

Chapter 6

Case Study:

The Maori Education Department at Auckland University

Introduction

This chapter is the second case study of what has been called in this thesis, a space for Maori. It looks at the Maori Education department in the School of Education at Auckland University. Firstly, there is a brief overview of the circumstances which brought about the creation of the space and a brief account of its history up until now. Secondly, there is an examination of the department from the perspective of Maori. This section explores several concepts. One of these is the idea of Maori Education being a 'cultural space. Another is the blend of curriculum and pedagogy. The third is leadership. A theme which links these concepts within the Maori Education department, is the practice of Kaupapa Maori theory.

As an educational tool for practice, Kaupapa Maori theory has been used in a variety of educational settings such as in Kura Kaupapa Maori and Kura Tuarua. In the School of Education it has been specifically used within Maori Education - Te Aratiatia. Kaupapa Maori theory has been elaborated on in Chapter Four as part of space for Maori. The main tenet of the theory is the assumption of 'being Maori' as a dominant mode of being. Thus, for example, Maori knowledge is central to the theory as is Maori language and Maori customary behaviour. Maori people are the norm rather than the minority.

As noted in the introduction, a qualitative approach has been used to explore ideas in this section focusing on two interviews: one with a member of staff of Maori Education and one with a student of Te Here Wananga. Finally, the chapter regards the department as a space within western spatial analyses using the materialist models

that were introduced in Chapter Three and also by using the metaphorical space of radical cultural politics.

Genesis of Maori Education in the Education Department

Stuart McNaughton, in a paper presented to the NZARE conference in 1992¹, recalled the genesis of a structure within the Auckland University Education Department which could address issues for Maori in education. He noted that awareness and initial informal discussions took place within an ad hoc group of Pakeha staff in the department in 1983². The impetus for these initial discussions came from several sources. These sources were: Maori students within the department who raised Maori educational issues; informal discussions with Maori Studies staff, members of Tuia³; and Maori educators. Also the intellectual rigour of the departmental staff's own work faced them with the likelihood that by pursuing Maori educational research work themselves they would be contributing to hegemonic and ethnocentric views about Maori.

The ad hoc group decided that an advisory group should be formed and that a proposal be made to departmental staff for the creation of a position for a Maori academic to address issues in 'bicultural studies'. Bicultural studies was taken to mean a perspective which could "study and transform...our monocultural practices"⁴. This proposal was agreed to by departmental staff in late 1984 after much discussion and contestation. Issues which were debated and eventually included in a supporting paper to the university administration to justify the creation of a new position were: the teaching and research needs of the department; the need for recruitment and retention of Maori students in the department; the need for more staff in the department due to a high student to staff ration; the emergence of Maori initiatives in education such as

¹ Stuart McNaughton (1992) Maori Education in a University Education Department: Processes of Development, conference paper presented for the NZARE/ AARE, Deakin University

² There were no Maori staff members in the department at this time.

³ The university staff group that was lobbying for a marae to be built at the university.

⁴ Discussion Paper, p.4 cited in Stuart McNaughton (1992) Maori Education in a University Education Department: Processes of Development, conference paper presented for the NZARE/ AARE, Deakin University

kohanga reo; the growing population of Maori in Auckland schools; the disproportionate failure of Maori children in schooling. Other issues such as the Treaty of Waitangi and the nature of the appointment were also debated by staff. Staff were concerned, for example, with the politicising of academic priorities among other issues and contested whether the new position should be consultative to other staff or a teaching position within its own subject area. Some discussions included the presentation of new papers and a seminar by Maori educators.

The proposal to the university for the creation of a position for a Maori member of staff in bicultural studies within the Education department was made in 1985. During this time, further consultation was sought with the Maori Studies department, specifically with Hugh Kawharu who was the Head of the Department at that time. Issues discussed included the possibility that Maori Studies may be weakened by other departments creating Maori specific positions within their departments. Once these discussions were concluded, the university administration agreed to the creation of a new position.

In 1986, the advisory group, which had up until this time been unofficial, was made an official departmental advisory group by the University Appointments Committee. Also in 1986, an advertisement for the position was made after much discussion over content. The advertisement was for a lectureship not a senior lectureship as had been sought initially by the department. The University Appointments Committee had denied the request for a senior lectureship. The initial application round was unsuccessful with only one candidate considered a possible choice for the position. A decision was made to re-apply to the University Appointments Committee to make the position a senior lectureship and then re-advertise the position. This was agreed to by the Appointments Committee on the proviso that the appointment would be taken up at the beginning of 1988.

In 1987, the position was re-advertised as a senior lectureship to which Graham and Linda Smith, who had applied to share the position, were appointed. The one shared position was later turned into two half time positions. Staff who lobbied for the

appointment realised that this was not the end of their journey to redress inadequacy in the department in terms of Maori issues but merely a beginning point. The two lecturers had conditions of their own for the appointment which amounted to Maori Education becoming a significant field of study on its own rather than part of a bicultural field of study. Their plan included the creation of a structurally separate section within the department which was under Maori control. They agreed to the consultative role with other staff in the department but included it in their plan as having a three year time limit so that it was an educative role rather than an information service. The ad hoc committee supported and developed these ideas with the appointees. In effect, the ad hoc committee became part of the departmental whanau for the formalising of a five year plan and had responsibilities for aspects of it.

The three year plan and the five year plan were important steps for the strategic use of resources to achieve goals consistent with Maori aspirations of improving the status of Maori people. After the first five year plan expired another five year plan was put in place. In the beginning, as planned, there was input into core education papers so that a Maori perspective was included. Originally, papers in which Maori Education was the core content of the course rather than a component were planned to begin after a three year period however this took place sooner than expected. In 1989, the first paper was introduced at under-graduate level in the field of Maori Education. Another paper was introduced the year after that and another the year after that. Since then a number more have been added. These papers were introduced with the assumption that Maori students would be the norm in these courses. Also, the Here Wananga programme was set up, offering a Masters in Education with Maori Education as the main subject. This degree has seen a continual rise in the number of graduates.

There were also developments in staffing, which in turn, affected the curriculum in Maori Education. The original two half time positions developed into two full time positions for Linda Smith and Graham Smith and additional positions were also created. Margie Hohepa, Kuni Jenkins, Trish Johnston and Leonie Pihama filled positions and were instrumental in creating further space in the curriculum within the

field of Maori Education. Recent developments have been in analyses of media, literacy, race and ethnicity and gender.

There were also other structural developments which the staff were responsible for. In 1991, RUME - the Research Unit for Maori Education was established by Maori staff members. Its members were a collective of staff members that included Maori and Pakeha staff and its aim was to develop research which could improve educational outcomes for Maori. Its first report to the university was early in 1992. At the end of 1997, IRI - the International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education, was launched. IRI has assumed the role of RUME and extended the role to include a perspective in research from inter-faculty to international, training in research, publication of research and advisory and liaison capacities.

The Maori Education department for Maori

Kaupapa Maori theory informs the practice of education in the Maori Education department. The aspects which are particularly examined in this section have been categorised under the headings of cultural space, curriculum and pedagogy, and political leadership. Within these categories several principles of Kaupapa Maori theory are evident as well as the assumption that being Maori is the norm.

Cultural Space

The localities or rooms that Maori Education occupy, provide space where action and interaction occurs. This space has been contrived or manipulated in various ways to specifically encourage action and interaction which value Maori ways of being and Maori aspirations in education. Therefore, for many people, this area is seen as 'a Maori space' and it has been called a 'cultural space'. Linda Smith describes a cultural space for Maori as follows,

A short definition is a space where Maori people, us, can be Maori, as in practice our behaviours, and values and do the things we

would often do when we gather together. It is not about being safe, it is about being us so that if we want to laugh loudly then we can laugh loudly, if we want to eat then we can eat, if we want to use our language then we can use our language, if we want to be together in groups as opposed to individual little units then we can do that.⁵

This definition immediately offers a Kaupapa Maori theory understanding of Maori people being the norm in a given situation and in a given space. Further definition is added to this understanding by considering the space as a physical place. As an area of development for the Maori Education department, physical space was one of the sites of political contestation because to assist in creating space for Maori it was necessary to achieve a physical area based on kaupapa Maori. This had to be done within a system, that is the university, which was built on dominant cultural values. Smith outlined that in this particular political struggle the label of 'cultural space' was used as a tactic.

We use the term 'cultural space' strategically, politically to get things out of a system, which is not inclined to give much. There are fixed categories of space: staff offices, classrooms, and tearooms, meeting rooms. There is the sense that they are available to everyone and the distribution is fair and equitable but then the institution defines in invisible ways the rules of those spaces... So in the physical sense, we use the term 'cultural space' because it is outside the known institutional categories. It is easier to define a category that is new than try to use one that is old and already defined.⁶

One understanding of valuing Maori ways of being and Maori aspirations in the Maori Education department is contrived overtly through manipulation of the physical environment. This includes the visual aspect of artwork representing Maori people and Maori symbols, the presence of a majority of Maori people as staff and the use of Maori language on signs. The verbal use of the Maori language also adds an aural aspect to valuing Maori practices.

⁵ Linda Smith (1996) Personal Communication

⁶ Idem.

Another manipulation of the physical environment has been made by the uses and names of particular rooms. Two examples of cultural space which encompass a clearly delineated physical dimension in Maori Education are the whanau room and the Here Wananga room. The Here Wananga room is a meeting room for visitors and also a place for masters students to use for group work or any other study needs. However, for the first year of its existence, there was a battle with departmental administration over its name, definition and uses. The administration firstly called it an office and then a seminar room. They also tried to put it in to a schedule for meetings. Maori Education staff had to struggle to gain control of the space so that they could determine who could use it and when⁷. The whanau room, on the other hand, is not a strictly new use of space but its use has been redefined though through social rather than administrative manipulation. This space was previously called a staff room. As a whanau room, the facilities are acknowledged by staff as accessible to all people who visit or frequent the Maori Education department. Staff and students are encouraged to manaaki other students, staff and visitors in the whanau room and familiarise newcomers with the protocol of accessibility of the room.

Curriculum and Pedagogy

The Maori Education department is committed to focusing on topic areas that are directly related to Maori people and Maori culture, and it is committed to a pedagogical approach that incorporates Maori values. As such, the department embraces a Kaupapa Maori theory based approach to education particularly the principles of Ako Maori, Taonga Tuku Iho, Kaupapa and Whanau. Smith sees this commitment to curriculum and pedagogy as part of the idea of cultural space.

A Maori cultural space is not necessarily about having a marae, its about having the spaces in the knowledge structures, that is the curriculum and the pedagogy, in the institutional practices that give positive messages to Maori that firstly, they are entitled to be here, secondly, there is space for them to develop their own ideas and

⁷ Idem.

thirdly, that there are challenges and pursuits here that they are quite capable of achieving or pursuing.⁸

Centring Maori in the curriculum is pursued in several ways. Firstly, it is assumed that Maori knowledge and Maori world-views are 'normal' or 'central' in that they are the basis from which analysis and understandings are informed for both students and staff. An initial way of indicating this assumption to students is through the general description of Maori Education in the handbook and the description of the papers offered. The description of the department states that it is the intention of the department to provide for Maori students and those interested in Maori education. Some paper descriptions state specifically that the expected students are Maori and some have the expectation in-built in that they ask for students to have fluency in the Maori language or experience with Maori education. The departmental description also gives an ideal student profile, which expresses the commitment that is considered appropriate for the goals of the department. It profiles as a strength that students have the interest, desire and skills to engage with Maori educational issues for positive change.

Within the papers offered, there is also a strong commitment to students gaining the foundations of western educational thought. This commitment provides the skills of analysis that are necessary for Maori to engage and disengage with dominant culture institutions and obtain results which may be beneficial for Maori aspirations in a general sense. It is a manifestation of the principle of Kaupapa which encourages excellence in a Maori framework of knowledge and also excellence in non-Maori knowledges.

If we want to assume that Maori are the centre of the way we develop our ideas, then it is the space in the curriculum that makes that possible. It means taking for granted Maori epistemology, starting in the centre of it and then going outwards rather than trying to come into the Maori ideas after the other ideas. The hard part is combining Maori knowledge with the western academic knowledge that universities are built on. It is important for us to

⁸ Idem.

encourage all our students to develop a strong critique of western knowledge so they know what it is they are up against.⁹

Some courses, seminars and class discussions, such as within the paper 'Tikanga Rangahau' have a large focus within Maori epistemology while some, such as within the 'Kaupapa Kura' paper, focus on western theory and concepts. However, within that, they always focus on how the various material relates to Maori, for example, critical theory is discussed in relation to schooling experiences of Maori children and government policies are analysed for their contribution to Maori aspirations.

Another avenue by which the curriculum centres Maori is by the encouragement students receive to discuss, study and write about topics that they know about or are interested in. Many students choose topics for written assessments that are directly related to Maori or issues that may affect Maori. Some students are already practitioners in the area of Maori education and others are working towards being practitioners. Being able to choose topics or write from what a student knows about means that the study is relevant to the student and often, this means that the topic is centred in a Maori framework or Maori epistemology. This encompasses again the principle of Kaupapa and also the principle of Taonga Tuku Iho which is the valuing and validity of Maori culture, languages and knowledge.

As well as being factors of curriculum, the encouragement to choose topics relevant to the student's interest and the centring of a Maori world view and Maori knowledge as the norm are also pedagogical approaches which encompasses the principle of Ako Maori in Kaupapa Maori theory. These approaches provide a forum or an opening for Maori students and for Maori staff which is rare in a western traditional tertiary educational institution. Basically, they create a space where Maori can discuss issues which pertain to Maori amongst a group of individuals the majority of whom are Maori and generally all place value on and have a commitment to improving the status of Maori people in society. Linda Smith encapsulates the overlap of curriculum and pedagogy as follows,

⁹ Idem.

It has been about providing options for Maori students and recognising that they need the foundations of education. At the same time, they need a paper where its okay to be Maori, where they can talk about Maori topics and where they can be with other Maori students without that being a big deal.¹⁰

From a student perspective, this pedagogical approach is evident also and labelled as a Kaupapa Maori theory approach. It is seen as a pedagogy of empowerment.

Kaupapa Maori framework says, that its okay to be yourself in this particular space, you can be loud or be quiet or be mohio or be critical, you can challenge dominant ideologies with your peer group without feeling threatened and that makes you stronger and makes each other stronger.¹¹

This pedagogy, as is noted in the above quote, is also constructive of thought and practice which encourages multiple subjectivities. The importance of this concept for implementing a Kaupapa Maori pedagogical approach is echoed and amplified by Linda Smith.

Maori cultural space is not a space that assumes all Maori are the same. What we are trying to do is take away the view that in order to be Maori you have got to look a certain way, speak a certain way, act a certain way, and have a certain upbringing. Students come from many different Maori experiences. Our role is not to determine their identity, it is to shape it. Their whanau will give them their identity. Our role is to equip them in the best way possible so that when they go out into the world they are useful to their own iwi.¹²

The facilitation of this pedagogy which offers a Kaupapa Maori theory approach is not a 'classroom only' exercise, rather it is a part of the whole practice of the department. Linda Smith again puts it very succinctly,

¹⁰ Idem.

¹¹ Dallas Pahiri (1996) Personal Communication

¹² Linda Smith op. cit.

It has been systematically built in to our programmes in simple practices like in our Masters programmes, for example, stopping halfway and having kai or a cup of tea. A simple thing like a cup of tea is about other things. We also have our doors open to send out messages that we want students to come and visit us and we are happy to talk with them.¹³

The sharing of food and drink encourages whanaungatanga amongst students. Whanaungatanga or whanau is another principle of Kaupapa Maori theory and it explicitly encourages support and responsibility for one another amongst the members of a class.

Leadership

One of the key characteristics of the creation of space for Maori Education is that it is political. In general, political struggle and manoeuvring for the Maori Education department occurs within the university as an institution rather than with interested parties which are not affiliated with the university. This political struggle can be seen as part of the principle of Tino Rangatiratanga in Kaupapa Maori theory whereby the struggle concerns Maori having control over the decision making and decisions within the department.

Within the idea of the politics of the department, there is a large emphasis on planning; the department assumes a proactive stance rather than a reactive one. Planning, as was noted earlier, was the first task Linda and Graham Smith set for themselves when they were appointed to share the senior lectureship in bicultural studies in 1988. They effected a five year plan and following that another five year plan. Linda Smith describes the planning that has occurred as follows,

It is about reading the institution, getting a sense of where it is going and how to exploit the spaces that are made available. We are very informed about university policies. We have worked hard to understand where the spaces in the system are and we have used them and positioned ourselves. This is where planning is really

¹³ Idem.

important because if you can see a space opening up in a couple of years, you can do the ground work now to make the space happen. Then its knowing when to act to force something through or when to be patient.¹⁴

Manoeuvring within an institution has also meant finding out who are the people responsible for decisions and how and why decisions are made. The building of alliances is also seen as an important political tactic whereby Maori staff support initiatives and decisions such as within the School of Education as a whole even though these initiatives or decisions may not have direct benefits for Maori. This support will hopefully gain support from other staff or staff groups for future Maori Education initiatives.

The politics of the department includes an autonomy or self-sufficiency in that there is no political interaction or accountability with distinct groups from outside of the university structures. However, at times, staff may seek advice on various issues from several areas. One group is the students of the department, another group is key Maori educational professionals and another group is indigenous peoples from around the world. These groups are not formalised into any advisory group structure but rather their views are sought on an ad hoc basis. In terms of accountability, the departmental staff have clarity about their multiple responsibilities.

... we are quite clear that firstly we are staff members employed by the university accountable to the university, secondly we are accountable to the wider goals of Maori education and Maori development, thirdly we are accountable to our students and their whanau or their particular context and then we are accountable to each other because our programmes would not work if we did not look after each other.¹⁵

Ultimately, the Maori Education department is a structure within the university and even though the staff have a certain amount of autonomy to create space for Maori as they see appropriate, they are not independent of the university. Staff have to continually strive to exercise the principle of Tino Rangatiratanga.

¹⁴ Idem.

¹⁵ Idem.

Spatial Discourse and the Maori Education department

This section aims to position the Maori Education department within the western perspectives of spatial discourse that were outlined in Chapter 3. The two concepts of space that were specifically discussed in that chapter were space as material and space as metaphorical. At the material level, space is seen to be a product of and productive of capitalistic dominance while on a metaphorical level, space has moved into discourse including a radical counter-hegemonic discourse whereby modernity has been critiqued, multiplicity has been recognised and the margin has been chosen as a place to inhabit.

The Maori Education department is part of the School of Education which is in the Faculty of Arts at Auckland University. A history of the university has been documented in Chapter 2 and a connection was made that Auckland University, along with the other traditional western universities in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, was part of the process of colonisation. A connection was also made in Chapter 3 that colonisation was and is part of world capitalism. As such, the university as an institution including its various faculties, schools and departments, is a space of capitalistic hegemonic power and thus can be critiqued according materialist spatial models discussed in Chapter 3. Since Maori have been colonised by capitalist hegemonic power, Maori are categorised as a subordinate power grouping.

Michel de Certeau's model sees 'place' as representing the dominant order of society. It is often a physical manifestation so the university as a site and as an institution of dominant society falls into de Certeau's category of place. De Certeau sees 'space' as something that people construct against the dominant order and something that is created by political conflict. Within this analysis, the Maori Education department is clearly a space that has been constructed through political activity and conflict. Initially, the conflict or activity was promoted by concerned academic staff members and students of the department. Consequently, political leadership was taken over by the Maori staff members appointed to the School of Education as lecturers in bi-cultural studies.

John Fiske sees physical sites where dominant social order is established, such as dominant culture educational institutions, as part of the macro level of power. Those in subordinate positions are those who have least access to the macro power level and therefore most to lose by its continued domination. The creation of space in the Maori Education department is a way of gaining access or increasing access to a western traditional educational institution for those in a subordinate position of power since the department aims to provide courses for Maori students. In relation to Fiske's model then, the Maori Education department seems to encourage Maori to have an interest in or a stake in the macro power level because it provides access to it. The awarding of degrees also legitimates a social position of an individual within the dominant power structure. Therefore the so-called 'station' which Fiske uses as a label to describe a concentration of dominant power, is accorded both to the department of Maori Education and to its graduating students.

According to John Agnew, the Maori Education department would be a 'locale' since it is a physical setting in which social relations occur and it is situated within the 'location' of the university which as a dominant structure sets the rules which govern the social practices. In this model, the Maori Education department could appear as part of a factory process line (as would other locales) except that Agnew also includes a third part to his model, called 'sense of place'. This aspect allows for a subjective identification of meaning to be attached to a locale. Within this aspect then, there can be emphasis of the understandings that the Maori Education department has a perceptibly different orientation to other departments in the university and that it follows a Kaupapa Maori theory approach to education.

According to Henri Lefebvre, traditional western universities, in general, are dominated by representations of space in that possibly their main function is to reify western epistemology and reproduce it. By so doing, the university marginalises indigenous epistemologies. The Maori Education department contradicts this framework even though it sits within it because by following a Kaupapa Maori theory approach to education, the department reifies Maori epistemology. Though it teaches western knowledge and theory, it also encourages vigorous critical analysis of how

these impact on Maori. Therefore the knowledge it produces or reproduces attempts to subvert western knowledge that is detrimental to Maori and retell knowledge according to a Maori framework.

In the context of Lefebvre's 'spatial practice', the Maori Education department is a place of work for both students and staff. The growth of the department, now known as the Maori Education department, has been documented at the beginning of the chapter and this growth shows that the department has been incorporated into the spatial practice of more and more people. As such, the department and Kaupapa Maori theory as the theoretical space that dominates and organises the department, is an increasingly acceptable anomaly within the university system for those for whom it is part of their spatial practice.

Lefebvre's final category of 'representational space' is the space of symbol and sacredness and describes what a space means to people. The stance of the Maori Education department is pro-active towards a Maori world view and kaupapa Maori practices. As such the Maori Education department can be seen as symbolic of resistance to colonisation and the domination of western epistemology and ideology. By assuming that being Maori is the norm the Maori Education department is also symbolic of Maori ways of being.

Soja and Hooper consider spatial metaphors to explain the position and practice of what has been labelled radical counter-hegemony. Assuming hegemonic dominance as the centre, the writers view minority groups of societies as marginalised or collectively positioned on the margins. Bringing this concept of metaphorical space to bear on the case study of the Maori Education department means to consider the department as a marginal space in relation to the dominant centre of Auckland University. Considering this is not difficult because the department has an intention to provide education for Maori students who have been, on the whole, marginalised at every level of education in Aotearoa since colonisation. Also Maori staff have been marginalised in universities generally¹⁶, in terms of many factors including numbers, cultural bias, epistemological

¹⁶ Smith, L., (1992) Ko taku ko ta te Maori: the Dilemma of a Maori Academic, conference paper presented for the NZARE/AARE Deakin University

bias and political power. Also, in the majority of the university, western epistemology is considered as the only valid knowledge base and as has been noted previously, the department uses Maori epistemology. However, though the department can be seen to be marginalised in the university, the Kaupapa Maori theory approach that the department uses gives power to that marginal position and resists hegemonic dominance. It assumes a Maori way of being as the norm. It presents an alternative to western knowledges and pedagogy. It is political and the political struggles are ongoing and planned for. Overall, the department can be seen to practice radical counter-hegemony because it chooses to inhabit the margin rather than promoting that Maori move into the position of capitalist hegemony.

Summary

According to western spatial analysis the creation of space for Maori in the Maori Education department has several features. It has a materialistic cause in that since Maori have been colonised, Maori have been subordinated to capitalistic dominance. Maori, therefore, in every endeavour and in every model, figure in the micro level of power relations. The Maori Education department is a 'space' according to de Certeau because it is constructed against and within the dominant order. It is a 'locale' for Fiske and Agnew because it is where Maori try to strengthen Maori control over everyday life and for Agnew, because the department has a clear purpose, it engenders a 'sense of place' that can be collectively experienced or felt. In Lefebvre's model, the department is part of the spatial practice of staff and students, and it is also a representation of space because it is part of the university. However, it is also symbolic of a Maori way of being and therefore resists the domination of the university.

Metaphorical notions of space, in this case study, describe power relations of dominant and subordinate. Writings about radical cultural politics can identify the Maori Education department and its Kaupapa Maori theory approach as a marginal space. However, it is a space that is chosen to be inhabited rather than a space where those who are marginalised try to change their position to gain more dominant hegemonic

power. As such, the Maori Education department can be seen to practice radical counter-hegemony.

The Maori Education department, from the point of view of one of the graduate students and one of the senior lecturers, is a place where Kaupapa Maori theory informs the practice of education. Curriculum, pedagogy, physical space and leadership are carefully manipulated to benefit Maori aspirations of achievement in the university system and the perpetuation of Maori kaupapa. The principles of Ako Maori, Taonga Tuku Iho, Whanau, Kaupapa and Tino Rangatiratanga guide these manipulations. There is an emphasis that being Maori and articulating from a Maori knowledge base is the norm and this is to be retained and built on.

Chapter 7

Summary and Reflections

This thesis has looked at space for Maori in western traditional tertiary education institutions in order to gain a clearer understanding of the term 'space for Maori'. It has done this firstly by setting a context of education for Maori since colonisation. Secondly, it has drawn on concepts of space in western academic social science discourse and realised that through colonisation, Maori have been dominated by capitalism. Space for Maori, from this perspective is part of a micro level of relations and it is a space of subordinate power.

Chapter Three also discussed metaphorical space or the use of spatial metaphors in social science discourse. Recent discussion on metaphorical space has articulated what has been labelled as a radical cultural politics. In this particular discourse, the margin is chosen as a space to be inhabited by oppressed groups. Relating radical cultural politics to Maori has revealed that initiatives by Maori for rangatiratanga involve Maori practising radical counter-hegemony and choosing to inhabit the margins.

In the fourth chapter, space for Maori was considered to exist on a continuum between cultural historical notions of space and contemporary forms of space which are dominated by the ideology of capitalism. Maori can locate ourselves anywhere along such a continuum depending on our experiences of colonisation and hegemony. In western traditional tertiary education, space for Maori was considered to be created by, on the one hand, 'writing back' by Maori and on the other legitimisation from the dominant authorities.

In practising legitimisation, it was also noted that institutions sometimes added a hegemonic factor by declaring that theory and 'writing back' which critiqued dominant discourses was part of the work of academia and therefore part of western epistemology. Kaupapa Maori theory was considered as a particular theoretical space for Maori which informed the practice of space for Maori and also set a basis whereby