

Creating Methodological Space: A Literature Review of Kaupapa Māori Research

Leonie Pihama

Fiona Cram

Sheila Walker

University of Auckland

The term Kaupapa Māori captures Māori desires to affirm Maori cultural philosophies and practices. In short Kaupapa Maori is about being “fully” Maori.¹ These desires have only rarely been recognized by the mainstream education system that has at various times sought to “civilize,” “assimilate,” and “integrate” Māori. The struggle by Māori for control over how Māori children and young people are educated has led to the establishment of Kaupapa Māori education initiatives across all educational levels. These initiatives are exemplary in that they reflect Māori aspirations and continue to produce bicultural, bilingual, confident, and well-educated Māori. This article outlines the key elements underpinning these initiatives largely through an exploration of the writings that have emerged from Māori education staff and students at the University of Auckland. A self-determination, anti-colonial education agenda emerges that is firmly based in Māori language and cultural ways of being.

Kaupapa Māori Education

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Indigenous Māori education initiatives span all levels of education from preschool to tertiary. The essence of these Kaupapa Māori initiatives is the desire of Māori to be Māori. This has led to the creation of Māori-controlled, Māori language-medium education in which children and young people can be immersed in Māori culture and know that being Māori is the norm. This is the core of Kaupapa Māori: the affirmation and legitimization of being Māori.

Developing and sustaining Māori education systems in a colonized society has not been without struggle. The mere existence of these initiatives can be described as a success story. In addition, many Kura Kaupapa Māori claim low levels of truancy, few behavioral issues, and high levels of whānau support and involvement (Māori Education Commission, 1998). On top of this, the creation of an education system that produces confident, bilingual, bicultural young Māori (as well as a few who are not Māori) makes Kaupapa Māori education exemplary.

This article explores Kaupapa Māori education, mainly through the writings and research of staff and students in Māori Education at the University of Auckland. Under the mentorship of Linda and Graham

A glossary of Maori words and expressions appears at the end of this article.

Smith, the academic work of this group has contributed to the ongoing praxis of Kaupapa Māori. The development of the Research Unit for Māori Education that occurred shortly after Linda and Graham's appointment to the University of Auckland in 1988 ensured that space was created in the University to: conduct and disseminate Māori research; train Māori researchers; and strategize so as to influence educational policy (Smith, 1999). In a sense, this literature review is a celebration of the success of this small beginning.

In this article initiatives that pre-dated and foregrounded Kaupapa Māori education are explored, followed by an overview of the term *Kaupapa Māori*. Following this, Graham Smith's six Kaupapa Māori intervention principles are used to organize the literature.

Māoritanga and Taha Maori

Over the years key movements and shifts have brought us to the place where Kaupapa Māori is now used more regularly in Māori communities. This has not always been the case. In the 1960s and 1970s the discourse of *Māoritanga* prevailed. In the 1980s and 1990s the discourse was about biculturalism and *taha Māori*. Walker (1974) writes that the term *Māoritanga* originated with Sir James Carroll in 1920. Later, in 1940, Apirana Ngata (Walker, 1974) described *Māoritanga* as the "inculcation of pride in Māori history and traditions, the retention as far as possible of old time ceremonial, the continuous attempt to interpret the Māori point of view to the Pākehā in power" (p. 45).

Crucial to Ngata's point is the influence of the social and power relationships between minority and majority groups. Māori Marsden (1975) saw *Māoritanga* as the "corporate view that Māoris hold about ultimate reality and meaning" (p. 144). Rangihau (1975) added relish to the debate. For him the term *Māoritanga* was invented by Pākehā as a means of positioning Māori as a homogeneous grouping rather than affirming the diversity of *whānau* (extended family), *hapū* (subtribe), and *iwi* (tribe) identification.

The term *Kaupapa Māori* appeared in discussion forums in the 1980s when the Department of Education was attempting to introduce *taha Māori* into the curriculum (Smith, 1997). During this time the terms *Kaupapa Māori*, *Tikanga Māori*, and *Māoritanga* would surface as interchangeable. Now the term *Kaupapa Māori* is applied across a wide range of sites both inside and outside education. Through the writings of the Auckland Māori academics the intellectual validity of Kaupapa Māori has been established as a bona fide theory of transformation.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori is a term that has its origins in a history that reaches back thousands of years. As Mereana Taki (1996) outlines:

Kaupapa is derived from key words and their conceptual bases. Kau is often used to describe the process of “coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose.” Taken further ka u may be translated as “representing an inarticulate sound, breast of a female, bite, gnaw, reach, arrive, reach its limit, be firm, be fixed, strike home, place of arrival” (H.W. Williams c 1844-1985, p. 464). Papa is used to mean “ground, foundation base.” Together kaupapa encapsulates these concepts, and a basic foundation of it is “ground rules, customs, and the right of way of doing things.” (p. 17)

Walker (1996) has also discussed Kaupapa Māori. For Walker, *Kaupapa* is the explanation that gives meaning to the “life of Māori.” It is the base on which the superstructures of Te Ao (the Māori world) may be viewed. Māori are Tangata (people) born into a geophysical cultural milieu. Kaupapa Māori becomes Kaupapa Tangata. It evolves like this: *He aha te mea nui o te Ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata* (What is the most important thing in this world? It is the people, it is the people, it is the people). In essence this *whakatauki* (cultural saying) explains Kaupapa Māori.

Smith (1997) outlines Kaupapa Māori as a term used by Māori to describe the practice and philosophy of living a Māori culturally informed life. This is a Māori world view that incorporates thinking and understanding. A key element in the discussion of Kaupapa Māori is the centrality of *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (Māori language and customs). Smith writes that a Kaupapa Māori paradigm in education is founded on three key themes:

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

This locates *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* as critical elements in any discussion of Kaupapa Māori and is in line with the assertions that Māori language must be viewed as essential in the reproduction of Kaupapa Māori (Nepe, 1991). Expanding the discussion of what constitutes Kaupapa Māori principles and practices in a changing world has been the focus of many Māori people involved in research and development of Māori programs in various sectors. Developments in Māori Education have been crucial to these initiatives.

For Sharples (1988), Kaupapa Maori has roots in “old” knowledge, including Māori spiritualism and traditionalism that it belongs to another time. From this source Kaupapa Māori has emerged as a contemporary discourse and a reality, as a theory and a praxis directly from Māori lived realities and experiences. One of those realities is that for over a century and a half the New Zealand education system has failed most of the Māori children who have passed through it. Kaupapa Māori as an educational intervention system was initiated by Māori to address the Māori educational crisis and to ensure the survival of Kaupapa Māori knowledge and Te reo Māori. The writing of Smith (1997) is instrumental here. Smith’s

academic writing spans over 10 years. His text *The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis* is pivotal.

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

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

Bishop and Glynn (1999) refer to Kaupapa Māori as the “flourishing of a proactive Māori political discourse” (p. 61). For these writers Kaupapa Māori is a movement and a consciousness. Since the 1980s, with the advent of Te Kōhanga Reo, Kaupapa Māori has become an influential, coherent philosophy and practice for Māori conscientization, resistance, and transformative praxis, advancing Māori cultural and educational outcomes in education.

As Smith (1997) has articulated, Kaupapa Māori initiatives develop intervention and transformation at the level of both institution and mode. The mode can be understood in terms of the pedagogy, the curriculum, and evaluation. The institutional level is the physical component, economics, power, ideology, and constructed notions of democracy. Kaupapa Māori challenges the political context of unequal power relations and associated structural impediments. Smith (1997) makes the point, however, that transforming the mode and the institution is not sufficient. It is the political context of unequal power relations that must be challenged and changed. In short,

Kaupapa Māori strategies question the right of Pākehā to dominate and exclude Māori preferred interests in education, and assert the validity of Māori knowledge, language, custom and practice, and its right to continue to flourish in the land of its origin, as the tangata whenua (Indigenous) culture. (p. 273)

Kaupapa Māori thus challenges, questions, and critiques Pākehā hegemony. It does not reject or exclude Pākehā culture. It is not a one-or-the-other choice. As Smith states, the theoretical boundaries of Kaupapa Māori have been tested, interrogated, and reflected on by the Māori community and the Auckland academic group, disseminated locally and internally.

The extent to which Kaupapa Māori has been engaged in educational settings can be seen in the increasing number of research theses and dissertations that have been produced in the past 10 years. Margie Hohepa (1990) and Tania Ka'ai (1990) both examined Te Kōhanga Reo as a context

for language teaching and learning. Ka'ai compared Māori pedagogical patterns she observed in Te Kōhanga with those of the bilingual and English-medium new entrant classrooms. Richards (1991) discussed the underdevelopment of Te Reo Māori in the Te Whānau-a-te Ehotu hapū in the eastern Bay of Plenty. Stewart (1992) discusses Te Mauri o te Reo and the power of the language, investigating a new pathway for enhancing and improving the status of Māori language and achievement in schools.

Kaupapa Māori Intervention Elements

Smith (1997) highlights six intervention elements that are an integral part of Kaupapa Māori and that are evident in Kaupapa Māori sites:

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

It is important to expand on these principles and include some common objectives that are shared by Kaupapa Māori projects.

Tino Rangatiratanga (the self-determination principle)

Embodied in the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi, the principle of Tino Rangatiratanga goes straight to the heart of Kaupapa Māori. It has been discussed in terms of sovereignty, autonomy, and *mana motuhake*, self-determination and independence. Tino Rangatiratanga has guided Kaupapa Māori initiatives, reinforcing the goal of seeking more meaningful control over one's own life and cultural well-being. A crucial question remains: can real Tino Rangatiratanga be achieved in existing Pākehā-dominated institutional structures? Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, for example, were started outside conventional schooling explicitly in order for Māori to take control of our destiny.

The notion of struggle for the ideas that are framed in a by-Māori-for-Māori paradigm is inherent in Kaupapa Māori. Out of struggle comes the desire to critique and transform. Critique is an integral part of Kaupapa Māori theorizing. From Awatere's (1984) *Māori Sovereignty* to Walker's (1990) *Ka whawhai tonu mātou* to Tahana's (1980) work *A Critical Analysis of Some Studies of Māori Schooling*, Māori academics have been driven by a sense of struggle and a sharpened critique of the dominant ideologies that serve to marginalize Kaupapa Māori. As Smith (1997) writes,

The act of "struggle" itself is seen to be an important factor in the cycle of conscientisation, resistance and praxis in not only making sense of one's life; but in also transforming it in more meaningful ways, and ultimately re-claiming it. (p. 25)

Kaupapa Māori theorizing has ranged across a variety of educational sites and issues, critiquing specific policies imposed on Māori. Johnston's

(1991) writing highlighted differences between policy recommendations for empowering Māori decision-making through school boards of trustees and the actual experiences of Māori members on these boards. She highlighted the differences between rhetoric (as outlined by policy) and the differing reality as experienced by Māori. Johnston's (1999) work investigated the relationship between education policy and Māori underachievement, tracing the interactions and relationships of "difference" and "power," examining historically how these policies have contributed to and sustained Māori educational underachievement. The processes of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, and biculturalism are all analyzed. Johnston found that it was the Pākehā conception of difference that informed and influenced the policy-forming processes.

Pihama (1993) argued that the introduction of the Parents as First Teachers program was framed in positivist constructions of compensatory education that ignored wider cultural and structural considerations. Pihama argued that PAFT is not an emancipatory program for Māori; rather it espouses victim-blaming scenarios that maintain structural inequalities, thus perpetuating the subordinate positioning of Māori.

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

Smith (1997) and Pihama (1993) have both referred to this as the counter-hegemonic role of Kaupapa Māori. Given the historical imposition of Pākehā structures, language, and knowledge onto Māori people, there is without doubt a political drive that is crucial to current expressions of Kaupapa Māori. In writing about the role of Kaupapa Māori theory Smith (1997) has strongly advocated the need for Kaupapa Māori developments to be both culturalist and structuralist in form. This means that engagement needs to happen both at the level of culture and human agency and at the level of analysis of structures and the power relations that exist. This then places Kaupapa Māori as a form of critical analysis that is driven by Māori understandings. Pihama (1993), in articulating the need for Kaupapa Māori to be the basis for engaging power relations in this country, writes:

Kaupapa Māori theory is a politicising agent that acts as a counter-hegemonic force to promote the conscientisation of Māori people, through a process of critiquing Pākehā definitions and constructions of Māori people, and asserting explicitly the validation and legitimisation of te reo Māori and tikanga. (p. 57)

The point is that when te reo Māori me ōna tikanga are viewed as valid and legitimate, then Māori are no longer positioned as the Other, but rather hold a position of being the norm in our own constructions. This then acts as a challenge to Pākehā dominance. This is clearly an issue for Kaupapa Māori implementation in mainstream institutions and settings. Tino Rangatiratanga as an element also contributes to the notion of Kaupapa Māori as counter-hegemonic in that the fundamental base of Tino Rangatiratanga is that of Māori control over things Māori, or has been expressed as "Māori for Māori." Again, this can be challenging to the structures and philosophies of mainstream organizations.

Placing Māori at the center was clearly the intention of the Māori Education Commission, which was set up by the Minister of Māori Affairs Tau Henare in 1997. The Commission consisted of six Māori who were highly skilled and held in high regard by the Māori community. The main kaupapa of the Commission was to listen, observe, and conscientiously represent the views of Māori in determining the nature and content of advice that they gave to the Minister. The Commission believed that although Kaupapa Māori programs are still in their infancy and lack a comprehensive support infrastructure, they are achieving success.

The Māori Education Commission (1998) received strong submissions for establishing a stand-alone Māori education authority. The Māori Commissioners argued that Tino Rangatiratanga meant placing control for Māori educational development squarely in the hands of Māori.

Taonga tuku iho (the cultural aspirations principle)

A Kaupapa Māori framework asserts a position that to be Māori is both valid and legitimate, and in such a framework to be Māori is taken for granted. Te Reo Māori, Mātauranga Māori, and Tikanga Māori are actively legitimized and validated. This principle acknowledges the strong emotional and spiritual factor in Kaupapa Māori, which is introduced to support the commitment of Māori to the intervention in the educational crisis.

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

For Nepe (1991) Māori knowledge is esoteric and essentially Māori. It validates the Māori world view and is owned and controlled by Māori through Te Reo Māori. Te Reo Māori is the only language that can access,

conceptualize, and internalize in spiritual terms this body of knowledge. From this we take it that Māori language and Kaupapa Māori knowledge are inextricably bound. One is the means to the other. In her writings Nepe argues for the significance of Kaupapa Māori as an educational intervention system to address the Māori educational crisis and to ensure the survival of Kaupapa Māori knowledge and Te Reo Māori.

Ako Māori (the culturally preferred pedagogy principle)

This principle promotes teaching and learning practices that are unique to Tikanga Māori. “Borrowed” pedagogies are acknowledged. Māori are able to choose their own preferred pedagogies. Pere (1983) writes in some depth on key elements in Māori pedagogy. In her publication *Ako* she provides expansive discussion regarding tikanga Māori concepts and their application to Māori pedagogies.

The development of Māori-medium schooling (Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori) has placed Māori in a position where not only the definitions of what is Kaupapa Māori have been important, but where significant moves in the identification of Māori pedagogical practices have been made. This has brought to the fore debates over various *kupu* (words) and *tikanga* (customs) and how they are best located as Kaupapa Māori practice. Kaupapa Māori knowledge permeates each of the components of Kaupapa Māori education including Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Kura Kaupapa Māori teaching training, the development of Kura Kaupapa Māori resources, Whare Wānanga, and Whare Kura.

Pohatu (1996) advances the argument that cultural underpinnings of *whenua* (land) and *whakapapa* (genealogy) are imperative to ensure cultural transmission and acquisition (socialization). His work is a statement of cultural recentering and emancipation. Rei’s (1998) work discusses the importance of Wānanga Reo as a learning and teaching intervention for the revitalization of Te Reo Māori. We can draw some of these analyses together. For Nepe and other Māori writers, Kaupapa Māori is grounded in te reo Māori. Pohatu grounds it in whakapapa and whenua. Another important concept is Mātauranga.

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

Royal (1998) writes about whakapapa as a research model, and his definition of Mātauranga Māori is created only by the use of whakapapa.

Royal cautions us to be clear when we are defining Māori terms such as *mātauranga* and *rangahau*; the issue of who owns the definition is paramount. Given that the term *rangahau* appears in such places as the names of government departments, it is urgent that Māori define the term correctly. Royal relates the story of a conversation he had with Taki Marsden from Tai Tokerau. Royal asked Taki that if he were to ask his father what *mātauranga* Māori was, would his father know. Taki replied, "To ask my father what *mātauranga* Māori is would be like asking a fish what water is. It remains invisible to them." We suggest that the notion of *Kaupapa Māori* is equally elusive.

Kia piki ake i nga rarururu o te kainga (the socioeconomic mediation principle)

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

Churchwood (1991) discusses *He Ara Hou* and the family model. This writer elaborated on the family-group model as a pedagogical intervention in the Māori schooling crisis. White (1995) uses the context of "scaffolding." She looked at language use in a *Kōhanga Reo* focusing on scaffolding of children's language interactions in structured, ritualistic routines of *karakia* and *mihimihi*.

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

Timutimu (1995) conducted research in her own hapū with the realization that her hapū would soon be left with no fluent Māori speakers. Her writing argued that the "middle" generation in her hapū play a critical role in maintaining the traditional language and knowledge of the hapū. The work of Tangaere (1998) also reinforces *whānau* as a key Māori intervention model in education. Tangaere discusses what we can learn from the interventions based on *whānau* in education and how these can be applied to Māori social, economic, cultural, and educational crises.

Whānau (the extended family structure principle)

The principle of *whānau*, like *Tino Rangatiratanga*, sits at the heart of *Kaupapa Māori*. The *whānau* and the practice of *whānaungatanga* is an integral part of Māori identity and culture. The cultural values, customs,

and practices that organize around the whānau and “collective responsibility” are a necessary part of Māori survival and educational achievement.

It is appropriate to comment on the expansiveness of Kaupapa Māori; that is, that Kaupapa Māori is for all Māori, not for select groups or individuals. Kaupapa Māori is not owned by any group, nor can it be defined in ways that deny Māori people access to its articulation. This means that Kaupapa Māori must of necessity be diverse and recognize the diversity within our people; women, men, *tamariki* (children), *kuia* (female elder), *koroua* (male elder), *rangatahi* (young person), *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, urban Māori: these are some examples of the diversity within our people, and therefore Kaupapa Māori needs to be accessible and available to all. It must also ensure analysis that is able to take into account, both in principle and practice, the diversity of Māori communities.

As a part of recognizing the impact of colonization on internal Māori structures and relationships, a number of authors have dealt directly with issues of gender. Gender relationships have changed significantly since colonization, and it is argued that Kaupapa Māori needs to engage notions of *Mana Wāhine* in its principles and practices. A good example of this notion is found in the *Te Aho Matua* document developed from a Kaupapa Māori base for Kura Kaupapa Māori. In *Te Aho Matua* are clear statements about gender; for example, it is made explicit that both women and men have roles in the development of our children (Nepe, 1991). This is important in Kaupapa Māori as it locates both Māori women and Māori men as critical in Māori initiatives. There is currently an imbalance in regard to decision-making for Māori that can be located as a consequence of the ongoing marginalization of Māori women through the imposition of conservative gender beliefs.

Kaupapa (the collective philosophy principle)

Kaupapa Māori initiatives in Māori education are held together by a collective commitment and a vision. *Te Aho Matua* is a formal charter that has collectively been articulated by Māori working in Kaupapa Māori initiatives. This vision connects Māori aspirations to political, social, economic, and cultural well-being.

Also inherent in Kaupapa Māori theory is the critique of power structures in Aotearoa that historically have constructed Māori people in binary opposition to Pākehā, reinforcing the discourse of Māori as the Other. Kaupapa Māori theory aligns itself with critical theory in that it seeks to expose power relations that perpetuate the continued oppression of Māori people (Pihama, 1993).

The following writers have also contributed to the growing critique of power discourses that occur in education. Naden (1998) looks at the exploitation of Māori knowledge in the framework of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, discussing how this framework is a site of strug-

gle between dominant Pākehā and subordinate Māori knowledge. He discovers how positivism forms the basis of New Right ideological positioning, which in turn has inspired and driven educational "reforms." He argues for equal representation of Māori knowledge and for increased power for Māori in decision-making in education.

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

Smith (1994) analyzed the issue of iwi, arguing that iwi development was a discourse of power currently being tested by Māori and state interest groups. Smith argued that iwi development, although problematic, cannot be understood without examining imperialism and colonization and the wider context of struggle by Indigenous peoples worldwide. Smith proposed that "decolonization" was, therefore, a necessary part of Indigenous people's development.²

Pihama (1993) relates that decolonization is a process of revealing how colonization has influenced beliefs and social practices that influence and contribute to the social construction of what it means to be Māori, creating power dynamics that privilege the colonizing forces.

Conclusion

The need for a Kaupapa Māori education system grew out of Māori dissatisfaction with a mainstream education system that sought over the history of colonization in this country to civilize, assimilate, and integrate Māori children and young people into Pākehā culture. The resultant failure of this system to provide education for Māori should not have been surprising. Yet this failure has all too often been blamed on Māori deficits rather than leading to structural analysis and change of the system.

Kaupapa Māori education initiatives grew out of the dissatisfaction of Māori with mainstream education. The primary success of these initiatives is the fact of their ongoing existence and the commitment to a Māori-controlled education system that they have engendered in Māori whānau, hapū, and iwi. They have, however, exceeded mere survival, and over the past five to 10 years Māori graduates have begun to emerge from Kaupapa Māori secondary schools.

There is a large degree of agreement about what is needed to ensure the ongoing existence of a Kaupapa Māori education system in which Māori can be Māori. The key elements of Kaupapa Māori are identified by Smith (1997) for the provision of an education system that is by Māori, for Māori. There can be no doubt that these initiatives are anticolonial, and as a consequence the struggle for the space where they can occur has been long and hard. The struggle is also on many fronts: for example, with successive governments that have sought to name, define, and control, and by so doing curtail Māori aspirations; with school boards, principals, and teachers when Māori seek space in mainstream schooling for Māori-medium education initiatives; with Māori parents who cannot see the value of their children being part of a Māori education initiative.

Kaupapa Māori is, therefore, about asserting the right of Māori to be Māori while at the same time building a critique of those societal structures that work to oppress Māori. This review, therefore, seeks to capture both the pushing forward of Māori aspirations and the pushing back of Pākehā control and domination. Kaupapa Māori education is exemplary in that it is allowing Māori children to be educated in an environment that affirms, validates, and nurtures them as Māori while providing them with more than enough tools to survive in a Pākehā-dominated society.

Notes

¹This idea draws on the Frierean notion of being fully human as a role of the oppressed in overcoming the dehumanization process inherent in colonization (Freire, 1972).

²Murphy (1997) has been involved in organizing and tutoring or facilitating Treaty of Waitangi seminars for several years and specializes in educational decolonization *waananga* for *tangata whenua*. His philosophy is to provide a safe, nonthreatening environment where questions can be asked and issues discussed without course participants being subjected to personal attack or ridicule.

Acknowledgment

This review was partly funded by a research grant from the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology.

References

- Allen-Westray, E. (1997). *Nga akoranga mo te reo Māori—Ka tutuki nga hiahia o ngaa kaiako Māori? Māori Education for bilingual teaching—Does it meet the needs of Māori teachers?* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Awatere, D. (1984). *Māori sovereignty*. Auckland: Broadsheet.
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Churchwood, F. (1991). *He Ara Hou: "The Family Model"—The family group model as a pedagogical intervention in Māori schooling crisis*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin.
- Hohepa, M. (1990). *Te Kōhanga Reo hei tikanga ako i te Reo Māori: Te Kōhanga Reo as a context for language learning*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.

- Hohepa, M. (1999). *Hei tautoko i te reo: Māori language regeneration and whānau book reading practices*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland.
- Huata-Tapiata, H. (1992). *Tino Rangatiratanga: The Māori struggle within education*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Jenkins, K. (1991). *Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Wehi o te Ao Māori: Literacy, power and colonisation*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Johnston, P. (1991). *A fair measure of influence? Māori members on school boards of trustees*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Johnston, P. (1999). *He Ao Rereke: Education policy and Māori underachievement: Mechanisms of power and difference*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland.
- Ka'ai, T. (1990). *Te Hiringa Taketake; Mai i Te Kōhanga Reo i te Kura; Māori pedagogy*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Māori Education Commission. (1998). *Report to the Minister of Māori Affairs*. Report No. 2, August.
- Marsden, M. (1975). God, man and universe: A Māori view. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri—The world moves on*. Auckland: Hicks Smith.
- Murphy, T. (1997). *Te Pumaomao. An awakening to rediscover and celebrate Mana Maori*. Paper presented at Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, Whakatane, New Zealand.
- Naden, J. (1998). *Mo wai ra—In whose Interest? The critical impact of the Education Review Office on Māori*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Nepe, T. (1991). *E hao nei e teni reanga te toi huarewa tupuna: Kaupapa Māori, an educational intervention system*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Pere, R. (1983). *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Māori tradition* (reprinted 1994). Wellington: Te Kōhanga Reo Trust.
- Pihama, L. (1993). *Tungia te ururua kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: A critical analysis of parents as first teachers*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Pohatu, T. (1996). *I tipu ai taatou i ngaa turi o o taatau maatua tipuna: Transmission and acquisition processes within Kawai whakapapa*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Rangihau, J. (1975). Being Maori. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri. The world moves on*. Auckland: Hicks Smith.
- Rei, R. (Te Ahu). (1998). *E kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea: Wananga Reo as a learning and teaching intervention for the revitalisation of the Māori language*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Richards, R. (1991). *Te reo pakeke: The underdevelopment of Te Reo Māori in Te Whānau-a-te Ehutu hapū Eastern Bay of Plenty*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Royal, T. (1998). *Te Ao Marama—A research paradigm*. Paper presented at Te Oru Rangahau, Māori Research and Development Conference, Massey University.
- Sharples, P. (1988). *Kura Kaupapa Māori: Recommendations for policy. Access: Critical Perspectives on Education Policy*, 8.
- Smith, C. (1994). *Kimihia te maramatanga: Colonisation and iwi development*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Smith, G. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and praxis*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland.
- Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodology*. London: Zed Books; Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Stewart, A. (1992). *Te mauri o te reo—The power of the language: A thesis investigating a new pathway for enhancing and improving the status of Māori language and Māori pupils in schools*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Tahana, A. (1980). *A critical analysis of some studies of Māori schooling*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Taki, M. (1996). *Kaupapa Māori and contemporary iwi resistance*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Tangaere, R. (1998). *Whānau: Kaupapa Māori intervention model in education*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.

- Timutimu, N. (1995). *Kei ngaro to tatou reo rangatira: Middle generation Māori language crisis*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- Walker, R. (1974). Māoritanga and the teacher. In D. Bray & C. Hill (Eds.), *Polynesian and Pākehā in New Zealand education* (vol. II). Auckland: Heinemann.
- Walker, R.J. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Walker, S. (1996). *Kia tau te rangimarie: Kaupapa Māori theory as a resistance against the construction of Māori as the other*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.
- White, M. (1995). *Te Wero—te uru whakatupu ake te uru o matawhaura: Language scaffolding in a Kōhanga Reo*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.

Glossary

Aotearoa	Land of the long white cloud, a.k.a. New Zealand
hapū	subtribe
iwi	tribe
kaupapa	ground rules, agenda
kupu	word
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori-medium primary school
mana	authority
mātauranga	knowledge
Pākehā	non-Māori New Zealander
rangahau	research
taha	side
tangata whenua	people of the land
tangata	person
Te Kōhanga Reo	Māori-medium preschool
te reo Māori	Māori language
Tikanga Māori	custom
Tino Rangatiratanga	independence
wahine	woman
whakatauki	proverb
whānau	extended family
Whare Kura	school
Whare Wananga	house of learning