# Transforming Research:

### *The Emerging Kaupapa Māori Research Context in Aotearoa / NZ*

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**Positioning:**

Thank you for the invitation to speak this morning. Before I begin my formal presentation it is important to carefully (and respectfully) position myself in order to appropriately contextualize <u>what</u> I am saying, <u>how</u> I am saying it and <u>being clear</u> about what the intention is.

I wish to acknowledge the traditional owners of the land on which we stand today and as well pay respect to all the Aboriginal nations across Australia; the people of today, those who have gone before and those who are yet to come. I am a Māori of Te Aitanga a Hauiti, Ngati Apa, Ngati Kahungunu and Kati Mamoe tribal descent. I am a visitor to this place and to this land. As such I require all who are listening, to appreciate both the <u>limitations</u> and the <u>capacity</u> of my words as a result of this positioning. What I am speaking about today mostly comes out of my experiences within the Aotearoa educational landscape. The point here is that Māori and Aboriginal nations are <u>two</u> different cultural contexts. I therefore remind you the listener to critically process <u>what</u> I am saying and <u>how</u> I am saying it. That is, there is a need to be discerning about what may be relevant cross-culturally and what may not. In particular, please do not uncritically substitute 'Māori' for 'Aboriginal' and vice versa because sometimes such comparisons are do not fit. Ideas that derive from each of our independent cultural contexts need to be interpreted by our own indigenous voices, 'in situ'.

A further point is that while I am <u>not</u> arguing that Māori are 'perfect' <u>or</u> that in New Zealand we have got <u>everything right</u>, I do want to suggest that the shape of the colonization experienced by the indigenous populations of New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States (Hawaii and Alaska) do have some commonalities. For example, we have <u>all</u> had the 'Captain Cook' connection; we have <u>all</u> had engagement

with British colonial outreach that has subsequently had a similar shaping influence on our colonization and development. Put more succinctly, our experiences of colonization across these different countries have a large number of similarities.

While my primary intention is to talk about our Māori research and researchers who work with Māori issues in New Zealand, there are wider implications that may be relevant to our collective experience that situates within the generic description of 'making space' within colonized contexts for 'indigenous research'.

In New Zealand, schooling and education are still sites for the production and reproduction of the colonization of Māori; simultaneously, they are also sites that have some potential for enabling the transformation of existing high levels of Māori underdevelopment.

I want to be clear that this presentation is about <u>Māori</u> and it's about our New Zealand situation. Please don't co-opt our Māori issues and use them as a comparison by which to criticize Aboriginal developments here in Australia. What is important here is that my comments made in this forum influence our NZARE/ AARE collective of scholars to do work that is positive and meaningful to enable everyone to succeed in education and schooling, particularly those groups who continue to be underserved.

While I want to acknowledge the good work of both associations, I would particularly acknowledge the NZARE and its important role in nurturing of critical perspectives in New Zealand education, My work is built on the shoulders many other New Zealand (and Australian) scholars whose work and views I encountered through NZARE, many of whom are no longer with us today. Nga mihi ki a koutou katoa, *(Greetings to you all).*

**Preamble:**
In this commentary I briefly raise a number of challenges which I hope that those who involve themselves in educational research will become  critically engaged with, if you are not already. My basis for this 'self-reflection' challenge is contained in Freire's (1972) statement that '*before you can free others you must first free*

*yourself* [1]. This is an important prerequisite for those who claim to be working as Māori researchers or indeed undertaking research for Māori outcomes. The point is we need good critical understandings if we hope to make a difference. This statement also connects to a previous paper [2] that laid out the challenges for Māori academic work and the need to develop critical skills and understandings that problematize the systemic production and reproduction of dominant, cultural interests that result from the societal condition of unequal power and social relations. The issue here is that when these matters are not sufficiently engaged with, we are more likely to produce research that has  little to no transforming effect and thereby end up reproducing the 'status quo' situation, which in our New Zealand case is the continuance of high and disproportionate levels of Māori educational underdevelopment.

My overall point is the need for constant vigilance about our research work – its intentions, its processes and its outcomes. I still worry that much of our research continues to be colonizing despite our apparent critical consciousness about 'de-colonization'. My anxiety here is that most of us are aware of the traditional forms of colonization through research e.g. control over funding of research and therefore control over the questions to be asked; the detrimental impact of culturally laden theories and methods/ methodologies that reproduce dominant interests; the marginalization of Māori language, knowledge and culture within Pakeha (non Māori) dominant institutional environments and so on. Other areas too have been unpacked through critical interrogation exemplified in the following insightful questions from the Sociology of knowledge, such as;

- Research in whose interests?
- Whose questions?
- What are the cross cultural competencies of the researchers
- Who owns the research?
- Who benefits?

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[1] Compare with the following quote "Everyone thinks of changing the world, but no one thinks of changing himself." – Leo Tolstoy.
[2] SMITH, G.H. (2012) 'The Domestication of the Native Intellectual', unpublished paper.

This paper positions 'Kaupapa Māori' praxis as a viable, organic `theory' of transformation of the educational and cultural crises that envelop disproportionate numbers of the Māori indigenous population. The need for Māori and other indigenous peoples to develop their own `theory(ies)' of transformative action is critical, the importance of which Paulo Freire noted within the following comment;

> `*This work deals with a very obvious truth: just as the oppressor, in*
> *order to oppress, needs a theory of oppressive action, so the oppressed,*
> *in order to become free, also need a theory of action.' Freire: 1972:150*

This paper discusses the need for transformative theory(ies) that is / are derived from and interacts with organic practice. `Kaupapa Māori', it is argued, is a theory and praxis of transformative action that has emerged out of Māori struggle in the New Zealand context of dominant Pakeha (non-Māori) and subordinate(d) Māori social relations. Kaupapa Māori;

i.     Links together the theory and praxis elements of the Māori alternative education `revolution' since the 1980s;

ii.    Begins the process of reclaiming `meaningful' theoretical space for Kaupapa Māori transformative praxis amongst `traditional intellectuals', officials and other influential `gate-keepers' of the notion of `what counts as knowledge?'

iii.   Posits a `portable', theory and praxis of transformative action that not only has application for Māori within and outside of education and schooling, it also has potential to assist and inform other indigenous people's struggles as well.

iv.    Engages the nexus of `*state: dominant: Pakeha'* interests in a `*war of position' (Gramsci:1971)* engagement.

v.     Develops critical commentary on the role of the Academy and its `selective' indifference to Māori/ Indigenous intellectual needs and aspirations.

**Introduction:**

> *`The oppressor elaborates his [sic] theory without the people, for he stands against them. Nor can the people - as long as they are crushed and oppressed, internalising the image of the oppressor - construct by themselves the theory of their liberating action. Only in the encounter of the people with the revolutionary leaders - in their communion, in their praxis - can this theory be built.' (Freire, 1972: 150)*

This paper examines the development of `Kaupapa Māori' as an organic theory of transformation. `Kaupapa Māori' is the term used by Māori to describe `the practice and philosophy of living a `Māori', culturally informed life. The term also has a political connotation in that it invokes the idea of identifying with and proactively advancing the cause of `being Māori' (not wholly assimilated) as opposed to `being Pakeha' (assimilated). In this sense, the term has become a rallying cry for the concerns of many Māori with regard to the colonising impact of Pakeha people and their culture. In particular, to advance the `Kaupapa Māori' stance is to acknowledge and resist the rapid and on-going assimilation of Māori language, knowledge and culture by dominant Pakeha society. These concerns about assimilation of culture also extend to other areas such as land loss, and the social and economic marginalisation of disproportionately high levels of the Māori population. However, the Māori position here should not be misinterpreted as a total rejection of Pakeha culture or a retrenchment to a `traditional Māori' cultural existence of the past; rather, what is being advanced is the meaningful recovery and development of Māori language, knowledge and culture (the source of Māori identity) as well as access to world knowledge, language and skills. It is not a `one or the other' choice for Māori, there is desire to participate and enjoy success in both Māori and Pakeha cultural worlds. However, for the most part, the cultural capital that has been historically denied, marginalised or `sanitised' within the Pakeha dominant education context, has been that intellectual and cultural capital pertaining to Māori. This is what is often described in the contemporary discourse as `assimilation', `colonisation', `eurocentricism', `exploitation' and `oppression'.

Since the 1980s and in particular, since the advent of Te Kohanga Reo (immersion pre-schools) in 1982, `Kaupapa Māori' has become an influential and coherent philosophy and practice for Māori conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis. It has become a `rallying' cry by which to advance Māori cultural capital and learning outcomes within education and schooling. More recently, `Kaupapa Māori' has been developed into a more portable theory of transformation that is now also being applied across a range of sites outside of education and schooling. The overall aim of this transformative praxis is to assist Māori in developing for themselves, more meaningful interventions of their dire social, economic, political and cultural circumstances.

`Theory', within the overall argument of this paper, is considered to be an extremely vital component in any transformative praxis towards reform. Indeed, I would argue that theory and praxis ought to stand in dialectical relation to each other. Praxis, as `action and reflection' represents theory at `work', and in `action'. Theory in this sense is simultaneously applied, tested and re-developed. With respect to transformative social action, praxis connects theory to the `people'. That is, theory is developed out of the actions and reflections constituted by the `people'. This is an important point in developing transformative action - that the theory and praxis are indeed `owned' and `supported' by the individuals and communities whom are purportedly being served by the theory. Organic intellectuals work to assist the people to realise their **own** theories and praxis. Paulo Freire elaborates this point;

> `The revolutionary effort to transform these [oppressive] structures radically, can not designate its leaders as thinkers and the oppressed as mere doers.....' (1972: 120)

Later he again notes;

> `The leaders bear the responsibility for co-ordination - and, at times direction - but leaders who deny praxis to the oppressed thereby invalidate their own praxis.' (Freire, 1972: 120)

**Kaupapa Māori Theory:**

The critical comments made in this section are not intended to undermine the importance or the need for theory. Indeed, the opposite is intended, that is, there is an insistence on

bringing effective theory into Māori resistance and transformative activities. More precisely, this work has both argued for and attempted to model in practice, two ways of doing this; firstly by understanding theoretically the nuances of `Māori resistance' (by drawing on existing theories to assist in this illumination) and secondly by creating the space for the emergence of organic Māori theory from Māori people and communities themselves.

It is also important to acknowledge a strong negative under-current within Māori communities resisting this trend toward theory and which is derived from an `anti-theory' and `anti-intellectual' disposition shared by many Māori individuals and groups. Much of this `anti' feeling is couched within behaviours that tend to be dismissive of anything `theoretical' as equating to being `Pakeha'. The significance of this dismissive categorisation correlates to the assimilation history that has occurred at the hands of Pakeha and the potential `danger' that various Pakeha interests pose for Māori. As far as the on-going education and schooling crises are concerned, Māori suspicion of `theory' is well founded. This is not only because of the history of the continual failure of `*Western: Pakeha: dominant theory'* to make a positive difference for Māori within and through education and schooling, it is <u>also</u> because of the way that such theory has often been selectively applied and interpreted <u>for</u> Māori by euro centric researchers and research paradigms and policy-makers. Another concern has been the undermining of the validity of Māori language, knowledge and culture because it is often constructed as being `marginal' by culturally laden `Western theory (ies)'. As a consequence Māori knowledge was (and in some places, still) often stereotyped as being `primitive', 'myth and superstition' and therefore, `unscientific'.

An important point being made both in the `modelling' and content of the `Kaupapa Māori Theory' approach, is that praxis requires those whom are to be transformed to substantially 'buy in' and `own' the transformative theories for themselves if the theories are to make any meaningful impact. A major problem within the context of Māori education reform failure in New Zealand is that theories and policies intended to make a difference have often been `selected' and applied by others from the 'outside'. Such theorising has mostly been developed in the interests of dominant Pakeha society, and focus on Māori as the `problem' and the consequent need to solve <u>Māori</u> difficulties. Such policy orientation deflects the critical questioning of the *dominant: state: Pakeha*

system and its `selected' practices. Consequently, it is little wonder that educational policies and reform have had limited success in alleviating Māori learning crises. `Kaupapa Māori theory' on the other hand, has been developed from within an organic Māori context. It is this close connection with Māori communities wherein lies its potential to make a difference.

The term `theory' has been deliberately co-opted and linked to the notion of `Kaupapa Māori'. This has been done in an attempt to develop counter-hegemonic understandings and practices to the cultural constraints exemplified within critical questions such as, `what counts as theory?', `how is theory to be applied?', `how is theory to be interpreted?' and `what theories are selected for application?' and so on. Within the Freirean (1972) concept of `naming the word: naming the world'[3], the use of the term, Kaupapa Māori `theory', becomes a significant political initiative to reclaim self-determination or `tino rangatiratanga' by contesting and setting the basis of the discursive debate within the Academy. In this sense an attempt is made to unlock, challenge and alter the narrow, Pakeha dominant interpretation of the `common-sense' notion of theory as it is most often applied within various aspects of New Zealand education.

An effort is also made here to disclose the otherwise `hidden', nature of theory and to make overt the fact that `theories' are often socially and culturally constructed. They are therefore manipulable phenomena in their construction, application, interpretation and selection. A further critical point which should be made, is the way in which `theory' becomes `mystified' knowledge, open to capture and manipulation by elite `in-groups' of academics, who in turn, are often able to turn the control over elite knowledge into political, social, and economic advantage. This mystification of theory is supported by dominant hegemony – that theories are neutral and objective, that the Academy teaches the most useful knowledge for society, etc.

Kaupapa Māori `theory' as a resistance notion has several dimensions. It is more than a theoretical position that embraces the various critical notions of *conscientisation, resistance and praxis'*. Its coherence and impetus is derived from an adherence to a utopian vision of `emancipation' or `transformation'. Kaupapa Māori theory is more

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[3] This phrase used by Freire and Macedo

than simply legitimating the `Māori way' of doing things or indeed the validating Māori language, knowledge and culture. Its impetus is to create the moral and ethical conditions that allow Māori to assert greater cultural, political, social, emotional and spiritual control over their own lives.

As a result of the unequal power relations between dominant Pakeha and subordinate Māori, I would argue that any transformative theory intended to benefit Māori has to have as implicit components;

    i.    a capacity to make `space' for itself to exist within the context of unequal social, cultural, political and economic, power relations, (in NZ, Pakeha dominance)

    ii.    a capacity to sustain the validity and legitimacy of the theory in the face of challenge from non-Māori,

    iii.    a capacity to be `owned' and accepted by Māori communities,

    iv.    a capacity to provide the potential to positively transform, Māori existence,

    v.    a capacity to be reflective and reflexive.

These crucial points embrace what could be described as the `burden' of organic theory (and organic theorists) developed from within subordinate(d) groups such as Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory critiques the existing relations of Pakeha social, cultural, political and economic dominance. The transforming struggle engaged in by Māori must confront the `common sense' understandings of `theory'. In this regard, `theory' itself must be understood as an important site of struggle between dominant Pakeha and subordinate(d) Māori interests. If Māori are to make ground in establishing the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge, language and culture, then the dominant ideologies that construct the centrality and pervasiveness of western theoretical forms need to be critically reviewed and where necessary, challenged, and in some cases, overthrown. Robert Young (1990) in his book `White Mythologies', investigates the difficulties of a number of post-war theories of histories, commenting;

> `The appropriation of French theory by Anglo-American intellectuals is marked, and marred, by its consistent excision of the issue of Eurocentricism and its relation to colonialism. Not until Edward Said's

`Orientalism' (1978) did it become a significant issue for Anglo-American literary theory.' (Young, 1990: 126)

Kaupapa Māori theory attempts to give support to what many Māori individuals `do' as part of their `taken for granted', everyday experience. Cultural values, practices and thinking are often intuitively included in the daily existence of most Māori. Also of consideration here, is the fact that Māori language and cultural practice still provide the cultural framework and context in which important ritual components of Māori existence are sustained, for example, the institution of the Marae (the traditional speaking forum), the practice of hui (cultural gatherings) and the life-crisis rituals related to birth, marriage and death. Often the motivation to support Māori cultural values, practices and thinking is couched within the `logic' of doing `what feels right'. However, Māori also continually encounter contradictions and resistance to their cultural beliefs and ways of doing things from the dominant Pakeha societal context in which they are framed. Thus, Kaupapa Māori `theory' must provide for, in Gramsci's (1971) terms, the winning over of the `traditional intellectuals' whose support is vital in gaining the wider societal support and acceptance of the intended reform.

The genesis of Kaupapa Māori as an `evolving' theory of transformation can also be understood from an analysis of the various Kaupapa Māori intervention initiatives undertaken by Māori communities during the 1980s. Kaupapa Māori intervention elements identified by the author have been derived from the aggregation of a common set of `change factors' that were consistently identified by Māori informants explaining their motivation in supporting alternative, Kaupapa Māori education and schooling options. Kaupapa Māori theory, also moves beyond the mere identification of a common set of intervention elements, to the positing of a more universal theory of transformation to reform the crises which afflict Māori both within and outside of Māori education and schooling. This is the work that is embedded in the author's own writings and praxis since 1983. Kaupapa Māori theory has had the dual effect of providing both the theoretical `space' to support the academic writing of Māori scholars as well as being the subject of critical interrogation, analysis and application. This is part of the explanation of the prolific output of work of the Māori education academic group of staff and post-graduate students from the University of Auckland in the 1980s to the early 2000s. [For

a comprehensive Bibliography of these earlier writings refer to Smith, G.; 1997: 458-460]

At this point it needs to be made clear, that `Kaupapa Māori' in its broadest sense is not an entirely new concept. The term `Kaupapa Māori' has long been used within Māori language frameworks, usually in descriptive and politically neutral ways. The term also surfaced within discussion forums in the 1980s for example, where the Department of Education (the fore-runner of the current Ministry of Education) was attempting to introduce the new curriculum initiative of `Taha Māori'. In the discussions related to determining what `Taha Māori' meant, the generic terms Kaupapa Māori, Tikanga Māori, and Māoritanga would surface as inter-changeable, descriptive labels, ironically, to help explain to Māori what the State meant by the term `Taha Māori'. `Māoritanga' had been an old education term that had developed an overtone of emphasising Māori as a `relic of the traditional past' and was criticised as contributing to constructing a `museum view' and a `romantic view' of Māori people and their culture. The development of the notion of `Taha Māori' was recognition by the Department of Education that their previous initiative of `Māoritanga' was flawed in definition and practice. As a State sponsored strategy, it had lost credibility amongst many Māori people as having any meaningful influence within the school curriculum, or on the learning outcomes for Māori children. The replacement strategy of `Taha Māori' programmes were intended by the State policy developers to respond to Māori complaints of exclusion from the curriculum and to therefore include aspects of Māori as an additive component of the existing school curriculum. This strategy, it was hoped, would have an impact on Māori children's learning outcomes. `Tikanga Māori' on the other hand, provided an overly narrow definition, in that its `common sense' interpretation focused on traditional cultural practices and knowledge; it did not provide a sufficient bridge to the contemporary, urban existence of Māori. `Kaupapa Māori' by definition was a more inclusive term that sought to bring a more self-determining approach to all of the various manifestations of schooling; for example, pedagogy, curriculum, administration, politics, culture and so on. In this regard, Kaupapa Māori was a more general term which could embrace a number of important notions related to schooling and education, for example it could refer to traditional Māori language, knowledge and culture; to contemporary and new forms of Māori cultural experience; to Māori pedagogy, to Māori curriculum issues and to the politics of schooling and

education more generally. Given this broad definition and the implicit critique and political elements, it is easy to surmise why such a term as `Kaupapa Māori' would be challenging to the *Pakeha: dominant: state* interests. On the other hand, Taha Māori as defined by the state (1984), was a far safer proposition politically, disregarding any faults that such a programme may have for Māori interests (see, Smith, G; 1990). It is also not surprising that `Kaupapa Māori' would be the term that Māori people themselves would later choose in order to distinguish their preferred education and schooling approach from that of the State.

What is <u>new</u> about this term is that it has been (re) constructed `politically'. This new politicised concept was first developed by concerned parents of Te Kohanga Reo from central Auckland at a meeting in 1986 to develop an alternative schooling response to meet the needs of their Te Kohanga Reo (Māori immersion Pre-School) children. The politicisation of the term `Kaupapa Māori' was deliberately intended and was formally moved as motion by the parents who were at this meeting (personal observation). It was this group of central Auckland parents from Natari Te Kohanga Reo and Awhireinga Te Kohanga Reo who coined the label `Kura Kaupapa Māori'. It was also this group who resolved to put the term `Kura Kaupapa Māori on everyone's lips in two years' and to `establish Kura Kaupapa Māori schooling as a `*bona fide'* schooling option for all Māori children' (Field-notes 1982 - 1992). These parents gave the term a political impetus and it this group who initially worked to clarify and make coherent the philosophy and practice of `Kaupapa Māori' as the central organising feature of a new set of alternative schools which were specifically shaped to respond to the needs of the graduates from Te Kohanga Reo (c.f. Nepe, 1991). `Kaupapa Māori' was to provide the philosophical underpinning of an innovative educational and schooling resistance initiative entitled, `*Kura* Kaupapa Māori' (Kaupapa Māori Schooling). In the `Kura Kaupapa Māori' interpretation of the `Kaupapa Māori' transformative elements, all of the key `transforming' ingredients are present. The conscientisation of Māori parents, the critique of existing state schooling, the seeking of change of the existing conditions, the provision of an alternative pathway, the taking of `direct action' (e.g. walking out of `compulsory' State schooling), and the adoption of reflective and reflexive praxis.

`Kaupapa Māori' approaches are also discernible in the liberating actions of Māori leaders of the past and since settler contact. Such leadership has invoked Māori cultural

principles, actions and thinking, (as well as confronting the politics of Pakeha domination, assimilation, etc.), as a means to transform the conditions of their time and to resist the negative influences of dominant Pakeha culture, for example, Te Kooti Rikirangi (circa late 1800s), Te Puea Herangi (circa 1920s), Apirana Ngata (circa 1900 - 1950s), Hoani Waititi (circa 1960s) and many others.

However, what was new in the work emanating from critically informed Māori scholars since the 1980s is the `*war of position'* approach described by Gramsci (1971). Thus, Kaupapa Māori is being theorised as a legitimate strategy to effect the transformation of the current crises that impact on Māori society generally. This work to create `theory' is not so much to seek legitimation and validity from dominant Pakeha society, as it is about recognising the reality of who controls (Pakeha) and the necessity (because of Māori subordinate(d) power positioning) to `engage in the game' in order to open up meaningful spaces and opportunities for Kaupapa Māori strategies to be fully supported and functional. Theoretical and intellectual validity through engagement with the `traditional intellectuals' within the Academy is an extremely important `gate' that has been mostly inaccessible in the past. The conventional policies and reforms (that have usually been developed by Pakeha and implemented over Māori), have only had a limited impact in transforming the target group of Māori. The crises within education and schooling faced by Māori largely remains despite these ostensibly well intended actions. Part of the explanation for the failure of Pakeha derived interventions is the insufficient attention paid to developing fundamental <u>structural</u> change at the level of power, economics, ideology and politics. The reason for this, is that to do so, would challenge some of the major structures on which Pakeha power and control over Māori is maintained. The `new' strategies that are evolving from within Māori communities themselves are being subtly forced through the `gate' of intellectual and theoretical legitimacy. This is why the work of the Auckland group of scholars in producing a Kaupapa Māori Theory literature and critique has been so important. They engaged in 'surrounding' and 'winning over' the more traditional intellectuals in order to establish the intellectual validity and credibility of Kaupapa Māori as a `*bona fide'* theory of transformation in its own right, and therefore worthy of funding and resource support by the State which is in turn, influenced by the traditional intellectuals. In this sense, one of the roles of the Auckland group of scholars was to make the `theoretical space' (and subsequently the structural space) for Māori communities to be able to get on with the

important task of `rescuing' <u>themselves</u> from the social, economic, political and cultural crises in which they are enveloped.

More specifically, much of the work described and represented in this analysis summarises the way in which the author has been submerged in this important site of struggle to bring `Kaupapa Māori' as intuitively practised in the various communities, into an accepted `theory' of transformation of the education and schooling experience of Māori. The importance of this work is contained in the urgent need to respond to the dual concerns of the increasing loss of Māori language, knowledge and culture and a crisis of Māori educational underachievement. The work begun in Auckland represents a proactive response from Māori to develop their own interventions and transformations of these crises, based on strong theory and research informed by Māori needs, aspirations, philosophies and cultural ways. This is the space now occupied by Kaupapa Māori theory.

Since 1982, the theoretical implications of Kaupapa Māori have been tested through the writings of the Māori academics and within the interrogations of various writings and theses as mentioned previously. These formulations of Kaupapa Māori as a `theory of transformation' have been orally presented, written and disseminated within Māori community and academic audiences since 1983, with refinements developed from the feedback and critical comments from these audiences. For the most part, the key elements which have been identified at the `core' have been well received and given strong endorsement from Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga communities as being vital intervention factors. This is also shown in the fact that there has been little change to the core elements since the early writings on this by the author. These ideas have also been widely presented and discussed in a large number of national and international, academic forums and conferences - this has provided an opportunity to influence the traditional intellectuals which Gramsci has identified. Over and above this, considerable time has been given to developing understandings within `official' domains. This has been achieved through formal presentations, seminars, consultancies and representations to Ministers and Ministries associated with Māori development. The combined outcome of all of this work during the 1980s until the present day, is that Kaupapa Māori has become an entrenched part of the official discourse. It appears in a range of official Ministerial documents in Health, Social Welfare, Justice, Housing,

Employment and Education. Finally these ideas have been tested in practical situations, not only within Kura Kaupapa Māori settings but also the ideas have been transposed into other institutional contexts. Kaupapa Māori initiatives have changed the State education system; this organic community development is reflected in many of the activities described elsewhere by the author and in the theses referred to earlier.

**Kaupapa Māori - Intervention Elements:**

An obvious starting point for identifying what counts as the `key intervention elements' is through an examination of the structures which Māori themselves have created, that is, within the relatively autonomous positioning of the alternative Māori education initiatives (outside of the constraints of the State) what choices have Māori made with respect to what counts as a meaningful intervention element?

Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wānanga and Marae communities, building on the success elements derived from the early Te Kohanga Reo pre-school initiatives, have produced a set of intervention elements that are common to all of these educational sites. Some of these key elements are outlined here and result from an aggregation of formal and informal interviews and participant observations undertaken by the author with Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori parents and whanau within the Auckland region during the period 1982 until the 2000s. The following intervention elements are those that have been identified by Māori themselves as the `vital factors for success' of a Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori education.

**Diagram 1.**

*Intervention Elements*

1. **Tino Rangatiratanga** (Self-determination principle)
2. **Nga Taonga Tuku Iho** (Cultural aspirations principle)
3. **Ako Māori** (Culturally preferred ways of Learning principle)
4. **Kia Piki Ake I Nga Raruraru o Te Kain**ga (Socio-economic mediation principle)
5. **Whanau** (Extended family principle)
6. **Kaupapa** (Shared vision principle)

The intention in isolating these significant `change' factors, was to develop the potential for a wider application of these key intervention elements across a range of other learning sites where Māori also participate, albeit mostly unsuccessfully. A particularly important consideration here is whether or not these intervention elements might be able to inform schooling and education more generally in order to develop successful outcomes for Māori learners.

Given the current level and state of educational and schooling crises that disproportionately affect Māori, any slight change or intervention would probably be an improvement. However it is also true to report, that Māori parents' aspirations in learning differ little from the aspirations held by most parents;

- they want their children to have access and excellent learning outcomes with respect to Māori language, knowledge and culture,
- they want their children to have access and excellent learning outcomes related to the national school curriculum, and to world knowledge,
- they want their children to learn in a safe, comfortable and supportive environment
- they want an education that reinforces their cultural background and identity
- they want their child to be positioned to `get a good job'.
- they want the school, teachers and total learning environment to reinforce, appreciate and to provide a range of learning pathways relevant to their cultural backgrounds and diverse aspirations.

(from Kura Kaupapa Māori Field-notes 1982 - 1992)

The `success' of Māori children within Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori (with reference to the above success indicators) is more apparent when measured against the schooling experiences of many Māori children who remain caught within `mainstream' state schooling. One quote from a Māori parent at the Kura Kaupapa Māori o

Maungawhau also makes a similar point when commenting on her decision to withdraw her child from State schooling and taking up the Kura Kaupapa Māori option;

> `We can't possibly do any worse than what the State has done to our children; at least we have the potential and the motivation to improve and to get it right. I refuse to send my girl to school to fail; I'm not going to put her through what I had to put up with - they can go to bloody hell!'*
> - (from field-notes 1982-1992: Maungawhau Kura Kaupapa Māori parent)*

The key intervention elements that are embedded within `Kaupapa Māori theory' and which have the potential to intervene more generally in Māori social, economic and cultural crises are further expanded here.

### 1. Tino Rangatiratanga *(the 'self-determination' principle)*

Tino rangatiratanga comes out of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) discourse, and has been variously translated as `sovereignty', `autonomy', `self-determination' and `independence'. Its antecedent is the term `Kawanatanga' which is also part of the original Treaty discourse and means `governorship' or in more modern terms `government'. The principle of `Tino rangatiratanga' reinforces the goal of seeking more meaningful `control over one's own life and cultural well-being'. This factor is strongly supported in the Kaupapa Māori initiatives, partly as a resistance to the detrimental influence which Pakeha controlled decision-making and policy has had on Māori in schooling and education and partly in order for Māori to be in a position to make real and positive choices for themselves. Increased power and control over key decision-making has made gains within the relatively autonomous Kaupapa Māori sites (although many Māori are over taken by an illusion of `tino rangatiratanga' and self-determination. They have a false consciousness about many of the 'new right' structures, such as bulk funding, voucher systems etc (see Smith, G. & Smith, L. in Spoonley, P. et.al. 1996). Greater autonomy over key decision-making in schooling has been attained for example in regard to administration, curriculum, and pedagogy. A key understanding here is that when Māori make choices for themselves, they are more likely to be fully committed to ensuring that the choices work out successfully. While it may seem an odd comparison, this is in fact a crucial principle that underpins the new production-line work ethos such

as the `Nissan Way' (a Japanese production line method which attempts to maximise production by allowing workers to participate in key decision-making). In New Zealand, Norman Perry's `Mahi Tahi'[4] programmes in Opotiki (whanau - extended family work sites) were also very successful in that many of the principles outlined here as Kaupapa Māori theory were successfully incorporated into his Whakatohea (a tribal group) work sites, including the sharing of power and key decision-making with the tribal work force (Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed(1972)* also makes the point that people must `own' their labour and not merely `sell' their labour - the former condition being a more `free' existence).

This is in fact what is going on in the Kaupapa Māori education and schooling initiatives; Māori are reasserting more control over their schooling and education. Certainly in moving outside of the state system, a large measure of control was assumed. This is also an important point at which to examine closely the choices (which have proven to be relatively successful in developing a resurgence of interest in education and some curriculum improvements) made by Māori parents. What choices did they make about pedagogy, curriculum and school organisation from this position of `relative autonomy' outside of the official system. One of the key issues here is whether or not changes have to be made to both institution and mode to effect meaningful change - in this sense, can `tino rangatiratanga' as a vital component of the intervention elements be attained within a Pakeha dominant institution? Or is it necessary to also change the institutional context as the Kura Kaupapa Māori parents have argued in submissions to the Kura Kaupapa Māori working group? (1988).

By assuming more `tino rangatiratanga' Māori communities are able to exercise more control and responsibility over the transforming processes and outcomes. A critical distinction which has to be made with respect to transformation, is the notion of simply `transforming a `white' structure into a `brown' structure and thereby merely creating a brown version of the 'status quo' or building a completely new and alternative structure which responds more appropriately to Māori needs and aspirations. This of course begs the question of the extent to which `tino rangatiratanga' can be achieved within existing Pakeha dominated institutional structures. A partial answer to this question, for Kura

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[4] A community collaborative work project built around a Shoe Factory in Opotiki, New Zealand.

Kaupapa Māori parents at least, is seen in their actions of going outside of conventional schools to establish Kura Kaupapa Māori.

**2. Taonga Tuku Iho** *(the `cultural aspirations' principle)*

In a Kaupapa Māori framework, to be Māori is taken for granted; one's identity is not being subtly undermined by a `hidden curriculum'. Māori language, knowledge, culture and values are validated and legitimated. Māori cultural aspirations particularly in a wider societal context of the struggle for language and cultural survival, is more assured. One of the common faults of most previous (Pakeha defined) interventions has been the inadequate attention paid to this aspect. In incorporating these elements, a strong emotional and spiritual factor is introduced to support the commitment of Māori to the intervention. Most Māori still have a strong emotional, if not a practical or `living' attachment to their culture. One of the significant points here is the harnessing of this emotional factor related to identity and culture, and to subsequently translating this same emotional commitment and drive towards learning. This strong cultural commitment is summed up in the often-quoted traditional saying;

> `E kore koe e ngaro. He kakano i ruia mai i Hawaiiki. He taonga no nga
> tupuna, tuku iho, tuku iho.' Proverb.
> (You will never be lost. You are from the seed planted in the homeland
> of Hawaiiki. You are a `treasure', handed down, handed down)

*3. Ako Māori* *(the `culturally preferred pedagogy' principle)*

This principle reinforces the need for culturally appropriate teaching and learning strategies. Teaching and learning settings and practices ought to closely and effectively connect with the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances (socio-economic) of Māori communities and individuals. Such teaching and learning practices are selected as being culturally preferred by Māori and do not necessarily negate the significance or importance of other teaching and learning methodologies. Other `borrowed' cultural pedagogies are also utilised within Māori alternative educational settings, including many, which are generalised as `Pakeha schooling methods'. Furthermore, some cross-cultural borrowing has also occurred, e.g. Japanese pedagogy. - `Soroban' maths programme; `Suzuki' method for learning music; etc. The important points here are that Māori are able to choose and influence what pedagogies are to be used, and that Māori

language, knowledge and cultural values are not undermined and that they are supported by the chosen pedagogies.

4. **Kia Piki ake i nga Raruraru o te Kainga** *(the `socio-economic' mediation principle)*

This principle speaks to the need to alleviate the negative pressures of the marginal socio-economic positioning of many Māori families which impacts on learning. The commitment to Kaupapa Māori philosophy and practice are such powerful and all embracing forces, through its emotional (ngakau) and spiritual (wairua) elements, that it;

> i. Encourages Māori communities, families and parents to take schooling seriously despite other debilitating social and economic impediments;
>
> ii. Encourages Māori parents to re-commit to schooling and education for their children. This is an important change, given their often negative personal prejudices derived from their own schooling encounters, which they often pass on to their own children, e.g. many parents were often the one's strapped for speaking Māori in the play-ground; disparaged because of their inability to speak `proper' English; teased because of their cultural difference; made to feel `dumb' because of their Māori-ness and being marginalised in the curriculum; and they were often the ones who were stood in hall ways and punished for not conforming to the dominant Pakeha cultural expectations of the schooling context.
>
> iii. Impacts at the ideological level by validating and legitimating Māori language, knowledge and culture.
>
> iv. Assists in mediating a societal context of unequal power relations; it makes schooling a priority consideration despite debilitating social and economic circumstances.

No claim is made here to the complete overthrow of the debilitating effect of socio-economic circumstances. However, what does happen most often, is that the otherwise negative impact of the socio-economic background of Māori students, is able to be mediated by Māori cultural customary practice, values and knowledge. The points being made here are clarified in the following extract;

*`In Kaupapa Māori educational initiatives, the collective principles come to the fore. Thus knowledge does not belong to individuals; individuals are repositories of group knowledge; they have a responsibility to look after knowledge for the benefit of the whole group; they have a responsibility to ensure that knowledge is shared for the benefit of the whole group; the mana (standing or prestige) of the group is dependent upon the sum contributions of the individuals who make up the group; because the group is seen as `only being as strong as its weakest link', members of the group have a responsibility to share and uplift those who need assistance and support.*

*This kind of `Kaupapa Māori' thinking has an important bearing on what happens in a Kaupapa Māori organised education site, where everyone has responsibility for everyone else's learning; the whole learning site is seen to constitute one `whanau' (extended family) and all of the parents are parents to all of the children, all of the children are considered to be brothers and sisters, all of the knowledge belongs to the whole `whanau' group. The teachers are called `Papa' (father) and `Whaea' (mother) and are parents to all of the children. The children share lunch together and often parents share resources to the benefit of others in the `whanau'. This situation is in stark contrast to the conventional schooling context where the emphasis is on the individual learner and knowledge is regarded as `private property'. For example, kids are typically dropped off at the gate and are packed off with their own lunch, they sit at their own desk and have private `work-space' and are encouraged to `do their own work'. Children are also encouraged to compete vigorously. Hierarchies of learning performance provide impetus to competition between individual pupils and sometimes this extends to competition between their parents. In these schooling situations, pupils generally stand or fall on their individual performance. Parents have minimal interaction with the school, the teachers, other parents or other pupils. This form of schooling is what Māori parents are rejecting as being antagonistic to Māori language, knowledge and*

*culture. It is also the reason that they are increasingly supporting alternative Kaupapa Māori schooling options.*

*Within a Kaupapa Māori framework, the cultural support mechanisms embedded within the extended family structure and practice (whanau) are able to be invoked to mediate the debilitating impact of the socio-economic circumstances which hinder the learning chances of many Māori children. For example, (these are real examples from my research interviews) when two parents have to work from mid-night until six in the morning cleaning offices in down-town Auckland, because that is the only employment they can get, then the impact on their four children is lessened as the cultural support structures of the whanau come into play and the children are cared for; when there is unemployment in the home, parents are not expected to contribute funds or costs to activities - those parents who work, pay more, those who do not work, can contribute to the school or the group in other ways such as supervision of children, making resources, providing transport etc.*

*The claim made here is not for the overthrow of the socio-economic impediments but for a mediation of what might otherwise be a debilitating impediment. The point here is that while it is acknowledged that many analysts and theorists writing in the field of education and schooling have been able to identify the negative effect of poor socio-economic circumstances on learning outcomes, few if any have been able to develop successful strategies which overthrow these circumstances. The point needs to be emphasised that no claim is made here to completely overthrow the socio-economic impediment, but what is argued for is the mediation of these debilitating circumstances within the Kaupapa Māori cultural framework. This is a significant contribution which is embedded within the Kaupapa Māori approach.'*
*(Smith, G.H. Address to Aboriginal Seminar, Woollongong University, 1996)*

**5. Whanau** *(the `extended family' principle)*

The `whanau' is considered an important cultural structure that allows for Māori cultural practice, values and thinking (whanaungatanga). This `extended family' social structure supports the ideological factors related to Kaupapa Māori alluded to in the previous category. It does this by providing a culturally oriented `people' structure to support in the alleviation and mediation of social and economic difficulties, parenting difficulties, health difficulties and other impediments to learning. In this way, Māori cultural values, customs and practices that organise around `collective responsibility' can be invoked.

Thus in this cultural view, difficulties are not located within individuals or in individual homes but in the total whanau; the whanau takes collective responsibility to assist and intervene. While the whanau structure implies a support network for individual members there is also a reciprocal obligation on individual members to `belong' and `contribute' to the whanau group. In this way, parents are culturally `contracted' (obliged) to support and assist in the education of all of the children in the whanau.  Perhaps the most significant aspect of whanau administration and management is that it brings back into the schooling setting many parents who were once extremely `hostile' to education given their own `unhappy' schooling experiences. This is a major feature of Kura Kaupapa Māori schooling intervention - it has committed parents to re-invest in schooling and education for their children.

### 6.   **Kaupapa** (the `Shared Vision' principle)

Kaupapa Māori initiatives are generally held together through a collective commitment to a philosophy or `utopian vision'. Such a vision usually embraces elements of conscientisation, resistance and praxis. For example, Te Kohanga Reo has a written philosophy and charter that maps out its direction and philosophical principles. Kura Kaupapa Māori has a collective vision, which is written into a formal charter entitled `Te Aho Matua'.  This vision provides the guidelines for attaining an excellent education in Māori. It also acknowledges Pakeha culture and skills required by Māori children to participate fully and at every level in modern New Zealand society. `Te Aho Matua' builds on the Kaupapa of Te Kohanga Reo, and provides the parameters for the uniqueness that is Kura Kaupapa Māori. Its power is in its ability to articulate and connect with Māori aspirations, politically, socially, economically and culturally.

This set of principles reflects the praxis of Māori communities interested in transforming their existing conditions of educational and cultural crises. It also reflects the dialectical relations implied in the term, `organic Māori `theory'. That is, it embraces the ideal of theory being made and tested in the context of community action; it is organically conceived and requires to be animated by praxis. Freire has also made a similar point;

> `But men's [sic] activity consists of action and reflection: it is praxis; it is transformation of the world. And as praxis, it requires theory to illuminate it! Men's [sic] activity is theory and practice; it is reflection and action.' (Freire, 1972: 96)

This section of the paper has attempted describe the politics of positioning `Kaupapa Māori' as a legitimate theory of transformation. The need to do this is related to developing authentic transformative praxis as described in Freire's previous quote. The importance of theory to transforming action is also alluded to in the following quote from famous utterance from Lenin;

> `Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement'
>
> (in Freire, 1972: 76)

**Kaupapa Māori Theory as Transformative Praxis:**
Underpinning the Māori intervention elements are important understandings about transformative praxis and by extension, critical pedagogy. The intervention strategies applied by Māori in New Zealand are complex and respond simultaneously to multiple formations of oppression and exploitation. This expansive resistance approach is important in responding to the new formations and re-shaping of cultural oppression(s) and economic exploitation(s). The Kaupapa Māori educational interventions represent the evolving of a more sophisticated response by Māori to `freeing' themselves from multiple oppression(s) and exploitation. In particular, the very emergence of Kaupapa Māori as an intervention strategy, critiques and re-constitutes the `Western dominant' resistance notions of *conscientisation, resistance* and *transformative praxis* in different configurations. In particular, Māori re-configuration rejects the notion that each of these concepts `stand' individually; or

that they are necessarily to be interpreted as being a <u>lineal </u>progression from *conscientisation*, to *resistance*, to *praxi*s. That is, one state is not necessarily a prerequisite or contingent on the other states. Thus the following popular representation of transformative action (based on a predominantly Western type of thinking) needs to be critically engaged;

**Figure 2.**

*Conscientisation* → *resistance* → *transformative action*

The position implicit within the new formations of Māori intervention, and which may have wider significance for other indigenous populations is that <u>all</u> of the above components are important; <u>all</u> need to be held simultaneously; all stand in equal relation to each other. This representation might best be understood as a cycle. For example;

**Figure 3.**
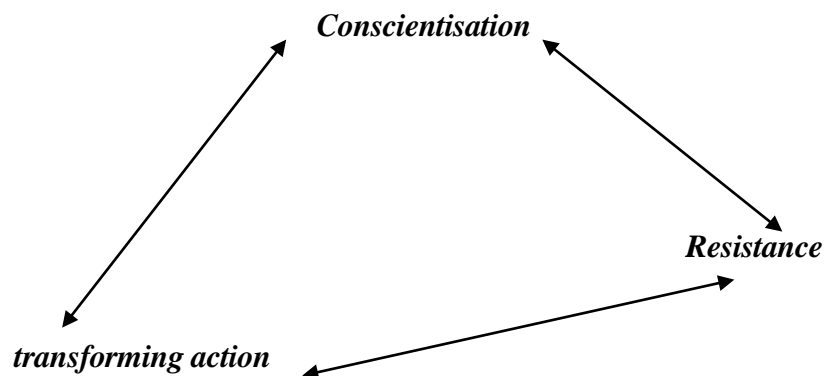


A further point here is that individuals and groups enter the cycle from any position and do not necessarily (in reflecting on Māori experience within Kaupapa Māori interventions) have to start at the point of `conscientisation'. In other words, individuals have been caught up in transformative praxis (e.g. taking their children to Kohanga Reo), and this has subsequently led to conscientisation and participation in resistance. This is a significant critique of much of the writing on these concepts that tend to portray a <u>lineal</u> progression of `*conscientisation, resistance and transformative*

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*action'.* Māori experience tends to suggest that these elements may occur in any order and indeed may all occur simultaneously. It is important to note as well that the arrows in the diagram go in both directions, which reinforces the idea of simultaneous engagement with more than one element.

One of the most exciting developments with respect to the organic resistance initiatives of Māori in the 1980s and 1990s has been the discernible shift and maturing in the way resistance activities are being understood and practised.  Now, a greater emphasis is placed on attempting to take account of structuralist concerns (economic, ideological, and power structures) as well as culturalist responses (related to agency). Some of the important factors which the Māori resistance initiatives attempt to engage with relate to economic, ideological and power dimensions, that are derived from a nexus of `*state: dominant: Pakeha cultural interests.*'

Where indigenous people are in educational crises, indigenous educators and teachers must be trained to be `change agents', to develop transformation of the undesirable circumstances. They must develop a `radical pedagogy' (a teaching approach for change). Such pedagogy must also be informed by their own cultural preferences and respond to their own critical circumstance. This paper is concerned to impart this message based on Māori experience in Aotearoa. I believe there is much to inform other indigenous contexts from this situation, in particular, the need to focus on `transforming', - What is it? How can it be achieved? Do indigenous people's needs and aspirations require different schooling approaches? Who benefits?  Such critical questions, which relate to the task of teachers being change agents must not only inform our teacher education approaches, they must also ensure the 'buy in' from the communities they are purporting to serve.

**The real revolution:**
The revolution of Māori Education in the 1980s was **not** simply about an innovative educational approach towards language revitalization and intervention in educational underachievement. The revolution was also about the development of new transformative strategies that developed both culturalist and structuralist emphases. It was also about;

- Māori taking proactive action to make change for themselves. That is, not waiting for Pakeha to make the changes, but doing it themselves.
- Māori developing critique of how knowledge is socially constructed within education and schooling settings.
- Māori engaging with a critical theory engaged with the economic conditions, scientific/ technical rationality, but which was also concerned with a `transformative' approach.
- Māori coming to critical understandings about 'theory'; about its social construction, about its usefulness when applied by Māori in their own interests.
- Māori recognizing the need to undo Pakeha hegemony and to decolonize themselves.
- Māori understanding that given multiple sites of oppression, there must also be multiple sites of struggle and multiple strategies for change. In this sense complex colonization requires corresponding complex resistance responses.

Finally, this paper attempts to move beyond critical analysis to transformative praxis. It is argued that we need to more fully understand how change is developed and actually achieved. There is a need to move beyond description of problems and issues to making sure that change does in fact occur.

**Summary of Key Strategies for 'Transforming Research':**
While it is important to understand the potential of research to be colonising rather than transforming, it is also crucial to appreciate the aspirations of Māori / indigenous communities in respect of research. In this next section I reflect some of the lessons that have emerged within the Kaupapa Māori research context since the 1980s. The Kaupapa Māori revolution, following the emergence of Te Kohanga Reo has produced the most dynamic period of change in the education of Māori since the beginning of formal Pakeha schooling.

A. **There is a need to 'make' and 'lead' change Ourselves**

A key learning that we have made within our Māori context is that no one else can do the changes for us – we have to do them ourselves. The commitment has to be ours – we have to lead it. Others can help, but ultimately it is indigenous people who have to act. We need to move beyond waiting for a 'cargo plane to land' or for the existing dominant Pakeha population to deliver our change for us. We need to move beyond the entrapment of a 'welfare dependency' mentality both in respect of resources and policy. We need to develop a transformative struggle that is our own – that a self-development approach. Moreover, our struggle needs to be inclusive and respectful of many of our different Māori interests and not buy in to models of change that create divide and rule amongst ourselves. Our strategies for transformation need to ensure greater 'buy in' from the people for whom the changes are intended. We need to draw on our cultural ways of collective work, of extended family obligation and our values of sharing and reciprocity In New Zealand we have had to deliberately re-teach much of this, as it had been eroded within some of our culturally dislocated relatives and the generations who were raised in urban settings away from their cultural landscapes.

Transforming work requires 'action' and 'doing'; sometimes it also requires courage; sometimes it requires someone to just start something different. This is how Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi began (the Māori *tribal-university* at Whakatane, N.Z.). Literally it started with our imaginations. Once it had been decided what we wanted to do, the next step was to get a board, four nails and a pot of paint! An empty prefab was found, a name was chosen and written on the board, the board was nailed on the wall and we had started a Māori Wānanga – an institution of higher learning. We knew we needed funding, a plan, a CEO, courses, Faculty and other Facilities – but the critical thing was that we started. We nailed our name to the wall and began. Everything else has methodically been built over time, beginning with a strategic plan. Today 25 years later, this *tribal-University* entity teaches to PhD level, has a wide range of programmes and is a multi-million dollar organization primarily funded by the tribes themselves with the Government providing funding through EFTs. Strategic planning was a very important factor in the successful development of this institution.

In summary, the point being made here is that there is a need to see the distinction between <u>self-determination</u> (as an outcome) and being <u>self-determining</u> (as a process).

That is, the focus of our struggle must be to be actively engaged (self-determining) rather than simply passively engaged with a utopian / rhetorical ideal (self – determination). Being self- determining in my view is to live out self-determination in everyday practice. In this sense, self-determination becomes the vision and the goal; to be self-determining describes the practice of constantly and consistently enacting self-determination within every moment. In many ways there is a profound question here for indigenous peoples who are already self-governing or who have self – determination. That is – 'is the way in which we live our lives an enactment of being self- determining? The implication of this question is that it is possible to have self-governance and self–determination politically – but to also live our everyday existence in culturally, socially and economically oppressed ways. Many small States may understand these phenomena as 'development dependency' or 'structural indebtedness' or 'internal colonialism'. All of these situations are good examples of 'new formations of colonization'. For many small self-governing States, issues around education development become complicated when confronted with choices that put into opposition cultural knowledge and language excellence against the need to develop skills to enable access to labor markets in order to support economic goals. Often and tragically, some of the international forces driving economic development seem to have little concern for the issue of localized cultural knowledge excellence. However, if you pause to think about it there are many examples of countries[5] being able to develop both of these outcomes without apparent conflict between these two intentions. Many of the International Funding and Development agencies often have narrow perspectives on these issues (there are lots of Pacific commentary on this e.g. see Sitiveni Halapua, Malama Meleisia and others) and do not appreciate these ends and often regard cultural elements as being a drag on development and to be impediments to economic outcomes. A subsequent tragedy is that often in these small nations, States and Tribes, the education and schooling opportunities that are offered end up delivering excellence in neither the cultural nor the economic development domain. There are important issues for indigenous populations to reflect on here.

## B.  There is a need to centralize the issue of 'Transformation'

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[5] Japan, South Korea, Chile are examples of this.

Transformation needs to become our focus in education. Why? Because for the most part the 'status quo' way of doing things has not delivered very significant change of the existing circumstances of high and disproportionate levels of socio – economic marginalization and/or of educational underachievement. We <u>cannot</u> simply go on reproducing the same poor outcomes.

The focus on transformation means that we need to know

- How we get transformation?
- What counts as real and meaningful transformation?
- How do we know that transformation is effective and sustainable?
- Whose interests are served by the transformation?

Furthermore, there is a need to understand the implicit rationale or theoretical basis to our preferred transformation strategies. This is in order to make the intervention potential <u>portable</u> and transferable to other sites where change is required such as in health, economics, housing and the like. We have learned from our Māori experience that we need to move beyond 'linear', 'instrumental' notions of transformation. Linear modes set up needs hierarchies and potentially creates competition for limited resources. Often these strategies divide us against each other. Māori intervention strategies have moved away from an emphasis on linear models of transformation and have re-conceptualized our transforming strategies as a 'circular praxis' (following Smith, 1999). This approach is predicated on the presumption that the necessary changes are many. Our needs are to be found in multiple sites and therefore our interventions strategies also need to be multiple. This 360' degree approach to engage with multiple colonizing forces requires multiple resistances often applied simultaneously. The important point here is that we must move beyond single policy initiatives of transformation (as implied in the linear framework) to asserting transformation needing to occur in multiple sites, in multiple ways and often simultaneously.

In respect of policy, this may mean the need for government to focus on 'whole of government' strategies involving several ministries engaging with the same issue from different bases at the same time. For example many of the education issues overlap with health, social development, economic development, and so on. We

should also be able relate our vision of what we are trying to achieve to the actual process of change and transformation – Jurgen Habermas's insights (1971) around 'incremental change' are important insights here – that a vision will usually be achieved incrementally and that we need to understand the incremental nature of change and therefore, identify and celebrate the small incremental victories along the way to the realization of the ultimate (utopian) vision. Claus Offe's (1984) critical discussion around the 'legitimation – crisis' cycle and how dominant societal interests work to domesticate radical movements is also an important insight here.

More latterly we have de-emphasized using the noun – 'transformation', to now emphasizing the verb 'transforming'. We have moved to distinguish between transformation as an outcome and transforming as a process. That is, there has been a shift from a focus on, descriptive, long- term outcomes (utopian vision) to now recognizing the need to enact transforming in our everyday behaviours and to enact it as an ongoing dynamic process. In shifting to a concentration on transforming we are able to celebrate the 'incremental victories' along the way to the full realization of the 'transformation' vision and goal. That is, we do not want to overly focus on realizing the end point of transformation – as some of these 'visions' are more aspirational, utopian and may require a lot of time. The collapse of utopian visions such as 'civil rights' and 'gender equity and so on, lost a lot of support from the 1970s onwards, as people's interest waned in these movements because the people lost faith waiting to realize the ultimate outcome. Having noted the prior importance of the notion of 'transforming' as opposed to 'transformation', there is still a case for long-term, utopian visions. A utopian vision can give <u>impetus</u> and <u>direction</u> to our transforming struggles.

C. <u>**There is a need to put Indigenous languages, knowledge's and cultures at the center of our education revitalization.**</u>

This is important in order to harness the emotional energy related to identity and culture in order to enhance learning more generally. Dr. Lee Brown a colleague at UBC has written some powerful work on this aspect utilizing the Medicine Wheel. The point here is that positive cultural identity is linked to ones language, knowledge and culture.

'Place' is also important to indigenous populations as it links to – land, 'mother – earth'. I am reminded of one of our elders, Rima Edwards and the evidence, which he presented in a Land Claim Hearing in the Waitangi Tribunal Hearing. It took him a day and a half of giving the context of 'place' before he actually reached the person who he wanted to talk abut in his evidence – his total evidence took two and a half days of traditional stories, chants, songs and oral history).  The point is that 'place', our link to our traditional landscape and cultural context is important. However, – it may be that we have to begin the work of finding new concepts of 'place' within our language and oral traditions as climate change and rising oceans threaten many of our traditional homelands. The portentous issue of climate change and its impact in the Pacific must be part of the context in which Pacific Rim Nations plan forward.

Some other examples of Indigenous Māori knowledge being important in its own right is exemplified in the work of the Elder Kino Hughes (over 400 traditional songs sung and recorded; Emily Schuster a Māori weaver who worked on special knots for the NASA Space programme; the Te Māori Art exhibition at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art – considered artifacts in New Zealand and yet virtually overnight after being displayed in the New York Metropolitan of Art, being considered 'objects of Art' (and subsequently imbued with status and 'economic worth' – the key point here is that knowledge is arbitrary.

In general it took a while to realize both as a people, as an education and schooling system and as a Nation that fundamentally "Māori still want to be Māori"– that Māori were not prepared to sacrifice their culture, language, knowledge or identities and become brown skinned 'Pakeha' (Non-Māori New Zealanders). Most indigenous peoples I have encountered have the same sentiment – they still want to be indigenous.

### D. There is a need to Understand New Formations of Colonization:

What I want to position in this reflection is the notion of 'new formations of colonization' in and through research. Despite our 'critical understandings' of the traditional ways in which research has had a colonizing influence, we still need to remain vigilant in order to avoid uncritically adopting new forms of colonising

research. A critical point here is the need to understand the danger of new forms of colonization. These dangers firstly need to be <u>recognized</u>, so one needs a good critical literacy. Secondly, these new modes of colonization need to be <u>understood</u>. We need a critical literacy that enables us to see both structural (*societal structures*) and cultural (*people)*  issues. Thirdly these new forms of colonization need to be adequately <u>responded to</u> (in other words, is the research that we are doing 'transformative' <u>or</u> is it simply yet another descriptive account of our pathology as Māori underacheivers?).

There is need to understand the new formations of colonization more profoundly rather than simply within the traditional understandings of colonization e.g.;
- "The schools did it to us"
- "The missionaries and churches did it to us"
- "The state and colonial governments did it to us".

All of these traditional explanations have elements of truth and are <u>part</u> of the explanation. However there are some who believe that now we have come to understand these traditional elements, that colonization can now be controlled for, or in some peoples thinking, that colonization has now ceased and disappeared. The term 'post-colonial' is often confused as meaning this. I think a number of people misinterpret the pre-occupation with post-colonial studies as being 'after' the fact of colonization. It does <u>not</u> mean this at all. Colonization has <u>not</u> gone away – in many instances it has simply changed its shape. Unfortunately – many are still looking through the old critical lenses and fail to see the <u>new</u> formations of colonization and subsequently how these new impediments are formed against indigenous aspirations. We need to develop <u>new</u> 'critical literacies' which enable us to analyze the various scenarios correctly in order to then develop more successful responses or interventions. As long we continue to miss-read this situation we will continue to produce ill-fitting and unsuccessful transformative outcomes.

Some of the old forms of colonization have been embedded in schooling and education and we know them by different labels. For example, we should still be aware of the contradictory and colonizing nature of curriculum that is driven by deficit theory and/ or self-esteem theory; we also have critical theory understandings

which illuminate the dangers for indigenous cultures contained in the notions of the 'selected curriculum' and the 'social construction of knowledge'. That is, the understanding that any curriculum is a selection of knowledge by someone or by people with particular interests (c.f. Basil Bernstein 1971 and Michael Young, 1971). Once Māori understood this about the curriculum we could respond more effectively – hence the rise of alternative education and schooling where Māori could control 'what was to count as the curriculum'? Examinations and testing are also socially and culturally constructed phenomena that need attention to ensure they are equitably developed, applied and interpreted.

There are other 'new' formations of colonization that arise at the intersection of cultural oppression and economic exploitation. These occur around the commodification of knowledge – the buying and selling of knowledge through manipulating cultural and intellectual property regimes, enacting the regulatory effects of patents, copyrights and trademarks. This is a major issue at present and is one of the key elements of the free trade agreements for example as regulated in the GATT and TRIPs initiatives. The attendant values that allow this kind of exploitation are contained in the neo-liberal economic values of individualism, privatization, competition, the free-market and so on. Having rendered this critique – I do not want to completely dismiss the potential of neo-liberal economics to also act in positive ways for indigenous interests.

In our Māori research experience there is a need to continue to problematize the term 'research' as potentially colonizing of Māori interests. There is a need to unsettle the prevailing view amongst many Māori and researchers alike that research is always inherently 'good', 'neutral' and 'beneficial'. In this sense Māori and by extension indigenous people, often uncritically accept the term 'research' as being unproblematic. These skewed views about the inherent good of research might be regarded as hegemonic,  particularly where Māori researchers are willingly co-opted to undertake research which is first and foremost about the nexus of *dominant: State: Pakeha* interests. A key reason for much of this is because we live in a complex context of unequal and contested social, economic, political and cultural relations between dominant Pakeha and subordinate Māori interests.

**Kaupapa Māori Framing:**

How do we rescue the power of research to act more transparently and for the benefit of Māori? How do we self-reflect on what we are doing as Māori Researchers? A disappointing aspect of much of Māori academic engagement with Kaupapa Māori is that many who claim to be using this approach, do so in problematic ways. Many have <u>not</u> read the field and make their own assumptions and interpretations outside of sufficient reference to the existing literature. Also, many neglect the significance of a critical theory underpinning to this approach and therefore interpret a Kaupapa Māori approach within a narrow culturalist perspective. In accentuating only the cultural dimensions they fail to take adequate account of the political context of unequal social, economic and power relations in which Māori culture is struggling to exist.

As a consequence of these failings in respect of fully understanding Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis, it is useful to apply five quick tests to measure the validity, the effectiveness and the understandings of individuals who claim to being engaging in a Kaupapa Māori approach.

**The Five Tests to ascertain the Veracity of a Kaupapa Māori Approach:**

i. ***Positionality –*** It is important to understand this approach against a backdrop of practical <u>enactment.</u> This might be understood as the '*ringa raupa*' test i.e. show me the 'blisters on your hands' as a result of your practical actions. Does the person claiming to be using a Kaupapa Māori approach understanding their limitations and capacities of their positioning. For example, the position from which one speaks, inside and outside of the Academy – issues of complicity; issues of domestication; the politics of voice, and so on.

ii. ***Structuralist & Culturalist*** considerations are equally important to understand. Moreover, it is important to understand how these two concepts are in dialectical tension. Our struggle is not just a cultural or people struggle, it is also a struggle against structural impediments e.g. how our lives are impacted by economics, ideology and power. We should also understand institutions as being simultaneously sites of transforming

as well as sites of colonization. Institutions become the meeting ground for the contestation of culturalist and structuralist imperatives.

iii. *Criticality* – there is need to understand critical perspectives and the use of critical theory tools (hegemony, unequal power relations) to unpack new formations of colonization. There is further need to understand more profoundly what we are resisting – or how colonization is being perpetrated in order that our resistances can be more accurate, fitting and ultimately transforming.

iv. *Praxicality*, There is a need to constantly engage in a critical cycle of action, reflection and reaction. This is important in order to maintain transforming work that is up to date and relevant. Praxis is important because the reflections are done with the communities whom we are purporting to work for. In this way the important notions of 'transparency', 'collective action and responsibility' and 'renewal' can be continuously reviewed.

v. *Transformability.* Māori researchers and research for Māori must work for change. This is because, for the most part, the status quo is not working. There is need to develop a 'theory of change', that is we need to be deliberate and intentional about change, not simply undertake change in 'hopeful' manner. ) Māori, through and within education and schooling, need to become change-makers / transformers. There is a need to move beyond a focus on 'individual self-interest' to also emphasizing our 'collective Māori interests'; there is a need to move beyond the 'one size fits all' approach. In this sense my challenge is that researchers interested in making a real difference must have critical skills that enable a more accurate analysis of our social, cultural and economic condition in order to generate solutions that will be more accurate and effective. Everyone Māori person ought to become a transformer and therefore go out and change the world: <u>become</u> the change; <u>be</u> the difference!

These five tests of Kaupapa Māori transforming praxis are important in order to ensure that the transforming intention is maintained in such an approach. In this sense, Māori researchers and those who engage in Māori research need to be engaged in transforming work. Indeed Māori researchers need to become transformers in order to make a difference to the high levels of Māori educational marginalization. I

deliberately use the phrase 'become a transformer' to invoke the need to counter the technocratic, positivistic capture of education. We must assume our 'agency' as human actors, as 'thinking beings' and where things need to be challenged, become 'change agents'.


**Conclusion:**

Where are we up to in Aotearoa – New Zealand? We have had a 25 year revolution in developing education and schooling strategies to develop language and cultural revitalization. The alternative Māori pre-school and elementary school initiatives have made great progress in New Zealand – although there have been a some outstanding successes and other schools that need more support. These alternative elements have grown and currently being renewed and reinvigorated. The Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (tribal-university) is one of three alternative Higher Education options. It currently has some 6,000 students, 95% of whom are Māori. It teaches a range of courses, Humanities, Tourism, Teacher Education, Nursing, Matauranga Māori, Performing Arts, Indigenous Management Studies, Environmental Science, and range of other programmes. It has three Schools. A School of Iwi Development, a School of Undergraduate Studies and a School of Graduate Studies. One successful initiative that has been developed for Māori doctoral development called the MAI programme. This programme targeted the development of 500 Māori PhDs in five years. This has been achieved (in six years not five) and we are well on the way to the next 500.

In order to keep faith with the time, I want to summarize some key points about our struggle for Māori development in Aotearoa. In this sense 'Struggle' is seen positively. Struggle is important as it can provide clarity of what we are <u>for</u> as well as what we are <u>against</u>. Struggle can make us more committed and determined to bring about transforming outcomes. With respect to our Māori situation;

<u>Our struggle is now</u> – Tomorrow is too late – today is tomorrow – we can not afford to continue to wait; to continue deciding on how we might react; to continue waiting for some-one else to come up with the answer; to continue to rely on others to lead. In regard to our cultural survival everyone must become a leader. Urgency is of the

utmost priority to the extent that our 'talking' should not be about what we <u>might</u> do but about what we <u>have</u> done.

<u>Our struggle is not one struggle</u> – it is multiple struggles that occur in many places - often simultaneously. Our resistance has to be the same – to many sites of incursion often at the same time. We need to move beyond being the recipients of the 'single policy' approach with respect to government intervention strategies.  The fact that the majority of our peoples still remain socially and economically marginalized are evidence that selected policy formation has had limited effect. We must announce that selected and singular policy interventions are insufficient. There is no 'silver bullet', no 'magic pill', or no 'single policy'. There is need to invest in 'change' on a broad range of fronts, a 360' approach. Some of these investments in change we need to take responsibility for ourselves, others are situated in the public policy domain.

<u>Our struggle is with ourselves</u>; it rests not just on the individual, but also on our families, on our communities, on our tribes, on our peoples as a whole. We must defend our cultural propensity towards 'collectivity' and to revitalize and re - empower our cultural ways of knowing, being and acting. We need to reinstate, value and practice the collaborative power that resides in the collective. We should not shrink from our cultural responsibilities, knowledge, and practices. We must re-center the values of reciprocity, sharing, respecting each other, as families, as tribes as communities as lifetime guardians of our environment. We must understand the tension that exists between individual rights on the one hand and communal responsibility on the other. It is not just about what '<u>I</u>' can do, but also more about what '<u>we</u>' can do responsibly and collectively.

<u>Our struggle is to be positive and proactive</u>. We must move beyond being negative and reactive. Our struggle must shift from over emphasizing our pathology but to accentuating our wellbeing. We cannot afford to remain trapped or debilitated by our historical discontent. While we should not forget our history, we must use it as lever for building and transforming our futures. We must name our own world and futures, if we procrastinate others will do it for us.

<u>Our struggle is to become more self-determining</u>. Indigenous communities who live in colonized situations of unequal power relations often need to break away from the disempowerment of social and economic dependency and to assume increased power and responsibility for their own well-being. We must move beyond the rhetoric of self-determination (an outcome) to being self-determining (a process). In other words we must enact self-determination in our every day, every hour, every minute practice, not just hold it as utopian ideal. We must recognize the incremental victories along the pathway to our transformative vision. This <u>not</u> a movement away or against dominant cultures – it is a positive assertion about the need to <u>also make space</u> for minority cultures and to proactively protect languages and cultures that might be at risk. More often it is also about protecting the original cultures and languages that belong in the soil and landscapes of countries that have been colonized.

<u>Our struggle is for our minds</u>. There is a need to understand our own complicity in forming our own domination, exploitation and oppression. We need to educate ourselves out of false consciousness and to free our minds from hegemony. Education has been a major factor in embedding indigenous inferiority. We must reclaim the power of education to act in our interests. An important de-colonizing act therefore, is to struggle over the <u>meaning</u> and <u>intention</u> of education and schooling. It needs to serve all peoples and not simply be a means to reproduce dominant cultural expectations at the expense of indigenous interests.

**Post-script:**
These are some of the insights and reflections that we have learned along the way of our educational revolution. These are important considerations for us in NZ (and perhaps in other indigenous contexts). I provide this overview and summary of our Māori progress to date as we contemplate the renewal of our educational revolution. This renewal is a vital part of our struggle to live meaningful lives as Māori citizens within our own country.

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## Glossary of Māori Terms

| | |
|---|---|
| ako | teach, learn |
| ao | world |
| Aotearoa | New Zealand |
| aroha | love, respect, sympathy |
| awhina | assist, help |
| haka | vigorous action dance |
| hapu | sub-tribe |
| hinengaro | mind, intellect |
| hongi | press noses in greeting |
| hui | formal Māori meeting |
| iwi | tribe |
| kai | food |
| kaiako | teacher |
| Kainga | village, home |
| karakia | incantation, chant |
| karanga | ritual call of welcome |
| kaumatua | elder |
| kaupapa | philosophy |
| kaupapa Māori | Māori philosophy and practice |
| kaupapa Pakeha | Non-Māori practice and custom |
| kohanga reo | lit. (`the language nest') pre-school centres |
| korero | speak |
| kuia | elder (woman) |
| kura | school |
| kura kaupapa Māori | Kaupapa Māori immersion primary schools |
| kura tuarua | Kaupapa Māori immersion secondary schools |
| mana | status, prestige, dignity |
| manaakitanga | hospitality |
| mana wahine | power of women |
| manuhiri | visitors |
| Māoritanga | Māori culture |
| marae | formal Māori meeting venues |
| matauranga Māori | traditional Māori knowledge |

| | |
|---|---|
| matua | parent |
| mihi | greeting |
| mohiotanga | practical knowledge |
| mokopuna | grandchild |
| nga tai whakararo | the downward tides |
| nga tai whakarunga | the upward tides |
| ngakau | emotions |
| Ngati Porou | Tribal group, East Coast of the North Island |
| orite | equity, balance |
| Pakeha | non-Māori, mainly European New Zealanders |
| Papatuanuku | Mother Earth |
| powhiri | ceremony of  welcome |
| rangatiratanga | chieftainship, control |
| Ranginui | Father Sky |
| raranga | weaving |
| reo rua | bilingual |
| rohe | region |
| roimata | tears |
| taha Māori | Māori perspective |
| taha tinana | physical health |
| tahuhu | main ridge pole of the house |
| tangata kuare | ignorant person |
| tangata mohio | knowledgeable person |
| tangata whenua | literally people of the land, indigenous people |
| tangihanga | burial ceremony |
| taonga | property |
| tapu | restricted, sacred |
| tauira | student, learner |
| tauiwi | foreigner, non-Māori |
| Te Aho Matua | guiding philosophy for Kura Kaupapa Māori |
| Te Kauae Runga | esoteric knowledge |
| Te Kauae Raro | practical knowledge |
| Te Moana Nui A Kiwa | Pacific Ocean |

| | |
|---|---|
| Te Tiriti o Waitangi | The Treaty of Waitangi (1840) |
| Te Waka a Maui | South Island (the canoe of Maui), |
| Te Wai Pounamu | South Island |
| teina | younger sibling |
| tikanga Māori Māori | protocol and customary practice |
| tino rangatiratanga | autonomy, self determination |
| tohunga | expert, facilitator of ritual |
| tuakana | elder sibling |
| tupuna | ancestor |
| tupuna tawhito | eponymous ancestor |
| turangawaewae | standing place |
| utu | payment, reciprocity |
| waiata | song |
| waka | canoe |
| Wānanga | institution of higher learning, to study in depth |
| whaikorero | formal speech |
| whakaaro | thought |
| whakahihi | boast, arrogance |
| whakaiti | humility, humble |
| whakama | reserved, retiring, shy |
| whakapapa | genealogy |
| whakataukii | proverbial saying |
| whanau | extended family |
| whanaunga | relatives |
| whangai | feed, Māori adoption process |
| whare | house |
| whare Wānanga | house of higher learning |
| whenua | land |