

MÄORI RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT

KAUPAPA MÄORI PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

A LITERATURE REVIEW

prepared by the

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Mihi

E ngā reo, e ngā mana

Tēnā koutou katoa.

He mihi whānui tēnei ki a koutou e awhi nei i tēnei kaupapa.

He putanga tēnei mahi rangahau nā koutou.

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Research Team

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International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI)

The University of Auckland

The International Research Institute for Māori 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 Māori 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 Māori and other indigenous peoples, by drawing together a group of highly skilled and respected scholars who are dedicated to quality outcomes in Māori and indigenous education. As such IRI was well-placed to assess the draft framework.

Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare

Wellington School of Medicine, The University of Otago

Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare promotes and undertakes health research within the Māori community as an integral part of Māori and iwi development. It also provides a supportive environment for Māori training in a variety of research

methods and techniques. The Centre is located within the Department of Public Health at the Wellington School of Medicine. Established in 1992, Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare is one of four Māori health research centres which receive core funding from the Health Research Council of New Zealand (HRC). Formerly known as Te Pūmanawa Hauora ki Te Whanganui-ā-Tara, the Centre was renamed in 1995 in memory of the founding director, the late Professor Eru Pōmare.

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2 INTRODUCTION

This literature review provides an overview of Kaupapa Māori principles and practices.¹ Furthermore it includes some examples of key notions in Kaupapa Māori service provision. Kaupapa Māori principles and practices are inseparable. We are reminded of this in Graham Hingangaroa Smith's 1997 doctoral research which stresses the need for Kaupapa Māori principles to be in active relationship with practice. This praxis then enables us to reflect critically on how provision is undertaken.

While this literature review is substantial it is also introductory in the sense that the constraints of time and resources have prevented us from being more expansive in this aspect of the research. We do however see that this review can be expanded upon in Stage II of the research. It is exciting to see the growing body of literature on Kaupapa Māori and to see also ongoing critical analysis and reflection of the many developments across the country. Given the philosophical and cultural relationship of theory and practice we have chosen to include principles, practice and provision in the one discussion. Where we have attempted to locate discussion from the various sectors together there are places of overlap that mean we have had to be more flexible in the flow of the document. Readers therefore need to appreciate that the review surveys the literature as a means of indicating key elements and does not seek to give a formulaic outline of what those elements are. In essence what we are saying is that there is no Kaupapa Māori 'recipe' and to attempt to construct one would be antithetical to the fundamentals of Kaupapa Māori.

2.1 PRINCIPLES

A more general statement needs to be made in regard to notion of principles. If we revisit the debate surrounding the articles or principles of the Treaty of Waitangi we can trace the term to one defined by the Crown and not by Māori. We need to be wary of the notion of principles. According to Mason Durie (1998) the 'Crown Principles' for action on the Treaty of Waitangi emerged because the government wanted to reassert its position amidst continual Māori legal debate over Treaty issues of redress. The Waitangi Tribunal, the Court of Appeal and the Royal Commission on Social Policy defined the earlier principles of protection, partnership and participation. The Government however, came up with its own principles including:

- the Kawanatanga principle (the principle of government)
- the rangatiratanga principle (the principle of self-management)
- the principle of equality
- the principle of co-operation
- the principle of redress

¹ This literature review supports the two research projects: 'Kaupapa Māori principles' and 'Māori provider success'. We argue that the term Kaupapa Māori applies to both 'independent' and 'mainstream' Māori providers and this was supported by the providers in their interviews with us.

When we are discussing principles we need to get it right. Māori believe that the principles of the Treaty have been co-opted by the government to suit the government's agenda. The defining of the terminology is central to our understanding of Kaupapa Māori. Who controls the definition of Kaupapa Māori principles? Let us rephrase the question – what are the principles, practices and procedures of Kaupapa Pākehā? By doing this we see the ethnocentricity of the question. This question rarely presents itself because Pākehā do not analyse or question their own culture; it is considered the 'norm'. Historically Māori have been positioned as the Other to Pākehā. The questions are about naming, claiming and controlling. This is the story of Colonisation.

3 KAUPAPA MÄORI PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE

In order to locate the research findings outlined in this report a key notion that must first be engaged is that of Kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori is a term that has its origins in a history that reaches back thousands of years. It is not a new term; however what this research investigates are the ways in which Kaupapa Māori is defined by Māori and how that is positioned in regard to Māori service delivery in a mainstream setting. The ancient definition of what constitutes Kaupapa Māori is critical to that service provision and therefore requires discussion. The term Kaupapa is outlined in some depth by Mereana Taki (1996:17) who writes;

Kaupapa is derived from key words and their conceptual bases. Kau is often used to describe the process of ‘coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose’. Taken further ka u may be translated as ‘representing an inarticulate sound, breast of a female, bite, gnaw, reach, arrive, reach its limit, be firm, be fixed, strike home, place of arrival’ (H.W. Williams c 1844-1985:464). Papa is used to mean ‘ground, foundation base’. Together kaupapa encapsulates these concepts, and a basic foundation of it is ‘ground rules, customs, the right of way of doing things’.

Walker (1996) has also discussed Kaupapa Māori. For Walker, ‘Kaupapa’ is the explanation that gives meaning to the ‘life of Māori’. It is the base on which the superstructures of Te Ao may be viewed. Māori are Tangata, born into a geophysical cultural milieu. Kaupapa Māori becomes Kaupapa Tangata. What evolves is this – He aha te mea nui o te Ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata. In essence, this whakatauaki explains Kaupapa Māori.

Tuakana Nepe (1991:15) discusses Kaupapa Māori in relation to the development of Kura Kaupapa Māori. She states that Kaupapa Māori is the “conceptualisation of Māori knowledge” that has been developed through oral tradition. This is the process by which the Māori mind “receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through Te Reo Māori.” Nepe situates Māori knowledge specifically within Te Reo Māori. Kaupapa Māori knowledge is not to be confused with Pākehā knowledge or general knowledge that has been translated into Māori. Kaupapa Māori knowledge has its origins in a metaphysical base that is distinctly Māori. As Nepe states, this influences the way Māori people think, understand, interact and interpret the world.

For Nepe, Māori knowledge is esoteric and tuturu Māori. It validates the Māori worldview and is owned and controlled by Māori through Te Reo Māori. Te Reo Māori is the only language that can access, conceptualise and internalise in spiritual terms this body of knowledge. From this, we take it that Māori language and Kaupapa Māori knowledge are inextricably bound. One is the means to the other. Ka penei te kōrero a Nepe (1991:15):

Kei te tino marama tatou katoa ma te reo Maori anake ka taea te whawha atu i te hohonutanga me tuturutanga o nga matauranga o nga matua, tipuna. Kotahi anake te huarahi. Korerotia, korerotia, korerotia te reo ki a tatou tamariki i nga wa katoa. Whangaitia, whangaitia, whangaitia o ratou wairua Maori. Kahore e taea e nga ture Pakeha. Kahore e taea e te reo Pakeha. Ma te reo Maori anake ka tutuki nga moemoea katoa mo a tatou tamariki.

Nepe’s writing argued for the significance of Kaupapa Māori as an educational

intervention system to address the Māori educational crisis and to ensure the survival of Kaupapa Māori knowledge and Te Reo Māori.

It must be noted at this point that where Kaupapa Māori is the phrase being utilised more generally it is not the only term that relates to Māori aspirations. Over the years there have been key movements and shifts that have brought us to the place where Kaupapa Māori is now used more regularly in Māori communities. This has not always been the case. In the 1960s and the 1970s the discourse of 'Māoritanga' prevailed. In the 1980s and 1990s the discourse revolved around biculturalism and 'taha Māori'. Walker (1974) writes that the term 'Māoritanga' originated with Sir James Carroll in 1920. Later in 1940 Apirana Ngata (cited in Walker, 1974) described it as the:

...inculcation of pride in Māori history and traditions, the retention as far as possible of old time ceremonial, the continuous attempt to interpret the Māori point of view to the Pākehā in power.

Crucial to Ngata's point is the implication of social relationships between minority and majority groups and power. Māori Marsden saw 'Māoritanga' as the "corporate view that Māoris hold about ultimate reality and meaning." John Rangihau (1975) added relish to the debate. For him the term 'Māoritanga' was invented by Pākehā as a means of positioning Māori as a homogenous grouping rather than affirming the diversity of whānau, hapū and iwi identification. The critique provided by Rangihau is important also to an analysis of Kaupapa Māori in that we need to view Kaupapa Māori as multiple rather than as a singular, universal way of being. This is not to say that there are not key tenets that can be located within Kaupapa Māori principles and practices. A number of authors have identified critical notions and concepts that are inherent in Kaupapa Māori.¹

A key element in the discussion of Kaupapa Māori is the centrality of Te Reo Māori me ōna tīkanga. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) writes that Kaupapa Māori paradigm in education is founded on three key themes,

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

This locates te reo Māori me ōna tīkanga as critical elements in any discussion of Kaupapa Māori principles and practices and is in line with the assertions made by Nepe that Māori language must be viewed as essential in the reproduction of Kaupapa Māori. Expanding the discussion of what constitutes Kaupapa Māori principles and practices in a changing world has been the focus of many Māori people involved in research and development of Māori programmes in the various sectors. It is noted however that in regard to national developments the area of Māori Education has been crucial. The development of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have placed Māori in a position where not only the definitions of what is Kaupapa Māori have been important but where significant moves in the identification of Māori pedagogical practices have been made. This has brought to

¹ See, for example, Smith (1997), Smith (1996), Pihama (1993), Taki (1996), Bishop (1994).

the fore debates over various kupu, tikanga, kawa and how they are best located as Kaupapa Māori practice.

Kaupapa Māori knowledge permeates each of the components of Kaupapa Māori education including Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Kura Kaupapa Māori teaching training, the development of Kura Kaupapa Māori resources, Whare Wānanga and Whare Kura. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) outlines Kaupapa Māori as a term used by Māori to describe the practice and philosophy of living a 'Māori' culturally informed life. In essence this is a Māori world view which incorporates thinking and understanding. Māori writers and academics from several different disciplines have articulated the importance, centrality, validity and the imperative to guarantee the survival of Te Reo Māori.

Following on from Nepe, Taina Pohatu (1996) advances the argument that cultural underpinnings of whenua and whakapapa are imperative to ensure cultural transmission and acquisition. (socialisation). His work entitled – 'I Tipu ai Tātau i nga Turi o o Tātau 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 Māori. We can draw some of these analyses together. For Nepe and other Māori writers, Kaupapa Māori is grounded in Te Reo Māori. Pohatu grounds it in whakapapa and whenua. Another important concept is Matauranga.

It is important to acknowledge that 'Matauranga' is not 'Knowledge'. This is important when discussing Kaupapa Māori. Charles Royal (1998) has written on a developing theory of Matauranga Māori. Matauranga Māori is created by Māori to explain their experience of the world. Matauranga Māori was traditionally created with the view that the earth was Papatuanuku, the sky was Ranginui and the world in which we currently reside is called Te Ao Marama. Matauranga Māori, like Kaupapa Māori, is not new. It has been created and maintained for centuries in this country. What is new is to see it in contrast to other disciplines of knowledge, including Western forms of knowledge. The similarities with Kaupapa Māori are evident.

Royal writes about whakapapa as a research model and his definition of Matauranga Māori is created only by the use of whakapapa. Royal cautions us to be clear when we are defining Māori terms such as Matauranga and rangahau; the issue of who owns the definition is paramount. Given that the term 'rangahau' appears in such places as the names of Government departments, it is urgent that Māori define the term correctly. Royal (1998) relates the story of a conversation he had with Taki Marsden from Tai Tokerau. Royal asked Taki that if he were to ask his father what matauranga Māori was, would his father know. Taki replied that "to ask my father what matauranga Māori is would be like asking a fish what water is. It remains invisible to them." We suggest that the notion of Kaupapa Māori is equally elusive.

Kaupapa Māori has emerged as a discourse and a reality, as a Theory and a Praxis directly from Māori lived realities and experiences. One of those realities is that for over a century and a half the New Zealand education system has failed the majority of Māori children who have passed through it. Kaupapa Māori as an educational intervention system was initiated by Māori to address the Māori educational crisis and to ensure the survival of Kaupapa Māori knowledge and Te Reo Māori. The writing of Graham Smith is instrumental here. Smith's academic writing spans over

ten years. His 1997 text, 'The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis' is pivotal.

The term 'theory' has been deliberately co-opted by Smith and linked to 'Kaupapa Māori' in order to develop a counter-hegemonic practice and to understand the cultural constraints exemplified within critical questions such as 'what counts as theory'? Smith challenges the narrow, eurocentric interpretation of 'theory' as it has been applied within New Zealand education.

Sheilagh Walker (1996) also unpacks the history of Western philosophy, choosing to locate Kaupapa Māori within a distinctly theoretical terrain that is Māori initiated, defined and controlled. Kaupapa Māori Theory has had the dual effect of providing both the theoretical 'space' to support the academic writing of Māori scholars as well as being the subject of critical interrogation, analysis and application.

Bishop and Glynn (1999) refer to Kaupapa Māori as the "flourishing of a proactive Māori political discourse." For these writers Kaupapa Māori is a movement and a consciousness. Since the 1980s with the advent of Te Kohanga Reo, Kaupapa Māori has become an influential, coherent philosophy and practice for Māori conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis, advancing Māori cultural and educational outcomes within education. As Graham Smith (1997) outlines, Kaupapa Māori Theory is still in the formative stages despite the appearance of the term within discussion forums in the 1980s when the Department of Education was attempting to introduce 'taha Māori' into the curriculum.

The terms Kaupapa Māori, Tikanga Māori and Māoritanga would surface as interchangeable. The term Kaupapa Māori is now applied across a wide range of sites outside of education. Through the writings of the Auckland Māori academics the intellectual validity of Kaupapa Māori has been established as a bona fide theory of transformation. Kaupapa Māori has become an entrenched part of the official discourse appearing in a range of Ministerial documents in Health, Social Welfare, Employment and Education. However the parameters, the theoretical guidelines of Kaupapa Māori, have not always been defined.

As Graham Smith (1997) has articulated, Kaupapa Māori 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 Māori 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 Māori strategies question the right of Pākehā to dominate and exclude Māori preferred interests in education, and asserts the validity of Māori 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 Māori thus challenges, questions and critiques Pākehā hegemony. It does not reject or exclude Pākehā culture. It is not a 'one or the other' choice. As Graham Smith states, the theoretical boundaries of Kaupapa Māori have been tested, interrogated and reflected upon by the Māori community and the Auckland

academic group, disseminated locally and internally. To put it succinctly, at the core of Kaupapa Māori is the catch-cry: ‘to be Māori is the norm’.

Placing Māori at the centre was clearly the intention of the Māori Education Commission. The Māori Education Commission was set up by the Minister of Māori affairs Tau Henare in 1997. The Commission consisted of six Māori who were highly skilled and held in high regard by the Māori community. The main kaupapa of the Commission was to listen, observe and conscientiously represent the views of Māori in determining the nature and content of advice that they gave to the Minister. The Commission believed that whilst Kaupapa Māori programmes are still in their infancy and lack a comprehensive support infrastructure, they are achieving success. Many Kura Kaupapa Māori claim low levels of truancy, few behavioural issues and high levels of whānau support and involvement.

In Report Two (1998:14) the Commission outlined six factors requesting urgent attention, that were identified by the Māori community. They consisted of the following:

1. An accelerated and comprehensive teacher recruitment and training programme,
2. Effective strategies and incentives for teacher retention,
3. A fast-track programme for the production of Kaupapa Māori resources,
4. Development of Kaupapa Māori assessment and evaluation procedures,
5. Either a realistic funding formula which reflects and accommodates the unique character of Kaupapa Māori, or a radically alternative method of funding, and
6. Adequate grants to provide world class information technology resources.

What the Commission recognised was that each of these exercises will require dramatic attitudinal change from the existing practice and protocols of Government policy.

Māori called for a separate form of governance or Tino Rangatiratanga. The Commission received strong submissions for establishing a ‘stand alone’ Māori Education Authority. As the Māori Commissioners outline, this means placing control for Māori educational development squarely in the hands of Māori. In effect this is a proposal for Māori ownership, co-operation and group development. Advocates of a separate Māori Education Authority believe that Māori endeavours could then be placed in a single developmental programme, uniting Māori organisations by coordinating their joint and individual development.

The Commissioners reported that tribal educational plans could work in with national Māori initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura, Whare Wānanga and Ataarangi; working also with mainstream initiatives such as Resource Teachers of Māori, Māori teachers’ associations and advisory services. The important aspect, the Commission stipulates, is that unless there is separate direct funding the issue of governance is a futile exercise.

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

1. Tino Rangatiratanga
2. Emancipatory model
3. Visionary approach
4. Māori knowledge validation
5. Akonga Māori: Māori pedagogy
6. School kawa
7. Whānau control
8. Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga¹

Identifying these elements provides indicators as to key elements underpinning Kaupapa Māori developments. These elements also lean heavily on the work of Graham Smith who outlines also six of the seven areas identified by the Commission. That work is foundational in the development of analyses regarding Kaupapa Māori in Education and therefore deserves in-depth discussion.

¹ See also Sharples (1988).

4 KEY INTERVENTION ELEMENTS IN KAUPAPA MÄORI

Graham Hingangaroa Smith highlights six intervention elements that are an integral part of Kaupapa Māori and which are evident in Kaupapa Māori sites. These are:

- Tino Rangatiratanga (the ‘self-determination’ principle);
- taonga tuku iho (the ‘cultural aspirations’ principle);
- ako Māori (the ‘culturally preferred pedagogy’ principle);
- kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga (the ‘socio-economic’ mediation principle);
- whānau (the extended family structure principle);
- kaupapa (the ‘collective philosophy’ principle).

These principles are also articulated by other writers and therefore an overview of each is provided.

4.1 TINO RANGATIRATANGA

the ‘self-determination’ principle

The principle of Tino Rangatiratanga goes straight to the heart of Kaupapa Māori. It has been discussed in terms of sovereignty, autonomy and mana motuhake, self-determination and independence. Situated directly from the Treaty of Waitangi, it is the antithesis of Kawanatanga. The principle of Tino Rangatiratanga has guided Kaupapa Māori initiatives, reinforcing the goal of seeking more meaningful control over one’s own life and cultural well being. A crucial question remains – can real Tino Rangatiratanga be achieved within existing Pākehā-dominated institutional structures? Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, for example, were started outside of conventional schooling explicitly in order for Māori to take control of our destiny.

The theory and praxis of Tino Rangatiratanga will be discussed in relation to other mainstream services for Māori including Kaupapa Māori justice, Kaupapa Māori health, Kaupapa Māori housing, Kaupapa Māori 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 Māori health movement where health initiatives were claimed by Māori as their own. This is also affirmed by a recent Te Puni Kōkiri report¹ discussing guidelines for government agencies which referred to rangatiratanga as the “right of Māori to live and develop in a Māori way, whatever that may mean over time and in changing circumstances.”

4.2 TAONGA TUKU IHO

the ‘cultural aspirations’ principle

A Kaupapa Māori framework asserts a position that to be Māori is both valid and legitimate and in such a framework to be Māori is a taken for granted. Te Reo

¹ Te Puni Kōkiri (1998:11).

Māori, Mātauranga Māori, Tikanga Māori and ahuatanga Māori are actively legitimated and validated.¹ This principle acknowledges the strong emotional and spiritual factor in Kaupapa Māori, which is introduced to support the commitment of Māori to the intervention in the educational crisis.

4.3 AKO MĀORI

the ‘culturally preferred pedagogy’ principle

This principle promotes teaching and learning practices that are unique to Tikanga Māori. There is an acknowledgment of ‘borrowed’ pedagogies. Māori are able to choose their own preferred pedagogies. Rangimarie Rose Pere (1983) writes in some depth on key elements in Māori pedagogy. In her publication ‘Ako’ she provides expansive discussion regarding tikanga Māori concepts and their application to Māori pedagogies.

4.4 KIA PIKIAKE I NGĀ RARURARU O TE KAINGA

the ‘socio-economic’ mediation principle

This addresses the issue of Māori socio-economic disadvantage and the negative pressures this brings to bear on whānau and their children in the education environment. This principle acknowledges that despite these difficulties, Kaupapa Māori mediation practices and values are able to intervene successfully for the wellbeing of the whānau. The collective responsibility of the Māori community and whānau comes to the foreground.

4.5 WHĀNAU

the extended family structure principle

The principle of whānau, like Tino Rangatiratanga, sits at the heart of Kaupapa Māori. The whānau and the practice of whānaungatanga is an integral part of Māori identity and culture. The cultural values, customs and practices which organise around the whānau and ‘collective responsibility’ are a necessary part of Māori survival and educational achievement.

Within the writings outlined in this literature review, there are many examples where the principle of whānau and whānaungatanga come to the foreground as a necessary ingredient for Māori health, Māori justice and Māori prosperity. One of the most potent examples of whānau can be seen in the dynamic organisation known as Te Whānau o Waipareira. This organisation came into being in 1981, becoming a charitable trust in 1984. The origins of the whānau however date back to the 1940s and 1950s when Māori urbanisation occurred.

¹ See the 1999 Wananga Capital Establishment Report.

4.6 KAUPAPA

the ‘collective philosophy’ principle

Kaupapa Māori initiatives in Māori education are held together by a collective commitment and a vision. ‘Te Aho Matua’ is a formal charter which has collectively been articulated by Māori working in Kaupapa Māori initiatives. This vision connects Māori aspirations to political, social, economic and cultural wellbeing.

Leonie Pihama (1993) has also written extensively on Kaupapa Māori theory. For Pihama, inherent in Kaupapa Māori theory is an intrinsic critique of power structures in Aotearoa that historically have constructed Māori people in binary opposition to Pākehā, reinforcing the discourse of Māori as the ‘other’. Kaupapa Māori theory aligns itself with Critical Theory in that it seeks to expose power relations that perpetuate the continued oppression of Māori people.

5 KAUPAPA MÄORI ACROSS SECTORS

It is important to expand on these principles and include some common objectives that are shared by Kaupapa Mäori projects. Kaupapa Mäori Theory and Praxis has grown out of Kaupapa Mäori. The Theory and the Praxis have emerged from the processes of conscientisation, resistance and transformative action. These transformative actions have challenged, critiqued and changed both the mode and the institutions of teaching and learning in Aotearoa.

There has been a prolific output of academic work from the Mäori education group of staff and post-graduate students who work within the School of Education at Auckland University. These writers and students have all contributed to the ongoing praxis of Kaupapa Mäori. The writings include issues of Kaupapa Mäori Research, Kaupapa Mäori Praxis, Kaupapa Mäori Epistemology, Kaupapa Mäori Pedagogy, Kaupapa Mäori Curriculum and Kaupapa Mäori Mana Wahine.

The range in which Kaupapa Mäori 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. Margie Hohepa (1990) and Tania Ka`ai (1990) both examined Te Kohanga Reo as a context for language teaching and learning. Ka`ai compared Mäori pedagogical patterns she observed within Te Kohanga with those of the bilingual and English medium new entrant classrooms. Richards (1991) discusses the underdevelopment of Te Reo Mäori in the Te Whānau-a-te Ehotu hapū in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Tereki Stewart (1992) discusses Te Mauri o te Reo and the power of the language – investigating a new pathway for enhancing and improving the status of Mäori language and achievement in schools.

Frank Churchwood (1991) discusses ‘He Ara Hou’ and the family model. This writer elaborated on the ‘family-group model’ as a pedagogical intervention in Mäori schooling crisis. 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 mihi.

More recent research by Margie Hohepa (1999) follows on from earlier work examining interactions in family literacy practices as a constitutive context for adult Mäori language elaboration and acquisition processes. For Hohepa the hard work has paid off with the initiation of Te Kohanga Reo but the focus now is on specific activities within the family, ensuring that Te Reo Mäori is supported within the personal domains of the child. This research locates how Kaupapa Mäori can be supported in both the schooling and whānau domains.

As identified by Graham Smith, whānau is one of the key principles of Kaupapa Mäori. An excellent example of this can be seen in the writing of Ngareta Timutimu (1995). This writer conducted research within her own hapū with the realisation that her hapū would presently be left with no fluent Mäori speakers. Her writing argued that the ‘middle’ generation within her hapū play a critical role in maintaining the traditional language and knowledge of the hapū. The work of Ben Tangaere (1998) also reinforces whānau as a key Mäori intervention model in education. Tangaere discusses what we can learn from the interventions based on whānau in education; how can these be applied to Mäori social, economic, cultural and educational crises.

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 Māori. Given the historical imposition of Pākehā structures, language and knowledge onto Māori people there is without doubt a political drive that is crucial to current expressions of Kaupapa Māori. In writing about the role of Kaupapa Māori theory Graham Smith (1997) has strongly contended the need for Kaupapa Māori 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 Māori as a form of critical analysis which is driven by Māori understandings. Leonie Pihama (1993:57) in articulating the need for Kaupapa Māori to be the basis for engaging power relations in this country writes;

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

The point being made is that when te reo Māori me ōna tikanga are viewed as valid and legitimate then Māori 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 Pākehā dominance. This is clearly an issue for Kaupapa Māori implementation within ‘mainstream’ institutions and settings. Tino Rangatiratanga as an element also contributes to the notion of Kaupapa Māori as counter-hegemonic in that the fundamental base of Tino Rangatiratanga is that of Māori control over things Māori, or has been expressed by Māori for Māori. Again this can be challenging to the structures and philosophies of ‘mainstream’ organisations.

It is appropriate to make a comment in regard to the expansiveness of Kaupapa Māori; that is, that Kaupapa Māori is for all Māori not for select groups or individuals. Kaupapa Māori is not owned by any grouping nor can it be defined in such ways that deny Māori people access to its articulation. What this means is that Kaupapa Māori must of necessity be diverse and recognise the diversity within our people; women, men, tamariki, kuia, koroua, rangatahi, whānau, hapū, iwi, urban Māori, these are some examples of the diversity within our people and therefore Kaupapa Māori 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 Māori communities. As a part of recognising the impact of colonisation on internal Māori 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 Māori needs to engage notions of Mana Wāhine in its principles and practices. A good example of this notion is found in the Te Aho Matua document developed from a Kaupapa Māori base for Kura Kaupapa Māori. Within Te Aho Matua there are clear statements in regard to gender; for example it is noted by Nepe (1991)

He tapu te to te wahine he tapu ano to te tane. Kia kaua tetahi i whakaiti i tetahi. Engari kia whakanui tetahi i tetahi i runga i te mohio te mahi ngatahi a te wahine me te tane e tupu ora ai nga tamariki me te iwi hoki.

What this statement does is make explicit that both women and men have roles in the development of our children. This is important in Kaupapa Māori as it locates

both Māori women and Māori men as critical in Māori initiatives. There is currently an imbalance in regard to decision making for Māori which can be located as a consequence of the ongoing marginalisation of Māori women through the imposition of conservative gender beliefs.

Inherent in Kaupapa Māori is the notion of struggle. This links directly to expression of Tino Rangatiratanga, and ideas that are framed in a 'by Māori for Māori' paradigm. Out of struggle comes the desire to critique and transform. Critique is an integral part of Kaupapa Māori theorising. From Awatere's 1984 'Māori sovereignty' to Walker's 1990 'Ka whawhai tonu mātou' to Tahana's 1980 work 'A critical analysis of some studies of Māori schooling', Māori academics have been driven by a sense of struggle and a sharpened critique of the dominant ideologies which serve to marginalise Kaupapa Māori. 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.

Allen-Westray (1997) critiques the very educational system in which she trained as a bilingual teacher, asking the question 'does the bilingual teacher training meet the needs of Māori teachers?' Kuni Jenkins (1991) looks historically at the very introduction of print literacy for Māori and illustrates the relationship between literacy, power and colonisation. Hariata Huata-Tapiata (1992) cuts to the core of Kaupapa Māori and education discussing Tino Rangatiratanga and the struggle within the dominant Pākehā education system. Her work explores Tino Rangatiratanga as a dynamic instrument to deliver mana Māori motuhake. This writer illustrates how education has been the mechanism to deny Tino Rangatiratanga amongst Māori.

Kaupapa Māori theorising has ranged across a variety of educational sites and issues, critiquing specific policies imposed on Māori. Patricia Johnston's (1991) writing highlighted differences between policy recommendations for empowering Māori decision-making through School Boards of Trustees and the actual experiences of Māori members on these boards. She highlighted the differences between rhetoric (as outlined by policy) and the differing reality as experienced by Māori. Johnston's 1999 work investigated the relationship between education policy and Māori underachievement; tracing the interactions and relationships of 'difference' and 'power', examining historically how these policies have contributed and sustained Māori educational underachievement. The processes of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism are all analysed. Johnston found that it was the Pākehā conception of difference that informed and influenced the policy forming processes.

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 argued that PAFT is not an emancipatory programme for Māori; rather it espouses 'victim-blaming' scenarios that maintain structural inequalities, perpetuating the subordinate positioning of Māori.

Cherryl Smith (1994) analysed the issue of iwi, arguing that iwi development was a discourse of power currently being tested by Māori 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.¹

Decolonisation is discussed in other sections of this literature review. 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 Māori, creating power dynamics that privilege the colonising forces.

The following writers have also contributed to the growing critique of power discourses that occur in education. Mihinoa Naden (1998) looks at the exploitation of Māori knowledge within the framework of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority discussing how this framework is a site of struggle between dominant Pākehā and subordinate Māori knowledge. The author discovers how ‘positivism’ forms the basis of New Right ideological positioning, which in turn has inspired and driven educational ‘reforms’. The author argues for equal representation of Māori knowledge and for increased power for Māori in decision making within education.

Joe Naden (1998) critiques the Education Review Office. This study examines the impact of the Educational Review Office on provision of education for Māori pupils within four secondary schools in South Auckland with significant numbers of Māori pupils. The author investigates the reasons for the continued failure of these schools to meet the legal requirements for administering a school according to an assurance audit. Naden postulates that by positing ‘managerialism’ as being the main factor in the under-performance of these schools; the social, political and cultural factors underpinning the compliance failures of these schools is ignored. The content of the structures and operational pedagogies of the ERO processes are problematic with respect to developing appropriate audit processes for schools with high numbers of Māori pupils.

Māori have a history of struggle in education relating to the mode and institutions of the dominant Pākehā education system. Māori have a history of perseverance and this is illustrated in a prolific array of writings by Māori. The struggle to have Te Reo Māori recognised as an official language in Aotearoa is an example of Māori struggle and Tino Rangatiratanga. The struggle to have Māori language week introduced and the setting up of the Māori language commission is part of this Waitangi claim. The Wai 718 Claim regarding Whare Wananga is another example of Māori struggle to provide an adequately funded education system based totally within Mātauranga Māori.

Another site of struggle has been the example of Māori television and the establishment of a nationally funded Māori television channel that is a national ‘public good’ rather than an economic driven enterprise. The development of Māori television is driven by the needs of Māori people to ensure the survival and validation of Te Reo Māori. Te Reo Māori me ōna Tikanga can be enhanced and

¹ See Murphy (1997). This author and teacher has been involved in organising and tutoring/facilitating Treaty of Waitangi seminars for several years and specialises in educational decolonisation waananga for tangata whenua. His philosophy is to provide a safe non-threatening environment where questions can be posed and issues discussed without course participants coming under personal attack or ridicule.

developed through the medium of Māori television. The report by Pihama et al. (1996) provided a discussion of the findings of the monitoring and evaluation of the Māori Television Pilot Project. The pilot was operated by Aotearoa Television Network and funded by Te Mangai Paho. The research team involved in this project found that within the Māori Television Pilot Project there was a commitment to Te Reo Māori me ōna Tikanga which has not been evident in the operations of the three 'mainstream' national channels.

The many contributors to the 1998 book 'Nga Kura Māori' give invaluable insight into the struggle of Māori pupils and teachers to retain their sense of being Māori in Native Schools amidst changing educational policies and the conflicting interests of the education system. As discussed by Professor Sid Mead (1998), Māori schools and Native Schools were another episode in the historical struggle for Māori education.

Another significant educational issue for Māori is truancy. The report by Bonita Sutherland and Susie Jacka (1997) identified that a distinctly Kaupapa Māori research methodology was a valid approach for investigating the question of Māori truancy, recognising the dimension of ethnicity and listening to the 'voices' of Māori truants.

Another element inherent in Kaupapa Māori Theory is a critique of New Right philosophies, policies and practices that assert libertarian free-market economics and a critique of new forms of cultural commodification. Several Māori writers have discussed these new forms of colonisation. Linda Smith and Graham Smith (1996) discuss four new mythologies in Māori Education:

- The myth of the autonomous chooser
- The myth of Tino Rangatiratanga
- The myth of credentialism
- The myth of Māori language revitalisation

The commodification of Māori taonga reaches across a wide range of sectors. For example Aroha Mead (1997) discusses the cultural and intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific. Kuni Jenkins and Cherryl Smith (1997) discuss the colonising of our Airspace and implications for Māori. Donna Gardiner (1997) discusses the important issue of 'Bio-colonialism' and the genetic theft of Whakapapa. Annette Sykes (1999) offers an indigenous perspective on 'Globalisation'. Leonie Pihama and Cherryl Smith (1998) discuss also the Commodification of Fisheries and Iwi.

Another key development in Kaupapa Māori is that of Kaupapa Māori Research and Kaupapa Māori theory. Linda Tuhiwai Smith¹ describes Kaupapa Māori research as a social project weaving in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, offering a counter-hegemonic approach to western forms of research, existing very much on the margins of dominant Western research paradigms. The influence of Kaupapa Māori research in Māori research and academic developments was evident in the 1998 Te Oru Rangahau Conference held at Massey University. The conference presentations provided diverse and challenging views on the broad topic

¹ Smith, L.T. aka Mead (1996)

of Kaupapa Māori Research. What the conference highlighted was the diverse ways in which Māori people utilise Kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori research is not singular nor should it be given the diversity of our experiences and backgrounds; however it can be argued that there are key tenets that inform Kaupapa Māori research. It is worth exploring some of those ideas as an example of how Kaupapa Māori principles can be applied in a research context.

In the early eighties Evelyn Stokes (1985) articulated that Māori themselves needed to become trained and skilled as researchers in order to conduct their own research on Māori. Māori could therefore guard and control the process of research. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991) emphasised that research is not just about the gathering of knowledge. For her, it is about resource allocation, information, equity and more importantly, control and power. Te Awekotuku alerted us to the fact that research is about power and control of knowledge.

Kathie Irwin (1994) articulates her characteristics of Māori research methods and practices and in particular, issues of academic endeavour and supervision. Both Irwin and Russell Bishop (1994) emphasise the concept of whānau, which forms the intersection point for Māori and research.

One hot topic of debate is the question of who can do Māori research. Can Pākehā contribute and participate in Kaupapa Māori research? As Fiona Cram (1997) illustrates, there remains a great deal of debate about the appropriateness of Pākehā researchers and their involvement in Māori research issues. In 1992 Graham Smith proposed four models which described the processes by which Pākehā have been able to carry out culturally appropriate research for Māori. The four models comprised: the tiaki model (mentor model); the whangai model (adoption model); the power sharing model and the empowering outcomes model.

Linda Smith's 1999 text, 'Decolonising Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples' provides us with the most comprehensive account to date of the issues surrounding Kaupapa Māori Research.¹ As Linda Smith and others have outlined, research has historically privileged Western ways of knowing and is intrinsically linked to imperialism and colonialism. The development and practice of Kaupapa Māori research acts as a direct challenge to dominant notions of what constitutes research. In terms of identifying key tenets, Linda Smith provides the following outline of 'working' principles that have emerged from Kaupapa Māori contexts. These are whakapapa, te reo, tikanga Māori, rangatiratanga and whānau. Mead outlines several questions that underlie the basis of Kaupapa Māori Research. These are:

- What research do we want to carry out?
- Who is that research for?
- What difference will it make?
- Who will carry out this research?
- How do we want the research to be done?
- How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?

¹ See also Mead (1996).

- Who will own the research?
- Who will benefit?

Where Kaupapa Māori research provides one example of how Kaupapa Māori principles can be implemented in specific contexts there are also writings that are related directly to particular sectors. The Māori health area has a growing body of literature in regard to Kaupapa Māori.

At the beginning of the year 2000 it must be acknowledged that the state of Māori Health is appalling.¹ The text 'Hauora Māori Standards of Health III'² is a landmark in the documentation of Māori health history where the authors drew attention to Māori ill-health and the relationship between socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. The text situates Māori health within the context of colonisation, the struggle by Māori to adapt to enforced urbanisation and changes brought about by World War II. The text was also significant in that it presented a distinctly Māori analysis of the health issues. It is clearly indicated that there are serious ongoing issues pertaining to Māori health that require immediate attention. Māori health is a crisis similar to the ongoing crisis in mainstream educational underachievement.

The writing of Mason Durie (1998:214) is pivotal here. This writer makes the contention that:

Māori health development is a story of struggle, challenge, threat, adaptation, and adjustment.

Māori have consistently identified the overall context for improved health as they have for education, justice and the social services. Māori want full and active participation in society; access to Te Ao Māori and access to quality health services. Kaupapa Māori principles surrounding health/hauora range over a variety of topics. Māori health cannot be separated from the historical and contemporary experiences of Māori. Māori health cannot be separated from other aspects of living such as economic and educational realities.

In 1996 Kim Workman discussed the Crown's objective for Māori Health. Workman related that the health reforms had seen a shift away from the dominating influences of health institutions and health professionals towards health services that have measurable benefits, offer value for money, and are consistent with Māori values and priorities. The health reforms have seen Māori emerge as health providers, co-purchasers and architects of positive health policy. As Workman illustrated, however, there is uncertainty about the level of public sector commitment to Māori development, bicultural responsiveness and Treaty of Waitangi principles. Workman endorsed Durie's three guiding principles, which should underlie the development of policies for Māori Health.³ These three principles are:

- Tino Rangatiratanga

¹ See 'The State of Māori Health – Key Facts,' Ministry of Health 1999

² Pomare et.al. (1995).

³ See Te Puni Kōkiri (1993). Te Ara Ahu Whakamua: Strategic: Directions for Māori, a discussion document. Wellington: Ministry of Māori Development.

- He tangata he tangata
- Tātau tātau

The first Principle is 'Tino Rangatiratanga'. This states that Māori have the right to self-determination and rights to development. These rights should be reflected in policies for Māori health. The issue is that a constitutional position must be confirmed allowing Māori to be purchasers of health services.

The second Principle outlined by Durie is 'he tangata, he tangata'. This Principle states that Māori people should be the focus for Māori health policies and includes an awareness that Māori live in 'diverse' realities. Differing strategies will be needed to reach all Māori.

The third Principle is 'tātau, tātau'. This identifies Māori health as a collective responsibility. The notion of whānau is paramount. As Workman notes, the impact of the cult of individualism is reflected in the formulation of government policies, which contradict Māori realities.

In line with the Tino Rangatiratanga principle Durie (1998:1) notes that central to the notion of Māori health development is control. He stipulates that

...unless Māori themselves are active in developing policies for health and bringing effective health services to their own people, then no amount of expert advice will provide the conviction of ownership.

A Māori development approach to health makes the assumption that Māori control and leadership will be critical factors in the determination of strategies. Health is intrinsically linked to self-determination.

The position of Māori health today is historically linked to the processes of colonisation and cultural invasion. Māori Marsden (1986) writing on 'Māori Illness and Healing' made the contention that

continued and persistent deprivation/oppression/intrusion/imposition/manipulation/ exploitation of the tangata whenua (indigenous peoples) by the dominant culture/ society/government, poses a serious threat to the self-esteem/humanity/identity which leads to serious disorders- social/ organic/mental/spiritual.

Cultural invasion and colonisation have also been identified as playing a significant part in the ill-health of Māori. Durie and others have consistently advocated that good health is connected to cultural security and identity. As the World Health Organisation 1947 stipulates, health is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. Several models of Māori health have emerged in the past decade. These perspectives have had a significant impact on health services provided by mainstream and Māori.

Kaupapa Māori models do not align themselves with the Western philosophical model of Cartesian dualism whereby a distinction is made between the mental and the physical. The Whare Tapa Wha Model (Durie, 1998) sees health as a four-walled house. These comprise of: taha wairua (spiritual side); taha hinengaro (thought and feelings); taha tinana (physical side); and taha whānau (family). For Māori, the taha wairua is the most essential for good health. The fourth dimension of taha whānau is the cornerstone of Kaupapa Māori. An integration of all these elements is necessary for good health.

Nga Pou Mana is a set of values described by the 1988 Royal Commission on Social Policy comprising of: whānaungatanga; taonga tuku iho; te Ao Turoa; and turangawaewae. This model places added emphasis on the external environment and the significance of the oral tradition. As with other models, the variables incorporate the concepts of mana, cultural identity, a sound economic base coupled with a sense of confidence.

Rangimarie Rose Pere's (1984) model incorporated Te Wheke with eight tentacles; each of the tentacles symbolising a particular dimension of health. The body and head represent the whole family unit. The intertwining of the tentacles indicates the close relationship between each dimension. In particular, 'Ha a Koro ma a Kui' ma literally meaning the 'breath of life' that comes from the ancestors, acknowledges the importance of whakapapa and having a positive awareness of your history and identity.

Currently there is a study being undertaken for 700 Māori households known as Te Hoe Nuku Roa, by researchers at the Māori Studies Department, Massey University. Bishop and Glynn (1999) have commented on this study. The project seeks to track the progress, problems, aspirations and circumstances of a range of Māori people over a 10 to 15 year period. Preliminary analysis of the data suggests that it is possible to classify respondents according to how much they identify themselves and their level of access to Māori culture and resources. Evidence is mounting to indicate that access to Māori resources is uneven and for many whānau, any meaningful identity is seriously compromised.

The findings suggest that there is every reason to believe that secure cultural identity may afford some protection against poor health. The other scenario is that a reduced access to Te Ao Māori may be associated with educational, social, and economic disadvantage. This implies that Māori need to know who they are, where they come from, in order to lead healthy full lives. Access to the institutions of culture, which include access to Te Reo Māori and Tikanga Māori is the key to a secure identity. Durie (1998) notes that only a minority of the household members are secure in their identity as Māori and fewer than half have meaningful access to land or a marae.

As outlined in the literature so far, the principles and practices of Kaupapa Māori health are similar to those outlined in education. Mainstream services have not worked for Māori. The health and wellbeing of Māori is still under threat. Māori live in diverse realities and health services must take this into account. For Māori, hauora is holistic and does not align itself with separating the mind from the body. Health is a state of mind and body. The literature suggests that Māori have consistently applied their own Kaupapa Māori perspectives in health and this is acknowledged in many rōpū and community-based Māori health settings across Aotearoa.

One significant report in Māori health literature is 'Rapuora'. The report was initiated by the Māori Women's Welfare League in 1981 under the leadership of Elizabeth Murchie. The methodology incorporated Kaupapa Māori frameworks. Rapuora became a health movement not unlike Te Kohanga Reo; health centres were set up on marae and in urban settings. The study involved 1177 interviews with Māori women based on a questionnaire that discussed recent health events,

lifestyle risks, stress, self-perceptions of health, chronic illness and access to health systems. Rapuora broke new ground, generating enthusiasm amongst Māori women and encouraging women to play vital roles in improving health for all Māori. Māori women became leaders in Māori health and Education.

Lawson-Te Aho (1998) provides a critique of mainstream institutions and their failure to ensure the safety of Māori youth. Prisons are the clearest example of this where 25% of all Māori suicides occur. The numbers are not lessening. In the report 'Kia Piki Te Ora o te Taitamariki', Lawson-Te Aho situates Māori youth suicide directly with colonisation. For the author colonisation is a political act which assumes cultural superiority and the right to dominate. Like Durie and Jackson, this author stipulates that the removal of land, the forced impoverishment of Māori, and the removal of Māori control over Māori destiny are factors that have profoundly affected Māori and Māori youth.

One of these responses to enforced acculturation and colonisation was the establishment of negative behaviours as coping mechanisms for the trauma of colonisation. These have been transmitted inter-generationally through role modelling and have become almost normalised in today's society. We seem to take it for granted that Māori will be in jail; that Māori youth will be seen on our streets sniffing glue and filling our psychiatric institutions. Lawson-Te Aho's strategy promotes Māori responses to Māori youth suicide. The contention is made that Māori must be resourced adequately to deal with the issue themselves. The role of the Government should be supportive rather than directive. As the literature confirms, there is a clear link between secure cultural identity and good health. Cultural knowledge and cultural behaviour provide a protection against self-destruction. As Lawson-Te Aho concludes, there is increasing evidence that indigenous people who are least susceptible to alcohol abuse, drug abuse, self-destruction and mental illness, are those who are competent in both their traditional culture and the contemporary context. This is to be competent in both Western and Indigenous worlds.

Many of the assumptions that underpin mainstream health education and social service strategies do not work for indigenous populations internationally. Mainstream approaches do not work for Māori. Cultural alienation is an identified risk factor related to Māori youth suicide and health frameworks must recognise and prioritise Kaupapa Māori principles. These include cultural assessment, whānau participation, the use of Te Reo Māori, Tikanga Māori, Rongoa Māori, Tohunga involvement and the establishment of a Māori health workforce.

The whānau is the basis of Māori society and efforts must be made to include whānau development in Māori health practices. Māori communities have the skills to respond; they must be resourced accordingly. In mainstream health services, too many Māori are misdiagnosed, becoming the casualties of a mental health system that does not cater for them. The 'Mason Report' provides one of the most disturbing written accounts of how a mainstream mental health system can severely disadvantage Māori who are under their 'care'.

Ellis (1998) has written on the issue of maternity services for Māori women. The purpose of this study was to make an exploratory study on maternity services for Māori women to determine whether a sample of Māori women were satisfied with the services they received. One of the objectives was to discuss cultural safety,

maternity care opportunities and alternative environmental issues that affect maternity care. Accordingly the report makes recommendations that aim to improve maternity services for Māori women.

The author noted that a 'services-oriented' approach that espouses a 'one size fits all' philosophy for the provision of maternity services for Māori women, is no longer appropriate. Maternity services must cater for the cultural beliefs of individuals. Issues such as the disposal of whenua (after birth) and traditional birthing practices of Māori require consideration in maternity settings.

The principles and practices of Kaupapa Māori health come to the foreground when we raise the issue of cultural safety in nursing practice. Irihapeti Ramsden (1997:114) articulates that "people are wanting choices and to that end are becoming active in a range of ways." The debate of cultural safety (Kawa Whakaruruhau) ignited controversy and critique from Māori and Pākehā. Traditionally nurses were educated to work with people without recognition of their differences. There was an assumption that patients were all the same. This colour-blindness operates in mainstream schooling, espouses a 'we are all one people' perspective.

As Ramsden illustrates, Pākehā hegemony has reigned in our health institutions. The issue of cultural safety in nursing education was developed from the interaction of the indigenous people with a nursing service that was designed from the social values and mores of a dominant society.

The issue of cultural safety arose from Māori pain over the unnecessary loss of beloved whānau. This concept has been offered to other non-Māori. Cultural safety is about quality assurance and patient rights, whoever those people may be. Here we have an example of Tikanga Māori being offered to mainstream Pākehā society. Cultural safety insists that nurses and health professionals become experts in understanding their own diversity within their own cultural outlines, as well as their potential for powerful impact on patients from other cultures. This also applies to Pākehā social workers who work with Māori 'clients'.

The provision of health services by Māori providers using Māori cultural contexts has increased dramatically in the past decade, particularly since the health reforms. There are many examples of Māori services all over the country providing primary and secondary health care. Urban Māori authority services like Te Whānau a Waipareira Trust in West Auckland provide a comprehensive health system for its community. This has been achieved amidst continual struggle and legitimisation issues. Raukura Hauora o Tainui provides a comprehensive care service to more than 5000 Māori in the Waikato area.

Ria Earp (1998) commends Te Puna Hauora o Te Raki Pae Whenua for its comprehensive marae-based health service based on the Northshore in Auckland. This service provides affordable access to general practitioners, community and health nurses, a paediatrician, a diabetic clinic, dental service and a cervical screening service. Earp acknowledges the work of Tipu Ora based in Rotorua. This service provides for the health needs of Māori caregivers and their children from conception until the age of five. Their success is clearly measured in the reduction of low birth weight babies who are born into the Tipu Ora programme and the dramatic reduction in the rates of SIDS amongst the babies. For Earp, the success of

Tipu Ora lies in the iwi-approved kaitiaki who act as a trusted link between whānau and the range of specialists from both mainstream and Māori traditions.

The 1999 document ‘Nau Te Rourou Naku Te Rourou’ celebrates the transfer of Te Puia Hospital and associated community facilities to Ngati Porou Hauora. For Chief Executive Dianne Gibson, this is a story of success for Māori innovation. With this transfer, Ngati Porou Hauora take responsibility for the management of the resources needed to ensure that the health needs of the local community are met. The health initiative offers a range of innovative client-focussed, accessible and affordable services. For these hapū of Ngati Porou, they have established their right to provide Māori services for Māori people.

Hapaia te Ora is a Kaupapa Māori programme developed, implemented and supported by the Public Health unit of Te Mana Hauora o Te Tairāwhiti. Writers Benson, Boyd and Hart (1999) articulate that this is an ocean-based programme that aligns with Māori realities and traditional concepts. The programme is based on Tangaroa (kaitiaki of the ocean) and a model of wellbeing connected to Maui. This is an example of a Māori programme driven by the community. Its philosophies are unique to the North Island East Coast Tangata Whenua. Te Moananui-a-kiwa provides healing and cleansing for the tangata whenua who are suffering from any mental, physical or spiritual ill health. The Hapaia te Ora programme uses the medium of waka ama and other forms of hoe waka, such as surfing, diving, sailing and fishing to bring Māori rangatahi and their whānau back in touch with Tangaroa and Tikanga Māori. The focus is on regular physical activity, reduced smoking, and the establishment of international whakapapa links to Tahiti and Hawaii.

As the authors relate, the success of the programme could not have been achieved without the partnership approach they share with the Public Health Unit of Te Mana Hauora o Te Tairāwhiti. Once again the Kaupapa Māori principles of whānau, Te Reo Māori, collective vision, whakapapa, the Treaty of Waitangi are all-important for the success of this project. This programme is focussed on changing the nature of mainstream service delivery.

The integration of Māori theoretical perspectives with Western theory and practice is going on all the time in mainstream health institutions in Aotearoa. It must be acknowledged that Māori workers, as individuals, involved in all areas of health, practice Tikanga Māori in their daily working lives. Kaupapa Māori is operating in all areas at all times.

Marshall and Paul (1999) adopt a uniquely Māori approach to their work in a paediatric health setting. Both these social workers who practice within a multidisciplinary setting find it a challenge to combine their Māori spiritual base with the policies and practices of a major health provider that operates under a Western health perspective. Reclaiming their cultural theory and practice is a challenge that is often painful and damaging; they return to their own peer group “E Tu” for support. “E Tu” is a group of Māori social workers employed by Auckland Crown Health.

For these social workers one of the key Kaupapa Māori practices underpinning their work is the concept of Mana Wahine and the power of a mother’s

unconditional love for her children. The authors relate that there are too few Māori doctors, nurses and allied health staff; protocols around culturally safe practices are slow to develop. Despite the responsibility of The Starship Hospital to provide a service to Māori, as acknowledged within its mission statement, this task is left to a small group of kaitiaki. The authors of this report acknowledge often ignorant, and at worse, personal and institutional racism in their daily work.

Parkinson and Elliott (1999) offer an indigenous perspective as social workers working within another mainstream health service in Aotearoa. As senior social workers within Te Pua Pohutukawa, which is the adolescent sexual assault unit of the Auckland Sexual Health Services, they are involved in developing culturally safe mainstream services for Māori adolescents. For these workers, the success of Māori client service delivery lies in a team approach that acknowledges and supports a Māori philosophy of wellbeing. They express Māori philosophies of health which include (1999:52):

- Self-esteem
- Confidence
- A sense of identity
- Control of destiny
- Intellectual alertness
- Physical fitness
- Spiritual awareness
- Personal responsibility
- Co-operative action
- Respect for others
- Knowledge of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga Māori
- Economic security and whānau support.

The authors of this paper stress that ‘burnout’ and working in isolation is a serious consequence of their work. The Māori social worker, like the Māori teacher in a mainstream school, is set up to be the spokesperson for all Māori, intensifying the emotional demands involved in this work.

Health and cultural identity are intrinsically linked. For many Māori, health is a taonga, which, according to the Treaty of Waitangi, was guaranteed protection and preservation. Māori health is about struggle and perseverance in the face of incredible disadvantage. Durie (1998) has outlined a framework sometimes known as the Rangatiratanga framework. The Māori caucus who were members of a Steering Group appointed by the Minister of Health in 1997, constructed this framework. It is suffice to say that in this year 2000 it is evident that this framework provides a poignant signpost for the present and future health development of Māori health. Key areas included;

- Rangatiratanga – Here the issues of autonomy and self-determination according to the Treaty of Waitangi are pertinent. Māori seek control of service to Māori, for Māori.

- Access to quality mainstream services – these services need to be safe, equitable and culturally effective for Māori.
- New and existing Māori providers – ‘not for profit’ services provided by Māori and extension of range.
- Gains and outcomes – appropriate measures for monitoring progress and outcome measures relevant to Māori.
- Aukati – prevention/promotion – disease prevention and health promotion necessary.
- Tikanga Māori and Kaupapa Māori – traditional healing and services based on Māori health and well-being philosophies.
- Integration – intrasectoral and intersectoral – integration within the health sector and between health and other sectors.
- Resourcing Māori health and independence gains – resources need to reflect the greater need, and should match Government commitment to Māori health.
- Awatea – Māori development – Māori health should be linked with Māori development as described in Ka Awatea Māori development approach to health development.

Discussion of Kaupapa Māori has also taken place in the Justice sector. Justice is a contentious issue for Māori in Aotearoa. Many Māori would state that there is no justice for Māori in Aotearoa. Māori are one of the most imprisoned indigenous peoples of the world. This section of the literature review will discuss various perspectives posited by Māori and non-Māori surrounding justice. Kaupapa Māori justice is based on intrinsic principles of Tikanga Māori that are timeless. As Pita Sharples (1995:39) so aptly articulates:

Despite two hundred years of colonisation we still want to be Māori and that is the problem. We are being sat on and made to be non-Māori.

The writing of Moana Jackson is crucial here. Jackson released the report ‘The Māori and the Criminal Justice System - He Whaipanga Hou: A New Perspective’ in 1988. Over 6000 Māori were involved in the research project which looked at why Māori become criminal offenders and discusses how the criminal justice system responds to them. Jackson used a holistic research process placing Māori offending in the context of historical, social, economic and educational factors that have shaped New Zealand society. Similar to the Race Relations Report – ‘Race Against Time’ and the social welfare document ‘Puao-o-te-Ata-Tu’; Jackson’s report blew apart the belief that there is equality in this ‘bicultural’ nation. The report disputed the notion that the criminal justice system, with its Western-Christian heritage, is fair and just for all. For Māori the criminal justice system is racist.

Jackson identified several issues that contribute towards the imprisonment of Māori men. The practices of Colonisation: the devastation caused by discriminative policies of assimilation and cultural deprivation; enforced urbanisation; loss of land; lack of self-esteem and a limited knowledge of whakapapa and cultural knowledge systems are all factors in the lives of Māori leading to a life of crime. He proposed an alternative Māori system of justice which would focus on restitution and compensation rather than retribution; one which was shaped by Māori traditions of mediation.

For Jackson, Tauri and other Māori writers, the struggle has always been about Māori wanting to achieve autonomy in the realm of justice. The report prompted the introduction of family group conferences in 1989. Some Māori, however, believe this was more about the state's attempt to 'biculturalise' the criminal justice system.

The concept of restorative justice, as a way of meeting the needs of both victims and offenders, has been developed in this country in relation to young offenders. It has attracted considerable attention elsewhere, and it provides a model that can be adapted in appropriate cases for older offenders. Bowen and Consedine (1998) believe that restorative justice is the most sensible way to progress. Research has shown time and time again that prisons actually create crime; recidivism is the only outcome. Prisons simply encourage denial and allow the perpetrators to share in the denial. The victims are left out.

Donna Hall (1998) gives a perspective from the New Zealand Māori Council. The author states that the existing justice system is not working for Māori interests. The essence lies in the restoration of authority to the community, changing the focus from the individual to the group. In Hall's view the processes of restorative justice should provide a complementary system of justice which can reside within Māori and Pākehā systems working alongside court-based processes. In her view it is essential to recognise that without the restoration of the community, there can be no sustainable restoration of the offender. Hall (1998:32) outlines several issues pertinent for instigating effective justice for indigenous peoples.

- Use of traditional values and procedures
- Community settings
- Traditional language where still spoken
- Affirmation of spiritual, religious and moral values

Kaupapa Māori principles of justice are about restoring the social balance bringing security to the group. Kaupapa Māori justice is not about retribution; it is about restoring the mana of the victim and restoring social balance in accordance with community responsibility. Hall relates that Kaupapa Māori mana is ascended from the people at the bottom; unlike Pākehā systems of authority where the power sits at the top.

In summary, there are fundamental Kaupapa Māori principles which underpin a uniquely Māori perspective on restorative justice. These are whānaungatanga; manakitanga; rangatiratanga; kotahitanga and wairuatanga.

The principle of Wairuatanga is reinforced by Sharples (1995). The important aspect is Whakahoki Mauri. This concept has been with Māori forever. The Mauri is the life force inside the person, which makes the individual function. It is the combination of your spiritual, physical, chemical makeup. As Sharples stipulates, if your mauri is sick, you will become sick. For Sharples (1995:37), Kaupapa Māori is about restoring the mana of the victim and bringing cohesion to the whānau. He writes:

We are talking about guilt and we are talking about facing the people that you offended against and we are talking about real feelings, acknowledging each

other. We are talking about love, we are talking about community responsibility.

Sharples was part of a team that ran a marae justice programme twenty years ago which ran for twelve years. It was totally successful yet stopped because the people running it ran out of energy as they had too many other commitments in their community. The concept of a Kaupapa Māori Prison, where inmates live by a Kaupapa Māori programme, is a must for Sharples. A Kaupapa Māori Prison would actually heal rather than just punish people and it would be run and controlled by Māori. For Sharples, Kaupapa Māori works because Māori still want to be Māori. Māori want to deal with justice in their own way.

Caren Wickliffe (1995) comments that there is no possibility for a Māori criminal justice system if we remain stuck to the dogma of 'one law for all'. Calls for a Māori justice system are a direct challenge to the basic assumption in the sovereignty of the Crown. Wickliffe states that Māori can claim an inherent right to self-determination and this is stipulated in the Draft Declaration of Indigenous Peoples. The idea of self-government has been reflected in New Zealand in the Māori Councils Act back in 1900, the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 and the Māori Welfare Act 1962. These acts delegated to Māori the ability to exercise Māori customary law.

Jackson, commenting on developments one decade after his 1988 recommendations for a separate Māori justice system to be formed, states that little has changed and the current discussions about 'marae justice' or 'cultural justice' will also remain part of the colonising ethic. They suggest merely a 'culturally sensitive' strategy within a dominant Pākehā institution. For Jackson (1995:34):

A 'cultural justice system' controlled by the Crown is another colonising artefact.

Cram, Pihama, Karehana and McCreanor (1999) note that Kaupapa Māori principles of justice incorporate fully the concept of healing; restoring the mana to the victim and restoring the mauri to the 'criminal'. For both the victims and the perpetrators, the healing process is intrinsically linked to decolonisation. They re-iterate the concerns of many that seek to

...change the present situation of Māori incarceration; stating that decolonisation is a necessary goal for both programme participants and providers.

This further affirms the wider literature in terms for the need for fundamental change to occur within the wider justice system. Such change is also called for in other sectors.

The effects of institutional racism are graphically illustrated in social statistics whereby Māori form the majority of the 'client' base. It is plain to see that the institutions by which New Zealand society governs itself, distributes its resources, and produces wealth, do not serve Māori well; but they do clearly serve Pākehā society. Kingi (1999) refers to the cornerstones of Māori wellbeing as 'nga kokonga' and the development for Māori, by Māori, as a means of fulfilling Māori aspirations for wellbeing. These kokonga, Kingi argues, need recognition, support and resource allocation. These include programmes such as Family Start, strengthening family goals, iwi and Māori social services, social workers in schools

and the Māori provider development fund. For Kingi, government has to ensure that policy and delivery at all levels supports and recognises whānau needs, whānau wellbeing and the capacity for whānau to chart their own future pathway. Nga kokonga incorporate: te taha wairua, te taha hinengaro, te taha tinana, te taha whānau and te taha ngakau. For Kingi, the wellbeing of whānau is the most important aspect of Māori wellbeing.

Mereana Taki (1996) comments that New Zealand institutions manifest a monocultural bias which favours Pākehātanga. From outside, it is seen as the 'system'. If we talk about Social Welfare in terms of how Māori have seen the 'system' we refer to the report 'Puao-te-ata-tu' (1986). This report provided the forums whereby many Māori were politicised often for the first time about the true history of colonisation.

The report was the findings of the 'Ministerial Advisory Report on a Māori perspective in the Department of Social Welfare'. According to Taki, the report indicted the Colonial State for consistently failing to deliver equitable policies and services to Māori. In their submissions, Māori openly challenged the right of Pākehā to make decisions about their political and social future.

The writers of Puao-te-ata-tu stated that contemporary colonial welfare institutions were institutionally racist. Conducting hui as a research framework, the views of many Māori contained recurring messages of anger, frustration and resentment. For Walker (1996:13) Puao-te-ata-tu was exceptional because it was "truly a policy of the people."

Walker was also sceptical of the publication that followed – 'Te Punga' and its attempt to resurrect the commitment to Puao-te-ata-tu. For many Māori Te Punga symbolised an anchor, and the probability that the canoe of Puao-te-at-tu would not be allowed to move anywhere. For Taki, the report brought iwi to the realisation that Kawanatanga would never deliver their Rangatiratanga i Tuku Iho.¹

In the social services family violence is a critical area. Writers Balsar, Haimona, Henare and Matchitt (1997) discuss traditional Kaupapa Māori approaches to address family violence and recommend strategies that will create and encourage non-violent Māori families and communities. The researchers looked for contributing factors, and discuss the impact of violence on whānau, hapū and iwi. The separation from land and resulting fragmentation of hapū, iwi and individuals is believed by many of the informants in this report, to contribute significantly to the increase in Māori male violence towards Māori women.

They argue that the arrival of Western patriarchal values and attitudes to Aotearoa is also a contributing factor to Māori male violence. Many Māori men have taken on those sexist patriarchal values. Like Lawson-Te Aho's research into Māori youth suicide and Jackson's justice report, this report made links between the debilitating effects of colonisation and corresponding disintegration of whānau wellbeing and safety.

The writers relate that social welfare agencies have an important role in establishing and maintaining societal norms. Māori traditionally have been excluded

¹ See Keenan, D., (1999) 'Anchors away: assessing Te Punga o Matahorua – Our bicultural strategy for the nineties' in Social Work Review December 1999.

from, or their role minimised in the political, legislative and social decision-making processes that affect them. Balsar et al. reiterate that a radical rethinking of the role institutions play in violence prevention is required. There is a need for greater consultation with Māori on all levels and a desire for close collaboration and involvement in change processes.

Balsar et al. conclude that stopping Māori violence is dependent on universal changes in the distribution of power within society whereby Māori have the right to develop and determine their own future in every field of their lives. This is an opinion we have heard several times within the literature. What the writers are saying is that we cannot simply blame the offender or the child who is not succeeding in the Mainstream education system. It is necessary to look at the overall picture of how Māori violence, educational underachievement or Māori dependency, is situated within the confines of a colonised indigenous people. Pākehā culture must relinquish control of funding and allow Māori to have control over their own resources, lore, accountability and standards.

In the overall picture Māori unemployment cannot be separated from the historical, sociological reality of colonisation. Māori people do not choose to be uneducated, poor, unemployed, unhealthy or locked up in prison. The socio-economic impoverishment of Māori is a national crisis.

Māori participation in the labour market has been characterised by severe high unemployment. Māori predominantly work in low skilled jobs in the secondary sector industries. Māori continue to be almost three times more likely than non-Māori to be unemployed. A critical issue is Māori youth unemployment. In 1996 for instance, 38% of the Māori population were under the age of 15. In the rural sectors, life is characterised by inter-generational benefit dependency.

Scott and Brislen (1998) identified Māori youth unemployment as a sociological time bomb, stating that mainstream delivery of services in the market economy have failed Māori. The authors call for numerous reviews of government and non-government departments including immediate “targeted intervention” to several areas. They call for a review of Skill New Zealand and a review of Polytechnic Institutes that provide trade and vocational training. The authors ask ‘why are so many Māori Private Training Providers failing?’ Scott and Brislen contend that the government needs to demonstrate its commitment to increasing Māori participation in the workforce by acknowledging the special training and pre-employment needs of Māori youth.

It is important to acknowledge that there are differing perspectives on unemployment. As Paul Stanley (1998:19) relates

...just because a man hasn't got a job doesn't necessarily mean that he has a problem.

However, as Stanley relates, the issues of negativity associated with unemployment for Māori men are particularly harsh. Māori have to deal with society's perception that unemployment is the result of personal individual irresponsibility. Graham Smith et al. (1998) agree with Stanley's view, stating that it is necessary to question the unproblematic acceptance of employment as a central fact of life. It is not an individual issue of cultural deficiency. Māori employment and wellbeing has been adversely affected by neo-liberal government policies.

The 1999 publication 'Te Utunga I te Wero: Meeting the Challenge', produced by Skill New Zealand, reports on several innovative Māori skills training enterprises. Max Kerr, general manager writes that the challenge for providers is to design courses that can rekindle interest in learning and inspire the confidence to achieve. Kerr believes that for many Māori learners, what is required is a reconnection to culture through Te Reo, Tikanga and whakapapa. This reinforces comments made throughout this literature review, that a strong Māori identity is necessary for education, good health and employment opportunities.

According to Smith, Fitzsimons and Roderick (1998) the evaluation of labour market programmes for Māori have been impeded by a lack of suitable cultural models for both the provision of services and the evaluation of the programmes. This has been verified in the literature. The authors offer elements of a proposed framework in their paper titled: 'A Scoping Report: Kaupapa Māori Frameworks for Labour market Programme'. The proposed framework has two functions. It will assist in the pro-active development of culturally aligned programmes and can be used as an audit instrument. The Kaupapa Māori model provides a culturally appropriate framework for providers of programmes who intend to provide for Māori clients. The model is underpinned by Kaupapa Māori values and principles, such as Whānau. Key points identified provide examples of performance indicators.

One such point is the Tino Rangatiratanga or ownership principle. This acknowledges the need for Māori to have increased meaningful control over decision making related to employment and training. This principle outlines an increase in the participation of Māori in policy design, implementation and evaluation of programmes. The 'buy in' by Māori encourages cross-generational and community sharing and ownership of the programmes and practices. According to Smith et al Kaupapa Māori is potentially the most effective instrument that has been developed. Extensive and intensive training of Government officials and private providers of services in the use of the framework will be required.

A consistent theme in this review is a Kaupapa Māori critique of Neo-liberal policies and reforms in government (Smith, 1997). These reforms over the past 20 years have impacted greatly on the Māori housing situation. In the 1990s there was a shift from a mixed delivery of housing assistance to one of providing income support alone in the Accommodation Supplement. Housing itself has become a mere 'supplement' need. Changes included the establishment of the Ministry of Housing in 1992, the restructuring of Housing Corporation and the establishment of Housing New Zealand as a company. Māori have not benefited from any of these changes.

The Kaupapa Māori principle of whānau comes to the foreground in this section on housing. For everyone, regardless of race, the ability to provide adequate shelter for our families and children is a basic human right and need. For Māori this is not happening. Links between poor housing and health have been well documented in international literature as well as New Zealand studies. Poor housing is linked to poor educational outcomes which lead to low income levels. For Māori it is a vicious cycle of deprivation and inequity. As the literature will verify, Māori housing issues have been neglected.

Tauri and Morris (1995) discuss the pitfalls and possibilities of a Māori justice system. The authors conducted an exploratory study of Māori justice practices.

After lengthy consultation and discussion they discovered that Māori want control vested in Māori. If Māori are to run a Marae justice system, Māori themselves must be in a position to control the protocols and practices. Māori do not want a direct extension of the current legal system. Tauri and Morris suggest that the relationship between Māori and the State needs to be re-defined and re-negotiated.

For Tauri¹ also, it is not just about recruiting indigenous police, recruiting more Māori Corrections officers, implementing conference forums or ‘staging’ hui and calling it a conference. The possibility for the creation of a separate or parallel system of justice for Māori would require a shift in the government’s position in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi and the doctrine of Tino Rangatiratanga.

Tauri’s discussion on the family group conference as the “myth of indigenous empowerment” in New Zealand postulates that family group conferencing signifies the indigenisation of New Zealand’s own youth justice system and he contends this is not an empowering forum for Māori. The family group conference system allows Māori only a minimal sense of control, while denying them a significant measure of any autonomous jurisdiction. This process has been forced upon Canadian First Nations people at the expense of their own indigenous justice practices.

A report commissioned by Te Puni Kōkiri on assessing the needs of Māori victims of crime re-iterates the view of Jackson’s earlier report, that the mainstream criminal justice system is predicated on punishment of the offender (Cram et al., 1999). The needs of the victims of crime are largely overlooked. This report stresses that Māori must have real opportunities to instigate Māori law and processes of resolution. Kaupapa Māori justice principles and practices are necessary for understanding transgression, resolution and the processes of healing. It is highlighted that the centrality of whānau is paramount for the healing process. Cram et al. discuss the inadequacy of existing support systems that often re-victimise Māori who find themselves at odds with a monocultural and often racist justice system. They also recommend that mainstream support services be encouraged to become more accessible to Māori victims of crime, advocating that a Kaupapa Māori service be established and resourced as a ‘one-stop’ shop for Māori victims of crime. Māori processes of resolution must be resourced.

The 1999 Justice Report No 53 – ‘The Experiences of Māori Women’ is a significant report in that it portrays the discontent felt by many Māori women who have been involved with the justice system. Simply put, the concern is that the justice system has failed to meet the needs of Māori women. The writers suggest that Māori women have very little confidence in the legal system. They contend that the Pākehā justice system has infringed the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori women are severely disadvantaged in the legal system because of socio-economic disadvantage; coupled with the fact that many women do not have access to a secure, cultural Māori identity. Their full participation in society is minimised. The writers identified two major goals to improving Māori women’s access to justice:

- Access to a secure cultural identity including services to Māori for Māori and laws which promote Kaupapa Māori principles

¹ Tauri’s paper can be accessed at <http://www.usask.ca/nativelaw/jah-auri.html>

- Full participation in society, in the economy, including a responsive mainstream service

Having access to the cultural, social and economic resources of Te Ao Māori means having the opportunity to learn and speak Te Reo Māori. This means having the support of whānau and having access to ancestral land. This means being able to live as a Māori, with a secure identity. Māori values have a part to play in the laws, legal systems and institutions in Aotearoa. The report argues for a mediation in the economic disadvantage of Māori women, allowing equitable access to a culturally sensitive legal system. The authors suggest that three principles of the Treaty of Waitangi are important in regard to Māori women and their positioning in the legal system. These are the principle of partnership, the principle of participation and the principle of options. Māori women have been denied these principles within the legal systems set up in this country. What is clear from the report is that Mainstream legal systems need to take into account the institutional barriers with which Māori women are faced. The needs and aspirations of Māori women must be considered in their entirety.

This is also highlighted in the area of Corrections. Cram et al. (1998) evaluated the framework for measuring the effectiveness of Corrections programmes for Māori. They found that Corrections Department practices are legitimated by positivist theories that entrench Māori offending. Their report calls for comprehensive models that draw upon Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis. Research on offending and re-offending needs to be defined and driven by Māori. By Māori and for Māori programmes delivered and evaluated by Māori is the goal. As such, the Department of Corrections needs to show commitment in recognising and resourcing the requirements of Kaupapa Māori correction programmes. Identified in the report are key points where existing systems fail to support Kaupapa Māori programmes:

- Virtually all providers highlighted funding limitations
- Providers need to acknowledge and support Kaupapa Māori solutions
- Rehabilitation must be valued
- Māori development is part of reducing re-offending
- The use of Te Reo Māori me ōna Tikanga must be supported
- Re-evaluation of how 'risk' and 'needs' are assessed

The report stresses that Kaupapa Māori programmes should operate with Te Reo Māori me ōna Tikanga as essential foundations. As such, Corrections staff, including psychiatrists, need to make a commitment to supporting Te Reo Māori me ōna Tikanga.

Te Whānau Awina is an example of a Māori justice programme as documented by Smith and Cram (1997). Te Whānau Awhina is a pilot project dealing with Māori offenders aged over 17 years who are sent to Hoani Waititi marae under the police diversion scheme. The programme takes them through six weeks with the aim of 'building up' the person. A wide range of diversion 'options' is offered to suit the needs of the offender and the nature of the offence. Whānau Awhina emphasises employment and education programmes for offenders. The service is successful because it is marae based and it is supported by a strong network system across the Māori community. This project offers a cultural educational intervention

mechanism for urban Māori youth who are without strong iwi or whānau connections. Purkis (1998) identifies funding as a major difficulty. The success key factor for Purkis is that “their own people are standing behind them”.

Rangihika (1998) offers a Police view. This retired Police Superintendent was part of the Advisory Group for Te Whānau Awhina. He believes that restorative justice should become an integral focus of all government departments involved in dealing with youth at risk, families at risk and criminal offending. Rangihika (1998:72) also believes that:

...putting an offender back into an environment that provides further skills for offending needs to stop.

Rangihika agrees with other views expressed here that the healing process is an integral part of restorative justice; victims’ hurt must be addressed. For Māori, the present system is not working and without resourcing no Kaupapa Māori system will work. He states that many experienced police officers have a narrow perspective in dealing with offenders. They show reluctance to consider other options, preferring to maintain the present system of endless, expensive, time-wasting court procedures.

Kaupapa Māori principles and practices form the base of Mahi Tahi Trust established in 1988. The trust provides preventative and rehabilitative programmes for offenders, youth at risk and their families, using traditional Māori values. The programme is in the form of a wānanga run over three days. This uniquely Māori approach had its roots in the 1930s when Norman Perry and his mentor Paora Delamere realised that Māori were becoming too dependent on the welfare state. They believed that by holding fast to Tikanga Māori principles, Māori would stay strong in their identity. From that time the number of Māori in prisons has escalated. Formed in association with Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngaitai, Whakatohea and Tuhoe elders – to challenge and encourage ‘at risk’ Māori to discover traditional Māori values, this programme helps Māori to understand that their crimes affect the whole Māori community. The trust offers Kaupapa Māori solutions for Māori by Māori. Te Puni Kōkiri Chief Executive Dr Ngatata Love states that Mahi Tahi is a very good example of a Kaupapa Māori programme being right for dealing with a major problem.¹ To date, Mahi Tahi have held over 60 wānanga involving more than 1000 inmates at seven prisons. They have run many two-day marae and 19 one-day home or marae hui for whānau and hapū. The programme incorporates Kaupapa Māori principles and practices such as:

- Wananga kōrero
- Taiaha
- Waiata/haka
- Mahi takaro
- Karakia
- Whānau support

¹ See ‘Mahi Tahi’ pg 6-7 in Kokiri Paetae Issue 26 February 2000, Ministry of Māori Development.

Saddler¹ discusses a taha Māori offenders' programme that addresses Te Wairua o nga Tangata Māori. He states that:

...what's best done for Māori could only be done by Māori people themselves.

In the programme knowledge of identity is developed. Māori offenders are taught to ask – “Ko wai ahau?” They are required to address the responsibilities and consequences of their offending. Whakapapa and kapahaka are an integral part of the programme. Kapahaka is used as an exercise in addressing anger and frustration.

At Christchurch Prison nineteen inmates have completed two carved gateway projects.² There has been a noticeable improvement in the behaviour of the inmates since they began work on the carving. It is ironic that Māori men living in a prison environment, are introduced to aspects of their own culture, that have been denied them in the 'free' environment of society. The processes of assimilation and cultural invasion, processes we associate with colonisation the world over, have denied Māori the ability to learn and know Tikanga Māori. Kaupapa Māori programmes in prisons all over the country are teaching Māori about their culture.

One of several Kaupapa Māori intervention programmes is the “DOW” programme. The facilitator of the programme Malcolm Peri (1999), states that the aim of the programme is to present a provocative viewpoint. Peri believes that the trend within provision of programmes for Family Violence offenders is in maintaining the punitive approach. For Peri, a more holistic approach is needed which is based in restorative, healing and caring Kaupapa Māori principles. The dynamics of whānau and whānaungatanga come to the foreground in this programme. The micro perception of whānaungatanga expresses the kinship links and their relationships within whānau, hapū and iwi. The macro perception stresses a broadening and maximising of these relationships, encouraging the person to develop new beliefs about themselves and effect change for the better. The workshop provides some insight into Te Ao o te Māori in seeking two fundamental components of identity – ‘Who am I, and where do I come from?’

In the Justice and social service sectors Māori have identified Kaupapa Māori principles such as whakahoki mauri, a return to Tikanga, healing, restoring mana, restoring the mana of victims and decolonisation as fundamental Kaupapa Māori principles of justice. A major concern for Māori, working within Mainstream and outside of Mainstream, is that Māori need to be in control of the resources, funding, criteria of measurement and the underlying Kaupapa of the programmes. In essence this is Tino Rangatiratanga – Māori being in charge of their destiny. For example Māori all over the country are working in the area of family violence, attached to urban and rural marae complexes, as groups and individuals within roopu, whānau and hapū. Many have effective responses, however, long term resources and support is a necessity. Informants in the research criticised government funding of family violence services stating that the standards used to measure achievement do not reflect Kaupapa Māori forms of measurement. For

¹ See Naku - tuarimu September (1999) Department of Corrections Periodical

² See Corrections News February (2000) Department of Corrections Periodical

Māori it is not about numbers, not about ‘inputs’ and ‘outputs or the number of ‘heads in beds’.

The Report – ‘The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Agency Service Delivery to Māori’ (2000) provides crucial comment on the contribution the mainstream service provides to Māori. The majority of providers did not feel that CYPFA contributed to long term positive development for Māori (improving outcomes for Māori clients and whānau). Several issues were identified in the report:

- There needs to be support, recognition and funding of holistic services for Māori,
- Service needs to be with client, whānau and wider associated groups with a range of services,
- Fund more preventative programmes and early intervention rather than focus on at-risk youth,
- Provide longer adequate funding,
- Fund stable contracts.

Iwi Social Services interviewed in this research were not satisfied with CYPFA’s Treaty of Waitangi commitment and criticised the agency for not considering Māori values and not being Māori friendly. Some of the ISS providers felt that while CYPFA established Iwi Social Services which enabled an opportunity to provide social services to Māori, by Māori, they existed solely as a result of their own determination and not through the support of CYPFA. Māori and iwi providers relate that the service they provided to their clients contained additional components such as whānaungatanga, manaakitanga and Tikanga Māori concepts, and that these added crucial value to their delivery of a quality service. These providers felt that CYPFA’s funding formula did not consider the quality of this type of service provision.

In terms of contract monitoring, providers felt that CYPFA operated on a Pākehā ‘tick the boxes’ mentality. The notion of tangata being reduced to ticks in the box highlights an instrumental view of service provision. This fails to reflect the depth of service provided. For many providers it should be about supporting a Kaupapa Māori service and not about ‘numbers’ driven. Several issues are raised in this report including the belief that the policy is driven by designers in Wellington who have little understanding of the dynamics of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Another report in the social services area ‘Review of the Social Policy Agency’ (1999) is quite highly critical of service provision to Māori. This is the business unit of the Department of Social Welfare responsible for the development and delivery of policy advice across a wide range of services such as Income Support and Housing. It connects up with services in health, education and employment. The essence of the report was that Māori needs and aspirations were not being considered a priority in planning work programmes or allocating resources. In terms of policy advice there is evidence that the Social Policy Agency considers the impact of policy advice on the right of all New Zealanders, yet it fails to consider how policy advice protects the right of Māori to exercise Tino Rangatiratanga.

The report identified that there are no processes to ensure that Treaty of Waitangi obligations are considered in the policy advice process. Māori staff have been under pressure to provide Pākehā with an ‘expert’ view as to what Māori needs and aspirations are. The Social Policy Agency has no Māori evaluation guidelines and no current planning process which does prioritise Māori needs and aspirations.

The writers of the report stipulate that the Social Policy Agency must recognise Māori not only as a client group but also as a Treaty of Waitangi partner deserving of citizenship and protection. This means that the Crown must ensure that the Māori people can prosper in the modern world without having to give up being Māori.¹

As stated throughout this review Kaupapa Māori principles and practices in education, hauora and justice all reinforce Kaupapa Māori solutions, by Māori for Māori. The social services are no different. Emphasis has been on the struggle for Māori to get Kaupapa Māori principles acknowledged in Mainstream policy, funding and implementation. Examples such as Ngāti Ranginui Iwi Social Services and Raukawa Social Services (Toiora Whānau) highlight the determination of Māori to determine their own destiny and to provide a caring, culturally appropriate service for their own people.

A report by Fletcher (1999) discusses Māori participation and outcomes in employment and training programmes. Some individual programmes are providing effective assistance for Māori. However two-thirds of the evaluations and analyses contained either no separate information on outcomes for Māori or only a single table of outcomes by ethnicity. Therefore, according to Fletcher, the ability to reach a detailed conclusion about employment outcomes for Māori was severely constrained. He noted that the Tane Atawhai, Wahine Pakari and Māori Youth Pilot programmes appear effective in raising job-search motivation and self-confidence. Identified also was the need for evaluation of core ‘front-desk’ services, evaluation of the registration and interview process, work testing and post-placement support. Are these services effective to Māori?

Cowley (1998) conducted a research project for the Māori Employment and Training Commission, commenting on positive initiatives with recommendations to support Māori training and employment providers. Cowley reinforced the need to strengthen training providers. By Māori and for Māori is seen as the most successful option to address Māori unemployment. More proactive Māori providers are needed. Other issues identified by Cowley are:

- inadequate funding
- short-term contracts
- a shortage of appropriate teaching resources
- the establishment of a Māori Provider Development Fund

Cowley critiques the method of outcome measurement within the ‘performance’ orientated environment. The critique of measurement methods has surfaced throughout the literature review raising the issue of ‘what counts as success’.

¹ Te Puni Kōkiri (1999).

In the area of employment the situation for Māori women requires highlighting. Māori women are the poorest, least skilled, least educated, least likely to be employed and when employed, they are the poorest paid in roles which are disposable. They are also more likely to be sole parents. The evaluation Waka Wahine, conducted for the Māori Employment and Training Commission by Tobin in 1998 focussed on employment programmes for Māori women. Two programmes evaluated were the Compass Programme initiated by New Zealand Income Support Services and Hikoi Ki Paerangi, a New Zealand Employment Service programme.

Māori women sole parents who participated in the research identified a range of issues and barriers concerning access and equity. The women commented on the need for culturally sensitive 'front-desk' service. Reception areas in government departments are identified as generally non-friendly to Māori. Issues of whakamaa and whakaiti were also raised. They discussed the need for appropriate training facilitators. Their ideal facilitator would be of the same peer group and culture as themselves. She would have experienced a similar lifestyle to themselves. Ideally, she would be from the same community. The report by Kotare Enterprises provides invaluable insight into the views of Māori women sole parents who figure so highly in Māori unemployment statistics.

Margie Hohepa and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1995) conducted a study of Māori and Pacific Islands women in employment-related training. One of several recommendations they made was that cultural alienation, experienced by some Māori and Pacific Islands women in courses which have little or no Māori or Pacific Islands presence, needs to be addressed.

Paul Stanley (1998) also provides a provocative insight into the issues and obstacles that Māori men face in maintaining and seeking employment. The report evaluates the effectiveness of government agencies in dealing with these issues. The question was asked – are the programmes working? Is there an alternative? Stanley identified institutional racism as a key barrier to Māori men's employment opportunities. The Tane Atawhai course for example was doing little to raise the employment opportunities for Māori men. For many Māori men, the marae is seen as a starting point in terms of employment. Once again the issue of retrieval of identity is identified. Inter-generational social problems for Māori men, culminating in low self-esteem, are the issues that need to be addressed in conjunction with unemployment.

The report by Roberts (1998) from the Māori Congress discusses the effectiveness of the Community Wage Scheme for Māori in a rural environment. The aim of the Community Wage Scheme was to provide opportunities for job seekers to gain more skills and training whilst supporting projects that benefit the community. Roberts believes that the program continues to reinforce Māori into low-skilled employment options. The Scheme needs to be aligned with an economic-driven infrastructure and initiative. The programme asks organisations to use their 'social conscience' and 'aroha' to resource and help make the programme succeed. Once again funding is insufficient.

In the literature noted here several issues have been identified in relation to Māori and employment:

- Lack of evaluations of outcomes

- Critique of standards of measurement
- Institutional racism is alive in the employment industry
- Inappropriate training programmes
- Inadequate funding
- Lack of government commitment to closing the gap

Douglas (1986) produced “Fading Expectations: A Crisis in Māori Housing” and brought a greater public awareness of the poor housing circumstance of Māori. Bathgate (1987:21) discussed the work of the Housing Corporation in meeting the needs of Māori. The report stated that Housing Corp acknowledged the report - Puao-te-ata-tu and would attempt to consult more with Māori. The staff would be better informed of Māori needs and the Corporation

...where appropriate, will employ more people with knowledge of Māori language and culture for positions which require major, direct contact with Māori clients.

The report entitled ‘For the Sake of Decent Shelter’ (1991) offered a uniquely mana wahine perspective on the housing situation of Māori. The report is guided by the concept of ‘whare tangata’ acknowledging the enduring ability of Māori women to shelter and bring forth life into this world. The research involved 105 hui the length and breadth of the country covering 3000 Māori women participants. Interviews were especially sad, exposing the raw desperation and helplessness of many Māori women. Recommendations were made to the Minister of Housing, the Minister of Social Welfare, the Ministry of Women’s Affairs and the Minister of Māori Affairs. The report made extensive recommendations and noted that:

- The main barriers to adequate shelter for Māori women are discrimination, lack of information, institutional intimidation, substandard housing, insufficient or inappropriate supply, affordability and overcrowding.
- Decades of adhoc research into Māori housing circumstance has been unsuccessful in achieving practical results
- The proposed accommodation supplement will meet only the barrier of affordability

The 1998 Report ‘Regional Housing Issues: Feedback From Māori’ highlighted the concerns of many Māori who found that home ownership was unachievable. Māori raised questions about the adequacy of programmes and service delivery. Māori identified that Māori providers and community agencies working with local communities offered the best service. Runanga providers and Māori Urban Authorities provided good service. Māori participating in the Low Deposit Rural Lending Programme, developed in 1994, were satisfied with the local runanga’s service delivery.

Māori indicated that by Māori for Māori organisations have a more holistic approach, recognising that housing is entwined with employment, health, income and security issues faced by Māori.

The real barriers to home ownership are still unemployment and issues of multiple land ownership. The Report notes that since the programme began in 1995, 2,131 people have graduated from the programme, however only 208 have had loans

approved. The Papakainga Lending programme delivered by Housing Corporation has also shown a significant decrease since 1990. Māori have identified the barriers to home ownership. They include lack of income, keeping up with repayments, the huge costs of sewerage, water, electrical costs, complexity of land issues and just being unable to save for the deposit.

Both the 1998 'Review of the Ministry of Housing' and the 1999 'Arotakenga i te Whare Ahuru: tukunga ratonga ki a ngai Māori' state that the Ministry of Housing has made limited attempts to consider Māori housing issues. The Ministry has no overall strategy for considering Māori housing issues and its core work lacks business planning and reporting mechanisms for Māori housing. There is limited data collection and analysis of Māori housing needs. Also they have provided little formal training to staff on Māori housing issues. The government's commitment to Māori needs is not evident.

The 'Closing the Gaps 2000' Report revisits the appalling statistics. Māori continue to be less likely than non-Māori to live in their own homes. Māori are more likely to live in rented accommodation and they pay a significantly higher proportion of their income in rent than non-Māori. Household crowding is a serious health issue.

6 CONCLUSION

As noted in the Introduction to this review the intention has been to provide an overview of some literature regarding Kaupapa Māori principles, practices and provision. The literature included has come from a range of sectors to provide Te Puni Kōkiri with some key discussions from those sectors.

What is included here needs to be further expanded and we look forward to doing that in Stage II of the research. However having said that we can see that key elements emerge, in each of the sectors, with some consistency. These elements can also be further engaged in regard to the meanings that Māori attribute to the various notions or concepts. Further document review of material held by government departments would also be useful. Given the numerous consultation rounds held by ministries in Māori communities much could be gained from analysis of that material.

What is clear from the literature is that Māori people across the sectors are engaging Kaupapa Māori and seeking to define what may be fundamental values and concepts inherent in such a notion. The research at hand will be a positive contribution to that work.

7 GLOSSARY

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| ahua | appearance |
| Aotearoa Zealand | Land of the long white cloud, a.k.a. New |
| aroaha | compassion |
| hapū | clan |
| hara | crime |
| hauora | health |
| hinengaro | intellect |
| hongī | sniff |
| hui | conference |
| hui-a-iwi | a conference for tribe |
| iwi | tribe |
| kaimahi | worker |
| karakia | prayer |
| kaumatua | elder |
| kaupapa | ground rules |
| kawa | etiquette |
| kōrero | conversation |
| koretake | terrible |
| koroua | male elder |
| kuia | female elder |
| Kura Kaupapa Māori | Māori-medium primary school |
| mahi whakairo | carving |
| mahi | work |
| mamae | hurt |
| mana | authority |
| manaakitanga | hospitality |
| marae | courtyard |
| matauranga | knowledge |
| mihimihi | greeting |
| oranga | well-being |
| paru | soiled |
| pono | truth |
| poutokomanawa | central figure |
| pōwhiri | welcome |
| puku | stomach |
| putea | budget |

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| raranga harakeke | flax weaving |
| raruraru | problem |
| rohe | domain |
| runanga | council |
| taha | side |
| Tamaki Makaurau | Auckland |
| tamariki | children |
| tāne | man |
| tangata whenua | people of the land |
| tangata | person |
| tapu | sacred |
| tautoko | support |
| Te Kohanga Reo | Māori- medium pre-school |
| te reo Māori | Māori language |
| Te Tiriti o Waitangi | The Treaty of Waitangi |
| tika | right |
| Tikanga Māori | custom |
| tinana | body |
| Tino Rangatiratanga | independence |
| tuahine | sister |
| tupuna | ancestor(s) |
| turoro | person in care |
| turangawaewae | home ground |
| wahine | woman |
| waiata | song |
| wairua | spirit |
| whakaaro | dialogue |
| whakanoa | decontaminate |
| whakapapa | geneology |
| whānau | extended family |
| Iwi hui | A meeting of the people |
| mokopuna | grandchild |
| tipuna | ancestor |
| whakahokia | to return |
| whānaungatanga | kinship |
| whare | house |
| whare tupuna | meeting house |
| whare paku | toilet |

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