

## CHAPTER SEVEN: IWI DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

---

*Imperialism after all was a co-operative venture, and a salient trait of its modern form is that it was, or claimed to be, an educational movement; it set out quite consciously to modernise, develop, instruct and civilise. The annals of shools, missions, universities, scholarly societies, hospitals in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and America are filled with this history, which over time established so-called modernizing trends as much as it muted the harsher aspects of imperialist domination.*

*(Said 1993:269)*

This chapter looks at the new discourse of iwi education. There has recently begun to emerge some discussion of the notion of iwi education. As early as 1988 in the Matawaia Declaration there was a call for the establishment of a Maori Education Authority which envisaged the transfer of some of the administrative and organisational aspects of schooling to Maori. National Maori Congress have also identified one of their key goals in the area of education as the establishment of Iwi Education Authorities (Sept 1991, Owae Marae). Also appearing in the corporate plan of the Ministry of Education is the committment to 'facilitate iwi education plans' (1993:9). Very little has yet been said about what iwi education is.

What this chapter will look at is what iwi education encompasses. With some iwi developing iwi education plans there are dangers if Maori accept a limited definition of iwi education. How iwi education becomes defined will determine how the processes of education will unfold, if iwi education becomes the new direction in Maori education.

### **(7.1) THE CONTRADICTION OF SCHOOLING FOR MAORI**

The grand narrative of liberalism views schooling as being the way to social equality for all, a type of panacea that can solve social ills. Schooling for Maori though was established to inculcate Maori into accepting a colonial system. As it has already been stated in an earlier chapter schooling is one of the key ways that a language was removed from indigenous groups. These historical processes were not without a myriad of resistance strategies. In fact, today, there have evolved schooling systems that are resistance movements to the assimilationist aspects of schooling, in the forms of Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori.

Why is it then that Maori people have embraced schooling to the extent that we have? In part it can be explained by the fact that it is required by law to attend school. Also it is due to the role that schools play in credentialling. Credentials are the means of attaining social privilege and power. In that sense schools have always been about the production and reproduction of elites. By the end of last century, Maori were a subordinate group in their own land, as Judith Simon puts it Maori were by then 'seeking schooling as a means to surviving and succeeding in a Pakeha dominated world' (Simon 1993:40). Schools have been seen as one of the few ways to attain power for Maori in a Pakeha dominated world.

But another reason that Maori sought schooling was that very early on it became apparent that Maori would need Pakeha knowledge to access and to fight against colonial domination, through missionary agendas, land courts and so forth. So Maori people have engaged in schooling aware of this fundamental contradiction, being aware that language

and culture have been removed through schooling, but also aware that, for a few, schooling may provide social privilege and power, through the attainment of credentials to improve the position of Maori in general.

This chapter argues that education for iwi development must recognise this dual agenda of schooling processes. Education, however, does not just occur within schools, education is life-long and can occur anywhere. The current survival of the language, albeit in a weakened state, indicates that there has been resistance to the assimilationist aspects of schooling.

Previous chapters have already discussed what iwi mean when they talk about iwi development. As Rob Cooper expressed it, it clearly involves social, cultural, economic and spiritual needs. Because iwi aspirations focus so strongly around language and cultural survival and revival, iwi education is expected to play a major role in this process.

## **(7.2) ISSUES OF CONTROL**

Within tino rangatiratanga discourses we see the clear calls for Maori created and controlled schooling. But issues of control are complex as will be seen in the section on Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa. Schooling is a state apparatus and education is not a neutral activity. Although they have relative autonomy, education systems are inter-related with broader social structures and forces. Within schools exist numbers of competing interest groups who can conflict, compromise, oppose and struggle. The formulation of

policies takes place in a terrain of these competing theories, moralities and politics. Relations of dominance take place on this ground.

The position of iwi education could be seen in a context Michael Apple says:

*When there is a serious crisis in the state, as there now seems to be, one very effective strategy is for the state to attempt to export its crisis outside itself. Thus by reducing overt state control and turning over schooling to a market, one deflects criticism.*

(Apple 1982:126)

Iwi education, may along with other new political initiatives, take the form of more autonomous structures, with less direct control over the management and administration of those structures. However relocating aspects that have been under state structures to 'private' spheres does not make them less governable. Calls for more control and autonomy of schooling by Maori groups are very likely to be supported within the current government ideologies of the time. What educationalists have pointed out though is that control within education can occur through other means (Codd, Gordon 1991).

One of these other means is through current moves to strengthen control over credentialling. Schools certify adult competence and over recent times the state has moved to strengthen central assessment through the National Qualifications Framework. Assessment is seen to be the role of experts and people are to be stratified. Whilst it appears credentialling is now being opened up for other institutions, some credentials will remain more prestigious than others. The other aspect of schooling that is on the ascendant at the moment is the focus on 'effectiveness and efficiency' and the aligning of

schools more closely to the world of work. This focus can increase inequalities for when it comes to making decisions about Maori initiatives within schools, they can be ranked low priority because they are seen as unimportant in the workplace. Another example of the effect this has, is when there are budget constraints or falling rolls, Maori teachers can be the first to be laid off.

Schools contain a hidden curriculum which teaches particular social and economic norms.

Michael Apple talks of this propensity:

*Schools seem to contribute to inequality in that they are tacitly organised to differentially distribute specific kinds of knowledge. This is in part related both to the role of the school in maximising the production of technical, cultural 'commodities' and to the sorting or selecting function of schools in allocating people to the positions 'required' by the economic sector of society.*

(Apple 1990:22)

Within schools exist the internalisation of specific norms and values through 'ideological saturation'. So schools help allocate Maori to the ranks of the unemployed and the under-employed.

Within state schools we see played out the politics of inclusion and exclusion within the curriculum. The curriculum area is about selection of what is considered valid knowledge. Whose voices are heard and not heard? What is left unsaid? For Maori particular voices have been actively silenced or re-cast as 'rebel' or 'radical'. Some teachers can work around these politics but educationalists have argued that teachers now have increased

workloads of administrative and accountability tasks with less time to allot to teaching itself (Apple M, 1992).

### (7.3) RESISTANCE

*This is the partial tragedy of resistance, that it must to a certain degree work to recover forms already established or at least influenced or infiltrated by the culture of empire.*

*(Said 1993:253)*

Resistance in schools is often understated. Resistance takes place inside and outside the classroom, in the playground and socially, on the sportsfield as well as in the classroom itself. Resistance has taken numerous forms in schools. Maori have not merely entered schools as passive agents but have resisted and have actively engaged in schooling. At times they have compromised, conflicted, opposed and struggled. As was said in the introduction, resistance in schools can take forms of 'talking back', writing back' and 'arguing back' and then there's the option of walking away.

Historically the responses of Maori to schooling have been diverse, but always there has been the underlying contradiction of schooling as a way forward whilst also being for assimilation.

Since the establishment of the first mission schools Maori have represented a challenge to education reformers. The first mission school was established at Paramatta in 1814 in New South Wales by the Reverend Samuel Marsden. The Maori seminary, was set up to take

the sons of chiefs. Bill Harrison (1993) says that Maori boys were to be brought here in order to 'civilise' them. The Maori students were seen as being able to be taught, unlike Aborigines who were considered too wild and treated as such. Harrison notes that at this time Aboriginal children were being 'captured' and placed in institutions in 'attempts' to school them.

The purpose of the Maori seminary was also to encourage commerce. Marsdens view was that schooling could encourage a market economy:

*Commerce promotes industry - industry civilisation, and civilisation opens up the way for the gospel.*

*(cited in Harrison 1993:97)*

The seminary however was soon superceded by mission schools in the Bay Of Islands, the first being opened in 1814 at Rangihoua.

This early attempt at schooling set the pattern that was to follow. Maori children were seen as a 'problem' and education policy has attempted to 'civilise', to 'integrate', to 'assimilate', to 'biculturalise' and to 'multiculturalise' them. Through the history of education reform, Maori were said to have problems with their families, their homes, their self-esteem, their language, their minds and their attitudes and there were a number of theories to back this up, deficit theories, cultural deprivation theories, self-esteem theories and so on. The history of education reform has been one of viewing Maori as having cultural impediments. The dominant group is not considered to have a culture, therefore they have no impediments.

Maori response to schooling has been reflective of the contradictory relationship with schooling. Mission schools had a varied history. Iwi and hapu responded differently to schooling. Following the land wars, many Maori children were taken out of schools during the 1860s. At other times schooling was seen as the way forward. For Ngati Porou, education was identified by iwi leaders Ropata Wahawaha and Ta Apirana Ngata, at the end of last century, as being of primary importance for iwi progress (Keesing 1929).

The Hunn Report in 1960 pinpointed education as a key area. Maori were seen as a problem through cultural deprivation. That means that Maori families were to be blamed for educational failure. In the Currie Report it was noted that commentary from overseas visitors was beginning to question whether New Zealand practised segregation because of the Maori schools (Harrison 1993). International embarrassment meant that Maori schools were to be brought under the control of the Education Board. Heightened awareness in the 1960s and 1970s and condemnation of apartheid in South Africa caused policy makers to restructure Maori schools.

#### **(7.4) CURRENT REFORMS**

What has been seen as education reform by Pakeha interest groups has often been in direct contradiction to Maori interests. The near extinction of the Maori language is an example already cited. What is considered 'reform' has been defined, articulated and implemented by largely Pakeha interests. However, with the proliferation over recent years of areas of schooling that have been Maori initiated and run, there has developed an increasing complexity in the area of Maori education and policy making. Areas of control,



previously held by government have now been assumed by whanau. However these areas of control are constantly being challenged and there are ongoing struggles to retain those areas of control. Even though there has been some change, the Maori language is still not out of crisis.

The provision of schooling for Maori has been a continued site of struggle. Whilst policy makers over recent years have begun to acknowledge the detrimental impact of educational policies on Maori, the control of resources, administration, curriculum and assessment areas are still firmly in the hands of government.

Alongside these moves, there has been within existing state schooling the attempted 'indigenising' of existing classrooms and state schools over the last ten years in an attempt to cope with the demand for Maori language to be both taught and used within the classroom. The Ministry Of Education has clearly expressed the need to address the current Maori language crisis. These programmes include schools with bilingual classes, some with immersion classes and some schools being designated bilingual. In a report on Maori Education by the Ministry of Education (1993) figures tell us however that in primary schools only 14% of Maori are enrolled into these classes where varying degrees of immersion are experienced. And less than 1% are enrolled into Kura Kaupapa (Davies, Nicholl 1993:41). By far the majority of Maori students are in classes with no Maori spoken. There is still no provision and/or access to Maori language for 85% of Maori in primary schools.

---

State provided education has undergone transformations with the presence of Maori students. The existence of marae at some schools, the introduction of Maori has caused changes to occur in some schools. Within these schools there are groups engaged in conflicts, compromise and active struggles. Maori interests are caught up in these struggles.

For Maori groups within state schools, creating space - is an effort of challenging and occupying both physical and ideological territories. Occupying ideological and physical space, requires the continuous defending of that space. Making spaces however often means that Maori learn a lot about the politics of organising and a lot about how knowledge and space is controlled, with a knowledge of what further work is necessary. A number of Maori educationalists have written about the extra workloads of Maori teachers who often fulfill not only the role of teacher, but also councillor for Maori students, the cultural advisor for the school as well as arrange cultural events such as powhiri for the school.

Indigenising existing space is problematic for a number of reasons. Maori have obviously caused some changes in schools, such as an increase in the numbers of school marae, an increase in Maori language classes and so on. However when Maori do challenge existing norms, challenge can often be co-opted, diluted and avoided.

### (7.5) CO-OPTING MAORI INITIATIVES

Over recent years there has been a steady increase in the growth of Maori initiated educational initiatives. This has seen the development of Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, Te WhareKura, Whare Wananga and others. The flourishing of these initiatives have emerged for a number of reasons, the desire to validate Maori histories and knowledges, the desire to validate the language by learning in Maori and a growing awareness that the current state educational initiatives do not meet the needs of Maori. The most compelling reason for these developments however has been the loss of the reo. The growth of these initiatives has seen the growth of Kohanga expand to the point in 1991 where 44% of all Maori children in preschool were in Kohanga (Davies:1993). There are now over 800 in existence.

The report groups together all programmes where Maori is the medium of instruction under the term Maori medium education. Maori medium education is viewed as any programme that has some degree of Maori language immersion whilst recognising varying percentages of immersion. This term has begun to appear in Ministry reports. However the term Maori medium education as used here overrides an important distinction - the distinction between Maori initiated and stated initiated schooling. By homogenising the two groups under one label - issues of control are neutralised under the one heading. Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori have arisen out of Maori epistemologies. Decision making about what kura kaupapa is, what resources are appropriate, the administrative aspects, the philosophical base, teacher training and numerous other decisions are what whanau want to decide. This contrasts with bilingual classes where the state already

largely controls those particular areas of decision making. Kura Kaupapa has arisen out of dissatisfaction with existing structures and it is important to note that Kura Kaupapa is not just immersion in te reo Maori but also emerges from a different philosophical base that is encapsulated in the form of Te Aho Matua. The use of the term Welsh medium education in Wales denotes those programmes where Welsh is the sole medium of communication. This is not the same definition that has been adopted by the Ministry of Education.

What the report makes clear is that there are differences regionally in the provision of Maori medium education (that is any programme where Maori is used as the medium of instruction such as Kura Kaupapa Maori, bilingual schools, mainstream schools with immersion classes and bilingual classes). As the report points out in Northland, where 40% of the school age population is Maori, only 1% of secondary school level are enrolled in classes with any Maori language at all. The highest percentages of school age Maori populations exist in Northland, Bay Of Plenty and Hawkes Bay where approximately one in three students is Maori in these areas. Also it is clear that Maori leave school earlier and attain few or no formal qualifications and little change has occurred in this area.

#### **(7.5.1) Kura Kaupapa Maori And Kohanga Reo**

The emergence of Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori evolved out of a history of educational failure by Maori within state schools. Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa were set up to solve the inherent contradiction that Maori families had faced with state

schooling. They sought to create a schooling system that meant that their children excelled in two worlds. Graham Smith also argues that they also emerged with the upsurge in political activism of the 1970s. In regard to the political consciousness of Maori involved with these initiatives, Smith says:

*This consciousness is developed around understandings of the politics of the control of knowledge, understandings of the debilitating effects of hegemony and the understanding of the general politics of existing in a societal context of unequal power relations. Fundamental to Kaupapa Maori revitalisation has been the deconstruction of hegemonies which have disempowered Maori from controlling their own knowledge.*

*(Smith 1992:2)*

Politicisation of whanau also occurs as part of involvement with Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa, particularly the politicisation of Maori women through involvement in Kohanga Reo. These initiatives have galvanised Maori educational aspirations. Both these initiatives have been guided by numerous Maori who are very familiar with policies of co-optation and appropriation.

Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa have developed from the needs of whanau in different areas. Development has been a bottom - up process. Kohanga and Kura have been established at various sites since 1982. It was only in 1993 that a national structure representing Kura Kaupapa was established. One of the difficulties for Kura, has been that the struggle with the state is engaged at many sites. The establishment of a national body recognised that kura interests would be better protected at state level, by the establishment of this body. In the earlier days of Kura, the interests of kura were protected at

government level by individual kura or by groups such as Te Runanga O Tamaki Makaurau.

Patricia Johnston (1993), in a paper concerning Kohanga Reo, shows that even when Maori initiatives such as Kohanga develop outside the state, the state since becoming the funding agency of Kohanga has gradually begun to assert a greater control through New Right ideologies and through the control of definitions and interpretations that support Pakeha interests. She shows the dire need to counter these types of challenges. Maori groups are constantly fending off co-optive and assimilative moves that erode control by whanau.

Kura Kaupapa have also had to counter similar moves by the state to control and define the definition of what Kura Kaupapa Maori is. At the National Hui at Kaiwhaiki in 1993 the issue of the state redesignating state schools to become KKM was raised. The establishment of Te Runanganui (national co-ordinating body of kura kaupapa) was in part to assert the need to retain control by Maori of the definition of Kura Kaupapa and the adherence to Te Aho Matua.

Even in the systems of schooling such as Kura Kaupapa Maori, there is not a distinct separation from the state. The state interacts and limits and constrains what is possible in Kura, through the Educational Review Office, Boards Of Trustees, Education Act, Local Government, Ministry of Education, PPTA, NZEI, National Curriculum Requirements etc. There is a complexity of interaction that varies from kura to kura. For example, the

struggle to obtain sites for kura have been an ongoing struggle for our kura along with all other inner- city kura. This is less of a problem, in areas where kura is not seen as a threat such as on marae sites.

What Kura Kaupapa has broken out of, that bilingual programmes do not do except in extreme cases, is to reposition Maori as subject. Within kura it is the norm to be Maori, it is the norm to speak Maori, it is not taught as a subject between particular hours. It is spoken in the playground, when going on school trips in all areas and the pedagogies of the school are Maori preferred systems of learning that accentuate collective action and reinforce whanau, hapu and iwi histories.

There is currently a need to provide a range of schooling options for Maori parents. Within the schooling system the decolonising potential for Maori has focused around the language. When looking at the range of options it is clear that some programmes are more effective and efficient than others at achieving these outcomes. Kohanga and Kura are the preferred options when looking at the language but many whanau also send their children to these options for other reasons such as the learning of histories that are considered myths and stories within other schools, for the learning of the distinctness of local histories.

Kura Kaupapa Maori remains an option for very few at this point in time. There exist 23 state funded Kura with funding to be made available to a further five in 1994 (O'Rourke: 1994). The Ministry has a further 11 kura who have applied for funding. This means that

these kura fund themselves to survive. From a distance this does not seem a major worry. However what it means for those up close is that in order to survive there must be land and buildings. What kura discover is that when they apply for a site to councils, they are told that no-one wants a Maori school in their neighbourhood unless it is in the poor part of town. Councils give 101 reasons as to why a school cannot be sited at a particular location. Many kura operate out of temporary premises, such as in buildings attached to other educational institutions where there are inadequate facilities for outside play. Teachers have to be found, who can either work for nothing or who can exist off what the kura can fundraise. Some of these battles have been discussed more fully in the thesis by Tuki Nepe (1991). What is made clear though, is that the battles had the effect of making kura whanau more determined to give their children an education in Maori.

What also is evident in Tuki Nepes thesis is that Kaupapa Maori knowledge is a distinct body of knowledge that derives from a metaphysical base. Kaupapa Maori schooling has been designed to intervene in the current educational crisis. In its inception it recognised the damaging effects of colonisation and has consciously set out to redress these concerns. Kura Kaupapa has always been about more than just recovery of the past it has been about wanting 'excellence in two worlds'.

What Kohanga and Kura have done is to remember the past whilst creating new ways in which to envisage the future, in this way they exist as decolonising agents, for they inherently act not only to resist domination but also create new structures and new ideologies.



## **(7.6) THE NEED TO DEFINE IWI EDUCATION BROADLY**

As was said earlier, the envisaging of what iwi education is will determine how it develops as a discourse. One of the issues for determining what the scope of iwi education is, will be determining who comes under this heading.

In an earlier chapter the struggle for the control of the definition of iwi was discussed. Also what was clear was that issues of authenticity and identity are constantly being defined and redefined by dominant discourses. When asking who is represented by iwi, well it is, as far as iwi are concerned, anyone who can whakapapa to that iwi. Its also clear that the processes of redefinition of identity is a politically contested area between Maori and the state.

All those who descend from iwi do not live within the rohe, however. In some areas two thirds of the population live outside the rohe. So those living outside are also of concern, for often students must travel to other areas to tertiary education or for work. Maori boarding schools are an example where particular iwi have maintained active relationships with particular schools. Although no studies have been done on the flow of Maori populations between cities and the rohe, its also clear that many Maori maintain actively these links and return home frequently. Recent trends in the Hokianga and on the East Coast indicate that in economic hard times the population increases in these areas.

When looking at education it is clear that Maori are involved in a multiplicity of educational settings, such as schooling systems as well as in administration bodies and education organisations. It is probably fair to say that there is no educational site that

Maori are not involved in.

At present iwi do not have statistics that inform them of where their people are. As already discussed in Chapter Three, the ways in which iwi statistics have been collected is problematic. Regional statistics do not adequately inform iwi of the statistics that they need to know especially when up to two thirds of iwi can live outside the rohe.

What is also clear is that iwi have an interest in not only those programmes that are in te reo Maori. The articulation of why there is a need for Maori education has evolved out of alarm over the declining numbers of fluent speakers. However, the reclaiming of language has highlighted the need to also develop critical consciousness otherwise inequalities can still be perpetuated, the difference is that they occur in another language. Undermining of womens voices can occur in any language.

So in looking at the scope of iwi education it is clear that it is very wide indeed and that it encompasses a myriad of networks. What is apparent from this brief examination is that iwi education and state education are not two totally separate entities, that the two form overlapping territories and intertwined histories.

### **(7.7) EDUCATION FOR DECOLONISATION**

Resistance within institutions is constrained and limited to the nature of the institution. Conscientisation, in the Paulo Freire model of emancipatory education has never been

achieved as a schooling system anywhere in the world. Freire was exiled from Brazil for trying (Dale 1984). Where Paulo Freire has informed Maori education has been in his exploration of the idea of education for critical consciousness. Critical consciousness involves providing political literacy through learning the politics of society.

However, outside of schooling has been another type of education that Maori have engaged in since colonisation began. This education involves holding fast to things Maori and means learning to read against the grain. This type of education has caused resistance to the overwhelm of colonisation. The multi-faceted nature of resistance has taken many forms from the establishment of national movements to the challenging of hegemony. Maori resistance is political.

*Native groups which insist on exclusive membership, which redefine authority as that which is Native and which begin to create cultural artifacts that reflect Native history, values, and hopes are the product of decolonising minds. These groups develop under conditions of heightened consciousness that often result in nationalist political movements.*

(Trask 1993:55)

Paulo Freire defines all education as political. Education in its wider aspect means the critical unveiling of these politics. It is the unveiling of the way in which domination and oppression impact on Maori lives. Critical unveiling takes place in many whanau, within the home, at marae, at school wherever. It is very difficult not to see the lack of equality or racism. bell hooks (1990) makes the point that true resistance often stems from people confronting pain, whether it is their own or someone else's. Since colonisation we have always had our own sites of resistance whether it be an urban home, a shearing shed or

marae. These spaces are filled with talk, humour and laughter. In part these places have been places of restoration and decolonisation.

Fanon and others also point to the damage done to the mental health of the colonised such as self-hatred and self-denial. bell hooks agrees with these earlier writings saying that the oppressed cannot resist domination effectively if they are 'all messed up' (1990:218). What also must be overcome is the sense of powerlessness that stems from the reality of exploitation. These are rarely discussed aspects of colonisation, the impact on the mental health of the colonised yet the work of Franz Fanon and Aime Cesaire clearly show the enormity of the impact of colonisation in this way.

Some of the more brutal aspects of colonisation are touched on by Koro Dewes, in 1975, who wrote of the cultural and psychological violence done to Maori through colonisation that has caused even Maori at times to 'reject their own tongue' (1975:49)

*What can we Maori aspire to if we are not rooted in the land, if there is no language and literary tradition to speak for our souls, if our creative imaginations and leadership energies are weakened by fear of loss of jobs and promotional prospects? Are we not cultural refugees in our own country?*

(Dewes 1975:49)

The development of whare wananga have arisen out of a desire to strengthen hapu and iwi, but also to affirm knowledge that is not considered valid within the current educational systems. What is centralised in the curriculum of whare wananga is the distinct dialects, histories and politics of each area. Also tikanga and kawa are inherent aspects of the course. At Te Whare Wananga O Raukawa the curriculum includes such aspects as history

since colonisation, hapu, iwi and whanau histories. Alongside that is research into iwi - state interaction, such as local government and marae interaction, study of law and government in relation to iwi and hapu. Pedagogies legitimate Maori aspects of learning and teaching such as reaffirming the collective, whanaungatanga and haputanga (Tu Tangata, 21 Dec:1984).

Numerous hui also contain aspects of decolonisation. Hui on mana wahine, on the Treaty, on legislation and so forth where a great deal of deconstructing occurs. MACCESS and TOPS courses, whanau at kohanga reo and Kura Kaupapa, marae hui are all areas where the power and relevance of Maori knowledge and worldviews can be central.

Tuki Nepe (1992) has conducted a series of interviews with Maori women, during which the women expressed similar processes of political development:

### *Conscientisation Process For Maori Women*

1. *Colonisation - the acceptance of the values, beliefs and mores of dominant Pakeha culture. These are conveyed through the institutions of family, education, work, religion, politics and law.*
2. *New Awareness of Maoriness - becoming more aware more intensely of Maori cultural 'roots'.*
3. *Decolonisation involving:*
  - i. *Deprogramming - All are interrelated stages of the critical awareness*
  - ii. *Reclaiming - whereby the consciousness is deprogrammed*
  - iii. *Reprogramming - reclaim Maori identity, and actions are reprogrammed to retain this identity.*

4. *Critical action - having been conscientised, will now challenge the unsatisfactory realities encountered on a personal level as well as on a social level.*
5. *Transformation - involving the formation of Maori identity 'tino rangatiratanga' with its three dimensions of wairua (spiritual); kotahitanga (solidarity) and whanau (family).*
6. *Retention of Maori identity - involves the challenges of overcoming the real threat of 'recolonisation'. The prime question being: In order to survive in both worlds, where do I as a Maori women expend my energies most?*

(Nepe 1992:19)

In the conscientisation process, the women describe their movement from object to subject. There is also clearly an awareness of where Maori women are positioned in society and some knowledge of how this positioning occurs. Their positioning has been supported by the renaming and reinscription of their own identities. They consciously deconstruct those forms of hegemony.

Oral forms of transmission have played a critical part in the survival of the Maori language and tikanga during colonisation. Within the culture of resistance, oral transmission has played the part of important counter-hegemonic discourses. Marae have been important sites of resistance. Informal talking too contains many aspects that show resistance. The subject is often, who is related to whom, how and also social histories. But there is a danger of co-option of these forms of communication. At one time the marae was visited by government officials who were Pakeha and their agendas were plain to see. But today the government officials are often Maori, who speak the language and sometimes they are even related. They know hui processes and can appropriate and co-opt

this particular form of consultation.

Homes are political sites, for Maori too. Economic and social structures have determined for example that the majority of Maori live in cities, and determined the poverty levels for many families. It is in homes as well that a culture of resistance has been built. Maori women have played a key role in this area of not only providing care for but also ensuring the continuation of political resistance. The effect of Te Kohanga Reo has been enormous as a political movement because it is now so large.

#### **(7.8) IMPLICATIONS FOR IWI DEVELOPMENT**

The new discourse is iwi education. As yet very few iwi have developed iwi education plans. When thinking about education for iwi, it is essential to think of iwi education in broad terms for the reasons that have been given in this chapter. Iwi education must take into account not just those in Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa because 99% of Maori are in state schools at primary level. Also the majority of iwi are now living in cities.

One of the points that needs to be made clear is that Maori people do not have a right to the language as a special favour from the government. Maori people have a right to Maori language because it is a fundamental human freedom that has been denied (see the United Nations Indigenous Charter appended).

Education for critical consciousness is a necessary part of retaining language and culture. Reclaiming histories is already recognised as an important step amongst Maori

educationalists. But there are further aspects to be reclaimed.

Creative educators can incorporate decolonising aspects into their teaching. The media is an example of a possible area of development where the deconstructing of messages, images and representations of Maori could be examined. Our children are susceptible to all sorts of representations of themselves and representations of the world though television particularly. How can we incorporate into our homes and schools ways of decolonising, of viewing with a critical eye, of giving understanding of the broader political aspects that are shaping what we view and also shaping our beliefs.

The shaping of identities also are topics that have arisen in all areas, from the census forms to iwi radio stations, certain questions keep arising, what is a Maori? In what ways have our identities been constructed by Pakeha and what are our identities? The writers on decolonisation point to the control of identity as one of the most powerful means of subordinating other groups. Educators working to decolonise minds also need to incorporate these aspects into their work.

The appropriation of Maori and co-option of Maori institutions of modes of operating is another area where power and control issues need to be analysed. With the recognition by government of the need to consult with iwi on matters such as changes in policy, law or a restructuring decision, there has been an increase of consultation with iwi. One of the dangers for iwi is the co-option of the hui process in these consultation processes. There are a number of steps at which a hui can be co-opted. Firstly who makes the decision



---

about what the key questions are for debate? How are these questions worded? Who are considered the experts on the topic, iwi or others? In the hui are all voices heard or are 'the selected experts'. Who is interpreting iwi views and taking these views to government? Even when Maori have been consulted and said an overwhelming no to the proposed change, it can occur anyway as has been seen in the devolution of Maori Affairs and in the Sealords deal.