

Visions for Māori Education

Compiled By Vyletta Tapine and Danica Waiti



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VISIONS for MĀORI EDUCATION

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VISIONS for MĀORI EDUCATION

... the bad news is that things haven't changed that much ...

(Linda Smith)

**Where we are going has to be considered in light of where we
have been ...**

(Iritana Tawhiwhirangi)

**In order to address the crisis we must be innovative, be prepared
to change and adapt ...**

(Te Ururoa Flavell)

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Kōrero Whakataki

Foreword

Ngā Mihi - Acknowledgments

He mihi tēnei ki a koutou katoa, nā koutou i homai i ō koutou āwhina, whakaaro, tūmanako, wawata hoki hei whakakī i ā tatou kete mātauranga mō te oranga te hinengaro, me, te wairua hoki. Mei kore ake koutou hei tautoko, hei āwhina i a mātou ki te kohikohi i ngā kōrero mō tēnei pukapuka ki te tutuki pai.

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Nā reira tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa mō ō koutou tākoha.

This important publication brings together the collective experience of teachers, politicians, education administrators, university lecturers, and interested parents in that area of formal schooling called Māori education. The views expressed attest to the anxiety Māori feel about the education of Māori students from pre-school through to tertiary.

As a former teacher, principal, administrator, and bureaucrat over the past forty years, what strikes me most is the fact that little has changed. The basic achievement levels of Māori continue to fall far short of those of non-Māori, and the gap between the two is widening. Why is this so?

In the lead-up to the restructuring of the education system in 1988-89, a better deal for Māori was promulgated with convincing rhetoric. With the Prime Minister holding the reins, the Tomorrow's School's kaupapa would deliver changes aimed at eliminating the achievement gap mentioned above, and move Māori to a level comparable to that enjoyed by their non-Māori colleagues. The fact that the opposite has happened is an indictment on the current system.

This is not to say that changes haven't taken place. There are now more than seven hundred kohanga reo, fifty-four kura kaupapa Māori schools, several hundred immersion and bilingual classes, and many more trained Māori teachers fluent in te reo Māori. Despite all this, Māori students still find themselves in catch-up mode, a position they have been in for over a hundred years. In fact, the one time they were ever in front was in the early 1800s when the only schools that existed in Aotearoa were those established by the missionaries using te reo Māori as the medium of instruction. It has been a downhill slide since, and the momentum appears to be increasing.

A range of very important issues has been commented on in this publication. These include the Treaty of Waitangi, the principles of rangatiratanga and partnership, a holistic approach to education for life, planning strategically for the

future, better pre-service and in-service training, a unified belief in the value of education, empowering whānau members, establishing high standards for quality outcomes, centralising Māori issues from their current marginalised state, and avoiding old-fashioned, inflexible structures and methodologies. However, while many contributors see the need for change, most of their suggestions appear to be aimed at bandaging the same body rather than performing drastic surgery! Patching up a shoddy system is not likely to deliver the goods.

I think there is a need for more comment and debate in this area. If new structures such as a Māori Education Authority or Commission for Māori Education are to be established, the overall outcomes won't change much at all if these are expected to operate within a framework driven by the expectations of the majority of New Zealanders. Same body, different set of clothes! Even the successes of kura kaupapa Māori are curtailed by the demands of a national system which promotes conformity and inflexibility.

To conclude, I would like to see many more publications like this one so that we have a feast of views and ideas from interested people across Aotearoa, be they Māori or non-Māori. There is a need for more in-depth research and comment on the what, how, and why of Māori education before we even consider new structures based on current models that might not meet our aspirations. Māori communities throughout Aotearoa have different views on, and expectations of, education. The power brokers need to sort out a flexible framework of systems that best meet their needs. Let's move forward to a future of our own making.

Kia ora tātou katoa.

Dick Grace

Pukenga

New Zealand Council for Educational Research

Tomokanga Introduction

In 1995 a group of senior Māori educationalists discussed the notion of a vision for Māori education. It was agreed by the group that it would be useful to gather the opinions and visions of a number of Māori who had backgrounds in education, and to compile and publish these vision statements.

In August 1995 the New Zealand Council for Educational Research and, specifically, Te Wahanga Kaupapa Māori, took up the challenge and began consultation with key external clients and Māori educationalists. A cross section of agencies and educational organisations were represented.

One of the aims of the project was to attempt to prioritise research issues that are of prime importance to Māori. The other was to provide insights into the current state of Māori education and provide directions for the future. Together these could underpin policy and strategic planning.

Consequently the approach has been to view education for Māori in a broad context.

A range of people were asked to contribute their strategic visions. These included Māori members of Parliament, high profile bureaucrats, educationalists, and concerned individuals. They contributed to an understanding of Māori educational needs and a vision of progress towards meeting those needs.

Common themes emerged from the strategic visions, such as the demand for Māori to have control and authority over Māori educational development, as expressed through tino rangatiratanga. Some of the contributors noted that we should not look upon Treaty settlements as the means by which iwi groups will finance educational programmes, because this could enable the Government to opt out of their Treaty responsibilities which, amongst other things, guarantee Māori the rights of full citizenship.

It is the fervent hope of all the participants that the future for Māori is an improvement on the past 160 years.

Tracing the progression of policies and practices in Māori education from the 1830s to the present day, the research shows the schooling of the Māori to have contributed significantly to the securing of Pākehā economic and political dominance in the nineteenth century and to the maintenance of that dominance through much of the twentieth century.¹

I think Māori education involves a number of processes but essentially what it's about is empowering our people not only intellectually but in a way which enables them to be able to cope well in society. (Tania Rei)

It has been argued that improved delivery of high-quality and appropriate education to and for the Māori community would address Māori socio-economic and cultural deprivation.

It was evident ... that there were many teachers who were dedicated to providing the very best possible education for all children; they were also concerned that school practices did little to alter patterns of disadvantage and underachievement ... However, despite the fact that these teachers were committed to teaching, open to ideas, and willing to make changes, it seemed that this energy was not necessarily being used effectively in terms of really making a difference to what was happening at the schools in terms of equity ...²

A report prepared by Eddie Clark for Te Puni Kōkiri notes that:³

- Māori are twice as likely as non-Māori to receive the unemployment benefit. Because Māori are disproportionately represented among the economically deprived, lack of resources affects Māori children's performance and achievement.
- In 1995 the unemployment rate for Māori was sixteen percent, four times higher than for non-Māori. In 1994 fifty-nine percent of unemployed Māori had no formal school qualification compared to thirty-seven percent of unemployed non-Māori.

¹ J Simon, *The Place of Schooling in Māori-Pākehā Relations*, 1990, Thesis presented to the University of Auckland in fulfilment of the thesis requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology, p. ii.

² J McPherson, *Making Changes: Action Research for Developing Māori Language Policies in Mainstream Schools*, 1994, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, p.1.

³ E Clark, *Barriers to Māori Participation in Early Childhood Education and Strategies to Overcome Them*, 1995, a paper prepared for Te Puni Kōkiri, Wellington.

- Forty-six percent of prison inmates are Māori; seventy-seven percent of them had no school qualifications; and fifty-seven percent left school before the fifth form.

On the other hand, Māori initiatives such as te kohanga reo and kura kaupapa were successful in an otherwise gloomy educational climate.

Many of the statistical indicators ... show that the participation and success of Māori in the education system is improving. Nevertheless much of the data indicates that the relative performance of Māori to non-Māori has changed little over time, while other data shows that the gap between Māori and non-Māori appears to be widening. The present levels of Māori participation ... are a cause for concern and need to be addressed urgently and on a wide front to overcome the obvious disparities with non-Māori ...⁴

Māori must define what is necessary to turn the current situation around, and establish protocols which will ensure that agreed actions result in positive outcomes. This was often expressed by contributors in terms of recapturing lost spiritual and moral ground, and at the same time acknowledging and promoting an as yet undefined Māori pedagogy.

Māori education in the state system lacks intellectual coherence and moral force ... Because the intellectual force of Māoritanga is absent, the idea of Māori knowledge and values having a moral force is also diminished. (Wally Penetito)

There is a Māori educational system which predates the New Zealand education system as a feature of colonisation, the Māori educational tradition has been written out of what counts as education in this country ... it is the reaffirmation and reconstruction of mātauranga Māori that is providing many of the answers to long standing concerns in Māori education today ...⁵

Given these comments it is hoped that the thoughts shared in *Visions for Māori Education* will contribute in a positive way to the growing debate concerning the direction in which Māori education is heading.

⁴ Above n 3, p.9.

⁵ L Davies, L Carkeek and K Irwin, *What Happens to Māori Girls at School?*, 1994, Ministry of Education, Wellington, p.5.

Research Questions

To achieve particular outcomes the following research questions were asked:

- How would you define what Māori education is?
According to your view what do you see as the ideal goals of Māori education, in five, ten, and twenty years?
- What teaching styles would you say are appropriate for Māori children in:
 - Māori medium environments?
 - Bilingual environments?
 - Mainstream environments?
- What educational policies, structures, resources, and practices are needed to ensure that Māori interests are being actively addressed?
- How can Māori educators begin to put these into practice?
- How will we know in the future that Māori education is performing in the best interests of Māori?
- In your opinion what must non-Māori do to give effect to change to meet Māori aspirations?

Expected outcomes from these questions were to include:

- perspectives on where Māori education is, and might be, heading;
- descriptions of Māori education;
- identification of Māori ideals for Māori education;
- an indication of whether or not the visions are cohesive or at differing ends of a spectrum;
- vision statements that will have an impact on planning for Māori organisations;
- future policy directions and the delivery of Māori education.

The following chapters provide a plethora of strategies, ideas, and options which reflect some of the thinking of the contributors to this publication. It is not easy to develop and sustain a long-term vision of the future within an ever changing environment. However, initiatives such as kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori demonstrate a people's tenacity and ability to face the future with hope.

Main Findings

Tino Rangatiratanga

An Underpinning Theme

In 1989, Hui Rangatiratanga was held in Rotorua and attended by hundreds of Māori teachers and teachers of Māori. According to Flavell, the collective vision that emerged was 'that it was time for Māori to organise and run their own education system.'

This message has been expressed in a number of ways but clearly comes down to the underpinning theme of tino rangatiratanga; Māori want the power to determine their own destiny. Education is yet another area where Māori have the right to make their own choices as a people. Issues such as having a choice in the type of schooling that they engage in, the preferred languages of learning and speaking, and the content that is taught are slowly becoming redefined and recognised by Māori to be rights, not privileges.

Tino rangatiratanga is also increasingly becoming a topic of discussion amongst Māori educators and, to a lesser extent, Pākehā within the education system. With increasing discussion comes the constant redefinition of exactly what tino rangatiratanga means for Māori, and its place within the education arena. Education has been linked to the empowerment of Māori by both Darrell Waiti, 'Māori education is about empowerment', and Rei, 'Māori education is essentially about empowering our people'. Flavell's vision for Māori education is one that 'values toku rangatiratanga... toku mana motuhake, the unique identity of the individual and group, the dignity and mana of Māori people', or an education that 'empowers Māori to participate in and determine what is appropriate education for Māori people'.

Choices for Māori in Education

Choice for Māori in education is seen as the most important step towards increasing the success of Māori within the education system. Tino rangatiratanga is exercising that choice through increasing involvement of Māori in decision-making processes and outcomes for Māori children. Laura Hawkesworth comments 'ko te mea nunui kia riro mai te mana motuhake, te tino rangatiratanga ki a tātou te iwi Māori', and Makere Harawira says -

Our young Māori people have got the right to have the same choices that everyone else has got. They've got the right to have the choice of achieving well, speaking Māori, and being fluent in the area or at least comfortable and knowing who they are as Māori. That's tino rangatiratanga. We deserve the best, we don't have to be second rate. Neither do we have to have second-rate education.

In order for Māori to be able to exercise choice within the education system, institutions and individuals need to recognise and support Māori aspirations and interests. Contributors have observed that this has not happened. Aroha Harris, for example, comments -

The education system needs to always be in touch with what Māori interests are, because I think that you're not going to be able to gear yourself towards Māori interests unless you know what they are.

An Education System for Māori

Flavell notes that the vision coming out from Hui Rangatiratanga was that a system must be set in place for Māori which is based on Māori tikanga and Māori values, and which is derived from a philosophical view which is inherently Māori. Part of Arohia Durie's vision sees policies for Māori education being decided by Māori who are representative of Māori communities and Māori at all levels. Further she adds that -

National educational policies should be developed from the premise that the heart of all provision of education for Māori are the needs, aspirations, and well-being of all those who constitute its focus, that is, Māori learners and their communities.

The philosophy of tino rangatiratanga, when pursued through alternative education models for Māori, allows increased discussion as an important part of

extending the amount of choice and decision making for Māori in relation to education. In 1995 a proposal was submitted to Parliament by the Māori Affairs Select Committee, recommending that a Māori Education Facilitation model be set up. It was proposed that this model would be similar to the Māori Education Trust, and in effect would work parallel to the Ministry of Education, controlling all finances relating to Māori education and working on Māori terms, for Māori, under the guidance of Māori. The idea was that all aspects of Māori education would be decided upon with the participation of the wider Māori community. This would inherently encompass Māori tikanga, values, belief systems, ideals, and aspirations relating to the education of Māori.

The recommendations were based on submissions received by the Māori Affairs Select Committee in 1989 relating to issues in Māori education. These submissions demanded empowerment and tino rangatiratanga to overcome the obstacles that had been recognised and should be addressed. Sandra Lee explains that the messages coming out of the submissions are still valid today -

Our people know the problems, they know how to solve them too. If you read the submissions, it is clear in their heads that they know what the obstacles are and they are demanding tino rangatiratanga and empowerment. They're saying that they don't want Pākehā models, they don't fit into those models, they aren't right for them.

The recommendations are still before Parliament.

Curriculum Change

Curriculum change is another avenue that has been identified as extending the choices for Māori in education. Currently, curricula are translated into Māori. However, Pauline Waiti says that -

We (Māori) did not have a say in what knowledge was included. We had the opportunity to translate the achievement objectives, which is what the kids have to know, and we had the chance to put our own learning experiences and assessment examples in, but we didn't have the chance to negotiate what the kids actually had to learn.

She suggests a review of the curriculum in the near future to open up the possibility of Māori having a real involvement in decision-making processes. She

hopes that we will then design a curriculum that is not only written i roto i te reo, but that is also written from a Māori world-view.

More involvement of Māori in curriculum restatement would mean that Māori in education would have more of a choice in the content that is taught, and it would be relevant to Māori. Pushing the parameters of the curriculum is how Alamein Kopu sees Māori succeeding within an education system where Māori have been indoctrinated by a colonised way of learning. Smith would like to see a change in the skills that are taught, from skills that are technically based to skills that are more thinking based. She comments that a change in the employment market has identified specific skills, and that the curriculum needs to incorporate these changes for the future of Māori in the workplace. Durie's vision for Māori education includes 'a curriculum drawn from appropriate selections of knowledge that prepares learners for making a living and for living as Māori'.

Curricula of educational institutions need to be influenced by Māori to ensure that the education they receive is appropriate and relevant, and that it is an education which prepares Māori for life outside these institutions.

The Treaty of Waitangi

Article 3

Article 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi has been looked upon as a vehicle by which Māori aspirations for education can be validated as a right, rather than a privilege, and consequently set in place in Aotearoa. Rei comments -

The Treaty of Waitangi is an important framework upon which I would argue that these things (her visions for Māori education) can actually happen. It's an ideal model for ensuring that the Government and Māori, in a joint partnership, can respond in ways that are effective for our (Māori) children.

The Crown is obliged under Article 3 to provide Māori with the same citizenship rights as non-Māori. This includes the provision of an education that is appropriate and accessible, and which works for Māori.

It is clear that at a government level, the Treaty is a powerful document through which changes in the current education system can be promoted. However, as more claims by Māori groups are heard and end in settlement packages, a pattern

may be emerging in relation to claimants' responses to these settlements. Tu Williams notes that these settlements should not 'let the government off the hook', as under Article 3 education, health, and all the other social needs areas are primarily the responsibility of the State. Williams comments -

Some (claimant groups) think that settlements are going to be the way in which we are going to significantly address our social and economic demands. But that is not what these settlements are about ... our people need to be clear that the Crown has the responsibility to deliver those things (education, health, and employment).

It would be foolish for government and iwi to think that Treaty settlements can be used as a way of getting rid of the 'Māori problem'.

The Role of Government and Non-Māori

The aspirations of Māori for education are affected by non-Māori at all levels. The contributors have identified government as having a responsibility to ensure that Māori are in a position to access quality education which is appropriate and which works. Darrell Waiti comments 'the government needs to create a level playing field so that we (Māori) can compete on an even footing with our Pākehā counterparts'.

Rei notes that in order for the Government to be able to deliver an education which does these things, it needs to make sure that it is fulfilling all of its other responsibilities in areas such as health and social welfare. She comments -

... many things need to happen in order for education to perform its role. In the context of the New Zealand State, it means that the Government has to be supportive and has to work for Māori.

In effect that means that children grow up in stable home environments, with good health and nutrition. For too many Māori children that is not the current situation, and it is up to the relevant government agencies to re-order their priorities and take action that recognises these children's needs.

Although the real decision making happens at a national level, non-Māori at local levels have an impact on Māori education. This has led to calls for increased support from non-Māori. Recognition and support by non-Māori of Māori ideas and values with regard to education are seen as important to the realisation of

Māori aspirations. Pauline Waiti would like to see less offence taken by non-Māori where no offence is intended, and says any criticism is directed at the structural features of society rather than at the individual who is listening. Uenuku Fairhall says non-Māori need to 'smother the ethnocentrism and begin to truly value bi- and multilingualism'.

The strongest message coming across is that non-Māori need to take a step back and let Māori solve their own problems in ways which are appropriate for Māori and which are decided by Māori, but with the support of non-Māori at all levels. Hawkesworth calls for non-Māori to -

be prepared to share knowledge and expertise, to assist and be supportive of Māori, hōmai te mana ki a tātou te iwi Māori, kia kaha hoki rātou ki te tautoko i ngā hiahia me ngā wawata o te iwi Māori.

Kopu says that in order for non-Māori to give effect to change to meet Māori aspirations they need to support these aspirations, and to realise that what they have put in place has not worked. Her comments reflect a lack of confidence in the current education system which is echoed by a number of fellow contributors.

When we remove tauīwi from anything to do with the teaching of our mokopuna, then we can rest assured that nothing but good results will emerge. (Kopu)

Although we can say that there have been some good developments and initiatives (in Māori education), they are not comprehensive enough to address the problems that existed twenty years ago. (Smith)

There are no 'safe footpaths' (in education) for our rangatahi to advance in the case of bilingual or immersion options ... there is no guarantee that what has been developed sits in any security. (Lee)

The Responsibility of Māori

A theme that emerged strongly is the responsibility of Māori in terms of Māori education. While the actions and attitudes of non-Māori affect Māori education and Māori society in general, those of Māori make the bigger impact. Contributors have identified a number of changes that need to be made within Māoridom in order to support their visions.

Māori Attitudes

Victim blaming is identified by Marilyn Brewin as a characteristic of Māori society which needs to be addressed in order for Māori to move into the future -

We can all get into that victim blaming and stay there, but we actually need to move through that victim blaming and move on, otherwise we will never get anywhere.

The lack of Māori support for or confidence in other Māori is another factor which can reduce the chances of success for Māori in the future. Brewin comments -

One of the problems is that there is a tendency for us all to think that we should be perfect or that Māori mustn't make any mistakes, as if Pākehā people have never made any mistakes. To me, the whole education system is a mistake, with the way it's been run in the past ... I think that we are our harshest critics. If we make one mistake we are tramped on straight away by the media and often our own people ... Making mistakes is part of growing up and the process of learning how to make decisions ...

The way in which Māori operate in society is important to Brewin, particularly the role of Māori men. She argues that Māori men do not spend enough time teaching and talking to young Māori men, and is concerned that a lot of Māori men in senior positions are following Christian ethics and see themselves as dominant over Māori women.

Tuariki John Delamere comments that Māori need to assess their attitudes towards themselves, especially the low expectations that Māori have of themselves. He claims that Māori need to change their mind set in order to improve self perceptions of their potential for excellence in a wide range of areas.

Rei has argued that the type of home environment that a child experiences has an effect on a child's ability and desire to learn. Reasonable standards of health care, housing, nutrition, and safety have been identified as key aspects in determining the success of a child in education. Parental attitudes are also identified as being significant -

Parental attitudes to education and the education of our children are significant. What happens in some homes in terms of creating an attitude of the importance of education amongst some of our people and Māori children is important.

Māori parents clearly have a responsibility to provide a safe, healthy environment for their children, as well as to instil values in their children by promoting the importance of education. But there is also a general responsibility, identified by Smith, for all Māori to continually put pressure on Māori educators to challenge the education system. She claims that Māori issues are still on the periphery of the education system and, although initiatives have been developed, the issues that Māori educators voice have not yet been recognised or addressed.

Māori in Decision-Making Positions

The Treaty of Waitangi is important to Rei, who sees it as a partnership between Māori and the Crown. Because the relationship is dual in nature, she comments that Māori also have to do their bit, and empowered Māori in decision-making positions need to contribute proactively to Māori education. The following quote from her suggests a clear focus for Māori decision makers -

... Māori leaders have to address the core issues that confront Māori children and Māori whānau. The biggest contribution that they could make is to ensure that the decisions they make directly address those needs.

Rei says that Māori members of Parliament have a key responsibility to Māori and should not only address issues at a local or whānau level, but provide strategies and resources at these levels as well. She also argues that the degree of responsibility which is placed on Māori educators due to the social dislocation of Māori is a lot greater than that placed on Pākehā educators. She claims that 'education is a political act in itself, but in order to progress with the politics of education you also need to have a sense of social obligation and responsibility'.

Māori moving into the workplace after tertiary education also have a responsibility. Peter Adds, in his vision for Māori education, raises the issue of the need for critical awareness and training amongst Māori graduates. He comments -

A lot of Māori that work for the Crown don't know who they work for. They go in there naively, a lot of them, thinking that they are doing good things for the Crown. Often that is at the expense of iwi and Māori development.

Adds' solution to this is to educate Māori towards self-determination. He aims to achieve this with his students by educating them to think critically about ways in which their future work for the Crown can effectively support Māori development.

Unity Amongst Educators

The lack of unity amongst Māori educators has been seen as a hindrance to the success of any plans to address the issues in Māori education. For example, Flavell comments -

It is important that a base of understanding be established, for very often, in my experience, plans to move forward have been slowed or stopped because there seems to be no common ground to start from other than the fact that we know we have a crisis.

While the issues are clear in the minds of various groups of Māori educators, and there appears to be no lack of statistics that confirm the existence of major problems, the approach to dealing with these issues is varied and there is no one clear agenda which represents the aspirations of Māori educators in general. A sense of collectivity is viewed by Liz Hunkin as an advantage that Māori educators could effectively use to address these issues. She comments -

Māori educators are all different with different viewpoints, and it seems we are all going in different directions. This is rather sad, because between us all we have the expertise and the reo to make things happen in Māori education.

Rei also identifies the need for a collective belief by Māori educators that empowering Māori children through education is a good thing. Without this collective belief she explains -

... what you'll end up with is a whole lot of Māori educators with different agendas, different viewpoints and different values. In order to get positive development you've got to have a unified philosophical position by Māori educators.

Accountability

In order for Māori educators to develop a sense of unity they need to look at the real reasons they are in the positions that they are in. Māori educators need to focus on their responsibilities to Māori in terms of providing education. The job of Māori educators is merely to administer the aspirations of the people.

Smith notes that -

One of the important things in terms of visions and kaupapa that we have learnt from the 1970s and 1980s, is that the initiatives generally came from kaumātua and iwi, they came from the people outside the education system. Initiatives such as kohanga reo did not come from people inside the education system.

Tawhiwhirangi also comments -

Kohanga reo came from the simple statement of our old people who said, menā i hiahia tātou ki te pupuri i te reo, kia mau tonu mō ake tonu ake, me hoki anō ki te āhua whakatō te reo a ō tātou mātua tipuna.

Smith sees Māori educators as only a small part of a bigger picture, and says their accountability is to the people outside the system, who are at the grass roots level and who represent the Māori community. She notes -

This is a really important thing to remember in terms of how we as professional educators think about Māori education, that we are only a small cog. We have to see ourselves as belonging to a collective, to take the aspirations of the people out there and make them work inside here.

Māori educators need to work collectively, not individually, and they need to understand their place within this collective. Smith suggests -

It's not for us to give our people a vision, it's for them to give us a vision and for us to make it work. It doesn't matter how expert we are, we are only individuals with professional expertise and we are accountable, in the end, to something bigger than ourselves.

Teacher Training

Quality of Māori Teachers

It is widely accepted that there needs to be more Māori teachers in educational institutions. While the concern about the lack of teachers is valid, there is an even bigger concern regarding the type of training that teachers receive. For example, Pauline Waiti comments -

We need more Māori teachers, teaching across the curriculum and not just te reo. We need more Māori teachers in kura, teaching Māori across the

curriculum ... We don't have enough teachers at all, but we especially don't have enough well-trained Māori teachers.

Concerns about the quality, the effectiveness, and the standards of training delivered by teacher training institutions were voiced by a number of contributors. They suggested that teachers with inadequate training have a detrimental effect on children's learning. Brewin identifies a crisis which has arisen out of the need for more Māori teachers or teachers of Māori -

I think that over the years there has been a panic situation and we have had all these 'pressure cooker' courses which caused more problems for people who had never had a formal education because they were put into situations that almost led them to failure ... immediately our Māori teachers are going to be put under stress and our kids end up suffering.

Clearly, strategies need to be implemented which adequately address the issue of a shortage of competent Māori teachers. Teacher incompetence has created problems for Māori learners and caused damage to Māori education in general. In order for Māori educational aspirations to be met there needs to be a significant increase in both the number of teachers being trained and in the quality of the pre-service training they receive.

Responsibilities of Māori Educators

Brewin's vision is for Māori educators to target students at secondary schools and tertiary institutions and encourage them to pursue teaching careers. This involves encouraging Māori to see teaching as a vocation, rather than just a job. Māori educators, in particular, are seen as more than just teachers in the classroom by both Lee and Brewin.

Harawira also argues that Māori teachers have a different level of responsibility to non-Māori teachers. She says that Māori teachers are expected to be involved in a student's home life and whānau development, mediation, and the wider socio-economic area, and comments -

Part of being a Māori teacher working with Māori children is that ... you can't just work from 9am-3pm ... being involved in the home is part and parcel of teaching ... I spent as much time going to family group conferences, negotiating with youth aid officers, and visiting homes as I did in the classroom.

This is one of the reasons why Harawira, like Brewin, is opposed to one year training courses for Māori teachers. She does not think that a one year course is sufficient training for a teacher to be able to cope with children in schools, unless they are already highly trained participants in the education system. The result of these types of courses, she claims, is that Māori students are receiving poor levels of teaching.

Teacher-Training Institutions

A lack of confidence in teacher-training institutions as providers of training for teachers of Māori students is acknowledged by some contributors.

I don't think that the training that is being provided in a lot of these areas (immersion, bilingual, or mainstream environments) is as effective as it could be for teachers who are going to teach Māori children ... We need to look at providers, the qualifications - whether they be formal or informal - that these people have, the structure of courses, and whether or not the training is rigorous. (Brewin)

Our teacher training needs to be absolutely superb, but who will do the job? I have some concerns about the standards, in terms of who is going to do the teacher training. The Māori teacher trainers that we've got now, who are operating within Pākehā Colleges of Education, are not necessarily the right people. (Harawira)

Brewin expresses a desire for the unification of training institutions that provide teacher-training programmes.

Māori Pedagogy

Teaching Styles

There is continued debate about the existence of a Māori pedagogy amongst Māori educators. Māori practitioners have wrestled with this concept and some are constantly redefining their teaching styles to address the issue. Te Wahanga Kaupapa Māori have endeavoured to formulate a tentative definition by asking what teaching styles are considered appropriate for Māori children in immersion, bilingual, and mainstream environments.

Contributors have suggested that teaching styles need to be diversified and adapted to suit the needs of the individual learner. Each child requires a different approach to teaching, whether they be Māori, Pākehā, or of any other ethnic group, and it has been commented that certain environments allow for greater responsiveness than others in meeting the teaching requirements of different learners.

There needs to be a diversity in teaching and learning styles because our children learn in all sorts of different ways ... Teachers need to have a range of strategies for encouraging and enhancing children's learning across all learning environments ... This is where kura kaupapa Māori and immersion environments can be a lot more selective than some mainstream environments. (Smith)

... our kids do not necessarily only have one style. There are some students who like to be individual and do things on their own, but on the whole, most seem to like to work together in a group ... We need to marry the collective responsibility with the individual responsibility. (Brewin)

The ability of teachers to adapt their approach to teaching a particular child or in a particular environment reflects their skills.

I think it's a real skill of a teacher, especially within a Māori immersion environment, to create that kind of atmosphere or environment where our children are really happy or self-motivated to learn. (Rei)

The real key to a good teacher is their ability to translate the knowledge to the student so that they understand. (Pauline Waiti)

It has also been suggested that teachers need to be a lot more adventurous and creative to really bring out the potential of their learners. It is suggested by Brewin that the teacher must also take on the role of facilitator rather than lecturer, humbling themselves and eliminating power positions.

Learning Environments

Learning environments are seen as integral to the development of a Māori pedagogy. Some see kohanga reo and kura kaupapa as preferred learning environments for Māori children. However, Smith argues that -

... there is still a lot of work to do because I don't think all the answers lie in kura kaupapa Māori or immersion schools, we are still searching for the place where our children can be really successful ...

Darrell Waiti suggests that in order for learners to achieve their maximum potential they 'must be in an environment that is conducive to good learning. This environment will be supportive as well as challenging'.

The kohanga reo movement has led to other Māori education initiatives such as kura kaupapa Māori, ruma rūmaki (immersion units), and ngā reo e rua (bilingual) units. These learning environments are based on principles grounded in Māori kawa, tikanga, and reo. Learning environments are critical to the success of Māori in education and contributors have suggested aspects of learning environments that they see as important. Lee reminds us of the broader educational aims of the kohanga reo movement when she states -

Kohanga reo is more than early childhood education, it's a revolution ...
Kohanga is not a kindy, it's a revolutionary movement as much for the parents and whānau as it is for the kids.

The wairua of learners is important to Kopu who supports the nurturing of the wairua from the start of the learning period right up until the end, from kohanga reo to kura kaupapa and secondary schooling, right up to the tertiary level. She comments -

By nurturing the wairua of our rangatahi from start to finish, we will prepare our children to go out there and take on anything. Our mokopuna will have confidence and pride in themselves and we will have no doubts that they will achieve to the best of their ability.

Rei links teacher interaction with students and the encouragement of participation to the overall self-motivation and happiness of students. The teacher must promote the individual and open up communication within the classroom environment, allowing learners to express their ideas freely, and encouraging their contribution so that they become a part of the learning process.

I think the whole interactive process of learning is really important, of encouraging children to be strong in who they are and therefore recognise and celebrate cultures. (Brewin)

... offer our rangatahi a 'user friendly' environment where they feel valued and can contribute. This environment accepts that everyone learns differently, just as teachers have different strategies for teaching. (Flavell)

... the room should be a room with aroha me te ngākau māhaki, the envi-

ronment must make the child feel secure and wanted ... a room that welcomes the parents. (Hunkin)

Towards the Future

The research undertaken indicates that in order for any discussion about Māori education to occur, an analysis of the past has to have taken place. We need to consider our past to move into the future. Tawhiwhirangi is correct in saying 'in order to know where we are going we need to know where we have been'.

References to the effects of the education system on Māori, to the negative statistics, and to Māori underachievement have provided a platform for discussion. Now is the time to go beyond dwelling on past grievances and make preparations for a positive future.

I think that we have reached a stage in Māori development where we have to stop blaming and start moving forward and reaching for the stars the way that our tipuna did ... we need to be leading our people into the future so they are not just thinking about the here and now, but they are actually looking at a broader future. (Te Ripowai Higgins)

... it's not about empire building or 'mana tripping', it's about forgetting the injustices of the past and looking to what contribution we can make to the future. (Darrell Waiti)

It will not be easy to let go of the past nor to forget its injustices. However, we need to take what we have learnt and start building a better future for our mokopuna. Colonisation and oppression have littered our past, which means that the task at hand is much harder. As Flavell comments, 'the visions for the future will not be easily achieved for there are over 160 years of colonisation we have to counteract'.

We will need to look carefully at deconstructing those aspects of colonisation and neo-colonisation that have impeded and halted our growth as Māori, and as a nation. Reconstruction or re-Māorification of processes, structures, strategies, and systems of education that are appropriate to Māori will need to be sought, developed, and worked on. Perhaps this should be viewed by Māori as a challenge and be taken up as such. As Kopu asks, 'Are we going to be a race to be read about, or are we going to be a living race?'

The visions that follow provide an abundance of experience, passion, vitality,

wairua, aroha, and hope. It is the responsibility of Māori to provide current and future generations with the ability to exercise choice. We cannot achieve this if we are constantly victim blaming and trying to address the problems of the past without giving any thought to the future.

Ngā Kaituku The Contributors

The Framework For Selecting The Contributors

A lot of discussion took place about who should contribute to this project. It was a natural assumption that Māori teachers who actively taught in the classroom should be approached to provide a vision of where Māori education should be heading in the future. However, to understand education for Māori we must look beyond the narrow context of the classroom and the confines of the school boundaries. This view was confirmed throughout the discussions and correspondence that form this publication.

... the definition of education today has been a restricted definition because really today education is seen as only what happens in the school and in the classroom. To me, education is much wider and is more of a lifelong process than just being in a classroom from five to seventeen or eighteen or even twenty-five years of age if you start in tertiary education ... (Brewin)

Furthermore, Māori education cannot be considered in isolation from the social, political, and economic changes which are occurring. Dramatic changes have taken place since the reforms of 1984 and 1989. These have had an immense impact on Māori education in Aotearoa.

During this time of social, political, and economic change some profoundly innovative and exciting developments have occurred in the education of Māori. The development of kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, which grew out of the desire of Māori people to take control of their destiny, are two such developments. Kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori are still in a state of evolution and consolidation. It is therefore too early to assess what impact they will have on the long-term future of Māori in education. What they do provide for Māori is a choice about whether to access a mainstream education or an education based on kaupapa Māori.

It was against this setting that people were identified as possible participants to contribute a strategic vision to this research. Sixty-five people were asked to

contribute, of these thirty-five responded and expressed an interest in the project. Eventually twenty-two visions were gathered for use in the publication, and ten are presented in the following chapter.

Backgrounds of Contributors

The contributors are all people who have clear insights into education. The most important aspect in selecting contributors was their willingness to contribute their visions on Māori education from a uniquely Māori perspective. As well, they needed to have an appreciation and knowledge of past and current educational processes, systems, and structures, and of the impact of these on Māori people. The contributors include Māori politicians, teachers/educators, academics, and educational administrators.

It was considered important to select the contributors from as many different locations as possible within the constraints of time and access. People from remote rural areas such as Ratana, Wairoa, and Ruatoria were approached, as were people from the bigger centres, such as Auckland, Hamilton, Rotorua, Palmerston North, and Christchurch.

The backgrounds of the contributors were also important in determining who had the time to respond. We found that although Māori teachers in the classroom were willing to participate, generally their workloads meant they were unable to commit what little time they had to be interviewed, or even to write down their strategic visions for Māori education. Therefore most of the contributors are people who at some stage have been actively involved in teaching in a classroom, but have since moved into other areas of education, such as lecturing, research, and administration.

The new electoral system of mixed member proportional representation has delivered the highest number of Māori members of Parliament in the political history of this country. Given the importance and high priority that Government places on Māori education, we felt that it was important to contact all of the Māori members of Parliament and ask them if they would like to offer their strategic visions on Māori education. Eight expressed an interest in the research, but of these four could not participate in the research due to the demands on their time. Three of them provided visions and extracts of these have been included in this publication.

The contributors come from a variety of different iwi and hapū groupings and cover most, but not all, of the different iwi groups. While we acknowledge the importance of the iwi affiliations, it was not used as a criteria for selecting contributors. It was left up to the contributors to decide whether they wanted to talk about what their particular iwi was doing in terms of educational development. While some of the contributors briefly referred to the educational developments that were happening within their own or other iwi, for instance development of whare wānanga, most have taken a generic view of Māori education and have spoken about it from that perspective.

List of Contributors to Strategic Visions for Māori Education

Peter Addis

Te Atiawa
Senior Lecturer
Te Kawa a Maui
Victoria University of
Wellington

Marilyn Brewin

Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri
Education Consultant
Masterton

Hon. Tuariki John Delamere

Whakatohea, Te
Whānau a Apanui,
Tuhourangi
Member of Parliament,
Te Tai Rawhiti

Arohia Durie

Ngāti Porou,
Rongowhakaata, Ngai
Tahu
Head of the Department
of Māori and
Multicultural Education
Te Kupenga o te
Mātauranga
Massey University

Uenuku Fairhall

Te Arawa, Ngāti
Rangiwewehi, Waitaha
Head of Department
Te Akoranga Reo Rua
Western Heights High
School
Rotorua

Te Uruora Flavell

Ngāti Rangiwewehi,
Ngāpuhi
Tumuaki
Te Kura o Tipene
Bombay

Makere Harawira

Katimamoe, Waitaha
PhD student and part-
time lecturer
School of Education
University of Auckland

Aroha Harris

Ngāpuhi
Lecturer, History
Department
University of Auckland

Laura Hawkesworth
Ngai Tai, Ngāti Porou
Lecturer
Māori and Bilingual
Education
Te Whare Wānanga o
Waikato

Teripoai Higgins
Tuhoe
Senior Lecturer
Te Kawa a Maui
Victoria University of
Wellington

**Gloria Huingariri
Hemara**
Ngāti Maniapoto,
Ngāpuhi
Former Native School
Teacher, Nuhaka

Liz Hunkin
Rakaipaaka, Tuhoe,
Ngāti Kahungunu,
Ngāpuhi
Pouako, Te Kura o Te
Ataarangi
Wairoa

Alamein Kopu
Ngāti Porou,
Whakatohea
Independent Member of
Parliament

Sandra Lee
Poutini Ngai Tahu,
Ngāti Kahungunu,
Ngāti Toa Rangatira
Spokesperson on
Education
Alliance Party

Eruera Morgan
Ngāti Rangiwewehi,
Tuhourangi
Kairipoata
Ruia Mai

Wally Penetito
Tainui, Ngāti Haua
Dean of Te Wahanga
Māori
Wellington College of
Education

Tania Rei
Te Arawa, Ngāti Awa,
Ngāti Raukawa
Lecturer
Te Kawa a Maui
Victoria University of
Wellington

Linda Smith
Ngāti Awa, Ngāti
Porou
Research Unit for Māori
Education
School of Education
University of Auckland

Tauira Takurua
Ngāti Porou, Te
Whānau a Ruataupare,
Te Whānau a Rakaiora
Teacher
Cashmere High School
Christchurch

Iritana Tawhiwhirangi
Ngāti Porou, Ngāpuhi,
Ngāti Kahungunu
General Manager
National Kohanga Reo
Trust
Wellington

Darrell Waiti
Ngāti Pīkiao, Taranaki
Tumuaki
Te Kareti o Te Aute
Hawkes Bay

Pauline Waiti
Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri
Executive Officer
National Association of
Māori Mathematicians,
Scientists and
Technologists

Tu Williams
Whakatohea
Māori Congress
Wellington

Ngā Kupu Kōrero Visions

Peter Adds, of Te Atiawa descent, is a senior lecturer in Te Kawa a Maui at Victoria University of Wellington. The following excerpts are from an interview that took place in April 1997.

Māori development will be the focus for the academic programme, and my own view is that it is a broad enough concept to envelop just about everything that we are currently doing, but it's also a good way of shaping up future courses. In other words, graduates that come out of our department will be equipped to make a contribution to Māori development in some way. What that means for us is that because it's so broad there are a number of things that we could potentially specialise in, like we could potentially specialise in economic development or political development or the development of art, the development of language ... we're making some decisions about that at the moment. The idea is a sort of contextualising of Māori education to a particular end, [so that] it's not just sort of a mish-mash of courses about any old thing that we feel like offering.

I am firmly of the view that the underpinning theme has got to be tino rangatiratanga. I don't think that everyone is totally convinced about that yet, from an academic point of view. But what it means is that any student that comes out of here will be able to make a contribution to Māori development. Māori development has an outcome: tino rangatiratanga. So that is the broad framework that we are grappling with at the moment and once we've worked that out then we'll try to work out how we order our courses to make sure that they are meeting our objectives. That is going to be a big job too.

The role of Māori Studies in the university is basically to promote, develop and critically analyse Māori culture in society through research, teaching, and publications. That is our basic mission statement.

The thing about the Māori Education Commission is that it will never adopt a tino rangatiratanga philosophy because it's Crown driven and they refuse to accept that as a principle for anything. To me it's an iwi versus the Crown process

and what I'm trying to suggest here is that we are on the side of iwi and not the Crown, although this is sort of a Crown institution. The Commission will be stuck in between the two things; on the one hand it will probably be advocating for Māori development, but it won't be going as far as saying that means tino rangatiratanga. I'm thinking that it won't feature as part of the Commission's agenda at all, so iwi will have to pick that up. This means that we have to educate students to contribute to an iwi perspective.

We are being assimilated by the Crown if we're developing according to their agendas. Tino rangatiratanga is not clearly articulated and I think that until that happens people will sort of be stumbling around in the dark, moving in that direction but not in a focused way. I think that we could be moving a lot quicker and along much clearer lines if we do that, which is why we are really focusing on our strategic plan at the moment. Once we are clear about where we are going then it clarifies the nature of the relationships between, say, a department like ours and departments over the road like chemistry, physics, law, and all those other places.

Views are polarised in a way; it's Crown versus iwi and it's Treaty based. One of the things that really concerns me is that for a number of years now we have blindly been churning out students who do a good job working for the Crown. That worries me a lot. We must educate Māori towards self-determination. Once you've got that and you are free of relying on the Crown to do things, then that is your rangatiratanga. But it actually goes further than that to include the idea of at least power sharing. That is what you need to aim at, and one of the steps to achieve that is economic independence, but it also implies cultural reinforcement, language and all those things that make up Māori. You have to hold onto those things and build on them, and at the same time you have to expand your horizons and have a vision about where you want to be politically. If you can make students understand that then I think that you are starting to do a good job.

In the past we have produced hundreds of students who end up working in government departments downtown, and for what? I'm not sure that it does anything for Māori or iwi development in any shape or form. There may be one or two individuals who make a contribution somehow, but most of them don't even realise that they are in fact working for the Crown, they think that they are working for Māori.

I think that there are ways of working for the Crown that will enhance Māori development, but I think it is a skill that people need to be taught and people

need to realise that. I think most people end up working for the Crown because it's a job and they are easy to get, but don't really put much thought into why they are doing it or who is benefiting from it. People going into government jobs need to be equipped, and that doesn't happen by itself. Before we had a vague idea of what should be happening, but now we need to focus on it and make sure that people understand what is going on when they leave university, who they will be helping, and how they can contribute. Structural analysis is one of the things that we will focus on here given the fact that most of our students end up working downtown in the government departments of various sorts. It's a matter of understanding what those departments are, who they work to, and what their agendas are. If people can understand that then they have got a head start.

What teaching styles would you say are appropriate for Māori children in Māori immersion environments, bilingual environments, and mainstream environments?

My response to that is that in some ways it doesn't matter what the styles are like if the focus is clear because if you are focusing on tino rangatiratanga with your students coming out of primary school, then it doesn't matter how you teach them as long as they are equipped to make a contribution to that at the end of their time in primary school.

What educational policies, structures, resources, and practices are needed to ensure that Māori interests are being effectively addressed?

That is an Article 3 problem. The Crown has got a responsibility to make sure that Māori people are getting an education that allows them to do whatever they want. That is an Article 3 right.

How can Māori educators begin to put these into practice?

By focusing, and having a view and a vision.

How will we know in the future that Māori education is performing in the best interests of Māori?

You could measure that using economic indicators, you could work out a way to measure the degree of tino rangatiratanga that we have achieved over a period of time. You could measure it in the number of graduates that we have produced, who they are working for. Most graduates unfortunately have to make a living

and most iwi are not in the position of being able to employ them unless they are lucky.

In your opinion what must non-Māori do to give effect to change to meet Māori aspirations?

I don't think that individuals need to do anything. It is a Government responsibility under Article 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Arohia Durie is Head of the Department of Māori and Multicultural Education, Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga, Massey University. Her iwi affiliations include Ngāti Porou, Rongowhākāta, Ngai Tahu and Te Aitanga a Māhaki. The following is her written contribution to *Visions for Māori Education*.

Tirohanga o Mua: Near Horizons

In composing a vision for Māori education, a distinction is assumed between forms of education grounded in tikanga-a-iwi and mātauranga Māori inclusive of that body of restricted esoteric and genealogically derived knowledge, and that which is provided for Māori learners through early childhood education, primary, intermediate, and secondary schools, and tertiary education options. The vision which follows is in regard to the latter form.

Such a vision would see:

- Policies for Māori education being decided by Māori who are representative of the range of Māori communities of interest and expertise, including learner representation.
- Inclusive rather than exclusive structural arrangements for policy development and implementation not subject to capture by political expediency or specific interest groups.
- National educational policies developed from the premise that the heart of all provision of education for Māori are the needs, aspirations and well-being of all those who constitute its focus, that is, Māori learners and their communities.
- Educational provision that is designed to suit the multiple realities of Māori learners while affirming iwi Māori as tangata whenua, the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa.
- Educational provision that will enhance individual and collective Māori identity in a total affirming environment.
- Well-informed Māori communities able to act with, and as appropriate, on behalf of, the learners among them through structures of their choice.
- A genuine choice of appropriate schooling and education for learners and their communities with access to informed advocacy when required. This presumes realistic access to quality kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura and wānanga education.

- Implementation of an entitlement to a fully-resourced and appropriately serviced kaupapa Māori education, leading to quality learning outcomes for Māori learners.
- Implementation of an entitlement to a fully-resourced bilingual education provided in a safe, healthy environment to secure quality learning outcomes.
- Implementation of an entitlement to an English language medium education which affirms Māori identities in the total school environment and provides access to the full range of curriculum opportunities through appropriate teaching and learning activities for quality outcomes.
- Pre-service and in-service teacher education that prepares teachers and student teachers to facilitate successful educational outcomes for Māori learners by taking full account of individual, cultural, social, and linguistic diversity in respect of learner abilities, needs, and aspirations.
- A curriculum drawn from appropriate selections of knowledge that prepares learners for making a living and for living as Māori.
- Teacher recognition of multiple learning styles and the competency to help learners become more successful through building from those learning styles they initially favour to others which extend the learners' repertoire effectively.
- Modes of delivery that allow access to expertise from Māori and other local, national, and international communities.
- Schools as one option among many of open, well-resourced, invigorating sites of learning where Māori learners and Māori teachers can take a positive teaching and learning environment for granted.
- Entrenchment of a right to a level of human and material resourcing from the State sufficient to implement forms of formal education as decided upon by Māori for Māori.
- A formal education regarded by Māori and government as meeting obligations to Māori commensurate with rights expected to flow from the Treaty of Waitangi.

Uenuku Fairhall is of Te Arawa, Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Waitaha descent. He is Head of Department of Te Akoranga Reo Rua at Western Heights High School, Rotorua. The following is his written contribution to *Visions for Māori Education*.

How would you define what Māori education is?

'Māori education' can be interpreted in three ways: as the education of Māori students, as an education where the outcome is the knowledge of matters Māori, or as an education presented and acquired in a Māori manner. In other words, the 'who', 'what', and 'how'. For each interpretation it is increasingly difficult to arrive at a suitable definition. The identification of a Māori is relatively easy to achieve, whereas the identification of what constitutes Māori 'matter' is very difficult as it is plagued by ideological variance and shift.

I believe that no single value or activity defines or negates the whole. Therefore what is Māori is a compound of values and activities - a compound that often includes paradoxes. While these paradoxes need to be explored they should not be used to overthrow or devalue all the other elements that constitute Māoritanga. What is perhaps more important is to study each element closely in order to understand how it contributes to the make-up of the Māori 'compound'. Alongside the inconsistencies are several elements which I consider indispensable; elements that make the compounds unmistakably Māori. This last statement requires the caveat that all elements evolve, as does our understanding of them.

In short I believe 'Māori education' to be a compound of at least the three interpretations outlined above. That is, it is the education of Māori students (although perhaps not only so), it is an education with an outcome of knowledge of Māoritanga (although not limited to Māoritanga), and it is education offered in a Māori way (as far as our understanding of the 'Māori way', and acquiescence to it, allows us).

I am sorry that I cannot offer a more robust definition without the sub-clauses and caveats. I am afraid that absolute definitions are used too often to culturally blackmail and cower others.

It should also be noted that I am discussing the primary and secondary sectors of education. I have grave concerns about the possibly insular nature of small independent tribal whare wānanga. I believe it vital that there is much exchange of ideas and information at the tertiary level.

According to your view what do you see as the ideal goals of Māori education in five, ten, and twenty years?

Generally I do not believe that the Ministry of Education has taken enough steps to ensure the success, let alone viability, of Māori educational initiatives. While necessary, the allocation of money is not enough to ensure a good programme. It is vital that the Government support a variety of plausible programmes with the following:

- a wider resource base;
- sound research findings;
- support staff (these could include an 'action researcher' and resource co-ordinators);
- assistance to develop criteria for evaluation;
- an appropriately valued profile.

I am not suggesting that success be engineered or guaranteed. The evaluation of a programme's 'success' needs to be honest and robust. However, most, if not all, current programmes limp along. The well-supported piloting of some select programmes should be done in the next five years.

After five years the Ministry of Education, or some other such agency, should have amassed a sizeable amount of data that can identify the general trends for the elements of a successful and an unsuccessful programme. These would need to be tested over a further five years.

The ten year milestone should have produced a variety of successful models of Māori education. These models should include a primary, a middle, and a senior secondary school whose language, teaching and learning styles, environment, and ambience are recognisably Māori.

The next ten years should involve the consolidation of successful schools (and units) which, post-modernists tell us, is very difficult to do.

What teaching styles would you say are appropriate for Māori children in:

Māori immersion environments?

I believe teaching style, no matter which environment, to be a very personal matter, and there is much room for variation, within legal, ethical, and cultural parameters. However, immersion environments must be just that - immersion.

Bilingual environments?

An important aspect to me is that the Māori medium teachers always use Māori with or near their students in order to maintain clear linguistic domains. Perhaps this could be more technically referred to as 'partial immersion'.

I believe mixed medium classes have results as mixed as their nature.

Mainstream environments?

Schools must be prepared to be at least bicultural. As each student must be treated with dignity, so should each culture.

What educational policies, structures, resources, and practices are needed to ensure that Māori interests are being effectively addressed?

I believe it most important that Māori truly believe their language and culture to be of real value. This should not be achieved by the denigration of another culture. Surely a robust culture can rely on its own merits, and not the demerits of others.

The valuing of Māori culture needs to move out of a defensive position, at least in our collective ethos. A mental lassitude and pessimism will only exacerbate the disheartening statistical 'reality'. I believe that we need to go directly to the world without the Pākehā gatekeepers reinterpreting it for us. It is dismaying how Pākehā are seen to be closer than other Polynesian cultures. The last 150 years have effectively obscured the previous millennia. Too much of Māoritanga is defined by its similarities and differences to Pākehātanga. I think Pākehātanga has to let go of centre stage in the Māori mind. This has led many to often wrongly assume that much world knowledge is initially and essentially Pākehā, and hence best tolerated if not rejected. I imagine many would vehemently dispute my appraisal, but Māori may be the most parochial of a rather parochial nation.

Therefore I think our greatest task is to take on (in other words, understand) the world in Māori terms. To do this a lot of philosophical debate will have to go on about what these Māori 'terms' might or should be.

How can Māori educators begin to put these into practice?

Get some good, contestable, philosophical debate under their belts whilst commencing on a long, difficult learning curve - longer and more difficult than that laid out for their students.

How will we know in the future that Māori education is performing in the best interests of Māori?

There are many indicators of success, ranging from improved examination results (or acquisition of unit standards) to a decrease in the prison population. Perhaps more telling would be a palpable increase in the valuing of education.

In your opinion what must non-Māori do to give effect to change to meet Māori aspirations?

Smother the ethnocentrism and begin to truly value bi- and multilingualism.

A VISION

Somewhere there is a school. Before you have even entered the school grounds you know it is a Māori school. The layout, the architecture, and the people will let you know. What you hear will let you know. The way you are received will let you know.

The arrangement of subjects and much of the curriculum will be recognisable. The study of the language will be as robust as that currently expected of English. The students will know why they are at school, as will the parents. They will be confident, inquisitive, and engaging.

The staff will be in no doubt as to the importance of the education they need to provide and encourage.

Let's hope this is not one of those annoying stories that children write, which start so well but end 'and then I suddenly woke up and realised it was just a dream'!

Te Ururoa Flavell is of Te Arawa, Ngāti Rangiwewehi, and Ngāpuhi descent. Currently, as tumuaki, he is taking up the challenge of reshaping Te Kura o Tipene. This is his written contribution to *Visions for Māori Education*.

Hei Timatatanga Kōrero

In 1989, over four hundred Māori teachers and teachers of Māori attended Hui Rangatiratanga in Rotorua. They came from every sector of education and their collective experience in education would total hundreds of years. From this hui came the further development of the view that it was time for Māori to organise and run our own education system.

The premise for this was the crisis in education of Māori at the time, and the general failure of the state system to deliver an education to Māori. This view, in 1997, is still apparent.

The belief was that a system for Māori must be based on our tikanga, on our values, and derived from a philosophical view which is inherently Māori. It was a continuation of the views from previous hui at Matawaia (the Matawaia Declaration), Rahuipokeka (New Zealand Post Primary Teachers' Association Hui on Māori Education) and Ngaruawahia. Over a dozen hui held all over the country were to follow Hui Rangatiratanga, and out of this whole movement came the Tino Rangatiratanga Māori Education Authority.

This group involved itself in addressing Māori educational issues, and in fact produced a vision forward. This plan was then taken up by the Whakakotahitanga o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Māori Congress. The problem was that we never quite got to planning the 'nuts and bolts', the practical elements, to see what this system would look like and how it would work; suffice to say clearly no one wanted another 'brown bureaucracy'.

St Stephen's School has not escaped the Māori education crisis, in that we too have exhibited trends seen in the majority of state schools in low academic achievement, lack of goals, school leavers with no qualifications etc. In some cases we have had negative statistics in areas not found at other schools, such as violence, extortion, bullying, vandalism, and theft.

In order to address the crisis we must be innovative, be prepared to change and adapt. There is a view that the kohanga reo movement and kura kaupapa Māori are the successful models for the future of Māori people in education. While there are some valuable lessons to be learnt from both, it is my belief that we still

have much to do, not just in management issues but in the philosophical ideals on which both movements base themselves. By way of illustration, I fail to see how a spiritual base of daily prayer from England, from Rome, from the United States, or wherever else, has or should have a place in kaupapa Māori when we have our own to practise but do not. The visions for the future will not be easily achieved for there are over 160 years of colonisation we have to counteract.

I believe that we need to take on board the philosophy espoused at Hui Rangatiratanga as a basis for a vision for Māori Education. I am endeavouring to shape a school according to our own tikanga because:

- the collective experience of Māori educators believed it appropriate seven or eight years ago, and little has changed today;
- after one year of implementing some aspects of our own tikanga at St Stephen's we have seen the benefits;
- they can complement other tikanga already in place;
- they are Māori and our Māori rangatahi should be exposed to them as of right;
- to maintain the status quo is to do nothing to address the crisis;
- we have the resource base to make it work.

Clearly the values and philosophies spoken about are not just the preserve of te ao Māori - Māori society - alone. Indeed, they can be found in most societies to a greater or lesser degree. The key issue, however, is that as kaupapa Māori they are inherently Māori, they are ours and must be worth something for kaumātua throughout the land to continually say 'kia mau ki to Māoritanga'.

What is the vision?

An EDUCATION that values tōku rangatiratanga, tōku ake mana motuhake, the unique identity of the individual and group, the dignity and mana of Māori people.

An EDUCATION that enables Māori to learn yesterday's knowledge, ngā tikanga heke iho i ngā tupuna, and today's knowledge, skills, and values through te reo Māori, to prepare them for tomorrow.

An EDUCATION that enables Māori people to communicate and interact as equals with people from other countries and cultures.

An EDUCATION that empowers Māori people to participate and determine what is appropriate education for Māori people.

Developing this vision will mean drawing on the collective experience of the whānau of Tipene, and celebrating the historical past of the school. We must above all be innovative and create our own niche for Māori in education. That is, we must consider what our strengths are and develop those further so that we do a better job at educating our children than anyone else.

Key concepts

Ako

The word ako in Māori means to learn as well as teach - I would hope that we adopt a view that we are all teachers and we are all learners in our school. Everyone has skills, and the task is to share those skills amongst the collective for the benefit of the collective.

Twenty-Four-Hour Education

As a boarding establishment we have the opportunity to extend the educational experiences available to our rangatahi by adopting a view that they learn from when they wake until the time they go to sleep.

A Holistic View

We must take a holistic approach to our management and organisation. This can be achieved if we work according to marae tikanga, marae protocols. Working according to these allows us to give practical embodiment to what is taught in the classroom, and they serve as a good example to students after they finish school.

Excellence

The promotion of excellence allows us to set ourselves high standards and constantly strive to better our performance. This is not just a student-centred notion but must be adopted as a concept able to be implemented in every area of the school - hostel and school, teacher and student, teacher and management etc.

A Marae-Based Community

The vision I hold is that Tipene be transformed into a community based around our marae and Te Poho o Tipene.

In this case we would be a community of relationships where:

- staff know each other and care about each other;
- staff know taura well and care about them;
- parents and staff know each other and care about each other;
- taura know staff well and care about them;
- taura know each other well and care about each other;
- taura feel they belong and where they feel they count.

A community of relationships is where:

- all people are connected;
- it is easy to connect with one another;
- all people are connected because they hold common ideals;
- all people care about one another;
- there are common standards;
- every person is valued;
- people can be themselves.

For Māori, it will be a case of connecting again with values which our tipuna lived by, but which have through the process of colonisation been lost, sometimes adapted and changed. The statement by Justice Paul Temm perhaps encapsulates this sentiment - 'to understand the present, you must first understand the past, for the circumstances of today were shaped by the events of yesterday.'

For those who are non-Māori, it will be a unique opportunity to share in and learn about the indigenous culture of the land thus making them more able to take a lead in the bilingual, bicultural society we live in.

Māori language must have its rightful place.

The position we take here and now is to offer our rangatahi a 'user friendly environment' where they do feel valued and can contribute. This environment accepts that everyone learns differently, just as teachers have different strategies for teaching. A part of this also is an environment where the majority of the students are Māori. Certainly in our experience our rangatahi feel they belong; in their words they feel 'right' in such an environment.

For Māori to really make inroads to develop strategies for the future of our people in education, it is my contention that the decolonisation process must be a starting point for discussions. Once this process has been started, then I believe people will be clearer about what we really want and how to achieve it. It is im-

portant that a base of understanding be established, for very often, in my experience, plans to move forward have been slowed or stopped because there seems to be no common ground to start from, other than the fact that we know we have a crisis.

Māori educators can put some of the practices into place immediately, but if they are in state schools it relies on their courage and a willingness to do something.

We will know that we are performing in the best interests of our people because they will tell us and they would have been involved in the planning of the system themselves. As long as we do 'perform' and achieve positive outcomes, that must be our only motivation.

Liz Hunkin is of Rakaipāka, Ngāti Kahungunu, Tuhoe, and Ngāpuhi descent. She has a background in teaching in mainstream education and kura kaupapa. Recently she has established a private training establishment in Wairoa where she currently teaches. This is her written contribution to *Visions for Māori Education*.

How would you define what Māori Education is?

When I was an itinerant teacher of Māori in Wellington over fourteen years ago, the term Māori education applied to the reo programmes run by the itinerant teachers, or it was Māori Studies. The latter could consist of a visit to the local marae or a discussion in class about the Treaty of Waitangi. Today, we have kohanga reo which led to the formation of kura kaupapa, ruma rūmaki (immersion), and ngā reo e rua (bilingual) programmes.

Kura kaupapa has Te Aho Matua as its philosophy. There is a big shift from what had originally been taught although many of our kura are still finding it hard to get away from the mainstream ideas and influences. As for ruma rūmaki and ngā reo e rua, they are really still mainstream but delivering their lessons in te reo.

According to your view what do you see as the ideal goals of Māori education in five, ten, and twenty years?

- The joining of our ruma rūmaki and reo rua to form kura kaupapa.
- The adoption of Te Aho Matua' so that it becomes the basis for all that is taught by the government.
- Training of more teachers for kura kaupapa.
- Setting up of more kura kaupapa so that there are no more than fifty children per school.
- More parent involvement so that the schools become very strong.
- Parents being encouraged to learn te reo so that they can become future teachers.
- The establishment of a group similar to the Education Review Office but familiar with 'Te Aho Matua' so that our kura would be examined from the Māori perspective.
- More involvement by the community to help form the curriculum, e.g. kaumātua, Māori Women's Welfare League.

What teaching styles would you say are appropriate for Māori children in Māori immersion, bilingual, or mainstream environments?

To me, there shouldn't be any difference in the teaching styles. No matter where you teach:

- the room should be a room with aroha me te ngākau māhaki;
- the environment must make the child feel secure and wanted;
- be exciting - allowing the child to explore and find out for themselves;
- involve the child in the planning of lessons and the assessment of such programmes;
- the room should welcome the parents.

With respect to the child, and again, this is how I work with all children:

- make them feel important, ie. take time out to talk to them;
- make sure they understand what is wanted from them;
- be consistent;
- make sure they get a chance to express themselves and be heard;
- have plenty of activities to exercise points being taught, because children seem to learn better from doing;
- don't single them out to show their work unless they want to.

What educational policies, structures, resources, and practices are needed to ensure that Māori interests are being effectively addressed?

Policies:

- That Te Aho Matua be adopted as the 'National Education Guidelines' and the 'National Assessment Guidelines' of kura kaupapa.
- That more teachers be trained for kura kaupapa.

Structures:

- An Education Review Office-like structure be set up under Te Aho Matua.
- A kura from kohanga reo to whare wānanga - where all age groups move.

Resources:

- This is one of the most needy areas, as far as Māori education is concerned. The lack of resources means that the teachers cannot do their job as effectively as they might. Written material, books, and things like

that are much needed. It was so good to see Hone Apanui on Te Karere, talking about collecting about twelve writers to attend a hui in Wellington in June. This is a move in the right direction.

- Perhaps the setting up of resource centres around the country would enable more contact with kaumātua, and lead to production of more resources with a local flavour. I am employed teaching unemployed people. Many of my students have skills in drawing and are now learning the reo. We would love to set up a resource centre in Wairoa.

Practices:

- With the beginning of kura kaupapa, teaching practices seem to be undergoing drastic changes. The concept of whānau decisions being adopted in our schools was probably what was behind 'Tomorrow's Schools', but I'm not so sure that allowing the parents to say what was going to be taught, and even how, was what was anticipated. The child is always said to be the most important person, but were mainstream schools willing to educate not only the intellectual needs, but also the spiritual ??? This is what Te Aho Matua advocates, teaching the whole child.
- The local secondary schools are not prepared at present for the children coming out of kura kaupapa. Kura kaupapa are now setting up their own secondary schools. This means that we need teachers to be trained for this level and who will be fluent in te reo.

How can Māori educators begin to put these into practice?

Kura kaupapa seems to be showing the way. Rangakura is making a positive start by setting up training outposts in Ruatoria as well as in the bigger centres. The training is mainly in English but perhaps this could change as we have more trained lecturers who have te reo. Te Wānanga o Raukawa has also shown us what a Māori whare wānanga can accomplish. Maybe we need more whare wānanga for Kahungutanga or Ngāti Poroutanga. We at home need to be looking at this and not thinking that all knowledge flows out of the universities.

The big thing is that we all support kura kaupapa. Māori educators, as you have put it, are all different with different view points, and it seems we are all going in different directions. This is rather sad because between us all we have the expertise and the reo to make things happen in Māori education. If only we

could all have the conviction that Whata Winiata had for Ngāti Raukawa and his dream for the year 2000.

How will we know in the future that Māori education is performing in the best interests of Māori?

- Fewer or no secondary school drop-outs.
- No truancy - children wanting to be at school.
- More Māori at university level.
- Māori parents being involved in the system at all levels.
- The community being involved.
- We will see our schools are bustling places with not only children but parents, grandparents, and the whānau.
- More Māori in local government (perhaps we could have our own Parliament).

In your opinion what must non-Māori do to give effect to change to meet Māori aspiration?

As tauwi are the majority, we have to change their opinions as to what our aspirations are. Many have seen how kura kaupapa children can achieve, but as soon as unwanted publicity hits the media, we almost go back to square one. Having five new kura kaupapa is a start. The big job is to assist our people in looking after the finance and running the schools. This can be done and tauwi can help. We will have to convince our members of Parliament as to just what we want, and that this is not being racist.

Sandra Lee is the co-deputy leader of the Alliance Party and a spokesperson on Māori education. Her iwi affiliations include Poutini Ngai Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, and Ngāti Toa Rangatira. The following excerpts are from an interview held in her office in May 1997.

In 1994 I was involved in a Māori education review focusing on Māori Factor Funding, kohanga reo (KR), kura kaupapa Māori (KKM), tertiary education, and a proposal for a Māori Education Authority. I chaired a sub-committee review group that included the Hon. Whetu Tirikātene-Sullivan, Tau Henare, and Pauline Gardiner, and which had the brilliant support of Lawrence Tūkākī-Millanta, who acted as the committee official. We used submissions on Māori in education received since the late 1980s. One of the common concerns that came from those submissions was that while the Ministry of Education and its structures are set up to facilitate educational initiatives for mainstream, it doesn't always adequately facilitate Māori educational initiatives. We came out with a recommendation to establish a Māori Education Facilitation model. This could be developed from the Māori Education Trust and sit alongside the Ministry of Education, to ensure Māori aspirations and goals for Māori education are being met (tino rangatiratanga).

Another concern that came through in the submissions was that there are no 'safe footpaths' for our rangatahi to walk in bilingual or total Māori language immersion education.

The kohanga reo movement that our people are involved in all over the country is fifteen years old now and caters for 14,000 mainly Māori children. It has become the foundation for immersion education. However, many of these children leave KR to go onto inadequate primary immersion education. For instance, the school may have a Māori principal but she or he may have very little support from the Board of Trustees (BOT). Or there may be a school with three brilliant young guns who are trying to set up an immersion unit but they're having to justify it to their principal and the BOT. Other schools may have really dedicated Māori teachers but who have only basic Māori language skills. And there are limited places available in KKM nationwide. Where are those KR graduates supposed to go? If one KR graduate is forced to enrol in an English classroom because of a lack of total immersion education, then it is a huge loss. It is a loss of time, energy, and years of dedicated work by the KR because that child may lose his or her ability to speak Māori if he or she is not fully immersed in the language.

KR and KKM graduates who have no choice but to go into English speaking classrooms experience a culture shock that is similar to the culture shock of our old people when they were forbidden to speak Māori at school. That sort of message is contained in the reports of the Māori Affairs Select Committee.

There's no guarantee that what's being developed already is able to meet Māori parents' and their children's needs. The demand for KKM is still very high. There are only fifty-four in the country which cater for 3,000 children, with an additional five new KKM being funded by the Government next year, and twenty Māori groups waiting for funding. There is still a huge and unjust lack of resources and reading materials to support KKM and its teachers. There is still a severe shortage of trained and highly competent fluent speakers. And if a KR child is lucky enough to get a place in a KKM, where are the financial support and structures for similar Māori initiatives at the secondary level?

What we need is a Māori educational structure that sits parallel to the Ministry of Education. Its task would be to take responsibility for Māori education on Māori terms, and Māori would be in charge of the pūtea. The Māori Education Commission must address this proposition as a matter of urgency.

Māori educators are more than just teachers in the classroom. They've got an interest in their children not being recruited by the latest 'gang', they've got an interest in their children getting a decent meal. I get hundreds of letters everyday from parents worried about where their kids are going to go next and wanting answers. The Government can afford to spend \$91 million on new housing for members of Parliament and much more on frigates and where is the financial commitment to Māori education? There are good parents out there. There are good educators out there who care about what they are doing, who know what the problems are and what the solutions are, but they're being left off the political agenda. In the meantime too many of our children are being dropped off a cultural cliff.

One of the reasons that I gave my all to these submissions is because I wanted the issues to be addressed by the new Parliament in 1996. Our people know the problems and they know how to solve them too. If you read the submissions it is clear that they know what the obstacles are, and they are demanding tino rangatiratanga and empowerment. They're saying they don't want the mainstream model, they don't fit into that model. Kohanga reo is not a kindergarten. It's a revolutionary movement, empowering not only the children, but also parents and their extended whānau. The submissions are a summary of Māori aspirations for Māori education.

Recommendations from the report of the Māori Affairs Committee:

Recommendation 1

That resourcing of Māori education and Māori initiatives to overcome educational barriers should not be capped, and we reiterate the importance of demand-driven funding. We further recommend the Māori Education Trust as an appropriate method for further financial resources.

Recommendation 2

That the Government reconsider its stance on investigating a Māori Education Authority as an avenue for greater Māori involvement in education and a structure providing coherent integrated services for Māori education.

Recommendation 3

That Te Puni Kōkiri, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Māori Language Commission) and the Ministry of Education assist whānau, hapū, and iwi, financially and administratively, to co-ordinate an investigation to consider initiatives that will strengthen the relationship between sectors in Māori education and smooth the path for Māori students. The investigation also needs to consider the implementation of te reo me ona tikanga across the whole curriculum, and initiatives to safeguard these concepts.

Recommendation 4

That Te Puni Kōkiri, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, and the Ministry of Education assist whānau, hapū, and iwi to develop, implement and monitor initiatives for teacher training and development, and investigate an institute specifically for teacher training in Māori and the provision of on-going professional development.

Recommendations from the second interim report of the Māori Affairs Committee on a Māori education authority:

Recommendation 1

That Te Puni Kōkiri, in consultation with the Ministry of Education and other groups, co-ordinate an investigation, with widespread consultation with the Māori community, into the benefits of developing a Māori education authority.

Recommendation 2

That this investigation determine what type of relationship tangata whenua (in the broadest sense of this term) would consider most functional with a Māori education authority.

Recommendation 3

That the investigation determine the feasibility of expanding the Māori Education Trust into an organisation that could undertake the role and responsibility of a Māori education authority.

Recommendation 4

That this investigation determine what factors contribute to a successfully operating Māori education authority, and what would be needed to expand these organisations.

Recommendation 5

That the proposed investigation define the specific areas that need to be monitored that impact on Māori education.

Wally Penetito, of Tainui - Ngati Haua descent, was the former Dean of Te Wahanga Māori at Wellington College of Education. He is now Manager Projects, Learning and Evaluation Policy, Ministry of Education. The following is his written contribution on a vision for Māori education.

Māori education in the state system lacks intellectual coherence and moral force. It lacks coherence in the sense that it fails to acknowledge a basic belief among Māori: the idea of the connectedness of all things. The connectedness of all things is derived from the Rangī and Papa story: the connectedness of the spiritual with the material; the connectedness of the individual person with the outside world and the larger whānau. The thinking among Māori is pervasive in terms of the idea of a coherence among all things. It is that coherence that has been broken down and atomised in the existing education system.

The education system is satisfied that it is catering for Māori thoughts, beliefs, knowledge, and attitudes by selectively including parts of Māori knowledge and custom and perpetuating these within the education system. But it only takes parts of Māori culture. And in many cases they are not even the parts that Māori think are important. That's why there is a sense in which Māori don't actually want to own those things Māori that are in the education system. Why? Because those things are out of context, they are stand-alone ideas rather than ones which assert the uniqueness of Māori culture. Because the intellectual force of Māoritanga is absent, the idea of Māori knowledge and values having a moral force is also diminished. That is evident when you have young children, for example, who are Māori but treat Māori knowledge as though it is something trivial. That is how the system reflects it, that is how they accept it. It is unlikely that they have much choice about that. The education system they know includes those things which the society at large believes are important and worth perpetuating. Little of moral force is taken from Māoritanga and included in the education system.

That is my argument for the idea that educational cogency and moral force are bereft when it comes to Māori knowledge and practices within the education system.

As long as it is accepted by Māori that Māori knowledge, practices, and values are worthwhile, the problem facing us is to decide what to include, and how to include it. We also have to consider the way the system should recognise the

connectedness of all things that are implicit in the Māori world view, without turning it into myths or something of less than practical use in the world in which we live. After all, all cultures have intellectual traditions and from those flow moral standards which are perpetuated in their respective education systems. A way must be found, within the education system, to perpetuate morality as perceived through Māori eyes by recognising Māori knowledge, values, customs, and practices.

The education system needs a long-term plan for Māori education, and it needs to include critical elements from Māoritanga over a long period of time. If they are injected into the system immediately without proper trial and error it will simply bastardise and distort Māori knowledge and practices. People need to be able to build up a whole set of associations with this knowledge as they accumulate it. An important thing to remember about Māori intellectual knowledge and intellectual capacity is that Māori have the same potential, mental capacity, and ability to operate intellectually as any other cultural group.

More than a century of colonisation has seen the dominant group impose its culture, values, knowledge and practices on Māori society, and in most cases this has had devastating effects throughout generations of Māori. Māori have been subject to this hegemony for so long that in many cases they find themselves in situations where they believe their knowledge, customs, and practices are in some way inferior and less coherent than Pākehā culture, knowledge, customs, and values. We should not be surprised by that hegemonic imposition, after all, it is one of the legacies of colonisation right throughout the world. Those who are colonised learn to hate themselves, and it is something which is learned. They learn it from what they see of themselves through other people's eyes and what they hear about themselves from other people's mouths.

The agenda for returning intellectual coherence and moral force to Māori education involves Māori telling their own stories, creating their own images, listening to their own voices. It requires a return to the belief that we are no better nor worse than any other group. Our culture has the same potential as every other culture. We cannot realise it, however, unless we also learn to believe it and to practice it; to perpetuate our language, our knowledge, our customs, our practices, our myths, and our legends through a formal system of education. The trouble with the education system for Māori is that it began with Māori legends and stagnated there to a significant degree. The education system believed its own myths about its superiority and the place of Māori in that mythology. That is the

challenge for us: to restore the language, to give it new life. The old life and old breath have gone. This is not about returning to the past. It is about reclaiming the present and claiming the future, and we do that by asserting our language, by re-establishing our histories, by re-inventing what needs to be re-invented to live in the world now and in the future.

Every generation must do that if it is to grow. Unless each generation re-invents its culture it simply perpetuates an ancient culture which no longer exists, and that is really what museums have existed for. In today's world even museums have realised that is not enough, that museums cannot be a place where the past is sanitised and placed in glass boxes. The museums of today are conduits for contemporary history, are living places. That is what schools need to be as well. It sounds ridiculous to be talking about museums being the institutions which are alive, and schools being more like museums as they used to be. But in some ways that is true. There has been an international realisation of what museums are for, of how museums ought to be used, and of the role that museums ought to play in the education of their societies.

Māori society in today's world is as diverse as any other society, so questions arise about what Māori knowledge, customs, values, and practices should be included in our education system. After all, we will be told there are some Māori who do not want any of this knowledge, and some who will actively resist it. We also know, however, that there are Māori who do want to do the sorts of things I am talking about and we also know, thank goodness, there are many Pākehā in New Zealand's society who want their children to grow up with a better understanding of our Māori knowledge, values, customs, and practices.

They want this for their children because they know it belongs here and that it will help their children to be better New Zealanders in the future. Not the New Zealanders of the past, but the New Zealanders of the future, people who accept and see the value of Māoritanga and its place within the society. Māori are very familiar with Pākehā who seek out Māori knowledge and history, and then ask why more people do not know this stuff, or why it is not taught in schools, or why the media ignores this information.

The argument which goes 'Māori knowledge should not be part of the education system because there are a lot of Māori who do not want it any way', just does not hold up. Māori knowledge cannot be excluded from the curriculum on those grounds. I hate to think what sort of society New Zealand will become if this ground swell of interest in Māori culture, this renaissance which we have

been in the middle of for the last twenty years is not continued with the same vigour and force that is there now.

New Zealand society will continue to have young people who will move to different parts of the world, and who will gather together because of the notion of kindred experience. They will meet in little pubs in different parts of the world, and at some stage they will be motivated to sing New Zealand waiata or to take part in the haka when New Zealand sports teams are playing. They will want to participate in those activities but the difference will be that they will participate with conviction, not just out of nationalism; they will do it with an understanding of what they are saying and be able to explain it to others. They will feel good about it, and it won't be because of some sense of blind loyalty to something which they learned thousands of miles away in the South Pacific. This is this idea of intellectual coherence and moral force that I am referring to. With intellectual coherence and moral force comes real conviction, real commitment, and real understanding.

This is the context within which I want to answer your questions about a vision for Māori education; this context of the return of intellectual coherence and moral force to an education system by reclaiming Māori culture, knowledge, values, practices, and customs, and building them into a curriculum for all New Zealanders.

With respect to the definition of Māori education, the popular interpretation in today's world, for a large number of Māori, is that Māori education is about the maintenance of te reo Māori. In my view that is not enough. It excludes too many who identify themselves as Māori, and who have a legitimate claim to do that through whakapapa.

The research into the Waitangi Tribunal claims over the past ten years or so has really made an important contribution to the historical knowledge base for Māori and Māori education. A definition of Māori education must take into account mātauranga Māori, Māori history, Māori stories, and tikanga Māori.

Some of the worst fears of the Business Round Table and the One New Zealand Society are realised by some of the research which has come out in recent years, especially that resulting from claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. Neo-liberal organisations like the Business Round Table and the One New Zealand Society want to dismiss these representations as revisionist history because they do not tell their interpretation of events. Upholders of the dominant political ideology would rather uphold the old dogma than accept the legitimacy of Māori knowledge.

My definition of Māori education certainly has learning, teaching, and using te reo as a central feature, and it also includes everything associated with mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori, and akonga Māori. Wherever these components are exercised constitutes Māori education in my book, and Māori education is being exercised fully with understanding, conviction, and moral force when all these components are planned, delivered, and evaluated in an intellectually honest and coherent way.

The question about future goals for Māori education is a bit more tricky. My ideal goal for Māori education in the future, at a broad level, includes a long term plan designed to operate at whānau, hapū, and iwi levels right across the country. I would like to see education organised across all sectors, across all iwi, but in a planned way. Some iwi, like Tainui for example, are highly organised, but I am a firm believer that Māoridom, as a whole, is only as strong as its least organised iwi. I don't think nearly enough is done to organise across all iwi. We are falling into the trap of cultural myopia, of only seeing our own iwi and what we can do for ourselves. We are buying savagely into tribal competition for resources which probably has all the neo-liberalists sitting up smiling. In the long run, in true Darwinian terms, the strongest will survive and the weakest perish. I don't think we can afford to operate that way because we will always be competing with Pākehā whether we like it or not. That means we will also always be a minority, albeit a tangata whenua, because they have the numbers, and if those are ever threatened they have a source of regeneration only hours away.

I have other goals as well but most of the others depend on the success of the goal I have been talking about. At the heart of my educational philosophy for Māori is what can be called the 'politics of representation' and until Māori begin as a people to critique the society we live in and to assert collectively our own place in that society, the power of the mainstream will always be dominant. That critique has always existed, taking form in such things as the land wars, the Kingitanga and the numerous kotahitanga movements, and, more recently, the Tu Tangata movement and Māori Congress. In education it is seen with kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, and wānanga. There have always been resistance movements, movements to assert our mana, our ihi, our wehi, our wana. We seem to have difficulty transforming them across all of Māoridom. Perhaps that is because these movements have been mainly spiritual and political in nature. Kohanga reo, kura kaupapa, and wānanga are the exceptions, but they have yet to realise their full potential. That is where I want Māori education to go.

Māori today demand the authority to exercise their own mana and their own views about the world and how it ought to operate. They know there are no short cuts to power; it requires hard work, and a lot of planning. Education has a key role to play empowering Māori. The truism that education cannot cure all of society's ills is recognised, but education has played a role in creating and perpetuating some of the ills of Māori society. Accordingly it needs to play an even more important role in redressing those ills.

Tania Rei, of Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Awa descent, is a lecturer in Te Kawa a Māui at Victoria University of Wellington. These excerpts are from an interview held in her office in April 1997.

Māori education involves a number of processes, but essentially it's about empowering our people not only intellectually but in ways which enable them to cope well in society. I think there are many aspects of Māori education. Obviously there is traditional knowledge and traditional Māori pedagogies, and there is contemporary Māori knowledge and contemporary styles of educating in a Māori way. Māori education is very broad: it encompasses a wide range of practical issues as well as the theoretical issues. The theoretical issues are very much concerned with Māori epistemologies, and the practical issues are more commonly about how we use and disseminate knowledge in ways which are defined appropriately by Māori.

Given that I think that Māori education as a whole is about empowering our people to be able to cope well in society in a way which protects, maintains, and enhances our identity as Māori, Māori ideals for education include those things which make this possible. It means that our children are educated in Māori ways and that they have a choice. The issue of choice is really important for our people; we need to have opportunities to learn about what it means to be Māori in this country, about how you can translate those concepts in a Māori context, and what it means then to be Māori in New Zealand society. In my view these are distinct and discrete contexts. My goal is for Māori children and Māori people to feel comfortable in both those contexts. I see Māori education or the education of Māori as being the most critical factor which will enable Māori to cope within those two contexts, and to move in and out of them.

My ideal goals over a period of five, ten, and twenty years:

I want our Māori people to be able to cross over and eliminate the disparities which exist between Māori and Pākehā, and certainly those disparities that are ever increasing amongst Māori. These disparities are so insidious that they don't enable Māori to have a choice in education. If you're a young Māori woman bringing up two young children, either just above or below the poverty line, then it's really hard to exercise choice. I see education as being the critical factor for Māori to be able to override those disadvantages. In the past twenty years the census

has shown us that in a mere three year intercensal period the disparities and problems that Māori face socio-economically have increased markedly. I'd like to see a lot of these social and economic issues addressed within a much shorter timeframe than five years. I think five years as a lead time is too long for our people. Māori in collaboration with the Crown or the Government need to think about one, two, or three year strategies. I want our people to be well educated, to be critical in their thinking, to be able to exercise choice, and to make decisions about themselves and their future.

Teaching styles for Māori children in Māori immersion environments:

I'm not an expert in Māori pedagogies or total immersion environments but I suspect that they would have to be grounded in principles of kaupapa Māori and kawa. The teaching style should be one which broadens the communication processes for children so that it's not just a learning by rote style but actually a much more interactive kind of process. And it must be fun, because one thing I've learnt as a parent and as a teacher is that unless children are happy in their learning environment their motivation levels are pretty minimal. So I think it's a real skill of a teacher, especially within a Māori immersion environment, to create that kind of atmosphere or environment where our children are really happy or self motivated to learn.

I would go further and say that those principles should hold for every other learning environment, ie. bilingual or mainstream. Our children have to be happy, and I think the question is: what does happy mean? What is a happy, stable environment, a state of being for Māori children which would promote their learning initiatives? A lot of that has to do with the children's home base and their whānau environment. Our whānau need to live in an adequate way; they must not live on or below the poverty line, they must have choice, and they must have a reasonable standard of health care and housing.

Often the presumption is that you can only get a clear-thinking, learning society if the education system is right, and I totally challenge that. I think that many things need to happen in order for education to perform its role. In the context of the New Zealand State it means that the Government has to be supportive and has to work for Māori so that our children come from relatively stable home environments and decent homes, and have access to good nutrition and good health care. Unfortunately that's not always the case. The situation now is that almost half of our Māori families are sole parent units led by young Māori women aged

between sixteen and twenty-five. The majority have no formal school qualifications, and about ninety-five percent are products of second, third, and fourth generation unemployment. They're bringing up their children in very economically unstable, and sometimes unsafe, environments. The role of addressing those problems cannot be met just by educators and the education system. There must be an integrated approach in supporting learning environments and the learning of Māori children. Health, social welfare, and housing agencies all have to do their bit and give priority to the needs of Māori children. I say that because our children are from the least empowered sector group in this country; our children are the ones who are most at risk; our children are suffering the most and are the most educationally impoverished. Those agencies have roles and they must target our young Māori children. After all, if our children's learning status is adequately improved, then through a multiplier effect the rest of society will benefit accordingly. They cannot allow the educators and the education system to do it all.

The Treaty of Waitangi is an important framework upon which I would argue these things can actually happen. It's an ideal model for ensuring that the Government and Māori, in a joint partnership, can respond in ways that are effective for our children. The Crown is obligated under Article 1 to practice good governance through its agencies. Under Article 3 the Crown is responsible for meeting the citizenship needs of Māori and it also has to ensure that Article 2 taonga Māori are protected, maintained, and enhanced. But the Treaty is a dual partnership which means that Māori also have to do their bit and the most privileged and the most empowered Māori who are in positions as decision makers must proactively contribute by empowering Māori children through education.

Māori leaders must address the core issues that confront Māori children and Māori whānau. The biggest contribution that they could make is to ensure that the decisions they make directly address the needs of Māori children. Similarly, Māori members of Parliament have a responsibility. Often they speak at a very global level about what Māori people need, and don't address the issues that are at a very local level or at a whānau level. Yet that's where the strategies and resources of empowerment have to be aimed, ie. at the whānau level. Politicians have a key responsibility; they are in positions of privilege and they must do their job, otherwise why are they in those positions?

How can Māori educators begin to put these into practice?

First of all, Māori educators have to have a belief in and commitment to empowering our Māori children through education. In the first instance Māori educators have to believe that's a good thing otherwise what you'll end up with is a whole lot of Māori educators with different agendas, different viewpoints, and different values. In order to get positive development you've got to have a unified philosophical position by Māori educators. I'm sure that all Māori educators would want that, they want thinking children who can participate. How do they put that into practice? Well, as teachers they've got to believe it themselves, to feel quite passionate about it, because unless they believe and are passionate about the issue, they will lack the motivation that is required to pursue this challenging aim. The nature of the task is such that you need a lot of passion and motivation. We are at the most disadvantaged position so the task is not an easy one. We need people who are unified and people who are prepared not only to advocate it at a whānau level but at a national level, and to engage with government. There are others who hold the resources that are necessary for empowering our children and they've got to put these into practice as well.

Putting it into practice means that they've got to articulate their views in their teaching and practise it in the work that they do. The degree of social responsibility is a lot greater than the social responsibility that would normally be put on Pākehā educators because they are not dealing with the same degree of entrenched social dislocation that the majority of our Māori children know and experience. Education is a political act in itself, but in order to progress with the politics of education you also need to have a sense of a social obligation and responsibility. Māori educators have to have that in order to give meaning to that in a practical sense.

How will we know in the future that Māori education is performing in the best interests of Māori?

That's not an easy question to answer because it's highly subjective. What one Māori tribe might see as an adequate level of educational attainment for their people may be totally inadequate for another group of Māori. We will need to have a range of indicators to measure educational performance of Māori. If we were to compare our educational performance with Pākehā, we could use performance indicators like retention rates, national qualifications, and others. But

we need to come up with indicators of our own to put this in context. If we use Māori development as the context then one of the key criteria is that Māori are able to exercise choice in the educational system, whether that be in bilingual, total immersion, mainstream education, or whatever.

Participation is another key criteria. Are our children able to participate at all levels without barriers? In terms of tino rangatiratanga, are our children able to maintain a sense of being Māori and do they have sufficient control over that within the education system? There is the issue of te reo, our language. Can our children articulate their ideas and their concerns in Māori and English with adequate support within our education system? There is a criteria of mana. Do our children have sufficient levels of personal and collective self esteem within the education system? What would be an appropriate level of self esteem? We could then address that in a number of issues, such as are our children happy when they go to school, are they well fed? I know that one of the problems in Porirua was that children were going to school without kai, with nothing, and that was a huge problem. So mana is, in my opinion, an important criteria for assessing whether or not our children are performing well, and whether or not the education system is working in a way that protects the best interests of Māori. One can come up with a number of key criteria within the context of Māori development. If we can get our education system right and if every other collaborative agency is able to assist in that process then we will achieve real Māori development and our children will be better off.

In your opinion what must non-Māori do to give effect to change to meet Māori aspirations?

I think that the preferred framework for this would be the Treaty, and as the non-Māori partner to the Treaty the Government has to ensure that Article 2 and Article 3 rights are met. But they must be met in such a way that there is a real collaboration of aid and strategies for Māori. The Government as a legislative body has a responsibility to ensure that whatever collaborative processes are necessary can be pursued. The Treaty relationship is an evolving one and it means that we may not get everything right at any given time. But there must be active participation and there needs to be a real contribution by both Māori and non-Māori to make sure that our Treaty relationship works.

Darrell Waiti has recently joined Te Aute College as Tumuaki. His iwi affiliations include Te Arawa - Ngāti Pikiao and Taranaki. This is his written contribution to *Visions for Māori Education*.

To me, Māori Education is about empowerment, ie. empowering our people to make meaningful decisions for ourselves, for Māori society in particular, and New Zealand society in general.

To achieve this we have to give our children the tools to enable them to obtain powerful positions in New Zealand society so that they can dictate the future of us as a people, and New Zealand as a country. We are the tangata whenua and therefore we should be given the resources and knowledge to plan the future of the country. But it's not about empire building or 'mana tripping', it's about forgetting the injustices of the past and looking to what contribution we can make to the future.

But we have a long, hard road to harrow because of colonisation and oppression. We are slowly, but surely, working our way through that in a wide variety of ways and as long as we keep looking ahead to the light at the end of the tunnel, we will get there.

Titiro whakamua!

Our role within the school system is to show that light to our students and to widen its beam, so that they can see the path they have to follow is clear and traversable, and the destination is within reach.

To venture along that path they need a kete that is full of knowledge, ideas, and resources. Within themselves they have to find the desire to facilitate change, the desire to learn about everything, so that they have the tools to empower themselves to facilitate that change. Change is inevitable. Change is growth.

My personal philosophy on education is that it should ensure the holistic development of all learners, regardless of their race, creed or religion, to allow them to achieve to their maximum potential. For this to occur, the learner must be in an environment that is conducive to good learning. This environment will be supportive as well as challenging. The recognition of the individual needs of the learner would ensure that they have access to appropriate curricula in the medium of the language that they desire, and that their learning is facilitated by qualified and caring teachers. The learner will be empowered by their education and able to function as a valuable member of our society with a sense of high personal self esteem and identity.

In terms of a timeframe, in the short-term we need more quality Māori language teachers and more opportunity for total immersion education in both the primary and secondary sectors. The Government needs to create a level playing field so that we can compete on an even footing with our Pākehā counterparts. As we achieve this equity, in the medium term we shall find more qualified Māori entering the job market. They will have the tools to enable them to compete for positions of power in a 'democracy' which for too long has been white upper class. Once there, the long-term effect will be a strong Māori voice in the future of our country. We will have achieved a level playing field in terms of meaningful decision making and democratic government. I think that is achievable by 2020.

Pauline Waiti, of Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri descent, currently holds the position of Executive Officer for the National Association of Māori Mathematicians, Scientists, and Technologists. The following excerpts come from an interview held at her office in May 1997.

I will be talking about Māori education in the context of science education, and in the context of what the National Association of Māori Mathematicians, Scientists, and Technologists (NAMMSAT) sees as important for the future of Māori children.

Basically what I would hope to see in the future is more Māori participating in the areas of maths, science, and technology. Although there has been an increase over the last five to ten years of Māori participating in those areas, when you compare it to our current percentage of the population we are still quite low down, and in actual fact not many people do participate. There are statistics around and it's just a matter of gathering them. As a person who has gone through science myself, it is sort of something that everyone who is involved in science just knows, that there aren't many Māori in science. We need strategies to try and improve Māori participation as well as Māori achievement, and I think one of the reasons that Māori don't participate in science is because they think it's too hard. This of course is a fallacy. We have to increase that achievement which will lead to an increase in participation. The other thing that a lot of students think about science is that it has nothing to do with what they do in their everyday lives, that only 'dorks' do science. So that whole perception or picture of science that we show young children or students has to change. I think that it is slowly happening, that there has been a change in the last few years. People are starting to make a change and not just associate science with Pākehā middle-aged men wearing glasses with stupid hair and walk socks with roman sandals.

Recently we held a science wānanga for senior Māori science students. We put young Māori scientist role models in front of them so the students could see the broad range of jobs they could do if they took on a science degree. One of the problems nowadays is that the science that kids see in schools is not the science that they do when they leave school. The science that they are doing at school is really boring and uninteresting, whereas if you see the science that happens out there it is very different. One of the things that the wānanga was to show was the sorts of exciting things they could do if they were to become scientists. We had a really good range of scientists who were all young Māori people who the kids

could relate to. We had chemists, biologists, physicists, food scientists and technologists, marine biologists, scientists who were working to save the tūi, all sorts of scientists. The amazing thing was the number of kids who expressed the fact that they didn't know that if you did a science degree or you did science at school, you could end up doing those sorts of jobs. The really important one was a woman talking about geothermal science, and she illustrated quite clearly how you are able to help your iwi with that. This was really accepted by the students particularly for that fact that you can actually turn around and help your own iwi.

For the future, people who are in the position to make policies have to look at ways that these types of hui can be held for every Māori kid in the country. I am not saying that it isn't important for Pākehā kids, but I think that Māori kids need to be exposed to the real science and have information about what sorts of sciences they can do. One really important part of science that our kids would revel in, but don't necessarily know about, is sports science. They think that if you want to do anything with sports you just have to do physical education, but if you do physics, biology, and chemistry that can lead you straight into sports science which is an area most of them express an interest in. I think that this could be a curriculum issue but it is a big issue to get the curriculum restated. It also could be a school issue or a broader policy issue where funds are available to allow students to participate in these sorts of hui.

Often we get asked why we want more Māori in science and apart from the obvious, that Māori should have choices about whatever they do, one of the important reasons is because a lot of iwi are getting their resources handed back to them such as fisheries, forestry, and land. They need to be able to organise themselves with these resources to make sure that they stay in perpetuity for other generations. That is where science comes in, as a knowledge of what those resources actually mean. There are a lot of controversial areas of science such as genetics. People who make policies in those sorts of areas are Pākehā who don't have the same beliefs and values that Māori do. We need Māori people with Māori beliefs and values working in those areas to influence what policies are put in place. If we have more Māori doing that then we don't get these new policies in place which Māori find so abhorrent. These include taking genes from one living organism and putting them into another which goes against all the tikanga of whakapapa. You wouldn't get that if it was just Māori doing it; they just wouldn't do it because they don't believe in it. I think that is really important. The Māori view of the world is something that has a really important place in the whole

wider science view. I don't think that Māori had a perfect view of the world and that we didn't do things to stuff it up, but I think that you could generally say that we have a more conservational approach to it than Pākehā do.

I personally think that there are a lot of exciting things that you can find out as a scientist and I think that Māori people should have access to that excitement, even if it's got nothing in particular to do with being Māori. To discover something, or to find out some important piece of information that no one else has known about, is something that I would like to see Māori doing. I sometimes wonder whether Māori would have invented the atomic bomb. I don't think they would have if they knew what it could do. I wonder if a Māori who knew Māori beliefs and cultural practices would have thought of that, or any indigenous person for that matter.

We need more Māori teachers, teaching across the curriculum and not just te reo. We need Māori teachers in kura teaching in Māori across the curriculum but there are a lot of our kids who aren't in those situations who need Māori teachers in front of them. We don't have enough Māori teachers at all, but we especially don't have enough well-trained Māori teachers. It is a shame that even in kura and immersion units at a secondary level, subjects like science and maths are taught by Pākehā. We need to have those subjects taught by Māori so that kids can link science and maths to Māori instead of always to Pākehā.

There is lots that can be done in the curriculum, but curriculum change is so hard to do and it takes so long that I don't think that there is any quick answer. I think that what we need is a review of the curriculum, which could be in about five years, and Māori really need to have a say in it. The curricula that are being done currently do not give Māori a real and valid say. Although currently curricula are written in Māori, we did not have any say in what knowledge was included. We had the opportunity to translate the achievement objectives, which is what the kids have to know, and we had the chance to put our own learning experiences and assessment examples in, but we didn't have the chance to negotiate what the kids actually had to learn. Hopefully when the next curriculum review takes place, we will have that chance and not only get curricula that are written i roto i te reo, but get a curriculum that is written from a Māori worldview. Possibly the only curriculum that allows us to do that at the moment is Hangarau, the technology curriculum that NAMMSAT is working on at present.

The next step is what tertiary and polytechnic institutions have to offer in the way of courses and also how they lecture. It is still a problem getting a network

together for Māori science students. Students find it hard being the only one or two in a lecture filled with two hundred people. While some students can cope with that, there are a lot who can't, and I think it is something that needs to be addressed. The tertiary area seems to be the hardest area to change, especially science departments or schools of science. A lot of them have Māori science students' associations and special tutors and tutorials for Māori students which is really good. Maybe the next thing they could do is offer some realistic courses on the Māori scientific body of knowledge. I don't think that standards should be dropped because Māori are just as clever as others, but there are lots of barriers that are put in their way that people don't necessarily realise are there.

One of the things that I think is important for students is to give them a taste of success. I'm not sure if this relates to teaching styles or learning styles. Through all my teaching I've done with kids I've noticed that kids really like to learn difficult words. So if you can translate all this hard stuff into something that they can understand and they can walk around spouting off these hard words and know what they're talking about, they really feel good. I'll never forget teaching third formers at Queen Victoria School-Hato Petera and Tipene who would walk around reciting the periodic table and loving it because they had actually learnt it, and they knew about these words that they had never heard before. Good teaching allows them to actually know the stuff they're talking about. The real key to a good teacher is being able to translate the knowledge to the student so that they understand. Doing this gives kids the taste of what it means to actually know something, and then they want to know more. But, if they are never given that taste they just go right through school not knowing anything, but not knowing any different. We need to promote the things that make kids feel good about themselves. While the kids may not see direct benefits for their everyday life, you have to keep showing them and letting them know that those are the sorts of things that are going to affect their life in the future.

We will know in the future that Māori education is performing in the best interests of Māori if all of the bad statistics about Māori have fallen so that we are not the most unemployed, we are not the most badly housed, or the unhealthiest, or have the most people in jail. If all those statistics are down then I think that we can say that education is performing. That is assuming that what Māori see as best for Māori education is put into place. What I don't want to happen is in fifteen years, when they look at the statistics and see that they haven't gone down, that they blame Māori education for that, especially if they haven't adopted what

Māori are saying about what they want for Māori education. Hopefully, as a result of this publication and others, a whole lot of ideas will come out and be implemented for Māori education, so that in fifteen years time all those statistics will be well down and we'll know that it has been successful.

If we have many more Māori participating across the board in all sorts of areas at university, then we've been successful as well. In particular I would think if we've got heaps more mathematicians, scientists, and technologists then we have been successful. We will have been successful if the bulk of our Māori population is speaking te reo Māori and our kids are being educated in te reo Māori, and there is a free choice about whether your child is educated i roto i te reo or not. At the moment a lot of it depends on where you live; country towns do not have the access to kura kaupapa a lot of the time. So if there was a choice that wasn't dependent on where you lived then that would be a real success for me. I think that if there was a lot more reo on television, or you could go into government departments and either speak Māori or English and still have someone understand you, that would be a sign of success. Obviously there have to be a lot of changes from non-Māori in terms of accepting those sorts of things, and I think that non-Māori are changing. I think back to thirteen years ago, before my Dad died, when my son Jordan had just started going to kohanga, and I remember him being so excited about that. I think that if Dad was around and saw all the changes that had happened in Māori education he would be over the moon. Things like kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura Māori, curricula that are written in Māori, I don't think he would have realised, just like we didn't, that all that change would happen. So we have come a long way and non-Māori have changed their attitudes heaps. Another important thing is Māori having choices about their own lives.

In order for non-Māori to give effect to change in order to satisfy Māori aspirations, they need to listen to what Māori are saying because they often don't listen to everything that we have to say, and are selective about some of our ideas. Sometimes they get a bit too offended. I think people have got to stop being so precious about lots of things. So what do we want to do? We want to change all these statistics in all areas of Māori life, and the main way to do it is through Māori education. People have to listen to what Māori have to say and Māori have to listen to what other people have to say too. We have to work out definite strategies that are worth trying to get things going.

Ngā Kohikohinga Conclusions

Contributors have displayed deep dissatisfaction and frustration with past performance and current trends in education. Although they have each expressed their opinions and placed their own emphasis or focus on particular issues, there has been broad agreement on what have been the main causes of the crisis which now faces Māori education.

The crisis for Māori is that while there has been a perceived rise in overall educational achievement, levels for Māori have remained unchanged. All the socio-economic indicators show that Māori are excluded from fully participating in the activities of their country. There are a number of reasons why this has occurred, the main ones being economic exclusion, cultural alienation, critical health, and poor education.

Life on the margins of a modern capitalist society is not an easy one. Marginal life without the tools or the know-how to improve status and/or lifestyle creates a desperate edge. Desperation and frustration have been the driving forces behind many Māori educators' commitment to Māori achievement.

And yet, the future does not look entirely gloomy. Hope has sprung out of new and redesigned ideas which will hopefully add to a range of options which will contribute to successful outcomes for Māori.

I want an education that produces bright, happy, healthy, free, independent children by whatever means it takes ... (Harris)

Visions have been difficult to harvest. The current environment does not seem to be conducive to forward thinking or meaningful long-term strategic planning. Specific actions allied to required objectives to reach named goals have only been briefly touched on. In-depth analysis of the past has not been transferred to detailed designs for the future. Suffice to say that some commentators would add

that while education overall appears to be in a state of crisis, Māori education initiatives have given people some hope for the future.

It is the intention of Te Wahanga Kaupapa Māori to revisit the project again in the 1998-99 year and to see if there has been further development in establishing goals and creating the pathways that will lead to the fulfilment of strategic visions for Māori education.

One of the greatest Māori leaders of the recent past, Tawhiao Matutaera of Waikato, developed a vision for his people's survival during a time when the outlook could not have been worse. The Māori staff of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research/Te Wahanga Kaupapa Māori strongly believe that we owe people like him the honour of having visions that move Māori towards the 21st century and beyond.

'Mā tini, mā mano, ka rapa te whai.'

By many, by thousands, the object will be attained. By joining together we will succeed: a great number will easily accomplish what a few cannot.