

**A LITERATURE REVIEW ON *KAUPAPA MAORI* AND
MAORI EDUCATION PEDAGOGY**

Prepared for

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by

IRI



**The International Research Institute for
Maori and Indigenous Education**

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Mihi

E nga reo, e nga mana, Tena koutou katoa.

He mihi whanui tenei ki a koutou e awahi nei i tenei kaupapa.

He putanga tenei mahi rangahau na koutou.

No reira, e rau rangatira ma tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

Research Team

The research team for this research project is Dr Leonie Pihama (Te Atiawa, Ngati Mahanga), Ms Kaapua Smith, Ms Jenny Lee, Ms Mereana Taki. Advisor to the project is Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith. The research was conducted under the auspices of the International Research Institute for *Maori* and Indigenous Education and was contracted through UniServices. The International Research Institute for *Maori* and Indigenous Education (IRI) was established in 1997 and is situated in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Auckland. The Institute consists of a multi-disciplinary group of mainly *Maori* academics with a proven record in research. The *Kaupapa* of IRI is to conduct and disseminate research, scholarship and debate which make a positive difference to the lives of *Maori* and other indigenous peoples, by drawing together a group of highly skilled and respected scholars who are dedicated to quality outcomes in *Maori* and indigenous education.

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UniServices was the contracting agency for the present project.

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OPENING DISCUSSION

This literature review provides an overview of *Kaupapa Maori* principles and practices, which form the basis for *Maori* educational pedagogy. Furthermore it includes some examples of key notions in *Kaupapa Maori* service provision. *Kaupapa Maori* principles and practices are inseparable and considered dialectical and enable us to understand key elements that provide for a contemporary expression of *Maori* pedagogy.

The purpose of this review is to contribute to the ITPNZ project *Critical success factors for effective use of e-learning with Maori learners*. The contribution of The International Research Institute for *Maori* and Indigenous Education (IRI) is outlined here.

The subcontract states that the background report and review will focus on research evidence for the critical success factors for *Maori* adult learning, including:

- *Maori* formal schooling development from 1816 to the present
- *Kaupapa Maori* education philosophies, including pre-colonial and key educational and pedagogical elements
- Evidence of theory and effective practices for adult *Maori* learners
- Relationships with other indigenous experiences, including e-learning
- e-learning with adult *Maori* learners.

It is noted that as an outcome of the literature review process the team has focused most specifically on the area of *Maori* educational philosophies and pedagogical elements. Since presenting the draft report to ITPNZ we have developed some specific pedagogical areas in more depth and included a discussion of 'ako' as a concept that relates to the wider definition of pedagogy within a *Maori* context. As such there has been a need to prioritise certain aspects of the review process, this has been necessary also as a result of the limited time frame within which this background paper has been developed. Indigenous references are included where appropriate, however it is noted that time

constraints have limited this part of the review.

The priority areas for the literature review are (i) *Maori* formal schooling development from 1816 to the present and (ii) *Kaupapa Maori* education philosophies, including pre-colonial and key educational and pedagogical elements. It is the view of the research team that the elements discussed in relation to these two areas are transferable across sectors and specific groups of students. The transferable nature of *Kaupapa Maori* has been strongly argued by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) in his doctoral thesis. As such the theory and practices inherent within *Maori* pedagogy are laid out in more general terms and where information specific to *Maori* adult learners is available that has been included in the discussion.

There is however an area that does not receive discussion in this review, that being e-learning with adult *Maori* learners. The time constraints has meant that limited time has been available to review these areas. It appeared evident to us that the critical literature and discussion was that surrounding *Maori* pedagogy and as such intense time and space has been dedicated to adequately covering that material. Given that a corresponding e-learning literature review is being undertaken we expect that the material directly related to *Maori* and e-learning, and to Indigenous Peoples involvement with e-learning, would be included in that review. What we have provided is a significant piece of work that provides a discussion of *Maori* educational philosophies and pedagogies that will act as a guide for those working in the wider *Maori* and e-learning project being undertaken by ITPNZ.

This report will provide the workshop participants and others with a general understanding of *Maori* pedagogy to support the development of e-learning pedagogies with *Maori*. As noted above the notion of critical success factors is discussed in the report in relation to *Kaupapa Maori* and traditional *Maori* educational philosophies and pedagogies. The report does not provide a formulaic approach to what constitutes critical success factors rather the approach we have

taken is to outline key concepts and practices that have been identified within the literature as critical to a *Maori* pedagogical approach and which a range of expert authors believe to be critical to successful *Maori* learning and teaching processes.

The report has been written so that it may be used by those with no or little understanding of *Kaupapa Maori* education philosophies as a basis for considering the implications for enhancing learning outcomes for *Maori* learners in tertiary education settings. It is noted that IRI operates within a *Kaupapa Maori* research framework and the discussion of this methodological approach is where we will commence the review.

Kaupapa Maori & Maori pedagogy: A Literature Review

Te manu kai i te miro nona te ngahere.

Te manu kai i te matauranga nona te ao.

The birds that feeds of the *miro* theirs is the forest of Tane

Those that draw sustenance from the tree of knowledge theirs is the world.

INTRODUCTION: AN OVERVIEW OF KAUPAPA MAORI

According to Tuakana Nepe (1991) *Kaupapa Maori* derives from distinctive cultural epistemological and metaphysical foundations. This is further argued by Dr Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1996) who states

The concept of *Kaupapa* implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about those ideas and practices. Nepe argues that *Kaupapa Maori* is a conceptualisation of *Maori* knowledge.

Kaupapa Maori is not new but has its foundations that reach well beyond the colonisation of these lands. As Leonie Pihama (1993) notes

In the New Zealand context distinctive modes of theorising have emerged, from *Maori* communities, which have as a common element the validation of *Te Reo* and *Tikanga Maori*. These movements have been framed under a range of broad terms, '*Tino rangatiratanga*', '*Maori Sovereignty*', '*Maori perspectives*', and '*Kaupapa Maori*'. These modes of analysis and theory are by no means contemporary phenomena. Since colonisation *Maori* people have been actively asserting their positioning in this land as *Tangata Whenua*. Inherent in these struggles has been an ongoing demand for the recognition and legitimisation of *Te Reo Maori* and *Tikanga*.

The marginalisation of *Maori* has meant the privileging of *Pakeha* knowledges over *Maori* knowledges. This privileging originates from processes of colonisation and the imposition of colonial institutions. The existing education system is but one of these institutions. There are many such institutions. This is also an area within which the contestation related to processes of knowledge selection has been vigorously undertaken by *Maori*.

As a part of that struggle we have seen contemporary expressions of *Kaupapa Maori* develop within the education system. Their development and ongoing survival has been driven by *Maori. Te Kohanga Reo* (Immersion Maori Language Nests) and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* (Immersion Maori Language Primary Schools) are two well known examples. *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* developed as resistance to a mainstream *Pakeha* centered system that failed to address key needs of *Maori*. As a founding member of *Kura Kaupapa Maori* in *Tamaki Makaurau* (Auckland Isthmus), Graham Hingangaroa Smith has argued that *Kura Kaupapa Maori* is a successful intervention for *Maori*. One of the key elements is that the development originated from and is driven by *Maori*. Within *Kura Kaupapa Maori* key features are consistently evident.

Contemporary expressions of *Kaupapa Maori* have been summarised by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1990:100) in the following way:

A *Kaupapa Maori* base (*Maori* philosophy and principles) i.e. local theoretical positioning related to being *Maori*, such a position presupposes that:

- the validity and legitimacy of *Maori* is taken for granted
- the survival and revival of *Maori* language and culture is imperative
- the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives is vital to *Maori* survival.

These features speak not to content per se, but to *Maori* aspirations, philosophies, processes and pedagogies, which are consistently found within successful *Maori* interventions. The term intervention is used in this sense to relate to the need, to bring about specific positive transformation in the experiences and positioning of *Maori*.

Where much existing material related to *Kaupapa Maori* initiatives is located within the *Maori* education field, *Kaupapa Maori* is not limited to any one sector. Graham Smith (ibid.) notes that *Kaupapa Maori* is relevant to all aspects of society. The success elements that are evident in *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* derive from wider *Maori* knowledges, they are inherently a part of *tikanga* *Maori*. *Kaupapa Maori* can not be seen to be bound to any one sector (for example

education or justice) as *Kaupapa Maori* does not know the parameters that are a part of defining those sectors. Those parameters are defined within western philosophies not *Kaupapa Maori*.

Locating *Kaupapa Maori* as an intervention strategy, Smith, Fitzsimons and Roderick (1998) highlight the following:

Kaupapa Maori encompasses the social change or intervention elements that are common across many different sites of *Maori* cultural struggle, and as the collective set of key intervention elements in the *Maori*-driven, cultural resistance initiatives.

There is a growing body of literature regarding *Kaupapa Maori* theories and practices that assert a need for *Maori* to develop initiatives for change that are located within distinctly *Maori* frameworks (Smith. L. & Cram, F. 1997).

As Graham Smith (1997) has articulated, *Kaupapa Maori* initiatives develop intervention and transformation at the level of both 'institution' and 'mode'. The mode can be understood in terms of the pedagogy, the curriculum and evaluation. The institutional level is the physical component; economics; power; ideology and constructed notions of democracy. *Kaupapa Maori* challenges the political context of unequal power relations and associated structural impediments.

Smith (1997:273) makes the point however, that transforming the mode and the institution is not sufficient. It is the political context of unequal power relations that must be challenged and changed. In short

Kaupapa Maori strategies question the right of *Pakeha* to dominate and exclude *Maori* preferred interests in education, and asserts the validity of *Maori* knowledge, language, custom and practice, and its right to continue to flourish in the land of its origin, as the *tangata whenua* (indigenous) culture.

Kaupapa Maori thus challenges, questions and critiques expressions of dominant *Pakeha* hegemony. In doing so *Kaupapa Maori* engages with and seeks to intervene in and transform unequal power relations that exist within *Aotearoa* and

which continue to subordinate *Maori* aspirations (Pihama 2001). Further to this, Bishop and Glynn (1999) refer to *Kaupapa Maori* as the “flourishing of a proactive *Maori* political discourse.” For these writers *Kaupapa Maori* is a movement and a consciousness. Since the 1980s with the advent of *Te Kohanga Reo*, *Kaupapa Maori* has become an influential, coherent philosophy and practice for *Maori* conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis, advancing *Maori* cultural and educational outcomes within education.

Graham Smith (1997) asserts that *Kaupapa Maori* is transferable across and within the various sectors. As such the key elements pertain to all educational sites within which *Maori* are located. *Kaupapa Maori* is not restricted to only *Te Kohanga Reo* or *Kura Kaupapa Maori* but has application across age groups and educational forms. This is highlighted in the report ‘*Te Kawai Ora*’ which focuses upon *Maori* adult literacy. The report states

The starting point of this discussion is the validation and affirmation of the *Maori* world view, of *Maori* knowledge, *matauranga whanau, hapu, iwi, Maori*. Starting from the notion of the *Maori* world view the group explored a range of themes, including how *Maori* pedagogies are framed within the world view. They talked about making a line in the sand and looking at what is *Maori* about *Maori* pedagogies. Being located within the methodology of *kaupapa Maori* was critical, as was the expression of *rangatiratanga* expressed as ‘by *Maori* for *Maori*’. (ibid: 68)

The report provides a range of examples of how adult *Maori* literacy programmes drawn from a *Maori* worldview for developing the pedagogical approach. For example a description is given by Te Ripowai Higgins is cited as providing the following account of the inclusion of the notion ‘*kia ngakau mahaki*’ within the pedagogy of *Te Ataarangi* (Adult *Maori* language programme).

Part of the *korero* was about the connection between Te Kooti and the *Maori* world view. She told us of Te Kooti changing his ways to *rangimarie, rongopai, and ngawari*. When Ngoi Pewhairangi called the first National *Te Ataarangi hui*, Te Ripowai told us that she advised the *hui* to take the *kaupapa* back to *Mangatu*. From this place, the *turangawaewae* and *tipuna* it represented the *kaupapa* of ‘*kia ngakau mahaki*’ came into play. (ibid:68)

The term ‘*kia ngakau mahaki*’ is also referred to in the *Kura Kaupapa Maori* philosophy document ‘*Te Aho Matua*’ (Nepe 1991) and in this context may be seen

to refer to having a gentle mannered approach. What this discussion indicates is that *Maori* pedagogy is sourced from a *Maori* worldview and within *te reo* and *tikanga Maori* (Maori protocols). According to Tuakana Mate Nepe (1991) the doctrine of *Te Aho Matua* provides a philosophical foundation for the education of the *Maori* child.

Te Aho Matua is a philosophical doctrine that incorporates the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of *Maori* society that have emanated from a purely *Kaupapa Maori* metaphysical base. As a product of the combination of *Kaupapa Maori* metaphysics and *Maori* societal relationships, *Te Aho Matua* sets standards and pedagogical procedures for the significance of *Kaupapa Maori* education as a system of intervention that is highly applicable today. (Nepe 1991:41)

Having some understanding of *Kaupapa Maori* developments is essential to understanding the ways in which contemporary *Maori* educational philosophies are currently being articulated. It also provides a framework by which to read this review. *Kaupapa Maori* is, in fact, what has guided our approach to this literature review and which has informed how we have shaped the material. As a part of a *Kaupapa Maori* approach it is critical that the reader be provided with a context within which to locate the knowledge included in this review, as such there is a need to present (i) an overview of *Maori* pedagogy as defined within *Maori* concepts and *tikanga*, and (ii) an overview of the ways in which the development of *Pakeha* schooling and the implanting of western ideologies (Bedggood 1980) has impacted upon *Maori* pedagogy. The next section serves this purpose.

AKONGA MAORI: IDENTIFYING PRE-COLONIAL MAORI PEDAGOGIES

Ako is a traditional *Maori* concept that can be translated as *Maori* pedagogy. In tradition-based *Maori* society, *ako* was an educative process that was integral in the creation, conceptualisation, transmission and articulation of *Maori* knowledge. More recently the term *ako* has appeared in some of the New Zealand educational literature as *Maori* and other educators alike, seek to improve the disparities in *Maori* academic achievement.

The difficulty in attempting a description of *ako* is that there is no clear separation between *ako* and other *Maori* cultural concepts. *Ako* was determined by and dependent on *Maori* epistemologies, values, knowledge and constructions of the world. In a description of *ako* as a *Maori* educational framework, Pere states “[traditional] institutions do not stand in isolation, but actually merge into each other” (1990:5). It was in the interconnections and fusion of *Maori* cultural notions that furnished *ako* with meaning. To fully describe *ako* would require explanations of an enormous array of other concepts.

Apart from the more formal teaching and learning of esoteric and sacred knowledge that took place between *tohunga* (experts) and *tauirā* (students) within the *whare wananga* (formal places of higher learning), *ako* was not bound by age, gender or social status in tradition-based *Maori* society. In the article “Traditional *Maori* Education”, Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1993) provide insight into the ways in which pre-colonial education has been documented. The article affirms the existence of a traditional functional system of ‘education’, and outlines some of the key concepts and methods used in the education process. This article critiques works by early ethnographers such as Best, Buck and Smith as being overly descriptive (i.e. The generalisation from the observation of single incidents), overly interpretative (the use of *Pakeha* concepts to describe *Maori* practices) and ethnocentric. The authors argue that the most productive sources of information have been sourced from manuscripts and personal descriptions of *Maori* themselves, such as the writings of Nepia Pahuhu, Te Matorohanga and Koneke.

Smith and Smith (ibid.) view '*akonga*' as being both informal and formal. In the informal learning and teaching process, important life skills related to survival were taught through everyday living and activities. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1986) indicates that knowledge was considered *tapu* and therefore sanctions were put in place that ensured it was protected, used appropriately and transmitted with accuracy. This too was a part of the wider belief that knowledge served the interests of the collective. Formal *akonga* refers to controlled or restricted knowledge. These forms of knowledge were guarded by *tikanga* and restricted by *tapu* (sacredness). This form of knowledge was passed on through *whare wananga* and separated into two distinct forms, *Te kauae runga* and *Te kauae raro* (These forms are discussed later in the review in more depth).

Hirini Moko Mead (2003) discusses traditional methods and ideas of learning, with particular emphasis on *wananga*, or houses of learning. The article provides a base understanding for how learning and teaching was carried out in traditional *Maori* society. He describes that both women and men were separated into different houses of learning. The *whanau* (the extended family) as a whole played an integral part in the education of the child by observing children's talents, encouraging learning and in some circumstances choosing specialist education for those children with exceptional skills or traits.

A number of authors indicate that the early education of *Maori* children was couched within the structure of '*whanaungatanga*' (relationships and connections between *whanau*) (Te Rangi Hiroa 1949, Makareti 1986, Hohepa 1990, Ka'ai 1990, Pere 1991, Royal-Tangaere 1992). Particular members of the *whanau* were selected as *kaitiaki* (guardians) of some forms of knowledge. For the child the earliest "personal instruction" was received from their *tipuna* (grandparents), this was made possible due to the *whanau* living arrangements (Te Rangi Hiroa 1949). The child lived within an environment that embraced at least three generations and was exposed to a lifestyle that allowed for their nurturing and education from their elders. Makareti (1986) describes how children were taught all aspects of life through living and sleeping with their parents, grandparents, granduncles through whom they would learn of folk-lore, traditions, legends, *whakapapa* (genealogical connections), *karakia*

(incantation) and of their relationship to the land, sea, rivers, mountains, forests, birds and all aspects of nature. Te Rangi Hiroa (1949) also advances such a notion, and provides the following example.

A friend of mine, little older than myself was brought up by a Grand-uncle who still thought that young chiefs should be trained to become successful military leaders. They slept in the same room in separate beds. In the early mornings, the old man went outside to satisfy certain needs. On his return, he slapped the sleeping child and went back to his bed muttering his disappointment. This went on for some time, until one memorable morning the now apprehensive child heard the old man leave the room. When he returned to slap the sleeper, the child gazed up at him with wide open eyes. A pleased look came to the old man's eyes and he returned to his bed saying "Now I have a grandchild who will be a bulwark of defence to his tribe". After that they played a game. Some mornings the man got up earlier, others later, but always the child gazed up at him wide awake. The training had had its effect, and the child roused at the slightest sound. (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1949:359)

The learning process for the young child took many forms and included both practical type exercises as outlined above, and through the medium of stories, games, *waiata* (song), *karakia*, *whakapapa* and much more, all of which provided the child with explanations as to their place in the scheme of things, their positioning in society, descriptions of places, events and people of historical significance, aspects of tribal lore necessary for the child to be knowledgeable of and the day to day expectations of them within the *whanau*. The education of *Maori* children may therefore be expressed within a philosophy that seeks to prepare the child for all aspects of living and in order to ensure that each child will ultimately have the opportunity to take an active, participatory role within *Maori* society. Teaching and learning was not a "bits and pieces" process but was an "integrated developmental type of philosophy" (Pere 1986:2), which sought at all times to acknowledge and validate the 'absolute uniqueness' of the child and their position in their *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* (ibid.). As people became more competent the form of pedagogy would change, with one means by which knowledge was transmitted being through the varied forms of *Whare Wananga* and in the informal everyday teachings of life (Kaa 1987).

Mead further discusses the nature of traditional education as being intertwined with religion and ritual.

The traditional schools of learning were religious in nature, and in all pursuits of learning there were rituals to observe. Learning and the act of teaching were not

ordinary or common. The importance of the act of acquiring knowledge was emphasised by surrounding the event with rituals. Religion was not separated from education. Learning was elevated high above the pursuits of the community. (Mead 2003:307)

According to Pere, “Traditional *Maori* learning rested on the principle that every person is a learner from the time they are born (if not before) to the time they die” (1994:54). Everyone was in a constant state of learning and therefore teaching because as well as the individual, the collective benefited through the transmission of knowledge (Nepe, 1991).

Maori knowledge was highly valued; it was seen as vital for the social, economic, political as well as spiritual sustenance of a *whanau* (family), *hapu* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe) groupings. The *mana* (power and prestige) of each group was dependent on the way in which the knowledge of each group was protected, developed and practiced. The way in which knowledge was transmitted was through the process of *ako*. *Ako* was based on the knowledge that pertained to the interests of the wider group, knowledge that ensured the physical and spiritual wellbeing, the uniqueness of the each *iwi*. We can again look to the discussion of *Te Aho Matua* as provided by Tuakana Nepe (1991). Nepe (ibid) provides a detailed discussion of *Te Aho Matua* and the six fundamental elements that it embraces: *Te Ira Tangata*, *Te Reo*, *Nga Iwi*, *Te Ao*, *Ahuatanga Ako* and *Te Tino Uaratanga*. Each element is connected in a philosophy that comprises a holistic perception of *Maori* children and their education. *Te Aho Matua* establishes the imperativeness of positive educating of *Maori* children. The *Maori* child is a “descendant of *Maori* ancestry that link back to *Io Matua Kore*” and hence the nurturing, rearing of the child relates not solely to the child but to their entire ancestral lineage (ibid.). As a philosophy *Te Aho Matua* provides clear structures for the raising and education of the *Maori* child and operates from a *Kaupapa Maori* knowledge base that assumes the absolute validity of *Te Reo* and *Tikanga Maori* and which embraces concepts that instill a respect and love for the dignity of all people and languages. Furthermore *Te Aho Matua* locates all *Maori* people within the complex interrelationships that exist in *Maori* society establishing clearly defined relationships between *Maori* people (for indepth discussion refer Nepe 1991).

Given that knowledge was primarily to benefit the collective, education in tradition-based *Maori* society was inclusive, co-operative, reciprocal and obligatory. Metge (1986) refers to the all-encompassing nature of *ako* as “education through exposure” (ibid:3). She describes teaching and learning as “informal, semi-continuous, embedded in the ongoing life of the community, open and inclusive” (ibid.). One of the ways that the seamlessness of *ako* was managed was through the informality that surrounded learning. Children and adolescents were never excluded in everyday contexts, including formal social gatherings and ‘adult conversations’ (Hiroa, 1982). The young had many opportunities to learn etiquette, protocols, family and tribal issues and connections through *whaikorero* (formal speeches), *waiata*, and discussions on the *marae* (meeting places) and in the *kainga* (homes).

The idea that *ako* was constant does not mean that *ako* occurred in an unorganized fashion. On the contrary *ako* was conducted through various learner-teacher relationships. Nepe (1991) identifies the following kinship relationships as central in the transmission of knowledge in traditional *Maori* society; *kaumatua - kuia* (elders); *matua - whaea* (parents); *tuakana - teina* (elder and younger siblings of the same gender) *tuahine - tungane* (siblings); *tama-tamahine* (children); *tipuna whaea/tipuna matua – mokopuna* (grandparents – grandchildren) at various *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* levels. Everyone, in particular the children, were exposed to teachings from each group of people at various times based on the range of activities in daily life. The complexities and inter-connectedness of these relationships are key to understanding the way in which *ako* operates.

While each group had a significant role to play, Nepe (1991) argues that *tipuna whaea/tipuna matua – mokopuna* (grandparents – grandchildren), were the most “intimately bonded” (ibid:30) and fundamental of these relationships. The grandparents were usually responsible for the daily care of the young, so it was through a caring and nurturing relationship between the child and the grandparent that learning and teaching transpired. The elders were treasured because they were viewed as a conduit of cultural knowledge between the past, present and future. Hemara (2000) identifies *waiata* as ‘mixed media’ or ‘educational tools’ that

were used to teach very young children about things such as tribal lore, genealogical origins, to commemorate feats and tragedies, encourage them to avenge deaths and take on leadership roles. *Whakatauki* (proverbs), too, provided lessons about all spheres of life, while *korero tawhito* (old stories) served implicitly to express expectations through the sharing of historical information - not only about individual and *whanau* but political relationships between *hapu* and *iwi*. It was the elders that were most knowledgeable about inter and intra-relationships of *whanau, hapu and iwi*, and who provided wise counsel to the younger generations. In short, Nepe (1991) says:

the tipuna (elder) has the role of transmitting to the mokopuna (grandchild) knowledge that will develop the child's intellect to 'think *Maori*' as well as to nurture the child's wairua to 'feel and be *Maori*' (p. 31).

Ako was embedded within these intimate familial relationships that precipitated the cultural conditions of teaching and learning not only knowledge, skills and abilities but instilling a sense of the spiritual realm, the politics of the social and economic world, as well as values that included the core issues of identity and belonging.

In turn, kinship relationships existed within the wider framework of *whakapapa*. Usually translated as 'genealogy', *whakapapa* was more than an issue of identity through genealogical connections. It provided explanations for the origins and present position of all things. *Whakapapa* informed who we are, how we are connected to each other, what *whakapapa* means in our social relationships and why it matters. It also set up a relational framework governed by notions of reciprocity. *Whakapapa* also underpins *Maori* relationships with the natural environment and spiritual realm through *Papatuanuku* (Earth Mother), *Ranginui* (Sky Father) and our many *atua* (gods/godesses) that make up the *Maori* world.

An integral part of *ako* was the metaphysical dimension. *Ako* was sanctioned in various ways through *karakia* and *tikanga*. Traditionally, the physical realm was not detached from the spiritual realm. Just as there were physical requirements in order to effectively teach and learn, so too were there spiritual implications (Pere, 1988). For instance, an important part of becoming an expert in fields such as carving, weaving and cultivation was knowing the rituals that recognised the *atua*

(goddesses/gods) of that particular knowledge. Ceremonies that initiated students into particular disciplines were considered vital in facilitating more effective teaching and learning. For instance, children did not only learn to plant and harvest crops, but they also became familiar with *atua* associated with horticulture, the deities responsible for seasonal growth and plenty, as well as the ancestors who were famous as food producers.

Ako as *Maori* pedagogy is derived from a need to transmit, maintain and further expand *Maori* knowledge and therefore must be seen in relation to the ways in which *Maori* knowledge is understood. Fundamental beliefs in regards to *matauranga Maori* (*Maori* knowledge) and its origins in the physical world is conveyed within the *korero* on *Nga kete Wananga*, the three *kete* of knowledge. *Maori* Marsden (1988) outlined the existence of three sacred baskets of knowledge. Within these baskets rested three intertwining paradigms relating to celestial knowledge; esoteric knowledge and knowledge pertaining to the physical universe of 'sense perception' or 'constructed' world. Marsden (1988) identified that *Maori* paradigms begin from the position of the world 'behind' this world of constructed reality is the world *Maori* consider to be the 'ultimate reality'. In this view, *Maori* are direct descendents of our *atua*. Our language is also our heritage handed us through *atua* and *tupuna*. Knowledge then is viewed as having a dual structure, a sacred inner corpus and a general or every day corpus of knowledge.

Tuakana Nepe (1991) emphasises that *Kaupapa Maori* knowledge is distinctive to *Maori* society because it has its origins in the metaphysical. *Kaupapa Maori* she states is a 'body of knowledge' accumulated by the experiences through history, of the *Maori* people" (Nepe 1991:4). For her, this knowledge form is distinctive to *Maori* in that it derives fundamentally from *Maori* epistemologies that include complex relationships and ways of organising society. She argues that this distinctive nature of *Kaupapa Maori* is seen in the ways in which *Maori* conceptualise relationships:

the concept of the relationship between the living and the dead; life and death; the *Maori* concept of time, history and development; the relationships between male and female; individual and group; and the implication of such relationships for social

power relations. These knowledge types and their functions are the content and product of the interconnection of the purely *Maori* metaphysical base and *Maori* societal relationships. (Nepe 1991:5)

Tracing further the origins of *Kaupapa Maori* knowledge Tuakana places its origins in *Rangiatea* which she stated makes it exclusively *Maori*. *Rangiatea* is the first known *Whare Wananga* located in *Te Toi-o-nga-Rangi*, the uppermost domain of the twelve domains that exist within the spiritual realm and the home of *Io-Matua-Kore*, the creator. Nepe writes that from *Io-Matua-Kore* comes the gift of *matauranga Maori*, *Maori* knowledge, brought by *Tane* to the earthly realms in three *kete*, *Te Kete Tuauri*, *Te Kete Tuatea*, *Te Kete Aronui* alongside two *kohatu* (sacred stones) *Hukatai* and *Rehutai*. Within these *kete* was held knowledge of both the celestial and earthly realms and that knowledge provided for the teaching within *Whare Wananga*. Through various *Whare Wananga* knowledge and culture was transmitted. Numerous *Whare Wananga*, each connected to particular knowledge, are known to have made a complex educational system through which knowledge was retained, maintained, developed and transmitted.

Another metaphor which conveys this duality is found within '*te kauwae runga*' and '*te kauwae raro*' as the sacred upper and lower jawbones which symbolise ancestral wisdom and again indicates the existence of sacred and earthly knowledge systems. This metaphor is a way to understand the structure and organisation of the traditional *Whare Wananga* with the '*kauwae runga*' representing esoteric and most sacred knowledge and the '*kauwae raro*' representing the knowledge of daily existence. There is a broad variation between *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* in regards to the names functions and everyday expression of '*nga kete wananga*' and of the range and functions of the various forms of *Whare Wananga*.

To explore in depth the complex systems of *Whare Wananga* is beyond this review, however it is necessary to recognise and acknowledge that our people have always maintained structures and systems of knowledge development and transmission. Some *Whare Wananga* identified by Tuakana Nepe include; *whare-*

wananga, whare-kura, whare-maire, whare-puni, whare-takiura, whare-tatai, whare-pora, whare-mata, whare-takaha and *whare-porukuruku* Nepe indicated that within the *Whare Wananga* exists two teaching divisions;

➤ *kauwae runga* - restricted to celestial knowledge, this included:

cosmogonic genealogies, rituals, *waiata*, narratives and exceedingly difficult, cryptic and elliptical *karakia* (Nepe 1991: 18)

➤ *kauwae raro* - concerned with terrestrial knowledge.

Relating to the origins of '*te ira tangata ki te Ao marama*', that is, from the conception of life within the mother's womb into the World of Light; through the genealogical descent, '*mai i Rangi Tuhaha ki a Papatuanuku, ki a Hine-hau-one*', from the twelve heavens to *Papatuanuku* the Earth Mother, then to *Hine-hau-one* the first woman. (Nepe 1991:18)

Knowledge has always had a central place within *Maori* society and the complexities of knowledge and knowledge transmission recognised in the structures of the *Whare Wananga*. *Kaupapa Maori* is, Tuakana Nepe (ibid) argues, the conceptualisation of *Maori* knowledge transmitted through *te reo Maori*. The centrality of *te reo Maori* is critical in understanding traditional *Maori* pedagogies. *Maori* knowledge has been formed, shaped, constructed and transmitted through an oral tradition. Maori Marsden (1988) relates a notion of the '*kupu*' (word) as the '*kahahu* of sound', the cloak or garment of sound. Sound and vibrations are critical to the transmission of knowledge and can be heard and felt within *te reo Maori*.

The centrality of *te reo Maori me ona tikanga* is voiced powerfully by Rangimarie Rose Pere;

Kotahi te tino taonga ki a ngai taua te Maori, ahakoa te iwi, ahakoa te hapu, ahakoa te whanau, ko to tatau reo rangatira. Ko te reo i heke mai i Rangiatea, te hoki ki nga rangi tuhaha, i whakaparekereketia ai ki te oneone, i tanumia, a, mai i te kohuretanga ake i roto i te oneone nei, i whakatipuria ai, i poipoia ai, i penapenatia ai, i manaakitia ai, i tipu ai, a no te tipunga, ka haumi, ka awhiowhio tona kakara ki nga topito o te ao a ratau ma. Te reo rangatira nei, he wairua kamaatua tona, he momo huna, kia kore e mohio a tauwiwi ki ona hohonutanga, engari te raruraru i tenei wa, he maha nga tangata Maori, kaore i te mohio ki nga hohonutanga, nga whanuitanga o te reo.

The following translation is provided in the publication by Rangimarie herself:

There is one truly great treasure among us *Maori*, no matter which tribe, sub-tribe, or family, and that is our chiefly language. The language which came from *Rangiatea*, the highest heaven of the far-flung heavens, down to earth, was planted here, and thereafter since it was first uncovered in the soil, it was grown, it was cherished, it was nurtured, it was cared for, it grew. Then from its growth, it gradually spread its sweet scent to every corner of the universe of the ancients. This chiefly language has its own spirit of inherent wisdom, it is communication of the abstract, in order that outsiders might not understand its hidden depths. The problem at this time is there are many *Maori* who do not know its depths, or the breadth of the language. (Pere, R. 1999 3-10)

Rangimarie Rose Pere provides us with an understanding of the depth that *te reo Maori* offers us in regards to understanding traditional knowledge forms. In the publication '*Te Wheke*' (1991) Rangimarie Pere also provides multiple examples of the ways in which *te reo Maori* is able to provide us with deeper insight into understanding ourselves as *Maori*. She writes:

Language is the life line and sustenance of a culture. It provides the tentacles that can enable a child to link up with everything in his or her word. It is one of the most important forms of empowerment that a child can have. Language is not only a form of communication but it helps transmit the values and beliefs of a people. (Pere 1991:9)

To example the power of *te reo Maori* to provide understanding of the values and beliefs of *Maori* Rangimarie Pere provides insight into meanings and understandings of specific *kupu Maori* (*Maori* word), for example the role of children is profoundly identified within the *kupu* '*tamariki*'.

Tamariki: *Tama* is derived from *Tama-te-ra* the central sun, the divine spark; *ariki* refers to senior most status, and *riki* on its own can mean smaller version. *Tamariki* is the *Maori* word used for children. Children are the greatest legacy the world community has. (Pere 1997:4)

Such a definition indicates the way in which *Maori* children were viewed within traditional *Maori* society and the key role that they were seen to hold as future leaders. Such a position is affirmed by early records, where it is noted that *Maori* were considered to be overly indulgent of *Maori* children (Salmond 1997).

In a key note address at the '*Kaupapa Maori* Theory and Research *hui*' held at

Waipapa Marae (2004), Kaa Williams stated that there are many layers and depths of *te reo Maori* that operated within *Maori* society and which require specific focus within the current revitalisation processes of *te reo Maori* (see also Pihama 2001). She notes that there are many genre of *te reo Maori* that exist and which transmission particular forms of *matauranga Maori*, some examples of this being *te reo Karakia* (the language of invocation), *te reo Powhiri* (the language of ritual welcome), *te reo Paki* (the language of story narration). This indicates that within *Maori* society there are complex language and knowledge systems and therefore there existed a range of pedagogical approaches that required a range of approaches and processes, and which provides insight into the traditional use of a range of *Whare Wananga*.

Te Kapunga Dewes (1977) contends that the oral tradition of *Maori* means that the transmission of *Maori* knowledge “rests on the foundation of *te reo Maori*” (ibid:46). In this view oracy provides a means for nourishing and sustaining the spirit; firing the imagination and strengthening leadership energies. Dewes (1977) advocates for the restoration of the *Maori* mind, heart and soul. As such it is a ‘living’ tradition which reaches deep into the past moving continuously into the present. Dewes (ibid) further illustrates that oral traditions provide a rich tapestry of positive and potent imagery. He argues that oral traditions are identified as being vibrant; innovative and able to adapt and evolve to be relevant to a contemporary landscape. Teone Tikao (1990), Eruera Stirling (1985), Rangimarie Rose Pere (1982; 1988; 1990; 1991; 1997) and Tuakana Nepe (1991) all remind us of the need to seek *te reo Maori* as a responsibility inherited and as a means of recovery of our life essence, our *mauri ora*. Charles Royal (1993) expresses the view that *te reo Maori* is the primary vehicle for retaining the integrity of our spiritual and intellectual estates. These estates he notes have been

Passed down from parents and elders to children in informal and formal learning situations by vocal expression. Oral literature; in this sense, was recited until it was carved into the house of the mind. (Royal 1993:20)

For aide to understanding this more fully Royal (1993) adds that *Maori* conceptualised the mind (*hinengaro*) as having two parts (i) Memory – *Te Puna Mahara*; and (ii) Thought – *Te Puna Wananga*. He notes that these are then

fused in the spirit which enables, in time, the learner to understand the knowledge that has been imparted. Eruera Stirling (1982) describes the impact of knowledge as follows;

[k]nowledge or *matauranga* is a blessing on your mind, it makes everything clear and guides you to do things in the right way... it is the man [sic] who goes with his spirit and his mind and his heart believing in all these things who will climb to the high summits of leadership. (Stirling 1982:214)

It is argued that *Maori* have complex and sophisticated learning systems through which *matauranga Maori* is transmitted and received. One such system in which *matauranga Maori* is created and transmitted is through the use of *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* is regarded as an analytical tool that has been employed as a means by which to understand the *Maori* world and relationships.

Rangimarie Pere (1982) explains that every *Maori* person is a part of a system of social and genealogical relationships. *Whakapapa*, in this view, acts as a map, assisting people to locate themselves within their descent lines and their relationships to others. Status and responsibility are identified through culturally defined systems. For example key roles and activities within *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* may be decided through a knowledge of *tuakana – teina* relationships (senior – junior relations via descent). Relationships within traditional *Maori* society could be defined and mediated through *whakapapa*. Furthermore knowledge would be transferred through generations through representations and discussions of *whakapapa*. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1996) focuses on *Whakapapa* as having multiple layers and multiple meanings. *Whakapapa* provides an important frame of reference for how *Maori* organise, manage, position and contest relationships. *Whakapapa* also provides as a means of storing, learning, transmitting and inscribing our knowledge. Rangimarie Pere further asserts the role of *Whakapapa* in *Maori* pedagogy when she states that;

[the] *Maori* code is based on ‘*nga tikanga me nga ahuatanga a o tatou tupuna*. (Pere 1982:82)

Which asserts that knowledge is made sense of through a common ground of understanding which arises from a common experience and relationship with our

ancestors who have transmitted key principles and ways of being to us.

Whakapapa provides us with an example of the complex ways in which *Maori* knowledge is transmitted intergenerationally through both a knowledge and recitation of a person's genealogical position and through the transmission of *matauranga Maori* within the stories of *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi*. Andrea Morrison (1999) writes:

Whakapapa links *Maori* as descendants of *Papatuanuku* and *Ranginui* and records an intimate link for *Maori* with the earth and the physical world. We can be linked through *whakapapa* in the varying relationships of *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* to the landscape of tribal areas specifically to mountains, rivers, lakes and sea. *Whakapapa* also means that a person's ancestors populate space through historical time and present time. Historically, places have been named by ancestors and named after them. The stories of ancestors and places they are associated with are recalled in thought, at *hui* and in conversation. (ibid:46)

Those *whakapapa* connections and *korero* that align themselves to *whanau*, *hapu*, *iwi* and *whenua* (the land/ earth) provide a plethora of learning opportunities. This are presented in both formal ways such as *whare wananga* and in less formal situations as described here by Pat Hohepa.

In your own communities, the spaces differ, you know where your *tapu* areas are, where your *marae* is, your burial places, the areas where you traditionally launched your canoes, the areas where the afterbirth is buried or put into trees. If I drive around the country, my feelings about an area depend on what has happened in that area... when I go to *Rotorua*, my feelings for *Hongi's* Track are guided because I am *Nga Puhi*. Whenever I do there I have to stop and put green leaves by the tree at *Hinehopu* (ibid.:47).

In such a framework *whakapapa* is both vehicle and expression of *matauranga Maori*. Rapata Wiri locates *matauranga Maori* as essential to the construction of *Maori* models. *Matauranga Maori* provides a distinct *Maori* epistemology and ways of knowing and draws upon a range of both verbal and non-verbal forms for its expression. Wiri highlights the complexity of definitions of *matauranga Maori* and its multiple elements as follows;

Maori epistemology; the *Maori* way; the *Maori* worldview; the *Maori* style of thought; *Maori* ideology; *Maori* knowledge base; *Maori* perspective; to understand or to be acquainted with the *Maori* world; to be knowledgeable in things *Maori*; to be a graduate of the *Maori* schools of learning; *Maori* tradition and history; *Maori*

experience of history; *Maori* enlightenment; *Maori* scholarship; *Maori* intellectual tradition (Wiri ibid:25).

In identifying non-verbal forms of *matauranga Maori* he highlights some examples as; *whakairo*, *raranga*, *hangarau*, *hanga whare*, and verbal forms as; *whakapapa*, *korero*, *whakatauki*, *waiata*, *kupu whakaari*. Wiri (ibid.) defines these as *whakairo* - carving, *raranga* - weaving, *hangarau* - technology, *hanga whare* - house building, and verbal forms as; *Whakapapa* - genealogy, *korero* - oral narratives, *whakatauki* - proverbs, *waiata* - song, *kupu whakaari* - proverbial sayings. Each of these forms and others contribute to the immense knowledge that is *matauranga Maori*. Rangimarie Rose Pere discusses the necessity of seeing the interrelationship between forms of *matauranga Maori* (Pere 1991).

An in-depth conceptual framework is provided by Rangimarie Rose Pere in her publication 'Ako: Concepts of Learning', where she presents some traditional modes of teaching children within the *Tuhoe* and *Kahungunu iwi* context. She outlines the significance of *tikanga*, and *matauranga Maori* within the context of childrens learning and teaching and explains in-depth some of the key concepts which are inherent in living and being *Maori*. She begins with an overview of some of the key concepts that are inherent in *Maori* culture as a basis for understanding *Maori* epistemological views. These concepts are;

- *Nga Korero a nga Matua tipuna* - The world view from ones forebears
- *Whakapapa* - Reciting things in order, creation myth, geneology
- *Wairua* - Spirituality and associated beliefs
- *Te Reo* - Language and its importance, kinship and tribal identity
- *Whenua* - Placenta, land and its significance
- *Ohaoha* - Production, distribution and consumption of goods, work roles
- *Whanungatanga* - Kinship ties, obligations, loyalty, caring and sharing
- *Papakaiinga* - Territory occupied by a kinship group, associated customs
- *Mauri* - Life principle of inanimate and animate things, talisman, group dynamics
- *Tangihanga-Hahunga* - Ceremonial mourning, exhumation, associated beliefs

- *Mana* - Psychic Influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority

Further to these concepts, Pere further explores notions which are important in the education of the child. These concepts which are related to the epistemological views expressed above and provide discussion around a child's experience in growing up within *Te Ao Maori*, particularly within a *iwi* context.

These concepts are significant in a number of ways. In the first instance, the cultural worldview of the *Maori* is expressed to highlight the unique values, process and world view that they hold, and also to provide a contrast against the everyday 'normal' values held by non-*Maori* (and predominantly *Pakeha*) society. In the second instance, these concepts provide a *Maori* pedagogy, or a *Maori* approach to learning and teaching. This text is key in terms of outlining the building blocks of *Maori* culture and traditional views on education. The highly complex nature of *tikanga Maori* and *Matauranga Maori* means that there is no one approach, philosophy or rule from which to draw understanding on the learning and teaching of a child, however this text has gathered these concepts and bound them together providing a valuable resource on concepts and learning in the *Maori* tradition.

Rose Peres further builds on the concepts outlined in 'Ako' in 'Te Wheke: A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom' (1997). *Te Wheke* (octopus) is utilised as a metaphor for learning and the infinite wisdom that comes from *Hawaiiki*. In Pere's view, *Te Wheke* is symbolic in a number of ways.

The head represents the family and the child. Each tentacle represents a dimension that requires and needs certain things to help give sustenance to the whole. The suckers on each tentacle represent the many facets that exist within each dimension. The tentacles move out in an infinite direction for sustenance when the octopus moves laterally. The tentacles can be intertwined so that there is a merging, with no clear cut boundaries. The dimensions need to be understood in relation to each other, and within the context of the whole. (Pere 1997: 3)

Pere (ibid.) describes a number of concepts that fit within this model of *Te Wheke*, teachings and learnings that we have received from our *tipuna* that have been passed down through the generations and provide us with our inherent way of life, of being *Maori*. She writes:

The simple teachings of this book reach into the past, present and future of the

ancient teachings of *Hawaiiki*. The author's learned teachers and forebears from *Ngati Ruapani*, *Tuhoe Potiki* and *Ngati Kahungunu* received insight and knowledge that had been transmitted to them over a period of twelve thousand years. (ibid.:3)

In sum, while *ako* was only a part of a tradition-based *Maori* way of life, it was integral in the creation, transmission, conceptualization, and articulation of *Maori* knowledge. *Ako* was not a process that stood in isolation from everyday *Maori* life, but occurred in the interaction of *Maori* cultural notions. *Ako* was determined by the wider cultural practices, context and resources of the group and encompassed within specific *whakapapa*, *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* relationships. It was governed by the knowledge collectively deemed necessary and was constructed within complex and multiple relationships that required the intersection of a range of *Maori* concepts and relationships to be in place in order for a holistic expression of *Maori* pedagogy. With the advent of colonization and the introduction of formal *Pakeha* schooling structures, the mechanisms through which *ako Maori* was transmitted was interrupted and fragmented. We turn now to an overview of the early history of schooling in *Aotearoa* to provide further historical contextualization to the current experiences of *Maori* in education.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF SCHOOLING IN AOTEAROA

The history of schooling, for *Maori*, in *Aotearoa* has been well documented (Simon 1994; Simon 1998). The first Mission school was established by the Church Missionary Society in 1816 at *Rangihoua*, and whilst the initial years of mission schooling were shaky there was a formalisation of schooling in 1847 with the Education Ordinance. The 1847 Education Ordinance provided a means of economic support for Missionary schools, this proved a more expedient option for Governor Grey than the establishment of a completely new system (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Governor Grey had specific goals in his advancement of the Education Ordinance with the inclusion of an objective of the provision of boarding schools, particularly the removing of *Maori* children from the "demoralising influence of *Maori* villages" in order to hasten their assimilation to "the habits of the european" (Barrington 1970). However the establishment of a state controlled schooling system for *Maori* was later progressed in 1867 through the Native Schools Act which brought about the beginnings of colonial secular schooling for *Maori*. The development of mission schools meant that schooling for *Maori* commenced 61 years before the establishment of schooling for the wider settler community, which was formalised though the 1877 Education Act and introduced a national, free, secular and compulsory state system of Primary schools (ibid).

The early introduction of schooling into *Hapu* and *Iwi* territories indicates that schooling was to be a vehicle for specific missionary and colonial intentions. Research has highlighted that a key objective in the establishment of schooling was to utilise it as a means of social control (Simon 1990,1992) and a vehicle through which to 'civilise the natives' (Binney 1968). Judith Binney (1968) highlights that the establishment of Missionary schools, under the umbrella of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), had the express objective of "civilising" *Maori* people in order to facilitate a process of Christianity. The 'benefits' of *Pakeha* society were introduced that would aid in the process of "civilising the natives" and thereby, in the eyes of the CMS, would ensure the acceptance of christianity. The introduction of a *Pakeha* schooling system stemmed from this philosophy and as one of the perceived 'benefits' provided a systematic means for dispersing selected forms of knowledge and skills required for the desired effect of

christianising *Maori* people (ibid). the following quote from an un-named author which appeared in 'The New Zealander' (1846) outlines clearly the dominant attitudes of the early settlers to *Maori* involvement in schooling

It were but rational, humane and politic to furnish the natives with sound instruction respecting both their duties, their moral obligations and their political privileges...Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of the times. (The New Zealander, December 12 1846)

This philosophy was further entrenched with the introduction of State control of *Maori* schooling in 1867. Debates in the House of Representatives, surrounding the 1867 Native Schools Act, note the general feeling of the time as encompassing the beliefs that

- In order for *Maori* people to 'progress', in 'civilised' *Pakeha* terms, the initial requirement was education.
- Increased expenditure of Native education would be beneficial in the saving on future expenditure in areas such as police and gaols.
- In order for *Maori* people to obtain other there must be a knowledge of the english language.

For *Maori* people to fully appreciate the benefits of schooling they must be "required to do something towards their own education, as they would then value it more". (AJHR 1867 Part 2)

The education system was a designed to be a vehicle for the assimilation of *Maori* people into processes of colonial thought and practice (Smith, L.T. 1989). This was highlighted by a desire to establish a "little England" in the colony. This was to be achieved not solely through the expansion of British capitalism but also through "physically transplanting a vertical slice of British Society - economics, politics and ideology" (Bedggood, 1980:24). To promote assimilation Native schools;

were placed in the heart of *Maori* communities like trojan horses. Their task was to destroy the less visible aspects of *Maori* life: beliefs, value systems, and the spiritual bonds that connected people to each other and to their environment. (Smith, L.T.,1986:2)

What is clearly documented in the research is that early education policies were constructed in order to attain social "stability" and provide legislative frameworks through which to ensure the desired goal of assimilation was achieved.

From these beginnings the *Pakeha* education system has evolved and refined its methods and pedagogy related to assimilation policies as may be seen with the introduction of the concept of "Integration" as espoused in the 1960 Hunn Report (Simon & Smith 1990). The Hunn report expressed a desire to "combine (not fuse) *Maori* and *Pakeha* elements to form one nation" (Hunn, J.K.,1960:15) Throughout the Hunn report the assumption remains that it is *Maori* people that must 'change' to ensure "their adjustment to modern life", this process of change was to be achieved through the "elimination" of those *Maori* people whom maintain "minority complacency living a backward life in primitive conditions" by "raising" them to a position whereby they are "pretty much at home in either society, who like to partake in both". From this "raised" (i.e. Integrated) position *Maori* people may then "[choose] whether they remain 'integrated' or become 'assimilated'" (ibid:17). This position has had considerable impact upon *Maori* experiences of schooling through the ongoing maintenance of a system that served the interests of the dominant group over those interest of *Maori*.

Adhoc attempts to include *Maori* elements within the curriculum also tended to primarily serve the interests on *Pakeha*. For example, the development of the '*Taha Maori*' component in the School curriculum in the 1980s further exemplified a focus on the need to change *Maori* people in order to aid their success within the system. Graham Smith (1986) contends '*Taha Maori*' is an

instrument which at one level of influence is perpetuating the status quo within New Zealand schools and thereby maintaining the position of *Pakeha* dominance in relation to the control of education. A further consideration is that at another level of influence *Taha Maori* may not be concerned with merely maintaining the status quo position of *Pakeha* dominance, but in fact be actively promoting the acculturation of *Maori* culture. (Smith, G.H.,1986:1)

'*Taha Maori*' was therefore promoted by the (then) Department of Education as a medium through which to raise the self-esteem of *Maori* children so that they are

able to achieve more fully within the existing system. This model focused on *Maori* children and an attempt to change their attitudes, again an expression of 'deficit' theories that seek a micro change at the level of the child and neglects any analysis of the schooling system or questions of how and whose knowledge is constructed within the education system. *Maori* knowledge in the form of '*Taha Maori*' is selected with the intent of preparing *Maori* children for learning the 'real', i.e. *Pakeha* defined and controlled, knowledge (Smith G.H. 1986). Throughout the 1960s – 1990 period the processes of educational change concerning *Maori* children focused predominantly within a deficit approach or what is commonly referred to as a 'victim-blaming' scenario. *Maori* children, *Maori* people have been viewed as being deficient and *Maori* underachievement defined in terms of *Maori* children lacking appropriate skills and knowledge. The underpinning philosophy being that of changing the *Maori* parents, *Maori* children and *Maori whanau*, which is envisaged will provide a domino-type effect, leading ultimately to changing the *Maori* child to an extent to which they will achieve more successfully within the structure of the present education system.

The most succinct usage of cultural deprivation theory *Aotearoa* is that offered by John Forster and Peter Ramsay (1973). In their article "The *Maori* population 1936-1966" they proclaimed

It is generally agreed that his [*Maori*] low attainment is the result of a combination of other factors. Poor Socio-economic conditions, including such factors as occupancy rates, social attitudes, poor living conditions, and a different cultural upbringing impose severe limitations on the *Maori* scholar. (Forster, J & Ramsay, P. 1969:211)

Forster and Ramsay's "Interlocking Spiral of Cumulative and Circular Causation" approach highlighted the existence of a 'cycle of poverty' that perpetuates low educational achievement of *Maori* pupils. They argued that interrupting the 'deprivation cycle' necessitates a change in cultural factors which predetermine *Maori* participation in the cycle. Change must therefore occur in the social and cultural capital of the child and their family environment, particularly in terms of the statement by D.G. Ball, that it is "the '*Maoriness*' [sic] of the child which is the greatest handicap" (Ball cited in Forster J. & Ramsay P., 1969:211).

This approach was widely held by the Department of Education, with the

publication, "The Education of *Maori* Children: A Review" (1971) carrying this message

All these reports [i.e. Hunn Report, Currie Commission] attempted to analyse the *Maori* child's inability to fulfil his [sic] potential in the existing education, in spite of endowments equal to those of *Pakeha*. They recognised that often a *Maori* child entered a *Pakeha*-oriented school less well prepared by pre-school experience than a *Pakeha*, particularly in the use of language. His [sic] differences in this respect were likely to handicap his [sic] whole educational progress if steps were not taken within the school system. Social and economic conditions including inadequate housing and poor opportunities for employment of both youth and adults, were contributing factors. (Department of Education, 1971:18-19)

Maori cultural experiences and background are positioned as 'other than the norm', the norm being middle class *Pakeha* culture, the *Maori* child and her/his environment were seen as deficient and handicaps to future success in the education system. As such *Maori* experiences of the education system were located firmly within cultural deprivation explanations. Cultural deprivation/ disadvantage/ difference theories assume there exists a 'norm' in society against which all 'others' can be measured and evaluated. In New Zealand the 'norm' may be generally stated as middle class *Pakeha* and *Maori* people are assessed relative to that 'norm'. The emphasis on correcting the cultural background of *Maori* children is based on the assumption that the environment of the *Maori* child is a barrier to their achievement within the school system that *Maori* children carry with them particular 'cultural baggage' that impedes their development. Underlying such a theory is the notion that the dominant culture and knowledge are "endorsed as 'the culture' of the state schooling system" (Smith, G., 1986:3). There is no analysis or challenge to the structural or cultural arrangements of the system itself.

Although brief, this overview of the development of formal schooling for *Maori* provides a backdrop for understanding contemporary developments of *Kaupapa Maori* educational initiatives and the move by *Maori* to develop alternative educational sites such as *Te Kohanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa Maori*, *Whare Kura* and *Whare Wananga*. These developments will be explored in the next section.

KAUPAPA MAORI EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES

Kaupapa Maori as a resistance strategy can be viewed in practice through some key intervention initiatives. *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* have employed *Kaupapa Maori* principles to challenge mainstream views and have provided a ‘for *Maori* by *Maori*’ alternative for the educating of *Maori* children, and society.

Te Kohanga Reo are early-childhood centres in which children are immersed in *Te Reo* and *tikanga Maori* within a culturally supportive and safe environment. Literally translated, *Te Kohanga Reo* means ‘the language nest’. These early-childhood centres were set up as a strategy for the nurturing and revitalisation of *Maori* language, culture and traditions. Bishop (1998) states that *Te Kohanga Reo* was the result of *Maori* communities want for “an education that maintained their own lifestyles, language and culture while also enhancing life chances, access to power and equality of opportunity”. (1998:5). Smith (1997) states that the idea of *Kohanga Reo* was first proposed at a *hui* of *Maori* leaders in 1980, with the first *Kohanga Reo* being established in 1982 in the Wellington region of *Pukeatua*. Since the establishment of this *Kohanga Reo*, the growth of this movement has been rapid, with a number of *Kohanga* now established across the entire breadth of New Zealand and in a number of both rural and urban communities.

These *Kohanga Reo* are bound by their underpinning philosophy that provides for the nurturing and revitalising of *Te Reo me ona tikanga*, and the ‘*whanau*’ approach that they employ. *Whanau* play an integral part of the decision-making process and have control over what the children learn, how they should learn it and who is involved in that learning (Bishop 1998:5). *Whanau* members are also expected to play a role in the educating of their child whether that be through the continuing of the practice of *tikanga Maori* in the home, or through participation within *te kohanga reo*. In any sense the *whanau* unit, and collective nature of such an organisation provides the backbone for the educating and the nurturing of the child. This philosophy is based on traditional concepts of learning in which the extended *whanau* played an integral role in the educating of the child. *Kohanga*

Reo have been successful in a number of ways, as a politicising and conscientising agent (Smith 1997:258), as a means of exercising organisational and administrative autonomy and self-determination (Bishop 1998:5), and as a successful intervention strategy that has produced *Maori* graduates who are fluent in *te reo Maori*, and secure in their identity.

Following on from the development of *Kohanga Reo*, there was an obvious need to provide these graduates with a means of continuing this *Kaupapa Maori* education. State schools were unable to cater for the needs of *kohanga reo* graduates, and the success of *kohanga reo* as a means of building fluency of *Te Reo* was being compromised by State primary schools whose environments were not conducive to maintaining these skills, thus a phenomenon of language loss occurred. In 1986 a group of *whanau* associated with *kohanga reo* decided to withdraw their children from these State schools, and together conceptualised an alternative schooling option called '*kura Kaupapa Maori*'. The first *kura Kaupapa Maori* was established in 1985 at *Hoani Waititi marae* (Nepe 1991), and operated outside of the State schooling system. In 1990 *Kura Kaupapa Maori* was included into legislation and became a legitimate State schooling option.

The philosophy of *Kura Kaupapa Maori* was based on *Maori* language and culture revitalisation in the same vein as *Kohanga Reo*. *Te Aho Matua* is underpinning philosophy that guides *Kura Kaupapa Maori*, and is based on *tikanga Maori*, and traditional concepts of learning. The involvement of *whanau* is also an integral part of *kura Kaupapa Maori* as it is in *Kohanga Reo*. Both these initiatives have created a learning environment which locates *Maori* culture and *tikanga* as being 'normal' and taken for granted, they have been built on *Maori* philosophies and *whakaaro* and have been created and managed by *Maori* for *Maori*. These initiatives have succeeded in the revitalisation of language, in the politicisation and conscientisation of the *Maori* people, and in the nurturing of identity within *Maori* children. This highlights the validity of *Kaupapa Maori* as an intervention strategy.

KAUPAPA MAORI AND MAORI PEDAGOGY

The identification of *Kaupapa Maori* elements that exist within *Kura Kaupapa Maori* was first researched by Graham Hingangaroa Smith in the mid 1980s and a solid foundation of literature has been developed to further extend on that work in regards to *Kaupapa Maori* elements that may be utilised as a basis for bringing about change in the educational experiences of *Maori* people. In his early work Graham Smith highlighted that within *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* there existed particular cultural tenets that enable and supported *Maori* pedagogy.

The development of *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* have placed *Maori* in a position where not only the definitions of what is *Kaupapa Maori* have been important but where significant moves in the identification of *Maori* pedagogical practices have been made. The development of the philosophy document ‘*Te Aho Matua*’ also highlights key *Maori* values, processes and pedagogical approaches that underpin *Kaupapa Maori* education. *Akonga* practices within *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* are also highlighted in the paper ‘*Kaupapa Matauranga*’ by Katerina Mataira, Pita Sharples and Aroha Sharples, in which the outcome of learning is considered to impact on all elements of *Maori* identity, roles, obligations and cultural positioning in the world. Graham Smith defines ‘*Akonga Maori*’ in the following way;

Akonga Maori is the preferred *Maori* way of teaching and learning. It is not necessarily the traditional way although *Akonga Maori* is derived from traditional concepts and values. *Akonga Maori* emphasises the inter-relationship of teaching and learning, in that they are not understood as separate concepts. In *Maori* world view, “teaching” and “learning are one in the same ide; thus the *Maori* term for “learn” is *Ako*, the *Maori* term for “teach” is *Ako*. This perception differs significantly from the *Pakeha* notion which percieves “teaching” and “learning” as distinclty sparate items. (Smith, G. January 1987:1)

In this paper he argues that *Te Kohanga Reo* pedagogies are grounded within the construct of *akonga Maori*. As noted earlier in this review ‘*akonga Maori*’ is deemed a critical factor in regards to *Kaupapa Maori* education.

Tuakana Nepe (1991:15) outlined *Kaupapa Maori* in relation to the development of

Kura Kaupapa Maori, stating that *Kaupapa Maori* is the “conceptualisation of *Maori* knowledge” that has been developed through *te reo Maori* and transmitted through oral tradition. This is the process by which the *Maori* mind “receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through *Te Reo Maori*.” Nepe locates the origins of *Maori* knowledge within *Te Reo Maori* and in doing so argues that that revitalisation of *te reo Maori* is critical in the understanding of *matauranga Maori*. As such, she states, *Kaupapa Maori* knowledge has its origins in a metaphysical base that is distinctly *Maori* and therefore this influences the way *Maori* people think, understand, interact and interpret the world. A return to traditional knowledge is a process being undertaken by a range of Indigenous Peoples. Native woman writer Rayna Green (1990), reflecting on Indian notions of leadership in their communities argues that a return to tradition is a radical and necessary change for Native American peoples.

For Nepe (1991), *Maori* knowledge derives from a spiritual domain and is therefore esoteric and *tuturu Maori*. *Te Reo Maori* enables the student to access the depth of *matauranga Maori* in order to conceptualise and understand fully the implications of the knowledge at hand. *Te Reo Maori* and *Kaupapa Maori* knowledge are inextricably bound (Nepe 1991). These opening comments are included to link the broader notions of *akonga* and *Kaupapa Maori* upon which much of the literature is based. We will move on now to look further at concepts, elements or tenets that have been identified within the literature as critical to *Maori* educational processes, structures and pedagogy. A number of authors have identified critical notions and concepts that are inherent in *Kaupapa Maori* (Pihama 1993; Bishop 1996; Smith 1996; Taki 1996; Smith 1997).

Graham Hingangaroa Smith highlights six intervention elements that are an integral part of *Kaupapa Maori* and which are evident in *Kaupapa Maori* sites. These as being;

- *Tino Rangatiratanga* (the ‘self-determination’ principle);
- *taonga tuku iho* (the ‘cultural aspirations’ principle);
- *ako Maori* (the ‘culturally preferred pedagogy’ principle);

- *kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga* (the 'socio-economic' mediation principle);
- *whanau* (the extended family structure principle);
- *kaupapa* (the 'collective philosophy' principle).

Leonie Pihama (2001) adds to this list the centrality of *te reo* and *tikanga Maori* and adds to the discussion of *tino rangatiratanga* the importance of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* and processes of decolonization. The remainder of this review will be focused upon these key *kaupapa Maori* elements in relation to current *Maori* philosophical and pedagogical developments.

The principles outlined here by Graham Smith have also articulated by other writers. One group that provided an overview of key factors that underpin *Kura Kaupapa Maori* was the *Maori* Education Commission. The commission was set up by the Minister of *Maori* affairs Tau Henare in 1997 and consisted of six *Maori* who were highly skilled and held in high regard by the *Maori* community. The main objective of the Commission was to listen, observe and conscientiously represent the views of *Maori* in determining the nature and content of advice that they gave to the Minister. The Commission believed that whilst *Kaupapa Maori* programmes were still in their infancy and therefore required the development of a comprehensive support infrastructure, they were achieving success. The Commission highlighted that many *Kura Kaupapa Maori* claim low levels of truancy, few behavioural issues and high levels of *whanau* support and involvement.

In Report Three (1999) the Commissioners discussed several intervention and success factors that underlie *Kura Kaupapa Maori*. The factors identified are as follows:

- *Tino Rangatiratanga*
- Emancipatory model
- Visionary approach

- *Maori* knowledge validation
- *Akonga Maori: Maori* pedagogy
- School *kawa*
- *Whanau* control
- *Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga*

The factors highlighted by the Commission and Graham Smith provide indicators as to key elements underpinning *Kaupapa Maori* developments. The next section will provide further discussion of the broad principles of *Kaupapa Maori* that influence contemporary *Maori* pedagogy.

Te Reo me ona Tikanga

Having access to the cultural, social and economic resources of *Te Ao Maori* means having the opportunity to learn and speak *Te Reo Maori*. This means having the support of *whanau* and having access to ancestral land. This means being able to live as a *Maori*, with a secure identity. As such a key element in the discussion of *Kaupapa Maori* is the centrality of *Te Reo Maori me ona tikanga*. As noted earlier, Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) writes that *Kaupapa Maori* paradigm in education is founded on three key themes,

- The validity and legitimacy of *Maori* are taken for granted
- The survival and revival of *Maori* language and culture is imperative
- The struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing and over our own lives is vital to *Maori* struggle.

This locates *te reo Maori me ona tikanga* as critical elements in any discussion of *Kaupapa Maori* principles and practices and is in line with the assertions made by Tuakana Nepe that *Maori* language must be viewed as essential in the reproduction of *Kaupapa Maori*. Indigenous writers such as Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa (1996) Mary Kawena Pukui (1972) and Fyre Jean Graveline (2002) remind us of the importance to "Look to the Source" (Pukui et.a. 1972) for guidance.

Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) outlines *Kaupapa Maori* as a term used by *Maori* to describe the practice and philosophy of living a 'Maori' culturally informed life. In essence this is a *Maori* world view which incorporates thinking and understanding. *Maori* writers and academics from several different disciplines have articulated the importance, centrality, validity and the imperative to guarantee the survival of *Te Reo Maori*. Taina Pohatu (1996) advances the argument that cultural underpinnings of *whenua* and *whakapapa* are imperative to ensure cultural transmission and acquisition. (socialisation). His work titled – '*I Tipu ai Tatau i nga Turi o o Tatau Matua Tipuna*' is a statement of cultural re-centering and emancipation. Te Ahu Rei's (1998) work discusses the importance of *Wananga Reo* as a learning and teaching intervention for the revitalization of *Te Reo Maori*.

The point being made here is that when *te reo Maori me ona tikanga* are viewed as valid and legitimate then *Maori* are no longer positioned as 'the other', but rather hold a position of being the norm within our own constructions. This then acts as a challenge to *Pakeha* dominance. This is clearly an issue for *Kaupapa Maori* implementation within 'mainstream' institutions and settings. Where it is beyond the scope of this review to provide in-depth discussion of *tikanga* elements that impact upon *ako Maori*, we will provide a brief discussion of the notions of *mana*, *tapu*, *tika*, *pono* and *aroha*. Through these concepts we are able to see more clearly the ways in which relationships and actions are mediated in complex ways within *tikanga Maori*.

Tikanga

Tikanga may be referred to as protocols and processes which define, regulate and guide healthy relationships. *Kaumatu* are the guardians of *whanau tikanga*. *Tikanga* may be generally described as the protocols and tribal customs. The discussion arises from the view that elders preferred to indulge their inquisitive *mokopuna* in much the same way that the many female ancestresses of *Maui* indulged his strengths and weaknesses. It is their *aroha* in the end which transcends their *mokopuna*' clumsy efforts and leads to his success – except for his final challenge. *Tikanga* would also include what Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2001),

identifies as *Maori* ethics within *Kaupapa Maori* practice. These include notions of;

- *aroha ki te tangata* (a respect for people)
- *he kanohi kitea* (a face seen is appreciated)
- *titiro, whakarongo, korero* (look, listen and speak)
- *manaaki tangata* (share and host people, be generous)
- *kia tupato* (be cautious)
- *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* (don't trample on the *mana* of the people) (2001:221)

Mana

Mana has been by Dr Rose Pere 1982:32, in terms of being; 'psychic influence, control, prestige, power and associated beliefs'. *Mana* is 'multi-form'. *Mana* can be ascribed and acquired. It can also be trampled upon as individuals and as groups. *Mana* can thereby be publicly conveyed and withdrawn. *Tapu* and *Mana* are two fundamental concepts which are used to govern the infrastructure of the *Maori* society which derives from the *kawai tipuna*. Taina Pohatu (1996) refers to *te kawai whakapapa* as a cultural template whose inter relatedness connects us and provides the source for our identity in the physical world. Ancestral connections and *whakapapa* links directly to *mana* and *tapu*. 'Te Hinatore' report;, outlines this by stating that;

[o]ur *mana* as human beings is a *mana* that is linked with the *kawai tipuna*, since the creation of human beings was the work of the *kawai tipuna*. And because the *kawai tipuna* are our immediate source of *mana*, they are also the source of our *tapu*. The relationship between *mana* and *tapu* are so closely intertwined as to be almost interchangeable in nature. The *mana* of a person will determine the comparative *tapu* of that person. (2001:51)

Tapu

Tapu functions at many levels. For example; *tapu* has been defined in terms of being a restrictive or prohibitive force counter balanced by its use as a binding relational sanction. A principle which acts as a corrective and coherent power within *Maori* society. *Tapu* provided the psycho-spiritual 'police' effectively acting as a protective device. Pa Tate (1993:177) developed a conflict resolution model sourced directly from *matauranga Maori*. Within this framework he provides three distinctions of *Tapu*.

- *Tapu* relating to Being (*Te Tapu o te tangata ora*, personal dignity & Self

- worth)
- *Tapu* relating to Value (Linkages to *Atua*, *Tangata* and *Whenua*)
- *Tapu* relating to Restrictions (*Hiki o te tapu*, Lifting of *tapu*)

Tapu is viewed in an active sense. *Tapu* is 'being with *mana*' capable of bringing something into effect. Being human is constituted as a spiritual and physical totality which links the *tangata ora* (living person) directly with their *Atua* (God). From this view, to enhance a part is to enhance the whole. Conversely, to violate a part is to violate the whole. With respect to these key concepts, to neglect a part which constitutes the whole is to neglect the whole. It is for these reasons that respect for people and their culture is an observance of *tapu*.

Tika

Mereana Taki once noted "a familiar prompt of my childhood is captured in the phrase; '*kei a koe to tika*'." This phrase places responsibility for mindful behaviour back to the listener. It says look within, where your learning has been woven in to the fabric of your being. There lies a journey to this understanding. Pa Tate, (1993) defines *tika* as a relational principle which is underpinned by virtue of being 'right and proper'. The dynamic is constituted as being;

- In relationship to other people
- In relationship to all creation
- In relation to all links to higher spiritual power (*Atua*/ God) from whence intrinsic worth is derived (dignity) which compels respect, and is able to command calls for a response in principle and action.

A question often asked is; '*kei te tika tera*' or are you sure that is fully accurate and correct. The unspoken qualifications are; one needs to be quite clear and completely accurate before presenting something to say. These sanctions are reflections of the enormous importance *Maori* society places on oral literacy bearing in mind the prior discussions on *te Reo me ona Tikanga*.

Pono

Pono is a term which denotes accuracy of form to function. Speaking is something done conservatively within *matauranga Maori*. Doing is more readily perceived as

a reflection of competence. *Kaupapa Maori* also engages with 'real' situations and provides workable strategies with which to intervene in and transform (change) the situation. *Pono* is very much at the base of *Kaupapa Maori* praxis. *Pono* is 'integrity, faithfulness to *tika* and *aroha*. *Pono* is motivational. It is a principle which compels our actions to be both *tika* and *aroha*. The underlying imperatives of *pono* are;

- It compels us to act
- It places a standard upon us to be *tika* in our own conduct towards ourselves and others
- It challenges us to be consistent
- It mediates the use of *tika* in relation to *tapu*, *matua tupuna* and *Atua*
- It mediates *aroha* to be *tika* so as not to violate *tapu*
- It moves *aroha* to action
- It compels *aroha* to be uplifting with joy and feeling all actions done by *tika* only
- It challenges the exercise of *aroha* towards the source of *tapu* (*Atua/God*) & creations.

Aroha

Aroha in this view is 'having a regard for oneself that makes one seek after ones own well-being'. The principle includes seeking positive relationships to enhance the being of others and yourself. Positive self-regard is recognised as a pathway to contentment and peace of mind (spiritual and worldly self esteem). *Aroha* also accords recognition and regard towards others that encourages them to seek their own well-being. *Aroha* is also present in mindful regard people can extend to others in times of need (*awhi/ tautoko*) towards recognising or resolving a problem. If it is not accomplished it may affect our own well-being. This is called '*aroha* with compassion'. If, and when reconciliation begins well-being will be fully restored. *Aroha* also acknowledges the source of all well-being and seeks after it. This enables the journey towards the completion of self-worth, self esteem and the confidence to 'stand tall'. These principles are also drawn on by *Kaupapa Maori* educationalists, researchers and *whanau*.

The *Maori* Adult Literacy Working Party (2001) also indicates that maintaining fundamental values is critical. Those values are grounded within *tikanga Maori* are the importance of *tikanga* is noted as follows:

Critical success factors relate to the values that are found in the learning environment of literacy programmes: *aroha*; *whakamana*, *whanau*, *tuakana-teina* nurturing relationships, *manaaki*, *tautoko* and *kai*. The kinds of things experienced as part of a homely environment make a difference to whether it is an easy place to be rather than a foreign place. (ibid:670)

Tino Rangatiratanga

the 'self-determination' principle

The principle of *Tino Rangatiratanga* goes straight to the heart of *Kaupapa Maori*. It has been discussed in terms of sovereignty, autonomy and *mana motuhake*, self-determination and independence. The principle of *Tino Rangatiratanga* has guided *Kaupapa Maori* initiatives, reinforcing the goal of seeking more meaningful control over one's own life and cultural well being. *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori*, for example, were started outside of conventional schooling explicitly in order for *Maori* to take control of our destiny.

The theory and praxis of *Tino Rangatiratanga* is now discussed in relation to a wide range of services, with an increasing development being that of the inclusion in mainstream services options for *kaupapa Maori* approaches including *Kaupapa Maori* justice, *Kaupapa Maori* health, *Kaupapa Maori* housing, *Kaupapa Maori* employment and other social services. In the area of health, Mason Durie (1998) relates that in the 1980s *Tino Rangatiratanga* became part of the new *Maori* health movement where health initiatives were claimed by *Maori* as their own. This is also affirmed by a recent Te Puni Kokiri report (1998:11) discussing guidelines for government agencies which referred to *rangatiratanga* as the "right of *Maori* to live and develop in a *Maori* way, whatever that may mean over time and in changing circumstances."

Further elements inherent within the notion of *Tino Rangatiratanga* are those of resistance and struggle, or what Graham Smith and Leonie Pihama have referred to as the counter-hegemonic role of *Kaupapa Maori*. Given the historical imposition of *Pakeha* structures, language and knowledge onto *Maori* people there is without doubt a political drive that is crucial to current expressions of *Kaupapa Maori*. In writing about the role of *Kaupapa Maori* theory Graham Smith (1997) has strongly

contended the need for *Kaupapa Maori* developments to be both culturalist and structuralist in form. What this means is that engagement needs to happen both at the level of culture and human agency and also at the level of analysis of structures and the power relations that exist. This then places *Kaupapa Maori* as a form of critical analysis which is driven by *Maori* understandings. Leonie Pihama (1993:57) in articulating the need for *Kaupapa Maori* to be the basis for engaging power relations in this country writes;

Kaupapa Maori theory is a politicising agent that acts as a counter-hegemonic force to promote the conscientisation of *Maori* people, through a process of critiquing *Pakeha* definitions and constructions of *Maori* people, and asserting explicitly the validation and legitimisation of *te reo Maori* and *tikanga*.

Tino Rangatiratanga as an element also contributes to the notion of *Kaupapa Maori* as counter-hegemonic in that the fundamental base of *Tino Rangatiratanga* is that of *Maori* control over things *Maori*, or has been expressed by *Maori* for *Maori*. The notion of *tino rangatiratanga* also includes a decolonizing aspect which is an enabling notion that promotes the need for information and knowledge regarding the experiences of *Maori* since colonization to be made available to *Maori* learners (Pihama 2001). Hariata Huata-Tapiata (1992) discusses *Tino Rangatiratanga* and the struggle within the dominant *Pakeha* education system. Her work explores *Tino Rangatiratanga* as a dynamic instrument to deliver *mana Maori motuhake*. This writer illustrates how education has been the mechanism to deny *Tino Rangatiratanga* amongst *Maori*.

It is appropriate to make a comment in regard to the expansiveness of *Kaupapa Maori*; that is, that *Kaupapa Maori* is for all *Maori* not for select groups or individuals. *Kaupapa Maori* is not owned by any grouping nor can it be defined in such ways that deny *Maori* people access to its articulation. What this means is that *Kaupapa Maori* must of necessity be diverse and recognise the diversity within our people; women, men, *tamariki*, *kuia*, *koroua*, *rangatahi*, *whanau*, *hapu*, *iwi*, urban *Maori*, these are some examples of the diversity within our people and therefore *Kaupapa Maori* needs to be accessible and available to all. It must also ensure analysis that is able to take into account, both in principles and practice, the diversity of *Maori* communities.

Taonga tuku iho

the 'cultural aspirations' principle

A *Kaupapa Maori* framework asserts a position that to be *Maori* is both valid and legitimate and in such a framework to be *Maori* is a taken for granted. *Te Reo Maori, Matauranga Maori, Tikanga Maori* and *ahuatanga Maori* are actively legitimated and validated. This principle acknowledges the strong emotional and spiritual factor in *Kaupapa Maori*, which is introduced to support the commitment of *Maori* to the intervention in the educational crisis. Andrea Morrison outlines the role of operating within a *Kaupapa Maori* pedagogy within the *Maori* Education department at the University of Auckland. She outlines through interviews with lecturers and students in the department the ways in *Kaupapa Maori* is applied. A key element is that of the validation and affirmation of *Maori* students and their right to be at the University. This is done on all levels to ensure total participation by *Maori*, therefore at the level of cultural and physical space, theory, curriculum, research and practice there must be an active affirmation of being *Maori*.

Firstly, it is assumed that *Maori* knowledge and *Maori* worldviews are 'normal' or 'central' in that they are the basis from which analysis and understanding are informed for both students and staff. (Morrison 1999: 86)

The incorporation of *Maori* knowledge throughout the curriculum is described by Linda Tuhiwai Smith:

If we want to assume that *Maori* are the centre of the way we develop our ideas, then it is the space in the curriculum that makes that possible. It means taking for granted *Maori* epistemology, starting in the centre of it and then going outwards rather than trying to come into *Maori* the *Maori* ideas after the other ideas. (Smith cited in Morrison 1999:86)

The curriculum development is viewed by Morrison as being critical in the transmission of *Maori* knowledge and *nga taonga tuku iho*, those treasures handed down to us by our *tupuna*. The overlap of curriculum and pedagogy is a critical one in that *Maori* students need to be both able and comfortable to discuss issues of direct relevance to them and to also be able to do that in ways that area appropriate for them (ibid.)

Ako Maori

the 'culturally preferred pedagogy' principle

This principle has been discussed in some depth in this review. In summary this principle promotes teaching and learning practices that are unique to *Tikanga Maori*. It is critical in the wake of *Maori* underachievement in education that *Maori* are able to choose their own preferred pedagogies. As noted previously, Rangimarie Rose Pere (1983) writes in some depth on key elements in *Maori* pedagogy. In her publication 'Ako' she provides expansive discussion regarding *tikanga Maori* concepts and their application to *Maori* pedagogies.

The range in which *Kaupapa Maori* has been engaged in educational settings can be seen in the increasing number of research theses and dissertations that have been produced in the past ten years. For example, Margie Hohepa (1990) and Tania Ka`ai (1990) both examined *Te Kohanga Reo* as a context for language teaching and learning. Ka`ai compared *Maori* pedagogical patterns she observed within *Te Kohanga* with those of the bilingual and English medium new entrant classrooms. White (1995) uses the context of 'scaffolding'. She looked at language use in a *Kohanga Reo* focussing on scaffolding of children's language interactions in structured, ritualistic routines of *karakia* and *mihimihi* (greetings). Each of these authors identified key pedagogical processes such as *tuakana-teina* (older-younger sibling relationship), *whanaungatanga* and *awhina* (help/support) as culturally defined pedagogical methods that highlight *Maori* processes of *ako*, of learning and teaching are embedded in *Te Kohanga Reo*.

Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga

the 'socio-economic' mediation principle

This addresses the issue of *Maori* socio-economic disadvantage and the negative pressures this brings to bear on *whanau* and their children in the education environment. This principle acknowledges that despite these difficulties, *Kaupapa Maori* mediation practices and values are able to intervene successfully for the

wellbeing of the *whanau*. The collective responsibility of the *Maori* community and *whanau* comes to the foreground.

Whanau

the extended family structure principle

The principle of *whanau*, like *Tino Rangatiratanga*, sits at the heart of *Kaupapa Maori*. The *whanau* and the practice of *whanaungatanga* is an integral part of *Maori* identity and culture. The cultural values, customs and practices which organise around the *whanau* and 'collective responsibility' are a necessary part of *Maori* survival and educational achievement.

Whanau provides a support base from which we as individuals are located in the wider dimensions of *whakapapa* and *Maori* society. Margie Hohepa (1999) describes the various ways in which *whanau* can be regarded. *Whanau*, she states, has both traditional and more 'evolved' meanings. Traditional in the extent that the construct of *whanau* through *whakapapa* connections remains as a key definition, and more recently the cooption of the term *whanau* in the linking of groups of common interest, or common *kaupapa*. Margie describes these groupings as follows;

Whanau based on unity of purpose rather than *whakapapa* lines, sometimes termed '*kaupapa whanau*' or 'metaphorical *whanau*', develop around a particular aim or goal. (Hohepa 1999: 18)

In the context of *Kaupapa Maori* initiatives the *whanau* has a key role in providing support. Graham Smith (1997) states that the *whanau* structure brings with it reciprocal roles and obligations. In the schooling context of *Kura Kaupapa Maori* this includes the *whanau* giving support to individuals and groups who are a part of it, and also that the *whanau* of the children give support to the wider school *whanau*. The *whanau* is a crucial component in *Maori* society. Meaning both extended family and birth, the word *whanau* is encompassing of both creation and of support mechanisms for all in the *whanau*.

Whanau provides the basis for *Maori* society upon which other forms of organisation such as *hapu* and *iwi* are dependent. It has also been a key target for colonialism and colonising forces have actively sought to undermine the fundamental values and relationships that are the basis for *whanau* wellbeing. An example of this can be seen in the writing of Ngareta Timutimu (1995). This writer conducted research within her own *hapu* with the realisation that her *hapu* would presently be left with no fluent *Maori* speakers. Her writing argued that the 'middle' generation within her *hapu* play a critical role in maintaining the traditional language and knowledge of the *hapu*. The work of Ben Tangaere (1998) also reinforces *whanau* as a key *Maori* intervention model in education. Tangaere discusses what we can learn from the interventions based on *whanau* in education; how can these be applied to *Maori* social, economic, cultural and educational crises.

The *whanau* has been identified as a site of crisis and a site of intervention. This concept is explored in depth by Dr Graham Smith 1993 in his paper titled; *Whakaoho Whanau – New formations of whanau as an innovative intervention into Maori cultural and educational crisis.* Smith (ibid) argues that *Kaupapa Maori* is successful precisely because it is able to speak directly to the strengths and commitment of 'the people' with an intervention and transformation kete to assist in the changes identified.

The success of *Kaupapa Maori* within *Maori* education generally and *Maori* language immersion in particular cannot be underestimated. Within the broad range of precepts borrowed in from *matauranga Maori* is the institution of *whanaungatanga*. It is perhaps the locus of greatest struggle but also of greatest openness to recovery and transformation. This institution is summarised by Pa Tate, (1993) as being constituted from;

Whanau - to birth
Nga - the
Tanga - collective.

Literally it is the birthplace, teaching and learning context and tap root of the

survival of *Maori* as indigenous peoples and knowledge. Bearing this in mind Joan Metge (1995) reminds us that;

the time has come for us to recognise that, in the real world, not the academic realm of abstractions, *Maori* people use the word *whaanau* with an array of referents, that its use varies according to the context, and that its meaning in particular situations must never be taken for granted. (Metge 1995:68)

Kaupapa

the 'collective philosophy' principle

Kaupapa Maori initiatives in *Maori* education are held together by a collective commitment and a vision. '*Te Aho Matua*' is a formal charter which has collectively been articulated by *Maori* working in *Kaupapa Maori* initiatives. This vision connects *Maori* aspirations to political, social, economic and cultural wellbeing. *Kaupapa* in this context relates to the underpinning philosophies that connect people and processes through a common interest or intention. Within *Kura Kaupapa Maori* this has been further conceptualized through the development of statements such as *Te Aho Matua*, which encompass the fundamental philosophies held within the *Kura*.

The notion of "sticking to the kaupapa" is advanced in the report '*Te Kawai Ora*' The report of the *Maori* Adult Literacy Working Party (2001). It is noted that maintaining a clear *kaupapa* is important to maintaining clear expectations of the programme. It is noted:

For some programmes 'sticking to the *kaupapa*' is one of the ways in which they achieve best practice; delivering what they are known for, what students come to expect... Carrying through the same *kaupapa*, no matter who is running the programme or where, means that they are holding fast to their organizational philosophy. (ibid: 67)

Decolonisation

Inherent in *Kaupapa Maori* is the notion of struggle. This links directly to expression of *Tino Rangatiratanga*, and ideas that are framed in a 'by *Maori* for *Maori*' paradigm. Out of struggle comes the desire to critique and transform.

Critique is an integral part of *Kaupapa Maori* theorising. From Awatere's 1984 'Maori sovereignty' to Walker's 1990 'Ka whawhai tonu matou' to Tahana's 1980 work 'A critical analysis of some studies of Maori schooling', Maori academics have been driven by a sense of struggle and a sharpened critique of the dominant ideologies which serve to marginalise *Kaupapa Maori*. As Graham Smith (1997:25) writes,

The act of 'struggle' itself is seen to be an important factor in the cycle of conscientisation, resistance and praxis in not only making sense of one's life; but in also transforming it in more meaningful ways, and ultimately re-claiming it.

Kaupapa Maori seeks to work against the negative impacts of colonization and the ongoing assertion of deficit based theories that dominate explanations of *Maori* underachievement. Leonie Pihama (1993) argued that the introduction of the 'Parents as First Teachers' programme was framed within positivist constructions of compensatory education which ignored wider cultural and structural considerations. Pihama (1993) argued that PAFT is not an emancipatory programme for *Maori*; rather it espouses 'victim-blaming' scenarios that maintain structural inequalities, perpetuating the subordinate positioning of *Maori*. More recent critique of the deficit approaches held by teachers in mainstream schools have been undertaken by Russell Bishop, Mere Berryman, Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai and Cath Richardson as a part of the 'Te Kotahitanga' research project. Bishop et.al. (2003) found that a key element in the maintenance of underachievement was the discourse of deficit thinking that prevailed amongst many teachers. They noted in their conclusions;

The *Maori* students, those parenting these students and their principals (and some of their teachers) saw that the most important influence on *Maori* students' educational achievement was the quality of the in-class face-to-face relationships and interactions between the teachers and *Maori* students. In contrast, the majority of teachers suggested that the major influence on *Maori* students' educational achievement was the children themselves and/or their family/*whanau* circumstances, or systemic/structural issues. This deficit theorising by teachers is the major impediment to *Maori* students' educational achievement for it results in teachers having low expectations of *Maori* students. This in turn creates a downward spiralling, self-fulfilling prophecy of *Maori* student achievement and failure. (Bishop et.al. 2003: 4-5)

Cherryl Smith (1994) analysed the issue of *iwi*, arguing that *iwi* development was a

discourse of power currently being tested by *Maori* and state interest groups. Smith argued that *iwi* development, whilst being problematic, cannot be understood without examining imperialism and colonisation and the wider context of struggle by indigenous peoples worldwide. Smith proposed that 'decolonisation' was therefore a necessary part of indigenous people's development.

Pihama (1993) relates that decolonisation is a process of revealing ways in which colonisation has influenced beliefs and social practices, that influence and contribute to the social construction of what it means to be *Maori*, creating power dynamics that privilege the colonising forces. As a part of recognising the impact of colonisation on internal *Maori* structures and relationships a number of authors have dealt directly with issues of gender. Gender relationships have changed significantly since colonisation and it is argued that *Kaupapa Maori* needs to engage the ways in which *Maori* knowledge has been impacted on as a consequence of the imposition of other knowledge forms (Mikaere 1996). A good example of this notion is found in the *Te Aho Matua* document developed from a *Kaupapa Maori* base for Kura *Kaupapa Maori*. Within *Te Aho Matua* there are clear statements in regard to gender that indicate that within Kura *Kaupapa* both girls and boys must be treated with respect. (Nepe 1991). The role of decolonization in the balancing of gender positioning has been noted by a range of Indigenous Women writers (Trask 1986; Trask 1993; Irwin 1992; Irwin 1995 ; Mikaere 1996; Maracle 1996). This is important in *Kaupapa Maori* as it locates both *Maori* women and *Maori* men as critical in *Maori* initiatives. There is currently an imbalance in regard to decision making for *Maori* which can be located as a consequence of the ongoing marginalisation of *Maori* women through the imposition of conservative gender beliefs. It is through a process of decolonization that we are able to carefully assess the ways in which colonization has impacted upon *tikanga Maori* and the construction of contemporary *Maori* pedagogy. Decolonization also enables *Maori* students to engage in discussions related to *Maori* issues in ways that are supportive and affirming of their worldviews.

CLOSING REFLECTIONS

The complexity of *Maori* pedagogy is evident. So too is the notion that *Kaupapa Maori* is not bound by any one discipline or sector, rather *Kaupapa Maori* is transportable and transferable to a range of contexts. What is critical is the commitment to undertaking a holistic approach to *Maori* pedagogy in order that the many elements of *tikanga Maori* can be interwoven in appropriate ways for teaching and learning to take place. Such is the notion of 'ako'. Writer after writer indicates that *Maori* pedagogy is not new, but is derived within a long and ancient history of *tikanga Maori* and is informed by *matauranga Maori* that is sourced in thousands of years of articulation and practice. The ability and commitment to look to the past for answers to present (and future) *Maori* educational developments is perhaps the most critical factor to *Maori* educational achievement. The literature also indicates that dominant forms of schooling as introduced to *Maori* in the early 1800's has not worked for the majority of *Maori* people. *Kaupapa Maori* literature also indicates that in fact the answer is within us and within *te reo* and *tikanga Maori*. In order for success to be the experience of *Maori* students there is required a fundamental need for the affirmation and validation of *Maori* people, language, culture and *Maori* aspirations.

The complexity of *Maori* pedagogy is not to be viewed, however, as limiting or restrictive. Rather it presents a multitude of possibilities for those that are willing and committing to bringing about positive change for *Maori* within education. What is clear is that there have always been a range of pedagogical forms that have been a part of *Maori* experience. The construction and transmission of *matauranga Maori* has occurred in many forms and processes. For example, there have existed many different forms of *whare wananga* and there are many ways in which knowledge has been transmitted, whether it be through *wananga* or through daily experiences of relationships through *whakapapa*. This indicates that pedagogy is not solely a formal process and practice but has many varied expressions. An example of this is that of 'adult' *Maori* education, the literature reflects that the critical factors within *Kaupapa Maori* are applicable across all age groupings. If we look at existing *Maori* education programmes such as *Te*

Kohanga Reo and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* we see that 'adult' education takes place alongside the *tamariki* in the context of the *Kohanga* and *Kura whanau*. It is group-centred and kin oriented and these dynamics lend themselves to a more supportive learning environment for all concerned. This is not to deny the specific nature of 'adult' education, rather it indicates that in contexts such as *Te Kohanga Reo* there are multiple levels at which learning is occurring.

This review provides an overview of *Kaupapa Maori* education philosophies as a basis for considering the implications for enhancing learning outcomes for *Maori* learners. The elements, principles and values discussed here must be viewed within the wider context of cultural, spiritual, political and economic experiences of *Maori* people. They must also be understood as being a part of a wider matrix or cultural template within which *Maori* pedagogy is located. The instigation of a process towards shaping successful pedagogies for e-learning for *Maori* is exciting and the critical factors noted in this literature review will provide a strong foundation for such developments.

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