The interview was being held on the marae at the university, Te Herenga Waka. As such it would create a nexus between the protocols of the university and te Ao Maori through te kawa o te marae.

I was waewae tapu (Metge, 1976: 348), I had not been on to Te Herenga Waka marae before, and so would need to be called on to the marae and taken through the full rituals of encounter that marae protocol involves (Salmond, 1975). As a woman I could not go alone, kawa dictated that I needed to take a man with me to speak on my behalf. As an individual I would not be welcomed alone, an ope would need to take me on. This knowledge was not new to me; it was part of my own cultural

literacy. It did, however, provide interesting points of juxtaposition between the university culture and its traditions, based in Western culture and the individualism inherent in liberalism, and matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi within te ao Maori and the role of the group within these knowledge codes. The whakatauaki which introduces this section speaks of the origins of the ancestral knowledge which comprises matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi and challenges us to ensure that it is never lost to this world. The role and status of the marae, one of the central educational institutions within matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi and te ao Maori, within an educational institution like a university, is a challenge about creating transformative educational praxis at the institutional, programme and personal levels. I was invited to bring whanau with me to the interview, so an ope existed to take me on.

Our ope was small and it was a `whanau' with kaupapa-based connections, those I had worked with on the kaupapa of Maori Development as opposed to those with whom I shared an actual genealogical tie (Metge, 1990). Mr Monte Ohia, then senior adviser in the Maori and Pacific Islands section of the Department of Education, and Ms Trish Thompson, Head of the Social and Cultural Studies Department of Wellington College of Education, came with me. The call to interview came with little time to organise whakapapa-based whanau to travel to Wellington to support me. Our tribal affiliations are Ngati Porou, through the hapu Putaanga in Tikitiki, and Ngati Kahungunu, through the hapu Rakaipaaka in Nuhaka, both a very long way from Wellington. Further, our whakapapa-based whanau has experienced the Diaspora Bishop (1996) describes as a common experience of whanau / hapu / iwi dislocated from their turangawaewae. Our whakapapa-based whanau are dispersed all over the country, indeed throughout the world. I felt that it wasn't fair to ask them to drop everything with urgency to get them to Wellington for this interview, and so I did not ask. I know that they would have come if I had asked them.

I felt a real sense of awe when I learned that the interview would be carried out inside the wharenui. There was a degree of reverence from the knowledge that the spirituality which prevails inside the wharenui would prevail on this occasion. This was a blessing which I cherished. A sense of spiritual safety would underpin this occasion because it was located on the marae. There was also a feeling of disquiet because as well as being `interviewed' by officers and staff of the university the interview would be mediated by the tipuna whose carved representations line the wharenui. I felt

that every part of my mind, body, heart and soul would be being `interviewed' by the tipuna, at the level of the subconscious and the spiritual, as I sat in that house.

The interview commenced on the marae atea, for, in the style of Maori oratory, the reason for our visit was discussed and the links between the manuhiri and the tangata whenua explored. When the speechmaking was complete we moved across the marae atea to greet the tangata whenua in the customary manner. Inside the wharenui the interview continued. Tangata whenua sat along the side wall of the wharenui on the left hand side, looking inwards from the main front door, manuhiri sat on the right hand side. The tangata whenua opened the proceedings in a traditional manner with brief greetings which followed on from the speeches made on the marae atea and with karakia. The interview panel consisted of the Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor, the Deputy Registrar, Marie Bell and Tilly Reedy (representing the Victoria University Council), the Professors of Maori and Education and the Dean of the Arts Faculty.

The Chancellor outlined the job under offer and made a few comments. Each member of the interview panel was then also given the chance to comment on the job description, to raise issues in relation to my application and to ask direct questions of me. When the tangata whenua side had finished they handed the speaking rights over to our side. Monte Ohia spoke first: greeting the local people again, replying to their welcome and then commenting on my application, based on his knowledge and experience of my work. Trish Thompson then stood to contribute in a similar way. Finally, I stood to speak. My initial response was a relief to share. It went something like this: I am not the person for the job! And, given what you have said about it, it is a `Professorial Appointment' which will take twenty years to achieve! Everyone laughed, as if I was joking. I addressed the issues raised, responded to questions, reflected on my application and had the chance to ask questions myself. This was followed by a less formal interchange between the two groups which continued in the information sharing process. Finally, Monte Ohia concluded the interchange from our side and the Professor Mead concluded for the tangata whenua. After this the two groups met again to hongi and then adjourned to the whare kai next door to share lunch. The whole interview, beginning with our welcome onto the marae, lasted for two hours. I was offered the job. I accepted the offer. I took up the position on June 1st 1988.

Maori Education in Aotearoa: From Wretchedness to Hope

Telling this story has presented a challenge in terms of how to communicate meaning in a cross cultural context so that the experience of `talking past each other' is not encountered (Metge and Kinloch, 1978). The research `talking past each other' was undertaken in the 1970's because the authors were so concerned about what they could see happening in our society between people at an interpersonal level. The research studied the way in which people of different cultural backgrounds can and do miscommunicate because of the fundamental differences between their cultures and ignorance about these.

`Talking past each other' is an excellent example of epistemology, a theory of method or the grounds of knowledge (Burchfield, 1986), meeting ontology, a branch of metaphysics dealing with the nature of being (Burchfield, 1986), head on, and causing major social confusion. The research made transparent what was really going on and it enabled people to understand situations which they had previously *experienced* but not *understood* at all. It shone the light on the nexus between epistemology and ontology in the cultures of Aotearoa at the personal, interpersonal and cultural levels. The notion that `culture counts' (Glynn and Bishop, 2000) was utterly irrefutable and now people were learning why and how this was so in an educated, informed way. `Talking past each other' was hugely influential and became a major teaching / learning resource in tertiary education courses for teachers, lawyers, doctors, nurses, social workers and others in the professions throughout Aotearoa.

`Knowing' why people behaved the way they did, being able to trace observable behaviours to their cultural origins, enabled people to theorise about cultures and their differences. People were behaving as they did for rational, meaningful reasons. The differences between western knowledge and the cultures derived from this, and their Polynesian counterparts, are so marked that they are clearly and easily observable in everyday life. At the ontological level, which enables us to observe and explore states of being in people's lives through their observable behaviours, these differences are as plain as day. And the differences are located in the epistemologies, the theories of the origins of knowledge of each culture, and can only be `understood' in terms of epistemology. The cultural differences were not about some people, who happened to be Polynesian and in a numerical minority, `being strange' or acting in `weird ways'; they were simply about people `being' who they are.

More than `talking past each other' at the personal, interpersonal and cultural levels, the education system in this country has built a monocultural, monolingual frame of reference into its systemic foundations to the exclusion of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi and te reo Maori. The monocultural, monolingual framework, based on the pakeha culture and English language, has been locked into the education system at the structural, institutional and personal levels (Gibson, 1986). The power of the English language and pakeha culture has been `institutionalised' (Banks, 1988). The `talking past each other' that occurs in this country, then, is a far more complex notion than that which can be reduced to or explained in terms of relationships at the individual level. It must be located at a range of levels and be understood in the fullness of its complexity. `Talking past each other' occurs at the personal, interpersonal (Metge and Kinloch, 1978), cultural (Glynn and Bishop), institutional and structural (Gibson, 1986) levels. The connection to the structural and institutional levels is the most problematic level of this analysis for many New Zealanders to accept. Whanau / hapu / iwi, along with other ethnic minorities in this country, know this all too well. We live the tensions, the contractions and the struggles that this represents on a daily basis. The dominant group is less willing to face the realities of what this analysis means in terms of the accrual of institutionalised privilege and power to some groups in our society. What counts as official knowledge (Apple, 1993) is derived from western traditions, initially heavily influenced by the culture of the British who colonised Aotearoa, and the English language. At issue also are the means used to exclude the indigenous knowledge codes from the education system and from the public domains of life generally.

This analysis lies at the heart of the task of identifying the nature of the wretchedness of Maori education in Aotearoa. The institutionalisation of the pakeha culture and the English language, to the exclusion of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi, is experienced at the personal, interpersonal, cultural, structural and institutional levels. It is in this complex institutionalisation, and the implications of this, that the nature of the wretchedness of Maori education in Aotearoa is to be found. The nature of this wretchedness can be explored at the level of `knowing' (epistemology), `being' (ontology) and `doing' (methodology).

Epistemology, Ontology, Methodology

Methodological is defined as `the theory of knowledge and the interpretive framework that guides a particular research project' (Lather, 1992). The theories of knowledge in this study draw from diverse sources, matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi (Rangihau, 1975), as well as western knowledge codes, as all these sources have a role to play in informing debates over Maori education. Kaupapa Maori (Smith, G. 1997; Smith, L. 1996) provides the interpretive framework which enables the nexus between methodology and epistemology to be explored and understood. In this study kaupapa Maori (Smith, G., 1997; Smith, L., 1996) provides a framework to explore and analyse the research design, method, ethics and research issues. This approach is informed by a number of methodologies from the western tradition where these are able to integrate with matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi in authentic ways. Two of the main issues that this design has highlighted are `what is Maori about Maori research?' and `what matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi has informed Maori research?'.

Matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi frame knowledge in epistemological terms for Maori. It is at the levels of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi that `a theory of method or the grounds of knowledge' (ibid) can be articulated in authentic terms. In this sense the post-contact descriptor `Maori' is not epistemological in origin, it is ontological, and has no epistemological origins. It is not possible to trace the grounds of knowledge, to theorise knowledge at the level of `Maori', from observable ontological realities to their epistemological origins, which is at the level of the genesis story itself. In this study, then, `Maori' is used primarily as a descriptor in ontological terms; matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi in epistemological terms. What is at issue in analyses of education and Maori education is the nature of the relationship between these bodies of knowledge and the issues relating to their institutionalisation.

Whanau / hapu / iwi are the tangata whenua, the original peoples of these lands. In the history of this status is to be found the stories of peoples from inception to being, from the past to the present to the future. The articulation of the worldviews of these groups, and the language of their expression, are found nowhere else in the world. It is these worldviews, the bodies of knowledge emanating from them and the telling of stories which comprise the collective whakapapa of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. It is these bodies of knowledge that differentiate Maori from any other people in the global community.

Whanau / hapu / iwi are Treaty signatories with the Crown. In this context whanau / hapu / iwi are partners with the Crown in national development. One of the outcomes of the way in which nationhood was forged in this country was that whanau / hapu / iwi did not become equal partners in the process. The impact of colonisation was such that whanau / hapu / iwi became disposed, positioned as other, marginal and silenced in their own lands. One of the critical issues that this country has had to grapple with as a consequence of this history is the issue of citizenship. `The Price of Citizenship' (Ngata, 1943) is an ongoing debate in which Maori continue to argue for the right to be Maori citizens of this country, in the fullness of all that that means. In the keynote address to the Maori Education Hui Taumata held in Turangi early in 2001, Professor Mason Durie argued that this means living as Maori according to age old traditions and tikanga, whilst at all times being willing, able and equally competent in dealings with the wider world. In the context of education he argued that if a Maori child leaves the education system of this country not literate in his or her own whanau / hapu / iwi defined world, as well as educated in the ways of the wider world, then he or she is not fully educated (Durie, 2001).

Figure 1.1: Bodies of Knowledge

Body of Knowledge	**Signifiers**
Epistemology (`knowing')	• Matauranga Whanau / Hapu / Iwi
	• `a theory of method or the grounds of knowledge'
Ontology (`being')	• Te Tiriti of Waitangi
	• `Being'
	• Diverse Maori Realities
	• `a branch of metaphysics dealing with the nature of being'
Methodological (`doing')	• Kaupapa Maori, Matauranga Whanau / Hapu / Iwi
	• `the theory of knowledge and the interpretive framework that guides a particular research project'.

Source: Irwin, K.G. (2001) `On a w/h/i/m and a prayer'. Unpublished Paper, Te Puni Kokiri, August 2001.

Ontology is defined as `a branch of metaphysics dealing with the nature of being' (Burchfield, 1986). In this study the ontological considerations relate to the development paradigms dating from the post-contact period. The journeys that whanau / hapu / iwi / Maori have taken in post-contact times have been hugely influenced by the significance and the implications of the Treaty of Waitangi. `Being Maori' at the ontological level, which speaks to states of being, is now a matter of diverse realities (Durie, 1995b) on a range of indicators, including education. It is the long-term impact of interruptions to Maori Development in ontological terms that has resulted in the creation of diverse Maori realities. Maori argue that policy in Maori Affairs has ranged from Maori Development to assimilation to integration to a contemporary return to Maori Development, existing simultaneously with bicultural and multicultural development. The impact of these changing policies has been to move matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi, and the ability to live as Maori, from the realm of the public sphere to the private realm. In this sense the state sought to legitimise its role in determining the changing face of `being Maori', of living as Maori, through the policy initiatives it created.

History records that iwi responded in a range of ways to the nation-building process. Some were oppositional to it, and fought against the Crown. Others were sympathetic to it and fought with the Crown. This has created a legacy for whanau / hapu / iwi which continues to impact on contemporary realities. The impact has been felt in social, economic and political terms. Whereas some tribes are still negotiating with the Crown to resolve outstanding historical grievances, others have negotiated directly with the Crown to settle and have, therefore, moved beyond grievance mode into economic and social development mode.

Durie (2001) also reminds us that whanau / hapu / iwi are citizens of the world, embracing elements of citizenship in the third millennium which transcend national boundaries and challenge traditional notions of nationhood. In this context communities are described as `virtual communities' (Rheingold, 1994), groups of individuals dispersed as widely as the four winds, joined only by a common kaupapa, through virtual space. Into these new social spaces Maori already venture.

Some in traditional ways. Many iwi already have websites on the Internet, for example, so that whanau / hapu can maintain links when living away from te wa kainga through virtual space. Ngati Kahungunu is one such iwi. The website address is: ***http://www.kahungunu.iwi.nz.*** `Virtual marae' are already with us, how far away is the `virtual iwi'?

Accounts of the history of Aotearoa, and the legacy created by it, are regularly matters of debate. New Zealand was gripped by one such debate over colonisation as the winter of the year 2000 thawed into spring. In a speech to the Psychological Society, Tariana Turia, then a Minister of the Crown, and Associate Minister of Maori Development, argued that Maori suffer from postcolonial stress disorder, a consequence of what she termed the Maori holocaust (Turia, 2000). Reaction to her reported comments was swift and severe. Mrs Turia was roundly condemned for her analysis of colonisation and its role in the development of our nation. Mrs Turia had been citing the use of the term `Maori holocaust' from the Waitangi Tribunal in its final report on the Taranaki Raupatu Claim. However, all manner of print and television media carried this story in their headlines for days as business leaders, opposition and Government MPs vented their outrage and disagreement at the comments made in the speech. The majority of Maori commentators were supportive of what Mrs Turia had said and what her analysis revealed about not only the history of our past but also the impact this has on our current social and economic indicators.

The debate highlighted the polarity of views that persist in this country about our history and national development. It also highlighted the role of the education system in enabling historical ignorance and amnesia to remain a feature of modern social life at the edge of the third millennium. It is still possible to grow up in this country, as it is in many other parts of the world, ignorant of the politics of colonisation, of the role colonisation played in the building of our nation, and of the impact it still has in the current social and economic climate of the day.

The Privy Council decision relating to the definition of the meaning of iwi which has added a powerful new dimension to the way in which insights into Maori development can be informed by analyses based on epistemology, ontology and methodology (Hall, C., 2001). The decision of the Privy Council upheld judgements

that had been made in the High court and Court of Appeal in New Zealand, and dismissed the Urban Maori appeal. Two main points were upheld:

1. the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission (the Commission) is required by statute to allocate the Pre-Settlement Assets solely to iwi or bodies representing iwi; and
2. iwi, in the context of allocation of the Pre-Settlement Assets, means only traditional Maori tribes. (Hall, C., 2001: 1)

The real issue was political: it sought to challenge the parameters for distribution specified in the legislation. The solution sought was to redefine what counts as iwi. The issue of the form of the allocation model written into the legislation was ontological in nature. The solution proposed by Urban Maori Authorities was epistemological in nature.

Located as it was in the context of the task that the Fisheries Commission has in allocating resources to whanau / hapu / iwi, the decision favoured an epistemological definition of iwi, not an ontological one. Favouring the traditional definition of iwi is epistemological in nature in that it enables the concept of `iwi' to be traced to its original source, through matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. The use of a descriptor based on notions of Maori, whether `urban Maori' or any similar conceptualisation, makes a claim for legitimation from an ontological base, which speaks to contemporary realities and states of being. In this case, the contemporary realities are those in which whanau / hapu / iwi have become dislocated from their turangawaewae, from te wa kainga, and so feel a need to make a claim for direct resourcing by redefining what counts as iwi. The Privy Council has affirmed the position that the answer lies in the creation of a distribution formula which takes into account whanau / hapu / iwi and their Diaspora through colonisation, not one which redefines traditional knowledge codes.

Had the decision gone in favour of the urban Maori position, the very foundations of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi, coded through whakapapa to the creator, would have been rewritten, for the sake of access to a pot of gold. This is not to deny Urban Maori the right to challenge the Crown to ensure that resources reach urban Maori.

Colonisation and Maori Education in Aotearoa

Three significant themes emerge from an analysis of the impact of colonisation in Maori Education in Aotearoa. They are: dehumanisation (Freire, 1974); wretchedness (Fanon, 1990); and hope (Freire, 1994). Fanon (1990, 1967) describes the wretchedness of colonisation as a global phenomenon, providing searing insights into the degradation, both economic and psychological, which is a direct outcome of it. This `wretchedness' is given the particular shape, form and voices of whanau / hapu / iwi Maori in these pages. Freire (1974, 1985, and 1994) argues that dehumanisation is a consequence of dominating education, the kind of education which became institutionalised in this country through the development of the New Zealand education system (Ministry of Education, 1992). He also argues that, in order to find a new sense of hope and progress, people need to engage a process of `decolonisation' and `conscientisation' if they are to achieve `self-actualisation'. These processes are essentially about stripping away the layers of external influence and finding the original sources.

Beyond the despondency and despair of a colonial legacy from the past, however, hope reigns eternal, springing from the depths of our traditions and shared humanity to lift us up and renew our spirits (Freire, 1994). Hope gives us both a vision to move forward with, beyond the debilitating limitations of our colonial past, and a methodology of how to realise it. The `hope' is explored through an unravelling of the threads of decolonisation (Fanon, 1967, 1990), self-actualisation (Papalia and Olds, 1998) and conscientisation (Freire, 1974). The methodology for realising this hope is essentially about reclaiming our humanity, reclaiming and celebrating the human spirit. The method integrates processes which seek to unmask dominance and enable authentic truths to be known and explained. In this study aspects of these threads are described, not prescribed. What is offered is a way to their realisation, not 'the way'. There is no `one way'. The pathways to empowerment, conscientisation and self-actualisation are multiple and varied. The dreams and visions of our tipuna are a major source of the hope for new futures for whanau / hapu / iwi / Maori as they are for indigenous peoples globally (King, 1975; 1978; Salmond, 1975; 1978; 1991).

Section Three: The Education Systems of Aotearoa

E tipu, e rea, mo nga ra o tou ao;
ko to ringa ki nga rakau a te Pakeha hei ara mo to tinana,
ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tupuna Maori
hei tikitiki mo to mahuna;
ko to wairua ki to atua,
nana nei nga mea katoa.

Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you, your hand to the tools of the Pakeha to provide physical sustenance, your heart to the treasures of your Maori ancestors as a diadem for your brow, your soul to your God, to whom all things belong.

This proverb is probably the most quoted proverb of the last forty years.
It was written by the late Sir Apirana Ngata in the autograph book of one of his granddaughters (Brougham, Reed and Karetu, 1987: 62 - 63).

Introduction

In this now famous whakatauaki Sir Apirana Ngata encourages a young girl to aspire to be bilingual and bicultural in the fullness of what that could mean, not only in a local or national context, but also a global context. He refers to the dual heritage of the Treaty partners and he encourages her to achieve excellence in both worlds. In his explanation he refers to the opportunities both cultures and languages provide for a holistic, integrated education which will contribute to a state of well being and prosperity. His whakatauaki addresses the themes of economic, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual and whanau well being in a bilingual, bicultural social context.

Through this considered view of the possibilities of our dual heritages, he gives this young woman a very clear message; that it is from her Maori ancestry that her most profound learning is to be found. The words he chooses to show this emphasis are `ko

to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna, hei tikitiki mo to mahunga'. This is his most lofty exaltation; it is our traditional ways and knowledge's that offer her `her crowning glory'. He refers to the knowledge codes of our Treaty partners at the level of the physical dimension when he says `your hand to the tools of the pakeha to provide physical sustenance'. He speaks of the knowledge codes of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi as he taonga tuku iho, gifts from above, when he says ` your heart to the treasures of your Maori ancestors'. This traditional knowledge he locates in its wider whanau / hapu iwi context through this reference to the whakapapa which links this girl with her ancestors. The spiritual dimension is highlighted as an integral and grounding feature of his analysis when he observes `your soul to your God to whom all things belong'.

Durie (1994) provides a framework for analysis which is similar to the parameters outlined in Ngata's words, and his emphases, in the `Tapa Wha' model for Maori health. In this model four sides of a person's well being are integrated into analyses of wellness or waiora. The four sides he writes of are: te taha tinana, the physical dimension; te taha wairua, the spiritual dimension; te taha hinengaro, the intellectual dimension; and te taha whanau, the wider extended family. Pere (1988) builds on this four-dimensional model in `Te Wheke' with the identification of eight principles which shape the development of the child in the context of the whanau.

At the Hui Taumata Matauranga, held in Turangi in 2001, Professor Mason Durie identified that there are three goals for which there is `a high level of agreement':

- Goal One:To live as Maori;
- Goal Two: To actively participate as citizens of the world; and
- Goal Three: To enjoy good health and a high standard of living.

In the context of education, for example, he argued that if a Maori child leaves the education system of this country not literate in his or her own whanau / hapu / iwi defined world view, as well as educated in the ways of the wider world, then he / she is not fully educated (2001).

Some sixty years after Ngata wrote those now famous words `E tipu e rea …' Durie was able to call on the essence of those ideas to address a forum which had the power to link into the legislative machinery of the state. Soon after the hui the 3 goals were integrated into two of the Government's major educational Strategies, Nga Huarahi Arataki, The 10 Year Early Childhood Strategic Plan, and the Tertiary Education Strategy (see www.minedu.govt.nz for full copies of both strategies).

Education Systems

This report starts with Apirana Ngata's words as a framework to introduce the notion that there are education systems, plural, in this country. One of those education systems, the Maori Education System, predates the contact period and exists to this day, though in modified form. This is a complex, dynamic system (Smith and Smith, 1990; Jenkins, 1988). It is largely in Maori hands, but the state has some influence over it, as it does over most features of life outside the home in this country. The `marae' and the `whanau' are two pivotal institutional bases upon which the system is centred (Pere, 1982); te reo Maori is its ancestral language, matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi forms the basis of its culture. The second education system is called the New Zealand Education System (Ministry of Education, 1992), and that is what we know of as `school', from the early childhood sector to the community and continuing education sector. English is the language of this education system; its cultural base is derived from the English traditions and culture which inform pakeha culture in this country.

Matauranga Whanau

Early in January 1994, my family and I loaded up the car and set off from Wellington to Nuhaka to attend the Te Kauru family reunion. The Te Kauru name linked us through my grandmother to her father's hapu, Rakaipaaka, of Ngati Kahungunu. The last family reunion I had attended had been in 1975, at Tane Nui A Rangi marae in Nuhaka, the marae the family traces its connections to on this side. The reunion attracted people from each branch of the family: people we already knew well; people we had never met before; people who looked like us and were easily recognisable as family members; others whom we initially, wrongly, thought were local people at the marae helping to welcome us. By the time the welcome was over, the tangata

whenua and the manuhiri identified, we had a much better sense of who was whanau and who not.

The diversity of the family was tremendous. On every count imaginable we represented the full diversity that is Maoridom today. We included: speakers and non speakers of our language; those knowledgeable about, as well as those not versed in the ways of the marae, its role, functions, customs and protocols; family whakapapa repositories, and those in search of this knowledge; family members of all ages, from all over the country, as well as from Australia; to be found in all walks of life; and family circumstances. We had married into other whanau and hapu around Mahia, other tribes from throughout the country, as well as across ethnic groupings, into bicultural families with Pakeha New Zealand connections as well as international ones. Our knowledge and understanding of the Diaspora of the Te Kauru whanau (Bishop, 1991) was highly variable. As Bishop (1991) has argued there are profound reasons why this is the case, not just specifically with our extended family, but throughout Maori society, and more generally throughout indigenous communities around the world.

One thing bound this disparate group together; whakapapa, we were the descendants of Hohepa and Heni Te Kauru, we were whanau, and we were family. And there were lots of us: my grandmother was one of a whanau of 19 children. We had relations everywhere! From January 1st to January 4th, 1994, that was reason enough to explore, to journey, to live, to learn, to sing, to reminisce, to laugh, to reflect and to cry together at the Kahungunu Marae in Nuhaka. As a young girl I had only a little knowledge of this place called Nuhaka in my consciousness. My feelings for it then were probably ambivalent, if I'm being honest, as it was such a long way away from anywhere and with the roads and cars the way that they were in the sixties it was a mighty trek to get there. Later in life, as I grew into a critically conscious knowledge of what being Maori meant, and how that differed from the other cultures that I am descended from, I would come to understand the significance of this little place that I have only ever visited, as a centre of my Maoriness; my turangawaewae in a traditional and cultural sense. For in saying I know who I am, I know who my forebears are, I know where I come from, this would be the place, more than any other that I am descended from, that held those things together for me for the greater part of my early life. This would be the place that nurtured the family members who

have in turn nurtured me, who have loved and owned me as their own, who claimed me as whanau throughout my life.

Ko Ngati Kahungunu te iwi,
Ko Rakaipaaka te hapu,
Ko Moumoukai te maunga,
Ko Takitimu te waka.

This tauparapara is like a key: it opens up the Maori world in a very powerful way. It links me to my great grandfather. These four lines articulate a kind of magic to the Maori ear; they tell the listener who I am and where I come from by using whakapapa as the key to whanau / hapu / iwi literacy (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). Ngati Kahungunu the tribe, which covers a large coastal area from Mahia to the Wairarapa, Rakaipaaka the hapu or sub tribe, locating our extended family at Nuhaka, Moumoukai the mountain, again geographically specifying the area the hapu inhabited, Takitimu the waka, Takitimu the canoe our ancestors travelled to these Islands on.

At the reunion our two remaining kuia, Aunty Messines (Rogers) and Aunty Tutu (Edwards), were with us nurturing, guiding, supporting, sharing, leading, teaching us about the oral history of the family, the surrounding area, the peoples we are descended from and their connections with other iwi throughout Aotearoa. One of the days at the reunion was planned as a `Te Kauru Trail'. We drove around Nuhaka stopping at places of significance to the family and hearing about stories of the area. Aunty Messines was the tour guide. One korero Aunt Messines shared with us was how the area came to acquire a name, originally from Ngapuhi in the North, now found abundantly around the Mahia district. She told of how a war party from Ngapuhi had come down the coastline, arriving at Mahia intent on taking on the local people.

Strategically placed, high on Moumoukai, our maunga, was a pa which the local people retreated to when under attack. With only one pathway up to the pa it was a powerful strategic position to occupy. The only recourse for the war party was to camp at the foot of the mountain and to attempt to starve the people out. Rather than surrender, the people organised themselves for the `sit out'. Dishes created which mixed clay with small amounts of puha and other vegetables, helped ensure the meagre food supplies lasted as long as possible. The strategy was successful. In the end, the aggressors would wait no longer, and returned to the North without ever taking

the local people to battle. Before leaving their leader called to the people of the pa and asked that they take his name as a reminder of this time, a compliment to a people he never conquered. That is how the name, originally from the North, came to have connections in Mahia, without any sense of the name being associated with having been conquered. The korero also tells a little of the background of the naming of `Kaiuku', a local placename, literally meaning `to eat clay' (Reed, A.W., 1978: 36). Matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi was being explored, story by story.

Much of what happened during this reunion was testimony of the existence of the Maori Education System. Pragmatically it would have been `easier' to arrange this reunion in Wellington: much cheaper for the majority to travel to, much easier for the majority to get to. There would have been `more things to do', `more places to go', `more people to see' in a cosmopolitan city. But, like Alex Hailey in the now famous book and televised serial `Roots', we had to travel to our *actual* roots to reclaim them. We had to not just get together as `whanau', but to be together at the place where the physical, spiritual and cultural worlds come together for us as the Te Kauru whanau. In Nuhaka whakapapa, whanau, whenua, turangawaewae all combined to connect us together. Where we stayed was part of the kaupapa of the celebration. Not at a hotel, or a motel, but on the marae. The institution that more than any other may well have provided Maori with a sanctuary in which to protect and practice our way of life from the onslaught of the wider society. A place to sleep, a place to eat, a place to respect and practice our spiritual traditions, a place to make the language and cultural ways of our tipuna the `modus operandi' - if only for a few days. As is our way the ebb and flow of daily life was fully integrated and connected on the marae as only the marae can enable it to be.

The Education Systems of Aotearoa

Contemporary analyses of education in Aotearoa commonly take as their starting point the formal schooling system that developed after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 thus ignoring, rendering invisible and dismissing out of hand the complex, vibrant Maori education system which served Maori very well prior to the arrival of tauiwi and colonisation, and which exists, in modified form, to this very day (Smith and Smith, 1990). In the Maori tradition education was, to modify a phrase by Penetito, 'by Maori, for Maori, about being Maori and in Maori' (1988). Maori development was its vision, its educational

processes and its measurable outputs. It is from this education system that the most exciting and innovative contemporary educational programmes, including schooling options, stem. It is also in this education system, perhaps not surprisingly, that 'tino rangatiratanga' has always been, and still is, guaranteed.

Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees to Maori tino rangatiratanga over their treasures. *The Tainui Education Strategy Second Report 1992 - 1997* (1991) argues that 'those treasures included the education of their children'. When this guarantee is considered alongside that stipulated in Article III, that Maori were guaranteed 'the rights of all citizens of New Zealand, including the right to equitable educational opportunities', Maori rights to education in both the Maori and subsequent western tradition, were guaranteed by the Treaty. Rather than being able to access two education systems equally well, however, it seems that Maori have experienced education unevenly, with varying degrees of success, in both education systems as a consequence of colonisation. Government reports provide the statistical profiles which show the disparity gap between Maori and non Maori in educational statistics (see for example Te Puni Kokiri, 2000) and the growing, but still small number of Maori who are fluent, ancestral speakers of our language (ibid).

What is commonly referred to 'the New Zealand Education System', based on the western tradition, is substantially a post 1840 paradigm, in which education for Maori was an entirely different enterprise than that which preceded the arrival of tauiwi; very different goals, processes and, understandably, different outcomes, some not even worth measuring! At the heart of the assertion that we have two education systems lies a major philosophical debate over what counts as education. We are in danger of losing sight of what counts as education, broadly defined, in this country and becoming obsessed with schooling. Far too many people reduce 'education' to schooling without even taking pause. Apart from the broader impact of this on the education community, such a limited view has far more serious implications for Maori education. Research shows that mainstream schooling serves Maori poorly (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000; Ministry of Education / Te Puni Kokiri, 1998), and that Maori schooling serves Maori well (Reedy, 1990a, 1990b; 1991a, 1991b; Aspen, 1992). Whereas education has been unable to successfully validate matauranga Maori, leaving it marginalised and in a precarious state (Metge, 1976; McCulloch, 1992), Maori education is

alive and well, and indeed thriving, in some sectors of the Maori community (Smith and Smith, 1990)!

As a feature of colonisation, the Maori educational tradition has been written out of what counts as education in this country. And, decolonisation, or anti racist education, on its own is not enough to bring about the kind of educational change necessary to empower Maori. As important as any programmes of decolonisation or anti racist education are, it is the reaffirmation and reconstruction of matauranga Maori that is providing many of the answers to long standing concerns in Maori education today. The most successful examples of Maori education in the last decade for example, in which such reconstruction work is being developed - the Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori movements - have been based in the Maori educational tradition (Smith, 1992). Maori education, broadly defined, is happening mainly outside of schools - as it always has. In time, Maori education is bound to have more of an impact on Maori in mainstream schooling than it is currently having.

Te kakano i ruia mai i a Rangiatea,
kua kore e ngaro.

The seed planted in Rangiatea will never be lost.

Rangiatea is described as the mythical homeland of Maori knowledge.
To say that the seeds planted there will never be lost is
to say that it is the role of successive generations of whanau / hapu / iwi to be the kaitiaki,
the guardians of Maori epistemology, ensuring that this knowledge is never lost.

How then would we describe matauranga Maori, the Maori education system, if we were to try to? How would we develop a model to represent it? What follows is an introductory attempt to explore some of the critical areas which are features of such a model. It is tentative in its exploration, and should be read as an emerging model in draft form about which debate and discussion is invited.

The first characteristic of this system is that te reo Maori me ona tikanga, the Maori language and culture, are the ancestral language and culture of this system (Pere, 1982, 1988). They provide the vehicle through which to articulate descriptions of an education system based on the Maori worldview. Maori views of: creation (Buck, 1970); the origins of knowledge (Best, 1986; Smith and Smith, 1990); the classification and framing of knowledge (Bernstein, 1977; Best, 1986; Smith and Smith, 1990); Maori epistemologies (Salmond, 1984); the properties of knowledge (Manihera, 1975; Awatere, 1984; Grace, 1988); the forms the expression of the knowledge takes (Ngata and Jones, 1980; Mead, 1984, 1986, 1997); the description of different levels of knowing (Project Able, 1989); learning and teaching styles (Pere, 1982, 1987, 1988, 1991; Metge, 1976, 1984, 1988, 1990; Hemara, 2000); who has access to what knowledge (Metge, 1984; Best, 1986;) and what contexts (Metge, 1984; Best, 1986) are derived from this framework.

Matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi: Maori Epistemology

Pere (1982; 1987; 1988; 1991) and Metge (1976, 1984, 1986, 1990) have written extensively on Maori notions of learning and teaching in which the defining characteristics are derived from Maori epistemology. The major concepts identified in this research form the central position in the model. Three features are highlighted in this model. The first is the concept described as `ako'; which means both to learn and to teach in the Maori tradition (Pere, 1982). Rather than being set in a dualistic / oppositional relationship, learning / teaching occupy a dialectical relationship in this tradition in which each takes meaning and form in relation to the other. The second is the model of `Te Wheke' (Pere, 1988, 1991) in which Pere identifies a set of principles she argues are integral to Maori education. The principles are: taha tinana, the physical dimension; waiora, well being; whanau, family; hinengaro, the mind; whatumanawa, the emotional dimension; wairua, the spiritual dimension; mauri, the life force of all things, animate and inanimate; ha, taonga tuku iho, treasures that have come down from the ancestors; mana ake, divine right, influence, prestige (Pere, 1991). Each of these principles, for example whanau or family, may well also be integral to other education systems. What Pere (1982, 1988, 1991) articulates is what *form* these principles take in the Maori worldview.

The third is an articulation of Maori pedagogies (Metge, 1984). Her first observation relates to the central role of `korero', of story telling in Maori education (1984: 10). The focus on the oral tradition which is central to Maori education provides a backdrop against which this `feature' can be understood. Metge (1984) identifies three characteristically Maori pedagogies in the Maori education system. These are: the wananga; education through exposure; and the apprenticeship / tutorial approach. The wananga model is a group-based model in which people come together to learn, to share ideas, to discuss. The exposure model argues that being immersed in, and participating in real life situations is a powerful way to learn. In this regard the `visibility' of children everywhere in Maori society is a feature others often notice. Life is not kept from children, be it weddings, tangi, hui, they are there - integral and included. The apprenticeship / tutorial model is the one to one relationship of a learner with a teacher. Hemara (2000) argues that within the Maori worldview there are a range of pedagogies immersed in the culture. He identifies these as whakatauaki, waiata, whaikorero, korero tawhito and whakapapa.

The Maori view of knowledge and how one gains it is articulated through the korero of Tane - Nui - A - Rangi and his journey to the twelfth heaven. The Maori view of knowledge is that it is sacred in origin, not secular. The story of this involves Tane Nui a Rangi, who tradition has it travelled to the sacred heavens to bring back three baskets of knowledge for the people (Smith and Smith, 1990; Buck, 1970; Best, 1986). Best records `that these three divisions of learning are:

1. Te kete aronui: this represents all knowledge pertaining to good - all things humane, beneficent, desirable, peace, peaceful arts, good will, welfare, human sympathy.
2. Te kete tuatea: this is the basket or repository of evil - the knowledge of all pernicious things: of the art of war, of black magic, of all evil arts, qualities, activities, as pertaining to man, to natural phenomena, to all kingdoms of nature.
3. Te kete tuauri: this is the basket of ritual - the knowledge of all ritual acts and formulae; of all tapu ceremonial as connected with all things on earth and in the 12 heavens; likewise the mana of all things performed or desired by man (Best, 1986: 11).

Three states of knowing are identified in ascending order of the depth of learning / knowing, that they signify. They are mohiotanga, matauranga and maramatanga / pumanawa. Mohiotanga is described as the state of knowing about `how to do' something. This level of knowing is similar to that described as shallow learning. Matauranga is the second level and relates to wisdom, the wisdom that comes from knowing more in depth knowledge which incorporates and extends the `how to do' knowing. The pinnacle is maramatanga, enlightenment, and pumanawa, the intuitive intelligence (Project Able, 1989), both signifiers of what is termed deep learning / knowing. Of particular note here is the placement of intuitive intelligence at the pinnacle of the sequence. In the Western tradition, by way of comparison, intuition is often devalued as a form of knowing when compared with other forms in that tradition.

The marae is one of the major educational institutions in the Maori education system. Indeed, it would hold the place of structural significance similar to the school in the New Zealand Education System. The marae is a focal point for Maori activity which brings together a range of facilities to cater for the ebb and flow of Maori life. A meeting house, a dining hall and ablution blocks are the usual components. Marae are configured around whanau, hapu and or iwi, depending on their history (Metge, 1976). Wairua, the spiritual dimension, takes an authentic place in the kawa and tikanga of the marae, the protocols and procedures of how to behave on the marae (Jenkins, 1988, 1991). Hui (Salmond, 1975) provides an organisational model of how to conduct forums of people across a wide range of ceremonial events from weddings, to political debates, to funerals (tangi). Te reo Maori is the authentic medium of interaction, although colonisation has impacted so drastically on the use of te reo Maori that English is now often used in the meeting house. Outside, when formal procedures are taking place, te reo Maori use is almost exclusive.

Finally, the Maori education system is based on an oral tradition (Dewes, 1975). Maori oral literature contains korero (prose) (Mataira, 1974: 168) and waiata (poetry) (Mataira, 1974: 168). The prose includes traditional oral texts, modern oral

compositions and modern written prose (Dewes, 1975). Mataira (1974) identifies that nga moteatea (song poetry) can be grouped in four sub categories: waiata tangi, laments; waiata aroha, songs of unrequited love; patere, songs of derision; and oriori, genealogical, geographic, and historical lullabies (Mataira, 1974: 168). This oral literature contains the rich and varied stories of our people, our history as a people.

Border Crossing

This research and scholarship base supports the statement that Maori people had a complex and efficient education system prior to the arrival of the Pakeha colonisers (Jenkins, 1988), in which being Maori was the norm that education sought to transmit. This stands in direct contrast to what is described as 'The New Zealand Education System', represented by the Ministry of Education (1992) some years ago in diagrammatic form as a series of boxes stacked one on top of the other. Early childhood education was the bottom box, tertiary education the top layer of boxes. Within the tertiary section boxes of different size were drawn: universities the largest box, polytechnics the smallest. What the diagram presented was a visual image of a system which is a complex organisational monolith, fragmented in nature and organised hierarchically. In recent years the system represented as `The New Zealand Education System' has been reorganised. However, the characteristics of complexity, fragmentation and hierarchical organisation remain. The two 'education systems' are almost unrecognisable to each other, and yet people move between the two, with varying degrees of exposure, immersion and success. Any studies of the nature of education in Aotearoa such as this, need to be cognisant of these parallel education systems, their points of contact, similarity, tension, conflict and difference. It is between these two systems that all New Zealanders potentially move as `border crossers' (Giroux, 1992).

The concept of `border crossers' is useful for a number of reasons. The first is that the existence of the `borders' is not a natural social phenomenon. They have been carefully constructed so as to delineate actual borders between what is deemed official knowledge (Apple, 1993) and unofficial knowledge. Further, legislation has played a critical role in the creation of borders between matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi and knowledge derived from Western traditions and sources in this country. The role of legislation in removing te reo Maori from programmes of schooling is a historical case in point. Barrington and Beaglehole

(1974) argue that in order to successfully accomplish `the Christian Mission' missionaries learnt the Maori language, taught in Maori and translated the bible into Maori. In the first Mission School at Rangihoua, for example, all teaching was done in the Maori language (Biggs, 1968). One of the major outcomes of this focus on te reo Maori in the 1930's was that Maori achieved very high levels of literacy rates. Biggs argues that `it seems possible, indeed likely, that by the middle of the nineteenth century a higher proportion of the Maori than of the settlers were literate in their own language' (Biggs, 1968: 73).

The Education Ordinance (1847) introduced the role of the legislative arm of the state in the removal of te reo Maori from the education system. Through this piece of legislation Government support for mission schools became conditional upon the use of the English language as the medium of instruction (Biggs, 1968). Legislation which would be used increasingly over the years to minimalise the role that te reo Maori and Maori culture could play in eduction and schooling funded by the state. Barely two decades later the legislative arm of the state would again strike te reo Maori. The passing of the 1867 Native Schools Act introduced the policy of using English as the sole medium of instruction in schools for Maori (Biggs, 1968). This policy was reinforced in the passing of the Native Schools Amendment Act in 1871, which `provided for ... instruction in English only' (Biggs, 1968: 74). Over a period of some forty years, from the early 1900s to 1945, te reo Maori slowly regained a place in the education system of this country. In 1907 te reo Maori became an optional subject for boys in the church boarding schools (Benton, 1981). In 1925 Maori became a language unit for the B.A. degree at the University of New Zealand (Biggs, 1968: 75); in 1929 it became a subject for the University Entrance Examinations (Biggs, 1968: 79). In 1931 Maori was made a compulsory subject for study at the Maori church colleges and it was introduced in the Maori District High Schools. In 1945 Maori became a subject for School Certificate (Biggs, 1968: 75)

The second is that the borders delineate boundaries between knowledge codes that are fundamentally different in nature. Critically, the differences are epistemological in nature, sourced to different ways of theorising the origins of knowledge itself. Three features of the two systems can be selected for comparative purposes to highlight the point being made. The first relates to competing understandings of learning / teaching. Maori views of

`ako' meaning both to learn and to teaching as compared with the western views which have traditionally viewed learning and teaching in dualistic terms (Pere, 1982). The second relates to the role of spirituality in a secular education system. `Wairua' is identified as being central to Maori models of development and wellness (Pere, 1982; Durie, 1994). This creates a tension for Maori as the 1877 Education Act created a national, secular education system. The third feature relates to notions of objectivity / subjectivity in education. In the Maori model Pere describes `whatumanawa', the emotions, as an essential feature of the integrated model that is `Te Wheke'. In no sense are the emotions separated from understandings of development or intellectual functioning. The relationship between the knower and the knowledge is close and personal. Indeed, Marsden (King, 1992: 117) would describe it as an almost intimate relationship. He has offered reflections on the task of analysing Maori culture, and the method that was required to do this:

> The major task consists not in analysis of outward institutional forms ... but in penetrating into states of mind for some kind of evaluation and understanding ... Only an approach which sets out to explore and describe the main features of the consciousness in the experience of the Maori offers any hope of adequate coverage. For the reality we experience subjectively is incapable of rational synthesis ... I believe only a Maori from within the culture can do this adequately. Abstract rational thought and empirical methods cannot grasp the concrete act of existing which is fragmentary, paradoxical and incomplete.

This approach is contrasted with western views of objectivity / subjectivity in which the `objective' view is premised on notions of `distance' between the student and the subject s/he is studying; and the absence of emotion from the discourse of knowing itself. Palmer, an American academic, (1998) has developed a critique of this the western view, arguing instead for a repositioning of the `subjective' in holistic terms which are very similar to those argued in Maori models.

The third relates to the role of education and schooling as a means of social control, a major feature of the project of colonisation (Cod, Nash and Harked, 1990). The role of education in matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi is fundamentally one of mana enhancing, of enabling the

child to become as well prepared as is possible to take a productive and full role in the adult life of their society. This is a view that is at odds with an education system in which inequality is a structural feature, a system designed to fail groups of people and to contribute to social stratification (Jones et al, 1990).

Section Four: Maori / Policy / Education

He kopu puta tahi,
he taura whiri tatou,
whiringa a nuku,
whiringa a rangi,
te whatia e ...

Issue of one womb,
we are a plaited rope,
plaited on earth,
plaited in heaven,
we will not be severed.
(Maori Education Commission, 1998b: 26)

Introduction

The policy milieux has functioned as a `crucible' in the colonisation process. Here ideas such as `assimilation' were translated into policies which were then institutionalised into the bureaucracies that comprise the state. Central and local government were formed with fundamental inequalities integrated into their very foundations (Garcia, 1982).

Colonisation has not been experienced as a neutral exercise of two cultures and peoples meeting in mutual respect and harmony. It has routinely been about two peoples and cultures meeting in opposition; one was to be dominant, one displaced. To be displaced was to have your basic human and civil rights wrenched from you, violated in every sense that we now try to know them, without your consent. With no sense of natural justice or fairness, groups were socially and economically displaced. And then, as if this was not sufficiently debased as a social process, colonisation created the ultimate indignity. Fanon (1967) has described this as a `masking' process, a process whereby cultural authenticity was veiled by the culture of the colonising power (ibid).

Institutionalising this new social order has also had consequences for the dominant group. Re - educating people to become aware of the direct relationship between the oppression of the

displaced and the gains that accrued from this to the privileged dominant group is no easy task. Programmes of decolonisation which aim to make transparent to colonised peoples how they came to occupy their place in society, structurally disempowered, invariably enables them to see how others came to occupy the higher echelons, structurally empowered. It is an analysis which in antiracist education programmes aims to deal with the `privilege' that accrues from belonging to the dominant group (Katz, 1982).

What these programmes also meet is the reality that whilst the unequal power relations are institutionalised at the systems and institutional levels they are lived and experienced at the personal and individual levels. Real people are pitted against each other as the dominant and displaced and it is at these levels also that the wretchedness of colonisation needs to be mediated. Structural change, institutional change, personal change: the decolonisation programmes are multi faceted and Treaty based in this country. Maori signatories to the Treaty were cast as the displaced peoples; non-Maori signatories as the dominant group. The need for decolonisation is critical for both parties so that we can find a future in which strategic planning and thinking, premised on the win / win philosophy replaces the win / lose philosophy of our past.

This is the way of the future.

Pathways to rangatiratanga for Maori are many and varied, and they do not have to travel through the policy milieux of the state. The capital resources in the private sector of Maori business and tribal development are such that many can and now are taking their own rangatiratanga directly into the global marketplace, as is their right. These developments are quite innovative and exciting. Many, many more iwi still sit at the table with the state, negotiating outstanding historical grievances which are designed to enable them to also move forward in a developmental, rather than grievance mode. The task of decolonising the policy milieux remains a critical one for the nation if Maori are ever to become equal partners in national development in this country, our historical Treaty right, and not just bit players at someone else's game.

This section aims to explore and analyse the policy milieux with particular reference to the developments of the past decade as they relate to Maori educational policy. Rather than focussing on `policy science', `specific policy proposals and technical details' (Grace, 1988: 16) it is written

as a more critical examination of policy scholarship which `examines fundamental principles and ideologies in struggle' (ibid).

Assimilation, Integration, Maori Development

Bullivant's classic study *The Pluralist Dilemma in Education* (1981), a major comparative study of cultural pluralism in Canada, the USA, Britain, Fiji, Australia and Hawaii, identifies similarities in the pattern of impact and response colonisation has had around the globe. What Bullivant termed `the pluralist dilemma' quickly emerged as a policy dilemma (1981). The `pluralist dilemma' as he saw it, was the problem of reconciling the diverse political claims of groups and individuals with the claims of the country as a whole in plural societies. The policy dilemma was the problem of how to design effective policy which would facilitate the reconciliation process.

A common pattern has emerged in the policy response of countries where colonisation has occurred. First the policy has been one of assimilation, then integration, and more latterly, a range of development options. Assimilation was the prevailing international response until about the 1960's. It was a policy in which total domination of the indigenous local peoples by the colonising force was the state objective (Garcia, 1982). In the institutionalised arrangement of societies utilising such an ideology, no concessions were made to non - dominant cultures. Such a policy directive, if not successful in persuading minority group members to abandon their own cultural ways of behaving and of seeing the world, forced people to retain such expressions for use in the privacy of their homes, or the private domains of society (Bullivant, 1981). Changes to this policy resulted from a number of factors including resistance from the indigenous people who would not be assimilated as well as changing international views on human rights following the Second World War (Watson, 1979).

Integration, a modified policy which sought to combine aspects of the cultures of the local and colonising culture, was the second major policy response. This policy also met with limited success. Indeed, Mullard (1982) describes it as assimilation dressed up. Resistance to integration was related to the issue of who had the power and control in the process of `integrating' the two cultures (Simon, 1984). In the 1980s policies more aligned with development models started to appear.

In Aotearoa this has been our national policy profile (Irwin, 1989; Smith and Smith, 1990). Assimilation was government policy until the late 1950s in this country. Integration was proposed as government policy in the Hunn Report of 1960 (Hunn, 1961) and Maori

Development was proposed and adopted by Maori as Maori Affairs policy in 1984 (Board of Maori Affairs Report, 1986) at the Hui Taumata and subsequent regional hui based on this.

At the Hui Taumata, the Maori Economic Development Summit held in 1984, Maori leaders articulated a vision for the future which was to empower Maoridom, through Maori ways, so that Maori attain parity with members of the wider society in all spheres of life. The objectives for Maori development, outlined at the Hui Taumata were: to strive for parity between the Maori and Pakeha people of New Zealand in the areas of housing, education, land development, employment, business and health; to strengthen Maoridom's development of identity through Maori language and the heritage of the ancestors, the marae, the Maori spiritual pathway and Maori mind and tribal identity; and to achieve these objectives within the Development Decade (Board of Maori Affairs Report, 1986) declared by Maoridom at the Hui Taumata, from 1984 - 1994. From the outset the `Development Decade' involved Maoridom in a major paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1970). Of particular national and international significance here was the impetus from Maori people themselves.

From at least 1844 to 1960 the state invested huge resources in the policy of assimilation, to be faced by a Maori community which did not die out, become completely assimilated or give up on its traditional language and cultural ways. The development of integration as the state's second-phase response proved little better as a long-term sustainable policy option which both the state and Maori people could accept. Maori Development, on the other hand, is a policy option offering very different possibilities, not the least of which will flow from the involvement of Maori people themselves in its development and acceptance.

There are real lessons here. In matters relating to Maori development the `policy makers' group includes the Maori community as partners in this policy making process. Indeed, this is exactly what *Ka Awatea, A Report of the Ministerial Planning Group* (Henare et al, 1991), advised should be the case: that the state alone could not, nor should they, be solely responsible for Maori development (Henare et al, 1991). That smacks of the dependency mode which characterises colonisation and which Maori development seeks to break.

Maori Affairs Policy

> ... the goal of an effective Maori affairs policy is the full participation in the development of a healthy and wealthy New Zealand society. The divergence occurs only on how this is to be achieved. The first point of divergence is the most fundamental: is the basis of a policy to be needs driven or rights driven? (Parata, 1994: 40)

Parata, in `Mainstreaming a Maori Affairs Policy?' (1994) outlines and discusses the needs driven / rights driven divergence in approaches to Maori affairs policy development in this country. The needs driven approach, she argues, is primarily an economic one, which `reduces the role of the state to dealing with issues of income' (ibid). The focus of the policy milieu in this scenario is on the elimination of a range of barriers which might prevent citizens from reaching an economic level sufficient for people to provide for their own needs. In this context the range of possible barriers is described as including those which are `legislative, regulatory, structural and administrative' (ibid).

The rights - driven approach takes a broader focus with more comprehensive implications for the role of the state in the policy process and the monitoring of the outcomes which flow from this. In this scenario the state is required `to recognise the status of the indigenous people' (Parata, op cit, 41). Parata suggests that current government policy is ambivalent in that it seems to be positioned to adopt both approaches simultaneously, which at the very least contributes to a public policy framework which lacks consistency.

For Maori it does seem possible to argue both approaches. The needs based approach would seem justified by the socio-economic position Maori currently occupy in this country as a group. A recent snapshot of the contemporary reality experienced by families and households in New Zealand, detailed in the latest `Closing the Gaps Report' (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000), illustrates that considerable disparities exist between Maori and non Maori. One of the first impressions is of real gains made in the Maori community, when Maori figures are considered over time. A second immediate impression, however, is that of the continued, and on some indices increased, disparity between the Maori and non-Maori community. Of particular concern are the continuing major differences between Maori and non - Maori in: unemployment levels; income levels; and the percentage of those in receipt of some form of income support from the government (ibid).

The rights based approach could be argued in the context of developments in the international arena on indigenous people's rights in which Maori from Aotearoa have been leading advocates. In a keynote address to the International Indigenous Women's Conference, held in Aotearoa in February 1993, Dalee Sambo spoke about the development of a draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights, part of the work of the United Nations Economic and Social Council Working Group on Indigenous Peoples. She outlined a number of specific international standards that have emerged from this work: the `recognition of collective rights; recognition of indigenous peoples' right of self determination; the essential principal of consent; indigenous peoples must determine their own priorities; protection of the "integrity" of indigenous values, practices, institutions and environment; and sustainable and equitable development' (1993, 3 - 6). Speaking about indigenous peoples all over the world, Dalee observed:

> to this day there continues to be an unwavering determination to identify both self and community as indigenous, despite rapid social, environmental and economic change. The legacy of outside control is what indigenous peoples today are fighting against (1993: 1).

The integration of these `international standards' is central to the processes of change that Maori are engaged in Aotearoa. Maori have increasingly refocussed policy direction from the bicultural development policy framework into one called Maori development, emphasising tino rangatiratanga, self-determination. A critical shift, accurately described as a **paradigm shift** (Kuhn, 1970). Writing about `The Great Paradigm Shift' in the international best seller *Revolution from Within*, Gloria Steinem wrote:

> The biggest and most far reaching kind of cognitive therapy is a paradigm shift: a change in the organising principle that underlies the way we think about ourselves and the world (1993: 217).

This is the kind of change that Maori are engaged in at whanau, hapu, iwi, national and international levels. The effectiveness of this shift has led to the development of a diverse range of initiatives of Maori development in education (Irwin, 1992, 1993) some of which are now

recognised as major movements, not just successful initiatives of a small scale nature, in radical educational change (Smith, G. 1990; Smith, L. 1992).

Turning to an analysis of contemporary policy provisions Parata (1994) details reflections on the specific policy of mainstreaming which was to shape the work of the fledgling agency and which has characterised the states view of Maori Affairs policy since then. At least two categories of mainstreaming were identified: the minimalist and the optimalist. The minimalist view is described as being driven by the imperatives of time and orderliness; the ultimate objective being to meet pre-set deadlines. The optimalist view was of quite a different order. Programme transfer was related to quality indicators which included:

> that a host had a comparably successful programme in operation, that the performance of the department could be lifted to the point that Maori could expect to gain in equal measure to the host department's other clients, and that it would be possible to measure the success of the programme' (Parata, 1994: 42).

Maori continue to hold the state responsible for the resourcing of a world-class education system. This call is based on a combination of both the needs and rights approach to policy development (Parata, 1994) and it is directed at the state achieving the optimal position in relation to policy development and service delivery. More than the concerns of the minimalist view of policy development, for time and orderliness, the concern is for parity, for the success of outputs enjoyed by the Tauiwi Treaty partner.

Features of Maori Educational Policy 1990 - 2000

Four of the major features of Maori educational policy development over the last decade need to be highlighted by way of introducing this section. First, it has been significant changes in Maori Affairs policy which have had the greatest impact on Maori education. Second, the timing of the change process resulting from those initiatives is unrelated to the restructuring of education. It pre-dates it by over a decade and is more closely aligned with the review and restructuring of the Department of Maori Affairs which started in 1976 (Puketapu, 1982). Third, the major impetus for change has come from proactive initiatives in the Maori community in which matauranga Maori has provided both a philosophical framework for development and an operational means through which

to articulate new delivery forms. Nga kohanga reo and nga kura kaupapa Maori provide two examples of this (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001).

Finally, the policy making machinery of the state has been reactive at best. This has not engendered confidence in the view that the state can `lead' in the area of Maori educational policy. In the field of Maori Affairs the major policy to emerge during this period is known as Maori Development. This is where the cutting edge of innovative change has come from, and it has come from the community. Education has not kept pace with this policy change; it has played a reactive role in response to proactive Maori, lagging behind the cutting edge of innovative change. The kohanga reo movement, which led to the kura kaupapa Maori movement, can be traced back to 1976, and the review of the role of the Community Welfare Officers in the then Department of Maori Affairs (). From this review came a restructured Department of Maori Affairs, a new policy making forum for Maori (Hui Whakatauira), new policy and new programmes, the most successful of which were developed under as `Tu Tangata' (ibid). In the education sector the flow on effect of the changes from these developments has been considerable. Immersion education has become a greatly enhanced schooling option as a consequence and this is where considerable growth has been seen in the compulsory schooling sector (see for example Davies and Nichol, 1993; Te Puni Kokiri, 2000).

The Picot Educational Reform and Restructuring Process

Following the 1984 election the Fourth Labour government took up what is now seen as a historic term of office and launched into a major project of radical social and economic reform. The project, `Rogernomics', aimed to transform the welfare state into a state more shaped by the principles of `the new right' than `the old left' (Lauder, 1990). Lauder suggests that selected policies proposed under this guise represent "some of the most pristine new right policies to be found anywhere in the world" (Lauder, op cit :). The Education System was included in this project and has been subject to continuing review, reform and restructuring, under both Labour and National Governments, since then.

The restructuring of education did not lead to radical changes for Maori of the kind called for at the Hui Taumata; the changes have routinely been conservative (Smith, 1989). The power traditionally vested in the state was devolved to other organisations and education authorities which already

constituted the status quo. Under the second term of reference iwi could have been identified and included under the category `other education authority'. Iwi development and the role education could, and should, play at this level of Maori development could also easily have fit under the gamut of the third term of reference that empowered the taskforce to consider `any other aspect that warrants review'. Maori education had long been one of the perennial thorny educational issues permanently relegated to the too hard basket. The imperative and opportunity to make as much of the chance offered by the review as possible was substantial.

At a time when Maoridom was moving rapidly into Maori development at the iwi level the 1989 legislation based on this report missed a once in a century opportunity for the changes to Maori education to be based in the policy of Maori Development. The message to be taken from this is that the state still retained the power to dictate to Maori how we should be represented. This occurred when the old Department of Maori Affairs was being restructured so that iwi **could** have power devolved to them in attempts to break the dependency mode of relations that had long characterised Maori dealings with the state. At the same time that the Taskforce to Review Education Administration was meeting, so too was the group reviewing and rewriting government policy on Maori Affairs proposing just this.

Using a Treaty based partnership model to analyse the impact of Rogernomics we could surmise that the Tauiwi Treaty partner has reformed and restructured itself from monolingual and monocultural monoliths (such as the education system) into more fragmented, smaller monolingual and monocultural Crown agencies and organisations. The Maori Treaty partner was given little opportunity to do likewise and is still calling for change because the restructuring programmes did not result in structural change of an inclusive, bilingual and bicultural nature.

In 1990 a hui held in Rotorua created a major opportunity for Maori to join together in a movement which called for structural reform of a different kind in education: Tino Rangatiratanga, self determination in education, the creation of a separate system of education for Maori (Tino Rangatiratanga, 1990). The calls were made in a climate of growing Maori concern and anxiety about the impact of the reform process on Maori and the lack of state responsiveness to Maori voices. By this time Moana Jackson, for example, had completed research for the Department of Justice on the case for a separate justice system. The Maori and the Criminal Justice System: He

Whaipaanga Hou - A New Perspective (Jackson, 1988). John Rangihau had already led a review of the Department of Social Welfare which had led to the structural reform programme suggested in *Puao Te Ata Tu* (1986). What the calls and concomitant research programmes highlighted was: the existence of vibrant, complex Maori social systems prior to colonisation; their continued, though transformed, presence to this day; and the strong political determination of significant sectors of the Maori community to reaffirm and re-validate these in the contemporary social context. The kaupapa of separate and /or parallel systems was well established on the agenda of Maori social and political analysis at the national level.

Maori voices have argued that the state should not be the only educational authority with such power over Maori education. Before the Tino Rangatiratanga movement The Matawaia Declaration (Benton, 1990) and The Maori Congress both challenged the monopoly position of authority the state has over Maori education and have asserted the right of Maori to be recognised as major educational authorities in our own right. During 1999 this call was picked up again, this time at a hui held at Takapuwahia Marae in Wellington during September to consider the development of a Maori Education Authority. A working party of leading Maori educationists, Te Roopu Whaiti, was chosen to develop a model for a Maori Education Authority which was the subject of top level meetings with the Secretary for Education, Ministry of Education, in October, 2000 (Report of the Working Party to Establish a Maori Education Authority, 2000).

The following sections provide commentaries on aspects of policy which highlight important issues for Maori.

1990 - 1993, The National Government, `Equity Dismantled'

Early on in the decade we saw ideology at work in the newly created policy environment. Structures and processes to implement equity, arguably an educational goal which this country has pioneered, were systematically removed from the state apparatus since the early days after Picot. In the period which heralded the arrival of the newly created Ministry of Education, equity, defined to articulate the place and role of the Treaty of Waitangi and of gender issues, was a central feature of government policy. It was compulsory in the charters of educational institutions and the Ministry of Education had staff and structures dedicated to this specialisation. This was soon whisked off the agenda when there was a change of Government in 1990. Out went equity as a

compulsory charter component and out went many of the structures and specialised staff in the new policy system to deal with this specialisation. The equity provision in school charters, including gender and tangata whenua equity provisions, became optional within weeks of the election in 1990 (Middleton, 1990).

Te Wahanga Maori, working in the area of tangata whenua equity and the Girls and Women's Section of the Policy unit, working on gender equity were disestablished. Following the Lough Report (1991) Te Wahanga Maori, the Maori unit within the Ministry, was disestablished as a unit and reconstituted as a caucus, which would meet monthly. The disestablishment of the Girls and Women Section of the Ministry of Education Policy Division took place as a consequence of the August 1992 restructuring exercise, to take effect in 1993, on the eve of the 1993 Suffrage Year celebrations. The budget of 1991 disestablished the Women's Advisory Committee on Education and the Runanga Matua, two nationally constituted advisory groups providing contestable advise to the Minister of Education on issues relating to the educational needs of women and girls and Maori (Irwin, 1992). In August 1992 it was announced that the Contestable Equity fund would not be available in 1993.

1993 - 1996, National Government, `One Size Fits All'

A feature of this period was the notion that in the policy milieux `one size fits all'. This despite the fact that in terms of social and economic realities, long standing disparities exist between Maori and non Maori on almost every social indicator for which statistical information is gathered. What this speaks to is the notion of `the level playing field' in the policy milieux in which all people are treated the same. In this respect the illusion of `equality' becomes a barrier to empowerment. Sameness masks the structural inequality which is endemic in capitalist economies such as ours (Jones et al, 1990). Agreement on the goals of `equality of outcomes' is quickly reached in almost any political circle. Where the disagreement comes is in the understandings people have of why the disparities exist and what can be done to close them.

The `one size fits all' notion is articulated in policy texts from the period in the following ways. Education is cited as a key to future prosperity, a key to transforming the current social and economic status of Maori, in the policy environment. *Investing in our Future, Toward 2010*, asserts that:

> By equipping young New Zealanders with the skills their future careers will demand, we will be achieving two huge goals - releasing individuals from cycles of disadvantage and increasing the skills of our workforce, which in turn will guarantee New Zealand's continued prosperity. Policy initiatives therefore will focus on education, training and employment, as well as reducing welfare dependence (Preface, p.2).

It identifies the resolution of Treaty of Waitangi claims as a challenge which the Government is determined to resolve. It states that it `wants to negotiate settlements that will transfer ... assets' amongst other things which will assist programmes of Maori development (Preface, pp 2 - 3). The broad vision and goals articulated in this policy document are further specified in the publication *Strategic Result Areas for the Public Sector, 1994 - 1997* (1995), which `sets out the contribution that the public sector will make to achieving the Government's strategic vision for New Zealand' (*Forward,* Bolger). A critical part of any strategic planning process, the SRA's focus the strategic vision into measurable outcomes linking `the Government's long term objectives and the operational activities of the departments' (ibid). From this government departments develop Key Result Areas for which they are contracted to produce specific outcomes. In the new policy environment the Minister literally purchases outputs from his / her Ministry or Department. Towards the end of the forward the then Prime Minister wrote that the development of SRAs is very much about a cohesive, strategically focused combined national effort:

> ... the Strategic Result Areas have been formulated to apply to all sections of the community ... rather than based on specific groups based on age, ethnicity or gender, and are not expressed in a way that draws out target groups except at the general level (ibid).

The texts, then, highlight cycles of disadvantage, differential skill levels in the community and note that economic disparities exist. The policies, however, are designed at the `one size fits all model' and stress that there will be no development of policy differentiated by actual need. Policy in this scenario ignores the disparities in the community as a means of addressing them.

1996 - 1999, The National / NZ First Coalition, `The Scramble'

Between 1996 and 1999 key government departments were busily engaged in policy projects which seemed bound to impact on Maori education. The Ministry of Women's Affairs celebrated its first

decade in 1996 by releasing the document `The Full Picture: Te Tirohanga Whanui, Guidelines for Gender Analysis - How to achieve quality in policy and services' providing `the gender lens through which to view an initiative' (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1996: 5). Perhaps this would lead to a gender inclusive policy for Maori education?

The Te Puni Kokiri review of the Ministry of Education `identified that the Ministry of Education lacks adequate processes to support progress towards its objective of reducing educational disparities for Maori. This finding applied at both the organisational level (in terms of how the Ministry determines what outputs need to be provided) and at the operational level (in terms of how the Ministry staff undertake and co ordinate their work)' (Te Puni Kokiri, 1997: 6). Perhaps the Ministry would be more responsive to Maori as a result of this review?

During 1997 / 1998 the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kokiri worked on a strategic planning exercise for Maori Education which consulted widely with Maori, asking what Maori want from education through a gruelling schedule of hui held up and down the country in the latter part of 1997, and reported in July 1998. What Maori said they wanted was:

- `more say in education,
- greater accountability,
- more responsiveness and diversity in education,
- changes in attitudes and expectations, and
- better information and communication' (Ministry of Education / Te Puni Kokiri, 1998: 5).

Would these findings generate change?

The Maori Education Commission was active at that time, working to a brief of finding new solutions for Maori Education and consulting widely in its deliberations. It released its second report in August 1998, arguing, amongst other things, for a Maori Education Authority to be established. Expressions of interest were called for jointly from the Commission and the Maori Education Trust to develop models for such an authority in November of 1998 (MET, MEC, 1998). Due to be completed mid way through 1999, the research project aimed to develop possible models for the creation of such a structure. Was this the answer?

Leaving aside the obvious questions (Did the state know what each of its different departments were engaged in? and, Were these programmes all coordinated parts of a strategic planning process?), these findings and developments were interesting. Their value, and the tremendous contributions of the individuals who worked to develop them, were widely acknowledged. They made it clear what the status quo was and it is always important to be clear about the current situation. But they were not new. Such ideas had been suggested years ago, in some cases decades ago but they had only just emerged from the policy environment. Two examples will suffice: the issue of the Maori education authority and the issue of gender inclusive policy development.

As was outlined in an earlier section of this section, Maori voices have for some time argued that the state should not be the only educational authority with such power over Maori education. The Matawaia Declaration (Benton, 1990) The Tino Rangatiratanga Movement of the early 1990's, The Maori Congress, established in 1990, have all challenged the monopoly position of authority the state has over Maori education and have asserted the right of Maori to be recognised as major educational authorities in our own right.

To address the issue of issues of gender balance and representation in policy raised in `the Full Picture', years of research and scholarship have been unable to make sustainable changes to Maori educational policy in this regard. In 1988 the Women's Advisory Committee on Education published *A National Policy for the Education of Girls and Women in New Zealand.* This provided a place to start. It was largely ignored. So too was research commissioned by the Ministry of Education aimed to study the factors that affect the achievement of Maori girls at school (Carkeek, Davies and Irwin, 1994; Irwin, Davies and Carkeek, 1996). The research found that programme type in itself does not guarantee positive learning outcomes for Maori girls. Programme development at an organisational and administrative level must be matched by excellence at all levels of the learning and teaching process: for example, classroom management; learning support; teaching practice; and resource development. Finally, there were some areas in which there was room for improvement across all programme types namely: ensuring that children are aware of and not afraid to access pastoral care policies and procedures; promoting equal access to space and equipment use; and taking steps to provide children with positive and safe ways to resolve interpersonal conflict, tension and anger, both inside the classroom and outside in the playground, so that girls are not exposed to such serious verbal and physical aggression (Carkeek, Davies and

Irwin, 1994: 28 - 29). In 1999, despite the huge range of developments associated with women's development during this time, not the least of which was the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, we still had Maori Education policy which was gender blind.

1999 - 2002, Labour / Alliance Coalition, `Closing the Gaps',

The politics surrounding the report and work programme known initially as `Closing the Gaps' reminds us at the beginning of the third millennium of the extreme political volatility surrounding the fields of Maori Education and Development. Indeed, there is evidence that that volatility heightened as the decade progressed. The state has waited in vain for the spoils of its economic miracle to trickle down to be shared with the masses ... only to find that it has not, that the pain has not been equally shared. The Hikoi of Hope (a march against poverty) restated this late in 1998 and led to a hui on Constitutional Reform hosted by Tainui in mid December of that year, which, beyond the specific questions facing any one sector of our society, like education, again debated fundamental questions about the governance of our nation. In a report of this hui it was noted that `political parties have been put on notice that they ignore the power of the Maori vote at their own risk' (`Tribal Leaders Endorse Senate Plan', New Zealand Herald, December 21st: A4). Professor Whatarangi Winiata is quoted to have said that `the unhappy partnership between Maori and non Maori could be improved through constitutional changes' and that `long term relief for Maori from the present and widening socio economic disparities would not come from Pakeha inspired policies but from constitutional change' (ibid).

In a move away from the terminology of `Closing the Gaps' the policy became known as the `Reducing Inequalities' policy. The committee convening the development was renamed from the Gaps Committee to the Social Equity Committee. The `Closing the Gaps' policy was never only about addressing Maori issues, but the realignment has given economic analyses primacy once more in the debate about Maori realities. The international debate over the inequalities indigenous peoples experience has long sought to address the role of multiple narratives of inequality, ethnicity, class and gender in increasingly complex and sophisticated ways, rather than taking the more reductionist approach of seeking to attribute primary causation to one of the grand narratives, such as class (Smith, 1996). The change may well have been a response to attacks which have been mounted on the authenticity of `whanau / hapu / iwi / Maori' theories and realities and the needs / rights emanating from these. The attacks have sought to establish that whanau / hapu / iwi / Maori

are a population sub group of Aotearoa, who share characteristics with other population sub groups in this country. From this assertion it is then argued that there need not be specific provision made for whanau / hapu / iwi / Maori, that we can, in fact, be subsumed under the auspices of more generic planning and policy programmes.

That overall approach seems to be at odds with other, more exciting developments which were occurring in education. A feature of the new developments in Maori educational policy occurring at the beginning of the third millennium is the direct negotiations being undertaken between the state and iwi Maori. Several partnerships with iwi have been formed enabling educational planning to be undertaken at more responsive and sophisticated levels. Ngati Porou, Tuhoe and Ngai Tahu have signed such partnerships with the state and committed themselves to taking an active role in transforming the educational statistics of their iwi (Ministry of Education, 2003).

Section Five: Commentaries on Contemporary Theory

Ehara taku toa i te toa taki tahi,
engari he toa takitini.

My strength is not from me alone,
but from the strength of the people.

Introduction

My entree to the formal study of educational theory came via teacher education in 1974, when I started to train as a primary school teacher. The educational theory we were reading in our first two years was prescribed for us and related to learning and teaching, developmental theory, studies of the relationship between education and society and a range of courses on teaching curriculum subjects, including curriculum theory, the teaching of reading and of maths. I remember Ausubel, Piaget, Maslow from these years. I did enjoy these courses, and tried to do well at them through the sort of hard work that is borne of the need to pass. If I'm being honest I wasn't passionate about them. Amongst all the different aspects of the teacher training programme I was part of, these seemed like the stodgy, dry, terse bits. They were courses which enabled me to learn that educational theory was written at a range of levels and that in our teacher training the primary focus was at the micro levels of the learning and teaching process and the curriculum.

Sociology and social studies courses were another matter. In sociology I found a way of looking at the world which enabled me to make more sense of what was happening to society at the macro, structural level and what the implications of this were for education and schooling. Sociology opened up new levels of theoretical analysis far away from the classroom walls, and yet of real significance to education, schools, teachers and teaching. Sociology enabled me to study what happened to groups of people in society, in a context in which issues such as inequality were studied at the structural level, were historically located and were informed by analyses across a broad range of disciplines including education, economics, health and justice. From a sociological perspective the study of a broad range of issues which faced Maori, including Maori education, started to take on powerful new dimensions which were closer to the understandings that I had gleaned outside the classroom walls, in the University of Life.

Such analyses enabled the study of Maori society, including Maori education, to be undertaken in a way which went beyond the personal level - thankfully, beyond the victim blaming and deficit theories which were used in education to explain Maori educational underachievement for many years. At the time of my teacher training the field of the sociology of education was just emerging from the academy (Middleton, 1992). Educational theory was broadly classified in two schools of thought: traditional educational theory and the emerging conflict / critical theory (Hurn, 1985). Views of educational theory derived from `traditional educational theory' were the most influential at this time. Key themes underpinning the traditional view of educational theory included views of society as just and desirable. Schools, in this school of thought, were involved with the social allocation of human beings, rationally distributing individuals into different groups, in preparation for their likely destination in the world beyond school. Educational reforms, in this view, amounted to adjustments of a fundamentally sound system. Conflict and critical educational theory offered a totally different view of education, society and schooling. This view was critical of society, describing it as exploitative and oppressive. It was a view in which social change was possible and necessary in order to challenge the status quo and dismantle the existing hierarchies of inequality. The view was deeply influenced by various Marxist traditions.

This section charts a journey of reading between the words and the worlds of contemporary educational theory, derived from the western knowledge codes, and the study of Maori education, informed by matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. It starts with critical readings of contemporary educational theory as these pertain to the study of Maori education. The aim of this section is to identify the strengths and limitations of three major schools of educational thought before outlining the contribution of kaupapa Maori as social theory.

Two papers have provided models of the `theory in action' approach, influenced by the work of Foucault, which have helped shape the organisation of this section of the report: Middleton's (1988) paper on prevailing discourses in feminist theory and Smith's (1993) paper identifying, describing and analysing discourses in Mana Wahine. Although I favour this approach, as it seems to me to provide sufficient scope and flexibility to develop a critical theoretical analysis for this study, it is not unproblematic. Middleton (1993) identifies four sources of criticism amongst feminist scholars of the approach. First, that `taxonomies imply that feminists are theoretically monogamous, whereas most are theoretically promiscuous or pluralist' (p. 42).

Second, that `the ordering of the categories implies a chronology or evolution ... when the various perspectives have co-existed and interacted' (ibid). Third, that the approach was not inclusive: there were feminisms that did not fit neatly into the categories (ibid). And, fourth, that `most typologies were constructed as if their authors were standing outside them - as if we were looking from an eye of god position' (ibid). Lather (1991: 125) critiques the approach on the grounds that any attempt to draw such boundaries `is an act of power'.

While mindful of these criticisms, there is a need to progress in such a way that theoretical analysis does not lead to theoretical paralysis. Leading as it does to a consideration of kaupapa Maori as social theory, I would argue that the approach taken provides an adequate response to the criticisms mounted. It is sufficient to `read' the field from the viewpoint of a Maori educationist.

The second major section outlines and explores the development of kaupapa Maori social theory. The aim of this section is to highlight this emerging field of theoretical inquiry and to identify its critical characteristics. One of those characteristics is the groundedness of the theory, emerging as it did in the wake of whanau / hapu / iwi / community-led programmes of transformative praxis in the 1980's. A case study of te kohanga reo is developed to enable the theoretical features to be `read' in context. As much as a case study highlighting the contribution of Maori social theory to the study of Maori education, the case study also highlights the extraordinary results of the successful integration of educational theory, policy, practice and praxis. The third section considers the notion of theorising being Maori. This section is informed by discussions based on epistemological, ontological and methodological considerations.

Commentaries on Contemporary Theory

Critical Theory and the Study of Education

Critical theory provides insights for the study of Maori education at a number of levels. First, it is written at the level of grand theory and so enables the `big picture view' of the field to be developed. It is arguably the major theoretical school of thought derived from the western tradition that is most commonly used by Maori educationists in analyses of Maori education. `The Auckland school', has powerfully used critical theory to illuminate central features of Maori education in their

numerous writings over the years (see for example Walker, 1985b; Smith and Smith, G. and L., 1990, Smith, G. 1990 and Smith, L. 1992, 1996).

Rather than viewing inequality as a phenomenon which can be understood at the individual level, critical theory highlights the macro, structural level and addresses the systemic nature of unequal power relations between groups in society. Critical theory posits that inequality can be studied at three distinct levels: the structural, level 3; the institutional, level 2; and the personal and interpersonal, level 1 (Gibson, 1986: 14 - 15). This differentiation of analytical levels is significant. It enables the stories of individuals to be told against the backdrop of the institutional and structural contexts in which they are embedded. The historical location of social issues is read as a `natural' context for the analysis of any social issue.

Critical theory argues that the major cause of social inequality, the `grand narrative', is class and is described as a theoretical framework aligned with Marxism (Gibson, 1986). Within critical theory, capitalism is identified as the system of power relations which create social and economic inequality, the working class is described as the oppressed group, and the school is the major institution of education in which the analysis is located (ibid).

Level of Analysis	**School of Thought**
L3 Structural: `grand narrative'	Critical Theory: `class'
L2 Institutional	`school'
L1 Personal: `other'	`working class'

Figure 5.1 `Framing' Critical Theory

Of less powerful insight within this school of thought, and of immediate concern in this research, are analyses which account for ethnicity and racism, and gender and sexism, as major causes of social inequality. The spiritual dimension in social analysis (Bishop, 1992), a central characteristic of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi, and also of those articulated by indigenous people generally, is also invisible in this school of thought.

Further, whilst those writing in the field of critical theory have been scathing in their criticism of fields which try to integrate theory with practice, such as multicultural education, they have done little to enable practitioners to draw on critical theory to inform their work. Critical theorists have argued that the discourse on multicultural education, for example, is astructural, apolitical and narrowly focussed on school and cultural practices without a full consideration of the structural and historical context within which these interactions take place. They argue that multicultural education professes to bring about change by focussing on level one and two interactions, leaving untouched the level three analysis at the macro, structural level.

May's comments on this capture the tensions and expressions in the field (1999):

> A ... long standing criticism of multicultural and anti racist education has been an inability to link theory, policy and practice ... While rightly highlighting the theoretical naivety of early forms of multicultural education, critical educators have in turn been pilloried for an inability to relate the critical theory they espouse to actual multicultural policy and practice. (May, 1999: 4)

As a consequence, critical theorists argue that multicultural education offers little chance of affecting either the real life chances of children when they leave school or the life styles they choose. Transforming the `life styles' and `life chances' of children, two of the cornerstones of the field of multicultural education, remain unattained goals of the field (Bullivant, 1981).

L3 Structural: `grand narrative'	Critical Theory: `class'	Antiracist Theory: `race', `ethnicity'
L2 Institutional	`school'	`school'
L1 Personal: `other'	`working class'	`people of colour'

Figure 5.2 `Framing' Critical and Antiracist Theory

As a Maori feminist reading of much of this same literature in multicultural education identified that it was blatantly gender blind, written as if feminist scholarship didn't exist, and as if the experiences of boys and girls in education are the same. Bullivant (1981), for example, in one of the earliest and

most comprehensive cross national studies of its time, *The Pluralist Dilemma*, includes no gender analysis at all, and leaves readers pondering `could there be a feminist dilemma in the pluralist dilemma'? The women of the communities studied were invisible, marginal and silenced.

Feminist Theory and the Study of Education

Reading feminist scholarship also became an exercise in not finding yourself in the literature for indigenous and black women. `Other' again here too. My reading of feminist theory and work with Maori feminisms (Irwin, 1991, 1992b; Irwin, Erai, Wilcox and Fuli, 1990; Smith, 1992, 1993) and in the women's movement in this country, has led me to have similar misgivings about the partial nature of much feminist analysis.

Feminist scholars have mounted critiques of critical theory, for example, arguing that it is silent on issues of gender and sexism, rendering women and our experiences invisible (Arnot and Weiner, 1987; Weiler, 1988; Weiner, 1994). Black feminist scholars have critiqued feminist scholarship on the grounds that it speaks to white women's experiences, marginalises black women and is silent on the narratives of race, ethnicity and racism (hooks, 1981, 1984, 1994).

Such widespread critiques in the international arena of feminist scholarship have led Middleton (1992) to argue the case for the development of indigenous theories of women in education which integrate multiple causes of inequality more fully so that Maori women, indigenous women and women of colour are not marginalised and rendered invisible within feminist scholarship.

L3 **Structural:** `grand narrative' `system of unequal power relations'	**Critical Theory:** `class' `capitalism'	**Antiracist Theory:** `race', `ethnicity' `colonisation'	**Feminist Theory:** `gender' `patriarchy'
L2 **Institutional**	`school'	`school'	`school'
L1 **Personal:** other	`working class'	`people of colour'	`women'

Figure 5.3 `Framing' Critical, Antiracist and Feminist Theory

Spender (1983) concurs about the partiality of much of the theoretical work that I was reading: insightful to a point. In the forward to the work *Feminist Theorists* Spender writes:

> ...while what is here is cause for celebration, what is absent from this record is a matter for much regret. All of these women theorists are white ... Missing too are women outside the English speaking world (Spender, 1983: 6).

I started to note the silences in the theoretical discourses, the gaps that we as Maori / Maori women inevitably experienced. The ways in which theory itself made marginal, other and powerless the experiences and possibilities of many groups of people. The notion of inclusiveness, which would later inform the discourses on education policy for women and girls, was also a theoretical issue. Internationally renowned writers such as black feminist Dr Bell Hooks in, for example, *Ain't I A Woman* (1982), Hawaiian sovereignty activist Dr Haunani Kay Trask in, for example, *From Your Native Hawaiian Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (1993) and Maori feminist Dr Ngahuia Te Awekotuku in, for example, *Mana Wahine Maori* (1991), have provided analyses of the experiences of black and indigenous women so excluded from the sisterhood.

Hooks (1981, 1984 and 1994), Haunani Trask (1993) and Te Awekotuku (1986, 1991b) are representative of a genre of black and indigenous women's writings which have added analyses based on class, racism, colonisation, hetero sexism and homo phobia to the analyses based on gender. Their contribution has been major. Just as the first and second waves of feminism (Dann, 1985) represented major paradigm changes, radically altering the views promulgated about women and women's issues, so has the impact of these writings also constituted what should equally be recognised as a major paradigm shift. Acceptance of the multi-dimensionality of `the woman question' and of `women's experiences' has resulted from the work of black and indigenous women writers, writing from their experiences and using those to `centre' their theoretical insights and to ground them in real, lived, individual and community stories. This paradigm change has had major implications for Maori women. It has enabled the fullness of our women's lives to be made visible and to be accounted for.

This paradigm shift has not been without understanding from quarters of the wider white feminist movement. Spender, again from *Feminist Theorists*, writes:

> While criticising the way men have silenced the voices of women who do not support their own, I am hardly in a position to exclude the voices of women which are not consistent with

> my own... Neither now, nor in the past, has feminism been a monolith and while there is no question that for as long as men have held power, women have protested, that protest has taken many different forms and for many different reasons. Part of women's tradition is the acknowledgment of authenticated differences within the shared framework of oppression (Spender, 1983: 7).

The stories Hooks, Trask and Te Awekotuku were writing about were closer to my own experiences and had a profound influence on my articulation of the similarities and differences between feminisms, based in the western traditions, and Maori feminisms (Irwin, 1992), importantly, differences which are epistemological in origin. Challenges to the notion of a global sisterhood, to the primacy of a singular dimension constructed solely around `gender', have led to the insight that the sisterhood concept has been framed by predominantly middle-class, well-educated, white women's experiences (Smith, 1996). For that specific group of women, it may well be an international phenomenon. For many other women, however, it is not. Indeed, further to this, the notion that the sisterhood is global has been posited as another form of oppression which black and indigenous women are subject to, this time at the hands of the sisters rather than the brothers. However well manicured those new hands were, they still adopted a dominant power relationship with black and indigenous women, free to attempt to mould and shape us `in their image'. In *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994) Bell Hooks writes:

> the efforts of black women and women of colour to challenge and deconstruct the category `woman' - the insistence on recognition that gender is not the sole factor determining constructions of femaleness - was a critical intervention, one which led to a profound revolution in feminist thought and truly interrogated and disrupted the hegemonic feminist theory produced primarily by academic women, most of whom were white.

Postmodernism and the Study of Education

Writing about the tensions between theory and practice, Bawden (1993) noted that the argument between theorists and practitioners has been a major `impediment to education reform', such that knowing and doing had been positioned as an oppositional dualism. He identifies that along with many other educators there was a time when he became embroiled in this argument and that he too suffered in the process. He now terms this `the binary trap' and has written the following about its pervasive reach:

> It seemed to me that no more energy was spent, nor confusion created, nor conflict generated, nor friendships lost than in the field of passion presented by this dichotomy. (Bawden, 1993: 1).

He adds that he considers dualism to be a `reflection of reductionism' and `the logic that argues that the whole is no more nor less than the sum of its parts' (ibid). He asserts that in order to create effective change in education our work must take us ``beyond the binary trap of dualistic thinking'. He calls instead for what he terms `systemics - the science and praxis of complexity' (Bawden, 1993: 2).

I have left the consideration of the contribution of post modernism to the last, in part to connect with the notion of the science of complexity that Bawden (1993) calls for. This is also one of the contributions of post modernism, that the all encompassing search for `the grand narrative' which would explain educational inequality was obscuring the need to allow for and explore the complexities between analyses of multiple oppressions facing us as Maori educationists. The fragmentation and dislocation caused by colonisation is in some aspects a ground rich for the post modern framework. Arguing the case to value the exploration of the complex new realities, to give `voice' to identities lost and invisible in theoretical writing, to centre and ground the subjective the post modern, has some attractive features for Maori theorising.

But it also has major impediments. Postmodernism itself becomes a dislocating variable in the terrain of Maori education in its disconnection from the history and traditions that inform the identities of our people. It achieves this by disembedding these critical issues, by taking them out of the social and economic milieux in which they are located. Maori and other indigenous identities argue that we weave the past, present and future together. In our search to reclaim our own journey, dislocation from our past, making this a weakened variable, is the anti / thesis of what the project of Maori economic and social development aims to do. The projects of Maori development which are transforming Maori realities are premised on finding synergy between the first, the second and the third millennia, not a way of theorising their dislocation any further (Weedon, 1987; Hinkson, J. 1991; Lather, P. 1991; McGowan, J. 1991).

Postmodernism as a school of thought is based in the western tradition in which liberalism and the rights of the individual are key signifiers. This position is contrary to several cornerstones of matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. One relates to the significance of the group, whanau / hapu / iwi, as a feature of traditional Maori social structure (Henare, 1988) and how individuals feature. The notion of `voice' provides a useful example to deconstruct in this regard. Postmodernism is associated with the notion of giving `voice' to the silenced, the marginal and the dispossessed: groups who have traditionally occupied the role of `other' in major discourses on education. Postmodernism creates a space for the individual `voice' of individuals from such groups to be heard. It does not create a space for the notion of `voice' as a collective construct to be developed.

L3 **Structural:** `grand narrative' `system of unequal power relations'	**Critical Theory:** `class' `capitalism'	**Antiracist Theory:** `race', `ethnicity' `colonisation'	**Feminist Theory:** `gender' `patriarchy'
L2 **Institutional**	`school'	`school'	`school'
L1 **Personal:** other	`working class'	`people of colour'	`women'

Post-modern Theory

Post-structural - gives `voice' to individuals - centres and grounds the subject - disconnects the subject from traditions / history

Figure 5.4 `Framing' Critical, Antiracist, Feminist and Post-modern Theory in the Study of Education

The individualism inherent in the liberal tradition cuts the notion of a collective voice out of the post modern discourse. This point is of particular concern in discourses on Maori education. If I am to speak about Maori education, for example, as a woman of Ngati Porou descent, I speak as an individual, informed by that descent group relationship. This use of `voice' post modernism can incorporate, without too much emphasis on the way in which descent group membership shapes

individual voices. The impact of the individual `voices' of the characters in *Once Were Warriors* (Duff, 1990) can be appreciated in this vein. However, if I were given a mandate by Ngati Porou as a tribe, to speak about Maori education as it is defined by Ngati Porou, and informed by matauranga Ngati Porou, then I would be offering a substantially different discourse. I would not be free to speak as an individual; I would not be free to say whatever I liked. What I said would be heavily prescribed by the tribal specificity of the representational `voice' I was speaking in. The restrictions of the role of representing the group in this use of voice, and of speaking to a prescribed body of knowledge, are at odds with the freedom of the post-modern position. This use of `voice' postmodernism is unable to integrate.

Finally, postmodernism is also described as a body of knowledge which is post-structural in the sense that it eschews the very `framing' approach that I have been developing in this section thus far. In terms of representing the key ideas of postmodernism then, in relation to the theoretical framework that I have been developing, this section sits aside from the rest, a sign of the level of detachment and dislocation of postmodernism.

Kaupapa Maori as Social Theory

From the mid 70s onwards the imagination of the Maori community was captured by voices of discontent and grievance which were reverberating across every sector of New Zealand society. Land issues, the Maori language, the status and role of Maori women, the redress of historical grievances and the voices of the young were resonating through protest and struggle. Te Hikoi, the land march of 1975 from the far North to the steps of the Beehive in Wellington, highlighted Maori land issues and put the government on notice about the galvanising potential of Maori grievance (King, 1977). The creation of the Waitangi Tribunal that year, and the means to begin hearing redress for breaches under the Treaty of Waitangi, opened the way for the pain of our history to be systematically redressed at the whanau / hapu / iwi level. 1975 was also the year in which the United Nations Decade for Women was launched. Maori women would come to play a leading role in the events of the decade, challenging the inability of the emerging women's movement to bring about the promised inclusive sisterhood. They challenged pakeha women's groups on their lack of support for Maori land and language issues (see for example Rosier, 1992) and mounted sustained attacks on the racism imbued in the public sector. Awatere's

(1984) uncompromising account of the colonisation of Aotearoa and the need for decolonisation, published as *Maori Sovereignty*, was compulsory reading at this time.

As if to herald a call to arms, the protest of the 1970s led to a massive response in the 1980s known as `Tu Tangata', led by our kaumatua and facilitated by a restructured Department of Maori Affairs. In *Reform from Within*, Puketapu (1982) provides an overview of the restructuring of the Department of Maori Affairs which followed the 1976 review of the Department commissioned by the State Services Commission. He describes the restructuring as a `kokiri process', meaning to advance. The kokiri process was also designed to `take hold of –Maori power' and to facilitate a new approach in which `culture will be the catalyst' (Puketapu, 1982: 1 - 2). This new approach included creating a forum for kaumatua to determine policy for the Department of Maori Affairs. The first such forum was created in 1979, at the Hui Whakatauira, the second in 1980, at the Wananga Whakatauira (Tawhiwhirangi, 1988). The stance was informed by a new ideology which came to be known as `Tu Tangata'. The broad objectives of Tu Tangata were:

1. To improve educational attainment;
2. To provide opportunities for self-fulfilment within the community;
3. To raise the socio-economic status of the Maori people; and
4. To kokiri, `to advance' (Puketapu, 1982: 3).

Three features of the new ideology were identified as:

1. `Tu Tangata', to recognise the stance of the people;
2. `Whaka Whaiti', to harness the resources and strengths of all the people; and
3. `Ko tou rourou', to increase the contribution each of us can make to the advancement of the Maori and to New Zealand as a whole (Puketapu, 1982: 10).

It was as if the youth had provided the critique which enabled colonisation to be deconstructed and debated throughout the country. But, in a theme which is now a major feature in the process of nation building, deconstruction on its own does not provide the solutions necessary to rebuild, to move forward, to reconstruct. These came from the kaumatua: forward looking solutions, programmes of Maori development. The Tu Tangata programmes were designed to enable Maori `to stand tall' again, by reclaiming matauranga

whanau / hapu / iwi as the epistemological framework which informed them and by adopting te reo Maori, tikanga Maori and the rituals and protocols of the marae as the means of operationalising them. It was from the Tu Tangata philosophy and programme of departmental restructuring that Te Kohanga Reo emerged (Tawhiwhirangi, 1988). Tu Tangata, and the programmes which emanated from it, provided the contemporary means and imperative to generate Maori social theory. Far from the ivory tower they showed the power of organic intellectuals at work, leading the revolution from the aspirations of the people (Freire, 1985).

L 3 Structural	**Critical Theory**	**Antiracist Theory**	**Feminist Theory**	**Kaupapa Maori Theory**
`grand narrative' `system of unequal power relations'	`class' `capitalism'	`race', `ethnicity' `colonisation'	`gender' `patriarchy'	`race, class, gender' `colonisation, capitalism, patriarchy'
L2 Institutional	`school'	`school'	`school'	`school' `marae'
L3 Personal Interpersonal	Working Class	People of Colour	Women	`Whanau / hapu / iwi'

Post-modern Theory

Post structural - gives `voice' to individuals - centres and grounds the subject - disconnects the subject from traditions / history

Figure 5.5 `Framing' Critical, Antiracist, Feminist, Kaupapa Maori and Post-modern Theory in the Study of Education

Graham Smith led the way in the creation of a new body of scholarship which has argued the case for kaupapa Maori as a theory for social change in academic writing (Smith, 1989; see also Smith, 1996, Bishop, 1996 for extended analyses). Smith (1985, 1990), analysing how kaupapa Maori informs Kura Kaupapa Maori, identified a number of principles central to kaupapa Maori-based intervention strategies. Not posited as a definitive list, they include: Tino Rangatiratanga (relative autonomy principle); Taonga Tuku Iho (cultural aspirations principle); Ako Maori (culturally- preferred pedagogy); Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga (mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties principle); Whanau (extended family structure principle); and Kaupapa (collective vision, philosophy principle).

A case study of Maori participation in the early childhood sector will be developed to explore these principles in context. The case study is of the kohanga reo movement. Te Kohanga Reo is now regarded as a programme which has radically transformed Maori participation in the early childhood sector. The transformation has occurred at a number of levels: in participation rates, in terms of enrolments; in understandings of how Maori education differs from education in epistemological terms; and in understandings of how Maori education programmes can be developed and delivered in methodological terms which are based in matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. Kohanga reo is not just preschool education in the Maori language. It is also not the first time that Maori have had major involvement in the early childhood sector. The Maori Education Foundation was heavily involved in the sector in the 1960s. What changed with kohanga?

The Maori Education Foundation was formed in 1961 following a recommendation made in the Hunn Report (Hunn, 1961). Aware as he was of the differing levels of educational achievement between Maori and Pakeha students, Hunn argued that `if a Maori Education Foundation could be established it would transform the scene within ten years' (Cameron - Chemis, 1981: 1). When formed, the Foundation was charged with the task of `lifting Maori education standards to a level equal to that of the Pakeha' (ibid). Cabinet moved very quickly on the idea. On April 12, 1961 the Hunn Report was publicly released and the Minister of Maori Affairs announced the Government's intention to establish a Maori Education Foundation. The proposal was approved in principle by Cabinet on May 22nd, 1961. The Maori Education Foundation Act was passed on November 8th, 1961 (Cameron - Chemis, op cit: 2)!

Early childhood education was one of the first areas the Board took action in. In February, 1963, Mr Alex Grey was appointed MEF pre - school officer. This appointment represented the implementation of one of the Board's first policy recommendations (Cameron - Chemis, op cit: 8). Working in this area from 1963 - 1967, Grey led a national campaign on preschool education throughout the Maori community, with real success. By 1965 Maori enrolments in play centres in some areas were impressive: 20.9% in Hawkes Bay; 28.4 % in Northland; 31.2% in Rotorua; 46.0% in the mid North; 46.7% in the Eastern Bay of Plenty; and 64.4% in East Coast / Poverty Bay (Pewhairangi, 1983).

Pewhairangi (1983) has identified two significant factors which contributed to the withdrawal of Maori support from these programmes: first, lack of Maori language; second, the withdrawal of the MEF Preschool officers from the field. Some programmes did offer basic Maori culture programmes, but not Maori language programmes. Because of this support from kaumatua was limited (ibid). Eventually the MEF Officers, whose role in community development and support of the initiatives was important, were withdrawn from the field. This withdrawal of MEF Officers from the field resulted in a considerable loss of expertise and strategically well-placed organisation and support (ibid). Gradually, the numbers fell away, the gains made receded.

The early work of Grey and the MEF could best be described as programmes of compensatory education, based on deprivation and deficit theory. The following quotation from the first Annual Report of the MEF identifies this:

> ..the Board considers that the need for the MEF, which undoubtedly exists today, would largely disappear if the lack of all round intellectual growth in those early years could be overcome. (MEF, 1962: 7)

The aim of the programmes developed, therefore, was similar to that which underpinned the Headstart programmes in America: to prepare Maori children for the kind of monolingual, monocultural schooling in which being Maori and being educated were seemingly mutually exclusive. The programmes prepared Maori children for entry into the `formal schooling

system', at the expense of any understanding of the fact that they were Maori children who were immersed in a parallel education system which the mainstream took little cognisance of. They did not prepare Maori children for lifelong learning of which formal schooling would be a small part, and in which being Maori and being educated would be simultaneously experienced, which is one of the long term aims of Te Kohanga Reo.

The Te Kohanga Reo movement was visionary and just; the vision was taken by women throughout the country and it has spread like wildfire throughout the early childhood sector as well as into the primary and secondary sectors. Late in 1992 Dr Pita Sharples, one of the whanau responsible for opening the first Kura Kaupapa Maori at Hoani Waititi Marae in 1985, was funded to establish the first secondary level Kura Kaupapa Maori. Te Kohanga Reo has not only been influential in the Maori Community, it has become a high profile international model for indigenous development showcased at successive World Indigenous People's Conferences in Education. In May 2003, representatives of the Te Kohanga Reo National Trust addressed the United Nations on the cross cultural relevance and flexibility of the model of te kohanga reo (Black, Marshall and Irwin, 2003)[1]. Already in New Zealand many Pacific Island groups have used Te Kohanga Reo as a model for the development of their own early childhood programmes.

These are all factors which help illuminate why the kohanga reo movement has been so successful, where the MEF work in the 1960's was not in the long term. Te Kohanga Reo: were the brain children of Maori kaumatua; were developed with Matauranga Maori at their very core; had immersion in the Maori language, culture and whanau development as their central aims; were designed with a long term aim of preparing children for a life of learning, including participation in formal schooling programmes as well as those based in the Maori education system (; Ka'ai, 1990; Smith, 1989).

Importantly, not only does kohanga affirm the right of every child to learn in their native language and culture, but, through the lobbying, politicising and organisation that accompanies the establishment of every single kohanga reo, whole communities have become politically and educationally conscientised about the role of education, its potential for liberation and

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[1] Copies of the paper are available in the Te Kohanga Reo National Trust website, www.kohanga.ac.nz

empowerment, and their ability to take part in its management and administration. A critical mass of Maori people involved in community education and formal schooling has developed out of this movement. The skills and knowledge that this group has learnt about successfully planning for and affecting change in the kohanga context are being transferred into other contexts all over the country. As well as being a Maori development phenomenon located in an early childhood context, the kohanga reo movement has also been a movement of community and continuing education throughout the country.

Theorising Being Maori

`Being' Maori is a matter of some current debate. In the who is or is not a `real Maori' debate, people are described as iwi fundamentalists, urban Maori, cultural imperialists, born-again Maori or the disposed culturally illiterate Maori. Throughout the debate one thing remains clear: whakapapa is the key to identity (Mahuika, 1975). In the sense that whakapapa links a person to his / her turangawaewae through matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi, its use is epistemological in nature, tracing as it does the links between the natural, physical and human worlds which lie at the heart of the Maori genesis story. In the sense that whakapapa links people with others at the level of identity and shared lived reality, it can be described as ontological. The aim of this section is to enable the epistemological, ontological and methodological implications of the analysis of being Maori to be integrated into the discussion on the role of theory in the study of Maori education.

`Maori' is now used to refer to the indigenous population of Aotearoa who, prior to colonisation, comprised the tangata whenua, the original people of the land. The use of `Maori' to describe our peoples was not a feature of traditional Maori society; it is a post- contact descriptor. In this section, then, its use is identified with inverted commas to differentiate it from the pre-contact use of whanau / hapu / iwi. The identities of whanau, hapu and iwi are shaped by specific histories, located in specific regions which are bounded by mountains, rivers and seas which were used as geographical reference points. Whanau / hapu / iwi are descended from specific ancestors, and named after them (see for example Mitchell, 1990, reporting on Ngati Kahungunu). These were the pre-contact indicators of identification; these are the ancestral descriptors of ethnicity for iwi Maori in Aotearoa. Whanau / hapu / iwi are epistemological descriptors which enable all knowledge, including whakapapa, to be traced back to its origins. Descriptions about groups of people at the

whanau / hapu / iwi level, for example, the health statistics of Ngati Porou, provide ontological descriptors about the lived reality of these epistemologically-defined groups.

Amongst iwi Maori, diverse realities are found (Durie, 1994). These include whanau, hapu and iwi who live on their tribal lands, where tradition is still very much the arbiter of social, political and economic life. For some these tribal strongholds are rural, isolated communities, where they form the overwhelming majority at the local level. The diverse realities Maori live also include those who live away from their traditional turangawaewae, and are city born and bred. This group comprises the bulk of the Maori population; they are the urban Maori. Here, at both a local and regional level, they form a minority. Throughout the Maori population the degree to which people are culturally literate in the language and customs of our forebears, varies greatly. The range is as expansive as it is possible to be from those deeply steeped in and knowledgeable about our traditions to those completely severed from this legacy by colonisation. Leading Maori commentators have identified that this range is spread amongst rural as well as urban Maori. In a context in which Maori are engaged in highly political, Treaty-based negotiations with Tauiwi at the inter-group level, internal politics within Maoridom are increasingly sophisticated and diverse. The recent internal debates between various Maori groups over the allocation of fishing rights and quota is a case in point. Whanau / hapu / iwi / Maori experience differentiated lived realities on a range of counts which they share with others: class, gender, ableness, sexuality, urban identification, all are part of the growing complexity of whanau / hapu / iwi / Maori.

How can we `understand' this diverse set of ideas? Being Maori is experienced at a number of levels. Maori is first and foremost an involuntary descriptor based in ethnicity, specifying shared ancestry (Mahuika, 1975; Banks, 1988) through whakapapa. It is an ethnic identity. It is from this involuntary shared ancestry that we, the living, are connected with the tipuna that we are descended from; it is the sacred thread which joins us, he taonga tuku iho. From those tipuna and their tipuna we trace our genesis as a people to Tane and to Hine Ahu One. From Tane and Hine Ahu One we are connected to Ranginui and Papatuanuku, to Te Po and to Te Kore.

> First there was Te Kore that could neither be felt nor sensed. This was the void, the silence, where there was no movement and none to move, no sound and none to hear, no shape and none to see (Kahukiwa and Grace, 1984: 16).

As tangata whenua Maori claim Treaty rights which differentiate whanau / hapu / iwi, as signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi, from other ethnic groups and the notion of ethnic rights (Banks, 1988). This may have increasing economic consequences in the future as settlements allocated as part of the resolution of Treaty claims are dispersed amongst iwi. Such dispersal processes carry with them the need to be able to `prove' your ethnic claim to being Maori; this is done through proof of whakapapa. In the sense that Treaty rights and claims are a consequence of colonisation, they can be described as being ontological in nature, having radically altered the lived realities of whanau / hapu / iwi as a direct consequence of involuntary structural intervention.

A further level of `being Maori' is cultural, this level relates to the bodies of knowledge described as matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi / Maori. On this count anyone can become `learned' in matauranga Maori and can claim to have cultural knowledge / literacy as a result. This also can be expressed as an epistemological level when `Maori' is used as an adjective to qualify a noun, for example, `Maori education'. In this context the use of `Maori' is epistemological and relates to the theories of education which trace their origins to matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi.

Being `Maori', then, can be defined in ethnic, Treaty-based, epistemological, ontological or methodological terms. What whanau / hapu / iwi Maori are engaged in is a struggle over rangatiratanga, sovereignty, the ability to be in control of our own destinies. The struggle is multi-layered, as Smith has argued (1996) and involves contest on the broadest front. Some of the struggles enable voluntary choices to be made, with epistemological as well as ontological gains. Others contest the involuntary nature of much of the change which occurs at the macro / structural level.

Figure 5.6 Framing `Being Maori'

Descriptor	Signifier	Status

Ethnic	Personal, Whakapapa	Involuntary
Treaty-Based	Structural, Political	Involuntary
Epistemological	Cultural, Theoretical	Voluntary
Ontological	Experiential, Reality	Voluntary
Methodological	Cultural, Theoretical, Experiential	Voluntary

Section Six: Conclusion

Border Crossing

Moving and crossing between the two education / schooling systems is termed `border crossing' after Giroux (1992). Border crossing is not necessarily a phenomenon that non Maori will engage in much depth. They do not have to become `border crossers' and are quite able to move through one part of the education system largely unaware of and uninformed about the other. This is not to suggest that this research could or should only draw from the Maori education system, ignoring all that is part of its `New Zealand' counterpart. That would provide an incomplete analysis given the impact that the New Zealand tradition has had since contact on Maori society.

However, education has been plagued for decades with partial analyses, located in a post 1840 paradigm, which have influenced a huge mass of people who are unable, or unwilling, or both, to validate the complex educational history of this country, not just that which followed the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Weaving both educational traditions together is the challenge of nation building in this country. Resourcing the new educational / schooling options which emerge equitably so that they are equally valued is a challenge the state is being asked to respond to. All New Zealanders live and work in both systems, to a lesser or greater degree, depending on where the actual `border' between the systems is in our lives.

The Crucible that is The Policy Milieux

For Maori generally, and for Maori education as a field, the policy milieux is a pivotal site of struggle. It can be described as the crucible in which the wretchedness of colonisation was forged. The task of decolonising the policy milieux remains urgent. Since the mid nineteen eighties in this country, from Rogernomics to Picot, every major sector of New Zealand society has been restructured, down-sized, refocussed and repositioned. This has been a time of rapid social, economic and political change. It has also been a time during which the process of reform and restructuring has routinely shut Maori out and worked against Maori interests where these have been based on matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi and rangatiratanga.

The restructuring ushered in by the Picot reforms in education is a case in point. The Maori voice was not heard through this process (Ellison, 1994). At a time when many people are tired of change Maori still call for change, for major structural change and for their Treaty partners to respond to the challenges this represents. These calls are falling on tired ears who have no real sense of how little Maori have got out of the reform process to date and why they should still be calling for change. Late in 2000 a working party Te Roopu Whaiti was convened to develop proposals for a Maori Education Authority. At the Hui Matauranga Maori held between 2001 and 2004 the debates about a separate Maori Education Authority were regularly aired.

What Maori got after Picot, in the name of repositioning and downsizing, was not a streamlining reduction of administration in education at all, but a blow out of incredible proportions. Administration grew to administrivia. Tied to this growth were various strategies which ensured that the state retained centralised power in education rather than devolving it. From the old Department of Education, we entered a period of organisational growth (the newly spawned education whanau) during this time such that Maori now negotiated with a whole new array of agencies, over many long standing issues, utilising a range of policy making processes, custom built for each agency, over a plethora of policies, again organisation specific. MOE, ERO, NZQA, ETSA, ECDU, SES, QUEST Rapuara. Not one set of negotiations, between two Treaty partners, instead endless negotiations. One Treaty partner had decided to clone itself into a whole whanau of little Treaty partners all needing to `treat' with Maori. Negotiations over the resolution of issues arising from the institutionalisation of unequal power relations were now taking place away from the macro level `big picture forum', at increasingly micro levels. Enter the new player in the policy machinery during this time: the judiciary. One of the major highlights of this period has been the rise in recourse to litigation to resolve differences.

Despite this `bigger picture' reality, the negotiation of new possibilities, new models for development, is increasingly being seen as an avenue Maori can and must pursue, on their own if necessary as outlined in the objectives for Maori Development. That is, attaining parity using Maori ways. The spirit of Maori Development is not being stifled. This is not an analysis in which the weight of history has left a people unshifting and immobilised. Far from it. Inspired innovation and change is being spearheaded through the length and breadth of the country. Powerful stories abound about the will of the people to overcome the odds and create new possibilities. These

developments are the source of considerable inspiration and hope, whether featured in the mainstream media or not. Story telling through word of mouth, the connection of people through the infamous informal kumara vine (read grapevine in other cultures), the development of Maori media and a genuine need to keep alive the dreams and aspirations of our old people as critical imperatives for the 21st century drive Maori to be creative, effective and powerful against the odds, against the tide of history.

Commentaries on Theory

During the 1980s and 1990s it became clear that emerging theoretical discourses, and the academics working within them, rarely `talked to each other' theoretically or conceptually, when they easily could have. Theorising was being undertaken in education in such a way that whole schools of thought were developed in seemingly disconnected ways. As a result insights from one discourse which seemed to be critical, at times central, to enabling another to move forward towards enlightenment, `maramatanga', were not integrated. This may well have been an assertion of academic freedom, and it may well be understandable from that viewpoint in most curricula within the academy. However, it is ironic, that such a theoretical position of disconnection and isolation has been developed in one of the most applied, interdisciplinary fields of the academy namely - the study of education.

With the exception of postmodernism, most theories currently informing educational analysis identify a grand narrative view of inequality in which a central position is occupied as `the norm'. A second category, `other', is created and relegated to the margins. This is constituted as a position of vulnerability, silence and invisibility. Any attempt to develop Maori theorising needs to acknowledge that this has occurred in the development of theory to date. It also needs to actively guard against such a practice so that groups of Maori are not created as `other' within a Maori theoretical framework; it needs to be inclusive.

Beyond irony, and of current political concern, such disconnectedness left a theoretical chasm through which the `new right' has been able to swiftly move, gaining theoretical ground and claiming numerous spaces which had previously been held by the `old left' (Apple, 1993; May, 1999). A major issue within this has been the sense of elitism displayed as academics seemed more committed to gaining the perceived theoretical high ground of the day than to actually contributing to

educational praxis: the ability of the theory / practice / policy/ research / praxis / experience links to bring about real, emancipatory change for communities and groups of people poorly served by education, like whanau / hapu / iwi Maori.

Maori have long sought something other than uncertainty, displacement and unintelligibility from educational theory. Not more analyses of why things didn't work, Maori wanted alternatives of what might work - transformative praxis. Not theory generated from places and times and people who were `other' to us and our place and our traditions and the times we faced. Maori wanted theory generated and developed from a theoretical space in which we, Maori, were centred and grounded and `others' were really `other'. Maori wanted theory which was `unmasked' (Fanon, 1967), decolonised theory in which Maori were represented in rangatira ways, derived form matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi. Maori wanted theory which illuminated Maori education in its fullness by being generated from events, concepts, places, people and things which were real in our lives. In all probability `grounded theory', built from the bottom up (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The calls should be read as global and interconnected rather than as insular and local.

The global, interconnectedness of approaches to theorising Maori education is a feature of what has emerged in the exemplars of transformative praxis which have emerged in Maori education. Not disconnected from the local, or the personal, or the spiritual. Maori wanted models, methods and theories which make a difference, which find the edge, which create something new. And they wanted something new and exciting. Maori were tired of the `same old same old' in which Maori were the `losers' in the colonial struggle. A `same old same old' approach which theory was underwhelming in displacing. They didn't want any more theory which was selective in its applicability, there was already enough of that around to read. They wanted theoretical frameworks which were: authentic to matauranga whanau / hapu / iwi; centred in being Maori as lived reality; transformative in nature; integrated; holistic and inclusive; collaborative efforts which draw on the strengths of our dual heritage and which link the local with the global.

Theorising Maori Success and Failure

The theoretical writing of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and the body of knowledge known as critical theory, have had a significant impact on studies of Maori education and schooling in this country since the emergence of the new sociology of education in the mid nineteen seventies. Most

university students in the field of education have been introduced to Bourdieu's theory of the role of the school in the reproduction of educational success and failure. In simple terms, those whose culture is similar to the culture of schools achieve educational success; those whose culture is foreign to the school have two primary options. Assimilate to the culture of the school, losing their home culture, and succeed; or, leave as failures, with their home culture intact. Statistics of educational success and failure in this country have provided empirical evidence for this for over forty years (see for example, Hunn, 1961; Hirsh, 1990, Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). The general pattern reports that non-Maori achieve educational success at higher levels than Maori.

Bourdieu's writing has provided a compelling theoretical model for Maori educational failure. But it has never explained Maori success. And yet, that success is all around us. The Maori students who were being lectured to about this explanation of educational failure and success were descended from whanau including those who were both highly schooled and culturally literate. Whanau who were fully bilingual and bicultural, who walked between Maori society and the wider New Zealand society with ease and success. Whanau able to stand on the marae and orate and sit around the corporate board table and function with ease. What did Bourdieu's theoretical explanation make of this?

Little it seems. Perhaps because Aotearoa is similar in some respects to the French system Bourdieu's writing was derived from, but significantly different in other respects. It is in those significant differences that we find the explanations and theoretical models for Maori educational success, innovation and authenticity. That is, we find them when the theoretical models and explanations are authentic and valid.

The Marae: The Heart of Maori Education

Toi te kupu,
Toi te mana,
Toi te whenua.

(Brougham, Reed and Karetu, 1987: 62 - 63)

Maori are engaged in a struggle over rangatiratanga, sovereignty, the ability to be in control of our own destinies. The struggle is multi-layered, as Smith has argued (1996) and involves many sites of struggle. One such site of struggle is the interface between the marae / the school. The marae sits the heart of the Maori education system. It is the place where Maori epistemology is connected to the whenua. It is the place where te kawa o te marae and associated tikanga provide exemplars of Maori methodology. It is the place where being Maori, Maori ontology, knows its own normality. It is the magical place where Maori epistemology, ontology and methodology meet in a unique, authentic space. Some with Maori whakapapa are born and raised in this world. Some with Maori whakapapa are not. All are kaitiaki, guardians, of the marae of this country for current and future generations. Together we hold the responsibility to protect, maintain and develop these treasures

Marae are not schools, and schools are not marae. As educators and whanau we should be vigilant about the boundaries between the two and what it takes to enable mokopuna to enjoy a seamless transition as they move from one to the other. Schools and teachers have functions and tasks to perform. They should be encouraged to perform and achieve these to the best levels possible. Marae and whanau similarly. Mokopuna who live and learn in strong vibrant whanau, and effective, inclusive schools, will be at home anywhere. Be it on the marae, in the classroom, in the community of their birth or an overseas foreign destination.

The task of curriculum reform, simply put, is to enable mokopuna and whanau to become effective border crossers. It is not to move the borders themselves.

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Appendix One

Tariana Turia (2000) Speech to NZ Psychological Society