

Introduction to Section Four

Making Spaces for *Maori*: From the Shifting Centre to the Fixed Margins.

Imagine for a moment a scene on a marae when manuhiri have been called, through the karanga, to enter the marae atea.¹ The karanga representing the first call of life, and most often done by the senior women of the marae, from the side of the tangata whenua, calls out to the visitors, welcoming them and welcoming all their tipuna. This call also acknowledges those who have recently died. A similar karanga crosses from the manuhiri to the tangata whenua, also called by a woman. The manuhiri move into and within the spaces assigned to them, usually a separated space on one side of the wharenuui. They would move into this space as a single group, as one. In some contexts the women and children would be in front, the older women leading, the men at the back. In other contexts it would be reversed. On the tangata whenua 'side' similarly, people have their ascribed space for this occasion. Over the next period of time, the tangata whenua and manuhiri address each other. There are other dimensions present as well, the scene is gendered, age and status apply, te reo Maori in its most formal form is used and whaikorero are embellished with ancient tauparapara selected for the occasion. This scene is further imbued with the notion of tapu and the sense of tikanga which prevails. These are formal meetings in which both 'sides' greet each other, past and present, the dead and the living, until they have completed the ritual, and then the two sides come together to hongī, to mingle their 'ha' or breath, and to engage in less formal talk before the visitors are called into another area for food. In this scene the two 'sides' of

¹ Trans. *Marae* (Maori cultural complexes and/or the area in front of a meeting house), *manuhiri* (visitors, guests), *karanga* (the first 'call' which signals the beginning of the movement on to the marae), *marae atea* (space in front of the meeting house on to which the manuhiri move), *wharenuui* (large house, often carved or meeting house), *tangata whenua* (host side, people from the land and marae), *tipuna* (ancestors), *te reo Maori* (Maori language), *whaikorero* (formal speeches), *tauparapara* (ritual incantations passed down from generations, used by male speakers to begin their speeches), *tapu* (sacred, restricted, special), *tikanga* (protocol, correct procedures, customary practices), *hui* (meeting, gathering).

*this meeting, the people, merge together so that they become indistinguishable. There are spaces in which the 'encounter' can be disrupted, for example a new group may be called on, but as the ritual continues these spaces are gradually eliminated. If this hui were to continue for a few days there would still be times, for example at night, when the sides would still occupy certain specific spaces, for example the manuhiri would sleep on one side of the wharenui, the tangata whenua along the other wall. The marae atea becomes an area available for less formalised activities.*²

Introduction.

In chapter five I argued that space itself became colonised in the ways our landscape was renamed, our lands systematically partitioned, confiscated and alienated, and concepts of centre and margin were re-oriented. In chapter eight I gave examples of how decisions about the location of Native Schools and about such items as flagpoles were based on ideas about space, about distance, boundaries and orientations. I have also argued that schooling has played a significant part in repositioning *Maori*, both in relation to the school, as a representation of the 'new' colonial authority, and in relation to our own internal social structures. In this section of the thesis I will examine the long struggle by *Maori* to reclaim spaces which exist inside schooling for *Maori* values, language and knowledge. This struggle has taken different forms, most of which have been shaped and determined, not by *Maori*, but by *Pakeha* state interests. I will argue firstly, that the way in which topics related to *Maori* have been 'permitted' to enter the school gates has been a process which has resulted in the fragmentation of *Maori* world views, one which has had the effect of fixing *Maori* ways of knowing into the margins of what counts as official and therefore legitimate knowledge. I also argue that *Maori* strategies to make space, or reclaim space at the institutional level, at the curriculum and pedagogical levels, have been fraught with difficulties, and have had different sorts of consequences for *Maori*, not all of which have

² *This scene is just one, there are variations across iwi and between marae. For more analytical accounts of such occasions read Salmond, A., 1975. Hui, A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings. Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed.*

been sympathetic.³

In writing this section, I am drawing on several different examples with which I am familiar, but I focus, in particular, on two distinct discourses, one called *Taha Maori* and the other called *Kaupapa Maori*. I am applying *Taha Maori* in the broad sense of what it means in *Maori* language as the *Maori* 'side of things', and in the more specific sense of what it has become as an official curriculum discourse. I will discuss *Maori* ways of resisting the appropriation of *Taha Maori* through issues related to the development of *Kura Kaupapa Maori*. The two terms, *Taha Maori* and *Kaupapa Maori*, are both *Maori* terms which have become part of educational discourse in New Zealand. They not only mean different things, but different things have also happened to them in terms of official policy development. Part of this difference reflects a history related to the gradual inclusion of *Maori* topics into schooling, and part of the difference lies in the different conceptual framework and politics associated with the two terms. Both these terms have been used simultaneously in the framing of *Maori* educational policy since 1984. What this illustrates is that the issue is not simply about *Maori in opposition* to schooling, or *Maori in opposition* to *Pakeha* interests, but that there are different and competing *Maori* discourses in education. Using Bernstein's theories of pedagogic discourse I argue that *Taha Maori* has already become, in Bernstein's terms, recontextualised as a different form of knowledge, and show in chapter twelve how this occurs. I also argue that whilst *Kaupapa Maori* may have started as an oppositional discourse, it too is in danger of the same process occurring.

Kura Kaupapa Maori contains within it the concept of *Kaupapa Maori* which has already been introduced in section two. In this section *Kaupapa Maori* refers in particular to a schooling initiative which has attempted to bring to the centre and make space for; *Maori* language, *Maori* philosophies, *Maori* world-views, *Maori* values, *Maori* pedagogy and *Maori* knowledge. That process has been and continues to be fraught with problems and issues, the least of which relates to the simple fact that schools, whatever the nature of their 'special

³ Whilst it may seem contradictory to both make (that is, create) space and reclaim space I think that we are engaging in both *making* spaces which are new, (in the sense that they are unknown to *Pakeha* and/or institutions), as well as *reclaiming* spaces which are ones we know exist, but have been possessed by others. Space is an important part of the conditions necessary for re-imagining new possibilities.

character', are still schools, subject to the regulations of the state and the external influences of 'society'. In that society it must be kept in the foreground that *Maori* are a minority voice. The issues which affect us in terms of recovering our 'culture' and of recentring it in the education of our children are pitted against the issues which affect us socio-economically. We have high and still rising rates of unemployment, continuing rates of under-achievement, low incomes, high rates of imprisonment, poor health, high rates of alcoholism and drug abuse, high suicide rates among young people, poor housing conditions. The tensions between recovering ourselves, our language and culture, and surviving economically, are reflected in the ways both *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* have attempted to frame their '*kaupapa*' or philosophies .

But there are other tensions which intersect with the socio-economic issues which affect *Maori* and which operate externally to the classroom. These tensions take us back to the introduction of the thesis and the influence of new forms of imperialism articulated through the power of international media, the signing of international trade agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which makes possible the further commodification and exploitation of indigenous intellectual and cultural property.⁴ The educational reforms which made *Kura Kaupapa Maori* possible have also made it possible for *Maori* language, knowledge and culture, to be reframed as one (amongst many) sites in the global market place. The struggle to make more space within schooling for *Maori* does not take place in a vacuum, rather there is a shifting scene at the imperial level which pushes downwards and inwards on the events taking place in classrooms. This tension, between the imperial and the local levels of education, make the struggle that much more difficult, gains made a decade ago in one context can become losses through changes, which also occurred a decade ago, at the macro level but which have taken ten years to 'trickle down'. In this sense the spaces are constantly shifting, the struggles are simultaneously being played out at the imperial/global, regional and local levels. The struggle, then, is not about making or

⁴ For more on this subject in relation to *Maori* see (i) Mead, A., 1994. 'Indigenous Rights to Land and Biological Resources, The Convention on Biological Diversity', paper presented to the Conference on Biodiversity: Impacts on Government, Business and the Economy, International Institute for Research (NZ) Ltd. and the Department of Conservation and (ii) Mead, A., 1994. 'Misappropriation of Indigenous Knowledge: The Next Wave of Colonisation', in *Nga Tikanga, Nga Taonga*, Research Unit for *Maori* Education Monograph 23, Research Unit for *Maori* Education, University of Auckland.

reclaiming a single or even unidimensional 'space', but making and reclaiming space/s, that is **multiple spaces**. Spaces are a necessary condition for the reformulation of codes and the reclaiming of *rangatiratanga*. The chapters in this section address curriculum, pedagogical and institutional spaces.

To set a different context than the essentially historical one to be outlined in the following chapter, I wish now to discuss attempts to create/reclaim physical and cultural spaces within or through institutions. In particular I want to put in place the broad outlines of educational reform begun under the Fourth Labour Government in 1984 which have added yet another layer to *Maori* education. The context being framed is in relation to the possibilities which currently exist for *Maori* initiatives and *Maori* defined spaces in education.

Spaces to be *Maori*.

Over the years there have been several attempts to claim or create space within institutions for *Maori*. Individual teachers have created 'home room' type spaces, others have attempted to attract *Maori* communities into schools.⁵ These sorts of spaces were not formal, they were not given; rather, they were simply claimed and then used.⁶ The point, however, is that they were never quite appropriate and most did not have formal cultural or pedagogical functions. It was difficult to host visitors, for example, it was impossible to hold a *tangi*, people still had to negotiate the formidable school office. They were also spaces which were dependent on the goodwill of 'someone'. In some ways these early attempts at making space were reflected also in our attempts to claim spaces in cities. People's homes became *marae* and were used for *hui*, for *tangi*, for celebrations. Church halls and community centres were spaces where we could be *Maori* but they too were never quite appropriate.

The development of *marae* complexes and carved meeting houses in schools and universities is a relatively recent phenomenon. I attended Auckland Teachers College in 1974 when **Taru**

⁵ When he was teaching in the *Maori* School system (after World War II) my father, for example, used school 'shelter sheds' and storerooms for carving and other *Maori* art activities which led to students producing traditional carved gateways and carved 'fence posts'.

⁶ In my father's case it did help that the schools he taught in were in out of the way districts.

Rankin began the process of creating the college *marae*, *Tutahi Tonu*, from the inside.⁷ At that time his office was in a prefabricated building and was used by the *Maori* students as a lunch place, a study room, and a place in which to hide or avoid other lecturers.⁸ He quite literally had students with chainsaws transforming prefabricated classrooms into larger and larger spaces and as a consequence, the *Maori* Studies Department was gradually shifted to the outer limits of the college grounds where *Taru* was able to develop a fully carved meeting house. The chainsaws were then used to make a dining room by cutting doorways through walls! This occurred from the inside and was not visible to the rest of the College. I would call this an organic approach to making space. I was more directly involved in the development of a *marae* in a single sex girls school. This space was given official support by the school and the Education Board in the form of a prefabricated classroom. There were some interesting cultural politics, both school based and *Maori* ones, in this particular development which were described in chapter ten. Other secondary schools had also built *marae*.⁹ Some schools have since added *Te Kohanga Reo* and other community spaces.

What can we say about these sorts of spaces? Firstly they were very specific responses to the needs and aspirations of *Maori* involved in those contexts. They were ways of creating spaces within a set of institutional politics, they were ways of responding to the *Maori* students who attended those institutions. They were argued for and justified according to these specific conditions, although it helped to be able to say, for example, that other schools or other universities had already developed a *marae*. They did not necessarily meet all the cultural requirements of a *marae* or even some of the aesthetic requirements. Some school *marae*, for example, have a '*kaupapa*' which excludes being able to hold *tangi*.¹⁰ When I showed my father, (who was, at the time, developing the *marae*, *Te Herenga Waka*, at Victoria

⁷ For further background on *Tutahi Tonu Marae* see Smith, G.H., 1986. '*Tutahi Tonu Marae: A Case Study of an Educational Response to the Challenge of Equity and Diversity*', paper presented to the International Intervisitation Programme in Educational Administration Conference, University of Auckland.

⁸ Why would we want to avoid other lecturers? Mostly because we either did not like them or were scared of them.

⁹ The first such *marae* was built at Green Bay High, West Auckland.

¹⁰ A *tangi* takes place over several days and the facilities of a *marae* need to be able to feed, sleep and provide for visitors. This can be costly and requires a very stable team of cooks out the back and *Maori* speakers for the rituals which take place in front.

University), the *whare* at 'my' school, his first comments related to the shape of the roof, the angle of the external walls, the size and spacing of the windows.¹¹

These spaces on their own, however, don't necessarily transform the wider structures within which they sit, nor do they change, necessarily, the pedagogical conditions which exist for *Maori* teachers and students. They do not automatically improve school certificate pass rates for example, nor do they make school a better or friendlier place to be for some groups of *Maori* students. In fact, they may reinforce the alienation many *Maori* students have from their own cultural identities. I can think here of some examples which affect students from mixed *Pakeha/Maori* families being brought up by a *Pakeha* parent, *Maori* students who have been adopted by non-*Maori* parents, *Maori* girls, *Maori* students with disabilities, *Maori* students who do not take *Maori* language or do not belong to *Maori* club. This does not just apply in schools, Margie *Hohepa* and I carried out research in polytechnics which also show the alienation that is experienced by some *Maori* students in relation to the institution and to the *Maori* programmes designed ostensibly to help them.¹² The point, is that whilst spaces are necessary for *Kaupapa Maori*, other things have to happen with and within those spaces to be able to reformulate and recentre. The following discussion examines a different and more radical approach to making spaces through the development of alternative institutional structures.

Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Wananga: The Maori Alternatives.

He Hinaki Tukutuku.

*The hand that feeds is the hand that rules.*¹³

¹¹ To which my response was, 'Yeah but don't you think it feels good?' My father (*Hirini Moko Mead*), my brother-in-law (*Takirangi Smith*), my husband (*Graham Hingangaroa Smith*) and I have all been involved in different ways in the establishment of different *marae* or meeting houses. *Takirangi* and my father are both carvers, my husband's name *Hingangaroa* is the name of the ancestor from whom carving is inherited and from whom my husband is descended.

¹² *Hohepa, M.K., L.T. Smith, 1995. 'E Kore A Muri E Hokia, A Study of Maori and Pacific Islands Women in Employment-Related Training'. Report for the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO, Wellington.*

¹³ This quote from *Turoa Royal* cited in *McCarthy, M.B., 1994. 'He Hinaki Tukutuku, Rangatiratanga, Whare Wananga and the State', MA thesis, Victoria University. p.95.*

Many *Maori* would argue that there is more to be gained by going outside the state and developing our own schools. This is, in effect, what happened with *Te Kohanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa Maori* and *Wananga*. However to reiterate a point made earlier, the spaces which existed outside the state in the 1980s are not the same sorts of spaces which exist now. Both *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* draw on a range of pedagogical practices but set out a philosophy which attempts to privilege *Maori* ways of doing things.¹⁴ Smith named the pedagogical practices to be found in *Te Kohanga Reo* as 'akonga Maori' or 'preferred pedagogical practices'.¹⁵ The concept of 'preferred' is important because neither *Te Kohanga Reo* nor *Kura Kaupapa Maori* claim to teach solely in 'traditional' ways.¹⁶ Their success has been to create the conditions through which preferred ways of teaching and learning can be realised. Sharples suggests that many of these preferred styles happened in the early development of *Te Kohanga Reo* spontaneously as well as intentionally.¹⁷ As he relates it; a 'nanny' in *Ngati Kahungunu*, when confronted with a small sea of little faces and no toys to occupy them, figured out rapidly that they would begin the day with a *karakia*, then *mihimihi*, then *waiata*, then a *pakiwaitara* and then before long it was time for a *kai*!¹⁸ This routine was repeated in each and every *Te Kohanga Reo* as *whanau* struggled to turn a vision into a reality. Other pedagogical practices occurred which were contested within *whanau* and were regarded as not connecting with the '*kaupapa*', for example at the *Kohanga Reo* my daughter attended there were two nannies, one was '*ahua riri*', or 'grumpy', and threatened to smack the children or send them outside, and the other one was '*ahua pai*', or nice. It was decided at the *whanau hui* that sending children outside and smacking them was definitely not part of the *kaupapa* and ways had to be found to support

¹⁴ Refer back to chapter three and chapter seven.

¹⁵ Smith, G.H., 1987. 'Akonga Maori: Preferred Maori Teaching and Learning Methodologies', in *Nga Kete Wananga Readers*, no.2, Auckland College of Education.

¹⁶ This is a very important point because one of the criticisms made of *Maori* initiatives is that they are either reinventing tradition or looking backwards to the past. Refer back to section three. It is also important because many younger *Maori* interpret what is happening in *Te Kohanga Reo* as traditional *Maori* ways of doing things.

¹⁷ Sharples, P., 1994. Lecture to Education Department Class Stage Three. *Tane-nui-a-rangi*, University of Auckland. He also has told this story on other occasions.

¹⁸ Trans. *karakia* are 'prayers', *mihimihi* are greetings, *waiata* are songs, *pakiwaitara* are stories and *kai* is food.

the 'grumpy nanny' without giving the 'nice nanny' more power! In this way a history or policy begins to frame pedagogical practices, one which draws upon the contemporary lived experiences of *Maori*. This is also an example of the reformulation that can take place when *Maori* values, language and practices are recentered. 'Problems' get discussed within a context in which the wider cultural value system is not viewed as deficient but rather as a source for solutions. Furthermore, the process of the discussion usually takes place within a *whanau hui* which also validates the cultural system. The issue or 'problem' is shared amongst the group.

Empirical research has amplified many of these principles and the reflective and productive aspects of the 'taken for granted' practices. This has been an important aspect of legitimating many of these practices, as discussed earlier in chapter three. *Hohepa*, for example, found that the nature of language interactions in *Te Kohanga Reo* reinforced concepts of *whanaungatanga*, *tuakana-teina*, *awhina*.¹⁹ Children in *Te Kohanga Reo* engaged in more multiparty interactions than what is seen as the normative dyadic styles of communication found in middle class families. She also found examples which 'illustrate the way in which central cultural values are systematically related to guide' language development.²⁰

In *Kura Kaupapa Maori* there is a marked preference for continuing many of the pedagogical patterns established in *Te Kohanga Reo*. These patterns and the theories which supported them were used more systematically in the political tactics employed by the *Kura Kaupapa Maori* movement. As *Rata* argued, 'The issue of total immersion education has already been decided. The parents of the thousands of children in *Kohanga Reo* have made that decision. Similarly the issue of *Kura Kaupapa Maori* has been decided - by those same parents who can see no other schooling option securing their child's fluency in the *Maori* language. *Kura*

¹⁹ *Hohepa*, M.K., 1990. 'Te Kohanga Reo Hei Tikanga Ako i te Reo Maori', MA thesis, University of Auckland, and *Hohepa*, M., G.H. Smith, L.T. Smith, S. McNaughton, 1992. 'Te Kohanga Reo Hei Tikanga Ako i te Reo Maori: Te Kohanga Reo as a context for language learning', in *Educational Psychology*, v.12, No.3,4, pp.333-347. Trans. *whanaungatanga* are systems and processes which support the *whanau* such as relationship building processes, *tuakana-teina* are older siblings and younger siblings who have mutual responsibilities and obligations to each other (a little like peer support), *awhina* are the values of helping others.

²⁰ *Hohepa*, 1990, p.88.

Kaupapa Maori is here to stay'.²¹ Research related to minority language teaching was gathered together, arguments which dismissed concerns people may have had about English language were mounted, and a coherent conception of what these new schools might actually look like was worked out in advance of, or in tandem with political tactics and strategies.²² Inside the schools themselves this has included formalising some practices by allocating time and space to them, for example '*tuakana-teina*' times are formally 'timetabled' in some schools while other schools encourage much more fluid relationships to maintain the '*tuakana-teina*' model. There are, however, differences in pedagogical practices between *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori*. There are other things 'at stake' which begin to shape, influence and regulate pedagogical styles.²³ Parents want to see their children read, work with numbers, write legibly, use exercise books, learn computer literacy. The Board of Trustees is accountable for ensuring that the curriculum is covered and taught effectively, for setting good employment practices, for adhering to various legislative and charter requirements. Teachers have to plan programmes, keep records, evaluate, assess and report to parents, on children's development. The Education Review Office has the role of monitoring and auditing each school's compliance. The Ministry of Education sets the boundaries within which 'self-managing' schools operate. Other agencies of the state are also involved in such things as the monitoring and surveillance of parents on state benefits or on children under care.²⁴ In order to 'comply', *Kura Kaupapa Maori*, like all other schools have to show detailed documentation outlining policies, practices and strategies employed to ensure that educational standards are of the highest quality. *Te Kohanga Reo* are also subject to a similar regime of regulation although most come under an umbrella administrative

²¹ Rata, E., 1989. '*Kura Kaupapa Maori*', in *PPTA Journal*, Wellington, Post-Primary Teachers Association, pp.30-32.

²² An account of the committee, *Te Komiti o Nga Kura Kaupapa Maori o Tamaki Makaurau*, which advanced these arguments is to be found in Rata, E.M., 1991. '*Maori Survival and Structural Separateness: The History of Te Runanga o Nga Kura Kaupapa Maori O Tamaki Makaurau 1987-1989*', MA thesis, University of Auckland.

²³ I have written more about this in Smith, L.T., 1994. '*In Search of a Language and Shareable Imaginative World: E Kore Taku Moe, E Riro i a Koe*', in *Hecate*, v.xx, no.2, pp.162-174. For example the children themselves want to be like other children and take a school lunch bag with their 'own' lunch, parents want to know 'progress' in reading and they pay more attention to children's spelling and art work.

²⁴ The different agencies of Government are able to cross-check information in order to monitor and force compliance on welfare beneficiaries. Children 'under care' come under the Children and Young Person's Act.

structure known as the National Te *Kohanga Reo* Trust.

Both *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* are promoted by *Maori*, and by the state, as examples of *Maori* initiatives and *Maori* attempts to appropriate schooling for ourselves.²⁵ There are a number of points I want to make in relation to the preceding statement. Since the development of both *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori*, economic and educational reforms have penetrated the pedagogical spaces created by these initiatives. The *whanau* for example, is not considered by the state as the primary decision making body, rather the Board of Trustees is the group held to be accountable. The curriculum is controlled by a series of national curriculum guidelines and statements to which schools must conform. These are tied into the National Qualifications Framework through Unit Standards. Despite the rhetoric associated with greater parental involvement in schools, the highly technical and skilled requirements demanded by the current regime of education are beyond the capabilities of many parents. This means that the few who do have skills are called on to carry increasingly heavy responsibilities on behalf of the *whanau*. There are several dangers in this; individuals are burned out very quickly, under stress they begin to rely on a small group of associates they trust which creates informal structures which can undercut the *whanau*, they do not necessarily have good *whanau* building skills, there is little time to train new parents, some get carried away with their power and think that they really are chiefs! Some are focused more on their own child and forget the greater needs of the whole group of children. Often the politics at this level are messy and unproductive causing many parents to withdraw.

What has happened in *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* has not been reproduced when we examine the establishment of *Wananga*.²⁶ This, I would argue, is due to several factors. Firstly, the space for *Wananga* which was argued for in the 'Report on Post-compulsory Education and Training', the 'Hawke Report' was framed largely by the

²⁵ At international fora Government representatives use the example of *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* to show the level of support given by the state to indigenous language and cultural survival.

²⁶ *Wananga* are based on the concept of traditional *whare wananga* or 'house of learning'. They are tertiary institutions which were incorporated into the Education Amendment Act 1989 as an option for *Maori*. At this point in time only two fully registered and the Government is resisting developing more such institutions. The best account of the development of *Wananga* is to be found in McCarthy, 1994.

development of *Te Wananga O Raukawa*.²⁷ The applications of this model across *iwi* was not thought through in any depth, for example, its potential to intervene in the educational crisis was not argued for. This is important because of the priority given to issues of unemployment and the commitment given by the Government to reduce the levels of *Maori* unemployment through increased spending on ACCESS and then TOPS programmes.²⁸ *Wananga* simply fitted into the menu of 'choice'. A second factor which has led to the restricted development of *Wananga* is the development of the National Qualifications Authority (NZQA) and the National Qualifications Framework.²⁹ In the early conceptions of the framework *Wananga* did not feature, the vocational orientation of the framework and the obvious under-achievement of *Maori* led to an emphasis on training programmes and the creation of 'new' qualifications, for example, 'Kaumatua certificates'.³⁰ There was also a heavy financial commitment needed by communities who wanted to approach NZQA for recognition of their programmes. It cost *Te Wananga O Awanuiarangi*, for example, \$20,000 for the privilege of having NZQA come and assess their new degrees.³¹ That cost does not include the use of consultants and other support to get the documentation ready beforehand, nor did it include any of the costs for running the *Wananga* up until NZQA approval. It would have cost even more, but the *Maori* members who sat on the reviewing board did not claim their fees.

Why is NZQA important, you may ask? Why not do it on our own? In the example of *Te Wananga O Awanuiarangi*, the approval of NZQA was important; it enabled students to

²⁷ McCarthy, pp.78-128.

²⁸ ACCESS and TOPS are Government programmes designed to give further training to the unemployed. ACCESS is being phased out. TOPS is very tightly targeted to those who have minimal qualifications.

²⁹ The New Zealand Qualifications Authority were created under the reforms of Education encompassed in the Education Amendment Act 1989. NZQA is establishing a national 'framework' of qualifications which will determine access to Government funds for institutions, and will set 'standards'. This framework is hotly contested by universities because it is viewed as a mechanism to lower university standards in the international arena. NZQA also set and determine all secondary school national examinations.

³⁰ Smith, G.H., 1995. 'The Cultural Politics of Creating Space in University', seminar presented to Education Department, University of Auckland. An example of such a certificate was shown during this seminar. Smith's point was that the category 'kaumatua' is a *Maori* social category which ought not to be claimed, owned or legitimated by the state. It is not for NZQA, in other words, to give out such certificates.

³¹ Personal communication from Chairperson of the Establishment Committee for Awanuiarangi.

claim student allowance and student loans, it enabled lecturers to be paid decent salaries and gave them the sense that they were 'real', it legitimated, in the eyes of the community, the work which the *Wananga* had been doing in the previous year. Immediately after NZQA approval, for example, enrolment numbers increased. A third reason for the limited development of *Wananga* is more to do with community perceptions of tertiary education. There is a socio-economic reality for *Maori*; they do want jobs, they do want to survive on something better than the smell of an oily rag, they do want material advantages for their children and grandchildren. There is also a general resistance to a 'university-type' education and a suspicion about what it does to people, to 'their heads'. There is also a huge lack of confidence in the way many people see themselves.

Finally, there are also imperatives related to *Maori* economic development and the preparations that are being made by various *iwi* for the return of *iwi* resources, either through the *Waitangi* Tribunal or through direct negotiations with the Crown.³² In these imperatives, education features as an instrumental process for delivering a new managerial elite, people who can 'manage' resources. These concepts fit neatly with the commodification principles of new right economics. *Maori* argue for example, that our world-view and the attitudes to land, and to all our relationships which are framed by our world-views, have been ignored and trampled upon resulting in grave injustices by the state. We wish to have our lands, which were unjustly taken, returned so that we can reclaim our world-views. But, it is argued, we also need to survive, our land has to be made to work *for us*, it has to turn a profit, we have to control it and someone must manage it efficiently. These views are antagonistic to our world views but many *iwi* are taking hold of the arguments for economic development as a means to social and cultural development without, as many others would argue, thinking through critically what this means in the future.³³

All of these arguments and tensions are imbued with localised histories, religious beliefs and layers of *hapu* and *iwi* politics. The mix of these attitudes produces certain forms of cultural

³² The term 'Crown' is used in relation to the Treaty of *Waitangi* as the other 'partner' or signatory; that is, the Treaty was signed between *Maori* and the representatives of the Crown.

³³ See for example, 1995. *The Fiscal Envelope, Economics, Politics & Colonisation*, v.1. *Moko Productions and Research Unit for Maori Education, University of Auckland*.

politics which make it that much more difficult to imagine, let alone develop, a *Wananga* rather than a *Kohanga Reo*.

In summary I would make the following points:

(i) *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* have taught us that you do not need huge amounts of resources and specially designed buildings (such as carved meeting houses) to start claiming back your humanity or language and culture, as long as there is a '*kaupapa*' which can achieve three things; excite people's imagination, connect what appears to be unconnectable and give people space to help create it themselves (even if it looks like they're going to get it wrong).³⁴

(ii) The early gains made by *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* prior to the reforms of education have provided some new pedagogical spaces for *Maori* but these are being constantly encroached upon by the state.

(iii) The restricted development of *Wananga* in association with policies aimed at *Maori* economic development and unemployment and the view of education implicit in the current educational reforms, also means that there are limited pedagogical spaces available.

(iii) Within *Maori* cultural politics there are tensions which pit the survival of our language, knowledge and culture against our sheer physical survival, the ability to put food on the table, to make ourselves well, to take care of our *kaumatua* as well as *mokopuna*. These tensions are constantly pushed downwards to be played out at the local level, in a specific *whanau* or over a specific issue.

It used to be that we could imagine our *rangatiratanga* being exercised outside the state. We could imagine this easily because *Maori* were positioned through one form of colonialism, outside or on the margins of development; social, economic and political. This context has

³⁴ In fact one of the catch cries of the *Kura Kaupapa Maori* movement was that *rangatiratanga* meant the right to make mistakes!

changed radically as the state has redefined itself as the licensee of a huge market place which is determined not nationally but internationally. In the market place, any protections are viewed as restrictive, undermining free competition. Protections of *Maori* through the Treaty of *Waitangi* in this new economic model can only be temporary while *Maori* come 'up to' a level in which we can participate in the market. This is a new form of colonialism, one which still requires that we be civilised and developed. The implications of this for making space for *Maori* in education is that there is no longer, in my view, an outside space. Spaces have to be made inside institutions, which exist inside a market place, whose rules and regulations are mediated by the state. This does not preclude us creating new institutions but they, too, will be regulated by the state. This is of course a huge area not developed within this thesis however it does have serious implications for *Maori*.

Spaces, as I have stated previously, are a necessary part of the conditions required for the reformulation of a *Maori* system of codes. However, what I have illustrated in this introduction is that the spaces inside and outside the state, which were formerly sharply delineated in relation to *Maori*, can no longer be conceptualised in the same way. Spaces intersect and are intersected by institutions, by the state and by international influences. Even though *Te Kohanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa Maori* and *Wananga* seem to offer the right sets of conditions for *Kaupapa Maori* and for new possibilities, these spaces are not stable, they can not be taken for granted. Re-imagining new possibilities, even through *Te Kohanga Reo*, is not the same as day dreaming. It requires continuous engagement with reality, with policy, and with the wider picture presented by new forms of imperialism.

What follows in this section are three chapters which focus on the development of *Taha Maori* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori*. Chapter eleven sets out an historical narrative which provides a context for the development of both *Taha Maori* and *Kaupapa Maori*. Chapter twelve draws on a study of teachers, using Bernstein's concept of 'recontextualisation' to demonstrate how alternative/oppositional knowledges can become incorporated into official discourse. Chapter thirteen sets out some of the curriculum issues which affect *Kura Kaupapa Maori*. This chapter is 'over-written' by my own critique of issues which have arisen subsequent to the date when this chapter was first written. It maps out some of the issues which have an impact on our cultural politics. At the same time, chapter thirteen illustrates

the possibilities that exist when *Maori* language, culture and ways of knowing are recentered in a space over which *Maori* have some autonomy.